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THE EMERGENCE OF SAUDI ARABIAN
ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS :
A STUDY IN POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

by

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(Graduate Society)

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A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Social Sciences
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Durham
October 1975

To Yasir and the forthcoming baby

ABSTRACT

The present study is the first effort at tracing the evolution and examining the factors involved in the emergence and delimitation of the territorial administrative divisions of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

In the General Introduction, the geographical approach is distinguished, and data sources, their limitations and the difficulties encountered by the research student are stated. Part One is a review of the historical divisions of the area occupied at present by the Saudi state. Emphasis is laid on the traditional geographical and administrative divisions (Chapter One); the territorial administrative divisions during Egyptian and Ottoman rule (Chapter Two); and on the socio-political entities of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Chapter Three).

Part Two is an examination of the authority and distribution of Saudi Arabian administrative areas. The development of central government and provincial organisations is discussed (Chapter Four). The authority, evolution and geographical distribution of the Saudi provinces, and the territorial administrative units of selected central government ministries are examined in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

The third and final part is a detailed and critical examination of one province (al-Bahah). The evolution of the province in time and space is discussed (Chapter Eight) and followed by a geographical analysis of the nature and base of district delimitation and administration (Chapter Nine).

Finally, the thesis ends with some concluding remarks, containing the most significant and broad findings of the study.

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The author is very grateful to HRH Prince Sattam bin Abdul Aziz, Deputy Governor of al-Riyadh Province; HRH Prince Khalid bin Faisal, Governor of Asir Province; H.E. Sheikh Muhammad al-Sudairi, Deputy Governor of Jazan Province; and H.E. Sheikh Sultan al-Sudairi, Governor of al-Qurayyat Province, for their encouragement and replies to the questionnaires which were given or sent to them. My thanks are due also to Prince Badr bin Abdul Rahman, once the Deputy Director-General of the Ministry of Interior; Abdullah al-Bilaihid in the Provincial Office of al-Riyadh; Abdullah al-Mazrou in the Provincial Office of al-Bahah; Muhammad Saeed in the Provincial Office of al-Madinah; Ahmed al-Sayyed in the Provincial Office of Asir; Ibrahim al-Maarik in the Ministry of Communications; Abdullah al-Faris in the Ministry of Agriculture and Water; and to many other individuals in

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The Significance and Aim of this Study

The geographical study of a state's territorial administrative units forms an integral part in the general study of the organisation of government, whose primary function is to bind together separate and diverse areas into an effective whole. Yet a review of major works dealing with politically organised areas reveals to the student of political geography the scarcity and obvious neglect of studies of the way in which political power is expressed in areal terms below the state level. Such neglect is most striking in the developing nations of the world, where such studies are of especial practical importance in that the bulk of these nations lack competent and qualified administrative personnel, whilst the state takes primary responsibility for bringing about rapid economic and social change.

The present study is an initial attempt to fill this gap in one of those developing nations : the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, which faces the difficult but gratifying task of forging disparate territorial components into viable and functional political entities. The primary objective of the present study is to give the necessary geographical background which will hopefully be a sound contribution to the better understanding and appreciation of the problems involved in the territorial organisation of the state of Saudi Arabia, which is now undergoing drastic changes in its political, social, economic, and administrative systems.

In his intention to bring the study of Saudi Arabian administrative

areas closer to the realm of political geography, the author will trace the evolution of these areas and examine the way they operate, the way their limits are arranged, the type of authority exercised within these limits, the way this authority is exercised and the way the state's internal administration is organised. This, of course, raises and involves many questions which this study will endeavour to answer, for example:-

- (i) How far are the present Saudi territorial administrative units and their limits related to their historical setting? Are they deeply identified with past and traditional zones or territories?
- (ii) What are the spatial and social criteria upon which the structure and delimitation of these units and their subdivisions are based? Are they based, for example, on definite spatial distributions such as population, size, shape, physiographic features, economic activities and settlement pattern?
- (iii) What kind of spatial hierarchy do they present? What functions do they assume? And how compatible are they with administrative efficiency?
- (iv) Are they deeply entrenched into the cultural and political fabric of the state? Do they emerge to cater for local sentiment or regional patriotism? Are they planned with the aim, for example, of preserving tribal homogeneity or indigenous political structure? Does their revision evoke any opposition?

(v) How far does their distribution differ from one central government ministry or department to another? What effects do these differences have on the central government development planning and the execution of the functions of these territorial administrative units? How far does their spatial arrangement reflect the state, effectiveness and coordination of planning at the national and local level?

As these aspects cannot be fully examined throughout the vast area of the country because of the apparent wide range of the subject and the scarcity of basic data, a first-order administrative division has been chosen for more detailed examination. This is al-Bahah Province.

Definitions

The author, in studying the territorial administrative units of Saudi Arabia, has come across the difficulty of translating to the English language certain Arabic terms which are widely used to designate different levels of administrative territories such as muqata, mantiqa, amarah, tarifah, markaz and qada. The difficulty is even harder when one considers the fact that the meanings of these terms overlap and that their definitions, in many cases, depend on personal vindication. This is largely the result of the fact that the official use of such terms is not uniform throughout the country. Even if these difficulties were overcome and certain corresponding English terms were found, the student of political geography would be faced with another problem : mainly the precise definitions of these terms, since they have widely different meanings in different countries. For this reason and in

order to avoid ambiguity and misunderstanding the author finds it necessary to define certain terms as used in this thesis.

The term 'provinces' is used throughout the work to denote the first-order administrative divisions, or, in other words, the highest tier in the hierarchy of government areas. It refers to both first and second rank divisions of government areas which are officially called amarat mantiqah and amarah respectively. The terms 'governorate' and 'district' are used as synonyms to describe the second-order administrative divisions with the difference that the first term refers to those divisions which were used to constitute first-order administrative divisions before being attached to present first-order administrative divisions. The original Arabic terms for these are also amarat mantiqah and amarah, but in most parts of the country the widely used equivalent terms are markaz, tarifah and qada. The third-order administrative units are the individual villages and hamlets which refer to the Arabic terms of qura and hijar respectively. The terms 'field service areas', 'field agencies', and 'field offices' refer to the territorial administrative units of the central government ministries and departments or their regional offices.

Data Sources and Limitations

Much of this study is based primarily on official documents and first-hand information collected during a two-period field study in different parts of Saudi Arabia. The first period extended from July to December 1973, and the second period was during the months of February and March of 1975. The sources of the data obtained could

be organised according to the following classification.

A. First-hand Information : This was collected for al-Bahah Province during field trips for ten days in April 1972; 15 days in September 1973; and 15 days in March 1975. The writer was enabled, thanks to the encouragement and hospitality of the Provincial Governor, to travel to most parts of the province, interview some officials in the provincial office and most of the district governors in al-Sarah and Tihama sections, and to visit most of the field offices of the different government ministries in the provincial capital.

B. Informal Interviews : These interviews were made with high-ranking officials, such as:-

1. HRH the Provincial Governor of Asir
2. HE the Provincial Governor of al-Bahah
3. Assistant Deputy Minister for Budget Affairs, Ministry of Finance and National Economy
4. Director General of the Provincial Office, al-Riyadh Province
5. Director General of Road Department, Ministry of Communications
6. Director of the Agricultural Extension and Services Department, Ministry of Agriculture and Water
7. Head of the Personnel Affairs Department in the Provincial Office of al-Madinah Province
8. Secretary of the Provincial Administrative Council, Asir Province.

C. Written Replies to Questionnaires : Questionnaires were given or sent from Durham to the 19 governors of the first-order administrative

divisions of the country. Unfortunately, only five replies were received. They are from:-

1. HRH the Provincial Governor of Asir
2. HRH the Deputy Provincial Governor of al-Riyadh
3. HE the Provincial Governor of al-Bahah
4. HE the Provincial Governor of al-Qurayyat
5. HE the Deputy Provincial Governor of Jazan.

D. Various Official Documents : Some of these documents concern the development of Saudi Arabian provincial administration and the evolution of the Saudi provinces and their sub-divisions. These were collected from the following institutions and libraries:-

1. Library of the Institute of Public Administration, Documentation Section, al-Riyadh
2. Information Library, Ministry of Finance and National Economy
3. Budget Files, Budget Department, Ministry of Finance and National Economy
4. Documentation Office, Ministry of Interior
5. Organisation and Method Unit, Ministry of Interior.

Other documents and information were collected from the offices of the different central government ministries and departments regarding the evolution, territorial extent and authority of their territorial administrative units and sub-divisions.

The author also made full use of some published books in Arabic which contain first-hand knowledge on the evolution of the state of Saudi Arabia and include scattered information on the development of the Saudi provincial administration. These books are written either by

authors who at one time held authoritative positions in the government during the early stages of its administration, such as Faud Hamza, Kh al-Zirkili, and Hafidh Wahbah; or by natives of the different parts of the country, such as the books of al-Nami and al-Almai on Asir; al-Silluk and al-Jasir on al-Bahah Province; al-Aqili on Jazan; al-Jasir on al-Riyadh and north-western Saudi Arabia; and al-Barakati on Asir and al-Hijaz.

One of the many difficulties encountered in preparing this study arose from the very limited official documents made available to the author which might explain the reasons and state the motives behind many aspects in the evolution and emergence of provinces and districts or of the administrative units of the government ministries. This is essentially due to many factors of which the following are the most significant.

(a) Confidential documents. Most of the documents of the nature explained above are classified as confidential and kept in files known only to very few high ranking officials. The procedure followed to obtain access to them involves time and good personal contact with the authorities concerned. Even if this were accomplished, restriction upon the use of and quoting such documents would usually be imposed.

(b) Inefficient system of filing and classifying documents. This is apparent in the absence of documentation centres in most of the central government ministries. Each department within a ministry stores its own records and files the way it deems fit. If we take the Ministry of Agriculture and Water as an example, we find that there are at least 13 archive offices, each assigned to a single department of the

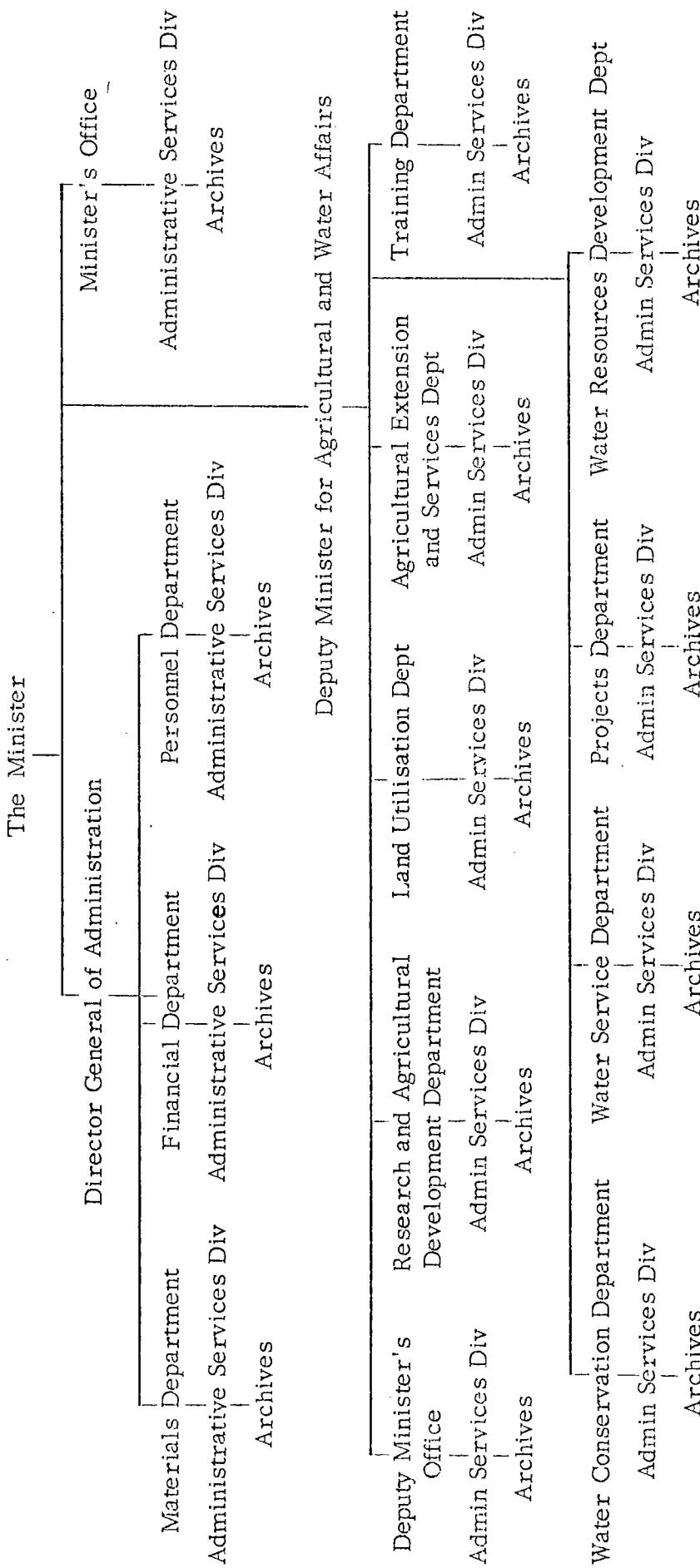
Ministry, as Table (1) indicates. The amount of effort and time required to consult all available or even relevant documents in such a system, and in every ministry selected for this study, is obviously great, let alone the effort required to obtain access to such documents.

(c) The very recent foundation of the Central Documentation

Department. As the administration of technical ministries, especially those offering public services throughout the country as well as the provincial administration of some of its parts, was directed and supervised from Makkah during the early stages of the country's administration (1925- 1955), most of the documents related to this period were kept in Makkah. Despite the transfer of the offices of the central government ministries and departments to al-Riyadh in the mid-1950's, these documents were still in Makkah up to 1972, when they were transferred to al-Riyadh and have been kept in the offices of the newly-established Central Document Department, Ministry of Finance and National Economy. Up to the last months of 1973, these documents still remained unclassified in their original packages, and therefore the author was unable to consult them.

These factors certainly impose limitations upon explaining and interpreting certain actions and aspects regarding the evolution and emergence of provinces, districts and other territorial administrative units of the central government ministries. In some cases when official documents could not be consulted, such explanation rests on personal viewpoints derived after consulting other alternative sources which might not reflect the official point of view. Therefore, the validity of such explanation could be questioned or even rejected in its entirety.

TABLE (1)
Organisation of Archive Offices in the Ministry of Agriculture and Water



NOTE : Other Departments and Divisions of the Ministry are not shown

Another really major difficulty is the result of the inaccessibility of official detailed maps. Most of the detailed documents concerning the administrative units and their sub-divisions are in the form of lists of names of the administrative units, centres of administrative sub-divisions and the villages attached to these centres and their subordinate centres. This form of documents requires very detailed maps to make full use of them in order to draw lines separating between administrative units as well as between their sub-divisions. Although such maps do exist, they are inaccessible to scholars, principally because of defence problems. Furthermore, none of the central government ministries has prepared detailed maps showing the territorial limits of their administrative units and sub-divisions. Even if such maps were prepared and made available, they either proved to be inconsistent with the existing administrative units or are not up to date. All this meant that the research student had to prepare such maps for analysis and comparison. Having in mind the unavailability of detailed maps showing the location of most of the enormous number of place-names which the documents include, drawing accurate boundaries of the administrative units and their sub-divisions is an impossible task, with the result that the boundaries drawn by the author and shown in the maps of this thesis could only be a rough approximation to the actual boundaries being used.

Finally, a discouraging factor is the fact that out of the 15 provincial governors to whom questionnaires were sent by the author from Durham, the replies of only two of them have been received.

Organisation of the Study

The thesis is divided into three parts. Part One is concerned with the historical background to the territorial organisation of the area now occupied by the state of Saudi Arabia. The traditional geographic and administrative divisions of the Arabian Peninsula are examined in Chapter One, while Chapter Two deals with the administrative divisions of the area during Egyptian and Ottoman rule. This is followed by examining in Chapter Three the territorial divisions of the socio-political groupings that preceded the foundation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Part Two focuses on the territorial structure of the government administration. Chapter Four is devoted to the administrative structure and provincial organisation of the state. Chapter Five examines the evolution, authority and spatial hierarchy of the first-order administrative divisions up to 1955. The territorial extent and distribution of these units and their sub-divisions since 1955 are discussed in Chapter Six, while Chapter Seven deals with the functions, authority and territorial extent of the territorial administrative units of selected central government ministries and departments.

Part Three is a detailed examination of the evolution of and space relation in al-Bahah Province which was chosen as a case study. Chapter Eight traces the evolution of the province in terms of time and space, while Chapter Nine is a search for the base and nature of district delimitation and administrative attachment in the province.

The major findings of the study are presented in the Conclusion.

PART ONE

HISTORICAL SETTING

Introduction

Chapter One : Traditional Divisions of Arabia

Chapter Two : Territorial Administration of Arabia
under Egyptian and Ottoman Rule

Chapter Three : Territorial Divisions of the Socio-political Groupings in the Area now Occupied by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

INTRODUCTION

This part is not only a statement of the historical facts connected with territorial divisions of the area now occupied by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, but also it is hoped to show the pattern and bases upon which such divisions have evolved, taking into consideration that the subject in itself demands a devoted, full-time research. Hence, a short summary background is to be expected in this treatment.

One is tempted to ask why such treatment should precede a study of the evolution of the administrative areas in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, which is very much a new state, being founded during the first quarter of the present century. The answer is derived from the simple fact that the history of Arabia is not merely a series of events which have shaped the present political units of Arabia, but it is also a series of events which have been drastically changing the cultural, social, political and economic modes of life in an environment largely believed by many to be completely dependent on nature. Another motive for considering such topics stems from the observation of the author that similar studies have revealed that the existing sequence and distribution of the administrative areas is frequently a historical patchwork.

Reference should be made in this introduction to the sources consulted for the preparation of this part. The first two chapters rely heavily on the classical works of Arab authors as well as some contemporary ones. Due to their importance and frequent usage of them as sources for material and as guides to locate some old place names on the present map of Arabia, a list of those used is necessary:-

1. Saleh al-Ali, "Administration of al-Hijaz during the Early Islamic Period", al-Abhāth, vol 21, 1968, pp 4-57
2. Hasan A al-Asfahani, Bilad al Arab, revised by H al-Jasir and S al-Ali, al-Riyadh, 1968
3. Abdullah A al-Bakri, Mujam ma Ustujim, 4 vols, revised by Mustafa al-Sagga, Cairo, 1945
4. Yagut al-Hamawi, Mujam al Buldan, 5 vols, Beirut, 1957
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8. Omar R Kahhalah, Geography of the Arabian Peninsula, second edition, Makkah, 1964
9. Ahmad al-Qalgashandi, Subh al-Asha, 14 vols, Cairo, 1922
10. A al-Wuhaibi, "Al-Hijaz as defined by the Arab Geographers", Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of al-Riyadh, vol 1, 1970, pp 53-70

Historical and political literature on the areas and period under study were consulted for the third chapter.

This part is hence composed of three chapters. The first will discuss the traditional divisions of Arabia with emphasis on the area now occupied by Saudi Arabia. The second chapter will trace the influence of Egyptian and Ottoman rule on the administrative divisions in the area of study. Local political and social groupings and their territorial limits up to the foundation of the Saudi state will be discussed in the third chapter.

CHAPTER ONE

TRADITIONAL DIVISIONS OF ARABIA

Reference to a topographic map of the Arabian Peninsula will reveal that it is packed with names that convey and bear meanings at least of geographic nature. Certainly, some of these terms have been associated with territoriality of some kind, and with territorial limits, be they vague or even unknown in this context. Such names of territorial divisions have persisted with the area they designate over the past centuries : their origin is unknown but their designations and meaning are still valid and used. Such terms as Najd, al-Hijaz, al-Arudh, Tihama, al-Yaman, al-Sham, al-Hasa, Asir, and many others are frequently mentioned and used in the present system of administration exactly as they have been used and interpreted through the last fourteen centuries. This chapter will present the effort of the author, by consulting the aforementioned sources, to recognise the meaning of those terms which have been associated with territoriality, their origin and the area they designate and delimit. A second section will be devoted to the administrative divisions which were used in the early Islamic period up to the beginning of the Egyptian control over the western part of Arabia (about 620-950).

1.1 Geographic Divisions of Arabia

Although it is generally agreed that Arabia was named by its early inhabitants as Jazirat al-Arab, or bilad al-Arab, the early Arab authors were in some disagreement over the definition and interpretation

of its name and over the area it designated.¹ These differences were reflected even more widely in the divisions of Arabia, their definition and the actual linguistic interpretation. As for the reason behind that, the author supports the idea put forward by al-Ali and al-Wahaibi that these differences were the outcome of the political situation of Arabia before the rise of Islam as well as the recognition of varied administrative divisions in Arabia by the different Islamic dynasties.² One could add, however, that the general knowledge of the country as a whole was lacking, which led most Arab writers to seek information which can only be known by oral transmission, a case which has resulted in the duplication and overlapping of their definitions and interpretation.

Arabia, on the whole, was first divided by the Roman and Greek writers, especially Ptolemy, into Arabia Petrea, Arabia Deserta, and Arabia Heureuse, or Felix, whose areas were vaguely defined. The first term was to designate the area now known as the Sinai Peninsula, while Arabia Heureuse, or Felix, was meant to be the mountainous country east and south of the first one and running parallel to the eastern coast of the Red Sea. The Arabia Deserta contained, according to their definitions, all the arid land east and north of these mountains down to the Euphrates. Another source, however, referred to Ptolemy's definition of Arabia Felix to include all the area south of al-Sham from a line about six miles south of al-Aqaba crossing the northern edge of the sandy area of al-Nufud and ending at al-Najaf in Iraq.³ But it was not until the flourishing of the Islamic state in the writings of the late Islamic writers (eighth to thirteenth century) that one finds frequent

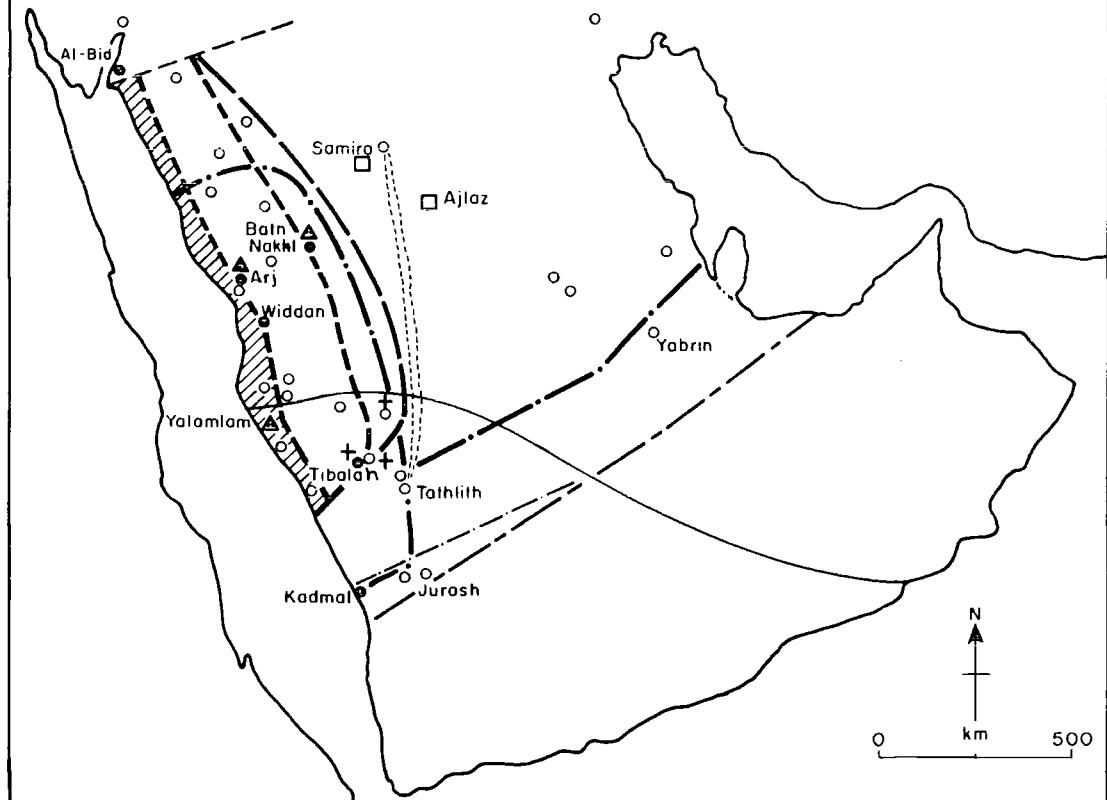
mention of geographic divisions. It might be very useful to make a brief survey of the divisions and their definitions as conceived by or related to the most known of those writers. Figures (1.1) and (1.2) should be consulted throughout the following discussion.

The Prophet Mohammad. He was related to have climbed a mound at Tabouk and, pointing to the north, said "All this is al-Sham", and, turning to the south, "all this is al-Yaman". This, however, is in contrast to what was related to him in making Talhat al-Malik (just north-west of Najran) the boundary between al-Yaman and Makkah which could be considered as an administrative definition.

Abdullah b Abbas. He was the first to define al-Hijaz as al-Sarat mountains which extend from the boundaries of al-Yaman to al-Sham, hence separating Tihama from Najd.

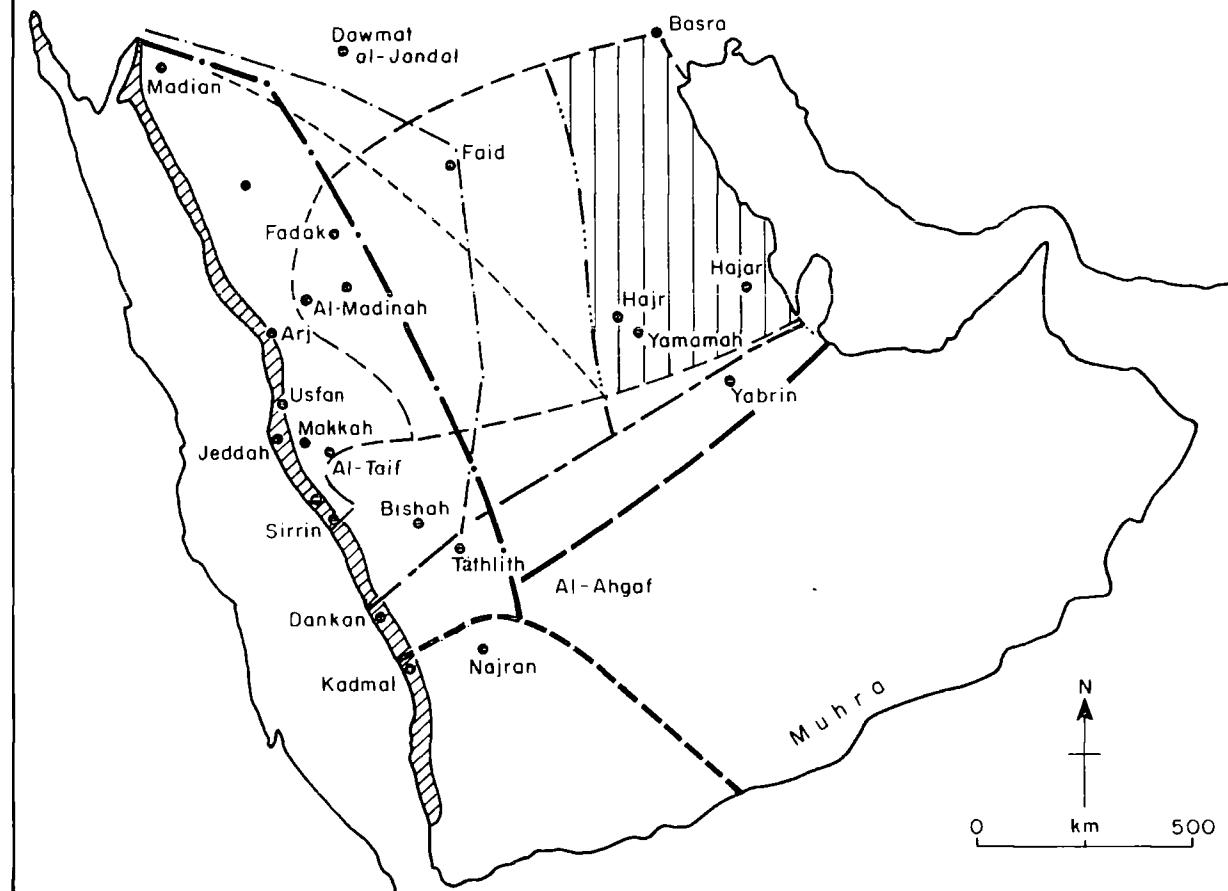
Al-Asmai. Jazirat al-Arab is divided according to al-Asmai, into al-Yaman, al-Hijaz, Najd, and Tihama. The northern boundary of al-Yaman is a line running from Oman through Najran. In another reference he gave various definitions of al-Hijaz which oppose his first definition. He understood al-Hijaz to be the area (1) between Dhat I rq in the east and Wajrah in the west; the correct form is to say that from Wajrah and Chamrah eastwards is Najd, and west of Dhat I rq is Tihama as related by al-Asfahani;⁴ (2) extending from al-Abla and Tibalah to the frontier of al-Sham; (3) bounded by al-Shaghaf and Bid on the north, Batn Nakhl and Upper al-Rumma and the back of Harrat Laila (Khaibar) on the east, Badr, Rihat and Ukadh on the west, and on the south by Sabah and Widan; and (4) confined by the Harrahs (lava covered areas). He also defined Najd to start from Ajlaz (east of

Fig I-1 THE TRADITIONAL GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS OF ARABIA



- The N.L. of al-Yaman
(Prophet Mohammad)
- The Administrative N.L. of al-Yaman
(Prophet Mohammad)
- ▨ Tihamah Proper (Al-Asmai)
- Limit of Hijaz (Al-Asmai)
- Localities limiting al-Hijaz
(Al-Asmai)
- N.L. of al-Yaman (Al-Asmai)
- The E.L. of al-Hijaz with al-Harrabs
(Al-Asmai)
- ▲ Localities limiting al-Hijaz
(al-Harbi)
- Localities as the E.L. of Najd
(Al-Asmai)
- The E.L. of al-Hijaz (al-Harbi)
- + Localities considered as part of Najd
(al-Harbi)
- N.L. of Tihamah Proper
(al-Hamadani)
- N.L. of al-Yaman and S. and E.L. of al-Hijaz
(al-Hamadani)

Fig 1·2 THE TRADITIONAL GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS OF ARABIA



— — — N.L. of al-Yaman and W.L. of Najd
(al-Istakhri)

— — — N.L. of Najd al-Yaman (al-Magdisi)

— · — E.L. of al-Hijaz (al-Istakhri)

— — — N.L. of al-Yaman (al-Madaini)

— · — N.L. of al-Yaman (al-Magdisi)

— · — E.L. of al-Hijaz (al-Madaini)

Tihama Proper (al-Magdisi)

— · — E.L. of Najd (al-Madaini)

— · — E.L. of al-Hijaz (al-Magdisi)

Al-Arud (al-Madaini)

Unaiza) and Simira in the east to Dhat Irq in the west. West of Dhat Irq is Tihama.

Al-Harbi. He was related by ibn al-Kalby and ibn Fadhalah as saying that Bilad al-Arab is divided into Tihama , al-Yaman, al-Hijaz, Najd, and al-Arudh, and that al-Hijaz is al-Sarat mountain-separating Tihama from Najd and al-Yaman from al-Sham. Al-Hijaz to him comprises Palestine and Taima, while al-Rumma, al-Ribdhah and Batn Nakhl (now al-Hinakiyyah) are its eastern limits. The western and southern limits are al-Arj and Yalamlam respectively. In another reference he defines its eastern limit as a line connecting Tathleeth in the south and Faid in the north, with the two mountains of Tai being included in al-Hijaz. Yet a third interpretation seems to contradict the definitions put forward by him. He was related to have included within Najd or Najd al-Yaman the towns of Bishah, Tarj, Tibalah, Maraghah and Raniah.

Al-Asfahani. He defined al-Hijaz to be the area from the frontier of San'a from al-Abla and Tibalah to the frontier of al-Sham. Al-Asfahani relates that the inhabitant of al-Madinah defines Najd as east of al-Ribdhah, and Tihama to be west of Usfan. He also refers to some as saying that Najd starts after leaving al-Qaseem to Dhat Irq, which agrees with some of al-Asmai's definitions of Najd. It might be noticed that some of al-Asmai's and al-Asfahani's ideas coincide, among many other things, and this led some writers to disagree with each other upon which of the two wrote the book Bilad al-Arab.⁵

Umarah ibn Ageel. According to him, Tihama is the area west of harrat Bani Sulaim (now Rahat) and Laila (Khaibar), while al-Hijaz is the area west of Dhat Irq (al-Sail) until Tihama is reached. The

area east of Dhat Irq is Najd until Iraq is reached.

Ibn Khurdathibbah defines Najd to extend from Iraq to Dhat Irq, while the northern limit (from the administrative point of view) of al-Yaman ends at Talhat al-Malik.

Al-Anbari. Al-Hijaz is between Tathleeth and the two ridges of Tai.

Al-Hamadani. He, like al-Asmai, came up with many varied definitions of the divisions of Arabia which could be summed up as follows. (i) He relates that the people of Tihama, al-Hijaz and Najd define the limits of their lands in the following manner : Tihama is the coastal plain from Hadramout to al-Shabiyyah south of Jeddah, strangely, with al-Sarat mountain to al-Taif; al-Hijaz, on the other hand, extends from al-Taif northward to Yonbu, Radhwa, Dhi al-Marwah and al-Hijr; and Najd is the area east of both regions. It is hard to believe that this definition comes from al-Hamadani, since he is the most informed writer of them all, especially on al-Yaman, of which he was a native, for this definition does not include al-Yaman as a division by itself. If we assume that this is an administrative division, we could hardly believe that al-Yaman would be included under the name of Tihama, but the opposite is the most likely alternative. Another of his administrative definitions is that of al-Hijaz, for if we combine his thought that the southern limit of al-Sham is the vicinity of Khaibar, and Dhi al-Marwah, and his belief of the southern limit of al-Hijaz to be a line running through Tathleeth, Jurash, Um Jahdar and Kadmal, we end up with the administrative limit of al-Hijaz. (ii) He divided the Arab Island into north and south, the last being al-Yaman, while the former consists of Najd, Tihama, al-

Hijaz, al-Arudh and al-Sarat. Najd is the tableland east of al-Sarat and west of al-Arudh, while al-Hijaz is the area separating al-Yaman from al-Sham. Al-Arudh designates the area east of Najd, while the northern limit of al-Yaman is a line extending from Oman passing by Yabrin and Tathleeth.

Al-Istakhri and Ibn Hawkal. The definitions of those prominent Arab geographers and their interpretations of the divisions of Arabia and their limits are identical. They divided Arabia into al-Hijaz, Najd al-Hijaz, al-Yaman, Badiat al-Iraq, Badiat al-Jazirah, and Badiat al-Sham. Al-Yaman comprises the area south of a line extending from al-Sirren to Yalamlam, below al-Taif, until it reaches the Persian Sea,^t while al-Hijaz is northwards up to al-Hijr and extends eastwards to include the two ridges of Tai and all the land in the western vicinity of al-Yamamah. Najd, however, was defined in a confusing manner which resulted in overlapping of territory. It was to be limited by a line connecting al-Yamamah, al-Madinah and Basrah, and ending in the sea to include al-Bahrain. It gets more confusing when al-Istakhri extended the northern limit of al-Hijaz to include Madian and the eastern limit to give al-Hijaz part of the coastal plain of the Persian Sea. Badiat al-Iraq extends from Abadan to al-Anbar (presumably to al-Basrah), while Badiat al-Jazirah is limited by a line connecting al-Anbar, Balis, Taima, wadi al-Qura, and al-Hijr, and returning to either al-Basra, which would make Badiat al-Iraq a small area in the triangle Abadan - al-Anbar - al-Basra, or to al-Anbar, which would make it much bigger and confined in the triangle Abadan - al-Anbar - al-Hijr. Badiat al-Sham was to be the area included in the triangle Balis, Aylah (Eilat),

Tima or al-Hijr.

Al-Magdisi. He divided Arabia into four divisions and four sub-divisions, Al-Hijaz, al-Yaman, Oman and Hajar being the former, and al-Ahqaf, al-Ashhar, ^{mah}al-Yama^{mah} and Qarah being the latter. But, in his definition he mentioned names which have not been included in his divisions. Al-Yaman is presumably divided into three areas -

- (1) al-Yaman proper, which is mainly mountainous, and includes such cities as Sana, Saada, Jurash, Najran, Qahtan country and Aden;
- (2) Tihama, where Zabeed is located; and (3) Najd al-Yaman, which extends to the frontier of al-Yamama to include al-Ahqaf and Mahrah, and sometimes Oman. He mentioned al-Harrah, of which he thought as the area extending from the frontier of al-Yaman to al-Qarib (the Land east of the Gulf of Aqaba). Al-Hijaz, on the other hand, is west of al-Harrah and includes within it the coastal towns such as Yonbu. Finally, Najd al-Hijaz lies east of al-Harrah and includes such towns as al-Yamamah, ~~Fa'ida~~ and Hajar.

Al-Madaini. He divided Arabia into Tihama, Najd, al-Hijaz, al-Arudh and al-Yaman. The last named designates the area south of Tathleeth to include Hadramout, al-Shihr (Dhufar) and Oman. Al-Hijaz is, according to him, the mountains which separate Tihama from Najd, and with a line extending from Tathleeth to the two ridges of Tai as its eastern limit. Tihama is the area west of al-Hijaz to the sea and includes within it Dhat Irg (al-Sail) and al-Juhfah (Rabigh). Najd is the area between al-Hijaz and al-Yamamah which comprises, along with al-Bahrain, al-Arudh division.

Besides the definitions mentioned above, there are as many again

which lack of space prevents the author from listing. As can be seen, an evaluated conclusion cannot be reached regarding the geographical divisions of Arabia as seen by the early writers, whose varied interpretations and definitions of these divisions do not allow presentation of a unified division which might subsume the different points of view. This situation had its impact on the definitions of the later writers who were exposed to a better knowledge of the region. However, their divisions were usually based on historical and political arguments, and that is why one finds them varied from one writer to another and hardly delimited.

1.2 The Historical Administrative Divisions of Arabia

As implied before, the frequent mention of and endeavour to define the different divisions of Arabia were the outcome of the elaborate system of administration which the early Islamic state was applying in its land. As the early Islamic state expanded its territory, the need for numerous and therefore smaller administrative units was felt and consequently implemented. We will not involve ourselves with the endless arguments regarding the first Muslim ruler who used territorial units for the purpose of administration, but some suggested ideas have to be presented. It was thought that Omar (the second Caliph - d 645) was the first to introduce such a system in Arabia.⁶ Strangely, however, the only provinces which were mentioned to be administered by Omar in Arabia were Makkah and al-Madinah, while we find in another reference that Abu Bakr (the first Caliph - d 635) divided Arabia into wilayat, or provinces, and appointed in them governors who functioned

as the administrative representative of the Caliph. For the area now occupied by Saudi Arabia, there were five provinces in Makkah, al-Madinah, al-Taif, al-Yamamah and al-Bahrain.⁷ To understand the territorial administrative organisation of Arabia as a whole during the early Islamic period, certain facts should be outlined. Before the rise of Islam the different parts of Arabia did not develop any political organisation higher than that of tribe or clan and village. This situation led each of these units to become, in fact, politically an independent unit. Second, when Prophet Mohammad assumed power and established the Islamic state, he was occupied mainly with spreading the faith, thus expanding the state and maintaining political control over its different parts. In other words, he was chiefly concerned with maintaining the status quo by recognising the previous tribal and clan chiefs, and sending religious teachers and tax collectors. In the cities of Makkah and al-Taif he appointed governors (amirs or omara) to be responsible for their administrative and financial affairs. Third, as the capital of the Islamic state was transferred from al-Madinah to Damascus during the Umayyad dynasty and to Baghdad during the Abbasid dynasty, Arabia became far removed from the centres of the political, social, economic and intellectual life of the Islamic state. During those periods (660-1258) the different parts of Arabia were to be administered differently from those newly-acquired areas in the north, east and west, since the latter had already complex systems of administration, wide variety of activities and heterogeneous population from so many different points of view. Fourth, Arabia ceased to be the focus of interest of the writers, especially those who were from outside Arabia. Those writers who

were originally from Arabia were few in number, and their books never reached us complete. To make it even worse, most of those books were transmitted by the Iraqi writers, who, in the process of transmission, chose the subjects in which they were interested and of which the administrative affairs of Arabia were usually not a part. Fifth, most writers on the administrative divisions of Arabia appeared from the third century AH onwards. Their information therefore could apply only to those periods, a situation which leaves us uncertain of the system which had prevailed in previous periods. Besides, most of those writers were not natives of Arabia, and one wonders whether they collected their information on the administrative divisions by consulting official documents in Baghdad, or by writing down what they heard on the affairs of Arabia by oral transmission.

In trying to establish a general view of the administrative divisions which were in use during the period under study in this chapter, a problem similar to that one mentioned earlier is encountered. Differences, however, were inevitable, since administrative divisions change drastically depending on the mode of the ruler and the circumstances within and without. A review of the literature available revealed various facts, of which the most significant is that the districts of Makkah and al-Madinah were the only areas in Arabia which were frequently mentioned, and whose territorial administrative limits were thoroughly examined and listed. Central Arabia was, however, very much isolated and prepared to go back to the traditional tribal feuds.

The general pattern of administrative divisions in Arabia during the early period of the Islamic state could be summarised so as to divide

Arabia into five large districts (amarat) : Makkah, al-Madinah, Bahrain, Oman and al-Yaman. It is useful for the sake of understanding later development that we should follow the territorial limits of those divisions as written by some early writers, excluding the last two since they lie outside our interest. Ibn Khurdathibbah (d 913), one of the most distinguished Arab geographers, seems to be the only one whose definitions of the administrative divisions covered the whole area now desired (the present territory of Saudi Arabia). He considered al-Madinah as a district consisting, besides the city of al-Madinah, of the following towns and villages : Taima, Dawmat al-Jandal, Fadak, al-Wahidah, Namrah, Hadiqah, Adi, Khidrah, al-Sairah, al-Rahbah, al-Sayalah, Sayah, Rihat, Ghurab, al-Akkal, and Himyah. It was suggested that other names such as al-Fur, Dhu al-Marwah, wadi al-Qura, Madian and Khaibar should be included since they were merely dropped from his

⁸ These were not merely towns or villages attached to al-Madinah, but they were areas of certain administrative rank and were called a'mal, aradh, or makhalf, which could be translated as sub-districts. These were again divided into large villages which were called manabir (pulpits), or Qura Jamiah (gathering villages), where people from adjacent villages gathered for the Friday Prayer.⁹ For example, al-Bakri (d 1106), a noted Arab writer, wrote that al-Fur' was one of the largest sub-districts of al-Madinah and contained 12 manibir : al-Fur', al-Madeaq, Sawarqiyyah, Sayah, Rihat, al-Umq, al-Juhfah, al-Arj, Suqya, Abwa, Qadid, Usfan, and Istarah.¹⁰ Turning back to the divisions of Ibn Khurdathibbah, we find that he considered the district of Makkah to form two geographic divisions, each of which had certain makhalf, or

sub-districts. The first of these is the upland part which contains the sub-districts of al-Taif, Najran, Qarn al-Manazil, al-Qataf, Ukadh, al-Zaima, Tarabah, Bishah, Tibalah, al-Hijaitah, Thajjah, Jurash and al-Sarat. The lowland part constitutes the second division which embodies the sub-divisions of Dankan, Asham, Baish, Ak and Yen. Makkah and al-Madinah were often considered as sub-divisions of the larger administrative division of al-Hijaz. A contemporary writer states that the Umayyad dynasty was divided into 14 large provinces, one of which was Arabia, which was in turn divided into the districts of al-Hijaz, al-Yaman, Oman and Hajar. Makkah was the capital of al-Hijaz district, which included al-Madinah as an ordinary town.¹¹

Other administrative divisions mentioned by Ibn Khurdathibbah are al-Yamamah and al-Bahrain. The former includes the villages of Hajr, Jaw and the wadi al-Irdh (Hanifah now) along the floor of which many villages prospered, such as Quai, Manfuhah, Wabrah, Qarfah, Ghabra, Muashimah, Amriyyah, Bisan, Barqat Dahik, Tawdah, and Maqrabah. Al-Bahrain, on the other hand, is the lowland area of eastern Arabia along the western coast of the Arabian Gulf, with Khat, al-Qatif, Arah, Hajar, Furuq, Baynonah, Mushaqqir, Zarah, Juwatha, Sabur, Darin, Ghabah, and al-Shinum as the most important villages of the area. As to whether these two last areas were separate administrative entities or not, we refer to many 'classical' books which suggest that al-Yamamah and al-Bahrain were administratively part of al-Hijaz or rather of al-Madinah. During the reign of the first Umayyad Caliph, al-Bahrain and Oman were transferred from being among the districts of al-Hijaz to be administratively controlled by al-Basra.¹² Al-Yamamah was largely

considered as a sub-district of al-Bahrain. Furthermore, al-Yamamah and al-Bahrain with Oman were grouped into one administrative unit during the rule of the Abbasid dynasty.¹³ Little, however, was said about the area lying between the mountain of al-Aridh (Tuwaiq of today) and Harrat Khaibar which includes within it wadi al-Rummah and the two traditional pilgrim routes of al-Kufah and al-Basra to Makkah, along which many settlements have prospered. The area, however, was always associated with tribal territoriality, and from the sources available one can judge that the tribes extending east of al-Hijaz and in Najd (in the traditional sense as the area extending from Tuwaiq mountain to Harrat Khaibar) paid tax to al-Madinah.¹⁴ As noted earlier, Makkah and al-Madinah were the only administrative units of which we have detailed accounts of their sub-divisions and limits, although the eastern limit was vague, reaching at times the Arabian Gulf and Tuwaiq mountain. For this detailed account the reader is referred to al-Ali's article on the administration of al-Hijaz in the early Islamic period.

The history of that part of Arabia called al-Yamamah and al-Bahrain was marked by local rebellion against the Caliphs, which might well have been due to over-centralisation of the Caliphs either in al-Madinah, Damascus or Baghdad, besides many other reasons which we dare not go into in such limited space. Some of these succeeded in establishing independent entities, harassing at times the heart of the Islamic state. The first of these rebellions was in al-Yamamah just after the death of the Prophet Mohammad (632), but al-Madinah soon regained control of the area. By the seventh decade of the ninth

century, a family called al-Ukhaidir (Banu al-Ukhaidir) gained control of al-Yamamah and its centre, Hajar (now al-Riyadh), and established itself as a separate entity in the centre of Arabia for two centuries. Then came the Carmatian revolt, which expanded from its base in Hajar (al-Hufuf), the centre of al-Bahrain, to include al-Yamamah and even westwards up to the Red Sea. The Carmatians succeeded in taking the Black Stone from al-Kaaba to be erected and venerated in Hajar for about a quarter of a century. The control of Hajar (centre of Bahrain) over Hajar (centre of al-Yamamah) was to continue afterwards under the small states which followed the Carmatians, such as al-Uyoniyyin and al-Jabriyyin. Local tribal rule was the pattern up to the annexation of the two areas under the control of the Saudi state in the opening years of the twentieth century, although the eastern part of Arabia came under the Ottoman rule in two interrupted periods (1550-1670 and 1871-1913).

Makkah and al-Madinah became loyal to the first Abbasid Caliph who sometimes appointed separate governors for each of the two holy cities; at other times they were ruled by one single governor. Furthermore, in different periods, both Makkah and al-Madinah, along with al-Yaman and al-Yamamah were governed by a single governor. The two cities, as well as all al-Hijaz, however, were subjugated by the Carmatians. One of the consequences of the Carmathian rule was the establishment of Sharifan states (a Sharif is the person who claims to be a direct descendant of the Prophet) in al-Madinah, Makkah, Yonbu, and al-Yaman. These states were semi-independent, since they were partly controlled and financed first by the Abbasid

Caliphs in Baghdad and then by the Caliphs of Egypt whose suzerainty over al-Hijaz was acknowledged by the Sharifs. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, al-Hijaz was united under one Sharifian state which extended from Khaibar in the north to al-Qunfudhah in the south.

CHAPTER TWO
TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION OF ARABIA
UNDER EGYPTIAN AND OTTOMAN RULE

The study of the administrative areas of Saudi Arabia and their development through time cannot ignore one of the most intriguing phenomena in the history of Arabia. During the last ten centuries, no part of the area now comprising Saudi Arabia has escaped Egyptian or Ottoman rule, whether direct or indirect, brief or long. A hypothesis may be put forward as a result of this : first, that Egyptian and Ottoman rule may well have exerted strong influence and effects upon the contemporary system of administration in Saudi Arabia; and, second, because the different parts were differently - in time and purpose - ruled and administered by the Egyptian states and Ottoman Empire, we expect that differences between those parts might prevail in the manner in which they are now administered, their response to administrative changes, or the kind of territorial administrative organisation to be found in each part.

2.1 Association of al-Hijaz with Egypt (970-1517)

Although the two Sharifate states of Makkah and al-Madinah assumed control of al-Hijaz as the first local rule after the Carmatian revolt and subsequent domination of Arabian history, al-Hijaz was, at least nominally, part of the decaying Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad. At the same time, Egypt was developing to be the base of states in competition with the Caliphate. To assume dignified status and to entitle them

to the spiritual leadership over the Islamic world, these states endeavoured to bring al-Hijaz under their control, leaving the administration of the interior in the hands of the local rulers, the Sharifs. The Egyptian Caliphs were satisfied with the recognition of the Sharifs of Makkah and al-Madinah of them as Caliphs. During the reign of the Burji line (1382-1517) of the Egyptian Mamluks who ruled Egypt and Syria, al-Hijaz was brought under direct rule by appointing a governor to represent the Mamluk sultans in Makkah and al-Madinah whose function was to administer the country's affairs, while the Sharifs were to be appointed by the sultans direct from Egypt.¹⁵ The only other appointees of the Egyptian Caliphs in al-Hijaz were the two chief judges of Makkah and al-Madinah and a subordinate governor to Yonbu. The rule of al-Hijaz by the Egyptian Caliphs was no more than nominal, and their influence on internal administration was minimised by the purpose and nature of their rule, which was centred on the holy cities of Makkah and al-Madinah.

As for the administrative divisions of the period, we have the observation of four contemporary writers of the period. The emphasis was, of course, on the divisions concerning Makkah and al-Madinah. Al-Bakri, in his memorable book, relates that al-Ahwal divided Makkah into two parts : first, the uplands, which include the sub-districts of al-Taif, Qarn al-Manazil, Najran, Ukadh, Tarabah, Bishah, Tibalah, al-Hijairah, Katanah, Jurash and al-Sarah; second, the lowlands, which consist of Dankan, Ain, Ak and Yen. Another division, far different from this, is that of al-Qalqashandi (d. 1418). Makkah, according to him, includes the sub-divisions of Jeddah,

al-Taif, Batn Nakhl, Batn Mur, al-Hadah, Usfan, al-Burzah, Khulais, Wadi Kilyah, Mur al-Dhahran (Wadi Fatima), while al-Madinah consists of the sub-districts of Quba, Khaibar, Fadak, Wadi al-Safra, Wadi Widdan, Wadi al-Fur', al-Jar, and Wadi al-Qura.¹⁶ Among the writers who stated the limit of the administrative authority of Makkah are al-Fakihi and al-Fasi. The former recognised Janaid bin Saifi as Makkah's last sub-division in the north between Makkah and al-Madinah; al-Ghamr in the east; Dankan in the south on the high land road. Al-Fasi, however, thought of Makkah's limit as : al-Hadah in the north; al-Taif and Wadi Liyyah in the south-east; and al-Hisbah and Doqah in the south-west along the Red Sea.¹⁷ It is apparent that the territory under the control of Makkah has shrunk from what it was during the Umayyad and early Abbasid period. This was partly due to the strong and ambitious southern neighbours, the Rasulids, who ruled the coastal plain (Tihama) of al-Yaman from 1229-1454 and whose rule reached as far northwards as Makkah during its first years.

2.2 Ottoman Rule in Arabia

The Ottomans have exerted far-reaching influence upon the cultural, political and social life of Arabia. Their long period of rule, their dominance over the peripheral areas (all of western and south-western, as well as part of eastern Arabia), through which influences passed to the interior, and their contact with other cultural areas such as in Europe have brought into and introduced to Arabia with varied degrees new elements in every aspect of life. Among these is the administrative aspect, on which we will focus our attention, but a

brief survey of the history of the Ottomans in the area now occupied by Saudi Arabia is inevitable.

The Ottoman rule in Arabia began in a dramatic manner, showing how tightly certain parts of Arabia were linked politically with Egypt. Shortly after the annexation of Egypt as part of the Ottoman Sultan's territory in 1517, the son of the then Sharif of Makkah was sent to Egypt to represent his aged father in presenting to the Sultan the symbol of loyalty and complete surrender of al-Hijaz : the keys to the two Honorable Mosques of Makkah and al-Madinah, which entitled him (Salim I) to be the head of the Muslim Caliphate and the title Khadim al-Haramayn al-Sharifayn, that is the Servant of the two Sanctuaries. Ottoman rule had its vicissitudes depending on the relation between the Ottoman representative stationed in Jeddah and the Sharif of Makkah. It was interrupted by direct Egyptian rule (about 1820-1840), but the Ottomans soon regained control and applied a firmer administrative system over al-Hijaz and the rest of Arabia then under their rule. By 1918, one Sharif (Husain) revolted against the Ottomans and proclaimed himself King of al-Hijaz.

The other parts of Arabia which experienced Ottoman rule were al-Hasa or the eastern part of Saudi Arabia and al-Yaman. Al-Hasa was occupied by Ottoman forces in 1550 and they ruled it for more than 120 years. It was re-occupied for the second time in the late nineteenth century (1871) until 1913. Al-Yaman was never firmly controlled by the Ottomans, although it was considered part of their empire. They occupied it in 1599 and ruled it until 1640, but reaffirmed their control in 1840 with their authority fading away by the close of the century.

The authority of the Ottomans over the interior of Arabia was nominal since they never held any firm footing in this part. During the period (1820-1840) when the Ottoman Sultans urged their Egyptian vassal, Muhammad Ali, to destroy the Saudi state then centred at Dariyyah, Egyptian forces controlled all Arabia, except perhaps the south-eastern corner. We shall consider in the following pages the administrative system introduced into Arabia by the Ottomans.

2.3 Administrative Divisions of Arabia under the Ottomans

The turning point in the history of the Ottomans in Arabia was 1840, when they established firm control over al-Hijaz and al-Yaman by appointing a wali (governor) in both provinces (wilayat) who was responsible to the Sultan or the Grand Visir directly, instead of making the wali in Egypt an intermediate agent, as was the practice in the pre-1840 period, of which little is known about the territorial administration. However, we expect very limited changes in the arrangement of the administrative areas from what it was under the Egyptian administration of pre-Ottoman period. By the 1890's, Arabia, under Ottoman control, was to consist of three differently administered parts : al-Hijaz, Najd and Asir (Figure 2.1). But, before considering each division, two major characteristics of the Ottoman administration in the area should be emphasised. First, Ottoman authority was never exercised or felt alone, but with another local political authority. So in al-Hijaz the authority was shared with the Sharifs; in Najd (the term Najd in the Ottoman administration referred to the territories east of al-Hijaz to the Arabian Gulf) with the

TABLE (2.1)
Hierarchy of Ottoman Administrative Divisions and their English Equivalent and French Origin

English Term	French Origin	Ottoman Administrative Divisions
Province	Département	Wilayah (wali) *
Sub-province	Arrondissement	Sanjak, Liwa, Mutasarrifiyah (mutasarrif)
District	Canton	Qada (qaimmaqam)
Sub-district	Commune	Nahiya (mudir)
Village	Section de Commune	Qaryya (mukhtar)
Tribe		Qabilah (Skeikh)

* Ottoman terms for Heads of Offices are in parentheses

local tribal authority, especially Bani Khalid and Shammar; and in Asir with the Sharifs of Abu Arish, al-Ayed, and the Idrisids along with tribal authority. Second, the Ottoman administration could be regarded as settlement administration rather than territorial administration in the sense that land in itself was never the target for Ottoman control, since it had little to offer to the Ottoman revenue. The prime motivations were either strategic or religious, and so control over certain localities rather than territories was the general pattern. A devoted student of Middle Eastern administration observes that the whole territory of the Ottoman Empire in the Near East could not be mapped out into territorial sub-divisions because of the vast negative zones that surrounded every centre of settled life in the region, and the absence of paved roads. Accordingly there was merely "a hierarchy of headquarter towns, telegraph stations and police posts from which central power radiated out until it got lost in the fringe of the desert. Where the yali could not reach, the mutasarrif took over; and where he could not reach, the qayemmagam carried on. Where he could go no further, it became the turn of a locally-recruited nahiya mudur whose radius of action was supposed to be a three-hour walk; out around his post were still the villages . . ." ¹⁸ The real power outside the settlement centres was tribal, and the tribesmen remained the real masters of the desert with their subjection to the Ottoman authority being more nominal than real. Of course, the various governments concluded agreements with chief tribesmen in order to keep them in order, prevent them from attacking sedentary people, guarantee the safety of the pilgrims and al-Hijaz railway, enlist their

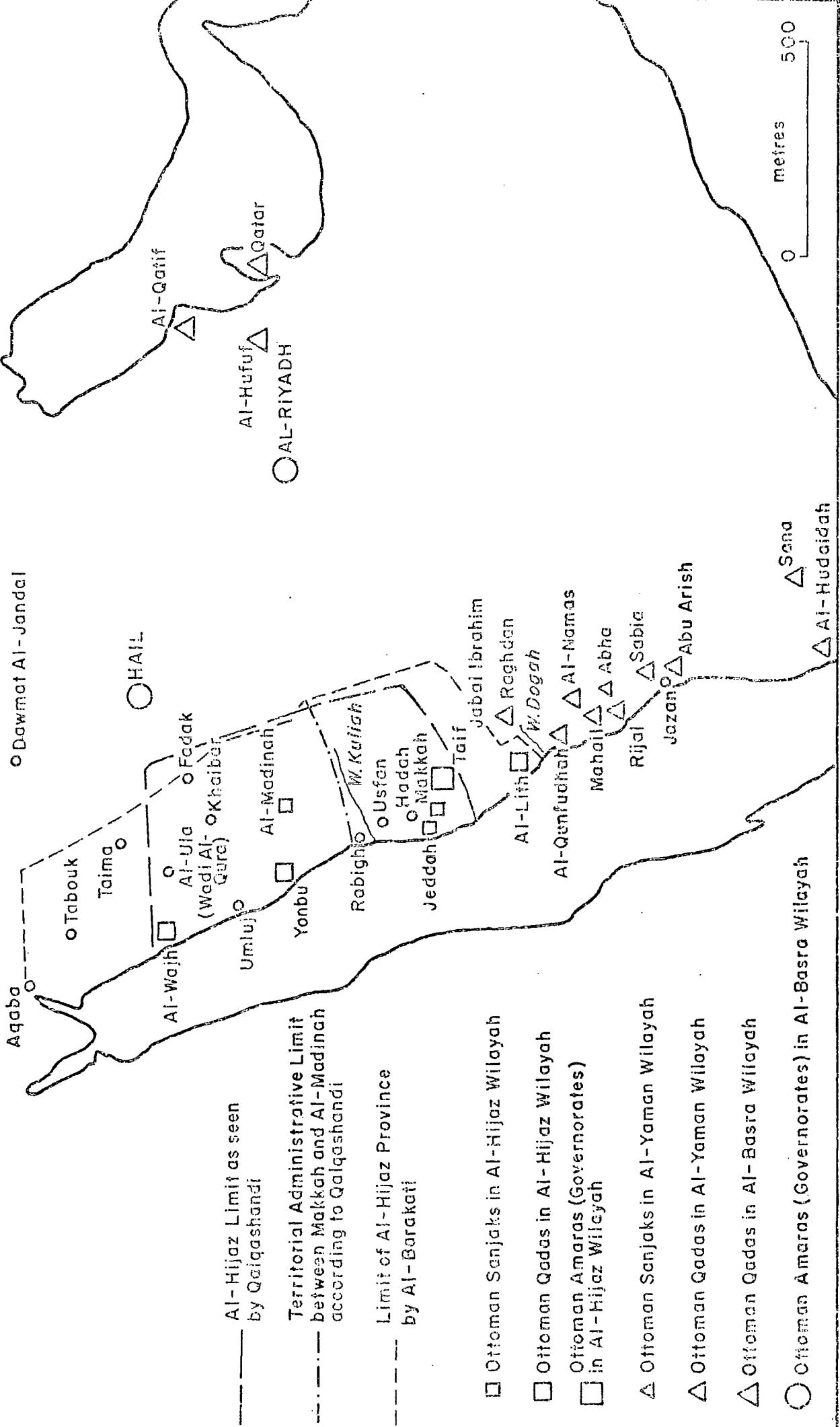
services in military campaigns, and assure through them communications between various parts of the empire.¹⁹ Under Ottoman administration, the area now occupied by Saudi Arabia constituted three administrative divisions. They are al-Hijaz, Najd and Asir.

(a) Al-Hijaz

By 1840 the Ottoman Empire was divided into five-tier administrative divisions called wilayah, sanjak or liwa, qada, nahiya and qarya, which were believed to be an adaptation of the French subdivisions of département, arrondissement, canton, commune and section de commune, as shown in Table (2. 1).²⁰ In the case of al-Hijaz, not all of these divisions were present. It was considered by the official Ottoman diary (Salnamah) of 1313 (c 1895) as a wilayah consisting of Makkah as its capital, with al-Madinah and Jeddah as sanjaks, and al-Wajh, Sorlqibah (could be Yonbu) and Mamorat al-Hamid (the name of the Ottoman naval post in al-Lith) as qadas.²¹ A Sharifan contemporary of this period confirms these divisions with the addition of al-Taif as a separate division called amarat al-Urban, or Bedouin governorate, headed by a governor to look after the tribal affairs. As for its limit, Wilayat al-Hijaz extended from the southern end of the Bani Malik's territory (Jabal Ibrahim) about 150km south of al-Taif to al-Aqaba in the north. In the Tihama, however, al-Hijaz extended as far south as Wadi Doqah between al-Qunfudhah and al-Lith.²² This reminds us of the southern limit of al-Hijaz put forward by al-Istakhri and Ibn Hawqal nine hundred years ago.

The sources available, however, do not give explicit and pre-

Fig 2.1 EGYPTIAN AND OTTOMAN RULE IN ARABIA



cise boundaries or limits of the province of al-Hijaz except the southern limit. We have noticed earlier how al-Hijaz proper, from the administrative point of view, was shrinking along its southern frontier. During Egyptian and Ottoman rule it began shrinking along the northern frontier, at least according to al-Qalqashandi. In his view of the administrative sub-division of al-Madinah during his period (d 1418), he ruled out the possibility of including within al-Madinah the sub-divisions of Taima, Dawmat al-Jandal (al-Jauf) and Madian, which means that al-Hijaz was limited by a west-east line passing just north of Wadi al-Qura (al-Ula). This point of view was also shared by a British official handbook which suggested that "In native parlance, . . . Hijaz does not begin until much farther south of the Gulf of Aqaba , its upper limit being a line drawn inland from the Red Sea coast just north of Wajh, through el-Ala [al-Ula] and the steppe-desert to the northernmost point of the Harrat Khaibar".²³ This limit, according to the handbook, was recognised by the Ottoman government "in that it has allowed Christians to pass down the Hijaz Railway as far as Medain Salih, a few minutes north of el-Ala".²⁴ This argument, however, was put forward to favour the exclusion of the areas east of the Gulf of Aqaba, especially the towns of Aqaba and Maan, from al-Hijaz during the 1925 boundary negotiation between Ibn Saud and Great Britain.²⁵ It is clear, however, that religious arguments at that time could not be the basis upon which boundary questions were to be solved, since Jeddah itself would be excluded from al-Hijaz , if this argument were generalised, due to the presence of many European states' councils during that period. At any rate, another

contemporary writer of the same period stated that al-Madinah included the sub-divisions of al-Wajh and Yonbu as qadas, and the towns of al-Kur, Taima, Dawmat al-Jandal, al-Fur', Dhu al-Rummah, Wadi al-Qura, Qura Arinah, Sayyalah, Rahat, Kahl, Madian, Fadak and Khaibar.²⁶

In trying to recognise the eastern limit of al-Hijaz, we encounter even greater problems. As we proceed eastwards beyond al-Madinah, settlements become sparse, nomadic life prevails, and tribal authority predominates. Here, Ottoman and Sharifan authority was never fully exercised, except the occasional extraction of tribute from the tribe, a practice usually following Sharifan or Ottoman military expeditions into the east. Thus it is very true to say that "the limit of effective Turkish authority and therefore of the province of Hijaz, has never been pushed east of the Kheiber oasis".²⁷

(b) Najd

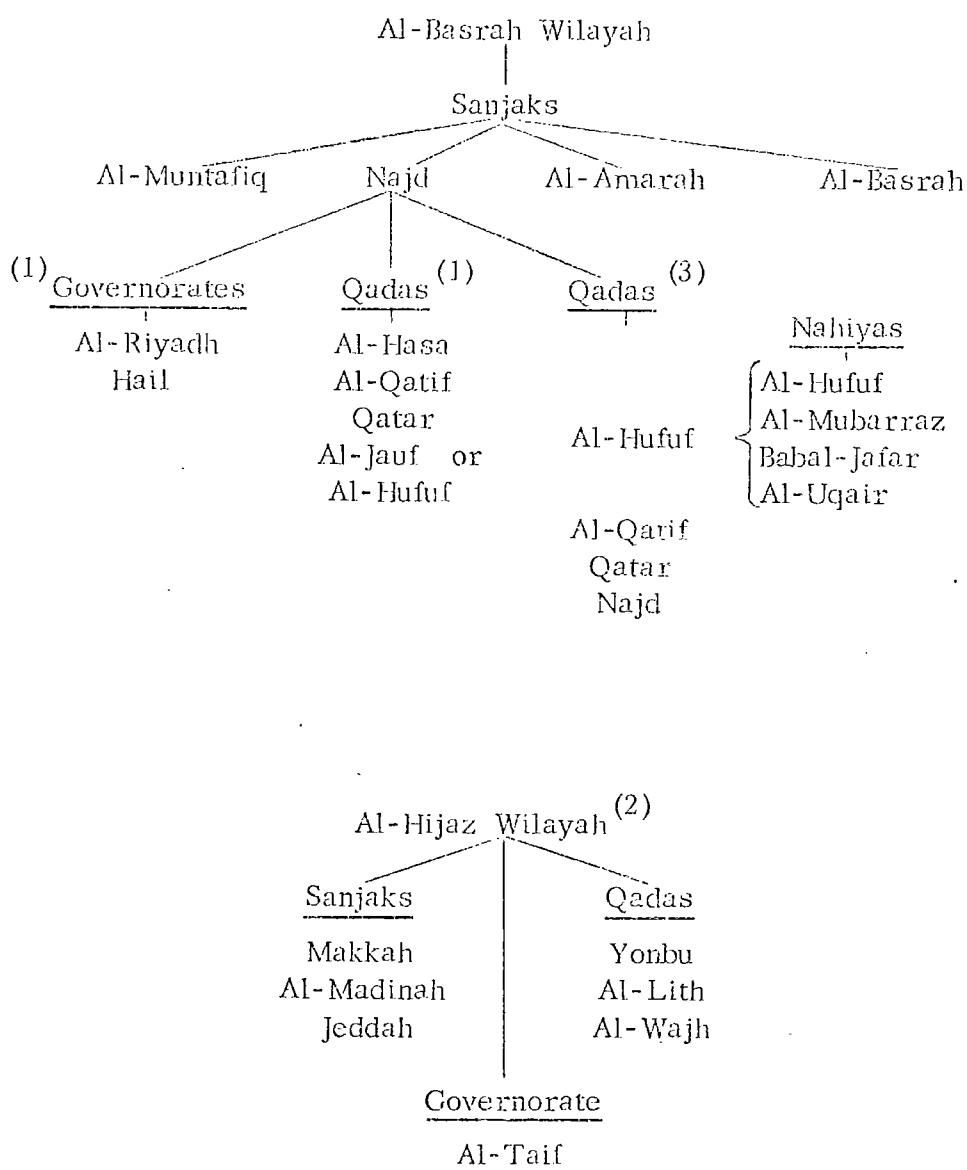
Under Ottoman rule, the term Najd applies to the whole area extending from al-Hijaz to the Arabian Gulf. The only part of this vast area which was closely associated with direct Ottoman authority was al-Hasa, especially the clusters of oases around al-Qatif and al-Hufuf. The area of al-Hasa came to the attention of the Ottoman sultans when Portugal tried to make herself felt in the Arabian Gulf area during the sixteenth century. When al-Hasa was occupied by Ottoman forces in 1550, it was then ruled by the tribal leaders of Bani Khalid, who never became wholly reconciled to Ottoman authority and led one revolt after another until they defeated the Ottoman troops in 1670. The Turks

re-occupied al-Hasa in 1871, but their rule was brought to an end in 1913. The only other part of so-called Najd which experienced indirect Ottoman rule was Jabal Shammar around the town of Hail. Hail became the nucleus of the Rashid state, which during the second half of the nineteenth century expanded to include all central Arabia. The Ottoman troops came in to play their role as guardian of the Rashid state in the opening years of the twentieth century, when the Rashid state was weakened by threats from the Saudi state.

Unlike al-Hijaz, Najd (as defined by the Ottomans) was never administratively organised so as to allow traces of Ottoman administrative organisations or institutions to be left behind. The reasons were probably : the military nature of the occupation, the short and interrupted periods of Ottoman rule, the predominance of tribal authority, sparseness of settlements with comparatively large intervening areas, and the insignificance of the whole area compared with al-Hijaz or al-Yaman. Najd, in the Ottoman system, was a sanjak or liwa under the wilayat or province of al-Basra which was composed of four liwas : al-Basra, al-Muntafiq, Amarah and Najd. The liwa of Najd was divided into four qadas : al-Hasa, al-Hufuf, al-Qatif and Qatar; and the two governorates of al-Riyadh and Hail, as shown in Table (2.2) and Figure (2.1).²⁸ The first two, however, designated one settlement, and we find this repetition in some other texts, such as those of Kahhalah and al-Barakati, although the latter mentioned instead of al-Hufuf the qada of al-Jouf. According to another important reference, the sanjak of Najd was divided into four qadas, each of which included a number of nahiyyas or villages. The qada of al-Hufuf consisted of

TABLE (2.2)

Ottoman Administrative Divisions in Arabia



..... /Continued

TABLE (2.2)

(Continued)

Al-Yaman Wilayah

Sanjaks

Sa'na Taiz Al-Hudaida Asir

Qadas Qadas

Abu Arish

(a)				(b)	
	Nahiya	Qarya	Qabilah (tribe)		Qabilah (tribe)
Bani Shahr	7	60		Namas	5
Ghamid	3	49		Ghamid	6
Rijal Alma	-	-	12	Rijal Alma	7
Mahayil	-	-	28	Mahayil	11
Al-Qunfudhah	2	50		Al-Qunfudhah	21
Sabia	2	24		Sabia	11
Abha	4	109		Abha	4

Source :(a) Salnamah, op cit, pp 555-559(b) Barakati, op cit, pp 122-127(1) Batnoni, op cit, p 49; and Barakati, op cit, p 159(2) Barakati, op cit, pp 145-147(3) Lorimer, op cit, p 674

four nahiyyas, namely : al-Hufuf, al-Mubarraz, Bab al-Jafar and al-Uqair, each being named after its headquarters. Al-Qatif constituted the second qada with no sub-divisions. However, it included the islands of Tarut, Musallamiyah, and Jinnah. The other two qadas were Qatar and Najd, whose administration by the Ottomans was always challenged in the first case and non-existent in the second.²⁹

(c) Asir

The political development of the south-western part of Saudi Arabia will be elaborated in a later chapter. It will serve to say here that the political authority in south-western Saudi Arabia during the second half of the nineteenth century and up to its annexation to the Kingdom by 1921 was passed from one group to another. Seven powers were struggling to maintain firm footing and recognised dominance of the area. They were the Saudi state, the Imams of Sana'a, the Sharifs of Makkah, the Idrisids of Sabia, the Ottoman sultans, the local Asir tribes and al-Ayed. Ottoman control of the area goes as far back as the middle of the sixteenth century, when their forces occupied the entire western and south-western part of Arabia. Since then and up to the year 1868, Ottoman authority was challenged and often ousted temporarily. But from 1868 to 1918, Ottoman authority was firmly re-established, and it was during this period that certain, but limited, administrative reorganisation was introduced to both al-Yaman and Asir.

Asir was considered as one of the four liwas of Wilayat al-Yaman, the other three being Sana'a, Taiz and al-Hudaida. The limit

of Liwa Asir in Tihama was stated to be Wadi Dogah in the north and Wadi Abu Arish in the south, while it extended in the mountains from the northern limit of the Zahran in the north (Jabal Ibrahim) to Sa'da in the south. In the east, Asir was bounded by the eastern limit of the Qahtan tribe and Wadi Bishah.³⁰

As can be seen in Table (2.2) and Figure (2.1), the liwa of Asir consisted of seven districts (qadas), each of which was divided into certain sub-districts (nahiyyas) with their villages and tribes. But in some instances a tribal territory might be considered as a district, which results in repetition of one case in the two categories. It is only necessary here to note that the administrative divisions of the liwa of Asir was based entirely on the already existing tribal territorial organisation. Each district (qada) was assigned to include within its authority certain tribes whose number depended on the historical relations between them. In other words, since the environment has permitted settled tribal life, the only recognised territorial divisions in the area - unlike al-Hijaz and Najd - have been the tribal territories.

The Ottoman provincial divisions discussed above formed only one aspect of a general reform which the Ottoman government introduced in 1864. Alongside the hierarchy of administrative divisions, the reform of 1864 also set up a hierarchy of elected administrative councils attached to these divisions and their officials. Although the functions and powers of these councils were never stated in the law, they were deliberative and advisory bodies which dealt with political, financial and economic matters. The application of this reform in

Arabia was limited to al-Hijaz and parts of Asir, where one can find today some remnants of this reform in the form of administrative and municipal councils.

CHAPTER THREE
TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS OF THE
SOCIO-POLITICAL GROUPINGS IN THE AREA NOW OCCUPIED
BY THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

The present division of Saudi Arabian administrative areas cannot be fully comprehended, nor can it be logically explained, without reference to two aspects which have shaped the history of the area. They are the development of the political entities in the area preceding the foundation and consolidation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1932; and the territorial and political organisation of the tribal communities. The first aspect forms a fundamental stage in the evolution of the present administrative divisions of Saudi Arabia, while the second reflects the social and political setting in the desert through the different stages of history and undoubtedly has had its impact on the evolution of these divisions.

3. I Development and Territorial Limits of the Political Entities

Preceding the Foundation of Saudi Arabia

During the two centuries running more or less from 1730 to 1930, five political entities, or dynasties, were founded and flourished within the area now occupied by Saudi Arabia. They are the dynasties of the Sharifs of al-Hijaz, the Rashids of Jabal Shammar, the Idrisids of Sabia, al-Ayed of Asir, and al-Saud of Najd. Some, however, have their roots in events that reach back over the past thousand years or so. The following discussion is concerned with the development of these entities;

their core areas, territorial limits, shifting of boundaries and administrative organisation whenever possible.

3.1.1 The Sharifs of al-Hijaz

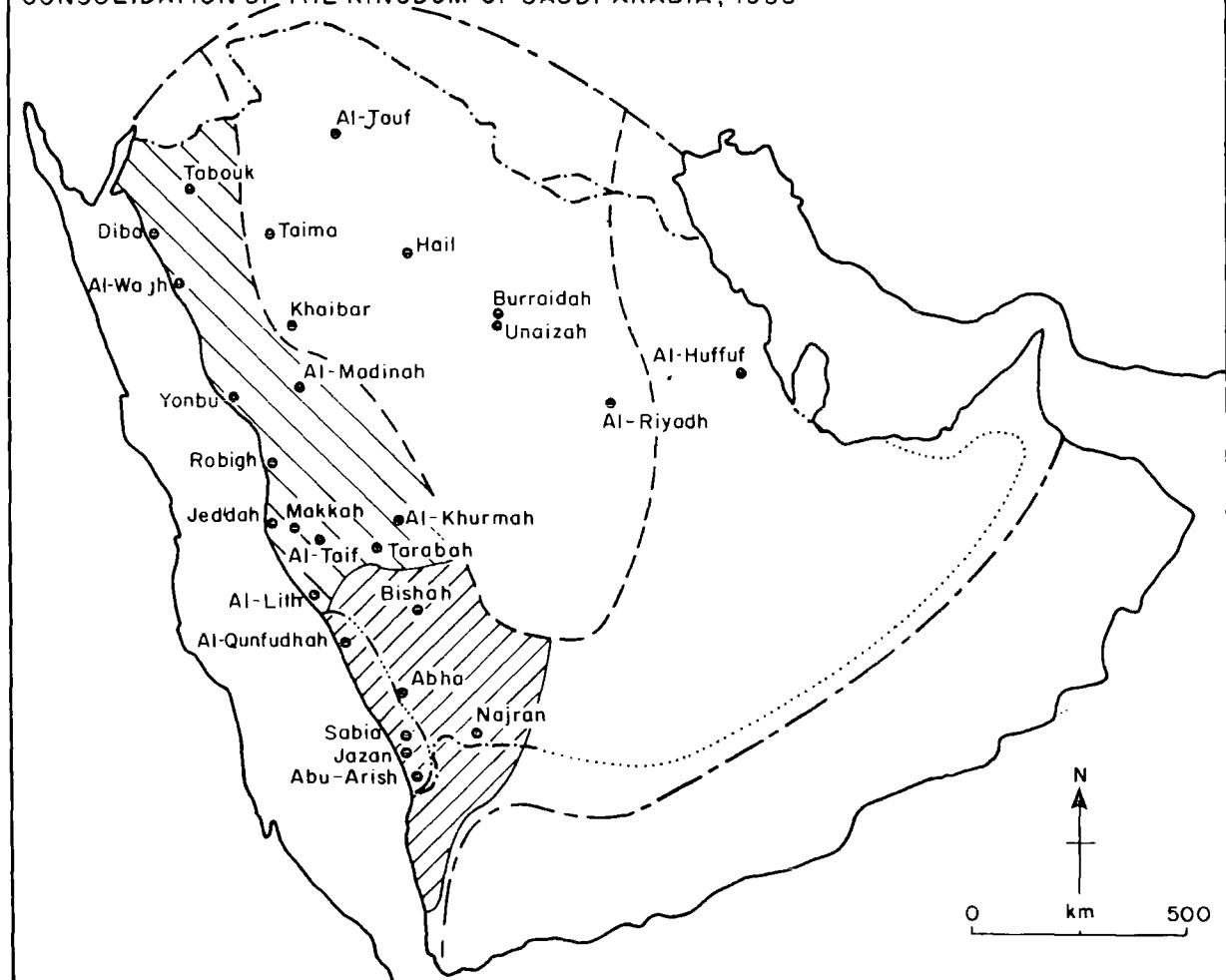
It was noted earlier that two Sharifate states were instituted in al-Madinah and Makkah during the tenth century, following the Carmatian revolt. They acquired religious influence since they controlled the two holy cities of Islam. They were also able to inaugurate that hegemony over the greater number of the nomadic tribes of the western centre of Arabia, such as the Harb, Utaibah, Hudhail, Juhainah and Beli. Their political influence, however, was obscure, and therefore unidentifiable during the first five centuries of their rule, owing to the political supremacy of the surrounding dynasties, such as the Abbasids in Iraq and Egypt, the Ayyubids, Ikhshidis, Tolonids, Fatimids and Mamluks of Egypt. By the second decade of the sixteenth century the Ottoman sultans shared with the Sharifs of Makkah the political domination inside Arabia and religious leadership outside it. Ottoman authority over the Sharifs was tightened in the second half of the nineteenth century, but then was finally demolished by the end of the First World War. An independent Sharifate state was founded in about 1918 by the proclamation of the last Sharif, Husain, as King of al-Hijaz, but his territory was subjugated in 1925 to the rule of Abdul Aziz 'al-Saud, the founder of the Saudi State.

The territorial limit of the Sharifate dynasty of Makkah varied greatly according to the periods in question. In 1464 it reached as far eastwards as al-Riyadh (then called Mikal)³¹ and as far north-

wards as Ma'an in 1919.³² Southward in Tihama, the Sharifate authority extended to the port of Hali around 1540,³³ while in the mountains it was hardly felt south of al-Taif. The best account of the territorial limit of the Sharifate dynasty is given by al-Barakati, a sharif himself, whose service as governor (qaimmaqam) of Makkah under the last Sharif gives his account, which was advanced earlier, an official status. He included within al-Hijaz the tribes of Bani Malik and al-Mashaikh, whose southern frontiers were considered as the southern limits of the Sharifate territory. The first tribe lies 150 km south of al-Taif and is separated from the Zahran tribe by Jabal Ibrahim. The second tribe lies in Tihama, and Wadi Dogah, half-way between al-Lith and al-Qunfudhah, constitutes its southern limit, as indicated in Figure (3.1) and Figure (2.1). Northward, the last tribe to belong to al-Hijaz is the Huwaitat, which was then divided between al-Hijaz and al-Sham Wilayah with the port of Aqaba as the northern limit of the part belonging to the Sharifs. The other northern tribe of al-Hijaz is the al-Shararat which roams around Wadi al-Sirhan.

Eastward, the Sharifs claimed jurisdiction and authority, according to al-Barakati, over the tribes of Subai around Raniah and al-Khurmah, al-Buqum around Tarabah, Bani al-Harith, Utaibah, Sulaim, Bani Abdillah of Mutair, Hutaim, part of Anazah, and al-Shararat.³⁴ These eastern tribes, as one might expect, formed buffer zones whose allegiance has always been sought both by the Sharifs and their eastern neighbours. For example, Utaibah tribe, which is in fact a federation of tribes, occupies land stretching from north-east of Makkah to Shaqra at the western foothill of the Tuwaiq mountains. This tribe

Fig 3.1 TERRITORIAL EXTENT OF THE POLITICAL ENTITIES PRIOR TO THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA, 1935



— — — Maximum extent of the Early Saudi State c. 1806

— — — Maximum extent of the Rashid State c. 1895

Maximum extent of the Al-Ayed State c. 1865

— — — Limits of the Idrisid State c. 1916

Territory of the Sharifate State c. 1910

— — — International Boundary

..... Undefined International Boundary

experienced more than any other; and on many occasions, the transference of its allegiance from the Saudis to the Sharifs.³⁵ It is not an appropriate place to explain here how the jurisdiction of a certain tribe was acquired by a certain political entity. It is only necessary to state that tribes have always been forced to shift their allegiance from the weaker to the stronger entity, a case that makes determining the limits of a certain political entity in Arabia a very hard task.

The Sharifs were, of course, the sole rulers of al-Hijaz whatever its limits were. It was stated earlier in this thesis that they themselves were appointed first by the caliphs in Cairo, then by the Ottoman sultans in Istanbul. They were supposed to be merely helped by an Ottoman representative stationed in Jeddah, but after making al-Hijaz an Ottoman wilayah, this representative became an Ottoman wali, or governor general. His main function was to supervise the financial and military administration of the province while the authority of the Sharifs was limited to the local population and solving their problems. Corruption, however, was the general pattern, since each was trying to diminish and defy the authority of the other. This was due to the overlapping of their authority and the bitterness of their rivalry to gain power. Besides the wali, there were many other Ottoman appointees, such as the mutasarrifs of al-Madinah and Yonbu, and the chief judges in the main towns. By 1870, administrative councils were established in most towns to look after the administrative affairs of the province.³⁶

3.1.2 Al-Ayed of Asir

The mountainous area of Asir in the south-western part of Saudi

Arabia is inhabited by tribal but settled populations who pay allegiance to their tribal chiefs.³⁷ The area came under Saudi authority in the opening years of the nineteenth century, but local tribal chiefs were kept as the sole rulers of the area. The al-Ayed came to power as agents or governors of Asir responsible to the Saudi state in the 1820's. In the 1850's the Ayed dynasty ruled over a wide area stretching from Bishah in the interior to the tribe of Zahran (i.e., the southern limit of the Sharifs' territory) and southward to Mukha, the last important port in Tihamat al-Yaman, as shown in Figure (3.1).³⁸ Ayed rule, however, was ousted by Ottoman occupation of the capital, Abha, and from 1868 to 1918 it became a sub-province (sanjaq or liwa) ruled by Ottoman governors who were assisted by members of the Ayed family. After the Ottoman defeat in the First World War, the al-Ayed ruled Asir independently until 1922, when their power was ended by the Saudi state and Asir became part of Saudi Arabia.

3.1.3 The Rashids of Hail

The great nomadic tribe of Shammar in north central Arabia was united under the leadership of the Rashid family located around Hail. For the most part of their history, 1835-1921, the Rashids were first agents, then rivals, of the Saudis; and for a brief period (1891-1903) they dominated the whole Saudi territory of central Arabia, east and west of Jabal Tuwaiq (Fig. (3.1)). The dynasty's realm included, beside the territory of the Shammar tribe, the oases of al-Jawf and Wadi al-Sirhan. At one time, its realm included the great oases of Taima and Khaibar and the districts of al-Qaseem, Sudair and al-Washm.

The independence of the territory, however, came to an end when Saudi forces captured its capital, Hail, in 1921.

3.1.4 The Idrisids of Sabia

The origin of this dynasty goes back to the eighth century, when one Idris ibn Abdullah founded an independent principality in North Africa after revolting against the Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad. One thousand years later, a survivor of his family migrated to Makkah and then settled about 1830 in Sabia, an agricultural village of Tihamat Asir. A grandson of his, Muhammad al-Idris, founded the Idrisid dynasty around 1900. Before that, Tihamat Asir was ruled by a local sharifate family of Abu Arish, while the area as a whole was nominally ruled by the Ottomans as part of al-Yaman. The Idrisid dynasty lasted for about a quarter of a century, during which the Idrisids tried to establish independent rule, which neither the Ottomans nor the Saudis ever recognised.

The ambitions of the founder went beyond what the Ottomans had anticipated. In 1911, he marched on Abha, the Ottoman headquarters in Asir at the time when the Ottomans were hoping to restore their lost influence in Arabia. The campaign was crushed, and the dynasty was almost brought to an end.³⁹ Soon after the outbreak of the war between Italy and the Ottoman Empire in 1912, this dynasty was restored and a treaty of friendship signed by Italy and the Idrisids. Realising the importance of Great Britain in Arabia by the outbreak of World War I, the Idrisids signed a treaty of friendship with the British in 1915. In this treaty, which was renewed in 1917, Britain recognised

the Idrisid territory as extending from al-Qunfudhah on the north to al-Lihyah on the south, both important ports on the Red Sea. By the end of World War I, the territory of the dynasty extended southwards also to include the important port of al-Hudaidah in Tihamat al-Yaman. This was not to last very long, for this territory was to be divided into two parts : the southern, extending from al-Hudaidah to Medi was gained by al-Yaman, while the northern part has, since 1926, been part of Saudi Arabia.

3.1.5 Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

In the early part of the eighteenth century, Arabia was awakened to revival and reform when a young religious scholar, Shaikh Mohammad b Abd al-Wahhab, launched a public appeal for a drastic reform of the religious, political and social life of the Arabs. He called for a return to the faith as known in the days of the Prophet and the first generations of Pious Muslims. The founder of the Saudi state was Mohammad ibn Saud (d 1765), whose family had governed the independent village of al-Dariyyah in the heart of Najd. Mohammad gave asylum to the spiritual enthusiast in 1738 and espoused his religious cause. The Saudi state has since that time been linked and associated with this reformation movement.

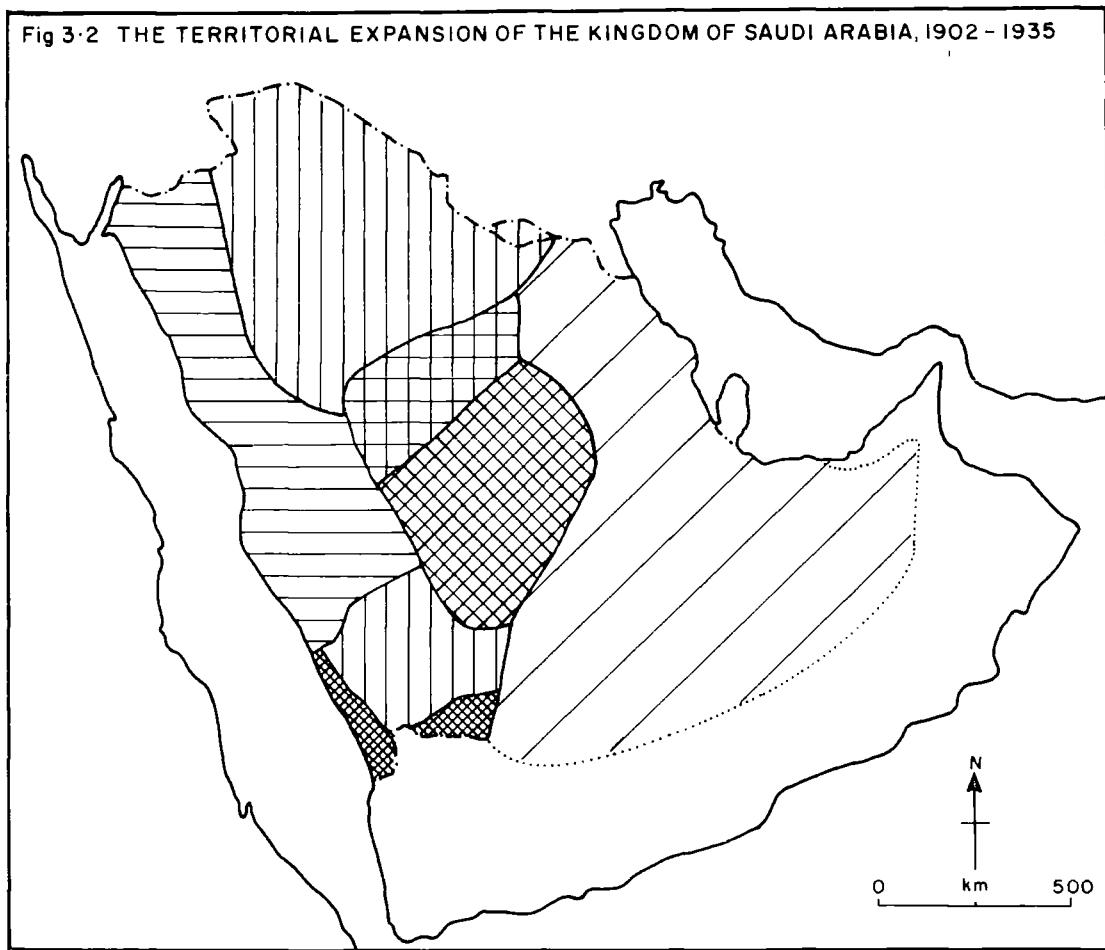
There are three stages in the development of the contemporary state of Saudi Arabia. In each stage, the centre of the state was restored and a series of conquests followed, bringing the greater part of Arabia under Saudi control. The first stage lasted from 1744 until 1818. Within this period, most of the Arabian Peninsula and part of Syria

and Iraq came under Saudi control, with al-Dariyyah as the capital. The territories of this state during its zenith included all of Arabia except the southern highlands of al-Yaman, Hadhramout and Oman; while in the north it reached the frontiers of Baghdad and Damascus. It was, however, put to a temporary halt by the Egyptian invasion and the destruction of the state's capital, al-Dariyyah, in 1818.

The second stage in the development of the Saudi state started in 1830, when another member of the Saudi family, Faisal, established his authority over the core area of the state with a new capital, al-Riyadh. By the middle of the nineteenth century he founded a new Saudi regime extending over Najd, Jabal Shammar, Asir and the eastern coast. By 1880, the state had begun to collapse, as struggle for authority spread among the members of the Saudi family. This gave the Ottomans a chance to occupy the eastern coast and restore their authority over Asir, while the Rashid dynasty of Jabal Shammar became the unchallenged power in northern and central Arabia.

The third stage began when Abdul Aziz Al-Saud (c 1881-1953) - the real political architect of Saudi Arabia - restored the capital, al-Riyadh, in 1902. It took him exactly 30 years of conquests and negotiation to bring the state into its present territorial shape and to unify and unite its different parts under the name of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Achieving the present territory of the state was gradual, and accomplished by conquests as shown in Figure (3.2). The first territory to be recovered was al-Qaseem in 1906, and then al-Hasa in 1913. Asir followed in 1920, and a year later the Rashid capital was captured. The expansion went on to the north,

Fig 3·2 THE TERRITORIAL EXPANSION OF THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA, 1902 - 1935



DATES IN WHICH TERRITORIES WERE GAINED

[Hatched Box]	1902 - 1904
[Dotted Box]	1905 - 1906
[Diagonal Lines Box]	1910 - 1913
[Horizontal Lines Box]	1919 - 1922
[Vertical Lines Box]	1923 - 1925
[Cross-hatched Box]	1926 - 1934

where it touched upon the borders of the British mandated territories of Transjordan and Iraq, and to the British protected Sheikdom of Kuwait. By the end of 1925, all of al-Hijaz was declared part of the Saudi state. In 1926 a Saudi protectorate was established over the Idrisid territory in Tihama Asir but later in 1930 it was incorporated into the Saudi state, which was announced as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1932. The south-western corner of Saudi Arabia, however, was not to form an undisputed part of Saudi Arabia until the Saudi-Yamani War of 1934. The frontier dispute was settled by a treaty at al-Taif in the same year, which erected the present boundary line between Saudi and Yamani territory. The founder, Abdul Aziz, was addressed as Amir or Governor of Najd (presumably under Ottoman authority) from 1902 to 1913; Sultan of Najd and its Dependencies from 1913 to 1925; King of al-Hijaz and Sultan of Najd and its Dependencies from 1925 to 1927; King of al-Hijaz and Najd and its Dependencies from 1927 to 1932; and King of Saudi Arabia from 1932 until his death in 1953.

The administrative organisation of the early Saudi state was very simple. The government was composed of the Amir, who was the absolute ruler and at the same time the religious leader; the royal family; the ulema or the religious class; and the tribal sheikhs. A great traveller and contemporary of that period states that Saoud b Abdul Aziz, who ruled from 1788 until 1813 "divided his dominions into several governorships, which included the Arab tribes who have become settlers The principal governorships are those of the districts of el-Hassa, el-Aredh, (which Saoud took into his own hands, Derayeh

being the capital of that province) el-Kasym, Djebel Shammar, el-Harameyn, (Makkah and Madinah) and el-Yemen. The governors or emirs of those provinces execute public justice but are not the judges; for Saoud has everywhere placed his own Kadphys (judges)".⁴⁰ The main task of the provincial governors, as well as the subordinate governors of the towns and villages, was to secure their territories, administer public justice, assist the tax gatherer and supply fighting men. Besides, there were tribal sheikhs or governors and minor tribal chiefs who were appointed, or at least approved, by the Saudi Amirs.

Before closing this section, three important aspects should be observed. First the political situation in central Arabia before the establishment of the Saudi power was of more or less continuous warfare, whether inter-tribal or between villages.⁴¹ The only existing political units were the tribe and the village : the desert tribes continued to provide for themselves by their normal modes of life, while the scattered villages or small towns were ruled by local families. Sometimes villages became part of tribal dominions and hence were forced to pay tribute of protection. The case could be reversed when the political authority of a village extended to the neighbouring villages and districts. The sense of unity, therefore, was never known.

Second, most villages in central Arabia were founded very recently. For example, Tuwaim in Sudair district was founded around 1300 AD; Harmah in the same district around 1368, al-Majmaah, the centre of the Sudair district around 1417; al-Uyaynah, where the religious reformer, Mohammad Abdul Wahhab, was born, around 1446;

Buraidah, the centre of al-Qaseem, around 1541; al-Husun around 1606; Raghbah and Thadiq around 1670; al-Qurainah around 1690; al-Khabra around 1728; al-Bukairiyah around 1766; and Faydah around 1847.⁴² The most recent of central Arabian villages are those founded by Ibn Saud as a result of his plan to settle al-Badu for economic, political and military purposes. These are the Hijar, some of which flourished and even became significant administrative centres.

Finally, the relatively recent foundation of villages in central Arabia suggests that the present system of sub-divisions which is very characteristic of central Arabia is also a new one, since it has never been mentioned or used as the basis of territorial sub-division prior to its usage during the three stages in the development of the Saudi state. Central Arabia is generally held by the people to consist of 13 geographic units, more or less influenced by the north-south extent of Jabal Tuwaiq. These are al-Aredh around al-Riyadh, al-Kharj around al-Saih, Wadi Braik around al-Hautah, al-Aflaj around Laila, al-Sulayyel, Wadi al-Dawasir around al-Khamasin, Dhurma around al-Bilad, al-Shuaib around Huraimla, al-Mahmal around Thadiq, Sudair around al-Majmah, al-Washm around Shagra, al-Ardh around al-Quwaiyyah, and Hamadah around al-Zifli. The actual and present status of these sub-divisions as administrative districts will be the subject of a later part.

3.2 The Tribal Territorial Organisation of the Arabian Society

Apart from the recently settled foreign groups in the area, the inhabitants of Saudi Arabia are predominantly tribal in origin. The

characteristic trait of the tribal organisation of the Arabian society is that it is based on blood ties from its smallest unit to the broad federation of tribes; and that the main social organisation of Arabia is the tribal unit or al-Qabilah, whose members trace their ancestry to one of the two parent stocks of the Arabs - Qahtan and Adnan. Every tribe has its own social, political, military and economic institutions, and above all, it has its own territory and lands.

The smallest kin unit of the Arabian society is the extended family known as ahl or raht. A group of such families constitutes an ashirah or a clan. Batn is the fourth unit, consisting of several divisions. The tribe or qabilah is the largest of the kin groups, and it is the basic unit to which the bulk of the inhabitants of Arabia are divided.⁴³ This hierarchy is based on blood relations and ties, and an example of this hierarchy is the family of Shalan which traces its ancestry to the Mirid clan, to the Ruwala division from the Dana Muslim group and finally to the Anaza tribe.⁴⁴

3.2.1 Tribal Territories

The major tribal units in the area occupied by Saudi Arabia number roughly a hundred tribes of numerous divisions and sub-divisions. These range from noble, inferior and outcast tribes to tribes of considerable and small size. They also range from purely nomadic to semi-nomadic and sedentary tribes. The tribal grazing ground in Arabia is called dirah. The word comes from the Arabic word dar, which simply means home or house. Dirah, however, is used only by the Badu to designate their tribal land to which they

belong. It is the territory over which a certain tribe roams during its annual moves and within which its political, economic, social and cultural organisations have developed and been confined. The grazing and tribal land is owned by the tribe jointly. A tribe always possesses exclusive right to its dirah and guards it against outside aggression. The position of the tribal boundaries are often known exactly, by every man, woman and child, and handed down from father to son. Wells are also more often than not marked with the tribal mark (wasm) in a similar way to the camels. The fluctuation of the dirah limits depends on the power of the tribe and the nature of these limits.

The economic and political aspects and character of the dirah are constantly changing due to the establishment of a modern national state to whom all subjects must pay allegiance, the abolition of raids and all types of tribal warfare, and the confiscation of all non-agriculturally utilised tribal lands. The effects of the modern state of Saudi Arabia upon these aspects of the tribal territorial units, and the influence of the latter on the evolution of the administrative units in the state will be dealt with in greater detail later. It is sufficient to say here that certain aspects of tribal organisation and institutions have disappeared, while others are being revived, encouraged and adopted for implementation on the national level.

3.2.2 Tribal Political Entities

During the past two centuries, the history of what is now Saudi Arabia has been a combination of foreign rule, religious revival and

reform, native and rival dynasties, and tribal warfare. Some tribes, however, played an even more apparent role in the history of Arabia in this period in that they acquired far-reaching influence, and established their authority outside their tribal territories. The significant role played by the tribes of Bani Khalid in the history of eastern Saudi Arabia, Asir in the south-west, Utaibah, Subai, Bugum and Shammar in the centre, and Ruwala in the north cannot be ignored or denied. We have already seen how the Bani Khalid dominated the eastern part of Saudi Arabia and shared its rule with the Ottomans during their occupation. It is to be added here that their influence reached as far westward as al-Qaseem oases.⁴⁵ Many of them finally settled in al-Qaseem and Sudair due to their close contact with these districts. We also observed previously the great role played by the tribes of Shammar and Asir in the history of the northern and south-western parts of Saudi Arabia respectively. Another good example of influential tribal political entities is the Ruwala, a section of the tribe of Anaza, whose territory extended from the northern edge of the Great Nufud to Aleppos, thus including the oases of al-Jauf and those along Wadi al-Sirhan, and the bulk of the Syrian Desert. By the end of World War I, the Ruwala were in control of this territory and ruled it independently. Its power was ousted by the occupation of al-Jauf and Wadi al-Sirhan and the limitation of their movements by the establishment of international boundaries between Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Syria.

Another example of the influential role the tribe could play in the political history of Arabia is the Ikhwan revolt against Abdul Aziz Al Saud between 1926 and 1930.⁴⁶ The Ikhwans were the religious tribes-

men who were settled in al-Hijar (settlements) which Abdul Aziz erected, and who fought with him against the Rashids of Jabal Shammar and the Sharifs of al-Hijaz. The revolt consisted of the tribes of Mutair, Ajman, and Utaibah. They challenged the authority of the Saudi state, fought against its army and made constant expeditions against Kuwait, Iraq and Jordan with whom Saudi Arabia had just settled the boundary disputes. They also harassed all tribal supporters of the state, but their revolt was brought to an end in 1930 when Faisal al-Dawish, head of the revolt and chief of the Mutair, gave up to the British authority in Kuwait.

3.2.3 Recent Trends

Although kinship ties are still important elements in the social organisation of the country, drastic changes in the territorial and political institutions of the tribes have been taking place since the unification and pacification of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. These changes will be summarised in the following statements.

(i) The tribes, after centuries of total independence and resistance to the idea of nationhood, have become amalgamated and incorporated for the first time into a national state. This means the declining supremacy of the tribe as a political entity by maintaining control over its institutions through provincial or district governors.

(ii) The tribal dirah as a territorial concept in the economic sense has partially disappeared since 1925, when traditional tribal rights to these dirahs were abolished to maintain peace among tribes.⁴⁷

The government since then has exercised the right of eminent

domain over these lands, and therefore the pastoral inhabitants, the Badu, in their annual movement for better pastures have the right to wander over into another tribe's territory and disregard the traditional tribal limits. How far these rights are exercised at present could not be ascertained. However, there is evidence of tribal conflicts over the intrusion of certain tribes into the territories of others, which might suggest that the traditional tribal rights to dirahs have not been abolished completely - at least in the minds of the individual pastoral elements.

(iii) The establishment of the government right over the tribal territories means the establishment of central government control over the pastoral economy, which is increasingly being tied up to the planning of the national economy. This is evident in the few projects planned and implemented with the aim of settling al-Badu, organising pastures and reclaiming and reviving desert areas. The Saudi government's approach to the development of al-Badu is expressed as to - ". . . incorporate the Beduin communities as such in the mother country and in the mean time maintain, develop and utilise their man power as well as their material potentialities for the service of the national ends (economic as well as social) . . . This approach calls for fostering the Beduin's magnanimity and pride and maintaining his character, entity, values and cultural heritage. It calls also for careful attention to Beduin affairs and Beduin communities, it thinks of them as citizens entitled to these rights and of Beduin communities as parts of the mother country which should be joined to other parts of the kingdom so that its human as well as natural

resources be incorporated with the national economy . . ." 48

(iv) Though declining, kinship ties are still important sources and determinants of social values, and have remained the essence of social relations in society. This is most striking in the south-western part of the country, where tribalism is combined with a strong man-to-land attachment, in contrast to the eastern, central (mainly al-Riyadh) and western parts (mainly Jeddah, Makkah, al-Madinah, and al-Taif), where new opportunities for social mobility have appeared.

(v) Many tribal institutions have been preserved and assimilated into the administrative machine at local level. For example, tribal leadership still maintains many of its social functions. The tribal and sub-tribal chiefs in many parts of the country remain the traditional leaders of the kin groups and are recognised by the government as such in that they can be held responsible for the behaviour of their subjects. Furthermore, they assist the government in maintaining law and order, and represent their subjects in the few existing administrative councils (Al-Bahah and Asir Provinces). They are also very much involved in the administrative affairs of their subjects. For example, provision of citizenship documents and social security benefits for tribal members in the south-western provinces of Saudi Arabia, especially al-Bahah and Asir, requires the full approval and verification of the tribal or subtribal chiefs. Moreover, and as will be shown in the following chapters, limits of tribal or subtribal territories are used to delimit the territorial extent of administrative units at different levels.

PART TWO

AUTHORITY, EVOLUTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF SAUDI ARABIAN ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS

Introduction

- Chapter Four : Administrative Organisation and Provincial Structure of Saudi Arabia, 1902-1972
- Chapter Five : Evolution of the Provinces of Saudi Arabia up to 1955
- Chapter Six : The Provinces of Saudi Arabia and their Subdivisions since 1955
- Chapter Seven : The Territorial Administrative Divisions of Selected Ministries in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

INTRODUCTION

This part will follow the evolution of the Saudi provinces and the territorial administrative units of selected government ministries and departments. It will examine the factors involved in their emergence, their spatial hierarchy, and the type of authority exercised at the different levels of the hierarchy. At the outset, certain aspects should be emphasised. First, the recent emergence of Saudi Arabia as a sovereign state and the unity of its different parts has not enabled the country to develop a uniform system of territorial organisation at the national level and among the different central government ministries and departments. Second, the factors that motivate the establishment of well-defined territorial administrative divisions, such as elections and elaborate systems of local government, have not yet developed in the case of Saudi Arabia, with the result that the function of these territorial divisions is restricted to the co-ordination and supervision of government public services to the different categories of settlements. Third, the determining factors in limiting the territory of any administrative division in Saudi Arabia are the different categories of settlement centres that are assigned to be under the authority of the centre of that division. Since over half the country is considered as waste-land, and less than one per cent is suitable for settled agriculture, and since settlement centres are sparsely distributed over the area of the country, it is impossible for any government agency to draw accurate boundary lines separating one division from another. Therefore, any attempt to delimit administrative divisions in the country is con-

fronted with the problem of determining the territorial attachment of vast areas lying outside the limits of settlement centres. Fourth, most of the documents made available to the author concerning the administrative divisions of Saudi Arabia are in the form of lists of place names, such as the Guide to the Towns, Villages and Hamlets of the Saudi Provinces, which was published by the Ministry of Finance and National Economy in 1971. Because of the research student's inability to obtain the detailed official maps* showing the location of such place names, the process of plotting these localities by the author on maps proved to be laborious and time-consuming, and involved consulting all the printed maps and literature available on the area under study. ** Naturally, the bulk of these localities could not be found and therefore could not be plotted on the maps prepared by the author, and since the drawing of lines separating administrative divisions depended largely upon the location of these places, the lines drawn by the author in most of the maps to be found in this part could only be a rough approximation to the actual limits that exist between administrative divisions.

A very discouraging and annoying factor was encountered when trying to prepare this part. It is namely the scarcity of official documents which might state or declare the initiation of administrative divisions of any rank or the reasons and factors encouraging this action or

* Among the maps which the research student endeavoured but failed to obtain are the detailed maps prepared by the Ministry of Defence and Aviation, which are ranked as top secret.

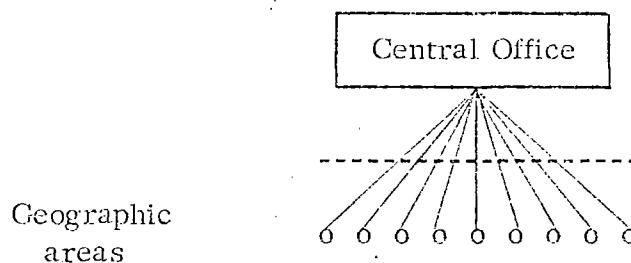
** The most valuable and useful of these are the geographic and geologic maps of the 21 Quadrangles of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, published by the U.S. Geological Survey.

determining such details as their limits, sub-divisions and sub-centres, authority and the like. For the major provincial administrative divisions, an alternative source was found in the yearly budget records which cover the period from 1950 onwards. Of course, these records do not give any detail of the above nature. They merely state the provincial divisions, sub-divisions and subordinate divisions. They might also show certain aspects such as the rank of the divisions, the size (number of civil servants employed), their importance and place in the economic development of the country. The only other official references available concerning provincial divisions are an unratified guide for them and their sub-divisions prepared in 1971 by the General Department of Statistics in the Ministry of Finance and National Economy, and a map showing these divisions according to the 1962-63 unratified census. As for the administrative divisions of the other government ministries and departments, the writer uses their limited publications as his main source of information, especially for the present divisions. Another vital source is the personal observation of the writer and interviews with high-ranking officials during a six-month field study.

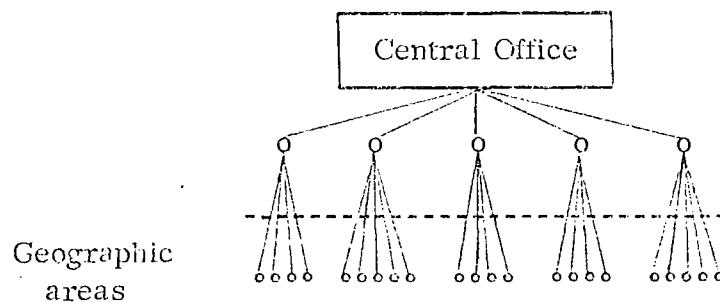
The government ministries and departments chosen for this study have certain characteristics which have been used as criteria for adopting them as case studies. First, they are geographically decentralised ministries or departments in the sense that there are regional offices which administer the affairs of the ministry in certain areas, which in turn have sub-regional offices under the authority of the regional offices. This is type 'C' in Table (4.1). Second, they are civil organs supervising civil services to the community. In other words, any mil-

TABLE (4.1)

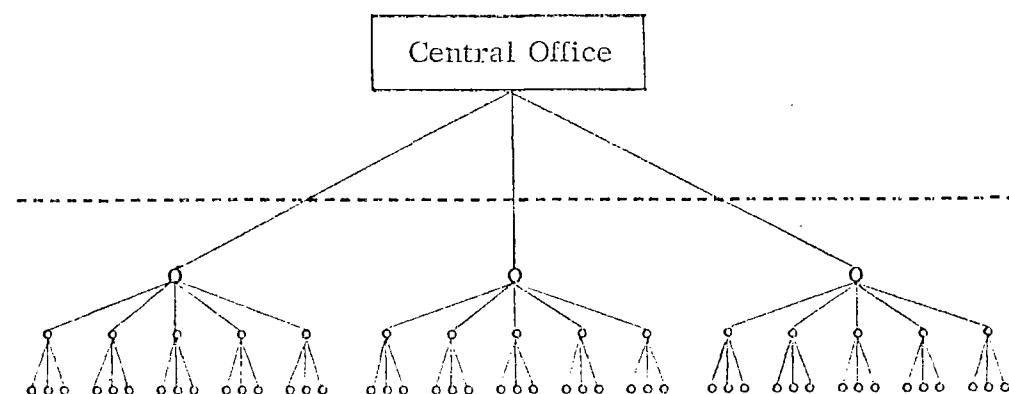
(a) Centralised Organisation without Geographic Units



(b) Geographically Centralised Organisation



(c) Geographically Decentralised Organisation



Adapted with modification from M S Asfur, Essentials of Organisation and Methods, Amman, 1973, p 76

itary organ or agency is exempted from this study. According to the two criteria mentioned above, the government ministries and agencies chosen to be the focus of our study are the Ministries of Interior (represented by the provincial divisions and municipalities), Education, Health, Agriculture, Communication, Justice, and the General Department of Girls' Education. There are other ministries and central departments whose territorial administrative structure conforms with the criteria mentioned above. However, they have not been considered in this study because of the lack of complete information regarding their administrative divisions. Examples of such ministries and departments are the Ministry of Pilgrimage and Waqfs, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, and the Public Morality Committees of Najd and al-Hijaz.

As stated previously, the main objective of this part will be examining the general trends and patterns of dividing and sub-dividing areas for administrative purposes rather than attempting to draw lines separating these divisions and sub-divisions, which would be regarded as a supplementary task. The scarcity of documents and basic data and the failure to obtain official detailed maps of the administrative divisions of the country as well as the apparent wide range of the subject are among many factors which make detailed study of all Saudi Arabian administrative divisions an impossible task. They are also the main reason behind choosing one province as a case study for which precise information and adequate documents were found, and in which intensive field study was carried out. The findings of this study will be presented in Part Three of this thesis.

CHAPTER FOUR

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION ANDPROVINCIAL STRUCTURE OF SAUDI ARABIA 1902-1972

The purpose of this chapter is to review briefly the development of the constitutional and administrative organisation of the state of Saudi Arabia from its foundation to the present, in order to be familiar with and understand certain aspects and terms which will be repeatedly mentioned in the subsequent parts of this thesis. This chapter will also serve as an appropriate perspective for looking into the more specific subject of the provincial structure of the state. To start with, it might be helpful to give a summary account of the way in which the different areas of Saudi Arabia were governed up to their administrative unity by the establishment of the Council of Ministers in 1953. Of course, the country was united in 1932 when King Abdul Aziz declared the then Kingdom of al-Hijaz and Najd and its Dependencies to be the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

4.1 Administration of Saudi Arabia up to 1953

The administrative unity of the country was not accomplished until 1953, when al-Riyadh became the national capital and when the Council of Ministers was created. Before that date, each of the four traditional areas of al-Hijaz, Najd, al-Hasa and Asir were ruled differently as a consequence of differences in their history, environment and contact with outside powers.

4. 1. 1 Al-Hijaz

Until the end of the first decade of the present century and for more than three centuries, al-Hijaz was considered as a vital and distinctive part of the Ottoman Empire. It was, however, ruled directly by the local rulers, the Sharifs of Makkah. Despite this fact, the region was a wilayah (province) of the Ottoman Empire, and many Ottoman administrative features were introduced. Many government services were established for health, education, and public utilities. In the main towns and villages, municipality offices were established to meet the needs which ranged from cleaning to planning. Financial, judicial, as well as army administration was well instituted in the province. In each town and important village, there were municipal and administrative councils whose members were elected and which decided matters related to the welfare of the communities.

The region was further strengthened from the administrative point of view by the foundation of the Kingdom of al-Hijaz during World War I. It acquired an independent state status with British support. Its strength was weakened afterwards by the continuous struggle and confrontation with the Saudi state in the east. This struggle lasted almost a century and a half, but the end of it was brought by the conquest of al-Hijaz region in 1926 by the late King Abdul Aziz, who united, for the first time after the Pious Caliphs, most of the Arabian Peninsula under an independent rule.

Although al-Hijaz was united with the different parts of the Saudi state, the unity was confined to the loyalty of the region to the King personally. In other words, the then Kingdom of al-Hijaz maintained

its distinctive entity as a state with separate administrative organs and institutions, and with its own capital. A member of the Royal family who was then undoubtedly the most experienced member of all the family, was appointed as Viceroy of the King in al-Hijaz Kingdom and was responsible only to the King. This situation lasted from 1926 until 1953, a period during which al-Hijaz region remained as a separate administrative entity in the newly established state. In 1932 the name of the Saudi state changed from the Kingdom of al-Hijaz and Najd and its Dependencies to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The drastic change in the administration of Saudi Arabia came in 1953 when the capital of the Kingdom was officially transferred to al-Riyadh and when the administrative unity of the different parts of the Kingdom was achieved by the creation of the Council of Ministers.

4. 1. 2 Najd

This area, as mentioned before, has always been isolated and protected from outside influence and aggression. Nomadic life has been until very recently the predominant way of existence, while agriculture has existed in small and scattered oases. This led to the dominance of the tribal system of government in the tribal groups of the desert, and a very similar one in the agricultural communities in the villages. This system is known to depend wholly on the personality of the amir or sheikh while it offers no public services and it is responsible only for the protection and security of the community which it embodies. No other systems were introduced to Najd until the end of the first half of the twentieth century when the different parts of the Kingdom were adminis-

tratively united. From the establishment of the Saudi state in 1902 until 1953, Najd was administered from al-Riyadh, with the gradual introduction of government services directed and administered by ministries and departments based in al-Hijaz.

4.1.3 Al-Hasa

In many respects, al-Hasa has experienced the same pattern of tribal-nomadic life just as Najd has. However, a small percentage of the population was engaged in agriculture in some thriving oases, while another small percentage was oriented towards the sea along the Arabian Gulf. Tribally-based administration was the predominant system, despite the fact that the area experienced foreign influences and Ottoman rule. A turning point in all aspects of life in the region as well as in others was to come in the 1940's, when oil was discovered and produced. It was then that modern administration was enforced with the introduction of many governmental departments and offices.

In both Najd and al-Hasa, there were an amir, a judge and a treasurer in most of the towns. They were under the supreme authority of King Abdul-Aziz and were actually governed by Saud, his eldest son, and Ibn Jelawi respectively.

4.1.4 Asir

This area consists of two distinctive parts : the coastal plain and the rugged mountains, each of which maintained its local character, although the former was more exposed to foreign influence than the latter. Through the whole region, tribal pastoralism exists, but the largest portion of the population are settled in villages with agriculture

as their main occupation. The village life developed a local pattern of territorial administration, influenced by the tribal nature of the inhabitants. Asir was first ruled directly from al-Hijaz, due to its political instability caused by the recent annexation of the territories of the Idrisids in Tihamat Asir and the 'Al-Ayed in Abha, and also by the Saudi-Yamani War of 1934-35. By 1935, Asir had become a separate administrative governorate and was provided with services from al-Hijaz.

4.2 Development of Constitutional and Administrative Organs

As has been advance earlier, al-Hijaz had developed certain administrative procedures long before its annexation to the Saudi state. When this annexation was accomplished in 1926, it became the first area to witness the introduction of constitutional organs and administrative agencies, while the rest of the country was still administered separately and on the basis of the traditional system of government outlined previously.

Upon entering Makkah in 1924, King Abdul Aziz, then Sultan, found four administrative agencies in operation, namely the Directorates of Health, Municipalities, Endowment (awqaf) and Justice. He preserved these agencies and founded along with them the National Council of Makkah whose members were to be elected from the representatives of the three sections of the community - namely the ulama, the notables, and the merchants. Another council was established to replace the former one with certain modifications. The members of the new council were 18 in number, namely two members

representing the ulama, one representing the merchants, 12 members each representing one quarter (hara) of Makkah, and three notables appointed by the King.¹

The new National Council of Makkah was authorised to organise municipal and health affairs, study the existing system of the Sharia courts and organise them in such a way as to ensure justice and the application of the Sharia, investigate certain aspects of endowments (awqaf) and categories of lawful expenditure, develop means of internal security and organise the required police force, spread religious education and literacy, study matters relating to the development of trade and means of communication, and finally to create permanent commissions to solve internal problems, which were usually solved according to the prevailing custom. The military and foreign affairs were reserved for the King. The same procedure was followed upon annexing al-Madinah and Jeddah in the last days of 1925.

It was realised, however, after annexing all of al-Hijaz in 1926 that this procedure was not workable and that a central administrative body or agency for all of al-Hijaz had to be established. It was then that a Viceroyalty was created in al-Hijaz, with Makkah as the capital, and Faisal, the second eldest son of the King, as the Viceroy, who was assisted by an Advisory Council consisting of three members appointed by the King.² A Foundation Committee was also created, consisting of eight elected members representing the towns of al-Hijaz and five others appointed by the King along with its Chairman. The main function of this Committee was to put forward new and more appropriate governmental organisations and agencies. In the same

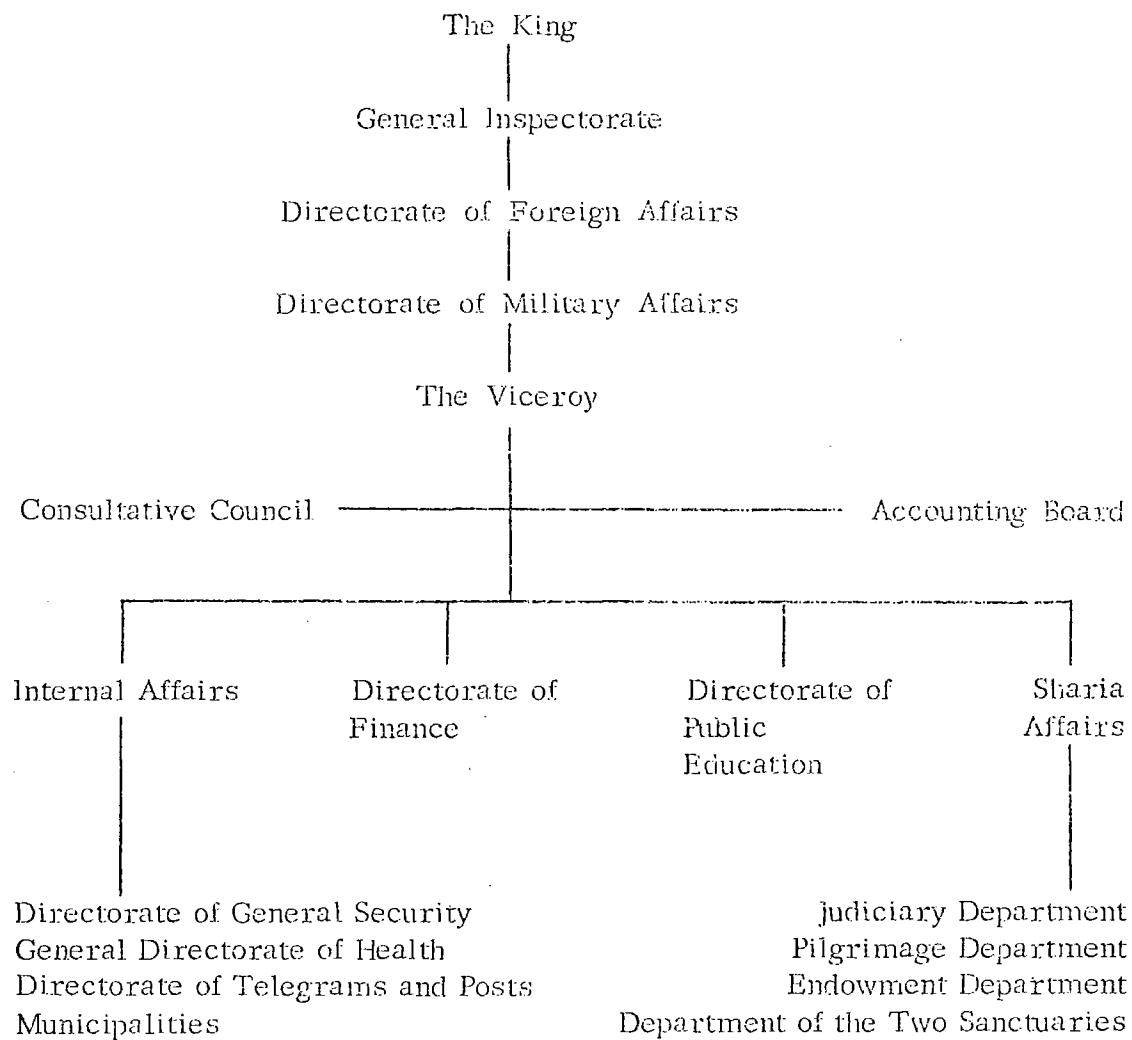
year the King announced the establishment of consultative councils in Makkah with ten members, Jeddah and al-Madinah with six members each, and in al-Taif and Yanbu with four members each. These members were to elect 13 of them to form a General Consultative Council which was constituted as follows : four members from Makkah, four from al-Madinah and Jeddah (two each), two from Yanbu and al-Taif and three tribal chiefs.

4.2.1 The Basic Instructions of the Kingdom of al-Hijaz

The Foundation Committee was able to put forward a draft of the Basic Instructions of the Kingdom of al-Hijaz within seven months of its formation. The Hijazi Constitution, as it came to be known, was promulgated and implemented in the same year. According to this Constitution, the affairs of the country were divided into military and foreign affairs administered by agencies responsible to the King himself; internal and judicial affairs connected directly with the office of the Viceroy; and fiscal and educational affairs administered by directorates connected with the Viceroyalty. The Basic Instructions of al-Hijaz also established administrative councils at different levels. They are the Consultative Council, which became up to 1953 the highest legislative power in the country, second only to the King; the Administrative Councils of al-Madinah and Jeddah; the District Councils; and Village and Tribal Councils. Municipal Councils were also established in Makkah, al-Madinah and Jeddah. For government organisation during this period, see Table (4.2).

TABLE (4.2)

Governmental Organisation According to
the Basic Instructions of al-Hijaz in 1926



Source : Sadiq, op cit, p 41

4.2.2 The Council of Deputies

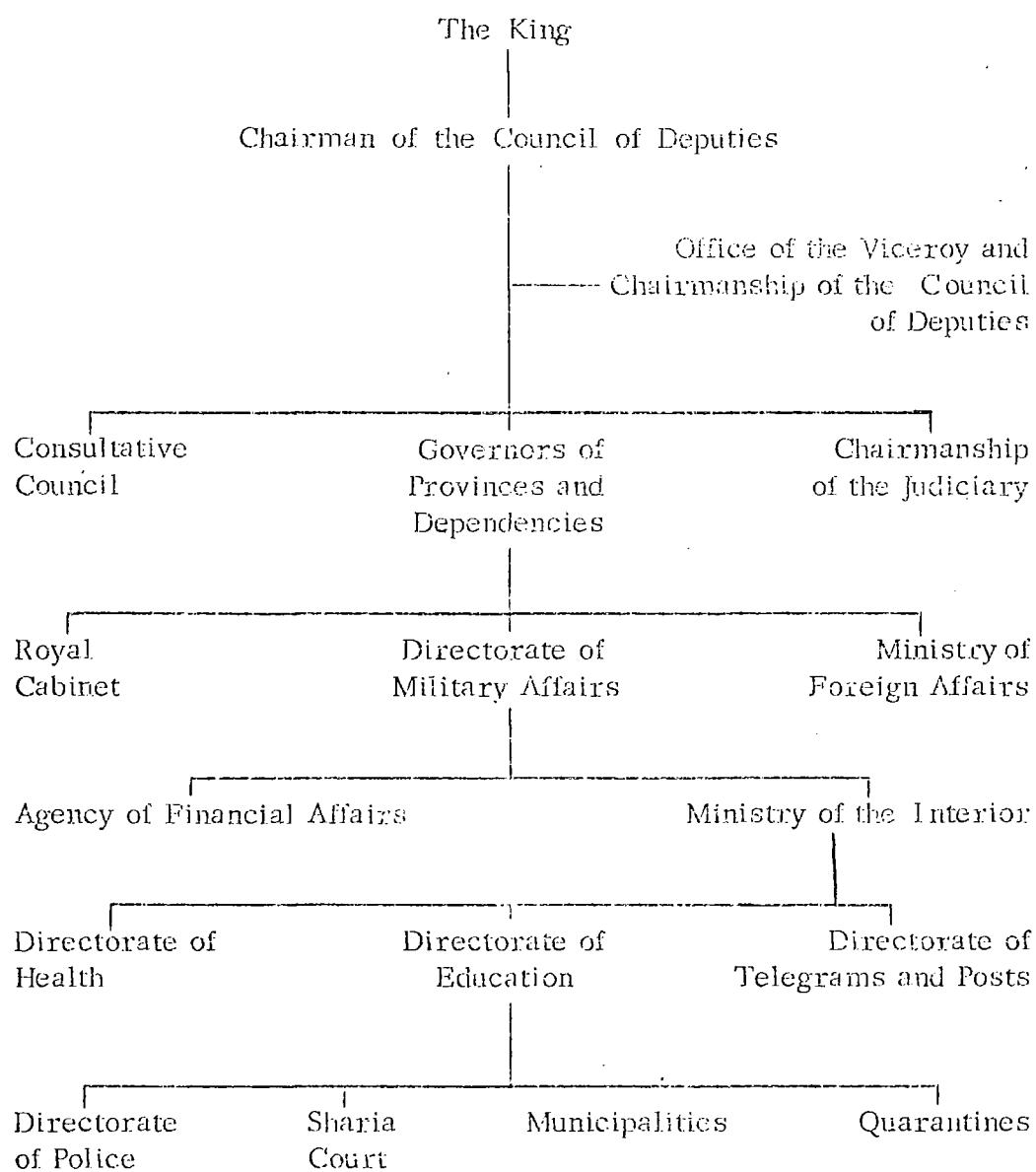
The Viceroyalty was aware of the need to distinguish legislative from executive functions, and as a result it was felt that an organ had to be established to assist the Viceroy on executive matters. It was then that the Council of Deputies was created in 1932. The Council functioned as the highest executive power in the country, second only to the King, but it was replaced in 1953 by the Council of Ministers which marked the administrative unity of all the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Table (4.3) shows the governmental organisation during this period.

4.2.3 The Council of Ministers

The responsibilities of the government to secure its domain, seek justice for all, and to provide services for a larger area and on a wider scale were intensively increasing. It had only three ministries in 1950, namely the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Finance, and Ministry of Defence. It consisted also of departments or directorates under the name of Ministry of the Interior, which functioned on a very limited scale. By 1953, five other ministries were re-organised or added, namely the Ministries of the Interior, Health, Education, Communication, and Agriculture, along with other new Directorates such as those of Petroleum and Mineral Affairs, and Labour and Social Affairs. These governmental agencies were gradually acquiring jurisdiction over the whole country. It was due to the rising importance of a central government to take the responsibility of administering the country on the national level, and also due to the need for a central executive

TABLE (4.3)

Governmental Organisation under the
Council of Deputies in 1932



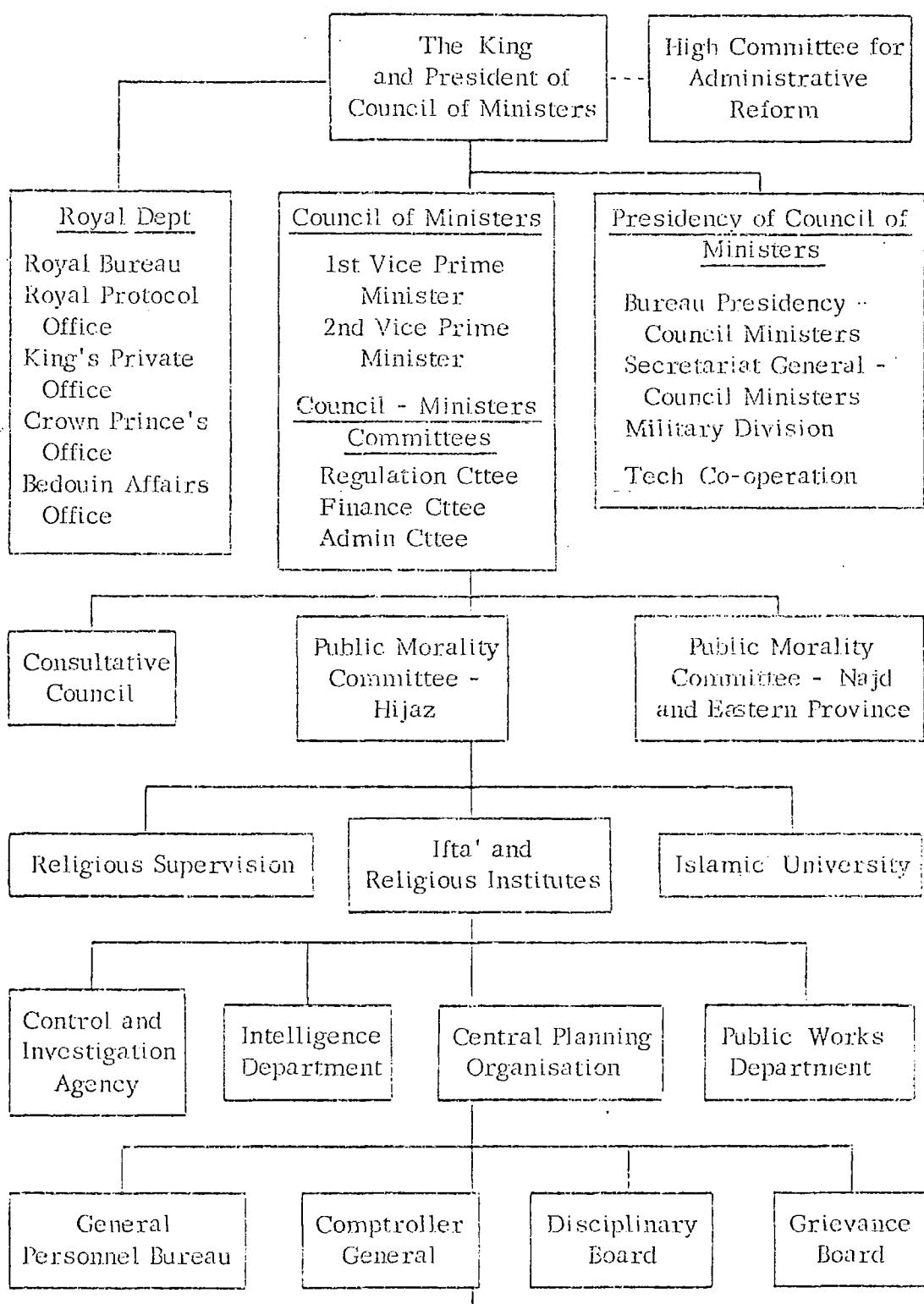
Source : Sadiq, op cit, p 43

and administrative organ to co-ordinate the activities, plans and authority of all the government agencies and ministries, that the Council of Ministers was founded in 1953 and al-Riyadh became not only the national capital but the administrative centre of the Kingdom as well. As may be seen from Table (4.4), the Saudi system of government organisation becomes more complicated and increasingly centralised.

Although the Basic Instruction, the Consultative Council, the Council of Deputies and the different ministries and directorates were functioning on the local level until 1953, namely limited to al-Hijaz, they gradually acquired national domination. Asir was eventually governed by the Viceroyalty of al-Hijaz, and although the other major areas, i.e., Najd, Jabal Shammar and al-Hasa, were ruled almost independently, they were gradually incorporated into the domain of the different ministries and directorates centred in al-Hijaz. Thus, while the Financial Agency in Makkah (became Ministry of Finance in 1932), which was the biggest and most influential government department until 1953, was limited to al-Hijaz in 1928 - as may be seen from Table (4.5) - it became responsible for the financial affairs of al-Hasa in 1929,³ opened two financial offices in al-Jauf and al-Qurayyat in 1932, and by 1950 had become responsible for the financial affairs of all the country by opening field offices in most of the administrative centres of the Kingdom, as is apparent from Table (4.5). Other examples of such arrangement can be found in Table (4.6).

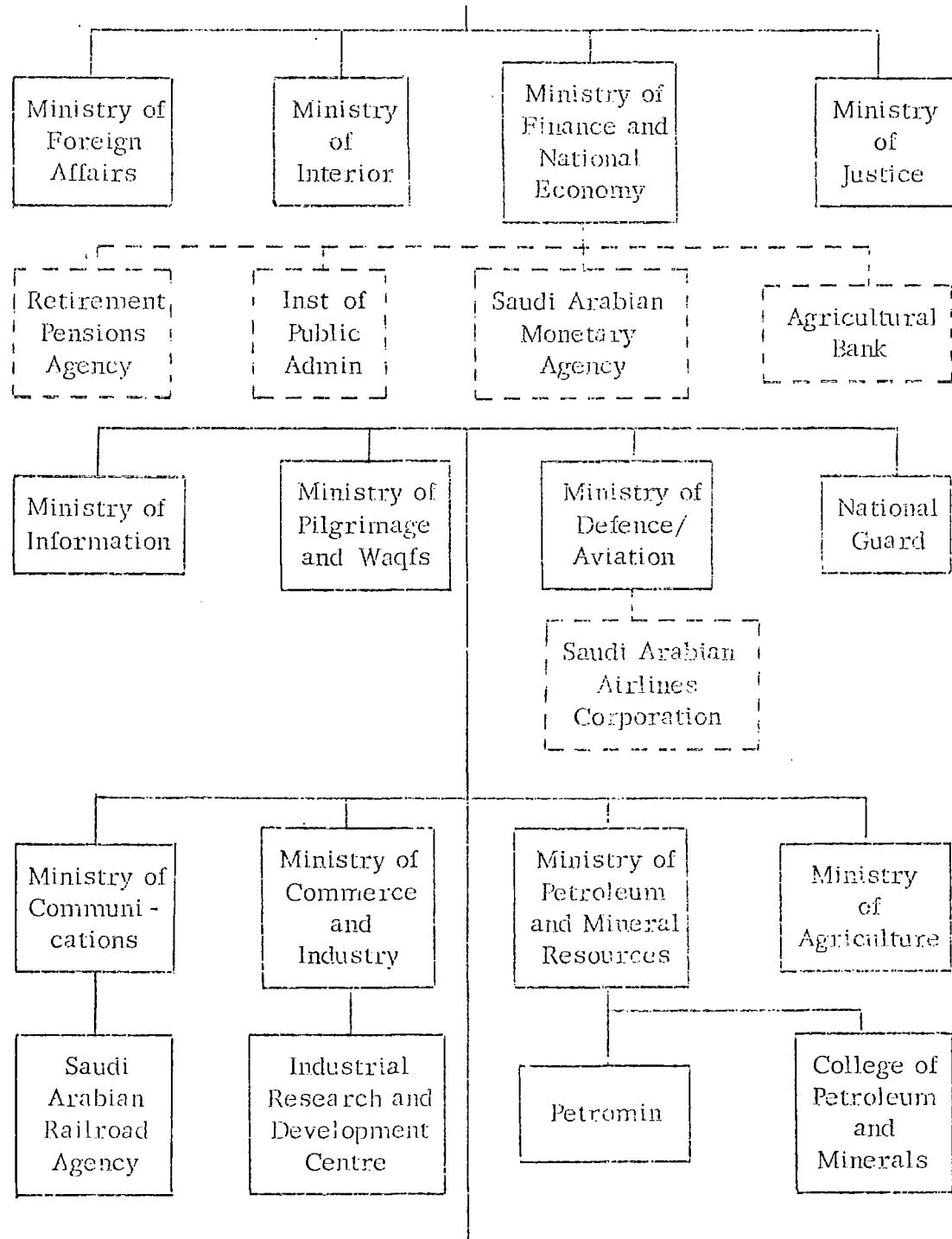
TABLE (4.4)

Organisation Chart of the Government of Saudi Arabia



..... /Continued

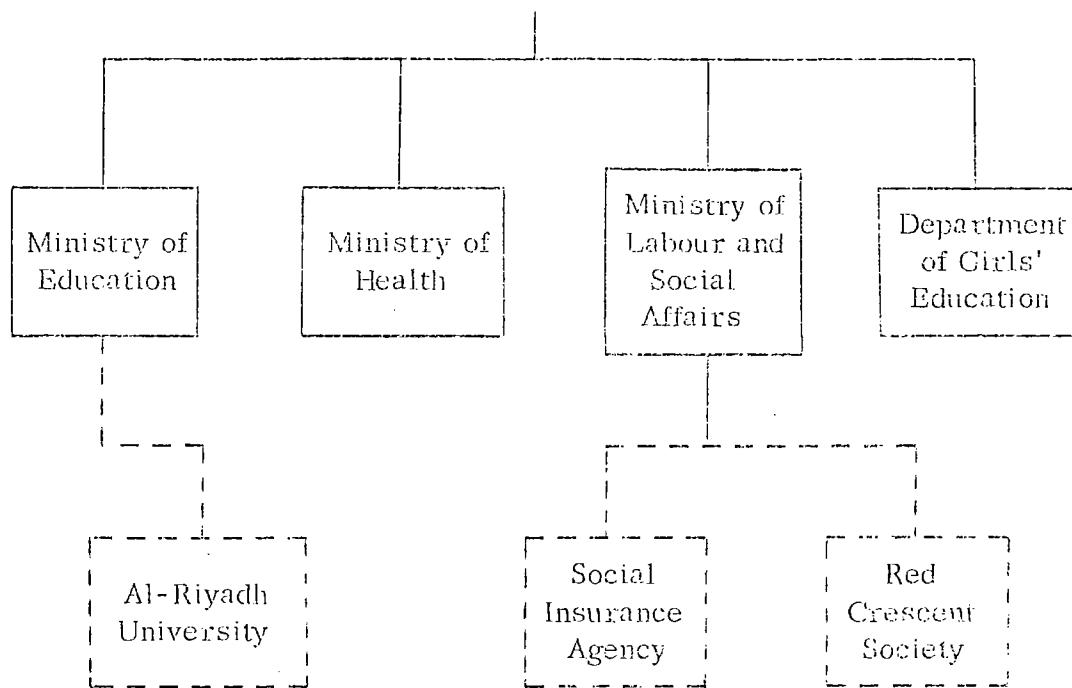
TABLE (4.4)
(Continued)



..... /Continued

TABLE (4.4)

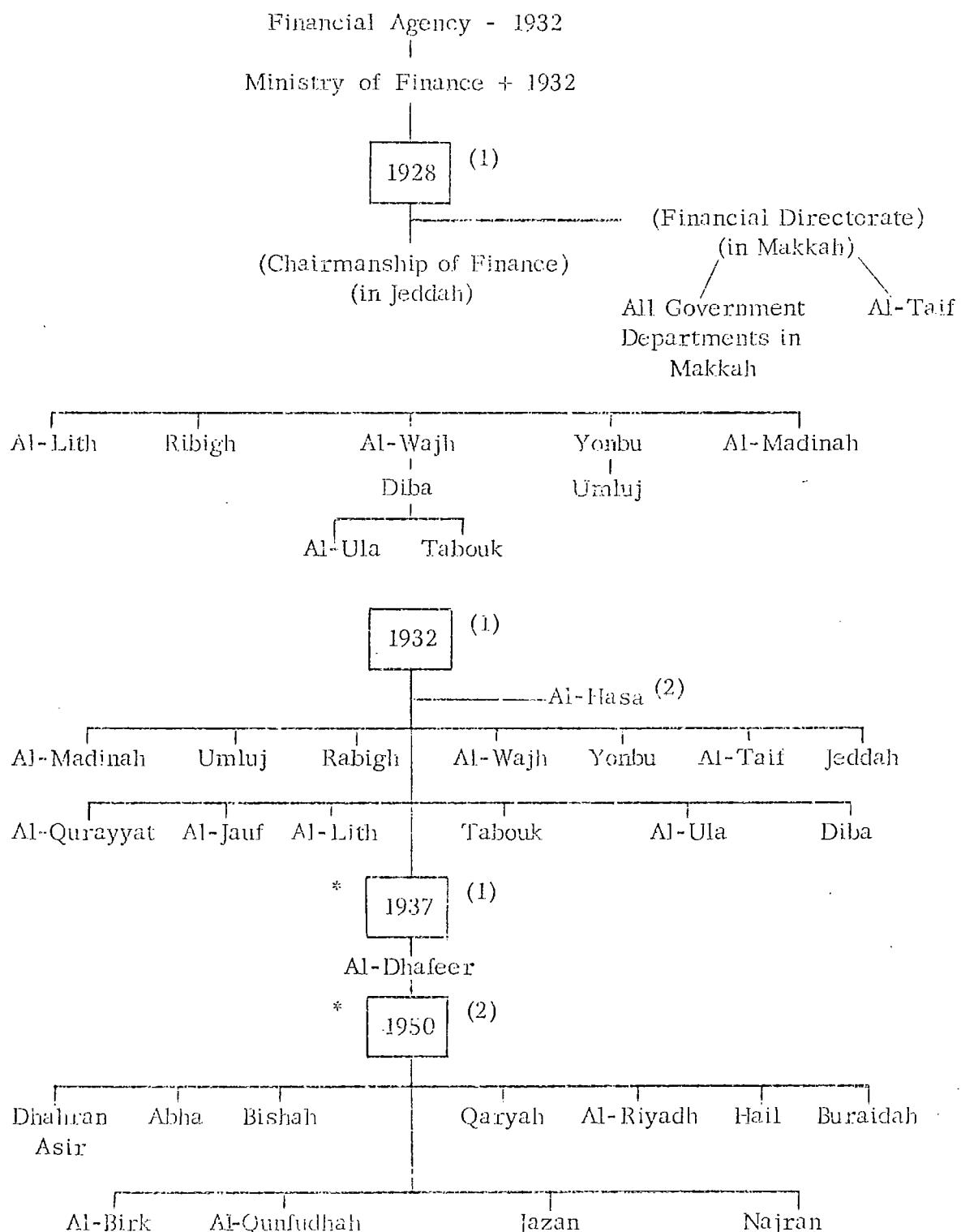
(Continued)



Source : Central O and M Department,
 Ministry of Finance and National Economy
 1391 AH 1971 AD

TABLE (4.5)

Development of Field Departments of the
Ministry of Finance up to 1950

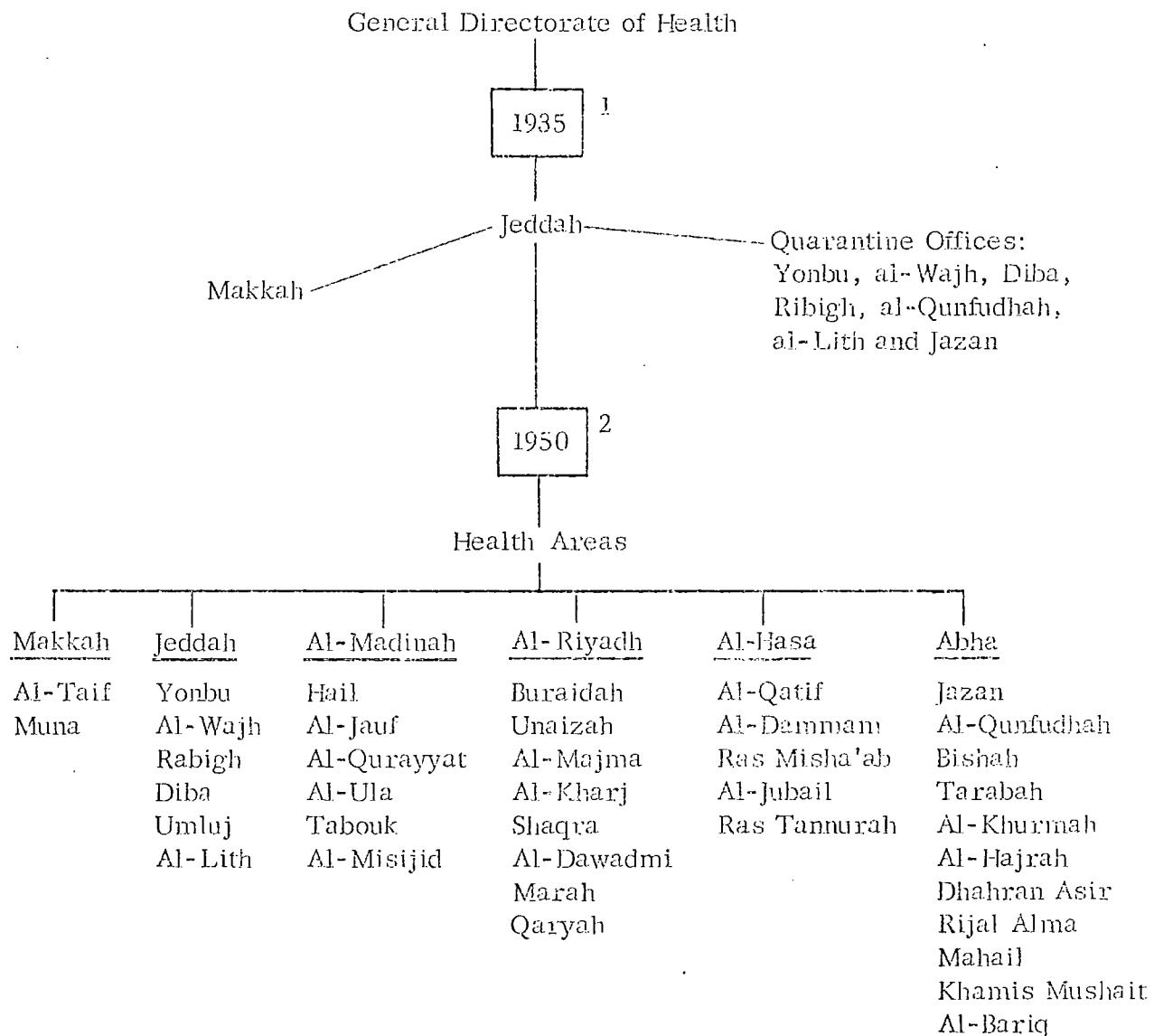


Sources : (1) Sadiq, op cit, pp 76, 78 and 247
 (2) Zirkili, op cit, pp 375 and 377

* Only new offices are cited below the year of reference

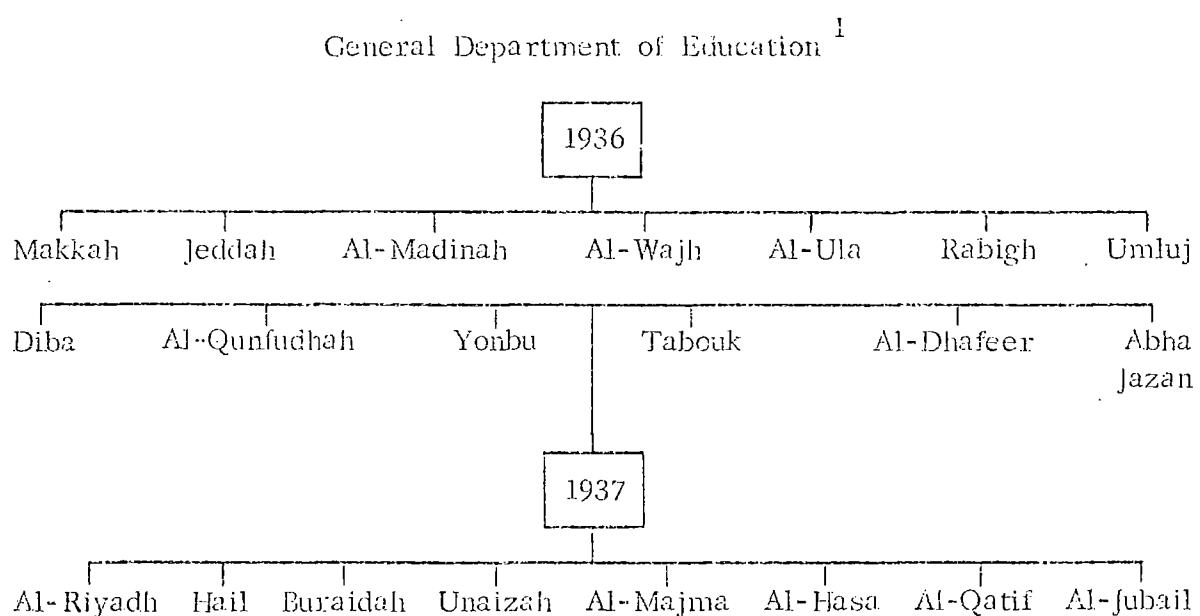
TABLE (4.6)

Development of Field Departments of
Selected Directorates and Departments



...../Continued

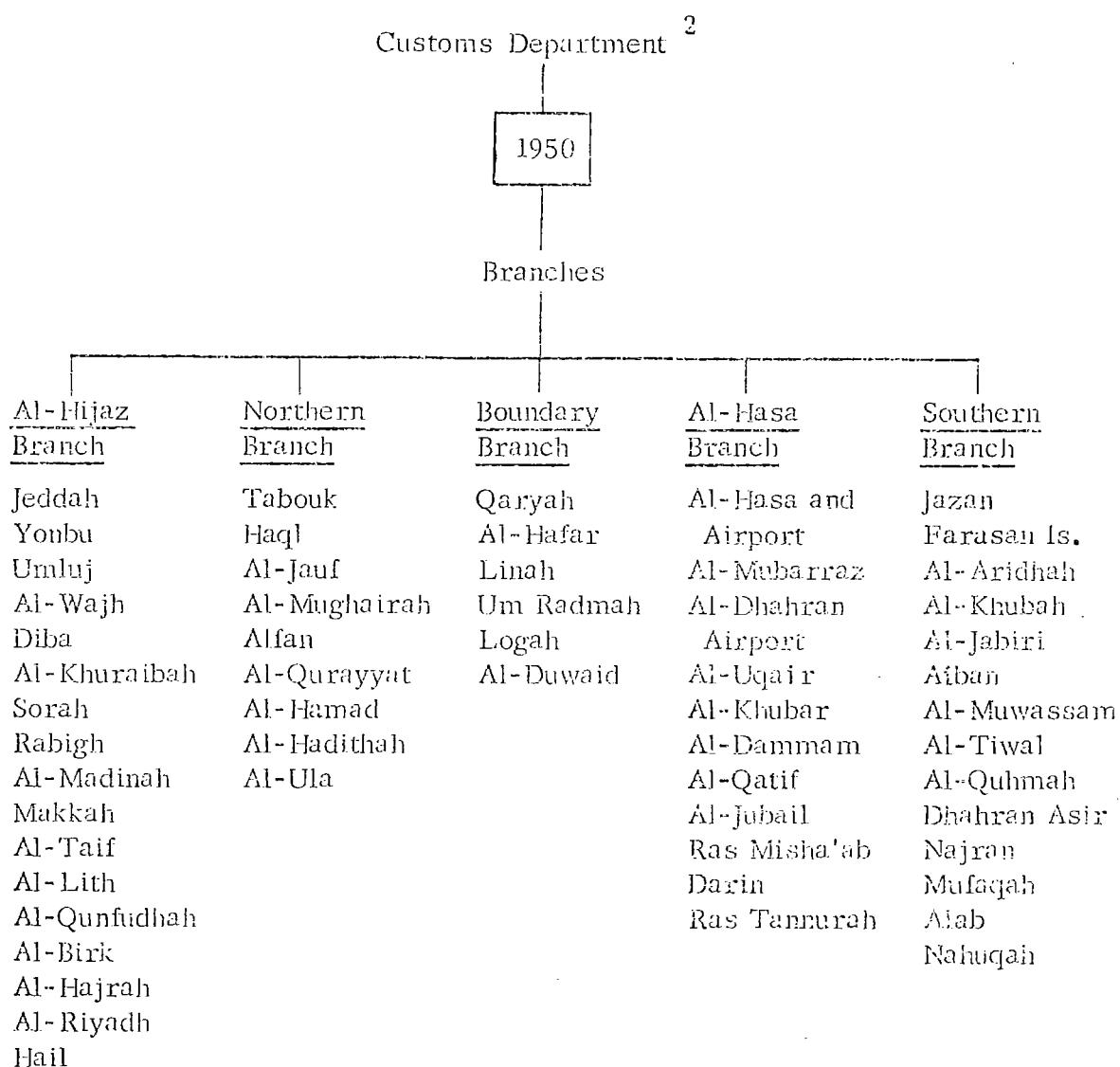
TABLE (4.6) (Continued)

General Department of Posts and Telegrams ¹

Post : Major Offices			
Makkah	Jeddah	Al-Madinah	Yonbu
Post : Minor Offices			
Al-Taif	Al-Dhahran	Al-Uqair	Al-Qurayyat
Al-Riyadh	Jazan	Al-Jubail	Al-Jauf
Al-Hasa	Al-Qunfudhah	Al-Qatif	Buraidah
Al-Wajh	Al-Lith	Najran	Rabigh
Hail	Umluj		
Abha	Al-Ula		
Diba	Tabouk		

Telegram Stations			
Makkah	Abha	Tabouk	Al-Dawadmi
Al-Riyadh	Al-Wajh	Al-Taif	Qaryah
Buraidah	Jazan	Al-Jubail	Al-Majma
Al-Qatif	Al-Madinah	Al-Ula	Al-Lith
Al-Hasa	Rabigh	Al-Qunfudhah	
Jeddah	Hail	Yonbu	
Al-Qurayyat	Al-Jauf	Diba	

TABLE (4.6) (Continued)



Sources : ¹ F Hamza, Saudi Arabian Country, Al-Riyadh, 1968,
pp 219-229

² Zirkili, op cit, p 378 and pp 402-403

4.3 The Essence and Authority of the Saudi Provinces

The establishment of the Saudi provinces goes back to the first years of the state's history when it was called the Kingdom of al-Hijaz, Najd and its Dependencies up to 1932, the year the country was named the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. As will be seen later, the Kingdom then was divided into two major administrative units - namely al-Hijaz, and Najd, but with the rapid introduction of government services to the different parts of the Kingdom and the increasing responsibilities of the central government, these units gradually increased in number and were further divided into smaller units. The need to set an elaborate law to define the functions and responsibilities of the provincial governors (amirs) and the subordinate governors (also called amirs) was felt as early as 1939, when the Regulations of the Provincial Governors and Administrative Councils were sanctioned. This law was clearly a step towards the maintenance of full supervision, control and co-ordination of government services, as well as organising the functions and responsibilities of the highest administrative authority in the provinces and their sub-divisions. It did not, however, state the number of provinces actually in operation, and neither did it establish lines or limits of authority for the different levels of the administrative units. For example, no mention was made of the precise authority of the provincial governors over their subordinate governors; that is, the governors of the sub-divisions which fall within their jurisdiction.

According to the law of 1939, the provincial governors are the highest administrative as well as executive power in the provinces,

and are responsible to the highest authority in the state, that is the King. Their main functions are to deal with the affairs of their provinces in such a way as to refer them to the appropriate government agencies and departments, to supervise the implementation of the laws and instructions in the government departments in their provinces, to report any corruption in the government departments, to be alert to and directly responsible for any movement against public morality and security, to seek justice for all members of the community, regardless of any consideration except that it is within the authority invested in them, and to execute all judgements passed by the Sharia courts and all orders by the state high authority. The law states persistently that the authority of the provincial governor is confined to his province, whose limits should be known, and he is not to interfere with the affairs of other provinces.

The law also stresses the fact that all heads of government agencies and departments must abide by the orders and instructions of the governor in the administrative affairs of the units concerned, whether provinces, districts, towns, or villages, according to the authority invested in him by laws and instructions and to the extent that his instructions are in harmony with the laws and instructions organising and administering the affairs of those agencies and departments. The governors are also responsible for the welfare and economic development of the communities, and they must advise or draw the attention of the other government departments to take the appropriate action to achieve this goal.

The authority and responsibilities of the governor under the law

of 1939 could be grouped into six categories:-

(i) His Authority as a Representative of the Central Government

The governor is to study carefully all matters, claims and complaints referred to him by members of the community within his domain, and assign these to the appropriate government departments according to the following order:-

- (a) All judicial matters should go to the Sharia courts, whether they concern settled or nomadic population.
- (b) Matters which are related to other government departments should be assigned to them with the Governor's point of view.
- (c) All other matters should be referred to the administrative council for consideration and careful study.

(ii) His Responsibility to Maintain Law and Order

He is responsible for investigating and bringing to a halt any corruptive and destructive movement which might endanger the lives of citizens, or might be directed against public morality. He is also responsible for any tribal menace and criminal actions, and he must use his power and means available to bring the parties concerned to justice. He has a right to inflict punishment based on "enough and convincing grounds", which depends on personal interpretation, and he is to be directly responsible if it is proved otherwise.

(iii) Semi-judicial Responsibilities

He is to seek justice for all and to refrain from taking part in

segregative actions against any groups of the community, and it is his direct responsibility to stop such actions. He could bring two conflicting parties into agreement as long as his action was within the Sharia law.

(iv) Executive Authority

- (a) He is to execute sentences passed by the Sharia courts according to the laws related to this procedure.
- (b) He is to guard government properties and offer help to those who are responsible for the collection of taxes according to the laws and instructions related to this procedure.
- (c) He has a right to inspect and supervise the execution of the laws and instructions by the government departments and agencies within his domain.
- (d) All heads of government agencies and departments in his domain are his responsibility in their work and conduct within the law organising the relations between the governors and heads of local agencies.

(v) Planning Authority

The governor could advise or suggest to the high authority or the government departments concerned any plans of great advantage to his province, or use his influence in the government to urge those concerned to implement such plans.

(vi) Duties and Restrictions

The governor is to follow in practice and conduct the Sharia doctrine. He is not to pry into the affairs of other government agencies except within the law. He cannot, for example, put limits or restrictions on the authority which has been assigned to heads of other departments. He must also refrain from interfering with the affairs of other provinces and must be confined in all his conduct to this province, whose limit should be known to him.

Under the law of 1939, an elected administrative council was to be established in each province. Its main function is two-fold. First, as a representative body of the central government, it has administrative power almost identical to that of the governors, who are also chairmen of these councils. Second, as an elected body, it represents the local population in supervising the execution of laws and the implementation of welfare plans, and in demanding a better standard of living. The authority and responsibilities of the administrative councils could be grouped under four headings.

(i) Supervisory Authority

The Administrative Councils supervise the execution of laws and instructions in all government departments, and draw the attention of the governors to any carelessness in this respect. They should decide on the most appropriate means of offering help to the municipal agencies.

(ii) Planning Authority

They have the right to confer with other departments and agencies regarding any constructive and economic schemes and give recommendations in this respect to the high authority.

(iii) Executive Authority

The Councils decide the terms which the government should adopt in case of agreement to be concluded between the government and other parties in questions of providing government offices with furniture and office equipment, or renting and selling government properties. They also provide work permits to local and foreign companies, and decide the priority of municipal services (sewage, street lighting and paving, and its supply of mains water).

(iv) Semi-judicial Authority

It is the responsibility of the Administrative Councils to examine any complaints of a non-judicial nature between members of the community or between those and government officials.

The provincial administrative council consists of four to eight elected members according to the status and size of the province. The bases upon which this evaluation is judged are not defined. The governor of the province is always the chairman of the council, but it could hold meetings under the chairmanship of his deputy in the council. The members are to be elected for two years, but they may be re-elected for more than one term.

The responsibilities of the provincial governors and the admin-

istrative councils as prescribed in the law of 1939 are overlapping, unspecified in certain aspects, obscure and vague in others. The general features of size, shape, population of and relation between the different levels of the administrative units are ignored. The law itself was never applied at the national level, and hence administrative councils are not to be found outside the western part of Saudi Arabia. However, provincial, district and village governors held the responsibilities and authority assigned to them, but they became varied in this respect according to their personalities. As years passed, their authority became traditional but vague and obscure, except when specific responsibilities and authority are invested on them individually.

In 1963, a step was taken to re-organise the provincial system in the form of the Provincial Regulations, sanctioned by Royal Decree No 12 on 21.5.1383 (9th October 1963). Although the Royal Decree states in its second paragraph that the Regulations should be implemented within nine months of their proclamation, none of the items has been applied or adopted, except those concerning the responsibilities of governors at all levels, which are identical to those stated in the law of 1939.

4.4 Place of Provinces in the Administrative Structure of the Ministry of Interior

Before the establishment of the Ministry of Interior in 1370 AH (1951), all provincial governors were directly linked and responsible to the King (or his Viceroy in the case of al-Hijaz). They were the

administrative governors and personal representatives of the King in ruling the areas assigned to them. From the administrative point of view, the provinces at that time were independent, with the King as the highest authority, and to whom all matters concerning them were referred. From the financial point of view, they studied, formed and submitted their annual budgets for approval to the Ministry of Finance, which supervised the planning and allocation of the state

⁴ When the Ministry of Interior was established as the highest authority for provincial governors, some were inclined to resist since this would have meant the lowering of their rank and position. From the financial point of view, there came to be, as a direct result, a distinction between first and second rank provinces. The former denoted those provinces which plan, submit to, and discuss their annual budget plans directly with, the Ministry of Finance. These have been administratively linked to the office of the Minister since 1953 and Vice-Minister since 1970. Up to 1958 the first rank provinces were al-Riyadh, the Eastern Province (al-Hasa), the Northern Boundaries, Hail and al-Qaseem. Makkah, al-Madinah, Asir and Tabouk were added in 1960, 1965, 1970 and 1973 respectively. The second rank provinces are linked to the Deputy Minister of the Interior in both financial and administrative matters. Tables (4.7) and (4.8) show these second rank provinces in 1958 and 1973.

TABLE (4.7)

First and Second Rank Provinces in 1958First Rank Provinces

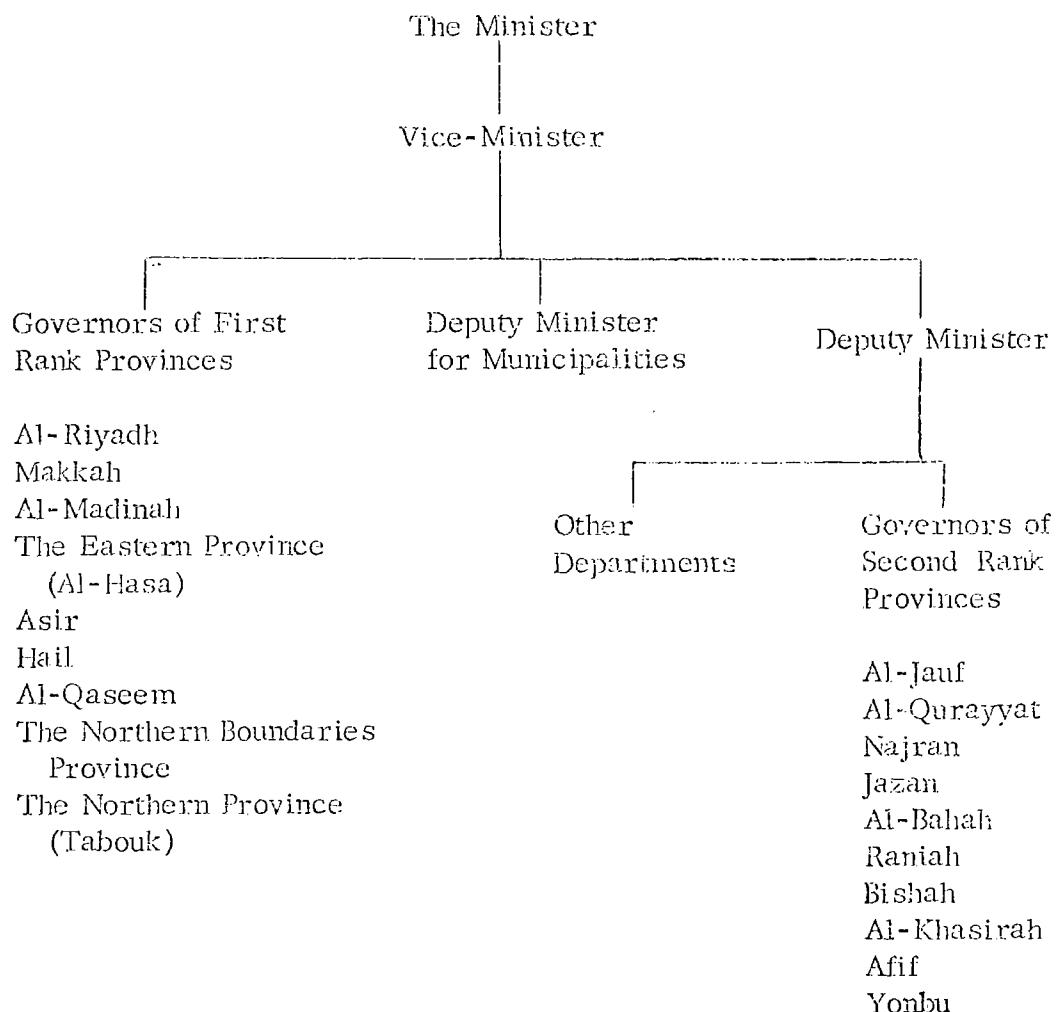
Al-Riyadh
 Hail
 Al-Qaseem
 The Eastern Province (al-Hasa)
 The Northern Boundaries Province

Second Rank Provinces

Makkah	Al-Muwaīh
Al-Zaima	Dhulum
Wadi al-Jumum	Midrikah
Al-Kamil	Jeddah
Al-Khurmah	Rabigh
Afif	Yonbu
Raniah	Al-Madinah
Al-Khasirah	Taima
Al-Taif	Bishah
Tarabah	Baljourashy (now al-Bahah)
Al-Lith	Al-Qunfudhah
Al-Birk	Jazan
Al-Rith	Najran
Sharurah	Abha
The Northern Province (Tabouk)	Al-Qurayyat
Al-Jauf	

TABLE (4.8)

Place of Saudi Provinces in the Administrative
Structure of the Ministry of Interior in 1973



CHAPTER FIVE
EVOLUTION OF THE PROVINCES OF
SAUDI ARABIA UP TO 1955

During the course of its history, the state of Saudi Arabia has developed a unique provincial system : unique both in the manner in which it has evolved and in the character it has acquired. It is the outcome of a mixture of factors which extend from the areal characteristics of the different parts of the state to factors related to the personal characteristics of individual authorities or to the traditional social organisations. This chapter will examine the factors which underline the emergence of the territorial organisation of the Saudi provinces up to 1955. It will follow the evolution of these provinces and their sub-divisions, and examine their territorial extent and the criteria upon which these limits were based.

The writer in the course of his field investigation in Saudi Arabia found it very difficult to trace the evolution of the Saudi provinces between their emergence and the year when they came under the authority of the Ministry of Interior, around 1953. The difficulty encountered is the outcome of very many factors, but a few of them are more important. First, the documents related to this subject, and many others concerning the early stages of the country's administration, have just been moved to al-Riyadh from Makkah, where the Ministry of Finance which supervised the financial affairs of the provinces up to 1953 was formerly situated. They are unclassified, highly confidential, and would take at least a year of full-time effort

by at least two devoted and specialised persons classifying and arranging them before they could be available for review and analyses. Second, most of the persons who worked during that period in positions that enabled them to form a general view of this subject are either unknown, vanished, or engaged in other responsibilities. In preparing this chapter, the author relied heavily on two kinds of sources. The first is some documents available in the Ministry of Interior and the Institute of Public Administration, concerning the provincial administration during this period. The second type is the books of those who were assigned to very high and authoritative positions in the Saudi government during the period concerned (from 1926 to approximately 1950).⁵

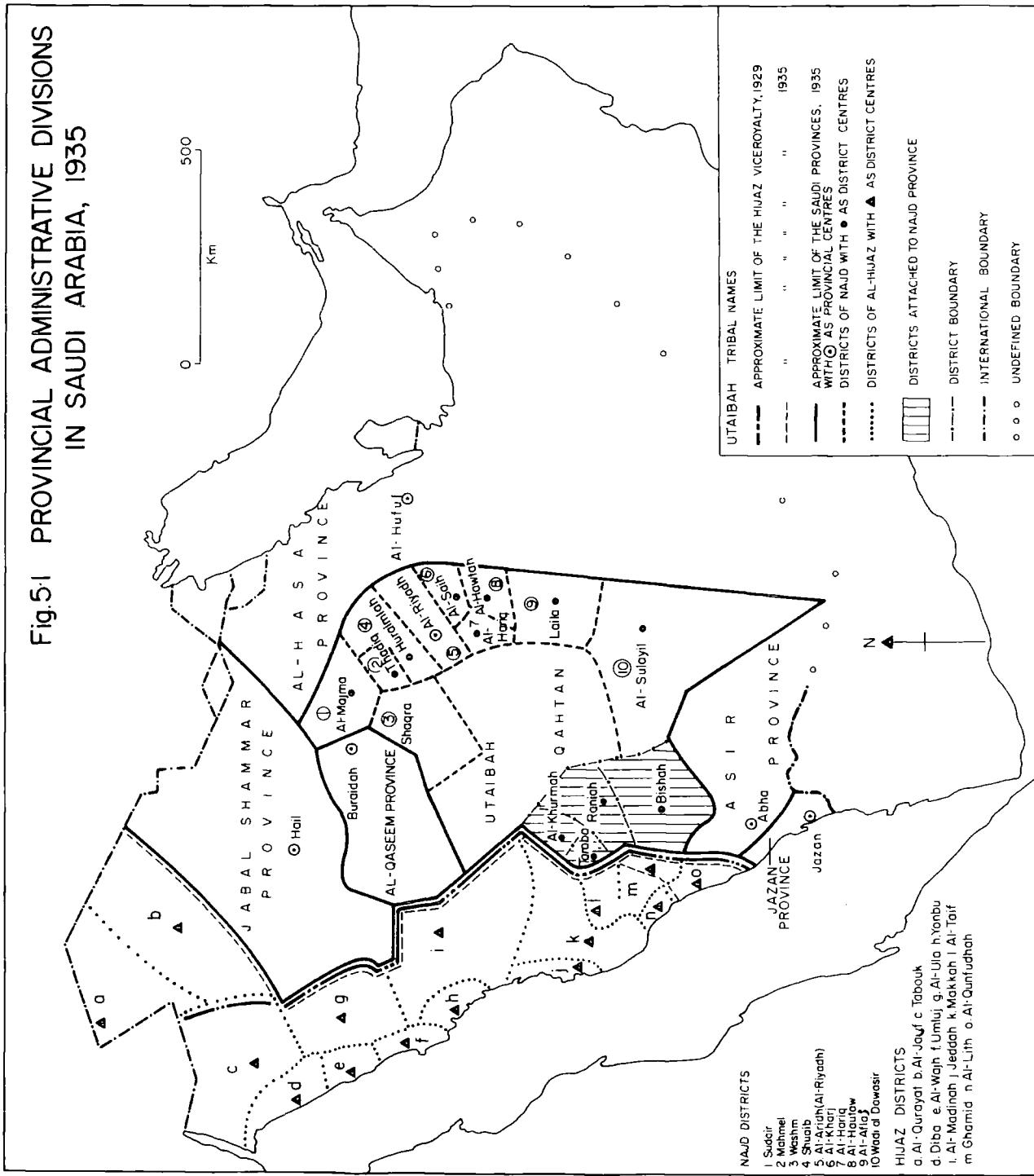
5.1 The Saudi Provinces up to 1935

From the annexation of al-Hijaz in 1925 to the end of the al-Yaman War in 1934, the country was broadly divided into two politico-administrative units, each having its own administrative features and organisations (see Chapter Four). These were al-Hijaz and Najd with its Dependencies. Figure (5.1) should be consulted for materials throughout this chapter.

A. Al-Hijaz

As stated previously, al-Hijaz was ruled and administered by the Viceroy or Agent-General, who acted as the personal representative of the King in this area. It had certain administrative arrangements which derived their essence from mixed foreign influences after

Fig. 51 PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS
IN SAUDI ARABIA, 1935

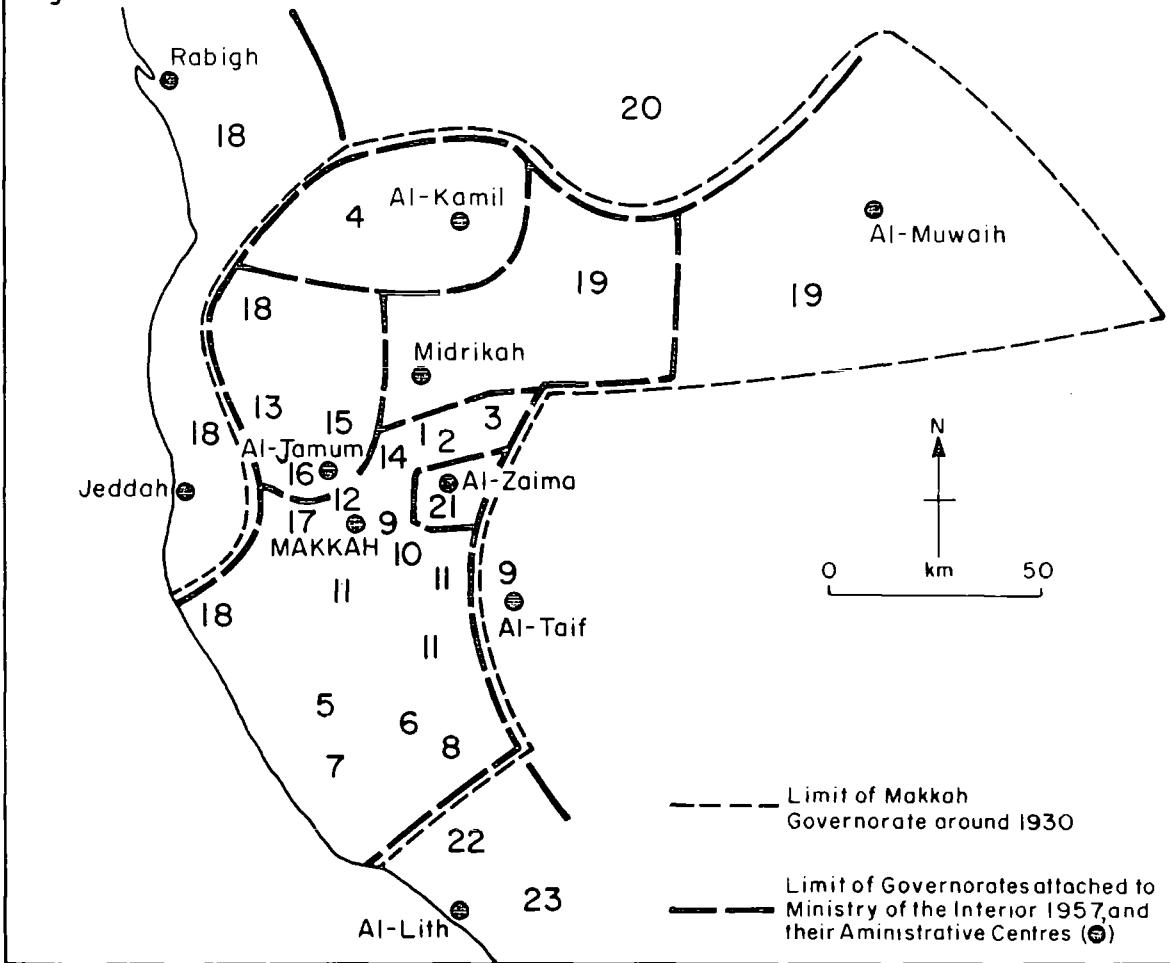


a long period of contact with outside powers, and which served as the bases for what is now the central government. At this stage, al-Hijaz preserved a state of autonomy with the King as the only unifying force with the rest of the country. It even maintained control over an area similar to that area proclaimed and controlled by the Sharifs of Makkah as the Ottoman Willayat of al-Hijaz. According to the budget of 1349 (c 1930), the province of al-Hijaz was divided into twelve districts (amarat).

1. Makkah

The city itself was the capital of the Kingdom of al-Hijaz as it had been the capital of the Sharifate dynasty for ten centuries. The district of Makkah extended over the territories of the Ashraf tribes between Wadi al-Hada in the north and Wadi al-Sadiyyah in the south, with Jabal Kara as the eastern limit of the district. It also contained some territories belonging to the Sulaim in Wadi Sitarah, which form the northern limit of the district, and some Utaiba territories as far as al-Dafinah in the west.⁶ The district was undoubtedly divided into smaller units on tribal bases. The area contained at least 12 Ashraf tribes with well-known limits. Figure (S.2) shows the approximate extent of Makkah district and the location of the tribes known to be under its authority. One example of the pattern used to sub-divide this district is what came to be known as Madarik al-Ashraf (the sub-districts of al-Ashraf), which were established and delimited by King Abdul Aziz directly after annexing Makkah to his realm. The purpose of those sub-divisions was to guarantee the security and safety of the pilgrimage route to Makkah from every direction by

Fig 52 MAKKAH PROVINCE PRIOR TO 1959



TRIBES OF ASHRAF DISTRICTS

I AL-MADIQ DISTRICT

1. Bani Masoud
2. Al-Hukman, Qawasim, Mahya
3. Al-Kirzan

II AL-KAMIL DISTRICT

4. Bani Sulaim

III AL-HUSAINIYAH DISTRICT

5. Nadawiyin and Al-Fakhir
6. Jahadilah
7. Dhawi Surur
8. Shanabirah, Thalibah and Zanabijah
9. Quraish, Dhawi Zaid and Dhawi Libas
10. Al-Abadilah
11. Hudhail
12. Tukhmah and Husainat

IV JAMUM (*Wadi Fatimah*) DISTRICT

13. Alawat
14. Al-Manaimah
15. Rawajihah
16. Dhawi Husain and Lihian
17. Maqattah, Shariyah, Subhah, Huwaisat, Hawarimah, Agfah, Maqahisah, Badwah and Majanin

TRIBES OF SURROUNDING DISTRICTS

18. Harb
19. Rogah (*Utaibah*)
20. Bani Abdillah (*Mutair*)
21. Zawahirah
22. Rahman
23. Dhawi Hasan (*Ashraf*)

making certain Sharifs (normally heads of Sharif tribes) responsible for certain areas which were usually the territory they traditionally controlled. The district of Makkah was ruled and administered by a Sharif Qaimmagam (the title of the governor of qada in the Ottoman provincial administration, Chapter Two and Table (2. 1)), a post which is still held by a Sharif but with decreasing authority due to the presence of a governor and deputy governor in Makkah with higher authority and wider responsibilities. It is held that the reason behind the fact that this post is still functioning, and that it is always held by a Sharif, is that it was among the conditions agreed upon between the people of Makkah and King Abdul Aziz in the events that led to the complete annexation of al-Hijaz.⁷ The authority of the Sharif Qaimmagam is nowadays restricted to tribal affairs.

2. Al-Taif

Due to its location as the closest town in the Hijaz mountains to Makkah, the capital and administrative centre of al-Hijaz for at least ten centuries, al-Taif became the administrative as well as the economic centre for many southern tribes. During this period, al-Taif district consisted of the territories of the tribes of Quraysh in the north, Adwan in the east, Bani Sufyan, Bani Salim, Bani Saad, Bal-Harith, Thaqif, Bani Malik (which was the last southernmost tribe under the authority of al-Taif before this period - see Chapter Three), Zahran (only those of the mountain, as the document related to the establishment of Ghāmid and Zahran Province reveals),⁸ and some sections of Ghāmid al-Badr (those living on the eastern slope of al-Sarat).

3. Jeddah

This district controlled the coastal plain from Rabigh to the port of Jeddah, an area totally inhabited by the Masruh, a major subtribe of the Harb. The district was also, and still is, administered by a Qaimmaqam who is not a Sharif.

4. Al-Madinah

This holy city is known to be the centre of the Harb tribe (with the exception of the Masruh subtribe who are centred around Rabigh). As an administrative unit, it contained in this period most of the Harb territory north, east, south and west of al-Madinah city. It also contained the territory of Bani Abdullah, a section of the Mutair.⁹

5. Yonbu

This is the centre of the Juhaina tribe, whose chief has always been a Sharif. The district included, strangely, some of Juhaina territory along with the territory of Subh, a sub-section of the Harb centred around Badr and Jabal Subh.

6. Umluj

For unknown reasons, this district shared Yonbu control over the Juhaina.¹⁰ This could be a result of conflicts between the sections that live around the two ports.

7. Al-Wajh

This is the centre of the Billi tribe whose territory is controlled by the district.

8. Diba

This district included all the Huwaitat territory from south of

Diba (the centre of the tribe) to the undefined boundary line between the then Kingdom of al-Hijaz and Jordan. The eastern limit of this district has been mainly taken by officials and others as the Harrat Uwairid and Hisma ranges, which have been the eastern limit of the Huwaitat territory.¹¹

9. Tabouk

This town is the centre of the Bani Atiyah tribe, whose territory touches that of the Huwaitat in the west, and extends from the al-Hijaz-Jordan frontier line to a west-east line cutting Harrat Uwairid into two halves, the southern one being occupied by a small tribe called the Mawahib.¹²

10. Al-Ula

The district of al-Ula consisted of the territories of some subsections of the Harb, Awlad Ali (Anazah) and Hutaim.

11. Al-Lith

Besides the territory of the Dhawi Hasan tribe, this district consisted of the territory of Zahran (only those living in Tihama). It extended from Wadi Dogah in the south to Wadi al-Saadiyah in the north where it touched the district of Makkah.

By 1933, al-Hijaz Province was enlarged by adding to it the northern province of Wadi al-Sirhan, which consisted of the two districts of al-Qurayyat and al-Jauf. While the latter was under the authority of the Governor of Hail from the time of its annexation to the Saudi state,¹³ al-Qurayyat was directly ruled by the King, who appointed specially selected governors for this district due to the conflict between

Jordan and the Saudi state over its jurisdiction.¹⁴ Another district was added in the south. This is al-Qunfudhah, which was once under the Idrisids of Sabia. It extended from the lava field south of Wadi Hali in the south to Wadi Dogah in the north, and included such tribes as the Mashaikh and Bani Shihab in Wadi Dogah, Abadila and Ajalin in Wadi Ahsiba, Zubaid in Wadi Qarma, Bani Zaid in Wadi Qanuna, Nawashira, Mahamid, Bani Yala, Bal Air, Hasana, Shughafa, and Shardi in Wadi Yaba, and Amur, Bani Dhib, Mashaikh, Kenana, Rabia, Bani Hilal, Minjaha, Salalima and Bani Yahyah in Wadi Hali and its tributaries.¹⁵

Another district was established and attached to the Viceroyalty of al-Hijaz. This was the district of Ghāmid and Zahran (now better known as the province of al-Bahah) which is chosen in this thesis to be examined as a case study, and so I refer the reader to the part dealing with this. It is only necessary here to state that this district existed before the annexation of al-Hijaz and formed one of the qadas of the Liwa of Asir which was under the Ottoman Wilayah of al-Yaman (Chapter Two). For undisclosed reasons, the different sections of the two tribes of Ghāmid and Zahran were dispersed and assigned to four districts : al-Taif, al-Lith, al-Qunfudhah, and Bishah. When the district was established in 1934, these sections were assimilated to form the territory of the district.

B. Najd and its Dependencies

This unit comprised many divisions which were not homogeneous from the administrative point of view. Their inclusion in one politico-

administrative unit sprang from historical reasons. Most of them have been associated historically and politically with Najd and the Saudi state for the past two centuries (Chapter Three). They also shared a traditional administrative system based on tribal affiliation and personalised relations. These divisions are the provinces of Najd, al-Qaseem, Jabal Shammar or Hail, al-Hasa or the Eastern Province, Asir, and Taraz.

1. Province of Najd

The term Najd in this context applies to a much smaller area than the widely used geographic term. It is restricted to denote the area greatly influenced by Jabal Tuwaiq, which is among the many relief features in central and eastern Arabia that have been produced by tilting and erosion of sedimentary layers. The characteristics of these physical features are significant here in that their configuration and orientation are the determinant factors in the existence of settlement centres, and therefore in the essence of territorial divisions in this part of Arabia. The relief features concerned take the form of a series of belts of ridges (locally called Safrawat) and sand areas (Nufud) successively parallel to each other and often aligned north-south with some flexuring. These are shown in Figure (5.3), which explains the fact that this geomorphic structure has given rise to a peculiar drainage pattern that helped to develop a widely accepted and recognised system of territorial divisions whose origin is uncertain. As far back as the early Saudi rule of the eighteenth century, this system was adopted and formed the basic principles upon which district delimitations and administrative divisions are based. These divisions as they stood at the beginning of this century were shown by Lorimer

SUCCESSIVE BELT OF RIDGES
AND SANDY AREAS IN CENTRAL
AND EASTERN SAUDI ARABIA

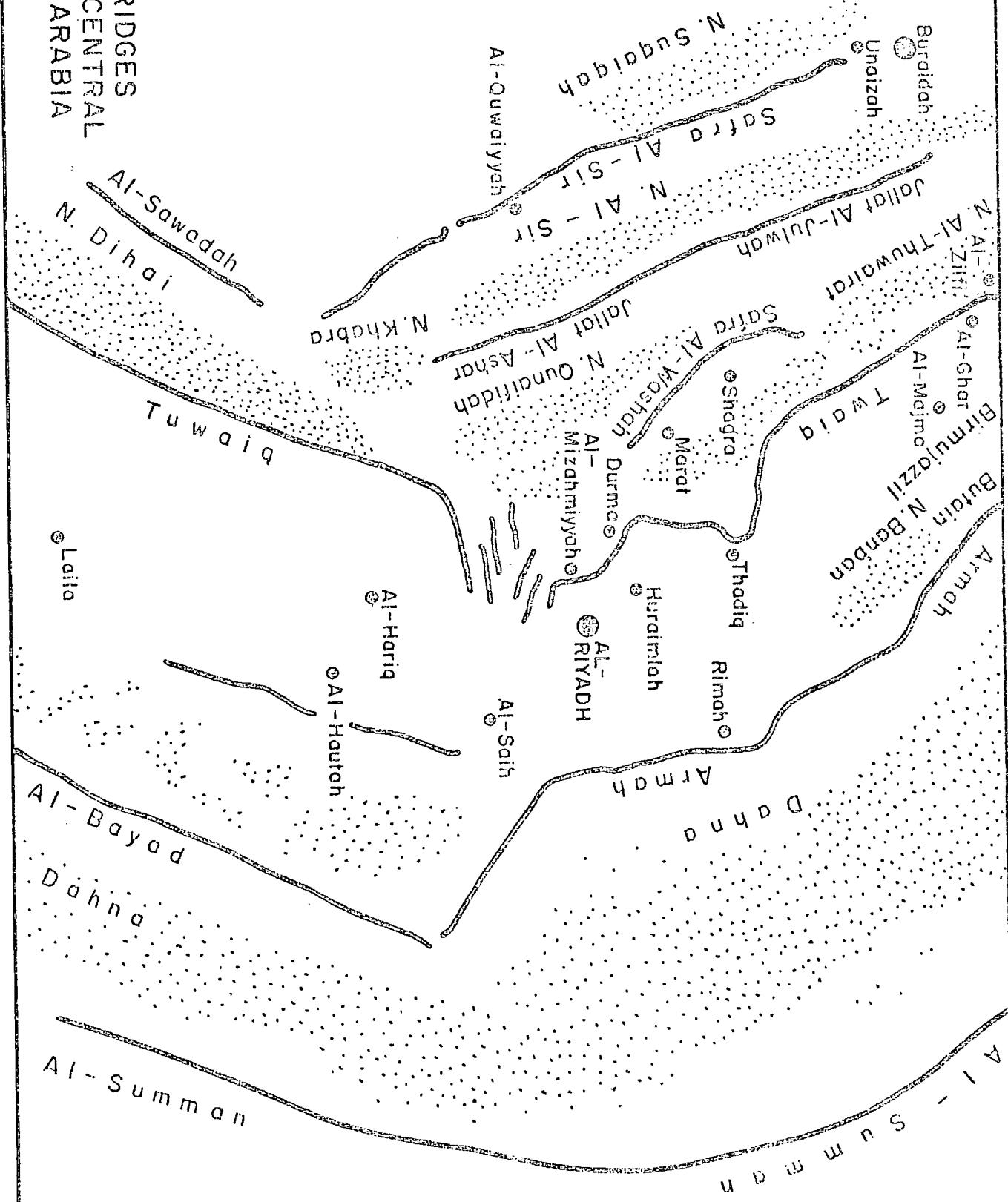
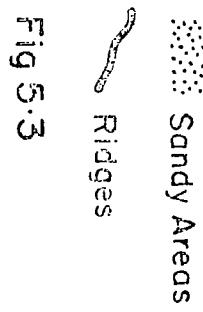


Fig 5.3

in his invaluable work on the 'Persian' Gulf. They were also recognised by Rihani, who rightly added to Lorimer's divisions the districts of Mahmal and Shuaib.¹⁶ Up to 1934, the province of Najd consisted, according to Faud Hamza, of ten districts and four tribal centres. They were the districts of al-Riyadh, al-Hariq, al-Hautah, al-Aflaj, Wadi al-Dawasir, al-Mahmal, Sudair, al-Washm, Ahl al Widyan (Raniah, Tarabah and al-Khurmah), and Bishah. There were four tribes attached to the province : the Subai and Suhul centred in Riyadh (they were traditionally called Badw al-Aridh), Qahtan Najd centred in al-Rain, and Utaibah in al-Dawadmi. There is doubt whether the Mutair centred in al-Artawiyah followed Najd or Jabal Shammar.

(i) Al-Riyadh. The city of al-Riyadh was the capital of Najd and its Dependencies and the centre of the district which controlled the villages along Wadi Hanifah and its tributaries. According to Hamza, the district included the three traditional districts of al-Shuaib, al-Aridh and al-Kharj, which were thought of by the local inhabitants as separate districts and therefore administered as such.

(ii) Al-Hautah, and (iii) Al-Hariq. Although these districts and their villages have similar physical environments and are located on the same wadi (al-Far) and its tributaries, they seemed to constitute until recently separate units in every government field agency. The factors behind this have never been clearly stated, as is the case with many similar cases to be mentioned later on. It is a commonly known fact that bitterness and sometimes open conflict have always existed between two leading villages sharing a wadi but having different tribal affiliations (especially the leading families). This is the traditional rivalry along

with tribal warfare which shaped the history of central Arabia before the establishment of the Saudi state. Central Arabia has lived through many examples of such sedentary rivalry and bitterness, and some of them still persist. This could be true in the case of al-Hautah and al-Hariq. The first oasis, along with many others in this district, has been occupied mainly by the Tamim tribe, and the major oasis is often called Hautat Bani Tamim to distinguish it from other Hautahs (a commonplace name in Najd). The inhabitants of al-Hariq, on the other hand, are from the Hazazinah section of the Ruwalaah (a subtribe of Anazah).¹⁷ To this could be added another significant factor in preserving the separate identity of these districts. Between 1909 and 1910, King Abdul Aziz had to face two internal uprisings : the Hazazinah of al-Hariq and al-Arafah, who are cousins of the King. Both uprisings took both al-Hariq and al-Hautah as headquarters, but were quickly terminated, and the two districts were re-occupied and promised some form of self-rule.¹⁸

(iv) Al-Aflaj. The settled inhabitants of this district are mostly Dawasir, who also form the majority of the nomadic inhabitants. The district is noted for its numerous springs, from which the name aflaj (plural of faj, or fellej) is derived.

(v) Wadi al-Dawasir. It is the last district in the south and controls the numerous villages along this wadi, which is thought of as the outlet of Wadi Tathlith, Wadi Bishah and Wadi Raniah. This time, the main source is not Jabal Tuwaiq, and therefore the district, unlike some other districts east of this ridge, extends west of Jabal Tuwaiq, probably to the points of contact with the above-mentioned wadis. The

inhabitants belong to the Dawasir tribe, whose territory might have been used to delimit the southern extent of Najd.

(vi) Al-Mahmal. This district extends over the area dominated by numerous wadis running from the main ridges in Khashm al-Husain, Raghbah and Sabkhat al-Qasab.

(vii) Sudair. This is the northernmost district of Najd and is separated from other southern districts by Wadi Atk. It extends to al-Dahna in the east and north and to Nufud al Thuwairat and Jabal Tuwaiq in the west.

(viii) Al-Washm. Geographically, this name denotes a much more restricted area than its political domain - at least from what has been recorded by Hamza,¹⁹ who included al-Dawadiqi and al-Shaara among its towns. In this case, the district extends west of Nufud al-Sir, which is the traditional western limit of al-Washm.²⁰

(ix) Ahl al-Widyan, "Inhabitants of the valleys". This district included the territory of the al-Buqum and Subai tribes, who have as their centres the important oases of Tarabah, al-Khurmah and Raniah. The al-Buqum consider as their territory Harrat Hadan, with the eastern edge of Sahl Rukbah as their western limit, Harrat al-Buqum and Wadi Tarabah with the oasis of Tarabah as their centre.²¹ The Subai, on the other hand, occupy the land east of Harrat Hadan in the west to Uruq Subai where Wadi Subai, the lower basin of Wadi Tarabah, disappears. Their land extends from north of al-Khurmah, where the territory of Utaibah begins (the actual boundary between these two tribes is given by Hamza to be the lower basin of Wadi Qattan, Raha ridges, and Shuaib Khanthal),²² to a mid-point between Raniah and Bishah, Wadi

Dhahab.²³ This would mean that the Subai tribe controls Wadi Subai, Harrat Nawasif, which is also known as Harrat Subai, and the middle and lower basin of Wadi Raniah. The Subai tribe is known to have as its close allies the tribe of Suhul of al-Aridh around al-Riyadh, where a whole section of the Subai live. The most important centres of this tribe are the oases of al-Khurmah and Raniah, with each controlling separate sections of the tribe.

The inclusion of the three oases and tribal centres of Tarabah, Raniah and al-Khurmah in Najd Province was, and to some extent still is, among the most controversial issues in the relations between al-Ashraf of al-Hijaz and the Saudis of Najd for most of the first quarter of the twentieth century, each claiming them to be part of his domain.

The dispute over them led, in fact, to a series of battles between the two states. Among the famous of these is the Tarabah battle of 1919 and al-Taif in 1924, the result of which was the complete annexation of al-Hijaz in the last months of 1925. This dispute was only a part of the unsolved problem of boundary delimitation between the two states, and it was also a part of the traditional speculation over the territorial limits of both al-Hijaz and Najd as geographical entities

(Chapter One).²⁴ The arguments put forward by the two parties could be reproduced here to establish certain facts which have some bearing on our subject. Al-Ashraf of al-Hijaz claimed that the oases of Tarabah and al-Khurmah were part of al-Hijaz as a geographical unit as well as a political entity since they are nearer and more associated geographically with al-Hijaz than with Najd, which is separated from them by barren, tribal land. It was also claimed that up to the

dispute, the two oases were controlled and ruled by a section of al-Ashraf called al-Abadilah, who lived there and became the primary landowners as well as the rulers under the Sharifate state of al-Hijaz. Al-Ashraf generally claimed jurisdiction over Raniah, Bishah, Wadi al-Dawasir, al-Khurmah, Tarabah and the territories of the Utaibah and Harb, a claim that would have enabled them to control part of al-Qaseem and western Najd.²⁵ The Saudis, on the other hand, considered the oases of Tarabah, Raniah and al-Khurmah as part of Najd on the grounds that they are located east and south-east of Jabal Hadan, which has been traditionally considered as the dividing feature between al-Hijaz and Najd, as expressed by the old saying, "Najd starts from where Hadan is seen".²⁶ Another important fact which forms the basis of the Saudi claim is that the inhabitants of these oases have accepted and fought for the religious revival which the Saudi state has adopted and espoused. They have ever since been associated historically, politically and religiously with Najd.

(x) Bishah. The oasis of Bishah is noted for its strategic location and as an important transportation centre between Asir, al-Hijaz and Najd. In previous periods, when the army of the Saudi state depended entirely on the camel, Bishah was the first oasis to be encountered towards Asir after a long journey across the barren and much dissected plateau of Upper Najd. Eventually it became an important military station, providing the army with fresh troops, ammunition and supplies. To this must be added the original function of the oasis as an important trading post for the settled as well as nomadic inhabitants, and as an agricultural centre. Furthermore, the oasis became

the centre of a district of considerable size, whose allegiance, owing to the above-mentioned characteristics, has been sought by Asir, Najd, and al-Hijaz. The district at this period controlled the tribal territories of the Aklab in the north and east, the northern sections of the Shahrain, Balharith, Khatham, Balqarn, Shumran of the mountains and Ghāmid al-Hijaz, with sections of Ghāmid al-Badw (nomads).²⁷ The last two were separated from Bishah in 1934 to form with the rest of the territory of the Ghāmid and Zahran a separate district. Bishah district seemed, on evidence of later development, to include some sections of the Qahtan around Tathlith and to extend as far south as Khaibar.

The province of Najd also included the territories of four Najdi tribes.

(i) Subai and Suhul. They are called the tribes of al-Aridh, the small district centred in al-Riyadh. The first is the same tribe as that living around al-Khurrah and Raniah, with the three areas having specific sections.²⁸ Both tribes are noted as having been settled in the area for a long period, and therefore settled members of them could be found in almost every Najdi village. Evidence of their early settlement could be derived from the list of al-hijar (the Bedouin settlement centres established by King Abdul Aziz in and after the second decade of this century). In this list the Suhul was never mentioned, while the Subai had only six hijar, compared with 33 and 19 belonging to the Harb and Utaibah respectively.²⁹

(ii) Qahtan. This is one of the biggest tribes in Arabia and controls a territory extending from the Saudi-Yamani boundary

around Dhahran al-Janub to the heart of Najd north of Nufud al-Dihai, where the Qahtanis have their primary hijra at al-Rain. The tribe is traditionally divided into Qahtan Asir and Qahtan Najd, each with distinct sections.³⁰ The first occupies the southern part of Asir, facing the Saudi-Yamani boundary both in al-Sarat and in Tihama and Wadi Tathlith with the upper course of Wadi Bishah, while the second controls the dissected plateau with its numerous wadis west and north of Nufud al-Dihai.

(iii) Utaibah. The territory of this tribe was the subject of a long dispute between the Sharifate and Saudi states, both claiming jurisdiction over the tribe on the basis of exacting taxes from the tribe on a regular basis. As mentioned before, tribes as powerful as the Utaibah pay taxes to the strongest side, enabling it to change sides and therefore shifting allegiance as often as possible. The territory of this tribe extends roughly from a line connecting the eastern slopes of al-Hijaz mountain east of al-Taif and Harrat Rihat at Ushairah to al-Washm and al-Qaseem,³¹ the principal Utaibah hijra being Ghataghat at the south-eastern end of Nufud al-Qunaifidah. It seems from the available resources that the tribe was divided into two large sections : the Rogah and Bergah. The former is known to be mostly associated with al-Hijaz, with some sub-sections living deep in this area around Makkah, al-Taif and al-Sail, while Bergah occupies the central desert and extends as far eastward as Tuwaiq mountain.³² The dividing line between these two sections of the Utaibah, and presumably therefore between Najd and al-Hijaz, is not clearly known, but a close observer suggests from first-hand knowledge that the sec-

tion of Rogah claims all watering places north of the Riyadh-Makkah route from Nufud al-Sir and westward, with the other section, the Bergah, claiming the watering places south of it.³³ This point of view is supported by the existence north of this route of Utaibah hijar and watering places belonging to the Rogah, such as al-Souh, Dahinah, Usailah, Sajir, Arja, Kabshan and Nisi, while Bergah has as its primary hijar Ghatghat, Arwa, Sanam and Rawdah, all of which are south of the route.³⁴ This would mean that the territory of both sections of the tribe penetrates into both al-Hijaz and Najd, and therefore it would be inconceivable to think of the boundary between their territories as a dividing line between the political entities of al-Hijaz and Najd, as many sources implied.

(iv) Mutair. This is another great northern nomadic tribe, whose allegiance has always been with the Saudis, except when the Mutairs headed by their Chief Faisal al-Dawish revolted along with other tribal members of the Ikhwan,³⁵ especially the Utaibah and Ajman, against King Abdul Aziz - a revolt that lasted from 1926 to 1930.³⁶ The tribe was closely watched and controlled from the centre, al-Riyadh, but its territory afterwards in the 1930's became a subject of dispute between the provinces of Hail and al-Hasa, as will be mentioned later. The territory of this tribe extends from around al-Kuwait town to al-Qaseem, and from the Arabian Gulf and the dira of the Ajman in the east to Wadi al-Batin to include part of al-Kuwait, al-Dibdibah plain and the northern part of this province (Najd).³⁷

In summary, the province of Najd comprised a territory extending from the sandy belt of al-Dahna from the east and south-east to Nufud

al-Thuwairat and the province of al-Qaseem in the north. The south-western territory included the lower valleys of Tathleth, Bishah, Raniah, Tarabah and the whole of the Subai and Dawasir territory, while the western limit north of al-Khurmah is not precisely known, although later development suggests that it is a line aligned north-south running half-way between al-Nugrah and Arjah in the north (on the road from al-Qaseem to al-Madinah) to half-way between Afif and al-Dafinah in the south until it reaches the sandy area of Uruq Subai.

2. The Province of al-Qaseem

Although al-Qaseem is undoubtedly part of 'traditional' Najd, it acquired through historical and political incidents a very unique 'personality' distinguishing it from the very closely associated area of 'political' Najd and Jabal Shammar. Geographically, al-Qaseem is an area dominated by the Wadi al-Rummah and its tributaries (especially from the north and south in its middle basin). Its main settlements are relatively recent villages, mostly located on the left hand of the valley. Historically and politically, it has generally enjoyed a virtual autonomy, although at times it became dependent or semi-dependent on the Saudis, the Rasheeds of Jabal Shammar, or even the Sharifs. Its location on the trans-peninsular route, and its importance as an agricultural and trade centre have made it the focus of attention, and the battlefield as well as the buffer zone and the decisive factor in the balance of power in central Arabia.

Al-Qaseem as a geographical district is traditionally known to extend to the Wadi Turmus in the north separating it from Jabal Shammar, Nufud al-Thuwairat in the east, and Wadi al-Sir in the south,

with al-Midhnab as the last of al-Qaseem villages in the south.³⁸ As to its south-eastern and eastern limits, al-Qaseem is vaguely defined, ending a little beyond al-Rass, and measuring on average about 80 miles across.

The administrative pattern of al-Qaseem as a province is dominated by the municipalities of Unaizah and Buraidah, between whom there has been perpetual rivalry leading to war at times. These two unrivalled administrative centres have controlled most of the al-Qaseem villages, with Wadi al-Rummah as the dividing line between their subordinate villages. As the province was brought under Saudi rule, a strong hand was needed to overcome troubles in the two towns (Buraidah was noted for its revolts against the Saudi rule up to its subjugation, due to the autonomy it had always maintained and sought), and to seek unity between them. The second objective was never achieved, and it was not long after this period that Unaizah was made a separate district outside the province of al-Qaseem, as will be seen later. Two districts were established in the province before the end of this period : al-Midhnab and al-Rass. The question of subordinate villages remained to some extent uncertain, but undoubtedly the effect was to diminish the territory of Unaizah, since both centres lie south and west of it respectively.

3. The Province of Jabal Shammar

This term signifies the mountain groups of Jabal Aja and Salma, together with numerous outlying ridges where the tribe of that name wandered and engaged in cultivation. The name became of greater political significance when the Rashid state was established around Hail

and in its flourishing periods extended beyond Jabal Shammar proper to include at times the whole of the 'political' Najd and al-Qaseem in the south, and the Wadi Sirhan and part of the Syrian desert beyond in the north. In the east, the Dahna belt and the eastern limit of the Great Nefud were its limit, while in the west the Rashid state controlled for a long period the two oases of Taima and Khaibar and particularly the territory of the Hutaim tribe in and around Harrat Khaibar.

When Jabal Shammar became part of the Saudi state in 1921, Hail was made the administrative centre of a large province consisting of four districts:-

- (i) Jabal Shammar proper, centred in Hail and stretching from the Dahna belt in the east to the sources of Wadi Rummah in Harrat Khaibar in the west, and from the northern end of the Great Nefud in the north to Wadi Turmus and the upper basin of Wadi Rummah in the south;
- (ii) Al Jauf and the lower basin of Wadi al-Sirhan;
- (iii) Taima; and,
- (iv) Khaibar, with Harrat Khaibar and the villages on its edges.

The inclusion of the last three districts in this province was based primarily on historical grounds, but the prime factor in keeping the last two within the province for half a century was the personality of the governor, who, a close cousin and fellow-campaigner of King Abdul Aziz, made his own authority - so I was informed several times - reach through his tax collectors to areas beyond the already-mentioned limits

of the province. However, by the end of this period, al-Jauf was separated from the province to report directly to the Viceroyalty of al-Hijaz. Taima, on the other hand, was ruled from 1916 to 1950 by a strong governor, Abdul Karim bin Rumman, who sought the autonomy of Taima although under the supervision of Hail. The oasis was assigned to the governor of Tabouk after the murder of its governor in 1950, but it was claimed by the Provincial Governor of Hail a year later.³⁹

4. The Two Provinces of Asir and Jazan

In a previous chapter, the evolution of the political entity of the Idrisid and Al-Ayed states and the relation between them with their limits through time have been dealt with, up to their annexation to the Saudi state. It is, however, significant from the point of view of their evolution as separate provinces to emphasise certain aspects. First, regardless of their ups and downs, the two entities maintained control, on the average, over fixed territory with fixed limits, since tribal organisation with its clearly defined territories has always been the predominant social and political institution. For example, the Al-Ayed state and other tribal states before it in al-Sarah proper of Asir have always kept control over the tribes of Asir, Shaliran, Qahtan and Rijal al-Hajr in al-Sarah proper, and Bariq, al-Musa, and Raysh in Tihama, besides many sub-sections of the first group living in this area, such as Janb bin Saad of Qahtan, Rijal Alma of Asir, and some sections of Balasmar and Balahmar of Rijal al-Hajr,⁴⁰ as shown in Figure (5.4). Second, the relationship between the two areas was motivated and channelled by rivalry and tribal warfare, so that both have developed distinct and

Fig 5·4 TRIBAL LAND AS LIMITS OF PROVINCIAL TERRITORY
IN ASIR AND JAZAN PROVINCES 1925-1955
(For key to numbers see Table 5·1)

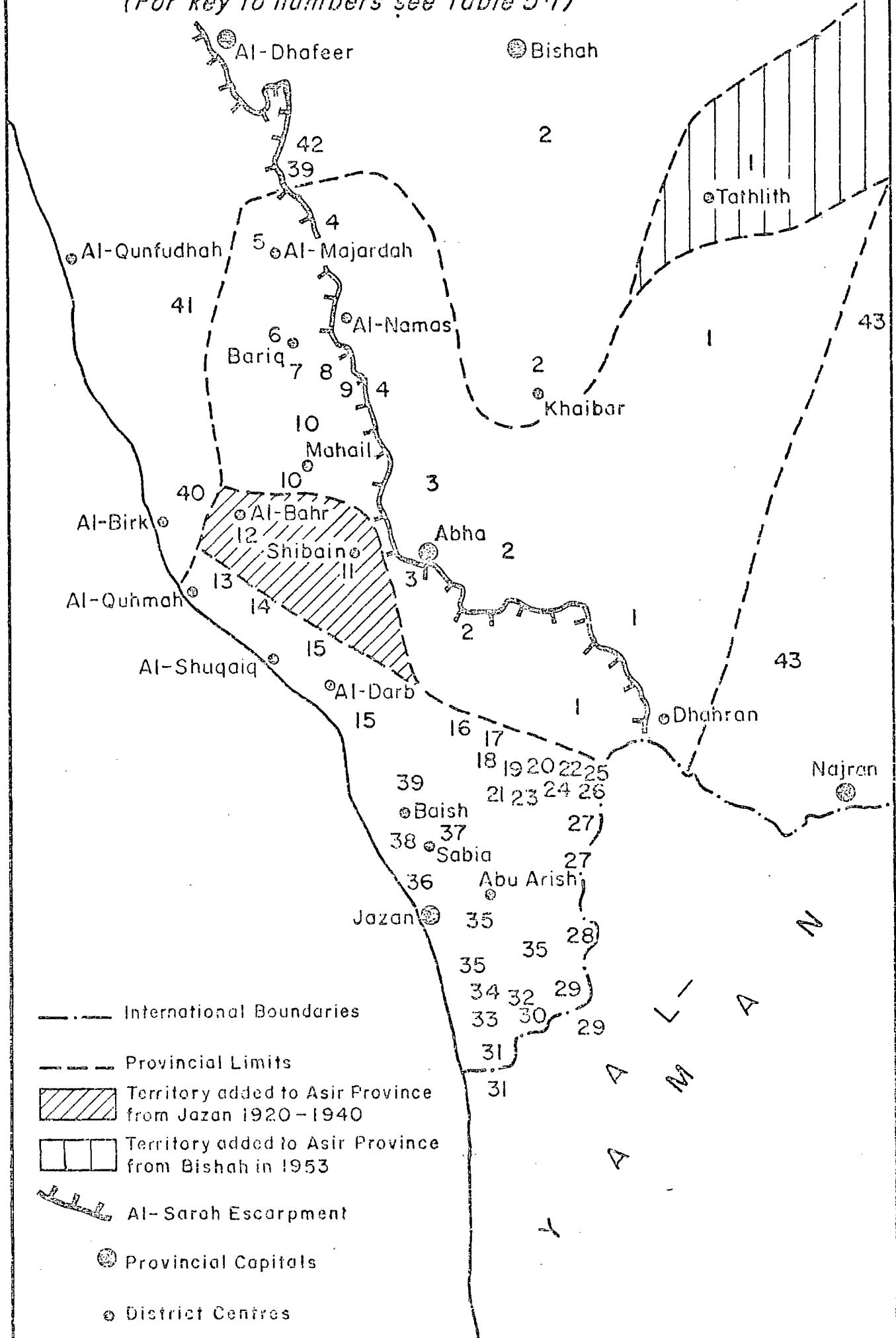


TABLE 5.1
Tribes of South-western Saudi Arabia

A. Tribes of Asir Province

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1. Qahtan | 7. Al-Duraib |
| 2. Shahran | 8. Al-Raish |
| 3. Asir | 9. Bani Thoah |
| 4. Bani al-Hajr | 10. Al-Musa |
| 5. Majardah | 11. Rijal Alma |
| 6. Bariq | 12. Qana wa al-Bahr |

B. Tribes of Jazan Province

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| 13. Al-Minjalah | 26. Bani Malik |
| 14. Al-Tin | 27. Jawabir, Sufian, Qays
and Bani Wadan |
| 15. Bani Shu'bah | 28. Abadil |
| 16. Al-Haqw | 29. Bani al-Hurrath |
| 17. Al-Raith | 30. Walan |
| 18. Al-Uzza | 31. Bani Marwan |
| 19. Al-Sahalil | 32. Bani Shubail |
| 20. Hurub | 33. Bani Hummad |
| 21. Al-Hussab | 34. Hakamiyah |
| 22. Banu Hurais | 35. Masariyah |
| 23. Bani al-Ghazi | 36. Jafirah |
| 24. Faifa | 37. Sabia |
| 25. Al-Tlid (Qahtan) | 38. Al-Mikhlaf |
| | 39. Baish |

C. Other Tribes

- | | |
|---------------|----------|
| 40. Khatarish | 41. Harb |
|---------------|----------|

Note : For the distribution of these tribes, see Figure (5.4)

separate political entities, each trying to subdue and subjugate the other to its control and authority. Third, Abha and Jazan, the present provincial centres, were recently chosen as capitals of the previous states existing in the area. The frequent changes of the political centres in the area is an interesting phenomenon resulting from the shift of power from one tribe or family to the other. For example, Tabah was the political centre when Asir al-Sarah was under the control of the Abu Nuqtah family from the al-Mithami section of the tribe of Rabiah and Rafidah (a subtribe of the Asir) during the period 1215-1237 AH (1800-1821). When the sub-sections of al-Najih and al-Yazid of the Bani Mughid (a subtribe of the Asir) took over, they used the village of al-Siqa as the political centre until the Ottoman invasion of the area in 1872, when Abha was chosen by the Ottomans to be the capital of the Sanjak of Asir (Chapter Two). The same development is to be found in Tihamat Asir, where Abu Arish, Sabia, and Jazan functioned successively as political centres. Fourth, there have been a number of disputed areas, whether between the political entities of Sarat Asir and Tihamat Asir, or between these two and the surrounding entities. We should in this context exclude those in the south, since an international boundary line is placed there. The coastal area between Sabia and Hali was once the battleground between Ashraf Abu Arish and the Asiris, and also between the latter and the Sharifs of Makkah. In the north, Bishah as well as the territory of the two tribes of Ghāmid and Zahran were the 'buffer' zone between the Sharifs of Makkah and the Asiris.⁴¹ Finally, the political relationship between these two areas and Najd was drawn closer by the adherence to the Najdi religious revival movement of most

of the inhabitants, especially the tribal chiefs, as early as 1800. For the next 20 years, Asir was firmly part of Najd, and therefore the Saudi state, while the tribal chiefs were launching campaigns against the surrounding territory, especially Tihamat al-Yaman, in the name of the Saudi amirs.⁴² The political influence of Najd over Asir was brought to a halt by the Ottoman and Egyptian campaigns against the Saudi state and their invasion of Asir. The contact between Asir and Najd was renewed in 1919 and 1927, when the territories of Al-Ayed of Abha in Sarat Asir and al-Idrisi of Sabia in Tihamat Asir became respectively part of the Saudi state.

The extent of these two provinces at the end of this period (1934) was partly the outcome of the first, second and fourth factors mentioned above (Fig (5.4)). The province of Asir was reported by Hamza to include the territory of the tribes of Wadiyah, Qahtan, Asir, Rijal al-Hajr, Rijal Alma, al-Raish, al-Duraib, al-Musa and Banu Thuah.⁴³ The province also includes the greater part of the Shahran tribe living in al-Sarah proper, with the rest following Bishah. The limit of Bishah in this respect is not known, but there are three pieces of evidence that favour the southern extent of Bishah at this period beyond the village of Khaibar. First, there is documentary evidence emphasising the fact that Bishah included at times the two oases of Khaibar and Tathlith. Second, Khaibar was considered as the last southern locality to grow date palms between Bishah and Asir, and it is known that Wadi Bishah is locally divided into two parts : Bishat al-Qamh (Bishah of wheat), and Bishat al-Nakhl (Bishah of date palms), the former being traditionally attached to Asir, and the latter to Bishah itself.⁴⁴ Finally,

Khaibar is inhabited by the al-Khutham, a sub-section of the Banu Wahib who were among the Shahran sections being attached to Bishah.⁴⁵ The territory of the tribe of Rijal Alma was attached to Asir Province not long before the end of this period. When Asir became part of the Saudi state in 1919, it was agreed to have the boundary between Asir and the Idrisid state running east of the tribe of Rijal Alma and north of Qana wa al-Bahr to the coast at a point between al-Birk and al-Quhrnah.⁴⁶ This meant excluding from Asir Province the territory of Rijal Alma, which was one of the disputed areas between the two entities. Rijal Alma was probably attached to Asir during the Idrisi uprising against the Saudi state in 1932. Another district which was attached to this province in this period is Najran. The inhabitants of Najran district are mainly of the Yam tribe, which dominates the area around Wadi Najran and Habonah.

The province of Jazan included the territories of the tribes of Qana wa al-Bahr, Waiad Aslam, al-Tine, Khatarish, Minjahah, Banu Shubah, Jasirah, al-Hawawiyah, Sahalil, Hurub, Hussab, Banu al-Ghazi, Banu Malik, Al-Tilid, Abadilah, Banu Hurais, Jawabir, Sufian, Qays, Banu Wadan, Masarihah, Shubail, Banu Hummad, Walan and Banu Marwan (Fig (5.4)).⁴⁷

5. Al-Hasa

Since the evacuation of Turkish troops from al-Hufuf and al-Qatif, and the annexation of the western coastal area of the Arabian Gulf in 1913, al-Hasa has come to be known as a province of considerable size centred at al-Hufuf, and consisting of three districts and eight tribal territories. There were the districts of al-Hasa, control-

ling the oasis-cluster of al-Hasa and part of the coastline, al-Qatif district including the surrounding villages such as Safwah, al-Awamiyah, al-Dammam, and Sanabis, along with many islands, some of which were Darin, Tarout and Rusayyah, and the district of Jubail. The province included the tribal territories of al-Murrah, and al-Manasir in the south; Bani Khalid and Bani Hajir in the central east; Ajman, Awazim, Rashaydah and the northern sections of the Mutair in the north and north-west. The limit of the province could be regarded as the Kuwait-Saudi Neutral Zone, the Kuwait-Saudi boundary lines and Wadi al-Batin in the north and north-west, and the Dahna belt in the west, while the southern limit is not known since it touched upon undefined international borders.

5.2 Provincial Changes : 1935-1955

The only considerable changes in the provincial setting during this period occurred in the Viceroyalty of al-Hijaz in the form of increasing its areal responsibility, that is, the size of the land it had to supervise and administer (Fig (5.1)). Certain districts and even provinces were attached to it in what could probably be the first step to maintain a unified supervision and control over the administration of provinces throughout the whole state. This went side by side with the establishment of the Council of Deputies in 1932 and the unification of all parts under the name of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1932. This came about as a result of the increasing realisation of the relatively superior administrative efficiency of the Viceroyalty due to its introduction of modern administrative procedure and the relatively higher educational attain-

ment of the Viceroyalty's administrative staff. It could also have been the outcome of the desire and demand of the state to watch closely and control far-distant parts, characterised by considerable tribal disturbances and weak local authorities. This is particularly true in the case of the two provinces of Asir and Jazan, to which many commissions were sent to study and report the situation, and recommend the best possible way of maintaining law and order in the provinces, and arranging their sub-divisions so as to establish better and precise hierarchy of administrative responsibility.⁴⁸ The governorates and districts attached to the Viceroyalty during this period were Asir, Jazan, Najran, Bishah, Raniah, Tarabah, al-Khurmah, al-Qurayyat, al-Jauf, and as far as al-Dawadmi in the east.

This meant that there were only five first order administrative divisions in the Kingdom : the Viceroyalty of al-Hijaz, Hail, al-Qaseem, Najd and al-Hasa. Another province was established around 1950 and named the Tapline Agency. Its main functions was to guard the Tapline from the Wadi al-Batin to the end of the Saudi territory east of al-Qurayyat district. This province has come to be known, since 1957, as the Northern Boundaries Province, and runs parallel to the Saudi-Iraqi boundary line.

When the Ministry of Interior was established in Makkah in 1951 as the central authority for local government, the provinces outside the Viceroyalty (namely the provinces of Hail, al-Qaseem, Najd and al-Hasa) resisted the notion since this would mean the lowering of the governors' rank and decreasing their authority. This resistance was enhanced by the establishment of the Council of Ministers and the death

of King Abdul Aziz in 1953, both of which matters tended to restrict the influence of the governors of those provinces, who had always considered the King as the only high authority they recognised. Their resistance was expressed indirectly by a letter from the Minister of Interior to the Council of Ministers in 1373 (1954) pointing out that the Ministry was never consulted in the affairs of, and had no contact with, the provinces of Najd, al-Hasa, Haii, or al-Qaseem, and that these should recognise and consider the Ministry as their prime authority, to which all matters relating to them should be referred. Although these provinces were finally attached to the Ministry after the Viceroyalty was dissolved, there still exists a distinction between first and second rank provinces, as shown in Chapter Four (see also Tables (4.7) and (4.8)). It is worth noting that the second rank provinces in 1958 were those provinces which once formed the Viceroyalty of al-Hijaz.

There were also minor changes which involved changes along the frontiers, where districts were re-adjusted and allocated to other provinces according to the demands and general need for order and administrative efficiency. The decisions to alter the extent of a province or a district are sometimes undocumented, and even if they are documented the factors behind them are rarely or vaguely disclosed. The most significant changes are discussed below, bearing in mind that most of the interpretations are not official unless otherwise indicated.

1. It has been mentioned earlier that the district of al-Qurayyat had a special administrative status due to its location along some of the Saudi-Jordan boundary line, and although it was attached to the Viceroyalty of

al-Hijaz it maintained this special status. During this period, the district was made responsible for the affairs of the whole boundary line (defined as well as undefined) between Saudi Arabia and Jordan, and thus called the Governorate of al-Qurayyat and Inspectorate of the Northern Boundaries Police. This meant that the district controlled a strip of land north of al-Hijaz and parallel to the undefined Saudi-Jordan boundaries extending from just south of Haql on the Gulf of Aqaba to the western end of the Great Nefud. This seems to be the outcome of a policy carefully designed to assign the protection and inspection of each boundary line with the northern neighbours to a specific province or district, thus the Kuwait-Saudi boundary line to the al-Hasa Province, the Iraqi-Saudi boundary line to the Tapline Agency (known as the Northern Boundaries Province since 1957), and the Jordanian-Saudi boundary line to al-Qurayyat District. The other change in the district was the removal in 1938 of the district capital from the village of Kaf to al-Nabk due to the unsavourable location of the former, which is surrounded by sabkha and pools where mosquitoes originate, in addition to its limited space for expansion, which is natural as government services are being established.

2. By the end of the 1940's, a first-order administrative unit, which came later to be known as the Northern Province, emerged to comprise the districts of Umluj, al-Wajh, Diba and Tabouk, with Tabouk as the provincial capital. This was a case very often repeated in subsequent development of administrative divisions, and which stems from the growing need for effective control and consolidation. Taima district

was added to the province in 1950, when its formidable governor, Ibn Rumman, was assassinated. The district under him maintained considerable autonomy for almost half a century, although it was attached administratively to Hail Province. After two years, Taima was re-attached to Hail Province because of the shorter distance between them compared with that between Taima and Tabouk, as documents in the Governors' File state. This is not supported by the measurement of straight line distance on the map, but it could be argued that the long term of association between Hail and Taima and the similar tribal affiliation of the two have developed relatively larger scale of contact and thus shorter perceived distance. Taima remained partially autonomous in the sense that it was administratively attached to Hail Province and financially to the Ministry of Interior until 1971, when it was finally attached to the Northern Province, as will be mentioned later.

3. It was seen earlier that Jazan Province took its final shape after its full annexation to the Saudi state in 1934. In reference to Figure (5.4), it is apparent that Qana wa al-Bahr district was part of this province, but, as shown earlier, it constituted part of the disputed area between Asir and Jazan Provinces. This district was finally attached to Asir in 1939, according to the recommendation of a commission sent to Asir in the same year. It was also noticed earlier that this province extended to al-Qunfudhah at the time of the Idrisi dynasty, about 1910-1918. But when al-Hijaz and Jazan were annexed to the Saudi state, the extent of these provinces along their common frontier changed in the sense that the northern limit of Jazan Province was pulled south of its traditional limit, known to include the lower

basin of Wadi Hali and the settlements around it, to a point half way between the two settlements of al-Birk and al-Quhmah. In the meantime, the district of al-Qunfudhah, including Hali, was attached to the Viceroyalty of al-Hijaz, leaving a small district centred around al-Birk between al-Hijaz and Jazan. The district of al-Birk was finally attached to the Viceroyalty with separate identity. The reason justifying this and the actual extent of the district could not be ascertained anywhere.

4. Other developments during this period include the establishment of a major district in al-Hasa Province around 1940. Centred in al-Khubar, this district, known as al-Qatif, was the first sign of the government's intention to move the centre of the province from its traditional location in al-Hufuf to the centre of the economic activities initiated by the discovery of oil around al-Dhahran. Al-Qatif district was to include the cluster of settlement around al-Qatif beside al-Dhahran, al-Dammam, Ras Tannurah, Abu Hadriyah and Um Alqlah. The functions of the district laid down by the Royal Order establishing it show great emphasis on maintaining law and order among the workers in the oil company.⁴⁹

5. Among the significant developments is also the removal in 1951 of the administrative centre of the district of Ghāmid and Zahran from the village of al-Dhaseer, the traditional centre, at least since the Ottoman administration, of the area during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, to the village of Baljourashy. It is claimed in the document available that the former was characterised by poor housing

conditions and scarcity of accommodation, whereas there was plenty of room in the latter for physical expansion, and also the willingness of its inhabitants to build new houses and therefore provide accommodation for newly-arrived employees. Baljourashy is also known as the first significant trade station south of al-Taif where goods from the mountains and the plateaus around and east of it, as well as from Tihama, are exchanged and transported to their markets. The consequences of this change will be discussed in detail in the appropriate place. Finally, Tathlith was attached to Asir Province, probably in order to have all sections of the Qahtan, with the exception of Qahtan Najd, under one province.

6. Finally, four major developments occurred in the first half of the fifties which proved to have far greater consequences on the setting of the administrative units. The first was the establishment of the Ministry of Interior in 1951, which with the establishment of the Council of Ministers in 1953 dissolved the Viceroyalty of al-Hijaz and the Council of Deputies, therefore creating for the first time a central administrative system and correlative features of local administration on the national level. This was shortly followed by the death of King Abdul Aziz in 1953 and the transfer of the central administration from Makkah in al-Hijaz to al-Riyadh in Najd in the mid-fifties. The last aspect caused a fundamental change in the administrative structure of the whole kingdom and undoubtedly in the urban structure of the city of al-Riyadh, as well as the distribution of urban population in the country. Our concern at this point should be focused upon the consequences caused by the first development as far as they are related to

the setting of the administrative units.

As mentioned earlier, the establishment of the Ministry of Interior created the first feature or step in distinguishing between first and second rank provinces because of the resistance of those provinces outside the Viceroyalty to being attached to the Ministry since they considered the King as their highest authority. The second effect, which is also the most significant, was that by dissolving the Viceroyalty, many provinces and districts which were once within the Viceroyalty disintegrated and broke down into smaller units, sometimes as tiny as a village. As the central administration was transferred to al-Riyadh, the situation became worse, since it was easier for these tiny districts to communicate direct with Makkah, the former seat of the central government, because of the obvious shorter distance. Furthermore, the trend to break down provinces and districts into smaller units came at the wrong time, when it was intended to move the administrative centre of the kingdom to al-Riyadh, thus creating opportunities for tiny districts to confront each other with boundary problems, tribal uprisings and troubles, while experience and efficiency to face such problems were lacking.

To give an example of such consequences, let us examine the administrative divisions around Makkah immediately after the establishment of the Ministry. It was mentioned earlier that King Abdul Aziz, upon annexing al-Hijaz, made the chiefs of the Sharif tribes around Makkah responsible directly to him for the maintenance of law and order within their territories. In a sense every Sharif tribe was considered then as a unit, but all these units were to be attached to

Makkah, where a Sharif qaimmaqam has been appointed from that time to deal with their affairs. Shortly after the establishment of the Ministry of Interior, some of these units were grouped into larger districts and attached directly to the Ministry.⁵⁰ Other units, however, still remained small in area, and despite their proximity to Makkah were attached to the Ministry centred in al-Riyadh until a first rank province emerged in the area in 1960 with Makkah as its capital. Examples of such tiny districts are al-Zaima, al-Madiq, al-Jamum, Midrikah, al-Kamil, Khulais, al-Sharai, al-Dafinah, and al-Muwaih. The establishment in 1960 of a larger province of considerable strength and authority to which all the surrounding tiny districts should refer their administrative as well as financial matters is self-evident regarding the amount of problems the Ministry had to face and the efforts made to solve them. An example of this case is the boundary problems between the districts of al-Mahd (in the province of al-Madinah), Midrikah, al-Muwaih, and al-Kamil, for which the Ministry set up a committee in a long series of attempts to solve them. The findings of this committee were reported in 1957 to the Minister of Interior who in turn reported them to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers.⁵¹ This case shows, among other things, the constant emergence of problems of a tribal nature when limits of authority and power are loosely defined in the area.

CHAPTER SIX
THE PROVINCES OF SAUDI ARABIA AND
THEIR SUBDIVISIONS SINCE 1955

The last 20 years have not witnessed any significant changes in the extent of the provinces except in the minor breakdown of large provinces or some occasional dispute over certain areas. The overall characteristic of this period is that provinces began to take their present shape and that the attention is drawn much closer to consolidating their main functions, i.e., to maintain law and order and supervise government services. One aspect in this direction has been the establishment of administrative centres (marakiz) in each province so as to divide it into districts and subdistricts with their limits fairly known, at least to those involved in administering those subdivisions. This chapter will be looking at this trend and the minor changes in the extent of the provinces and the evolution of their subdivisions since 1955, bearing in mind that a detailed study of these aspects on a selected province will be presented in the part devoted to it as a case-study. Therefore, this province, namely al-Bahah, will not be treated in this chapter, in order to avoid unnecessary repetition. The difference between what will be treated here and later is that this present chapter will be concerned with the general pattern without going into small details which are not available for every province. This applies mostly to defining precisely the limits of districts and subdistricts and the factors and problems involved in their evolution and establishment, an interesting research topic in its own right requiring a full-scale field

investigation and dedicated research effort.

In dealing with the evolution of provinces and their subdivisions up to now, the writer should emphasise the fact that official documents are too scarce to allow the formulation of definite opinions and precise patterns concerning many issues related to this subject. This chapter is based mainly on very limited official documents which were made available to the author during his field study by officials in the Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Finance and National Economy. The most significant of these documents are the detailed budgets of the fiscal years of 1375, 1377, 1383-84, 1385-86, and 1393-94 (c 1955, 1957, 1963, 1965 and 1973 respectively), a draft to a general guide to the Saudi provinces in 1972 kept in the Organisation and Method Unit in the Ministry of Interior, Governors' File in the Documentation Office in the Ministry of Interior, and the Guide to the Towns, Villages and Hamlets of the Saudi Provinces, published in 1971 by the General Department of Statistics, Ministry of Finance and National Economy. It is also based on information which has been collected by interviews with high-ranking officials, whether in the two ministries mentioned above or in the provinces, and by replies to the questionnaires which were given or sent from Durham to the Governors of the Saudi provinces. Discussions throughout this chapter are centred on Figure (6.1).

6.1 Territorial Extent and Divisions of Provinces

1. Makkah Province

We have shown previously the consequences of removing the

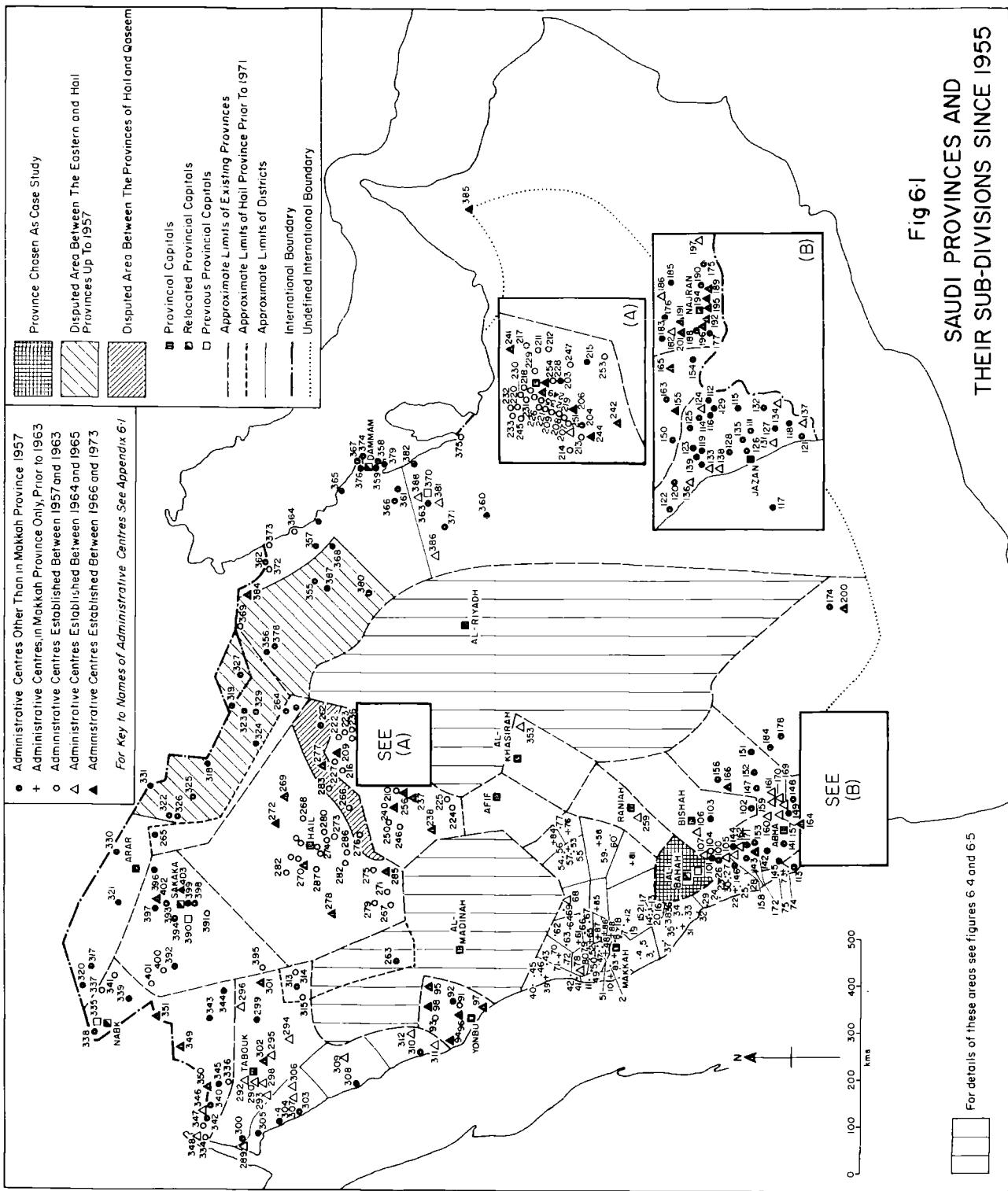


Fig 6-1
SAUDI PROVINCES AND
THEIR SUB-DIVISIONS SINCE 1955

administrative centre of the country from Makkah to al-Riyadh in the mid-1950's upon the problems of and the relationships between the administrative units which were detached from Makkah and were directly attached to the Ministry of Interior. It was also mentioned that to overcome these problems, which stem from the distance factor, a province of first rank has been established since 1960 with Makkah as its capital. The province now consists of 23 governorates and districts (amarat), varying in size and population and in the arrangement of their subdivisions. Some of them, like Makkah, al-Taif, al-Qunfudhah, al-Lith, Rabigh, Tarabah, al-Khurmah, Midrikah and al-Kamil are associated as far as their territorial limits and their subdivisions are concerned with tribal territories as shown in the previous chapter. Most of them, however, extend over small areas with clusters of settlements especially along the wadis. This is the case with the governorates of al-Sharai, Ushairah, al-Zaima, al-Madiq, al-Jamum, and Haddah. Still others are based on scattered and isolated oases or tribal centres, such as Dhulun, al-Muwaih, al-Dafinah, Tarabah, and al-Khurmah. In other cases, the present districts were only a part of previous, much larger governorates. The trend to separate two parts previously constituting a governorate in order to have two separate districts with equal responsibilities has come about as a result of physical as well as human frictions. This is true when the two centres of the two parts mentioned above are unable to communicate or co-operate with each other because of long distance and harsh terrain, or because of differences in tribal affiliation, or frictions between the two subtribes inhabiting the two parts.

An example of this trend is to be found in the case of the districts of Dabiah and al-Kamil, which were once part of al-Kamil Governorate but were separated because they controlled the settlements along two small wadis parallel to each other (Dabiah controlling Wadi Sitarah and al-Kamil controlling Wadi Sayah), with high, rough mountains separating them from each other, thus creating communication problems which are the least desired in areas with administrative inefficiency and tribally dominated society. In order to maintain the government functions in these areas, it was found that it was much easier for the two centres of these parts to communicate with the provincial capital, Makkah, separately, and thus make them separate districts. This applies also to the districts of Ushaira and al-Mahani which were part of the governorates of al-Taif and Midrikah respectively. The proximity of the latter to the boundary line separating Makkah and al-Madinah Provinces might have contributed to its emergence as a separate district, since this part of the boundary is known for its constant tribal confrontation and thus needs constant and close observation as well as direct contact with the provincial capital in order to deal fast with any rising problems.

The influence of terrain on determining the territorial limit of this province's governorates and districts is best illustrated in its southern part, where relatively clear-cut physiographic units can be visualised. This is the case with the western limits of al-Taif, and the eastern limits of al-Birk, al-Lith and al-Qunfudhah. These territorial limits correspond to and coincide with certain relief features, especially al-Sarah escarpment line. This subject, however, will be

dealt with in greater detail in the part devoted to the study of al-Bahah Province. It is sufficient to state here that difficulties imposed by terrain upon the communications between the coastal zone, Tihama, where al-Birk, al-Qunfudhah, and al-Lith lie, and the interior settlements in the al-Sarah mountains, such as Abha, al-Namas, Baljourashy, al-Bahah, and al-Taif, have isolated these parts from each other. Consequently, and through history, the coastal settlements have been associated with and linked to Makkah, although they are closer - measured by actual physical distance - to the administrative centres of the interior, namely Abha, al-Bahah and al-Taif, than to Makkah.

Owing to its special position as the commercial and diplomatic capital of the kingdom, and because of the size of its population, which almost equals that of the provincial capital, Jeddah posed a situation that rendered impossible any administrative subordination to Makkah, yet at the same time it could not be the centre for a separate province without this being at the territorial expense of Makkah Province. A solution has been sought in the general practice of locating the office of the Provincial Governor in Jeddah and the Provincial Office with the Deputy Governor in Makkah. The situation will undoubtedly need a more realistic solution, as the rate of Jeddah's growth is still far exceeding that of Makkah.

2. Yonbu Province

Yonbu was shown in previous discussions as a separate administrative unit in al-Hijaz as far back as the beginning of Egyptian rule of al-Hijaz seven centuries ago. It has maintained this position up

to this time in spite of real 'threat' from al-Madinah to make it part of its province, as it is traditionally held that Yonbu, through which overseas imports and pilgrims to al-Madinah should pass, has been the natural port of al-Madinah. This general and traditional thought has led many government offices through their publications to include Yonbu Province as a district in al-Madinah Province, as in Guide to the Towns, Villages and Hamlets of the Saudi Provinces, and the Saudi Provinces Map based on the 1962-63 census, published by the Department of Statistics, Ministry of Finance and National Economy.⁵² The province evolves around two aspects : the homogeneity of its population and the uniqueness of its history. Yonbu is known to include within its territory all members of the southern part of the Juhaina tribe, with the northern part being centred in Umluj. As far as history is concerned, Yonbu has been governed by an Ashraf family much respected by all those who controlled the political destiny of the area, whether they were the Egyptian caliphs, the Ottoman Sultan, the Ashraf of Makkah, or the Saudi kings, all of whom have recognised Yonbu as a separate administrative unit.

According to the detailed budget of the fiscal year 1393/94 AH, this province is divided into seven districts. The first is Yonbu al Bahr, which is the provincial centre; al-Murabba controls the lower basin of Wadi al-Ais until it emerges into Wadi al-Hamad. This district has a significant role in that it has as its neighbours in the east and north some elements of the Anazah and Beli tribes, who are attached to al-Ula governorate (al-Madinah Province). The tribal conflict in this conjunction along the middle course of Wadi al-Hamad

is constant, and it is the main function of this district to observe this tense zone. The third district is al-Ais, along the upper course of Wadi al-Ais. Its northern limit touches upon the boundary between this province and Umluj governorate (the Northern Province), where another conflict zone is encountered, this time between the two sections of the Juhainah : the northern section centred in Umluj, and the southern section centred in Yonbu. One aspect of this inter-tribal conflict is apparent in the fact that the southernmost district of Umluj governorate, namely al-Shibahah district, was once attached to Yonbu, but because of this conflict it has been attached to Umluj since 1953, in spite of the constant demand of some of the tribal sub-sections living in al-Shibahah district to be re-attached to Yonbu. Another aspect of this inter-tribal conflict is the whole question of attaching the governorate of Umluj to the Northern Province (Tabouk) in spite of the obvious short distance, tribal affiliation and easy contact between Umluj and Yonbu as compared with that between Umluj and Tabouk. The fourth district is Shajwa, whose nature and function are similar to those of al-Murabba, in that it is the far eastern district of Yonbu whose eastern limits touch upon territories belonging to the Anaza and Hutaim. The fifth district is Sulaim, which is the southernmost district of Yonbu, and whose southern and eastern limits are at the same time the limits of the Juhaina territory. The last two districts are al-Suwaig and Yonbu al-Nakhl. The former controls the settlements along the upper and middle courses of Wadi al-Farah, while the latter includes within its territory the lower course of Wadi al-Farah in addition to Wadi al-Nakhl.

3. Bishah Province

It was explained earlier how Bishah became the centre of a large administrative unit controlling the lower course of Wadi Bishah and its tributaries from the western escarpment. The limit of the province territory is determined by the territorial limits of the tribes to which the province is assigned. These tribes are the northern sections of the Shahran who control the lower course of Wadi Bishah and some tributaries to Wadi Tathlith, the Aklab and Alyan tribes which control the territory extending between the Shahran and the Subai, in other words between the lower courses of Wadi Bishah and Raniah. The province extends westward to include the territories of the Balharith in the eastern scarp slopes, Khatham, Shumran and Balqarn in the mountain proper of al-Sarah. The province extends southwards to include the settlements along Wadi Khaibar, a tributary of Wadi Tathlith, which belong to two sections of the Shahran, namely the Banu Wahib and Kawd. This southern extent of the province is mysteriously ignored by all the maps showing the Saudi provinces, especially those published by government departments, such as the map based on the 1962-63 census, upon which any subsequent maps are based, in spite of the fact that Khaibar district has always been officially considered as part of Bishah Province. The possible motives behind including Khaibar within Bishah, in spite of the obvious short distance separating it from the capital of Asir Province, have been stated previously.

Another major aspect to be mentioned here is that most of al-Sarah proper and its adjacent eastern areas have always been administered by centres situated in al-Sarah proper, such as Abha, al-Baha

(or al-Dhaseer and Baljourashy in previous periods) and al-Taif, which now form the centres of the Provinces of Asir, and al-Bahah and the governorate of al-Taif respectively. However, there is a considerable part of al-Sarah proper attached to and administered by Bishah, which is the only oasis to the east of al-Sarah that has extended its administrative territories westwards to include part of al-Sarah proper. This part is inhabited by the tribes of Balqarn, Shumran and Khatham. This unprecedented territorial arrangement could be the product of historical development and motivated by geographical realities. It might be remembered that during the pre-Saudi period in the twentieth century the territory of Balqarn was considered as the northern limit of 'political' Asir, while the district of Ghāmid and Zahran included the territories of the tribes of Shumran and Khatham. It might also be remembered that Bishah grew as an important military post during the Saudi campaigns directed to the south, where the Idrisid and al-Ayed were in control, and to the west, where the Ashraf dynasty of al-Hijaz existed. It was during that period that the then governorate of Bishah extended its territory southwards to include part of 'traditional' Asir (Tathlith) and westwards as well as northwestwards to include those tribes which were once part of the district of Ghāmid and Zahran, namely the Aklab, Shumran, Khatham, Ghāmid al-Hijaz, and part of Ghāmid al-Badw. In subsequent years, however, Tathlith was restored to the Province of Asir, while Ghāmid al-Hijaz and al-Badw were added to the rest of Ghāmid and Zahran to form the district of al-Dhaseer in 1934. The tribes of Khatham, Balqarn, and Shumran remained and still are attached to Bishah Province. This could not have

existed without any geographical justification, since the centres of these tribes in al-Sarah are separated from both Abha in the south and al-Dhafeer (or al-Bahah) in the north by rugged terrain where communication is immensely hard, while communication between these centres and Bishah is much easier, following the numerous wadis descending eastwards and ending in Wadi Bishah before or around the oasis of Bishah. The completion of the surfaced al-Taif - Abha road in the next two years will undoubtedly change the territorial administrative arrangement of these centres in al-Sarah, since this road will connect them with both al-Bahah and Abha. Hence, the tribal territories of the Khatham, Balqarn and Shumran will inevitably be attached to either the province of Asir or al-Bahah if geographical realities and priorities are to be considered.

Another unprecedented aspect in the territorial-administrative arrangement of this province is the fact that the sections of the above-mentioned tribes who live in Tihama have been attached to another province, specifically to al-Ardiyyah district of al-Qunfudhah governorate in Makkah Province. This is a totally different arrangement from the common practice of allocating the territories of both sections of a tribe living in different physiographic areas to one provincial centre for administrative purposes, as is the case with the Zahran and Ghaidid in al-Bahah Province, and the Banu Arar, Banu-Shihr, Balasmar, Balahmar, Asir, Shahran, and Qahtan in Asir Province. The effect of both systems on the administrative efficiency and their impact on the daily administrative as well as economic practices and needs of the inhabitants will be examined when dealing with al-Bahah Province as a

case study.

4. Jazan Province

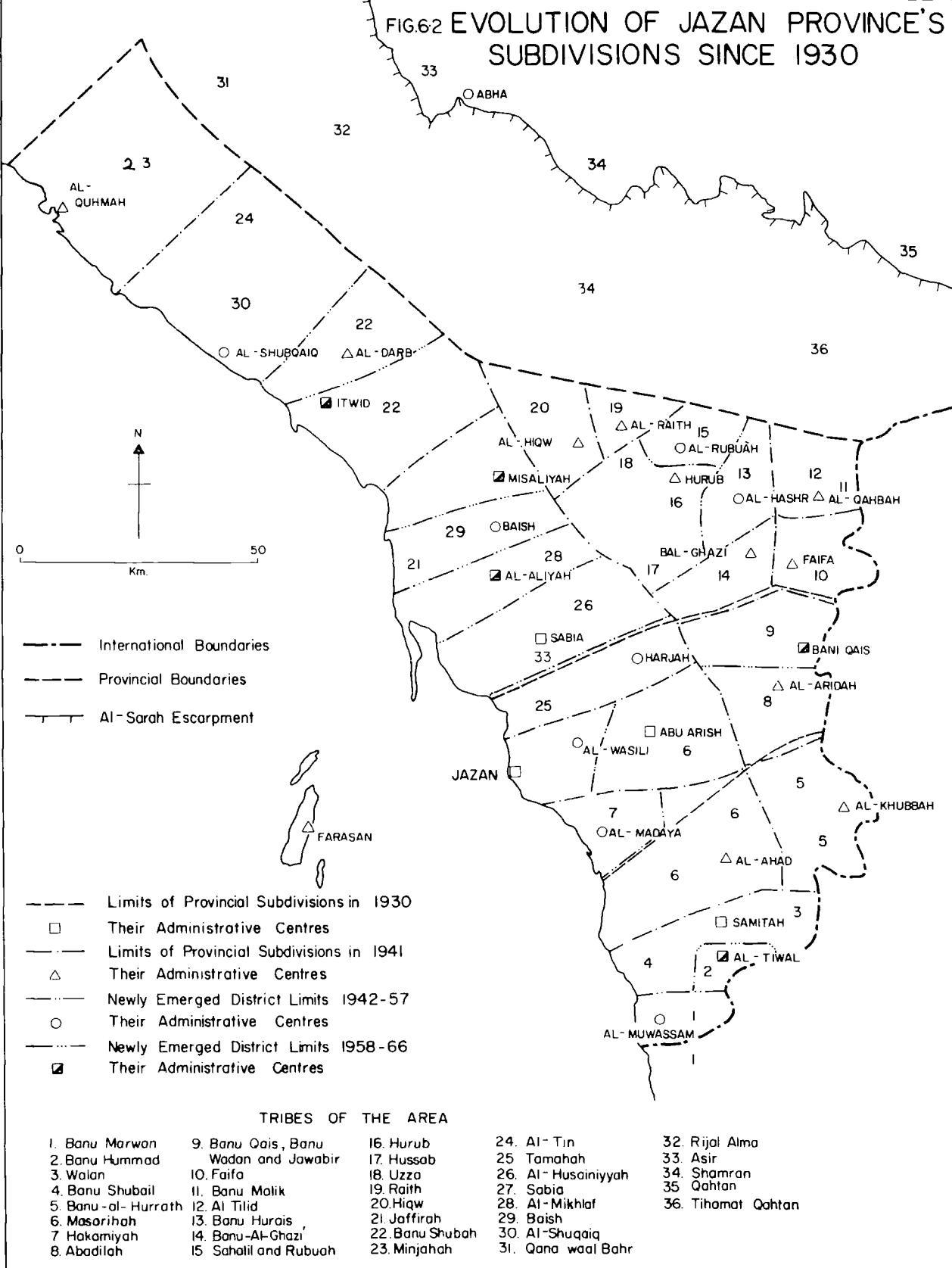
The evolution of this province as a separate administrative entity up to the beginning of the second half of this century was discussed in the previous chapter. Yet, to give a clearer view of its evolution up to the present time as well as to assert the factors involved in the process of dividing the province into its present administrative components or units, the author should emphasise two major points. First, the present territorial limit of the province is the product and direct influence of the history of the area as shown in the previous chapter. Second, the present arrangement and territorial limits of the districts and sub-districts of the province are, on the whole, the direct result of the distribution of tribal territories as well as the arrangement of the relief features of the area, which have greatly influenced the former. It is this second point which will be the subject of the following discussion.

Jazan Province has, since its annexation to the Saudi state in 1930, extended from al-Quhmah in the north to al-Muwassam in the south, and from Jabal Rubuah in the east to Farasan Island in the west. It comprises within its territory certain tribes which occupy defined territories along the numerous wadis running westward from the main escarpment of al-Sarah mountains or from the scattered and isolated ridges below and parallel to the escarpment. The physical configuration allows the distinction between four major zones starting from the main escarpment (al-Sarat) downward to the Red Sea coast. The main escarpment is in its southern part very much dissected, creating many

isolated mountains. It is in this particular part of the escarpment and in the scattered ridges west of the escarpment that many tribes live in isolation from each other on their own mountains or ridges. Isolation, inter-tribal conflicts, the tendency to resist the notion of belonging to or being part of a state and many other factors have confronted the government with difficult problems, if the latter aims at administering these areas efficiently in order to maintain law and order and to offer the necessary government services. The government, therefore, has been led to establish government posts (marakiz), around which administrative districts have evolved, in every tribal centre. The evolution and territorial limits of these districts over the past forty years are evidence of this tendency.

During the first six years after Jazan Province became part of Saudi Arabia, it was divided into four major governorates or districts as shown in Figure (6.2). First there was Jazan, the seat of the provincial governor and the capital of the province for the first time. Second, Sabia district extended from al-Quhimah in the north to Khabt Tamahah just south of Wadi Sabia in the south, and from al-Jaafirah coast in the west to the Tilid tribe in the east. The town of Sabia was the capital of the Idrisid dynasty, a fact that might explain why it was the centre of a district controlling at that time about two-thirds of the province's territory. Third, Abu Arish controlled a territory extending from al-Qais mountains in the east to the village of Khurbous, six miles south-east of Jazan town, in the west and from al-Shawajirah, a village in the lower course of Wadi Damd, in the north, to al-Khurns, a wadi just north of Wadi Khulab, along which the tribal centre of Ahad

FIG.62 EVOLUTION OF JAZAN PROVINCE'S SUBDIVISIONS SINCE 1930



al-Masarihah lies. Lastly, there was Samitah district, which extended from the territory of the Hurrath in the east to Tashar coast in the west, and from Ahad al-Masarihah along Wadi Khulab in the north to al-Muwassam coast, the southern end of the Saudi territory.⁵³

During the following six-year period (1936-1942), the number of districts was quadrupled and their distribution took a definite shape, so as to emphasise and assert the tendency mentioned above. In 1941, Jazan Province was divided into 16 districts, some of which were assigned to include the territories of single tribes as shown in Figure (6.2).⁵⁴ Between 1942 and 1957, eight additional districts emerged with at least six of them coinciding with the territories of single tribes in a further step to divide the province into districts assigned to the administration of single tribes. These six districts are al-Muwassam (the centre of the Marwan), al-Hashr (the Banu Hurais), al-Rabuah (the Rabuah), al-Hakamiyah in al-Madaya (the Hakamiyah), al-Harjah (Wadi Damd), and al-Wasili (Wadi Jazan). The other two districts, namely Baish and al-Shuqaiq, were mainly established to overcome distance friction between the centres of the 1942 districts, namely Sabia and al-Darb, and the settlements far away to the north. The same process occurred during the period 1957-1966 with the emergence of an additional five districts, which were the result of the two already-mentioned objectives. Although the map in Figure (6.2) is an approximate one, a useful conclusion could be reached as to the variation among the districts as far as their shape and size are concerned. In the east where tribes occupy isolated and rugged mountains, the districts have not developed definite shape, since it varies according to

the degree of isolation and their locations according to each other. In the west, however, districts are more or less parallel to the main wadis which generally in this part have a fairly straight east-west direction. On the other hand, the size of the western districts is much bigger than that of the eastern districts, since some of the latter are restricted to single tribes occupying single mountains, such as the Bani Hurrath, al-Abadil, Bani Qais, Faifa, Bani Malik, Bani Hurais, al-Rabuah, al-Raith, Hurub, and al-Hiqw, all of whom live in almost secluded mountains bearing the same names.

The troubles brought about by such tribes as a result of their desires to seclude themselves and seek independent identity, as well as their refusal and resistance to the idea of a national state, have been responsible for the emergence of such large numbers of districts compared to the size of the province. Sometimes, however, these troubles led to open conflict and confrontation between the state and these tribes, after which the latter were placed under the direct control of the Ministry of Interior in order to deal more freely with the situation. A traditional example of this kind of situation is the al-Raith tribe which maintained, among many others in the area, its autonomy from the surrounding political entities. When its territory became part of the Saudi state, the tribe began causing trouble, which led finally to its subjugation by military campaigns in 1934 and 1955. During the period from 1955 to 1963, its territory formed a separate district directly linked to the Ministry of Interior. It was realised afterwards that the tribe should constitute a separate district attached to Jazan Province as it did before the 1955 campaign,

especially as the tribe has been fully mastered and the troubles have generally ceased to exist. Another alternative solution, which was put forward by a committee assigned to investigate the administrative and tribal problems in the area back in 1941, was to establish a larger district comprising the surrounding troublesome tribes of al-Raith and Tihamat Qahtan along with the al-Tilid and Banu Hurais who were believed to have difficulties in reaching the administrative centres (Qahbah for the first and Hurub for the second) to which they were attached because of physical frictions such as rugged terrain and long distance.⁵⁵ This district was to follow either Jazan or Asir Provinces with the former as the most appropriate, as the committee suggested. The committee ruled out the objection that Tihamat Qahtan could not be included in this district since it forms a section of a tribe living in the mountain proper to the east and being attached to Asir Province. The government, however, ruled out the committee's suggestion to group together in one district troublesome and unrelated tribes, a case that shows how serious and formidable is the question of tribal affairs in the making of administrative districts in the area.

5. Asir Province

This province is of particular interest to the student of Saudi Arabian political geography. It has, like Jazan Province, developed through the past centuries a unique pattern of human settlements based and depending upon the physical phenomena of the area, especially the west-facing escarpment of al-Sarat mountains. The population are mainly settled tribal communities occupying the upper courses of the

wadis running east or west, as well as the isolated mountains in al-Sarat or al-Sudur zones. There are also nomadic tribal communities occupying mostly the middle and lower courses of these wadis. The social, political and economic organisation of these communities are tribally based and oriented. As shown previously, Asir, as a political entity in the past, and as a Saudi province now, has included certain tribes whose territorial limits are known, acknowledged and adopted in many territorial divisions, especially for administrative purposes. It will be shown in the next few pages how relief features influence the shape and size of the tribal territorial divisions and how the latter influenced the division of the province into districts in the past half century.

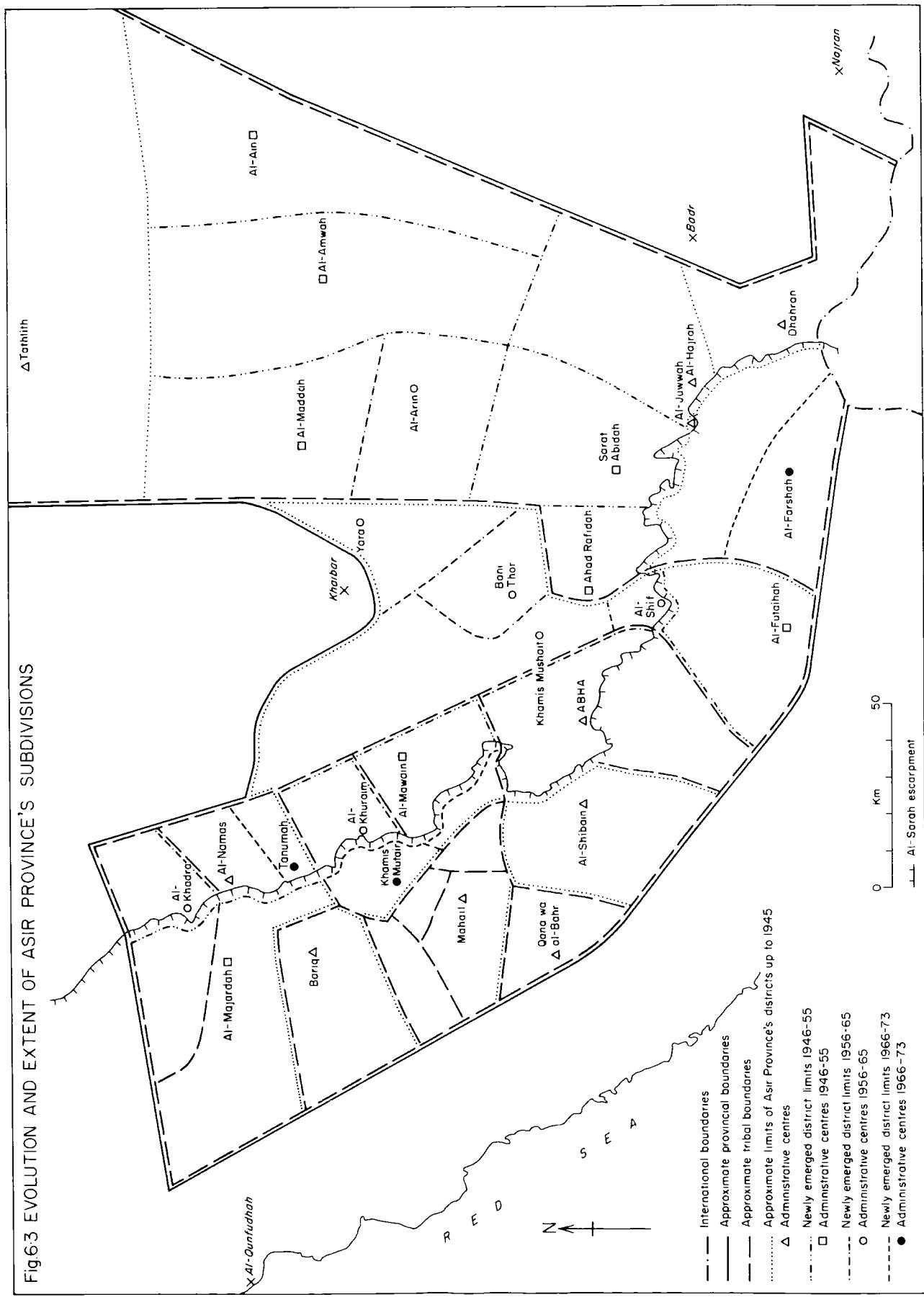
The area of south-western Saudi Arabia is mainly divided into six zones, starting from the Red Sea coast, as shown in Figure (9.2). First, there is the coastal plain with its isolated settlements along the coast. Then comes the end of the pediment with the lower courses of the western wadis creating scattered pastoral foothills. Further up the pediment there are the middle courses of the wadis with much higher, isolated mountains where agriculture is the main activity. The fourth zone is only the steep western scarp slopes, with little agricultural and pastoral activities. East of the escarpment, there are the upper and middle courses of the eastern wadis where agriculture is dominant. Further east and away from the main escarpment, there are the much dissected plateaus with the lower courses of the eastern wadis, which either end directly in the Rub al-Khali, or join Wadi al-Dawasir to do so shortly.

It is worth noting that population concentrates in the third and

fifth zones where most of the settlements are situated. This situation has created the fact that most of the tribes, especially the Balasmar, Balahmar, Banu Shihr, Banu Amr, Bariq, Banu Thu'ah, Al-Musa, al-Raith, Rijal Alma, and Asir, have their territories exclusively in these zones, thus imposing limitations to the size of their territories. Other tribes, especially Shahran and Qahtan, however, occupy certain wadis from their sources to the end, thus extending the size of their territories according to the physical extent of the wadis and their tributaries. In other words, the general pattern is the division of the area into small-size tribal territories occupying certain parts of the wadis descending east or west. As to the shapes of the tribal divisions, they are, as expected, parallel to and depending upon the extent of the wadis they occupy. In the case of the Qahtan and Shahran tribes of al-Sarah, their territories take the shape of triangles with their apices in al-Sarah and their bases down the plateaus opposite to the escarpment where the main wadis end. That is to say that the tribal territories get wider and wider as one descends eastwards from the main escarpment. This is a fact very much dictated by the variations in the population density and their economic activities in the fifth and sixth zones, which is in itself the consequence of the distribution of the natural phenomena on the area. On the other hand, the territories of the other tribes take the shapes of squares or rectangles, whether in the fifth, fourth or third zones, since they are almost always parallel to the wadis they occupy in those zones but not beyond.

The effect of all this on the administrative divisions of the province can easily be visualised by referring to Figure (6.3), which shows

Fig 6.3 EVOLUTION AND EXTENT OF ASIR PROVINCE'S SUBDIVISIONS



the evolution of the administrative divisions with their approximate limits over the past 30 years, as spotted over the approximate limits of the tribal territories. The result is always the same : with few exceptions, the limits of the administrative divisions of the province throughout their evolution have followed those of the tribal territories. Even in cases where more than one administrative division is to be established in the territory of one tribe, each administrative division is assigned to a certain section or sections of the same tribe. Examples of the first case are the districts of Abha, Balasmar, Balahmar and Banu Amr in al-Sarah, and Rijal Alma, Qana wa al-Bahr, Bariq, Tihamat Balsamar wa Balahmar, and Tihamat Banu Shahr wa Banu Amr in Tihamat Asir, which are exclusively limited to the tribal territories of the Asir, Balasmar, Balahmar, Banu Amr of al-Sarah, and Rijal Alma, Qana wa al-Bahr, Bariq, Balasmar, Balahmar, Banu Shahr and Banu Amr of Tihama respectively.

Examples of the second case, where the tribal territory is divided into more than one administrative division but each division is limited to certain section or sections of the same tribe, are the districts of al-Dhahran, Sarat Abeedah, Ahad Rafeedah, Tareeb wa al-Areer, al-Maddah, al-Ain, al-Amwah, and Tathlith, which coincide with the territories of the following sections of the Qahtan :

1. Wadiyat Qahtan, Sharif and Sinhan;
2. Banu Bishr and the southern sections of the Abeedah, especially Al-Muammar, Al-Saqr, Banu Talq, Al-Balhi and Al-Habeeb;
3. Rafeedah;
4. The middle sections of the Abeedah, especially Al-

- Sulaiman and Abu Nahar;
- 5. Some of the northern sections of the Abeedah, especially Al-Irfan, Al-Ali, Zuhair, Quraish, al-Fihr, al-Jarabi and al-Bassam;
- 6. Al-Atif;
- 7. Al-Habab; and,
- 8. Al-Masoud, Mashailah, al-Masaridah, Al-Saad, Al-Suwaidan, and Al-Shibwah.

The same situation is repeated in the case of the tribal territory of the Shahran, which is divided into four districts, namely al-Shif, Khamis Mushait, Wadi Bin Hashbal and Yara, which correspond to the territories of the following sections of the Shahran:

- 1. Al-Yaufa, Al-Qariyah, Bani Jabirah, Al-Sirhan, Al-Qara, and Al-Masqa;
- 2. Al-Rasheed and Al-Ghamr;
- 3. Banu Bijad; and,
- 4. Nahis.⁵

Another tendency in the creation of this province's districts is to separate those sections of the tribe living in al-Sarah proper (the fifth and sixth zones in Figure (9.2)) from those in Tihama proper (the fourth and third zones), so that each of those groups have their own districts. This is largely the outcome of physical frictions created by the steep west-facing slopes of the main escarpment. Al-Majaridah, Tibamat Balasmar wa Balahmer, Fatihah and Farshah are districts which emerged recently to fulfil this objective -- namely to establish separate districts to which related sections of one tribe living in

physically homogeneous areas are attached because of the physical barrier between these sections and the other sections of the same tribe. Even in al-Sarah proper, environmental frictions in the form of rugged terrain have led to the division of a tribal territory in al-Sarah into two districts, as is the case with the territory of Banu Shahr of al-Sarah which is divided into two districts of al-Namas and Tanumah. The same is done in Tihama proper, where Tihamat Qahtan is divided into the two districts of al-Juwah and al-Farshah.

It was mentioned earlier that the need to group such sections living in the third and fourth zones of Figure (9.2) in one district or province was discussed in a report of a committee sent to investigate the affairs of Jazan Province as early as 1942. Again in this province the same committee suggested in 1942 the establishment of a separate province comprising what is now the districts of Qana wa al-Bahr, Mahail, Tihamat Balahmar wa Balasmar, Bariq and al-Majardah. Both suggestions still rest on solid and valid grounds, especially that the centres of those districts have not yet been connected with the provincial capitals of Asir and Jazan provinces by surfaced roads. The environmental friction has isolated these parts to the extent of their being the most underdeveloped areas of the whole state of Saudi Arabia. Any proper solution to the problems of these areas must first take into account their administrative arrangement which is of vital importance to a developing nation.

6. Najran Province

The territory of this province generally coincides with the terri-

tory of the Yam tribe, which occupies the two wadis of Najran and Habunah and their tributaries. The tribe has as its neighbours in the north and west the tribes of al-Dawasir and Qabtan respectively, while in the south its territory ends along the Saudi-Yemeni boundaries which separate it from the territories of the Wailah and Ahl al-Fur, which, along with the Yam, are major subtribes of the Bukeel. The arrangement and evolution of the province's districts can not be ascertained in such a preliminary study. The only apparent thing is that some districts are limited to single villages which are concentrated along the middle courses of Wadi Najran and Habunah, the upper courses being outside the realm of the province. Thus, small-size districts are expected to dominate the south-western part of the province, where we find about 85% of the total number of the province's districts.

7. Raniah, Khasirah and Afif Provinces

There are no documents that might reveal the reasons behind leaving these small areas unattached to the neighbouring provinces. They are still considered as provinces of the second rank and connected directly to the Ministry of Interior. There are, however, certain factors that might have contributed to their separate identity. Raniah Province controls the wadi of the same name after it passes through the tribal territory of the Gharnid, which constitutes, with the territory of the Zahran, the province of al-Bahah. The province is also occupied wholly by the Subai, which also occupies Wadi Subai on which Al-Khurmah district (Makkah Province) emerged. The separation of Raniah cannot be substantiated on any grounds. If one argues

that it is based on tribal affiliation, then al-Khurmah must be attached to it instead of being attached to Makkah Province. One could also argue that Raniah has been isolated from the east, north and north-west by Iruq Subai, a formidable sandy belt, and Harrat Subai, which is in fact a continuation of Harrat al-Bogum. So, the case could be clear when assuming that Raniah Province has maintained its administrative identity as a second-rank province because of the homogeneity of its population, coupled with its isolation from the northern districts which have been attached to Makkah Province. In the long run and as means of transportation improves, a change in the administrative arrangement of this province is inevitable.

As far as al-Khasirah is concerned, three factors might have been responsible for preserving its administrative identity as a second-rank province. First, the whole area was for long occupied by troublesome, nomadic members of al-Shiyabeen section of the Utaibah. As far back as the 1930's, King Abdul Aziz had been concerned over their activities, especially that they were among those sections of Utaibah that joined the Mutair and al-Ajman in their revolt, known as the 'Ikhwan Revolt', against him and his regime during the last three years of the 1920's. Since then, a strong province 'amarah' was established in al-Khasirah to keep these elements under constant observation. When the Ministry of Interior was founded in the early 1950's, al-Khasirah was attached to it and remained so until the present time, in spite of the fact that these tribal elements had almost ceased to cause any real problems. Secondly, the area of al-Khasirah is known to be isolated from the surrounding areas, especially the east and

north, by a series of sandy belts and plateaus. This helps undoubtedly in maintaining the separate administrative identity of this province which has used this argument to benefit from privileges of being a second-rank province, in spite of its small size, whether in area or population, and the absence of many essential services such as a wireless station. The third factor and undoubtedly one of the arguments used to preserve the administrative identity of this province, is the relatively long distance that separates it from the nearest provincial capitals, namely al-Riyadh and Makkah, backed by the absence of surfaced roads connecting al-Khasirah village with them. A major surfaced road is now under construction starting from al-Riyadh and is intended to join al-Riyadh - Afif - al-Taif road in Dhulun village, thus passing through al-Quwaiyyah and al-Khasirah. This road will eventually help to alter the present unrealistic administrative arrangement of al-Khasirah by connecting it to al-Riyadh Province or establishing a larger province comprising, along with al-Khasirah, the provinces of Afif and the districts of al-Dawadmi and al-Quwaiyyah, the far western districts of al-Riyadh Province.

Afif shared the first factor with al-Khasirah, being, in the first ten years of its establishment as a province, a centre for troublesome tribal members. However, it has, unlike al-Khasirah, been associated with the larger sedentary centres to the east, especially al-Dawadmi, and is connected with them by a major surfaced road which has contributed a great deal to the prosperity of Afif. The road itself might be the sole factor behind keeping Afif as a separate province, since the road needs constant observation for security, and maintenance

of road facilities to meet the ever-growing demands for travel and emergency services caused by traffic flow to and from the most populous areas of Saudi Arabia, namely al-Dammam, al-Hufuf in the east, al-Riyadh in the centre, and Makkah, Jeddah and al-Taif in the west. Afif village lies in the mid-point of this road and controls about 150 km of it along which no settlement of considerable size could be found. Therefore, Afif in this sense is the only centre in which those government, travel and road services could be offered. As mentioned above, by the completion of al-Riyadh - al-Khasirah - Dhulum road, a profound change should be imposed on the administrative arrangement of both al-Khasirah and Afif. If it was thought that these provinces were too far from al-Riyadh to be attached to it as districts, it would be more realistic to group them with the western districts of al-Riyadh, notably al-Quwaiyyah and al-Dawadmi, to form a major province. This would be more fruitful for many factors, of which the least is to offer the above-mentioned services more efficiently by minimising effort-wasting factors which are inevitable when operating individually.

8. Al-Qaseem Province

It was shown previously how al-Qaseem has evolved as a separate political entity between the Saudi state in Najd and the Rasheed dynasty in Jabal Shammar. It was also mentioned that its political history was dominated by two important aspects : the struggle between these states in their attempts to win al-Qaseem to their side, and the rivalry between its leading towns, namely Buraidah, Unaizah, and al-Rass. The province at present controls the middle and lower courses

of Wadi al-Rummah and its northern tributaries where the Harb dominates and also its tributaries from the south controlled by the Mutair. The northern limit of the province coincides with the limit of the Harb territories just east of Nibitiyah village and along Wadi Turmus until it disappears in Nufud al-Madhihur. The southern limit also coincides with the limit of the tribal territory of the Mutair Bani Abdillah, where it has as its southern neighbour the Utaibah. Nufud al-Madhihur and Nufud al-Thuwairah make its north-eastern and eastern limits. The western limit of the province is a line half way between the two villages of al-Nuqrah and Arja.

The most interesting aspect in the administrative arrangement of the province is the territorial pattern of its subdivisions. Unlike many provinces in the kingdom, al-Qaseem Province is divided, as shown by the budgets of the fiscal years of 1383/84, 1385/86, and 1393/94, into districts (amarat) which are limited to single villages whose governors are attached and responsible directly to the provincial capital, Buraidah. In another reference, however, the province is shown as being divided into five major districts : Buraidah, Unaizah, al-Rass, al-Midhnab and Dikhnah.⁵⁷ The distribution of their administrative spheres of influence is so irregular that Unaizah, al-Rass, al-Midhnab and Dikhnah districts formed enclosed pockets of limited administrative control, while Buraidah extended its authority beyond them to include the rest of the province. In the case of Unaizah and al-Rass, this was partly the outcome of the traditional rivalry between them and Buraidah. They have always resisted being attached to it and maintained their separate administrative identity. One form of

this resistance was to obtain ministerial declarations in 1960 and 1961 which emphasised their independence from Buraidah and made it clear that the two governorates of Unaizah and al-Rass were attached directly to the Ministry of Interior whether in the administrative or financial affairs. It was only three years ago that they became districts within al-Qaseem Province with Buraidah as its capital. Al-Midhnah case is a later development of the same kind, although it has always been attached to Buraidah. The district of Dikhnah presents a different case. It controls no more than two villages which constituted, along with the village of Dikhnah, an important cluster of hijar belonging to the Harb. Up to 1957, Dikhnah was considered as a district within al-Riyadh Province. Since then, it has been attached to al-Qaseem Province, probably because of its tribal affiliation and also the short distance separating Dikhnah from Buraidah as compared with that between Dikhnah and al-Riyadh. At the same time, it has maintained its separate administrative identity which sprang from its historical importance as a leading Harb hijrah and as an active contributor in terms of fighting warriors in the campaigns which led to the annexation of al-Hijaz.⁵⁸

9. Hail Province

The town of Hail was the centre of a governorate under the Saudi state during most of the nineteenth century. It controlled mostly the tribe of Shammar, which considered it as its chief tribal centre in Najd. Hail became during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first 20 years of the twentieth century, the capital of a tribal

state which controlled northern and central Arabia. As mentioned before, when the Rasheed state was brought to a halt by the Saudi army by the capture of Hail in 1922, Hail became the capital of a province controlling most of northern Arabia north of al-Qaseem. It was also mentioned that the strong personality of its governor was the key factor in maintaining the large extent of the province's territory until his retirement in 1971. The province included many districts which were later detached from it to form separate provinces such as the Northern Boundaries Province in 1955, and al-Jauf, which was attached to the Viceroyalty of al-Hijaz around 1930, but became a separate province by the establishment of the Ministry of Interior. Some districts, however, were detached from it and attached to other provinces, such as Taima to the Northern Province (Tabouk), Khaiber to al-Madinah Province, and Samudah, al-Bushuk and Um Khunsur to the Northern Boundaries Province in 1971. The strong role played by the governor's personality in keeping the last districts within his domain is emphasised by the fact that Taima and Khaibar were connected with both al-Madinah and Tabouk by a surfaced road as far back as 1965, but they remained unrealistically attached to Hail until his retirement. Also, Um Khunsur lies only 20 kilometres away from Arar, the provincial capital of the Northern Boundaries Province, to which it should have been attached long before this date. The same applied to al-Bushuk and Samudah, only 30 kilometres away from the Tapline surfaced roads, while they are separated from Hail by at least 300 kilometres and a formidable barrier in the form of the sandy belts of al-Dahna and Nufud Madhhur.

As a direct consequence of the expansionist attitude of the Provincial Governor of Hail, a number of disputed areas emerged between this province and both the Eastern and al-Qaseem Provinces. The first area constituted the watering places of the Mutair between the Saudi-Kuwait boundary and al-Dahna belt. It includes such known villages as al-Qarya, Umi Aqla, al-Hafir, Qaisumah and Nita. The governor of Hail tried to detach this area from the Eastern Province in 1957 to include it within his domain. No document could be found which might suggest the date in which this area was restored to the Eastern Province. However, in the budget of 1963, most of the above-mentioned villages were mentioned as part of the latter. The second area is the whole frontier zone between Hail and al-Qaseem Provinces. It consists of the northernmost Harb villages or hijar of Shari, Sulaibah, Kuhailah, Kahlah, Najmah, Mishash Jurud, Jarsh, Nimriyah, Mihillani, Shiqran and Tarfawi, all of which are south of Wadi Turmus and Makhul, the traditional dividing line between the Harb and Shainmar tribal territories. One member of the committee sent out to sort out the dispute in 1970 explained to the author that tax collectors from Hail Province were regularly visiting these villages at the time when the domain of the Provincial Governor of Hail recognised no effective limit. But when the administrative affairs of these villages became more and more involved with and connected to their social welfare through the services offered to them by the government, a firm attachment to either one of these two provinces was needed in order for the population to know the authority to which they should be attached. It was in this critical stage that both provinces claimed

possession of the villages, leaving the population utterly confused as to where they should turn in their demands, disputes, claims and other daily affairs. The situation remained unsolved until the retirement of the Provincial Governor of Hail in 1971, since which all the villages with the exception of Shari have been restored to al-Qaseem Province. An immediate favourable consequence was the establishment of government posts (marakiz) in six of those villages during the 1972-74 period, which meant that the population here finally received the long-awaited government concern over their well-being after a long period of uncertainty. Another example of an area whose administrative attachment has been swung backwards and forwards between al-Qaseem and Hail Provinces is Qiba district. Qiba, the village, is another important Harb hijra, and the district as a whole is isolated from both the two provinces by Nufud al-Madhhur, and from the other provinces to the east and north by al-Dahna sandy belt. In many instances, this district was attached to both al-Qaseem and Hail Provinces, the former for its administrative affairs and the latter for its financial matters. The district has been finally attached for all its affairs to Hail Province.

The territorial arrangement of the province's subdivisions is similar to that of al-Qaseem in that the administrative units below the provincial level are in the form of marakiz, or governorates, whose territorial administrative limits are restricted to individual villages as opposed to districts.

10. The Eastern Province

This province controls the eastern part of Saudi Arabia south of

the Saudi-Kuwait boundary line and east of Wadi al-Batin and al-Dahna sandy belt. The southern limit of the province is not precisely known owing to the undefined boundaries between Saudi Arabia on the one hand and the state of the Arabian Emirates, Muscat and Southern Yemen.

The territorial limit of the province has not changed since its emergence as a major Saudi province after its annexation to the Saudi state in 1913. However, there are certain factors that have played major roles in the administrative arrangement of its subdivisions. First, there is the establishment of the state boundaries in the north, which resulted first in the emergence and then the flourishing of tribal centres along the boundary zone, due to the restriction upon the movement of the tribes across the boundary line and the encouraging steps taken by the Saudi government to confine its nomadic subjects to its territory by such actions as drilling wells to make water available for them in the summer season, the time when it is necessary for them to move northwards in quest of water and summer camping grounds. It was also necessary for the government to establish inspection points for security purposes and in order to observe nomadic movements across the boundary line. It was around these points that tiny villages emerged. The effect of this factor in the emergence of many administrative centres is clearly shown in their number during the decade running from 1935 to 1945. The governorates in the former year were al-Hasa, which comprised the cluster of oases around al-Hufuf; al-Qatif; Jubail; and Qariah, which has been the tribal centre for the northern Mutair. The number of governorates increased in 1945 to become three times as much as those of 1935, with seven of the newly-

established administrative centres, namely al-Hafr, Luqah, al-Duwaid, Linah, Umm Radmah, Simah, and Maniyah being in the category mentioned above. It should also be mentioned accordingly that prior to the emergence of the Northern Boundaries Province (previously known as the Tapline Agency), the Eastern Province (previously known as al-Hasa Province) extended its authority over the area lying between the Great Nufud and the Saudi-Iraqi boundary line, where most of the above-mentioned administrative centres are situated. During the same period, these administrative centres were regarded as being attached to Hail Province. It was mentioned earlier that the area under dispute between the two provinces prior to 1955 included the territory of the northern Mutair as shown in Figure (6.1). Another area where administrative arrangement is influenced by boundary questions is al-Buraimi oases. The governorate was mentioned as part of al-Hasa Province up to 1955, when it ceased to be under Saudi authority as a result of the dispute between Saudi Arabia on the one hand and Muscat and Abu Dhabi on the other. According to the 1393-94 (1974) Budget Plan, al-Buraimi was restored as a major governorate in this province; but, in August 1974, an agreement was reached between Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi which gave Abu Dhabi complete control of the whole cluster of oases at al-Buraimi.

The second factor is the discovery of oil. Its impact on the administrative arrangement of the province is only a part and consequence of its impact on the settlement pattern and distribution of population in the eastern part of the country. The development of the oil industry has caused a remarkable and fast shift of the province's economic,

trade and population centre from the al-Hasa cluster of oases to the Dhahran - Ras Tannurah - al-Khubar 'triangle' of oil-based settlement centres. Inevitably this was followed by a shift of the political centre of the province from al-Hufuf to al-Dammam, the newly-developed port town which replaces al-Uqair as the main eastern gateway to Saudi Arabian trade. There is also the emergence of numerous settlement centres around and based upon oil installations or industries. Some of these have presumably for security purposes become administrative centres, such as Al-Khasji, Ras Tannurah, al-Thuqbah, al-Safaniyah, Ain Dar, al-Nuairiyah and Abqaiq, which account for more than 30% of the total number of the province's administrative centres. Another example which shows clearly the impact of oil industry on the existing administrative arrangement of the province is that about 25% of the total number of the administrative centres of the province exist in the small coastal area around al-Dammam, which accounts for only less than 0.5% of the total area of the province.

Although the provincial capital was shifted from al-Hasa to al-Dammam, the former maintains a special status in that the administrative centres adjacent to it are directly attached to the governor of al-Hasa, which means that the province is in fact divided into two large administrative units separated by an altitudinal line passing just south of Abqaiq. The territorial extent of the administrative centres subordinate to either al-Dammam or al-Hasa is very limited, with the authority of some of them never going beyond the village or town limits. Examples of these are al-Khubar, Ras Tannurah, al-Thuqbah, Safwa, Sihat, al-Qaisumah, al-Dhahran, and many others.

11. The Northern Boundaries Province

The most observed feature of this province is its shape, which runs parallel to the Saudi-Iraqi boundary line. Its emergence as a separate province has been initially associated with the establishment of the Tapline. The protection of the Tapline, as well as observing the movement along the boundary line are therefore the prime objectives behind establishing this province which controls a strip of area contained by Wadi al-Batin in the south-east, the Saudi-Jordanian boundary line in the north-west, the Great Nufud and al-Hamad (lava field) in the south-west, and the Saudi-Iraqi boundary line in the north-east. With very few exceptions, the administrative centres of the province are villages related to strategic points and security to fulfil the functions mentioned above. The province is dominated by nomadic communities which belong to such tribes as the al-Amarat of Anaza, al-Ruwala of Anaza, Shammar, Harb and al-Dhafer. The fact that these communities used to be rivals and enemies to each other, and the fact that they have on the other side of the border line some related tribal sections, have added a difficult task to the functions of this province in order to watch closely the migration and movements of these tribal communities. The significance of the functions this province has to carry out is recognised by the government, and it is the prime reason in keeping this province among the first-rank provinces.

12. Al-Jauf Province

Al-Jauf oasis, or Dawmat al-Jandal, has been the chief tribal centre of many tribes which successively manipulated the history of

northern Arabia, the last of which was the Ruwala of Anaza. Its importance as a trading, agricultural and tribal centre has attracted the attention of the ruling dynasties, whether in al-Riyadh, Hail, Makkah, or Damascus. Al-Jauf came under Saudi rule during the first half of the nineteenth century and was during this period attached to Hail.

The Ruwala under the leadership of the Shalan family established an independent rule in the oasis during most of the second half of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth century. The Shalan rule was from time to time ousted by the Rashids of Hail.

When both al-Jauf and Hail became part of the Saudi state in 1921, al-Jauf was attached to the governor of Hail in his personal capacity, but later in the 1930's it was attached to the Viceroyalty of al-Hijaz until 1952, when it became, and still is, a province of the second rank linked directly to the Ministry of Interior. The only significant development in the administrative arrangement of the province during the last 30 years was the removal of the provincial capital from Dawmat al-Jandal to Sakakah around 1940. The former was at that time believed to be unsuitable for the urban expansion necessary for a growing provincial capital with increasing administrative responsibilities. This physical limitation was coupled with what was regarded as alarming health problems originated by the spread of malaria in Dawmat al-Jandal, caused by nearby undrained water pools. The territorial extent of the authority of the province's administrative centres is the same as that of Hail, the Northern Boundaries, the Eastern, and al-Qaseem Provinces in that it is very much restricted to the village territorial limits while the tribes are controlled from the centre.

13. Al-Qurayyat Province

There have been no major changes in the extent of this province since 1950, except the delimitation of the Saudi-Jordan boundary line, which caused the establishment of new administrative centres, three of them in 1972 alone. The province controls the part of Wadi al-Sirhan in the Saudi territory where the Shararat dominates, and also a strip of land parallel to the Saudi-Jordan boundary line. The political history is much the same as that of al-Jauf, and was discussed in a previous chapter.

14. The Northern Province (Tabouk)

There are conflicting opinions regarding the territorial extent of this province before 1973, the year this province was raised to be a first-rank province. The fluctuation of the province's limit appears to be the outcome of the political and military situations in the area. Tabouk was mentioned briefly in the 1945 budget of the Ministry of Finance, and by Hamza, Wahbah, and Kahlalah as a minor administrative centre within the Viceroyalty of Hijaz around 1930 to 1945, but al-Zirkili considers it during the last few years of King Abdul Aziz's life as an administrative centre for a much larger province extending over al-Jauf, al-Qurayyat, the Northern Boundaries and the area south of the then Saudi-Jordan undefined boundary line, and east of the Gulf of Aqaba. This could only be explained, if true, by the fact that Tabouk became a base for military activities and operations during the first confrontation between the Arabs and the Israelis in 1947. In the first state budget of 1377 (c1957), the Northern

Province was stated to include Tabouk as the provincial capital and seven administrative centres, among which were al-Wajh, Umluj, Diba and al-Muwaijih. This was the first time these Red Sea ports and important tribal centres were ever mentioned as being attached to Tabouk. The factors that might have influenced this action are not documented, but, whatever they might be, the inclusion of some of them - especially Umluj - is contrary to geographic reality, since the distance between Umluj and Tabouk is three times the distance between Umluj and the centre of the nearest second-rank province, namely Yonbu. Besides, communication between them is much easier from physical or human points of view, since they are connected by a fairly smooth road, and their inhabitants belong to the same tribe, the Juhainah. The four administrative centres were also shown as being attached to Tabouk in the Map of the Saudi Provinces, published by the General Department of Statistics, Ministry of Finance and National Economy. In the meantime, Tabouk, Diba, al-Wajh and Umluj were stated in the 1383-83 (1963) budget as separate governorates attached to the Ministry of Interior, with each having few administrative centres. The same was repeated in the budget of 1385-86 (1965). Judging from dispatches sent from the Ministry of Interior to the provincial governors in 1967, 1969 and 1970, no mention could be found of those of al-Wajh, Umluj or Diba, which would mean that they have been firmly attached to Tabouk, a possibility which is supported by the Guide to the Towns, Villages and Hamlets of the Saudi Provinces. The confusion could be the result of the dual nature of the attachment of these governorates (Umluj, al-Wajh and Diba) to Tabouk. This is to say

that they might have been attached to Tabouk for administrative matters and to the Ministry of Interior for their financial affairs, a case which was not entirely uncommon in the administrative arrangement of many governorates such as Taima, Tathlith, Unaizah, al-Rass and Qiba to mention just a few.

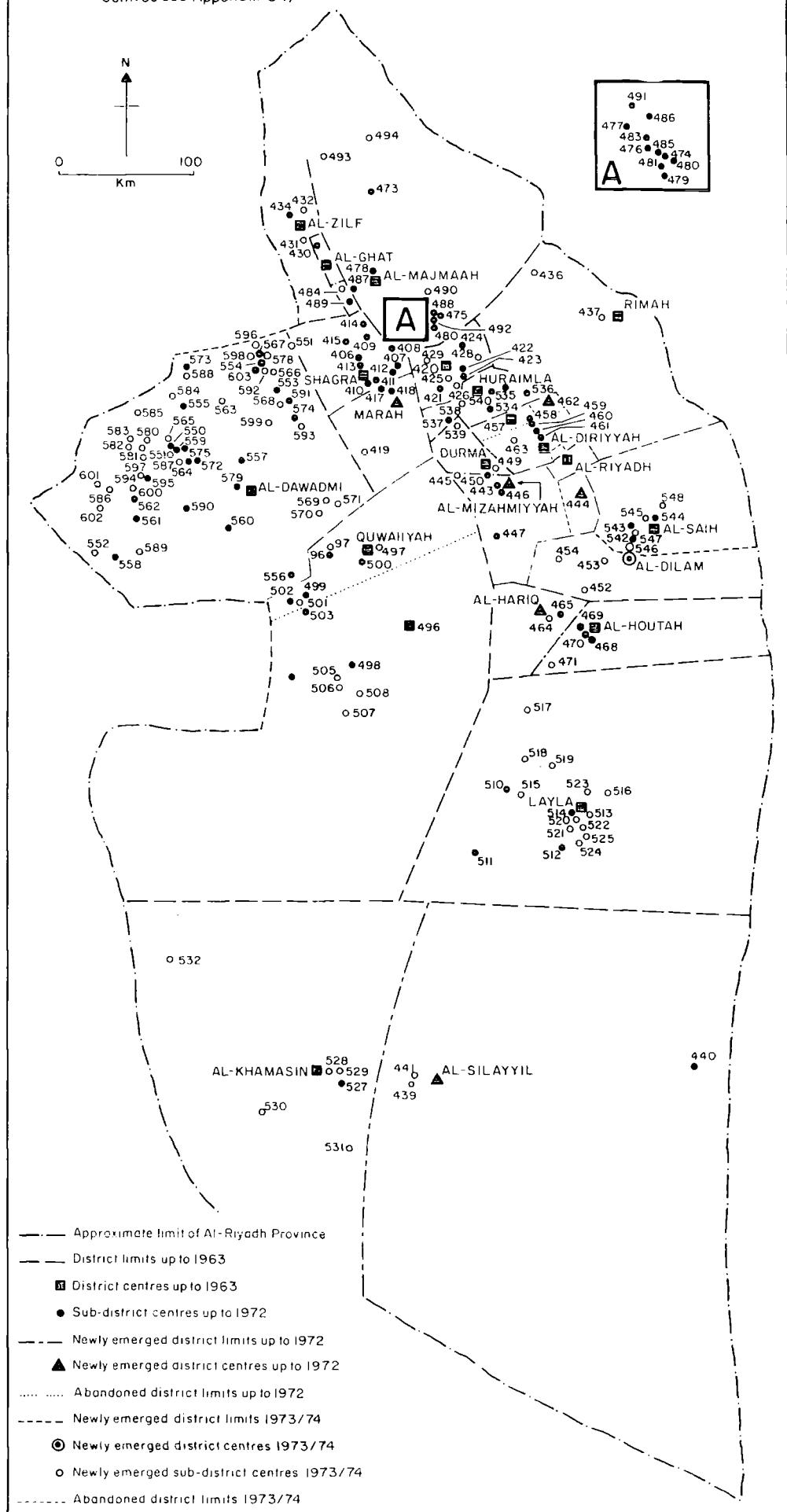
It must be emphasised that the emergence of Tabouk as a first-rank province in the last months of 1973 was the outcome of changes in space relations and geopolitical realities of the area. These changes were primarily caused by two factors. The first was the growing conflict between Israel and the Arab states which resulted in two major wars in less than a ten-year period. The second factor was the closure of the Suez Canal in 1967. The first factor led to the growing concern of the government of Saudi Arabia over the political and military situation along its northern frontiers, especially with Jordan. This was reflected in the establishment of a major military base in Tabouk. The second factor is responsible for the flourishing of trade along the al-Madinah-Amman surfaced road, on which Tabouk lies at a mid-point and is the headquarters of the Customs Department. The province now consists of the governorates of al-Wajh, Diba, Umluj, and Taima, the last of which has been attached to the Province since 1971. These governorates have their own local authority areas with subordinate administrative centres. The province also includes 12 districts whose territorial extents are mostly restricted to the villages' limits.

15. Al-Riyadh Province

It was seen earlier how 'political' Najd was divided into a number

of geographic units, influenced mainly by the general configuration of its relief. It was also shown that these units were used as the basis on which administrative units have emerged in the form of governorates or districts attached to King Abdul Aziz or the then Crown Prince Saud, who acted as the Governor General of the Province of Najd. It was only after the death of King Abdul Aziz that these governorates and districts were attached to the Ministry of Interior under the name of al-Riyadh Province. The subdivisions of the province, however, did not take their present form before the end of the 1950's and, as expected, many factors intervene to alter the extent and limits of the traditional administrative units. The earliest detailed and official account of the province's governorates and districts is in the form of a list of these subdivisions kept in the file of the detailed budget plan of the fiscal year 1383/84 AH (1962 AD). According to this list, the province of al-Riyadh consisted of the governorates of al-Riyadh, al-Washm (centred in Shaqra), Marat, al-Mihmal (Thadiq), al-Wasl (al-Uyaynah), al-Diriyyah, al-Hautah, Durma, Rimah, al-Shuaib (Huzainah), al-Ard (al-Quwaiyyah), Sudair (al-Majma), al-Ghat, al-Zilfi, al-Dawadmi, Wadi al-Dawasir, Qahtan Najd (al-Rain), al-Aflaj, and al-Kharj, as shown in Figure (6.4). The first conclusion to be drawn from the limits of these governorates and districts and their subdivisions is the fact that some of the traditional geographic units have been subdivided to form separate districts. This is the case with the Sudair unit, from which al-Ghat and al-Zilfi districts have been detached; al-Aridh unit which is subdivided into al-Riyadh, al-Wasl, al-Diriyyah and Durma districts; al-Washm unit which consists of al-Washm (centred in

Fig 6·4. AL-RIYADH PROVINCE, DISTRICT EVOLUTION AND TERRITORIAL EXTENT (For names of Administrative Centres see Appendix 6·1)



Shaqra) and Marat districts. The factors underlying these changes are not documented and therefore are open to personal interpretation. The breakdown of al-Aridh unit into four districts could be related to the growing responsibilities of the city of al-Riyadh as the political and administrative capital of the kingdom, and as the provincial capital for al-Riyadh Province. The historical significance of al-Diriyyah and al-Uyaynah could not be underestimated as a factor contributing to their emergence as separate districts. The case of the Sudair unit is of a different nature. The small town of al-Zilfi has been an important tribal and rural centre to which more than 60 small villages and hijras have been attached. This number is double the number of villages attached to al-Majma (the centre of the Sudair traditional unit). This fact underlines the traditional and everlasting rivalry between these two centres, which led at least to the emergence of al-Zilfi as a separate district. Al-Ghat, on the other hand, is a small town known to be the residence and birthplace of so many distinguished members of the Sudairi family with which the al-Saud family is frequently united in marriage, and whose members hold high-ranking government posts in the central departments, and as governors of a number of provinces and districts.

By the end of the 1960's, a further obscure, and in some cases unjustified, breakdown of districts occurred, to the extent that single towns and even villages emerged as separate districts on their own - in spite of the improvement of transportation roads and facilities which are supposed to solve the isolation problems of this area, and therefore help theoretically at least to regroup disintegrated districts, in order

to minimise wasted human efforts and physical administrative facilities. Examples of such cases are the split of Durma district into the districts of al-Mizahmiyyah, Durma and al-Hair; the breakdown of al-Wasl district into al-Uyaynah and Banban districts; and the detachment of Arqah district from al-Diriyyah. Three similar arrangements have also occurred in the districts of al-Kharj, al-Hautah and Wadi al-Dawasir, from which the districts of al-Dilam, al-Hariq and al-Silayil have been detached respectively, although not without understandable motivation. The rivalry between the settlements of al-Kharj and al-Dilam, as it is between al-Hariq and al-Hautah, is of the kind widely known in central Arabia, as shown previously. The subdivision of Wadi al-Dawasir into two districts could be related to the large size of the area previously attached to a single district.

The unmistakable faulty tendency of breaking down or splitting off already small districts into even smaller districts was soon to be reconsidered and the first step to improve the situation came in 1973, when the districts of Arqah, Banban and al-Wasl were attached to al-Diriyyah to form one district, and when al-Hair joined al-Mizahmiyyah.

16. Al-Madinah Province

The territorial extent of al-Madinah Province has not changed since the annexation of al-Hijaz to the Saudi state, although certain districts might have been temporarily detached from it in different periods, such as al-Ula (1930-1945) and al-Mahd (1940-1955). The nature and cause of this detachment were not, however, documented.

But by asking informed sources in the provincial office in al-Madinah, the author was able to conclude that the cause of the detachment was primarily related to the weakness of the provincial governors during those periods and that those districts were detached from the province only insofar as the financial affairs of those districts were concerned. Another district which was considered historically as part of al-Madinah's administrative area up to the middle of the nineteenth century was Khaibar. This district remained attached to Hail Province until 1971, when it was re-incorporated into al-Madinah Province as mentioned previously. The territorial extent of these administrative subdivisions of al-Madinah Province and the factors underlying their emergence as such reveal very interesting aspects.

The province is now divided into 13 governorates and districts, some of which are further divided into smaller administrative subdistricts (marakiz), as may be seen in Table (6.1). The principal factor underlying the territorial extent of these governorates and districts is the extent of the tribal and subtribal territories. For example, al-Mahd governorates encloses the Banu Abdillah, a major section of the Mutair; al-Ula governorate consists of the tribal territory of the Awlad Ali, a major section of the Anaza; the governorates and districts of Badr, Wadi al-Fur, al-Furaish, al-Jafr, Abyar al-Mashi, al-Suwaidrah, and al-Hinakiyyah control the tribal territories of the subtribes of the Harb; and finally the governorate of Khaibar consists of the tribal territory of the western sections of the Hutaim. However, although the recent gradual integration of different tribal elements and the dwindling of the tribal territories as a socio-political concept in this

TABLE (6.1)
Evolution of Governorates, Districts, and Subdistricts in al-Madinah Province

Governorates	Districts		
	al-Madinah Province		
al-Madinah	al-Ula	(1940)	al-Mahd (1944) Badr (1961)
	Abu Rakah	(1970)	al-Harrah (1964) al-Musijid (1967)
	al-Fariah	(1964)	Sufainah (1964) al-Wasitah (1967)
	al-Fijr	(1964)	al-Subiyyah (1964) al-Rayis (1967)
	Jidaih	(1970)	al-Suwairqiyah (1964) al-Qatah (1970)
	al-Udhaib	(1970)	Hadhab (1967)
	ai-Nashaiyah	(1970)	Tharab (1967)
	Mughairah	(1969)	Arn (1969)
	al-Abraq	(1972)	al-Umd (1972)
	al-Ward	(1972)	al-Assahir (1972)
	Um-Sulayyilah	(1972)	
	al-Nujail	(1973)	
	al-Shalalihah	(1973)	
	al-Hejr	(1970)	
al-Hinakiyah (1959)	Khaibar (1971)	Wadi al-Fur (1961)	
al-Nukhail (1973)	al-Suisulah (1974)	al-Akhali (1974)	
Arja (1973)			
			al-Jafr (1973)

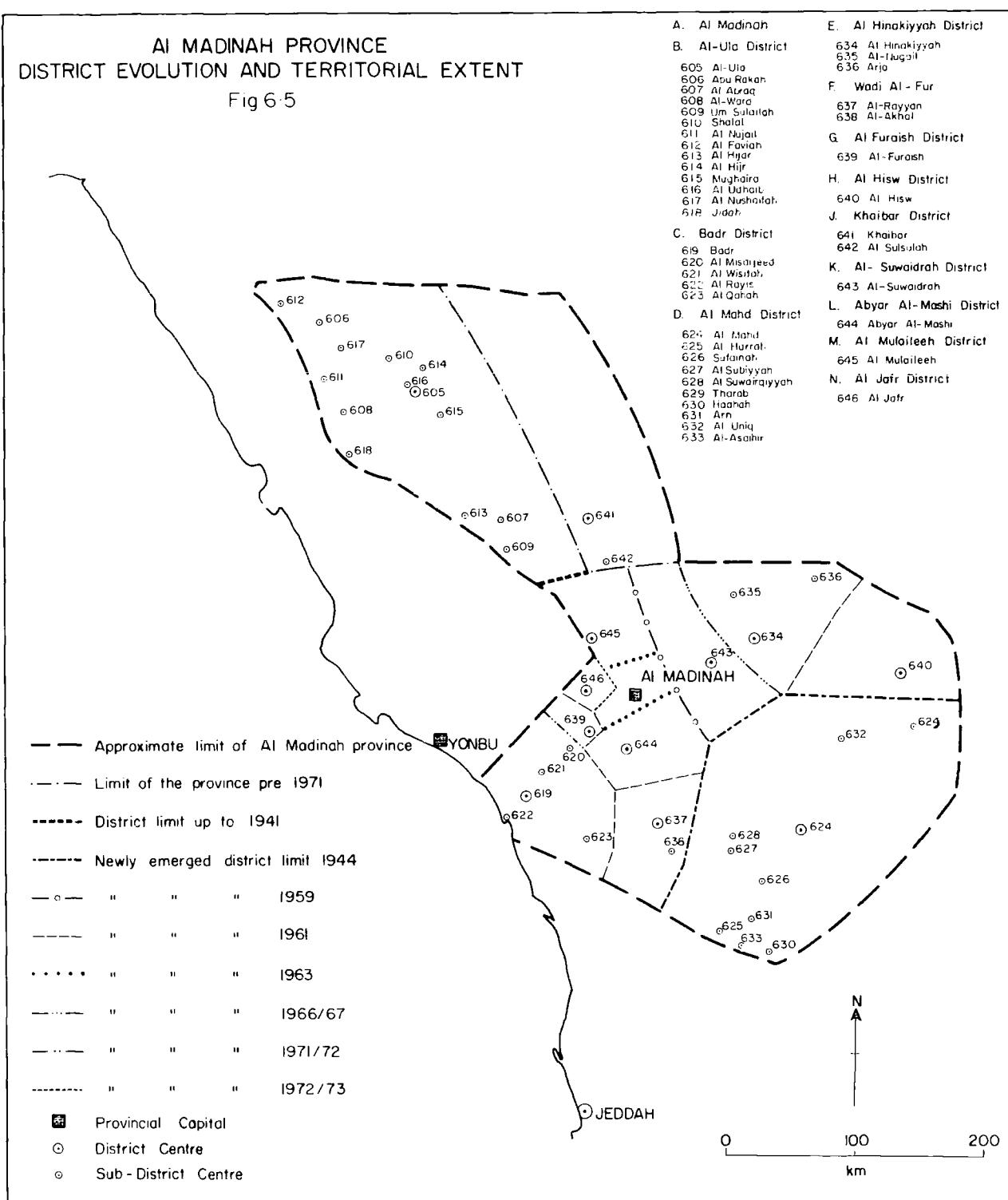
area is undoubtedly a healthy phenomenon, it creates certain trouble areas where the mixing of different tribal elements has led to continuous tribal confrontation. Most of these conflicts occur in the peripheral zones which are too far from the provincial capital, al-Madinah, and from the governorate or district centres to be under effective control. Some of these trouble areas are characterised by very rugged terrain with their inhabitants living in complete isolation. One way of tackling this problem in order to assume more effective control over these areas is to establish within these areas separate governorates or districts attached directly to the provincial capital, as is the case with the districts of al-Milaileeh and al-Hisw. The first is an area characterised by the continuous conflicts between members of the two tribes of Juhainah and Harb, while in the latter the confrontation occurs between the Harb and the Mutair. Moreover, most of these trouble areas are located within the limits of already-existing governorates, such as the western and north-western area of al-Ula governorate and the south-western area of al-Mahd governorate where conflicts occur between the Awlad Ali on the one hand, and the Bani Atiyyah, al-Huwaiyat, Beli, and Juhainah on the other, in the case of the former area, and between the Mutair, Utaibah and Bani Sulaim in the second area. In these areas, certain villages have been chosen to be centres for subdistricts (marakiz) attached to the governorate centres of al-Ula and al-Madh. Examples of these subdistrict centres are al-Harrah, Hadhah, al-Asaihir, and Arn in al-Mahd governorate, and Abu Rakah, al-Fariah, al-Najail, al-Ward, Jidah, Um Sulayyilah, and al-Hijar in al-Ula governorate.

Although the emergence of such subdistricts is a necessary measure

to maintain law and order in such remote and isolated trouble areas, there are certain aspects related to their distribution and authority which hamper the proper execution of their functions. Among these aspects are the vagueness of their territorial extent, the small size of their territory, the lack of any authority delegated to their governors, and last but not least, the lack of contact of the centres of these subdistricts with the governorate centre to which they are attached, due to their sheer physical isolation. Most of the centres of these subdistricts are only ten or 20 kilometres apart, as can be seen from Figure (6.5), and this, coupled with the vagueness of their territorial extent, naturally leads most of them to enlarge their territories by claiming adjoining lands at the territorial expense of others. The result is the wide range of disputes over their territorial limits. These disputes occupy undoubtedly a good part of the work of the administrative offices in those subdistricts, at the expense of the primary functions. Furthermore, these disputes are liable to cause confusion among certain sections of the inhabitants as to the subdistrict office to which they should refer their cases. In addition, the emergence of such small subdistricts involves vast amounts of unnecessary expenditure, since each administrative office requires a number of government employees, a minimum of five, and many physical facilities, such as a building for the administrative office, transportation facilities, office furniture and stationery. All this involves also monthly salaries for the employees and for the maintenance of the above-mentioned facilities. The emergence of such subdistrict offices requires the establishment of police offices as well, which in turn will be provided with similar facilities. The observer of

AI MADINAH PROVINCE
DISTRICT EVOLUTION AND TERRITORIAL EXTENT

Fig 6.5



such territorial arrangements should really ask whether the functions and the degree of authority delegated to these subdistricts are compatible with all these government expenses, knowing that some of these subdistricts are responsible for very small areas with no settlement of any kind, to the extent that some of the administrative offices are set in a group of tents. The existence of such small subdistricts could be partly justified if authority of some kind was delegated to their governors. On the contrary, centralisation of all administrative and financial affairs in the provincial capital is the rule to the extent that every minor matter concerning these subdistricts is referred first to the governorate centres to which they are attached, and from there to the provincial office in al-Madinah, which is consequently piled up with paper work. Would not it be better, at least from an economic, administrative and spatial efficiency point of view, to amalgamate these small subdistricts into a single district with some degree of authority, and to spend all the previously mentioned government expenditure on projects with the aim of improving road conditions and social welfare in those areas?

6.2 Patterns of Provincial and District Delimitation

We have observed so far that the emergence of the Saudi provinces is largely the outcome of a blend of geographical, historical and social factors. The diverse effects of these factors on the areal extent and delimitation of these provinces and their subdivisions have produced diverse and clearly identifiable patterns as far as their spatial distribution and characteristics are concerned.

It is clear from Table (8.1) that the provinces of Saudi Arabia vary greatly in the size of their areas and the number of their inhabitants. This is, in fact, a direct consequence of the areal variations between the different parts of the country in terms of their physiographic conditions. In countries like Saudi Arabia with predominantly arid land, the most sensible variable that can explain the differences between administrative divisions in terms of the size of their areas is the size of the cultivated or uncultivated land in each unit as related to the total area of the cultivated or uncultivated land of the country. Generally speaking, the size of the areas of the Saudi provinces is relatively dependent on the size of their cultivated land. In other words, the size of the desert proper usually determines the areal extent of the administrative divisions, whether at the provincial or district level. For example, the size of first-order government areas (provinces) in the south-western part of the country is relatively small because of the relatively high proportion of cultivated areas. As can be seen in Table (6.2), the provinces of Jazan, Asir, and al-Bahah account for 38.8, 4.4 and 2 per cent of the total cultivated area of the country respectively, while their areas are only 0.63, 2.7 and 0.68 per cent of the total area respectively. This association reflects the high population density in the three provinces, as indicated in Table (8.1). This is in contrast to other parts of the country, where large provinces in terms of their areas are associated with the dominance of the desert proper. An example of this association is the Eastern Province, whose area accounts for about 32 per cent of the total area of Saudi Arabia, while it has only 2.5 per cent of the total cultivated land of the country.

TABLE (6.2)

Cultivated Areas of the Saudi Provinces

Province	X % of Total Area of the Country	Cultivated Area in Donum	% of the Total Cultivated Area of the Country	% of the Total Area of the Province
Afif	1.27	220	0.005	0.0007
Asir	2.72	174,266	4.400	0.2900
Al-Bahah	0.68	77,762	2.000	0.5200
Bishah	1.78	63,376	1.600	0.1600
Eastern P	32.27	101,593	2.560	0.0100
Hail	7.73	54,722	1.380	0.0300
Al-Jauf	3.40	10,979	0.280	0.0150
Jazan	0.63	1,537,136	38.800	11.1000
Al-Khasirah	1.00	339	0.010	0.0015
Al-Madinah and Yonbu	6.52	29,123	0.730	0.0200
Makkah	4.60	934,475	23.570	0.9000
Najran	4.00	29,911	0.750	0.3000
Northern Boundaries P	5.27	200	0.005	0.0002
Al-Qaseem	3.50	319,635	8.000	0.4000
Al-Qurayyat	2.46	5,228	0.130	0.0100
Raniah	0.85	13,053	0.330	0.0700
Al-Riyadh	16.82	579,112	14.600	0.1600
Tabouk	4.50	33,753	0.850	0.0300
TOTAL	100.00	3,964,883	100.000	

Source : Miscellaneous agricultural data from the Statistical Division,
Ministry of Agriculture and Water

X : See Table (8.1)

with low population density. The provinces of Ha'il, the Northern Boundaries, al-Jauf, al-Qurayyat, Tabuk and al-Madinah reveal the same pattern.

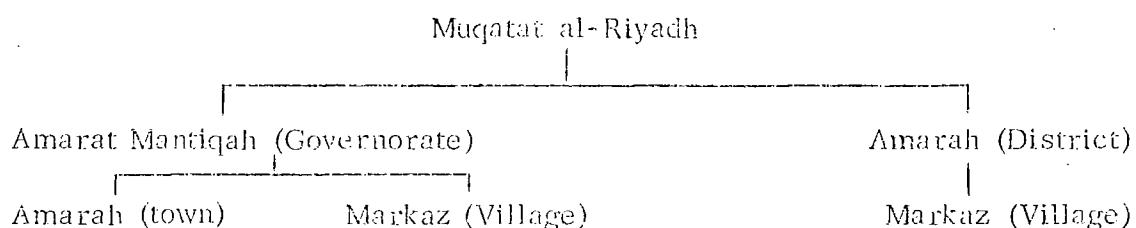
A similar relationship exists in other countries of the Middle East and North Africa, where arid land predominates. For example, in al-Iraq, Egypt, Libya and Algeria the small size first-order administrative divisions are located in the densely cultivated and inhabited areas of these provinces; that is, in the eastern part of al-Iraq, along the Nile valley in Egypt, in jabal al-Akhdar and north-west of Libya, and in the coastal plain and Tell mountains in Algeria. However, there are exceptions to this general pattern in Saudi Arabia, where there exist provinces with large areas as well as large cultivated areas, such as the provinces of al-Riyadh and Makkah, while provinces with small areas can be found in the middle of the desert with as little as 200 donums of cultivated land, such as the provinces of Afif and al-Khasirah as shown in Table (6.2).

Another major aspect of provincial administration is the absence of a uniform spatial hierarchical order of administrative subdivisions within the Saudi provinces, and even within individual provinces. As can be seen from Table (6.3), eight patterns can be distinguished bearing in mind that the term 'province' refers to the first-order administrative divisions, although the official terms for them might differ from one to the other according to their status and rank. To examine these variations in the hierarchical order of administrative subdivisions and the problems they indicate, a closer look at the relationship between tribal life and settlement patterns in Saudi Arabia is necessary.

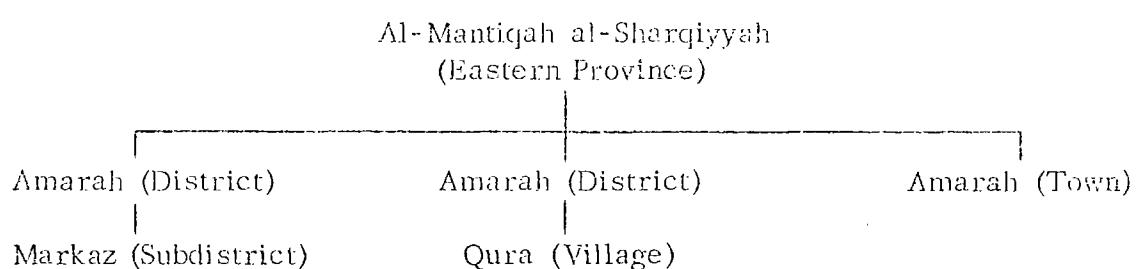
TABLE (6.3)

Patterns of Hierarchical Order of the Administrative Subdivisions
of the Saudi Provinces

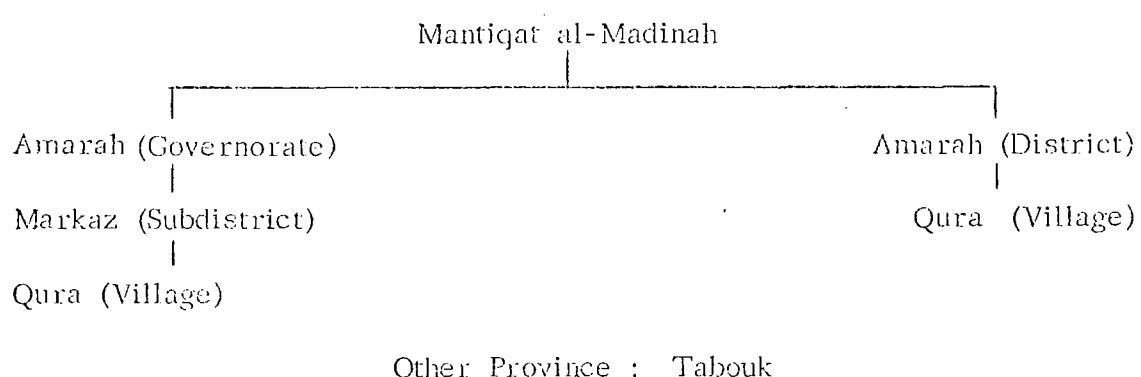
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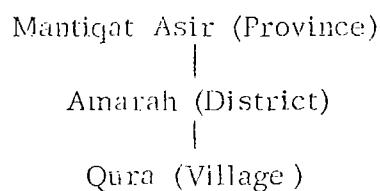
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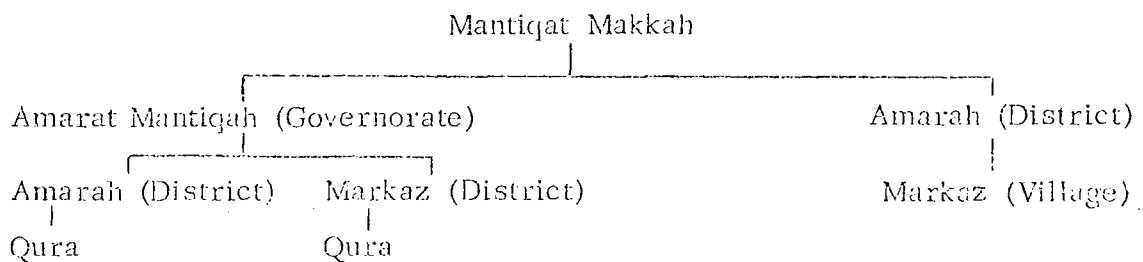
TABLE (6.3)
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(4)

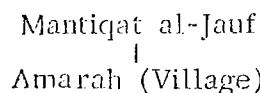


Other Provinces : Al-Bahah, Jazan, Bishah and Yanbu

(5)

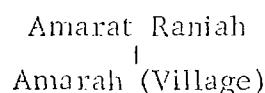


(6)



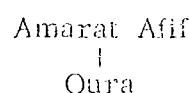
Other Provinces : Al-Qaseem, Najran, Northern Boundaries Province,
and al-Qurayyat

(7)



Other Province : Al-Khasirah

(8)



Apart from the south-western part of the country, settlement centres, mainly agricultural oases or trade centres, are located in predominantly arid lands where pastoralism is practised. Although most of the inhabitants of these oases and trade centres are of tribal origin, once they are settled they no longer identify themselves with tribal institutions. In other words, tribalism as a political and social concept ends at the village boundaries. Thus a distinction between tribal nomadic organisation and settled life has developed, to the extent that two territorial political units can be recognised. The first is the village territorial political sphere of influence, which is limited to the village boundaries, and the second is the tribal territory whose size depends upon the power and wealth of the tribe. The ammosities that took place between tribes and villages in eastern, central, northern and north-western Saudi Arabia constituted a major part of the history of these areas before the consolidation of the Saudi state during the first quarter of this century. Within these areas, however, certain villages were the residence places of the tribal chiefs, and therefore they became tribal centres whose territorial political sphere of influence extended to the boundaries of the tribal territories. Hail, al-Wajh, al-Jauf, Yonbu, Tabouk, Khaibar, al-Ula, and Diba are only a few examples of these tribal centres. During the formation period of Saudi provinces and governorates, these tribal centres became centres for either provinces or governorates, with the result that their limits coincide with the limits of the tribal territories which they controlled. Examples of this trend are Hail Province (the Shammar), al-Jauf Province (the Ruwala), Tabouk (Bani Atiyya), al-Qaseem Province (the

Harb of Najd), al-Ula Governorate (the Awlad Ali), Diba Governorate (the Huwaitat), al-Wajh Governorate (the Beli), Yonbu Province (the southern sections of the Juhainah), Rabigh Governorate (the Masrouh section of the Harb) and so forth. With the absence of a strong bond at the subtribe level, and the confinement of the village's territorial political sphere of influence to its boundaries, delimitation of second-order administrative units within those provinces and governorates developed a unique pattern in which administrative subdivisions emerged around villages with their territorial extent being confined to the village boundaries. In other words, most of the territorial limits of these subdivisions are confined to the boundaries of single villages, with the result that, although villages became centres of second-order administrative units, their territories could hardly be termed 'districts'. For example, the provinces of al-Qaseem, Hail, al-Jauf, al-Qurayyat, Tabouk, the Eastern Province and most of the governorates of al-Riyadh Province are divided into administrative subdivisions with most of their territories totally confined to single villages.

With the absence of an intermediate territorial administrative unit between the provincial and village level, certain disadvantages and problems crop up. One of these problems is that villages constituting administrative subdivisions try to extend their administrative catchment areas beyond the village boundaries to include villages which have not yet acquired administrative status. This might produce conflict between these villages and confusion among the inhabitants of the latter type of villages as to what authority they should turn to for

their administrative affairs. Another disadvantage of this system is that the emergence of an administrative subdivision in a village involves the establishment of a government office which is normally supplied with government employees, office furniture, transportation facilities and the like, besides the monthly expenditure on salaries, maintenance of the office furniture, transportation facilities, and official entertainment (hospitality expenses). All this proves to be very costly if one realises that in each of the aforementioned provinces and governorates the number of administrative subdivisions evolved around single villages is unjustifiably great, and that tens of villages apply every year to be the centres of administrative subdivisions. For example, al-Qaseem Province had 83 administrative subdivisions of this type in 1393 AH (1973) and applied for 20 more to be considered in the fiscal year of 1393/94.⁵⁹

As one moves southwestward to al-Saraih and Tihama proper, the whole pattern of settlements changes radically. Man to land attachment and tribal bonds are stronger. Villages feel and acknowledge ethnic association with each other. Ethnic groups, whether at the tribe, subtribe or clan level, developed distinctive territorial feelings to the extent that each village is tied up to a hierarchy of territorial units starting from the village to the tribe level, with mutual recognition of their respective territorial limits. An example taken from al-Saraih should serve to illustrate this hierarchy of territorial units. The village of al-Qarn is inhabited by members of the Bani Salim clan, which is a subdivision of the Bani Dhabian, a subtribe of the Ghafid. The emergence of provinces and governorates in this part of Saudi

Arabia has been completely based on and in line with the distribution of tribal territories where a group of related tribes have been incorporated into one province or governorate, as has already been shown in this part when dealing with the territorial limits of the provinces of Asir, Jazan, al-Bahah, Najran and Bishah, and the governorates of al-Taif, al-Lith and al-Qunfudhah (Makkah Province). When delimiting second- and third-order administrative units within these provinces or governorates, the same principle was adopted, whereby related subtribes were grouped to form administrative subdivisions which can be termed 'districts' in the true meaning of the word. One advantage of this system is that district limits are fairly known and acknowledged, a situation which does not leave any ground for conflicts or disputes between districts over their territorial limits, since most district limits are drawn so as to coincide with tribal or subtribal territorial limits. Another advantage is economic, since the number of administrative subdivisions in this part is very small compared to those in the provinces of eastern, central, northern and north-western Saudi Arabia; hence the amount of money spent to maintain their administrative functions is a lot less. If we combine the provinces of al-Bahah and Asir, whose area is roughly equal to that of al-Qaseem, we find that the number of subdivisions in these two provinces is only 50, compared to 103 in al-Qaseem, bearing in mind that the population of the two provinces of al-Bahah and Asir is double that of al-Qaseem.

Another significant difference between south-western Saudi Arabia and the rest of the country in the distribution pattern of provincial subdivisions is that a good proportion of the centres of administra-

tive subdivisions in the central, northern and north-western parts of the country emerged in the peripheral areas of the provinces or governorates for the sole functions of observing the international boundaries or inter-provincial limits in order to prevent any clashes, illegal passing or trading along the international boundaries, or inter-tribal conflicts along the provincial limits. Most of these centres emerged in tiny villages or hamlets, and it is not unusual to find the government offices of some of these centres stationed in tents in the middle of completely arid land, isolated from the rest of the province, not to mention the provincial centre. Many examples could be cited to illustrate this trend in the provinces of al-Qaseem, the Eastern Province, the Northern Boundaries Province, al-Quarayyat, al-Jauf, Tabouk, al-Madinah, Yonbu and Makkah. But the point to be stressed here is that unnecessary duality and duplication in the functions of these centres is encountered, since they emerge along both sides of the inter-provincial limits. For example, the centres of the administrative subdivisions of Hadhah, al-Asailir, al-Harrath (al-Madinah Province) and al-Furai (Makkah Province) are located along the territorial limit between the two provinces with the identical function of preventing inter-tribal clashes between the three tribes of Utaibah, Mutair, and Bani Sulaim, while they are located within a ten-kilometre radius from each other in a very rugged and isolated part of Harrat Rahat. The problems and implications of such territorial administrative arrangement have been dealt with previously, but it remains to be said here that elimination of such duality of function, and therefore minimising government expenditure, could only be done by amalgamating and

incorporating such centres into one district, to be attached to one of the provinces to which those centres were originally attached. By doing this, districts of this type will assume more efficient and firm control over inter-tribal conflicts with the aim of integrating tribal elements by fostering the feeling of territorial belonging among them, a situation which will undoubtedly enhance the improvement of their social welfare and standard of living. Parallel to this, we find that in the south-western part of Saudi Arabia the basic aim of district delimitation is to foster a common feeling of territorial belonging among the inhabitants at the district level. District offices function as venues through which the demands of the inhabitants for more effective public services are carried out to the provincial office and from there to the different central government departments. Districts engage in healthy competition to apply for such services as schools, roads, health centres, social security offices, agricultural units, communication offices and the like.

Therefore, and in conclusion, the author emphasises strongly the need for such a feeling of territorial belonging at the district level, and this cannot be fostered by the present pattern of district delimitation in the greater part of Saudi Arabia. This implies the need to reconsider the distribution and territorial extent of the existing administrative subdivisions within most of the Saudi provinces with the aim of achieving a uniform pattern of territorial hierarchy as far as the provincial administration is concerned. This will undoubtedly provide a solid base for further unification of the different patterns of territorial hierarchy of the territorial administrative units of central

government departments whose geographical distribution will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Another major point which is largely underestimated is the variations among the Saudi provinces as far as their rank, status and the authority delegated to their governors are concerned. Some of these aspects have been dealt with previously, but it remains to be said here that provincial governors with higher ranks have more power and connections to persuade the central government departments to meet the demands of the inhabitants of their provinces for public services and to implement the development programmes within their provinces, a situation which results in unbalanced welfare. Furthermore, the authority delegated to these provincial governors of higher rank provides them with adequate power to decide upon certain cases and to execute certain decisions without referring them to their higher authority (the Ministry of Interior), while such cases and decisions are subject to a strict procedure in the other provinces. In other words, the inhabitants of the different provinces are subjected to different patterns of decision-making process. This could leave regrettable consequences on the perception and mental attitude of the inhabitants towards the viability and justification of the authority of the local administrative units.

In conclusion, a wide range of variations exists among the Saudi provinces, whether in their rank and administrative status, in the authority delegated to their governors, or in the hierarchical order of their administrative subdivisions. These variations indicate clearly the sheer lack of co-ordination and planning at the national level. They

might also provide obstacles against future adjustment. For example, they could well be the main factor behind the continuous delay in implementing the Provincial Regulations of October 1963, which were drawn up to standardise existing procedures of provincial government with the aim of creating uniform territorial administrative units for provincial administration as well as the administration of the central government departments and ministries.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF
SELECTED MINISTRIES IN THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

In the introduction to this part, the author explained his intention of investigating the various territorial administrative divisions of Saudi Arabia. It was then clear that the various government ministries have developed and used varied divisions in order to carry their services to the public and to organise the administrative as well as the financial affairs of those divisions. In the previous three chapters, the functions and territorial arrangement of the provincial divisions were examined, except for al-Bahah Province which will be the subject of more intensive study in the closing part devoted to it. This present chapter will focus on the other Saudi Arabian territorial administrative divisions that are being used by the various government ministries and agencies. These are : the ministries of Education, Agriculture, Health, Communications, and Justice. The other departments to be considered are the General Department of Girls' Education, and Municipalities Department. The criteria on which these ministries were chosen and singled out were discussed in the introduction to this part. In examining these territorial divisions, emphasis will be placed on their actual extent and distributions, and the bases and factors upon which they have emerged and developed. This chapter will also be concerned with examining the functions of the regional offices and their authority as part of the central control over government services. Attention will be focused as well upon the differences between the extent of these

divisions and the provincial divisions, and the factors involved in this aspect.

It is of great significance to note that the quality and quantity of information obtained from the different central government ministries and departments under study vary from one ministry to another. This is reflected in the structure of this chapter, in which the reader will undoubtedly notice that the space allocated to the examination of the territorial administrative units of each of these ministries varies in length depending on the quality as well as the availability of data on the ministries under examination.

It is to be emphasised also that the heads of the regional offices of the different ministries share the following characteristics:-

1. They are confined in their decisions and responsibilities to the area they are assigned to administer.
2. They have very limited authority as far as decision-making is concerned, and their authority over administrative and financial matters is confined to a minimum which is stated in the General Personnel Law.
3. As far as planning is concerned, they have the responsibility of submitting their ideas and suggestions to be viewed by the central government
4. There are no co-ordinating bodies at the local level, and accordingly the heads of the regional offices have no connections as far as their functions are concerned, except in the persons of the provincial governors who act as co-ordinators and supervisors over the administrative affairs of their provinces and over government agencies

functioning within the limits of their provinces. The degree of co-ordination and supervision assumed by the provincial governors as part of their functions depends entirely on their personalities. In other words, there are no codes of law or constitutional procedures which might determine this degree.

Finally, it must be noted that the maps accompanying and explaining the text of this chapter are entirely prepared by the author and are based on official documents. The absence of such maps in the central government departments and ministries is a handicap to those who are interested in the territorial arrangement of their divisions. The procedure followed in preparing these maps is to locate the centres which are attached to a certain division and draw a line enclosing them. Such lines can only be approximate, since subjective views are inevitable in deciding upon the actual extent of the line being drawn between the marginal centres of two adjacent territorial administrative divisions.

7.1 The Territorial Administrative Divisions of the Ministry of Education

7.1.1 Historical Development

The Ministry of Education assumes the responsibility for providing equal opportunities for education below university level to all Saudi Arabians in all parts of Saudi Arabia. The Ministry was originally called the General Directorate of Education, which was established in Makkah in 1926 to supervise the educational affairs of the Viceroyalty of al-Hijaz. It was not until 1938 that the Directorate became respons-

ible for the educational affairs of the whole kingdom. In 1944, there were only 43 elementary schools scattered in the main cities of Saudi Arabia, which was then divided into four major educational administrative units, as shown in Table (7.1).⁶⁰ There was first Makkah, with authority to supervise the schools in the city itself and in Jeddah, al-Taif, al-Dhaseer, al-Qunfudhah, and al-Lith. Al-Madinah unit supervised the schools in the city of al-Madinah and in Yonbu, Rabigh, al-Wajh, Umluj, Diba, al-Mowailih, al-Ula, al-Qurayyat, and al-Jauf. The third unit was centred in Abha, and was responsible for the schools in Asir, Najran, Bishah and Jazan districts. Al-Hasa was the fourth unit, under whose authority were included the schools in both Najd and Al-Hasa. The schools in that year were limited to the towns of al-Hufuf, al-Mubarraz, al-Qatif, al-Jubail, al-Dammam, al-Majmaah, Buraidah, Unaizah, Hail, Shaqra, al-Riyadh and al-Khubar. Al-Hasa unit, however, had its own Educational Council which might take certain actions without referring to the Directorate in Makkah, due to the distance factor, and due also to the fact that Najd and al-Hasa had always struggled and resisted the notion of being attached to the Viceroyalty of al-Hijaz, as explained previously. In 1953, the Ministry of Education was established and transferred to al-Riyadh, as were all the central government ministries and agencies. That year and the next witnessed a sharp increase in the number of schools established, and therefore the responsibilities of the above-mentioned educational units were also increasing, to the point that a breakdown of their territories was inevitable in order to proceed with the functions and responsibilities they assumed. The same was felt and needed in the following years

TABLE (7.1)

Evolution of School Districts

1944	1954
Makkah	Makkah, Jeddah, al-Taif, al-Dhaseer, al-Qunfudhah
Abha	Abha, Jazan
Al-Madinah and the North	Al-Madinah and the North (al-Jauf, al-Qurayyat and the Northern Boundaries zone were added to the Eastern unit, and Rabigh was added to Jeddah unit)
Al-Hasa	The Eastern unit, Najd, Hail, al- Qaseem and Unaiza

1954	1968
Al-Madinah and the North	Al-Madinah, Tabouk
Abha	Abha, Najran, Bishah
Najd	Al-Riyadh, Sudair, al-Washim, al- Aflaj, Wadi al-Dawasir, al-Hautah and al-Hariq
The Eastern unit	The Eastern unit, al-Hasa and al-Jauf

Source : The Ministry of Education, Elementary Education; Past and Present, Beirut, 1969, pp 26-27

which resulted in the emergence of 23 territorial educational units up to now, as shown in Table (7.1).

7.1.2 Administrative Structure and Hierarchy of the Education

Units

School districts in Saudi Arabia fall into three categories. First, there are the old and large units called the Educational Directorates, which are centred in Makkah, Jeddah, al-Madinah, al-Riyadh, al-Dammam of the Eastern Province, al-Hufuf of al-Hasa, Shaqra of al-Washm, al-Majmaah of Sudair, Abha, al-Bahah, Bishah, Jazan, al-Aflaq, Hail, Buraidah of al-Qaseem, al-Taif, and al-Qunfudhah. The second category is called the Educational Supervisional Offices and includes the most recent units, such as Tabouk, al-Jauf, al-Hautah and al-Hariq, Wadi al-Dawasir, Unaiza, and Najran. The difference between the two categories is in the authority, whether administrative or financial, that is assumed by and delegated to the directors of these regional offices. Although both the directors of the two categories report directly to the Assistant Deputy Minister for General Educational Affairs, the directors of the first category have a wider authority over certain administrative and financial matters. The third category is the Educational Offices, which are in fact sub-divisions of the first and second categories and subordinate to them. They are established in order to deal with small matters which do not have to be reported to the Educational Directorates or the Educational Supervisional Offices. There are nine of these Educational Offices in the country and they are attached to eight Educational Directorates, as shown in

Table (7.2).

7.1.3 Distribution of School Districts

There are a few basic and obvious questions : why are school districts distributed the way they are? What are the factors responsible for the emergence of these districts, and the bases upon which their extent, limits and the choice of the centres are decided? The answers to these questions will emerge by comparing Figure (6.1), which shows the territorial extent of the Saudi provinces since 1955, and Figure (7.1), which shows the existing school districts and their extent. But before going into detail, there are certain facts to be stated in this connection. First, the subdivision of school districts and the increase of their numbers since 1926 has been the outcome of the rapid development in education manifested by the establishment of enormous numbers of elementary schools and others each year in every locality with considerable population. This meant that, as stated previously, a change in the number of school districts, and therefore in their extent, has been necessary. Furthermore, the process of change went side by side with the development of education, which varied from one area to another. This is to say that it was a process primarily initiated by the inadequacy of the existing administrative system to deal with large areas characterised by poor transportation network. Now that the ministry is being staffed with qualified personnel and the transportation network is improving, the policy for the future distribution of school districts reveals quite an opposite tendency, which now aims at grouping the existing 23 school districts under six

**TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS OF THE
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION**

- Approximate Limits of the School Districts in 1954
- - - Newly Emerged Limits up to 1973
- Centres of First-Rank School Districts
- Centres of Second-Rank School Districts
- △ Centres of Third-Rank School Districts
- Subordinate centres with at least Elementary Schools

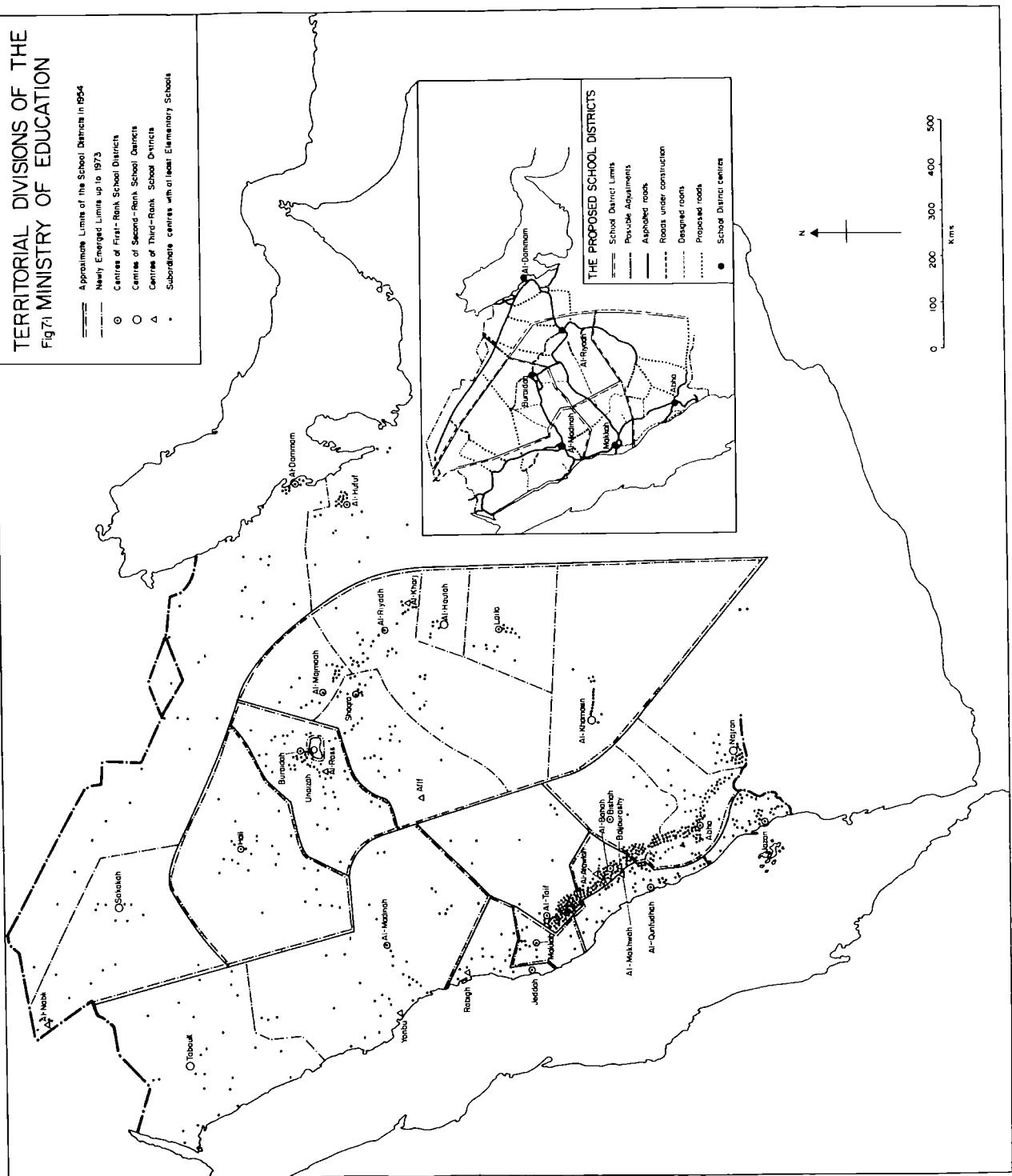


TABLE (7.2)

Categories of School Districts

Administrative Categories	School Districts
First Rank : Educational Directorates	Makkah, Jeddah, al-Madinah, al-Riyadh, the Eastern Province, al-Hasa, al-Washm, Sudair, Abba, al-Bahah, al-Taif, al-Qunfudhah, Bishah, Jazan, Hail, al-Qaseem, <i>at-Aflaj</i>
Second Rank : Supervisional Offices	Tabouk, al-Jauf, al-Hautah and al-Hariq, Wadi al-Dawasir, Unaizah, Najran
Third Rank : Educational Offices	Al-Kharj, Afif, al-Atawlah, Baljourashy, al-Makhwah, Rabigh, al-Rass, Yonbu, al-Qurayyat

<u>Educational Offices</u>							<u>Educational Directorates</u>						
Al-Kharj	Al-Riyadh						
Afif		Al-Washm					
Al-Atawlah	}												
Baljourashy			Al-Bahah					
Al-Makhwah			Al-Qunfudhah					
Rabigh		Jeddah					
Al-Rass		Al-Qaseem					
Yonbu		Al-Madinah					
Al-Qurayyat		Al-Jauf					

school districts within the next five years, a policy which will be examined later. Secondly, in the process of breaking down the large school districts into smaller ones which has been going on for the past half a century, the extent and limits of the old and new emerging school districts have been deliberately planned to coincide with that of the existing provincial divisions, except for certain cases to be shown and discussed in the following section. In other words, the distribution of the provincial units has been used as the prime base for the distribution of the educational territorial units. The same applies to the choice of school district centre to the extent that all the existing school district centres are, with no exceptions, either provincial capitals or governorate centres. This trend is clearly motivated by the desire to eliminate and avoid complications which usually result from the overlapping of authority and lack of communication encountered when an area is attached to a province and forms at the same time a part of a school district whose centre lies in another province or governorate. Complications of this nature in areas of this kind have compelled the ministry to reconsider the school districts to which some of these areas should be attached, in order to have a total coincidence between school districts and provincial divisions or subdivisions. Examples of these cases will be treated in the next section.

Thirdly, another significant feature is revealed when comparing the distribution of the provincial divisions and school districts. We find that, while al-Riyadh Province stands as a separate province, it is divided into six school districts, with Asif and al-Khasirah Provinces

being attached to them although they are outside the limits of al-Riyadh Province. The same is to be found is the case of Makkah Province, which is divided into four school districts, with the Province of Raniah being attached to it. The Eastern Province shares also the same feature and is divided into two school districts, with the Northern Boundaries Province forming part of them. In fact, these are the only provinces in Saudi Arabia which are divided into more than one school district and to which other areas outside the limits of these provinces are attached. There are certain factors which have contributed to the emergence of this feature. There is, first, the fact that the capitals of these provinces are the centres of the largest population clusters in the whole of the kingdom, which means that there is also a concentration of educational services in these clusters. Consequently, these clusters form special cases on which more attention should be focused and concentration of effort is needed. Furthermore, the sizes of these provinces are among the largest in the kingdom, with the settlement centres being scattered and sometimes isolated. These characteristics coupled with poor transportation network and distance friction have favoured, and in many cases forced, the breakdown of these provinces into smaller school districts. Besides this main factor, each province has its own characteristics, which have led to dividing it into more than one school district. In the case of Makkah Province, educational institutions were established in this part of Saudi Arabia long before any other part, and therefore school districts took their forms and shapes before those of the other parts, as Table (7.1) indicates. School districts in this province developed

around the leading governorate centres, which were not at that time (1944-54) attached to Makkah except in the sense that Makkah was the capital of the al-Hijaz Viceroyalty. It may be remembered that Makkah Province with its present territorial extent did not emerge before 1960. As far as al-Riyadh Province is concerned, it was shown earlier that local geographic units influenced by physiographic features have emerged in Najd : Sudair, al-Washm, al-Kharj and others. These units form the bases for subdividing the province into governorates or districts, as has been discussed in the previous chapter. These districts have also been used as bases for delimiting school districts. This applies to the educational districts of Sudair, al-Washm, al-Kharj, al-Hautah and al-Hariq, al-Aflaj and Wadi al-Dawasir with minor differences to be mentioned later. The Eastern Province is different. Its traditional capital was the oasis of al-Hufuf, the centre of al-Hasa cluster of oases. Al-Hufuf also emerged as the school district centre for the whole area. When the provincial capital was relocated and transferred to al-Dammam in the first years of the 1950's because of the population redistribution in the areas caused by the oil industry and the drastic change in the economic and political balance of the area, the school district centre was also transferred to al-Dammam. In 1968, al-Hasa was elevated to be a first-rank school district, and since then it has been attached directly to the ministry.

7.1.4 Differences between the Extent of the School Districts and the Provincial Divisions

We have examined in the previous section the territorial relation

between the extent of school districts and the provincial divisions and subdivisions in three of the largest provinces in the state. In this section, a broader view will be taken to show the degree of coincidence in the general distribution and extent of school districts and the other provincial divisions. In some cases when school districts have evolved and emerged around provincial capitals and district centres, the limits of the school districts were deliberately made and meant to be the same as those of the corresponding provinces or districts. This is true in the provinces and school districts of Jazan, Najran, and Hail only. This tendency has been considered recently when establishing schools in villages for the first time, and when the authorities are confronted with the decision as to which school district centres these villages should be attached to. There have been, however, other factors which might have influenced these decisions, with the result that there are certain areas whose administrative and school district centres are not the same. It is useful for the sake of clarification to enumerate these areas and state if possible the factors involved in each case (Figure (7.1)).

1. Al-Bahah Province

The areas which form part of this province but are attached to a school district centre outside this province are mainly part of Tihama and will be dealt with when this province is examined as a case study.

2. Asir Province

There are two districts in this province which are attached to Bishah school district instead of that of Asir. These are Bani Shihr

and Bani Amr of al-Sarah and Tāhlīth. These constitute the northern-most part of the province, and their connection with the provincial capital, Abha, has been the result of a long-standing tribal association with the main tribe, the Asir. Their inclusion in Bishah school district, as explained by the authority, came about as a result of their relative proximity to and the easier contact in terms of transportation with Bishah, the school district centre, as compared with Abha. It may be remembered that Bishah itself was part of the school district of Abha, but when Bishah was assigned to form a separate school district, these areas were attached to it without regard to their territorial administrative arrangement. As explained to the author by the present Provincial Governor of Asir,* this situation has created immense problems which the whole area could do without, especially in that it has been exposed recently to development plans requiring full co-ordination between government services in the province, which cannot be achieved by the present arrangement. The Provincial Governor of Asir has, in fact, proposed to the Ministries of Education and Interior that these areas should be restored to Abha school district, especially since the first districts - namely, Bani Shihr and Bani Amr of al-Sarah - will be connected with Abha by a surfaced road by the end of 1975. The proposition is currently being considered in the Ministry of Education and is likely to be adopted. Prior to 1972, these

* HRH Khalid, son of the late King Faisal. The detachment of these areas from Abha school district came before his appointment as the Provincial Governor of Asir.

districts were not the only ones in the province to be attached to school district centres outside the province. Al-Qunfudhah school district up to 1972 was in control of the three districts of Mahail, al-Bariq and al-Majardah, which are part of Asir Province. An official in the Ministry of Education stated to the author the factors which led to the inclusion of these districts in Abha school district in 1972, i.e., that, although these districts - namely al-Bariq, al-Majardah and Mahail - are part of Asir Province, they are better connected with al-Qunfudhah with the distance between them being relatively shorter if one considers the physical frictions separating them from Abha.

Al-Qunfudhah school district authorities were confronted for many years with communication problems between the school district centre, al-Qunfudhah, and the district centres of al-Bariq, Mahail and al-Majardah, owing to the fact that these centres are parts of different postal districts, and therefore postal delivery from al-Qunfudhah to those centres could not be made directly, but had to follow a certain postal route, either to Jazan or to Jeddah, in order to reach Abha, and then to those centres - a process which might take at least three months. In view of this and similar problems, the Ministry decided upon attaching these districts to Abha school district in 1972. The provincial limits of Asir touch in the east and west those of Najran and Jazan Provinces, whose provincial limits correspond with their school district limits.

3. Al-Qaseem Province

This province presents a very peculiar case, in that it is divided into two school districts. The first is a first-rank school

district called al-Qaseem, centred in Buraidah, the provincial capital. It controls more or less the territory of al-Qassem Province with the exception of the territory of the second school district. In addition, al-Qaseem school district has authority over the district of Qiba, which is part of Hail Province and also constitutes part of the area under dispute between al-Qaseem and Hail Provinces, as shown in the previous chapter. The second school district is centred on Unaizah and forms a territorial enclave within al-Qaseem school district. Its territorial extent does not exceed the few villages around Unaizah, and it coincides with the extent of Unaizah district, which up to 1971 maintained its administrative identity outside al-Qaseem Province, although it is contained by it. Unaizah school district is, in fact, as can be seen from Table (7.1) and Table (7.2), the only second-rank school district which did not emerge from a larger school district. In other words, all of the second- and third-rank school districts except Unaizah were once part of larger school districts, and were later detached to form separate but inferior school districts in terms of the authority vested in them. Furthermore, it is the smallest school district in the country, with only three localities to serve : namely, Unaizah town and two other villages, since they are the only settlement centres in the district to have schools in them. This situation is only one result of the long-standing rivalry between Unaizah and Buraidah over the political leadership of al-Qaseem Province whose causes and consequences were discussed in the previous two chapters.

4. The Northern Province (Tabouk)

The only significant differences between the extent of Tabouk Province and Tabouk school district lie in the northern and southern parts. In the north, Tabouk school district extends beyond the limit of Tabouk Province to include the strip of territory parallel to the western part of the Saudi-Jordanian boundary line, which is actually part of al-Qurayyat Province. It was shown in the earlier chapters that certain parts of the Saudi Arabian northern boundary zones are attached to specific provinces, i.e., the Saudi-Kuwaiti boundary zone to the Eastern Province, the Saudi-Iraqi boundary zone to the Northern Boundaries Province, and the Saudi-Jordanian boundary zone to al-Qurayyat Province. The distribution is possibly the outcome of the tendency to co-ordinate between the functions of the state over its boundary zones, a factor that most certainly lies behind the inclusion of the above-mentioned strip of territory within al-Qurayyat Province, in spite of its proximity to the capital of the Northern Province, Tabouk. In deciding the extent of Tabouk school district, the proximity of the territory parallel to the Saudi-Jordanian boundary line to Tabouk is taken into consideration, and therefore this area is attached to it. In the south, on the other hand, the opposite trend has occurred, possibly due to a similar factor. The district of Umluj, which is part of the Northern Province, is attached to al-Madinah school district, an arrangement which could be influenced by the distance and communication frictions between Umluj and Tabouk, as opposed to the much easier contact between Umluj and al-Madinah via Yonbu, which is also part of al-Madinah school district.

5. Other Provinces and Governorates

In the case of the provinces of the Northern Boundaries, al-Qurayyat, Yonbu, Raniah, al-Khasirah and Afif, they have no separate school districts. Rather, each of them is attached to another province to form a school district. Thus, the Northern Boundaries Province is part of the Eastern school district (al-Dammam), al-Qurayyat Province is attached to al-Jauf school district, Yonbu Province forms part of al-Madinah school district, Raniah Province is part of al-Taif school district, and finally the Provinces of al-Khasirah and Afif are attached to al-Washm school district. This is largely the outcome of the variations and differences between the factors which led to the emergence of both the provincial divisions and school districts. As far as those factors involved in the emergence of the provincial divisions are concerned, they were already examined in the previous two chapters. The low population density in these provinces and governorates coupled with the low degree of educational attainment due to the predominance of nomadic communities, and therefore the smaller size of educational facilities, staff and personnel needed, could be regarded as the main factors in keeping them attached to other provinces to form larger school districts. However, the vast increase in the number of schools established in some of these provinces and governorates in recent years has led to the establishment of school districts of the third rank (educational offices) whose territorial extent corresponds roughly with their provincial limits. These educational offices are still attached directly to the original school districts, whether of the first or second rank, as Table (7.2) indicates.

7.1.5 Recent Developments

It was shown earlier that by the close of the first half of this century the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was divided into five large school districts, with educational services reaching to a very limited number of localities. As the tremendous expansion of educational services during the last 20 years went on, the already existing school districts were further divided into smaller districts to cope with problems created by environmental frictions and the high rate of increase in building educational institutions. The Ministry of Education is in the process of implementing a plan by which the existing school districts are to be grouped under six large school districts, namely the Central, Northern, Eastern, Northwestern, Western and Southern School Districts, whose extent is shown in Table (7.3) and Figure (7.1). The intention of the Ministry is to delegate authority on a more extensive scale to these regional (local) offices with fixed responsibilities to avoid any time or effort-wasting procedures and eliminate some of the current administrative problems in the country such as centralisation, overlapping of authority, overstaffing and lack of qualified personnel. However, the most influential factor in the distribution of the new districts is the improvement of transportation network. It has enabled the main administrative centres (the capitals of the first-rank provinces) to have access to the other centres of school districts, whether of the first, second or third rank. However, it remains to be seen whether this plan is the first stage towards implementing the Provincial Law of 1963, in which a new policy for unified territorial divisions for all the Saudi ministries is put forward.

TABLE (7.3)

The Planned New School Districts*

Planned School Districts	Existing School Districts
The Central School District	Al-Riyadh, Sudair, al-Washm, al-Hautah and al-Hariq
The Northern School District	Al-Qaseem, Hail, Unaizah, and al-Jauf
The Eastern School District	The Eastern Province (al-Dammam), and al-Hasa
The Northwestern School District	Al-Madinah and Tabouk
The Western School District	Makkah, Jeddah and al-Taif
The Southern School District	Abha, al-Bahah, al-Qunfudhah, Jazan, Najran, Wadi al-Dawasir, al-Aflaj, Bishah

* This list as well as a preliminary report on, and responsibilities of, the planned new school districts were kindly given to me by the Secretary of the Method and Organisation Unit in the Ministry of Education.

7.2 Territorial Administrative Divisions of the General Department

of Girls' Education

Girls' education was first introduced on the national level in 1960 when the General Department of Girls' Education was established. The country is now divided into ten Girls' School Districts, with their limits shown in Figure (7.2).⁶¹ There are certain characteristics in the distribution of these districts. First, the recent development of education for girls, and consequently the small scale on which its services are offered are similar to the situation of the Ministry of Education during the first years of its foundation. The comparison could be extended to their territorial divisions. Reference to Figure (7.1) and Figure (7.2) reveals the fact that the present extent of girls' school districts is similar to the extent of the school districts of the Ministry of Education in 1954. However, differences occur, especially in the northern and south-western parts of the country where various factors have underlined these differences. Since we are concerned here with different periods, the first factor to be immediately considered is the development of transportation in recent years, and its impact on the accessibility of the school district centres. It was shown in the previous section that the development of the school districts of the Ministry of Education was characterised by the dominance of large-size school districts during the first stage, due to the small size of the educational services provided, and by disintegrated small-size school districts in the second stage due to the inadequacy of the transportation network, and finally again by amalgamated large-size school districts in the third stage as a result

**TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS OF THE GENERAL
DEPARTMENT OF GIRLS EDUCATION**

- Approximate Limits of Girls School Districts in 1964
- Newly Established Limits of Girls School Districts up to 1973
- Girls School District Centres
- Centres With At Least Elementary Schools

Al-Qunfudhah District is part of Jeddah Girls School District

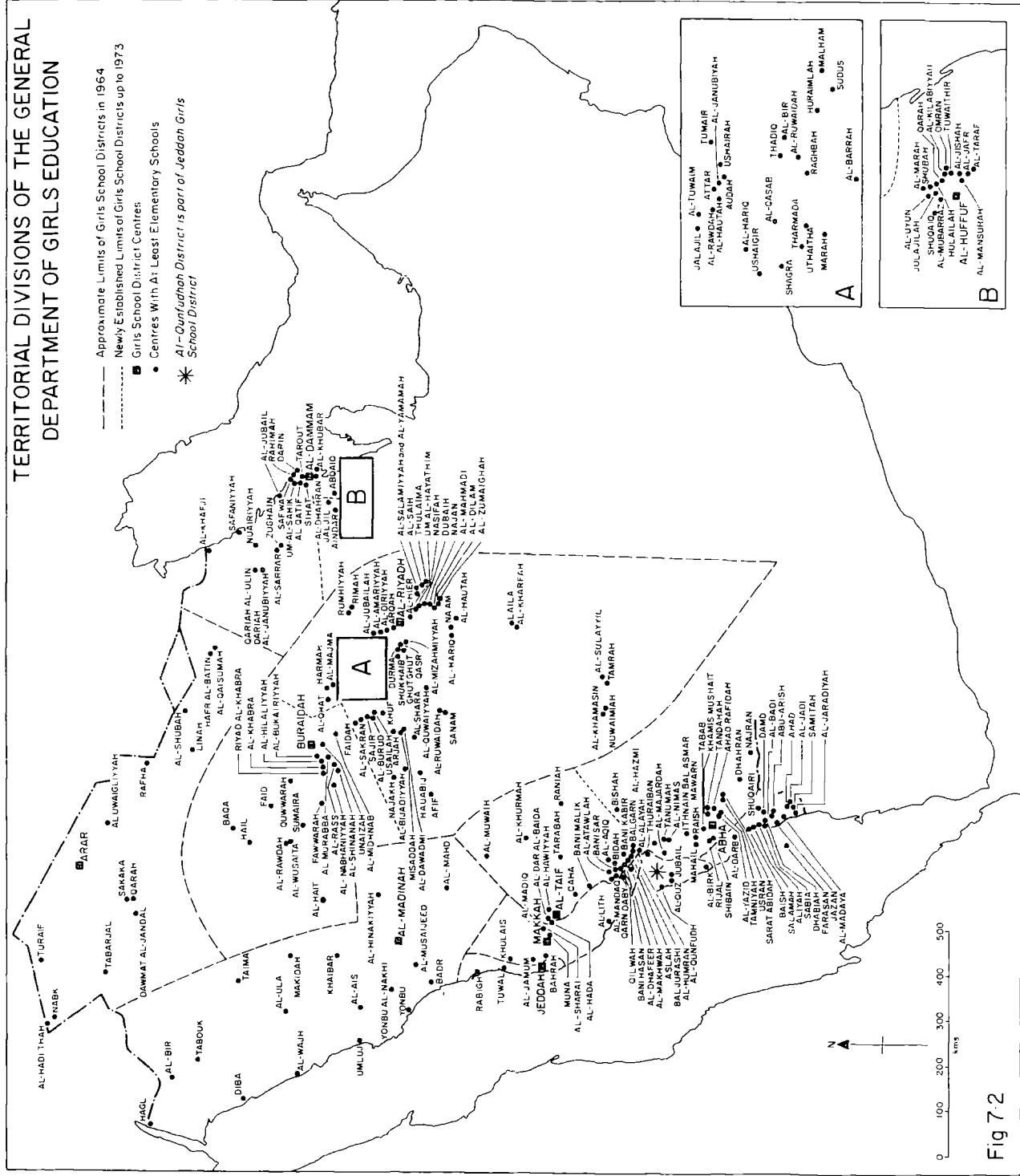


Fig 7.2

of the improvement in communications and the introduction of decentralisation policy. The development of the girls' school districts follows the first and third stage simultaneously, skipping the second stage. Examples of the influence of this factor on the present distribution of girls' school districts as compared with that of the school districts of the Ministry of Education could be found in the emergence of the Northern school district and the disappearance of al-Bahah as a separate district. Other factors include the fact that certain administrative arrangements in some provinces have directly influenced the extent of some schools districts of the Ministry of Education during that period. The strong personalities of the provincial governor of Hail, the isolation and separate administrative identity of al-Bahah and Jazan Provinces, the rivalry between Unaizah and Buraidah, and the previous unity of the Eastern Province, as well as the influential personality of its governor, were the prime factors in having a separate school district in each of these provinces. In the case of girls' school districts, these factors have little effect, either because of the changes in the influential role of the provincial governors over the central departments and the improvements of transportation network, or because of recent adjustments in the territorial administrative arrangements of some provinces, as in the case of relocating the provincial capital of the Eastern Province and the attachment of Unaizah governorate to al-Qaseem Province, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Secondly, most of the territorial limits of the girls' school districts coincide roughly with those of the major provinces of the country.

There are, however, major differences resulting from factors related to the geographic and administrative conditions of the areas concerned.

The first area to draw one's attention is Makkah Province, which is divided into three girls' school districts, namely Makkah, Jeddah and al-Taif. In addition, al-Taif school district includes the province of al-Bahah east of the escarpment, and the province of Raniah, with a small part of Bishah Province in al-Sarah. The factors underlining this kind of distribution could be related to the concentration of population in the three cities of Jeddah, Makkah and al-Taif and the inadequacy of the administrative system in the regional offices to carry out successfully the functions and responsibilities they assume. If this is the case, then why is the same thing, mainly dividing a province into more than one school district because of factors related to population concentration, not been considered in the case of al-Riyadh Province whose extent corresponds exactly with the extent of the Central school district, with greater numbers of girls' schools than those of al-Taif, Makkah and Jeddah school districts put together.

The same could also be asked in the case of grouping the four provinces of Bishah, Najran, Asir and Jazan in one school district, with the population density in this part of the country being higher than the others. To make the territorial arrangement a little more unrealistic and confusing, the district of al-Qunfudhah, as can be seen from Figure (7.2), is attached to Jeddah school district, while the district of al-Lith is attached to Makkah school district, therefore separating al-Qunfudhah from Jeddah. There is not a single clue to the factors which might have contributed to this unprecedented arrangement, and one

might add that there is no justification for it either.

Finally, as far as the policy of the General Department of Girls' Education regarding the future distribution of its territorial divisions is concerned, the officials in the Department feel that there are unlikely to be any changes in the extent of the present divisions, except in the event of implementing the Provincial Regulations of 1962-63, in which a unified provincial division is to be adopted for all government agencies and departments, or in the event of uniting the two departments concerned with education in the country, namely the Ministry of Education and the General Department of Girls' Education, into one ministry or department. In the latter case, minor alterations are needed to come up with a unified division if the Ministry is going ahead with its new policy regarding its territorial divisions, which has been discussed earlier in this chapter.

7.3 Territorial Administrative Divisions of the Ministry of Health

7.3.1 Past Development

The origin of the Ministry of Health goes back as far as the annexation of al-Hijaz to the Saudi state, when two separate directorates were established. The first was the General Directorate of Health, with headquarters in Makkah. Its function was to supervise health services to all parts of the country by opening hospitals and dispensaries in most of the leading towns. The second was the Quarantine Directorate, whose function it was to supervise the health of persons arriving in or leaving the country, especially for pilgrimage purposes.

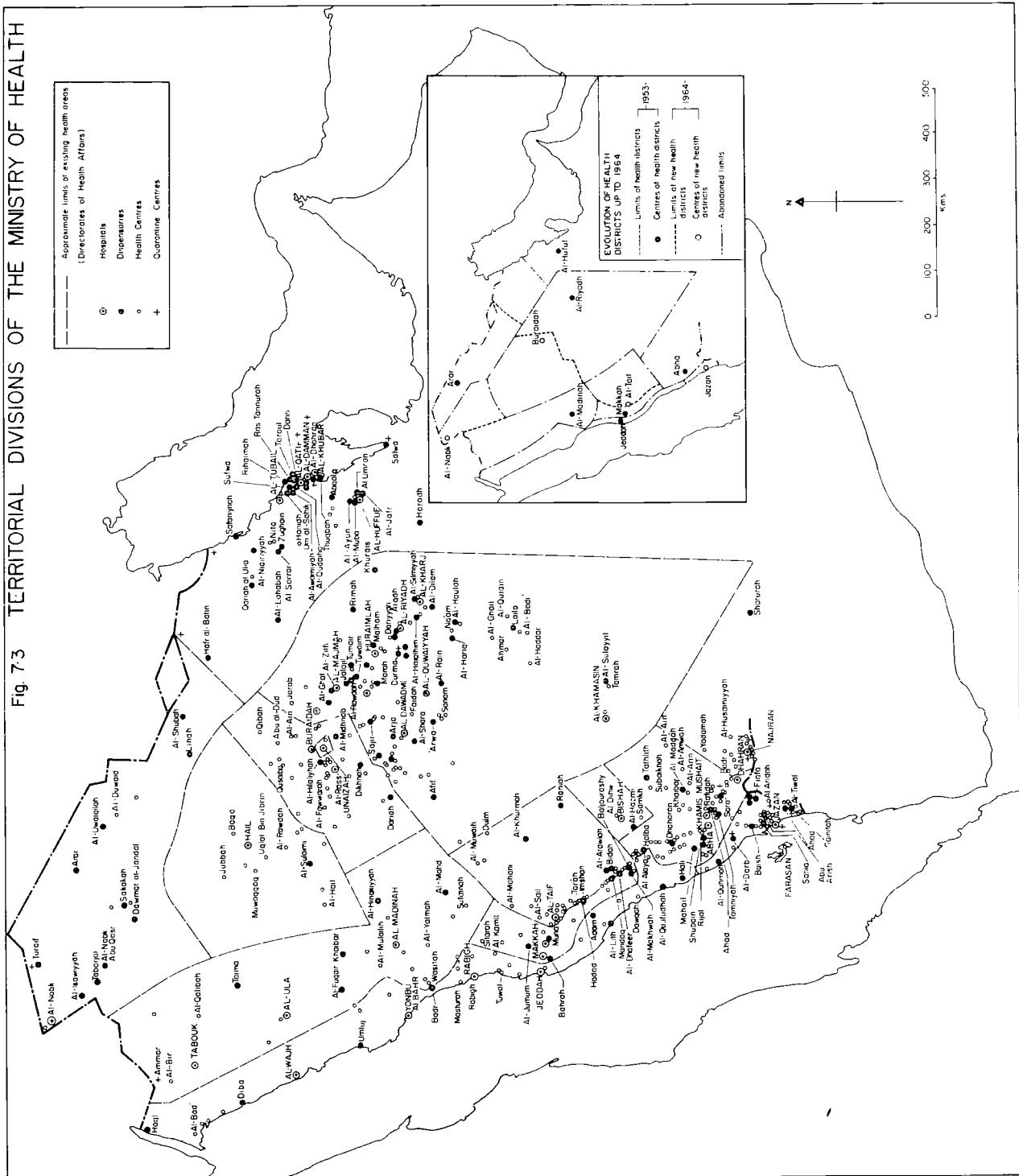
This directorate had its headquarters in Jeddah and quarantine offices in Yonbu al-Bahr, al-Wajh, Diba, Rabigh, al-Qunfudhah, al-Lith, and Jazan. Up until 1950, the country was divided into seven health units or districts. They were Makkah, Jeddah Quarantine Area, al-Riyadh, al-Madinah, al-Hasa, Asir and the Tapline Health Area.⁶² Although their extent is not documentarily ascertained, a rough approximation is to be found in the small map enclosed in Figure (7.3).

The two directorates were grouped in 1951 to form the Ministry of Health, and in 1953 the country was divided into six health districts, namely Makkah, the Western Coastal Area (Jeddah), al-Madinah, Asir, al-Riyadh and the Eastern Province.⁶³ The Tapline Health Area is presumably attached to the Eastern Province. Slight changes occurred in the decade running from 1953 to 1963. The local agencies or territorial divisions of the Ministry were termed the Directorates of Health Affairs, and during this period four of them emerged from the original six to make their total number in 1964 ten directorates, as Table (7.4) indicates.⁶⁴ During the last decade, four further divisions have emerged, namely Unaizah and Hail (detached from al-Qaseem Directorate), and Bishah and Najran (detached from Asir Directorate).⁶⁵ The new divisions are not referred to as directorates but as hospital zones, such as Najran hospital and so on. They have similar territorial extent, functions, administrative responsibilities and authority as the Directorates of Health Affairs.

TABLE (7.4)
 Evolution of Health Territorial Administrative Units during the last Twenty Years

1953	1964	1974
Al-Riyadh Al-Madinah Tajpine Health Area(?)	Al-Riyadh and al-Qaseem Al-Madinah The Northern Health Area	Al-Riyadh, al-Qaseem, Unaizah, and Hail Al-Madinah The Northern Health Area
Al-Hasa	The Eastern Province	The Eastern Province
Jeddah Makkah Asir	The Western Coastal Area and Jazan Makkah and al-Taif Asir	The Western Coastal Area and Jazan Makkah and al-Taif Asir, Bishah and Najran

Fig. 7.3 TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS OF THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH



7.3.2 Basic Characteristic Features in the Distribution of the Health

Territorial Administrative Units

The most apparent feature in the extent of the territorial administrative units of the Ministry of Health is that their limits are identical to those of the provincial divisions, with some major differences caused by various factors. This is true in the case of the health directorates of the Eastern Province, al-Riyadh, ai-Qaseem, Asir, and Jazan, and the hospital zones of Hail and Najran. The most striking differences in the extent of the provincial and health divisions occur in the western part of the country, where the administration of the original health directorate as well as most of the central government organisations were directed before the relocation of the administrative capital of the country from Makkah to al-Riyadh. This factor is important in this respect since we find that the present territorial extent of Jeddah Health Directorate is very much the same as the areas of the Quarantine Directorate of the 1930's and 1940's, with the sole exception of Jazan, which has emerged as a separate health unit, as indicated in Figure (7.3) and Table (7.4). Similarly, the extent of Makkah Health Directorate is influenced by its previous limits, despite its apparent conflict with the present geographic and administrative realities. The present Makkah Health Directorate includes within its territory such districts as al-Makhwah, Qilwah and al-Hajrah, which are neither part of Makkah Province, nor connected to Makkah by a direct postal delivery line. In contrast, any communication between these districts and Makkah could only be made via the provincial capital to which these districts are attached, namely al-Bahah. For

example, if medical equipment or drugs were needed in the dispensaries or health offices in these districts, they would have to be ordered from the main office of Makkah Health Directorate. The order would have to follow the existing postal delivery line to reach Makkah. This line links the district centres of al-Hajrah, Qilwah and al-Makhwah with al-Bahah, the provincial capital to which they are attached. Hence the order would have to pass al-Bahah before reaching al-Taif, and then Makkah. The delivery of the equipment and drugs would have to follow the same postal line to reach those district centres, and the whole operation takes at least five months. The same is applicable for any correspondence between the main office in Makkah and its subordinate offices in the area. The problems of this kind which have emerged from such territorial arrangements without regard to the environmental frictions and geographic conditions in the areas concerned have created obstacles and limitations to the services offered to such districts, to the extent that they, along with similar districts in Tihamat Asir, still remain the most underdeveloped areas in the country. The same problem is recognised by the Ministry of Education, which intends to attach these districts to al-Bahah school district instead of to al-Qunfudhah school district.

There are certain aspects in the distribution of the health units that have been raised and discussed in other previous divisions. We have noticed that, although the narrow strip of territory parallel to the Saudi-Jordanian boundary line is part of al-Qurayyat Province, it has been attached to either Tabouk or al-Madinah in the territorial divisions of the three ministries and departments already discussed above.

The other aspect concerned is the familiar and somehow peculiar situation of Unaizah, which has managed to acquire for itself a separate territorial administrative unit in almost every ministry and department, despite the strikingly small size of its area and the number of centres it serves. In addition, there are some adjustments which were made in 1973 regarding the attachment of some areas. During that year the villages of Dikhnah and Qiba and their districts were detached from al-Riyadh Health Directorate to be included in al-Qaseem Health Directorate. The factor behind such a decision is apparently related to the fact that Dikhnah district is part of al-Qaseem Province, and it seems natural that it should be connected to al-Qaseem Health Directorate to avoid any administrative conflict or complication. But, if this is the case, why is it then that the health centres of al-Udhaim and Qiba, on the one hand, and al-Dafinah on the other are attached to al-Qaseem and al-Riyadh Health Directorates respectively, while the provinces to which the villages of al-Udhaim and al-Dafinah are attached are Hail and Makkah respectively? Or why is it that the territory of Bishah health unit does not extend to those parts in al-Sarah to which they are attached from the administrative and educational points of view? It must be stressed here that such adjustments and decisions involve highly complicated and routine procedure which is enhanced by the fact that they, in most cases, cannot be made voluntarily by the officials of the central departments. Instead, they can only be authorised by official sanctions from either the Council of Ministers or the individual ministers concerned. The speed and positive responses of both the Council of Ministers and the

individual ministers on such issues depend largely on the status of the governors of those districts involved, combined with the social and political pressure of the leading families.

7.4 The Territorial Administrative Divisions of the Ministry of Communications

7.4.1 Organisational Administrative Development

The Ministry of Communications consists of three departments headed by a deputy minister. These are : Roads and Ports Department, Post Department, and Telecommunications Department. Prior to the establishment of the Ministry in 1953, these departments were attached to different central government agencies which have their headquarters in Makkah. Thus there were the General Directorate of Post and Telecommunications, which was attached to the Ministry of Interior, and the Public Works Agency, which was part of the Ministry of Finance, and which included a section called the Roads Office. It is essentially because of this different background that we find differences in the territorial administrative divisions of these departments, although they are part of one ministry. This applies mostly to the differences between the territorial divisions of Posts and Telecommunications Departments with identical divisions, on the one hand, and Roads and Ports Department on the other.

7.4.2 Territorial Divisions of Post and Telecommunications

Departments

Up to 1960 the country was divided into two territorial adminis-

trative units under the administration of the Post and Telecommunications Departments of the Ministry of Communications, formerly the General Directorate of Post and Telecommunications. These were Najd and al-Hijaz.⁶⁶ This division is clearly influenced by the administrative and political organisation of the whole country, which was, prior to the actual unification of its central government agencies and departments culminating in the creation of the Council of Ministers and the relocation of its administrative capital in 1953, divided into two politico-administrative units, namely al-Hijaz Viceroyalty and Najd and its Dependencies, as was discussed earlier in this part. Such binary division is still preserved by some central government departments, such as the Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Pilgrimage and Waqf, and the Public Morality Committees of al-Hijaz and Najd. The territorial division of the Post and Telecommunications Departments prior to 1960 reflects also some of the politico-administrative issues and problems of that period. Amongst these was the long-lasting and sensitive question whether Tarabah and its twin oasis of al-Khurmah should be part of Najd or al-Hijaz, an important issue in the conflict between the two units prior to their union into one state, as has already been explained in a previous chapter. As is shown in the small map enclosed in Figure (7.4), these two oases were included in Najd, a rare exception to the general tendency of attaching them to al-Hijaz, especially during the 1940's and 1950's. The second issue which could be derived from the division is the imbalance in the Post and Telecommunications services being offered in the two divisions. Reference to the same enclosed map will reveal the fact that, while al-Hijaz formed only about

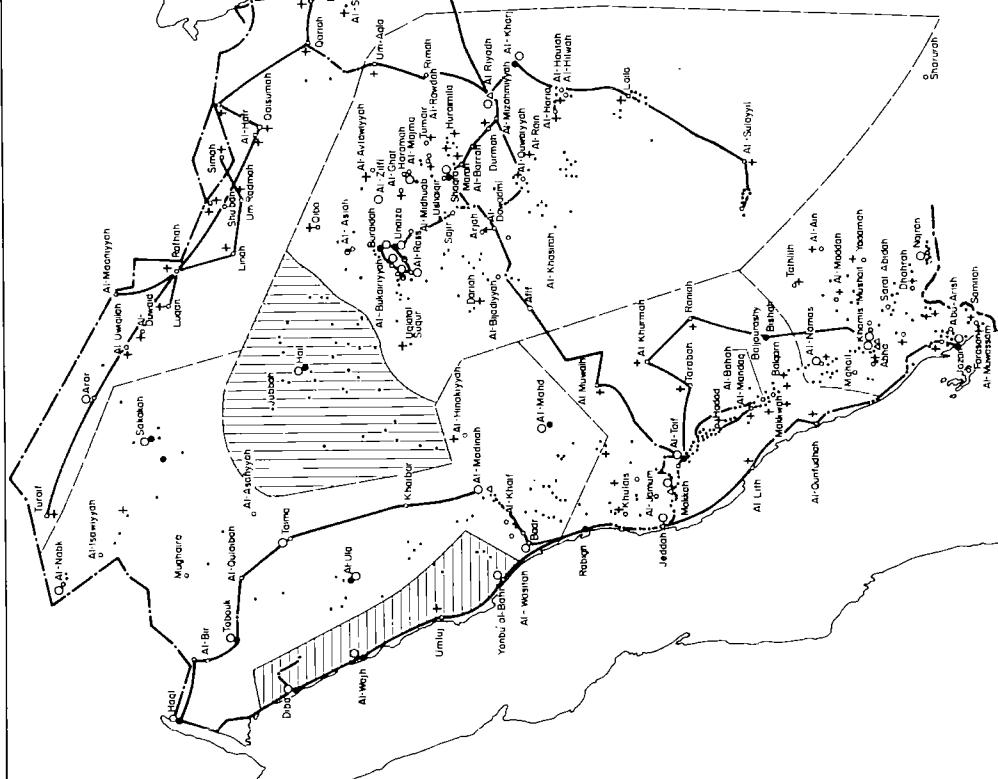
TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS OF THE MINISTRY

FIG. 7.4
OF COMMUNICATIONS
POST AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS DEPARTMENTS

APPROXIMATE LIMITS OF POSTAL AND
TELECOMMUNICATIONS DISTRICTS, 1973

REGULAR OVERLAND MAIL DELIVERY LINES

- PART OF AL-MADINAH POSTAL DISTRICT UP TO 1970
- " " " 1972
- " " " 1973
- TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAM SERVICE CENTRES
- 1973 ○ +
- 1973 □
- 1973 ▲
- 1973 ●
- 1973 ◇
- FIRST RANK POSTAL CENTRES
- SECOND RANK POSTAL CENTRES
- THIRD RANK POSTAL CENTRES
- FOURTH RANK POSTAL CENTRES



0 100 200 300 400 500
Kms

one-third of the total area, it had within its territory in 1935 17 of the 26 post and telegram centres in the country and four of the five telephone centres. Similarly, Makkah, al-Hijaz capital during that period, was connected with almost all the subordinate administrative centres by regular mail delivery lines, while the only regular lines originating from al-Riyadh were those connecting it with al-Hasa and Makkah. Furthermore, al-Hijaz was more connected with the outside by these lines than the interior (namely Najd and al-Hasa) as indicated by the same map.

Since 1960, the territorial divisions of the two departments have increased to become five units, referred to as the Eastern, Central, al-Madinah, Western and Southern units.⁶⁷ The limits of these units as shown in Figure (7.4) coincide with those of some, but not all, of the major provinces in the country. So we find that the western and southern limits of the Eastern and Northern Boundaries Provinces are at the same time the limits of the eastern unit; the western limits of Hail, al-Qaseem and al-Riyadh Provinces constitute the western limits of the central unit; the southern limits of al-Madinah Province are used as the southern limits of al-Madinah unit; and finally the northern limits of Jazan and Asir Provinces are identical to the northern limits of the southern unit. The influence of the provincial limits on the limits of the territorial divisions of these departments applies also to all levels of the administrative hierarchy, to the extent that postal districts and subdistricts coincide with the administrative districts and subdistricts. It follows that any communications in the form of letters or telegrams are subjected to the hierarchical pattern of the

government areas. An example is sufficient to illustrate this situation. If a letter is to be sent from the village of al-Hait, which is a district centre within Hail Province, to the village of Sanam, which is part of al-Quwaiyyah district in al-Riyadh Province, it would have to be delivered first to Hail, then to al-Riyadh and to al-Quwaiyyah, and finally to Sanam. The centres between the two villages at the end of this postal delivery line are administrative centres either for provinces or districts and at the same time central places for postal services.

Besides the overall development in the distribution and number of the territorial divisions of the Post and Telecommunications Departments since 1960, there have been since then some interesting adjustments in certain areas which deserve to be mentioned. The first is the attachment of the twin oases of Tarabah and al-Khurmah to the western unit, which is to be expected in the light of their administrative reality. The second is the attachment of Hail to the postal unit of al-Madinah from 1960 to 1970. The factor behind this unprecedented arrangement is not ascertained. However, judging from the map enclosed in Figure (7.4), we find that even when Hail was part of Najd postal unit and as far back as the 1930's, this significant provincial capital was linked with the northern part of al-Hijaz postal unit, mainly with al-Madinah and al-Jauf, by a regular mail delivery line, while the line linking Hail with al-Riyadh was irregular and subject to demand. The re-attachment of Hail to the Central Postal Unit since 1970 might have been the outcome of the improvement in air and land transportation between Hail and al-Riyadh. The third area to be con-

sidered here are the coastal districts of Diba, al-Wajh, Uinuj and Yonbu, which were, up to 1972, part of the Western Postal Unit centred in Makkah. This reminds us of the extent of the Western Coastal Health Unit, which is centred in Jeddah and stretches northwards to include these districts. The attachment of these districts to al-Madinah Postal Area since 1972 is understandable in the light of their administrative reality. However, the puzzling and natural question to be asked is, in fact, concerned with the factors that have delayed this decision. It could be right to assume that the long association between the centres of these districts and Makkah via Jeddah measured by the postal connections between them, and their political connection with it as their previous capital had prevented the initial step of including them within al-Madinah Postal Area when it emerged as a separate unit. The difficulties and routine procedure involved in changing the postal area to which they should be attached as explained ^{ly} previous in similar cases could be behind the delay of this particular decision.

7.4.3 Territorial Divisons of the Roads and Ports Department

Although this department is part of the Ministry of Communications, its territorial divisions differ from those of the other departments in the Ministry, due mainly, as shown above, to the different ministries to which they were attached before the establishment of the Ministry of Communications in 1953. The country is divided according to this department into nine territorial units, referred to as Roads Areas. They are : al-Riyadh, al-Qaseem, Hail, al-Bahah, Jazan, al-Madinah,

Abha, Jeddah and the Eastern Province.⁶⁸ The extents of the first five Roads Areas are identical to those of the provinces of the same names. Al-Madinah Roads Area extends, as in the case of the Post and Telecommunications Departments, northwards to include the provinces of Tabouk, Yonbu, al-Qurayyat and al-Jauf. The Eastern Roads Area includes besides the Eastern Province all the territory under the administration of the Northern Boundaries Province. This extent is also similar to the extent of the Eastern Postal and Telecommunications Area. Jeddah Roads Area includes within its authority, besides Makkah Province, the province of Raniah, while the province of Bishah is included within Abha Roads Area. The only obvious critical point about this distribution is that, while most of these divisions are of relatively equal size in terms of area and responsibilities connected with planning, building and maintaining roads within their territories, two very small provinces, if compared with the rest, emerged to constitute separate roads divisions, in spite of the fact that neither of them had a mile of asphalted road prior to 1971. These are al-Bahah and Jazan. As far as al-Bahah Roads Area is concerned, the only possible factor involved in its emergence as a separate unit is the relative improvement in its agricultural roads, which connect the major agricultural and marketing centres of the province, some of which were visited by the author. The agricultural roads in this province account for about 22 per cent of the total agricultural roads in the whole country.⁶⁹ This level of development, however, could not be accomplished without the influential role of the provincial governor. Jazan presents a different case in which the

need for a local office to be responsible for the administration of Jazan's ports was the prime factor in the emergence of Jazan Roads and Ports Area. It is essential to note that Jazan Province is the only one in the country in which the administration of roads and ports is combined in one local office. For example, although Jeddah constitutes a large Roads Area, the administration of its port is directly attached to the Roads and Ports Department in the Ministry. The same applies to Yonbu, while the administration of al-Dammam port is attached to the Saudi Arabian Railroad Agency.

7.5 The Territorial Divisions of the Ministry of Agriculture and

Water

7.5.1 Introduction

Unlike the other major services in the kingdom, such as education, communications, health and others, agricultural services were limited in scope and in area during the first 20 years of the consolidating period of the Saudi state (1925-1945). The first sign of the government concern over the agricultural affairs of the country was in 1948, when the Directorate of Agriculture was established with headquarters in Jeddah. The Directorate was then attached to the Ministry of Finance, unlike the other directorates at that time, most of which were attached to the Ministry of Interior. The agricultural services, however, were still limited, and the turning point in the development of agriculture was the establishment of the Ministry of Agriculture in 1954. Since 1961, the Ministry has consisted of two

departments : the first is concerned with agricultural affairs, while the other is devoted to water affairs.

7.5.2 Territorial Divisions of the Agricultural Affairs Department

The country is divided according to this department into 62 divisions, with varying sizes, responsibilities and authority. They are included within three categories.⁷⁰ The first category consists of those divisions termed Directorates of Agricultural Affairs, which occupy the top level of the hierarchy. There are 11 of these directorates, and they are attached to the Ministry and function as local agencies through which many services are offered to improve the standard of the agricultural practices and marketing methods, to protect and improve the natural resources such as livestock, forests and grazing land, and to make water available for urban, rural and nomadic communities by supervising the actual surveying and digging operations. However, the authority delegated to the heads of these directorates is limited, in a way which is not compatible with the proper functions of the directorates. The second category of the agricultural divisions includes what is known as the Agricultural Units, which are 22 in number. These, with the exception of al-Qatif agricultural unit, are attached also to the Ministry. The authority of the heads of these units is similar to that of the heads of the directorates with less power in financial affairs. The functions and responsibilities of these units are also similar, if not identical, to those assumed by the directorates. The third category is made up of the Agricultural Offices, which are grouped into three types : those which are directly attached to either

TABLE (7.5)

Types and Hierarchies of the Agricultural Divisions

First Rank:	<u>Agricultural Directorates</u>
	Al-Riyadh, Jeddah, Al-Madinah, Al-Taif, Tabouk, <i>Abha</i> , Bishah, Al-Hufuf, Al-Majma, Unaizah and Buraidah
Second Rank:	<u>Agricultural Units</u>
	Al-Kharj, Al-Aflaj (in Laila), Wadi Al-Dawasir (in Al-Khamasin), Najran, Al-Namas, Al-Bahah, Jazan, Tarabah, Yonbu, Al-Ula, Hail, Al-Jauf (in Sakaka), Al-Zilfi, Al-Dawadmi, Huraimla, Shaqra, Al-Qatif, Al-Qurayyat (in al-Nabk), al-Rass, Al-Quwaiyyah, Al-Qunfudhah, and Al-Sir
Third Rank:	<u>Agricultural Offices</u>
	(1) Attached to the Ministry directly:- Rijal Alma, Bal Asmar and Bal Ahmar, Al-Hautah, Al-Dalam, Qana wa al-Bahr, Al-Hariq, Raniah
	(2) Attached to Agricultural Directorates:- Al-Sarrar and Al-Dammam (Al-Hufuf), Al-Ghat (Al-Majma), Durma (Al-Riyadh), Khamis Mushait (<i>Abha</i>), Sarat Abidah (<i>Abha</i>), Taima (Tabouk), Khaibar and Badr (Al-Madinah), Balqarn (Bishah), Bani Malik (Al-Taif), Khulais (Jeddah)
	(3) Attached to Agricultural Units:- Al-Mandaq and Baljourashy (Al-Bahah), Al-Fawwarah and Al-Nabhaniyyah (Al-Rass), Dawmat al-Jandal (Al-Jauf), Sanam (Al-Quwaiyyah), Al-Jamsh or Al-Qurain (Al-Dawadmi), Al-Suleyyil (Wadi Al-Dawasir), Al-Hulaifa (Hail), Umluj (Yonbu)

the Ministry, the Agricultural Directorates or to the Agricultural Units, as Figure (7.5) and Table (7.5) show. There are 29 Agricultural Offices whose heads assume authority similar to that of the heads of the Agricultural Units.

It must be stressed at this point that the actual services being offered by these three categories and the actual activities being reported by them to higher authority are not consistent with the varying technical manpower and machinery equipment being supplied to each category. In other words, although the materials and technicians being supplied theoretically at least increase in quality and quantity with the size of responsibilities, i.e., from the agricultural offices to the agricultural directorates, it is normal to find cases where the output and activities of the agricultural offices have a higher level of working than those of the agricultural units, or even the agricultural directorates. This brings us to the following questions : why are the agricultural divisions distributed the way they are? What are the factors that have been considered in, or have influenced, their emergence and extent? and what factors are involved in grouping them under these three categories?

(i) Evolution of the Agricultural Divisions

The first divisions to be established were al-Riyadh, al-Kharj, al-Hasa, al-Madinah, Jazan and Buraidah. This was in 1954, the year the Ministry was established.⁷¹ These divisions were then termed Agricultural Units. The number increased to 20 agricultural units within five years, and to 26 in 1964, as indicated in Table (7.6). Up to this point, they all were known as such according to the available

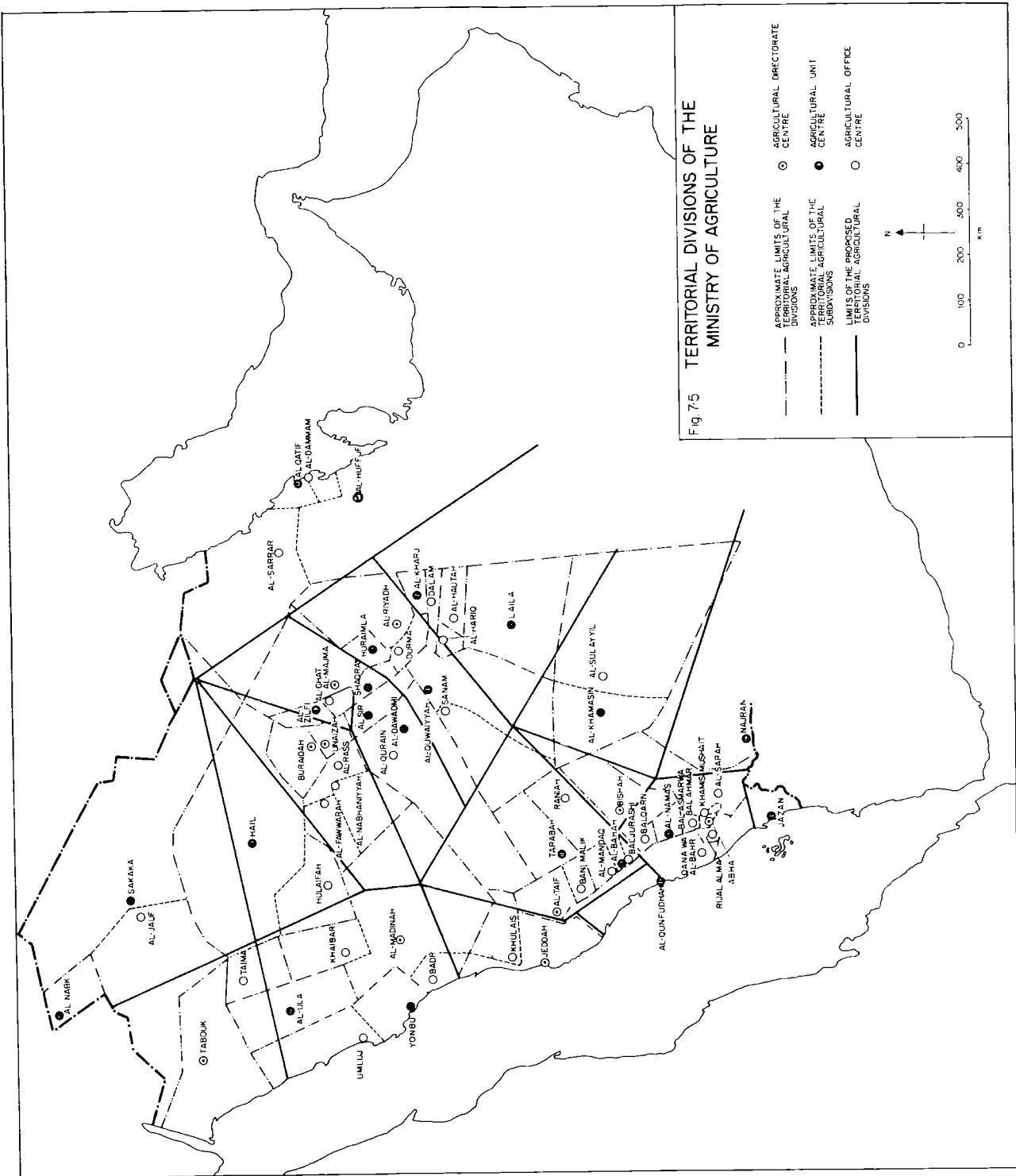


TABLE (7.6)

Evolution of the Agricultural Divisions

1954	Al-Riyadh, Jeddah, Al-Kharj, Al-Hasa, Al-Madinah, Jazan, Buraidah
1955-1958	Al-Majma, Al-Zilfi, Unaizah, Abha, Hail, Bishah, Tabouk, Al-Taif, Al-Ula, Al-Qunfudhah, Shaqra, Al-Jauf, Al-Qurayyat, Al-Dawadmi
1959-1964	Wadi Al-Dawasir, Al-Qatif, Al-Namas, Najran, Baljourashy (Al-Bahah), Tarabah
1964-1973	Al-Aslaj, Yonbu, Huraimla, Al-Rass, Al- Quwaiyyah, Al-Sir, Al-Sarrar, Al-Dammam, Al-Ghat, Al-Mandaq, Rijal Alma, Al-Fawwarah, Al-Nabhaniyyah, Balasmar and Balahmar, Al- Hautah, Durma, Al-Dalam, Qana Wa Al-Bahr, Dawmat al-Jandal, Sanam, Khamis Mushait, Al-Jamsh, Taima, Al-Bahah, Al-Hariq, Al-Sulayyil, Raniah, Al-Hulaifa, Khaibar, Badr, Bani Malik, Umluj, Khulais, Balqarn, Sarat Abidah

sources.⁷² Furthermore, there was no mention of the three categories discussed above, and above all none of the agricultural offices existed. As to the emergence of the three categories which form the basis for the agricultural divisions, there is no single clue or indication concerning the date of and the objectives behind their institution. The same could be said about the factors and priorities considered in classifying the agricultural divisions under the three categories. From the data available one is able to conclude without reservation that this classification is arbitrary. Few illustrations are necessary to substantiate this conclusion. Since these categories are arranged in successively subordinate ranks in terms of the authority delegated to the heads of each category and the size of technical manpower and machinery equipment, one would expect that the agricultural divisions would be classified under these three categories on the basis of the size of the actually cultivated or the cultivable land. The present classification seems to ignore and bypass without any apparent justification this fundamental factor. A few cases were taken from Table (7.7) to exemplify this trend. The table shows us bluntly that, save for two or three exceptions, there is no relation and co-ordination between the sizes of the agricultural land and the rank status of the agricultural divisions. For example, although Jazan's agricultural land is as much as 275 times in area that of Tabouk and 33 times that of al-Majma (referred to in the table as "The North"), the last two divisions belong to the first category while Jazan is an agricultural unit (second category). Similarly, the size of the cultivable land of al-Qaseem is only one third of that of Jazan; al-Qaseem has

TABLE (7.7)
Cultivated and Cultivable Land in Saudi Arabia

Area	Districts	Cultivated Land (in hectares)	Cultivable Land * (in hectares)	Total
Area (1)	Al-Jauf-Sakaka	2,920	2,080	5,000
	Tabouk	400	3,060	3,460
	Wadi al-Sirhan	1,230	-	1,230
	Al-Qaseem	29,200	10,800	40,000
	Total	33,750	15,940	49,690
Area (2) and (3)	Wadi Tarabah	1,155	-	1,155
	Wadi Raniah	530	90	620
	Wadi Bishah	3,000	550	3,550
	Wadi Tathlith	240	-	240
	Wadi Najran	2,565	800	3,365
	Wadi al-Dawasir	2,050	8,750	10,800
	Oases on mountain slopes	1,770	-	1,770
	Al-Taif gardens	4,850	-	4,850
	The Mountains	91,750	-	91,750
	Makkah-Jeddah gardens	8,100	-	8,100
	Total	116,010	10,190	126,200
Area (4)	Jabrin		5,000	5,000
	Harad		4,000	4,000
	Al-Hasa	7,070	13,180	20,250
	Coastal belt	4,300	1,700	6,000
	Wadi al-Miah and others	350	9,650	10,000
	Total	11,720	33,530	45,250
Area (5)	The North	3,325	-825	2,500?
	The Central	4,700	-1,985	2,715?
	Al-Kharj-al-Delam	7,605	3,590	11,195
	The South-al-Aflaj	2,405	165	2,570
	Total	18,035	945	18,980
Area (6)	Diba	380	65	445
	The Central	1,450	90	1,540
	Rabigh-Yonbu	1,480	380	1,860
	Al-Qunfudhah	23,000	13,000	36,000
	Jazan	110,000	-	110,000
	The Southern mountains	55,200	5,600	60,800
	Total	191,510	19,135	210,645
Grand Total		371,025	79,740	450,765

Source : Hasan H Hajrain, Possibility of Agricultural Development in Saudi Arabia, Al-Dammam 1970 (?), p 107

* This is based only on the availability of ground water and does not include land subject to possible reclamation and utilisation.

two agricultural directorates, one agricultural unit and two agricultural offices. Moving to other areas we find the same pattern. If we take al-Sarah mountains starting from al-Taif to the Yamani border, the whole area has two agricultural directorates, two agricultural units and seven agricultural offices, six of which emerged during the last four years. The total cultivated area of these divisions (referred to in the table as "The Mountains" in Area (3) plus "The Southern Mountains" in Area (6)) is roughly seven times that of Area (5) plus Wadi al-Dawasir in Area (3), all of which constitute al-Riyadh Province which, as shown in Figure (7.5), includes two agricultural directorates, nine agricultural units and eight agricultural offices. Equally striking, these 19 agricultural divisions of al-Riyadh Province serve an agricultural land whose size equals that land served by al-Qunfudhah agricultural unit alone.

The fact that the agricultural services of an agricultural division were limited first to the vicinity of the centre of the division might provide us with a possible ground for speculation.⁷³ It might then be right to assume that it was during this early stage that the centres of the agricultural divisions, especially at the first and second category level, acquired their present ranks. Such classification and allocation of power and authority involve decisions from the various central ministries and departments. Decisions are usually influenced and determined by a combination of factors, of which the most commonly known are the administrative status of the divisions' centres, the personality of the provincial or the district governors, the personality of the appointed heads of the regional offices, the social and

political affiliation and status of the inhabitants, and the discretion of the officials involved in the central ministries and departments. In other words, the centres of the agricultural divisions might have acquired their administrative status and rank and thus were classified under the three categories long before their service areas reached their present limits. This is more likely to be the case with the first and second category, while the divisions included in the third are mainly subdivisions of, and consequently were detached from, the divisions constituting the first and second categories.

(ii) Characteristic Features in the Distribution and Extent of the Agricultural Divisions

The overall apparent characteristics in the distribution of the agricultural divisions at all levels are the territorial limits they share with the administrative divisions on the provincial or district levels. On the provincial level, we find that the limits of the provinces of Jazan, Najran, Hail, Bishah, the Eastern Province and Raniah coincide with the limits of the agricultural divisions of Jazan, Najran, Hail, Bishah, al-Hufuf and Raniah respectively. Even when a province is divided into several agricultural divisions, the limits of these divisions usually follow those of the districts within the province. This is the case with the agricultural divisions within the provinces of al-Riyadh, Makkah, al-Madinah and Asir.

Reference to Figure (7.5) reveals another significant characteristic in the distribution of the agricultural divisions. It shows that there are two poles around which concentration of these divisions has emerged. The first is in the central part of Saudi Arabia, where there

are 22 divisions, or about 25 per cent of the total number of the agricultural divisions in the whole country. The second zone is al-Sarah proper, which consists of 13 divisions, or about 32 per cent of the total number of the remaining divisions. The factors attributed to this concentration and therefore the variations between these zones and the other parts of the country are related to the physiographic conditions of the land and the social and political organisations of the inhabitants.

Central Arabia, a term loosely used but referring in this particular illustration to the area included in al-Qaseem Province and the northern part of al-Riyadh Province, contains most of the well-known oases of Arabia, and has its share of the cultivable land in the kingdom, which amounts to 13 per cent. This, to be sure, entitles the area to have its full share of the attention needed to make good use of the land which is more favourable for agriculture than, let us say, the northern or the south and south-eastern parts of the kingdom. It does not, however, necessarily mean that this area should be given the priority, in terms of the size of the agricultural services offered, over other areas, especially al-Sarah proper. This is evident, as shown above, in the number and rank of the agricultural divisions in both areas. It is then essential and equally interesting to look for other factors which might explain this trend.

Central Arabia is known, as shown previously, to be divided by its inhabitants, and as a consequence of the arrangement of its physiographic features and politico-administrative development, into geographic units such as al-Qaseem, Sudair, al-Washm, etc. These

units have been used as the basis for territorial divisions for administrative purposes, as already shown in the cases of the educational, health and communicational divisions. Hence there develops a sense of localism and rivalry between the different units in maintaining their own local administrative identity and therefore persuading, or even pressurising, the central departments to establish in the centres of these units separate local offices to supervise the services required for their territories. This is enhanced by other major and side effects, some of which are the considerable size of the area, the transportation problems and the absence of any effective planning in the central department.

The last one of these aspects is evident in the consequences of one of the most influential factors in the distribution of agricultural divisions in central Arabia. The traditional rivalry between two or more centres over the political leadership of the geographic units mentioned above has resulted in the constant attempts and competition between these centres to persuade the central departments to consider them as the best centres in which services to the subordinate villages could be effectively and efficiently supervised. The Ministry of Agriculture is the worst hit central department by these local politics, and this provides us with an excellent example of the influence of this factor and the absence of any effective central planning. The result of all this is the existence of agricultural divisions' centres side by side within a geographic unit, with only a few miles of asphalted roads in between. This is the case of the agricultural divisions' centres of al-Kharj and al-Dalam (in al-Kharj); al-Hautah and al-Hariq

(in Wadi Buraik); al-Majma and al-Zilfi (in Sudair); and Butaidah, Unaizah and al-Rass (in al-Qaseem).

Al-Sarah proper presents a different case in which different factors, both human and physical, have shaped and determined the number and extent of the agricultural divisions. It is a well-established fact that this area possesses the highest percentage of cultivated land in the kingdom. Human occupancy is of a sedentary peasant village type, dominated by tribal organisation, both social and political. The area is also characterised by rugged, dissected and steep gradient land. Communication difficulties, coupled with the tribal organisation, has hindered the possibility of supervising agricultural services with any degree of efficiency to the whole area by a few centres. This is evident in the fact that seven out of the nine newly-established agricultural offices are situated in this area. The influence of the rugged terrain is also evident in considering the escarpment as a dividing line between the agricultural divisions of the area, thus separating parts of one province and allocating them to different agricultural divisions. This is the case with al-Makhwah, Qilwah, and al-Hajarah districts, which are part of al-Bahah Province but are attached to al-Qunfudhah agricultural unit. It is also the case of the districts of Rijal Alma and Qana wa al-Bahr, which are part of Asir Province but constitute separate agricultural offices attached directly to the Ministry.

(iii) Newly Proposed Agricultural Units

With the establishment of the Organisation and Methods Unit in the Ministry around 1966 within the general framework of the adminis-

trative reform recommended by the Ford Foundation, serious steps have been taken to re-organise the agricultural units of the country. A committee was set up for the purpose, but, unfortunately, its findings and recommendations have never been disclosed or implemented. The only sign of this attempt to be found is a map showing the newly proposed units.⁷⁴ Although it would be premature to comment on their viability and efficiency if they were to be promulgated, a few words are sufficient to raise certain points about the division and the apparent features being considered.

It is the personal view of the writer that what the committee did (judging from information derived only from the map) was merely draw arbitrary and geometrical lines in an attempt to approximate the existing limits of the agricultural directorates and units and enclose within their territories those agricultural offices which report directly to the Ministry, raising at the same time their rank to be equal to the agricultural units so that there would only be two levels in the hierarchy : namely, the agricultural directorates and units. The proposed divisions do not present any serious attempts at land or administrative reform, since the centres of the proposed divisions, through which agricultural services are channelled and upon which evaluation of the existing or foreseeable conditions of the cultivated land depends, are exactly the same in number and almost in rank as those functioning at present. It was shown earlier how arbitrarily the existing centres have been chosen, and how wide is the range of factors that have been involved in this process. The personal view expressed above is also based on the fact that the proposed divisions share certain

characteristics which will act as a hindrance to any desired administrative efficiency. Some of these general features are:-

1. Their limits do not coincide with those of the provincial divisions.
2. They are neither based on equality of area nor equality of cultivated or cultivable area.
3. They are not consistent with the transportation network.
4. They ignore certain physical features of the land which constitute obstacles to movement.
5. They also ignore tribal affiliation and the influence of the distribution of tribal territories on the arrangement of the administrative divisions.

7.6 Territorial Divisions of the Ministry of Justice

7.6.1 Historical Introduction

Although the judiciary system in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was not to achieve an independent ministry before 1970, its development and functions throughout the history of the state have unquestionable bearings on the distribution and extent of the present territorial judicial units.

The development of the Saudi Arabian judicial system, and consequently its territorial units, could be examined through four stages. The first occurred before the unification of the state's legal systems and codes in 1927. The country was then dominated by three

varied legal systems as far as the legal structure and functions of courts were concerned. In the rural communities, there was one judge in each settlement centre. He ruled on disputes according to al-Shariah (the Islamic Law) and passed his decisions to the governor of that centre to enforce them. There were no court houses, but the judges held their trials and rendered their decisions either at their own homes or at the mosques. The second legal system occurred in the main cities of al-Hijaz, where a more sophisticated legal structure of courts developed as a result of the religious significance of these cities, and due to the outside influence on the area as a whole. The sources and origin of the law, and the backgrounds of the judges in these two systems were almost identical. The third system prevailed among the tribal nomadic community in which the arifah, or knowledgeable, replaced the qadi, or judge, in the city. The arifah performed functions similar to those rendered by a judge in the city from the judicial point of view. Unlike the judge, the arifah was usually able to execute his decisions, since he was either a tribal chief or a notable respected by the members of his tribe for his piety and wisdom. In this system, unlike the others, justice was administered according to a blend of the old Arabian customs and al-Shariah, as understood by al-Badu since the Middle Ages.⁷⁵

The second stage started in 1927, when King Abdul Aziz promulgated a royal decree establishing the basis for a new legal system which was applied only in the territory of al-Hijaz Viceroyalty. The system consisted of three levels of courts. At the lowest level, there were the Expedited Courts, which dealt with minor misdemeanours

and small claims, and heard Bedouin or other lawsuits which were outside the scope of the other courts. The next higher courts were the High Courts, whose function was the settlement of cases involving personal status, as well as problems of real estate. They had jurisdiction over all criminal matters beyond the competence of the lowest courts. At the highest level was the Judicial Supervisory Committee, which was located in Makkah and empowered to inspect the above-mentioned courts and examine their decisions, thus performing as a court of appeal. It follows, however, that an office for the Chief Judge was established in Makkah into which the Judicial Supervisory Committee merged. This office, known as Riyasat al Qada, was in fact a central department located in Makkah for the administration of justice in al-Hijaz Viceroyalty only. As the Chief Judge acted as a liaison between the judiciary and the executive government, the territorial judicial units of that period corresponded roughly with the provincial and district divisions (Chapter Five). This is an important aspect, since the territorial and functional organisations of both the judiciary and executive system are inseparable in terms of their interrelations. While this was going on in al-Hijaz Viceroyalty, the rest of the country underwent relatively little change. The King appointed judges in towns and villages of Hail, al-Qaseem, Najd, and al-Hasa Provinces, and these were attached to the provincial governors. The arifah system of the nomadic community was replaced by a new group of instructors called Murshideen and Matawia (the Guides and Obedients). However, most of the serious cases involving the nomads were brought before the King, who functioned at this period as the Chief Judge, the Court of Cassation

and as the Chief Executive, especially to the inhabitants of the provinces mentioned above.⁷⁶

The third stage in the development of the judicial system of Saudi Arabia was characterised by the establishment in 1956 of a central department for the administration of justice in Najd, the Eastern Province and the Tapline. Up to this point, two central departments for the administration of justice were operating independently. The first was Riyasat al-Qada of the Western Province,* and the second was Riyasat al-Qada of Najd, the Eastern Province and the Tapline. It is apparent then that, although the administration of most of the central departments in all parts of the country was unified by the first five years of the 1950's and their headquarters were transferred to al-Riyadh, with the exception of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the administration of justice maintained its binary form. The turning point came in 1959 when the two offices were united as a result of the death of the Chief Judge of the Western Province, Sheikh Abdullah Bin Hasan Al-Sheikh, who was at the same time the head of Riyasat al-Qada of the Western Province. Consequently, al-Riyadh became for the first time the centre for the administration of justice throughout the country. However, there remained in Makkah a branch of Riyasat al-Qada to which the administrative affairs of the courts in the Western Province were attached, and also one Court of Cassation to which the decisions of these courts were

* The term al-Mantiqa al-Gharbiyyah is widely used in the Saudi official literature of the 1950's to denote the area once comprising the territory under the administration of al-Hijaz Viceroyalty.

appealed.

The fourth and final stage was initiated in 1970 by the establishment of the Ministry of Justice. However, no immediate drastic changes have occurred ever since, and it is doubtful whether the territorial organisation of the third stage was altered at any rate.

7.6.2 Evolution of the Territorial Judiciary Units

It has been noted earlier that the judiciary and executive administration have been inseparable and inter-related. Judges and governors of every locality with very few exceptions have been attached throughout the stages mentioned above to identical provincial or district centres (the provincial divisions have already been treated in Chapters Five and Six). However, following the evolution of these judicial units might reveal some of the interesting aspects of spatial interrelation through the stages of their development.

(i) The First Stage (1902- 1926)

This was the foundation period, during which campaigns were launched in every direction for the purpose of gaining territories. Judiciary and executive power was held by the King, to whom every judge, tribal chief or arifah, and governor was directly attached.

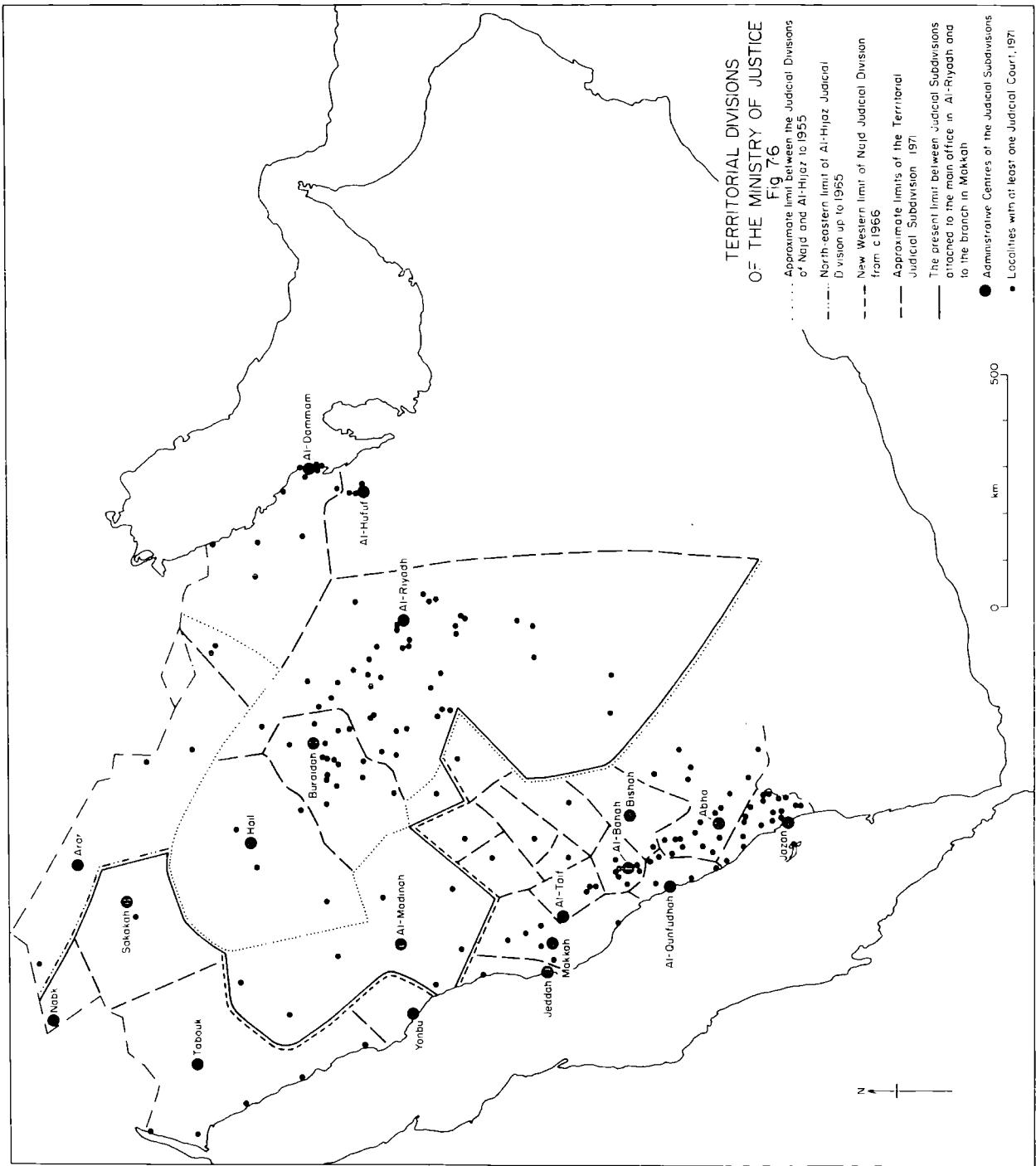
(ii) The Second Stage (1927- 1955)

This was the consolidating period, during which the country was divided for administrative and political purposes into two distinct parts, that of al-Hijaz, and the rest of the country (the latter is referred to in the early official documents as Najd and its Dependencies). The territory of the Viceroyalty of al-Hijaz and thus the judicial sphere of its

influence, was limited during the first few years to what is now al-Bahah, Makkah, al-Madinah and Tabouk Provinces. By the middle of the 1930's, provinces in the north (al-Qurayyat and al-Jauf) and provinces in the south (Jazan, Asir, Najran and Bishah) were attached to it. The detailed budget of Riyasat al-Qada of Makkah in 1955 indicates that its authority reached as far eastwards as Wadi al-Batin in the north (while Hail maintained its subordination to al-Riyadh), and Afif and al-Khasirah in the centre, as shown in Figure (7.6).⁷⁷ This would mean that the territorial authority of Riyasat al-Qada of Makkah bypassed that of the Viceroyalty in this period.

(iii) The Third Stage (1956-1970)

This period witnessed the unification of the judicial system of Saudi Arabia. During its opening years, Riyasat al-Qada of Najd, the Eastern Province and the Tapline acquired control over territories once attached to Riyasat al-Qada of the Western Province. These included mainly settlements along the Tapline parallel to the Saudi-Iraqi boundary line.⁷⁸ The reason is apparently related to the emergence of the Tapline Agency, which was later in 1956 replaced by the Northern Boundaries Province. Other changes followed shortly. Afif was reported to be attached to al-Riyadh in 1967, but the year in which the actual change of its attachment occurred could be five years earlier.⁷⁹ At the close of this period, the courts of al-Madinah, with seven subordinate courts in al-Mahd, al-Ula, al-Hinakiyyah, Khaibar, Taima, Wadi al-Fur, and Badr, were separated from Riyasat al-Qada branch in Makkah to be attached to the head office in al-Riyadh. No explanation was provided to the author as to the factors



behind this. However, it is a clear indication of the centralisation tendency of Riyasat al-Qada of al-Riyadh and the attempt to establish a real, unified central department for the administration of justice.

It was shown earlier that the interrelation and interdependence of the functions of the judicial and executive system in the country has developed identical provincial and territorial judicial units. Thus, the overlapping of the territorial limits of both divisions has been the general practice. However, a few cases stand as exceptions to this general rule. The first of these cases is concerned with the districts of Khaibar and Taima. It might be remembered that these districts were, up to 1971, part of Hail Province. They were, however, attached and reported directly to the High Court of al-Madinah for their judicial affairs, as was the case with the other central departments concerned with education, agriculture, health, communications and girls' education. Since the detachment of these districts from Hail in 1971, the judicial affairs of Taima have continued to be linked to al-Madinah, in spite of the fact that the district has been attached to Tabouk Province. In the meantime, however, a change in this arrangement is being considered in the Ministry of Justice to ensure co-ordination between judicial and executive functions in the district of Taima. The second case involves four villages and tribal centres in the northern part of Saudi Arabia. These are Qiba, Linah, al-Hafri and Qariah. It was shown earlier that Qiba and its vicinity form part of the disputed area between al-Qaseem and Hail Provinces, therefore creating differences among the ministries regarding the territorial division to which it should be attached. Thus, although the district of Qiba is part of Hail

Province, it is attached to al-Qaseem education and health directorates. It has been, however, attached to al-Riyadh health directorate up to 1973. The situation is even more confusing in the case of connecting its judicial affairs to al-Riyadh instead of Hail or Buraidah (the provincial capital of al-Qaseem). The inclusion of Linah, al-Hafr and Qariah in al-Riyadh judicial unit is not less confusing than the case of Qiba. Linah has always been considered as part of the Northern Boundaries Province, but it was reported, strangely, to be attached to al-Riyadh judicial unit in 1967.⁸⁰ This could lead us to question the authenticity of the reporter and the sources of his information, since Linah is included in the judicial unit of the Northern Boundaries Province by a genuine official document from Riyasat al-Qada of al-Riyadh in 1971.⁸¹ Al-Hafr and Qariah, on the other hand, are important tribal centres of the northern sections of the Mutair, who were attached directly to al-Riyadh in the 1930's but later became part of the Eastern Province. However, for their judicial affairs they have remained attached to al-Riyadh judicial unit. What really makes the situation more confusing is the fact that the judicial affairs of al-Qaisumah, which is only about ten miles south-east of al-Hafr and 120 miles west of Qariah, are attached to the judicial unit of the Eastern Province, centred in al-Dammam. Finally, there are certain provinces which are divided into more than one judicial unit. This was the case with al-Riyadh Province prior to 1970 when it consisted of al-Riyadh and al-Dawadmi judicial units. The presence of al-Dawadmi as a separate unit could be related to the existence of the troublesome Utaibah tribe, whose members constitute the majority

of the population, especially in the recently-established Utaibah villages (*hijar*) such as Nifi, al-Jamsh, Arwa and Arja. Since 1971, al-Dawadmi unit was incorporated into al-Riyadh unit and lost its separate territorial identity. The second example of dividing one province into two judicial units is the Eastern Province, which consists of the Eastern Province judicial unit and al-Hasa judicial unit. This, however, is not uncommon in this part of Saudi Arabia, and we have already seen similar arrangements and commented on the factors involved in them.

7.7 The Municipalities

Although the authority of the Saudi municipalities does not exceed the city or town limits, and in one sense therefore they are outside the scope of this study, they represent some form of local government which deserves to be examined for three main reasons. The first is that, while the municipalities do not form a level of the provincial hierarchy, they have been linked to it in parallel since the foundation of the state. Secondly, the examination of the municipalities and their functions will reveal some aspects of local government without which this study could not be complete. Thirdly, their examination will also reveal the degree of co-ordination between local offices in carrying out their responsibilities and functions.

7.7.1 Historical Setting

The origins of the Saudi municipalities could be traced to the pre-Saudi period, since there were at least four municipalities in

Makkah, Yanbu, Jeddah and al-Madinah before al-Hijaz became part of the Saudi state in 1925.⁸² Elected Municipal Councils were known in the leading Hijazi towns, which also knew some other local government bodies, such as the Administrative Councils. These forms of local government came as a direct result of the Ottoman reform measures in the middle of the nineteenth century. Having this background in al-Hijaz, Ibn Saud upon annexing al-Hijaz to his state, introduced measures aimed at preserving and developing these forms of local government. These measures were included in what was known as the Basic Instructions of al-Hijaz, which established a General Municipal Council in each of the municipalities of Makkah, al-Madinah and Jeddah. This was followed in 1927 by the promulgation of the Municipal Regulation which, although concerning Makkah municipality only, was automatically applied to the other Hijazi municipalities.⁸³ By 1938, however, and as a result of the unification of the different parts of the state under the name of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1932, a new regulation was issued. It is called Al-Nidham al-Am Li-Amanat al-Asimah wa al-Baladiyyat, or the Regulation for the Capital and Other Municipalities, referred to hereinafter as the 1938 Municipal Act. Prior to 1951, all the municipality mayors, with the exception of Makkah, were attached to the provincial or district governors. When the Ministry of Interior was founded in 1951, the municipality mayors were attached to it, and thus the Department of Municipalities emerged. By 1962 this department was re-organised and raised to be the Department of Municipalities' Affairs, headed by a deputy minister.

7.7.2 Functions, Responsibilities and Authority of the Municipal Bodies

(i) Municipal Bodies of the Basic Instructions of al-Hijaz

Although the Basic Instructions of al-Hijaz did not elaborate on the functions of the municipalities themselves, they established a General Municipal Council in Makkah, al-Madinah and Jeddah. These elected councils were empowered to examine all the affairs related to the municipalities, and pass resolutions whose execution depended on the approval of the king and was the prime responsibility of a municipality administrative committee, which consisted of the director of the municipality and the other heads of its different divisions.

(ii) The Municipality Regulations of 1927

These came only one year after the promulgation of the Basic Instructions of al-Hijaz, and they were, in fact, supplementary to those instructions concerning the municipal affairs. According to these regulations, the functions of the director of the municipality are:-

- "1. To apply and enforce the order, instructions and regulations concerning municipal activities.
2. To open and preside over the first session of the General Municipal Council.
3. To preside over the Municipal Administrative Committee.
4. To supervise the election of the General Municipal Council.
5. To prepare the municipal budget and submit it to the General Municipal Council two months before the

end of every fiscal year.

6. To supervise the collection of municipal revenues.
7. To supervise the administrative duties of the municipality."⁸⁴

The Regulations also stated the functions of the municipality as follows:-

- "1. To plan and supervise the creation of new streets and public parks, their maintenance and lighting them.
2. To create sewerage systems and their maintenance.
3. To provide the city with water.
4. To prepare maps for the city.
5. To create parking areas.
6. To supervise prices and measurements.
7. To supervise health protection, especially the applicability (enforcement) of the Health Protection Regulations concerning houses, bakeries, restaurants and slaughter houses.
8. To protect public property and make a record of it.
9. To provide fire services to the city."⁸⁵

(iii) The 1938 Municipal Act

This Act was promulgated to emphasise the functions of the municipal bodies already stated in the Basic Instructions and the Municipal Regulations of 1927. The only newly-established organ by this Act was the Municipal Committee, which was never created

in most of the municipalities and perhaps not in any of them.

(iv) The Present Trends

Since 1938, the Municipal Act has remained the only regulation upon which the administration and functions of the municipal bodies have been based, in spite of the changing trends in the central and local government planning and structure. As indicated in Table (7.9), some of the functions of the municipalities as stated in the 1938 Municipal Act have been re-located to other departments and divisions within the Department of Municipalities' Affairs. Overlapping of authorities, responsibilities and functions became apparent even at the local level; for example the functions and authorities of town planning divisions and the municipalities. This has also resulted in the gradual disappearance of the Municipal Administrative Committee and the Municipal Council in most municipalities, and the decay of the administrative status of the mayors. The effectiveness of the municipality actions has always been hindered by the lack of effective planning and stipulated lines of authority between the departments concerned.

From the start and prior to the emergence of the Department of Municipalities' Affairs in 1962, directors of municipalities (mayors) were connected and responsible to the provincial or district governors (Article 69 of the Basic Instructions of 1926, and Article 15 of the 1938 Municipal Act). At the same time, the municipalities were attached to the Municipality Department in the Ministry of Interior. The same overlapping of authority has been encountered between the newly-emerged Department of Municipalities' Affairs and the Department of Interior Affairs in the same Ministry. The situation is even more

TABLE (7.8)

Distribution of Municipalities and Settlement Centres
in the Saudi Provinces

Province	Number of ¹ Municipalities (end of 1972)	%	Number of ² Settlement Centres, 1962	%	Number of ³ Municipalities (up to 1980)	%
Afif	1	1.56	34	0.50	1	0.62
Asir	4	6.25	1,905	31.20	9	5.60
Al-Bahah	2	3.13	631	10.30	3	1.90
Bishah	1	1.56	216	3.50	2	1.22
Eastern Province	12	18.75	151	2.50	34	21.00
Hail	1	1.56	200	3.30	7	4.30
Al-Jauf	2	3.13	20	0.30	3	1.90
Jazan	2	3.13	976	16.00	10	6.20
Al-Khasirah	-	-	4	0.07	-	-
Al-Madinah and Yonbu	3	4.68	139	2.30	12	7.40
Makkah	7	10.95	824	13.50	18	11.00
Najran	1	1.56	61	1.00	1	0.62
North. Boundaries	3	4.68	26	0.43	5	3.00
Al-Qaseem	4	6.25	301	5.00	10	6.20
Al-Qurayyat	2	3.13	28	0.40	2	1.22
Raniah	1	1.56	15	0.20	1	0.62
Al-Riyadh	13	20.30	547	9.00	38	23.50
Tabouk	5	7.82	35	0.50	6	3.70
Total	64	100.00	6,113	100.00	162	100.00

Sources:

¹ Ministry of Finance and National Economy, Statistical Yearbook, vol 9, 1973, pp 175-181

² The unratified 1962+63 Census

³ Central Planning Organisation, Development Plan : 1975- 1980, al-Riyadh, pp 568-570

confusing, and surely at the expense of the municipality functional responsibilities, by the fact that provincial and district governors still insist that mayors are their subordinates.

7.7.3 Distribution of Municipalities

Up to 1973, there were 64 municipalities in the kingdom. Their distribution in the province is uneven, as Table (7.8) indicates. Some of the provinces, such as al-Riyadh, the Eastern, Tabouk and the Northern Boundaries, have their full share in the number of municipalities in relation to the number of settlement centres they embody. On the other hand, we find a minimum number of municipalities in provinces with a high number of settlement centres. This inequality, which is obvious from Table (7.8), might be the result of two factors. The first is the distance factor, in which the provinces of the latter case are located in remote areas away from the administrative centre of the country (al-Riyadh) and from the central department which is in charge of the administration of municipalities throughout the state. This factor is certainly significant in the case of al-Riyadh Province, which contain 20.3 per cent of the total number of municipalities in the country while it has only nine per cent of the total number of settlement centres. It is also very true in the number of municipalities in Jazan, Asir and al-Bahah Provinces, which account for only about 12.5 per cent of the total number of municipalities, while they have as much as 57.5 per cent of the total number of settlement centres in the state. The second factor is the influential personality of the provincial governors. This point is important in this respect, and it is sometimes the sole factor

in many cases of inequality in the distribution of public services in the various provinces.

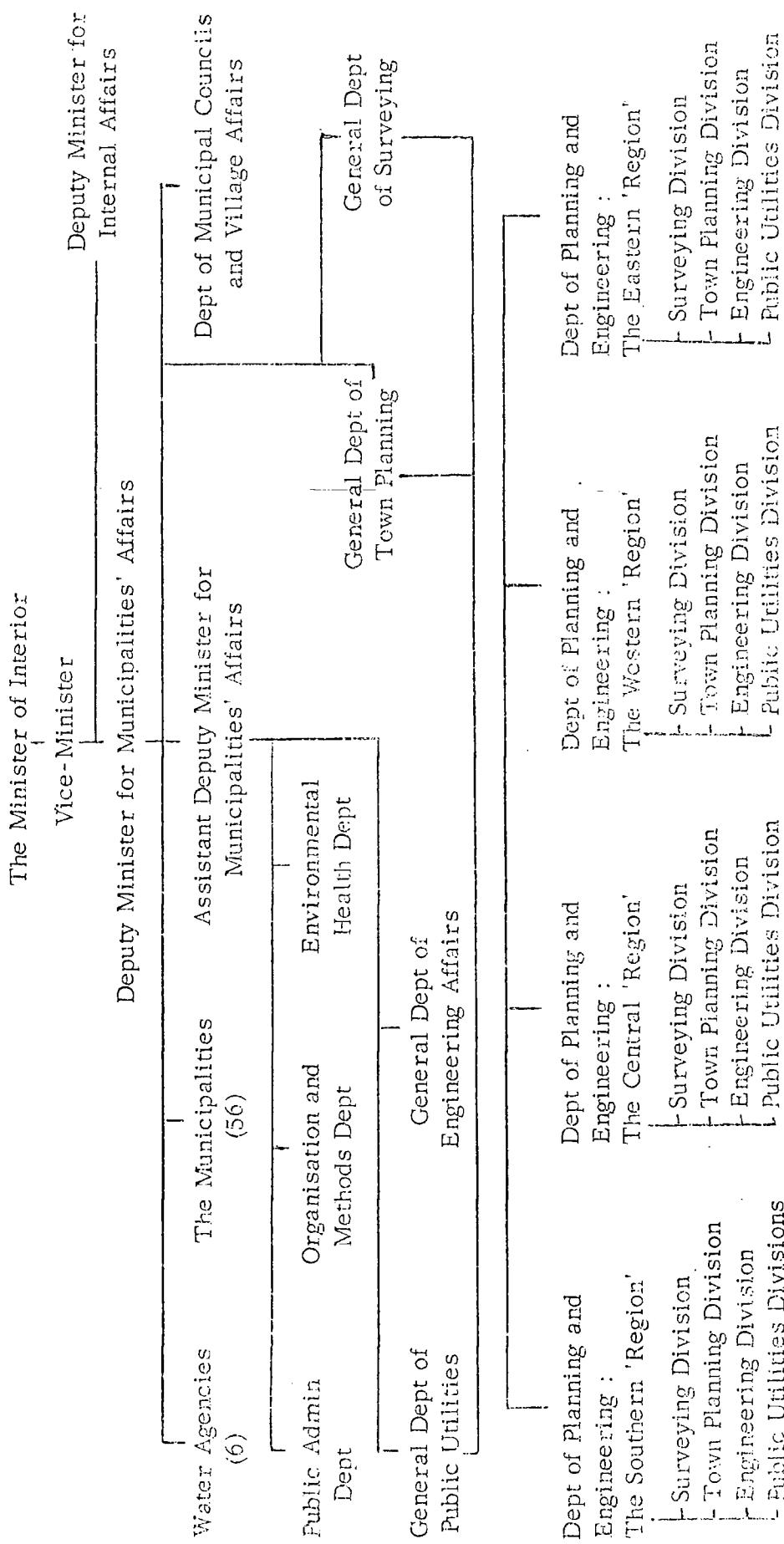
Inequality in the distribution of municipalities among the Saudi provinces and in relation to the distribution of settlement centres is likely to persist during the next five years (Table 7.8) in spite of the careful planning at national level which is supposed to terminate this inequality. For example, during the new Five Year Development Plan (1975-1980), 77 municipalities will be established throughout the country, with the Eastern Province alone having as much as 26 per cent of this total number. In the meantime, the plan allocates a minimum number of municipalities to provinces with a high number of settlement centres, such as Bishah, al-Qaseem, Jazan, al-Bahah and Asir, which already have a low proportion of municipalities in relation to settlement centres. Furthermore, certain provinces are not considered in the plan at all - such as al-Qurayyat and Najran.

7.7.4 Territorial Units for Planning and Engineering Affairs

It has been mentioned above, and as shown in Table (7.9), that the Department of Municipalities Affairs includes, besides many others, four sub-departments for town planning, engineering affairs, public utilities and surveying. These sub-departments collectively have field agencies or territorial units which this study should not ignore in order to show that municipal services began to acquire territorial divisions instead of being limited to the town limits and controlled directly from the centre, and to illustrate as well the present serious confusion and overlapping in the authority and functions of the old as

TABLE (7.9)

Organisation of the Department of Municipalities' Affairs, Ministry of Interior



well as the new municipal bodies.

The need to have central and local departments for the purpose of urban and town planning, as well as supervising the implementation of construction and sewerage projects, necessitated the establishment of a Town Planning Office in Jeddah under the auspices of the United Nations in 1960 and a Technical Department in Jeddah as well. However, town planning and supervision of municipal projects on the national level started shortly by the establishment of major sub-departments in the Department of Municipalities' Affairs for Town Planning and Engineering Affairs. Along with other sub-departments, especially Surveying and Public Utilities, they divided the country into four units, with headquarters in Jeddah for the Western 'Region', Abha for the Southern 'Region', al-Riyadh for the Central 'Region', and al-Dammam for the Eastern 'Region'. The major functions of these local branches are:-

1. To prepare future plans for the Saudi towns.
2. To prepare detailed and surveyed maps for the town showing the existing town morphology and land use.
3. To help in preparing building laws and urban development programmes.
4. To provide engineering design services to the municipalities.
5. To prepare and supervise the implementation of municipal construction projects.
6. To supervise contract preparation and agreements

between the municipalities and other agents.⁸⁶

This ultimately means that the planning and surveying aspects of municipal affairs have been detached from the functions of the individual municipalities to be transferred to the 'regional' branches to which the municipalities are responsible in these aspects. This adds another element in the present confusion regarding the overlapping of authority between the departments concerned with municipal affairs.

7.8 Summary

The primary objective of this chapter has been to outline the hierarchical order of the local territorial administrative units as used for the administration of some of the central government ministries and departments. Some of the factors underlying the emergence of these units have been examined. We have also identified certain problems associated with such divisions, such as inefficiency, lack of co-ordination, spatial inaccessibility, imbalance in welfare, regional inequality, and the high degree of centralisation. But the most important thing to be stressed here is that this chapter has shown explicitly the wide range of variations among the different central government ministries as far as the territorial limits of their territorial administrative units and the hierarchical order of the territorial subdivisions of these units are concerned. In a country such as Saudi Arabia, with a high degree of centralisation of administrative, financial and planning functions, such variations are in fact obstacles to effective developmental planning. These problems and their solutions are indicated in a report by a leading international development company:-

"The topographical boundaries of the parts of the SWR [South-Western Region of Saudi Arabia] , distinguished by the different major technical ministries do not coincide. The field offices of the various ministries, more often located in the provincial and district capitals (Interior) than outside, cover different areas. In official government documentation and publications references to geographical areas are not consistent . . .

This prevailing heterogeneity of functional units does not only lead to dissipation of funds, but also complicates an accurate inventory of the requirements and resources that are prerequisites to adequate multi-sectoral planning . . . Integrated and comprehensive action programmes, however, require joint development administration, coordination on various levels and, consequently, a uniform administrative division.⁸⁷ "Such unification is also important to achieve more consistency in statistical data in that such data should be collected and processed per geographical unit; and so become comparable for planning purposes."⁸⁸

PART THREE

AL-BAHAH PROVINCE : A CASE STUDY

Introduction

Chapter Eight : Evolution of al-Bahah Province

Chapter Nine : The Nature and Base of District
Delimitation

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapters, the author endeavoured to examine the evolution of the Saudi Provinces in time and space and reviewed briefly some of the factors that have been involved in their emergence. The last chapter was devoted to examining the administrative areas adopted by some of the central government ministries and departments. Taking into consideration the fact that a detailed study of the spatial arrangements within all these provinces and administrative areas is certainly beyond the capacity of a research student, one province only has been chosen for this purpose. This Part, therefore, involves a close examination of the evolution of the chosen province and its provincial and district limits. It will also be concerned with analysis of such spatial patterns as shape and size of districts, accessibility of provincial and district centres and spatial interactions. Finally, attention will be focused upon the differences between the central government ministries and departments in considering this province as an administrative area through which their functions and services are channelled and carried out to the public. The consequences of these differences upon the social welfare of the communities will be investigated closely.

The chosen province is known officially as al-Bahah and historically and traditionally as Ghamid and Zahran after the names of the two tribes inhabiting the province. The choice is not based on any sampling methods. Rather, it is motivated by the personal view of the author that this province is an appropriate area to be the subject of such a detailed study whose nature is mentioned above. There are, of course,

many factors influencing such a view, of which the most important are:-

1. The province, in size, is one of the smallest in the Kingdom, (Table 8.1), yet it exhibits a variety of physical and human phenomena characteristic in most parts of the Kingdom. This provides us with multi-variate factors in the setting of the territorial arrangements of its subdivisions. Also, the smallish size of its area has undoubtedly made it one of the most compact provinces in the state. This provides us with an ample opportunity to test whether the theoretical shapes have any bearing upon the present spatial arrangement of the administrative units within the province or upon the administrative practices and efficiency.

2. The area has recently been out of its seclusion after ages of self-contained life by being isolated from adjacent areas by rugged terrain. This poses challenging obstacles, whether physical or human, to development programmes.

3. The emergence of al-Bahah as a district in the pre-Saudi rule and as a province since the 1930's has been based entirely on tribal factors. The homogeneity of the social and political organisation of the inhabitants of the province is unique in the country. Its effect on the territorial arrangement of the province's subdivisions and on the administrative system as well as on the functions of local government agencies must be interesting to follow.

4. Unlike most of the Saudi provinces, there are some administrative forms and features of local government which are still practised in the province. Some of these features stem from tribal practices, while others are of foreign origin and have been introduced to the area recently.

TABLE (8.1)

Area and Population of the Provinces of Saudi Arabia

Province	Area in sq km *	Percentage	Population ^X	Percentage	Population Density
Afif	27,864	1.27	30,171	0.91	1.10
Asir	59,677	2.72	324,709	9.85	5.40
Al-Bahah	14,919	0.68	120,464	3.65	8.00
Bishah	39,053	1.78	68,886	2.08	1.80
Eastern P	708,004	32.27	360,852	10.94	0.50
Hail	169,596	7.73	187,804	5.70	1.10
Al-Jauf	74,596	3.40	43,989	1.33	0.60
Jazan	13,822	0.63	365,063	11.07	26.40
Al-Khasirah	21,940	1.00	5,322	0.16	0.24
Al-Madinah and Yonbu	143,049	6.52	159,695	4.84	1.10
Makkah	100,924	4.60	627,447	19.02	6.20
Najran	87,760	4.00	56,583	1.72	0.64
Northern Boundaries P	115,624	5.27	77,801	2.36	0.67
Al-Qaseem	76,790	3.50	222,761	6.76	2.90
Al-Qurayyat	53,972	2.46	20,933	0.64	0.40
Raniah	18,649	0.85	9,626	0.30	0.50
Al-Riyadh	369,031	16.82	539,692	16.37	1.50
Tabouk	98,730	4.50	75,859	2.30	0.80
TOTAL	2,194,000	100.00	3,297,657	100.00	

* Area is estimated by using the grid method and the planimeter.

^X Based on the 1962/63 unpublished census of the country.

5. A significant factor which underlines choosing this province is its intermediate rank among the Saudi provinces. Its hierarchy in the provincial structure of the state lies between those provinces which have acquired through the years high status either because of their historic significance in the development of the state (al-Riyadh, Makkah, Hail, al-Qaseem and al-Madinah); administrative importance (al-Riyadh); locational functions (the Northern Boundaries, Tabouk and Asir Provinces); or economic superiority (the Eastern, al-Qaseem and Asir Provinces); and those provinces which occupy the lower level of the provincial hierarchy, such as Raniah, Bishah, Afif, Yonbu and al-Khasirah. Furthermore, it is one of those provinces whose governors are members of the Sudairi family, whose influence on the decision-making in the central government is significantly firm and strong. The other provinces which share this feature with al-Bahah Province are al-Jauf, al-Qirayyat, Jazan and Najran.

6. Because of its smallish size and intermediate rank, it is likely to be incorporated into the much larger and superior provinces in the north (Makkah) or the south (Asir) in the new plan to rearrange the distribution of the Saudi provinces. This study will show the historical association of this province with the neighbouring areas from the administrative point of view, and cast some light on the areal similarities between them.

CHAPTER EIGHT

EVOLUTION OF AL-BAHĀH PROVINCE8.1 The Pre-Saudi Period

The history of this part of Saudi Arabia, as is the case with many others, has never been written down. What we know of its past are only scattered events which were recorded in the course of major confrontations between the surrounding dynasties in their attempts to attach it to their realm of rule and sphere of influence. The only clear matter is that the area has lived for centuries in seclusion and that it has not played any significant role in the struggle between the surrounding dynasties in the north (Al-Ashraf of al-Hijaz), in the south (the Yazidis of al-Yaman, the Al Ayed of Asir, and the Idrisid of Sabia), and in the east (the Saudis of Najd). The lines of campaigns which the oldest of these dynasties took to oust each other lay in the periphery of the tribal area of the Ghāmid and Zahran, i.e., through Taif-Tarabah-Bishah route or through the Red Sea coastal plain. However, up to the middle of the nineteenth century, Ghāmid and Zahran area was nominally part of the Ashraf dynasty of al-Hijaz and was connected to al-Taif district to the extent that, during the constant shift of authority over al-Taif between the Ashraf and Al-Saud, the Ghāmid and Zahran recognised as their rule whoever was in control of al-Taif.

It was only when the Al-Ayed family became in full control of Asir in the 1830's that a strong challenger of the Ashraf of al-Hijaz emerged in the south. Ghāmid and Zahran area became for nearly a

century a battle ground for these two rivals and subsequent ones in their continuing attempts to establish their rule in the area against the other. Authority over the area was shifted numerous times between the Ashraf of al-Hijaz and Al-Ayed of Asir as a result of campaigns directed to the area. It is, however, a well-established fact that whenever a peaceful solution to the confrontation was reached, the Ghāmid and Zahran area was always attached to the Ashraf of Makkah, as was the case in 1256 AH (C 1840) and 1281 AH (1864)¹.

By 1871, the Ottoman Sultanate had a firm control over the western part of the Arabian Peninsula, which was then divided into two wilayat, al-Hijaz and al-Yaman (Chapter Three). Al-Yaman wilayah consisted of four Sanjaks or Mutasarrifiyyahs, namely Sana, al-Hudaidah, Taiz and ^{the territory of the capital, Abha;} and Asir. The Sanjak of Asir in turn was divided into six Qadas or Qaimmagamiyyahs. These were Sabia, Rijal Alma, Mahail and al-Qunfudhah in Tihama, and al-Namas and Ghāmid in al-Sarah. The approximate extent of these Qadas is shown in Fig (8.1), which indicates that the Qada of Ghāmid was centred in the village of Raghdan and consisted of the tribal areas of the Ghāmid, Zahran, Shamran, Aklab, Muawiyah, Bani Sulul and al-Mahlaf². This shows that Ghāmid and Zahran as a district controlled a much larger area than its name might have indicated. Certainly Ottoman rule in the area was nominal, and its influence on the administrative structure was hence minimal, and limited to the introduction of administrative councils at the district and village level. The tribal system of rule of the area was never challenged, and the only sign of foreign rule of the area was the Ottoman army post in Raghdan and the occasional visit of the Ottoman Mutasarrif of Asir. Resistance

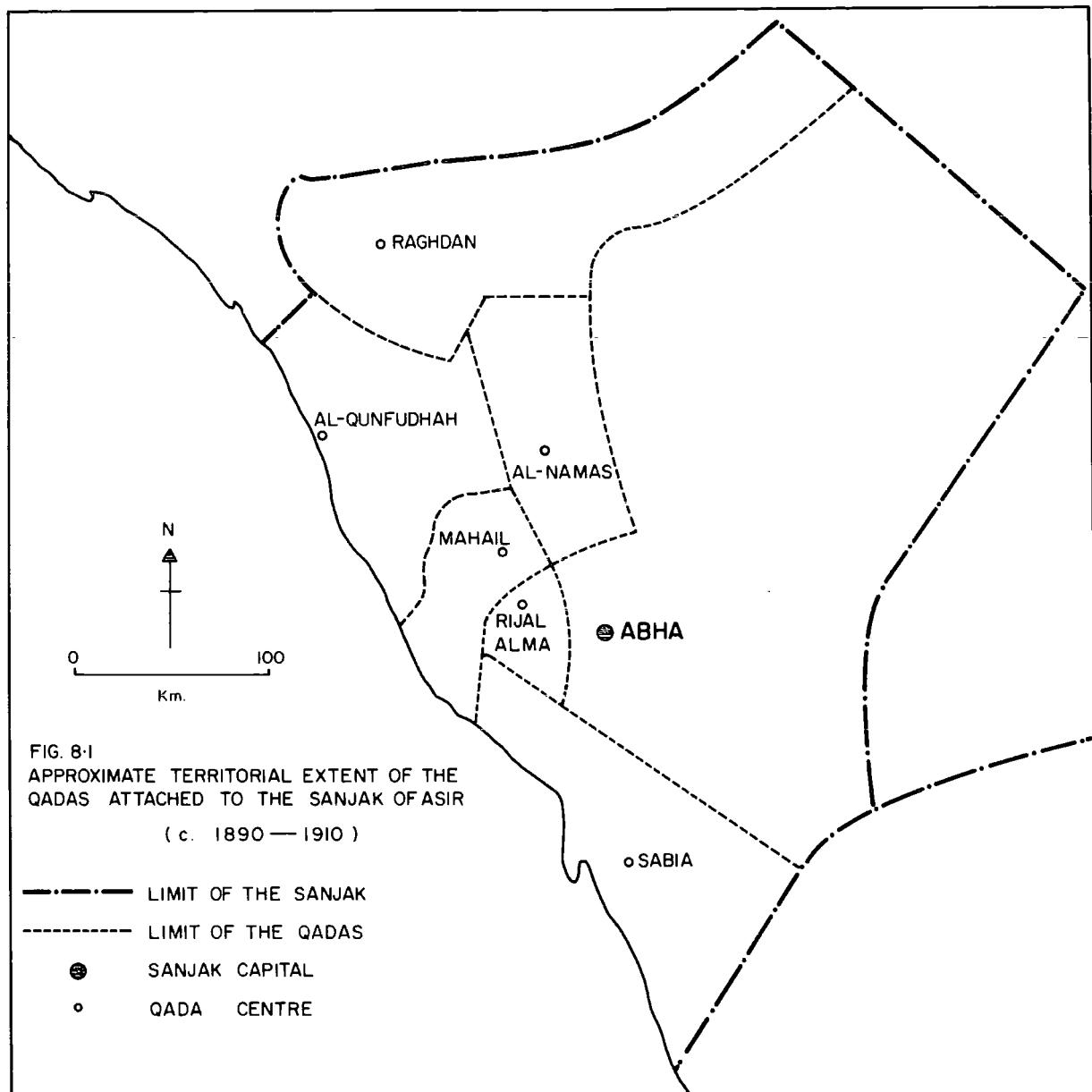


FIG. 8·1
APPROXIMATE TERRITORIAL EXTENT OF THE
QADAS ATTACHED TO THE SANJAK OF ASIR
(c. 1890—1910)

to the Ottoman rule was most rigorous in the Zahran territory, which is the most rugged, and to which many Ottoman campaigns were sent to offset the resistance movement, and bring the tribes under firm control - but with very little success.

For a short period, 1908-1910, the Idrisi of Sabia became the unchallenged rulers of all Asir Sanjak. This was to be followed by the successful attempt of the Sharif of Makkah in 1911 to restore Asir to Ottoman authority. By the outbreak of World War I, and during the few years that preceded it, the whole western part of the peninsula was torn apart by the continuous confrontation of the existing dynasties of Ibn Saud of Najd, the revived Al Ayed of Abha, the Idrisi of Sabia and the Sharif of Makkah. The Ghamid and Zahran area was again drawn into seclusion and finally lost its administrative identity as a district within Asir.

8.2 Ghamid and Zahran as a Governorate in al-Hijaz Viceroyalty

When King Abdll Aziz Ibn Saud finally succeeded in subjugating Asir and bringing it under his direct rule in 1922, the Ghamid and Zahran area was unquestionably part of al-Hijaz under the Sharif of Makkah. This was obvious in considering it as the northern limit of Asir at the time when there was no intention from King Abdul Aziz's side to annex al-Hijaz to his realm.³ By 1924, however, al-Taif fell into the hands of the King, and this was to be followed by Makkah, al-Qunfudhah, al-Lith, al-Madinah and the rest of al-Hijaz by the end of 1925. There was no sign of campaigns having to be undertaken in the Ghamid and Zahran area to receive any form of surrender : it was to surrender

whenever al-Taif did. During the first six years of the Viccroyalty rule of al-Hijaz (Chapter Five), the Ghāmid and Zahran territory was scattered and disintegrated. Four governorates were in control of certain subtribes of Ghāmid and Zahran, as shown in Table (8.2) and Figure (8.2); Al-Taif was responsible for the subtribes of Zahran living in al-Sarāh with most of Ghāmid al-Bādūr (those Bedouin subtribes of Ghāmid), while Bishah was controlling the subtribes of Ghāmid living in al-Sarāh with two subtribes of Ghāmid al-Bādūr. Al-Līth, on the other hand, was the district centre to which Banū Sulāim, a major subtribe of Zahran of Tihāmā, was attached. Lastly, al-Qunfudhah district included the rest of Zahran of Tihāmā as well as those subtribes of Ghāmid in Tihāmā.

The loss of administrative identity by Ghāmid and Zahran was not to last long, for in 1934 a royal decree established the governorate of Ghāmid and Zahran by amalgamating all those subdivisions of these two tribes which were under the administration of al-Taif, Bishah, al-Līth and al-Qunfudhah districts.⁴ Al-Dhāfeer was made the governorate centre and a prominent figure was appointed, Turki bin Madi by name, as its Governor. The position of the governorate was strengthened when the central system of government emerged in the 1950's, by the establishment of the Council of Ministers and the Ministry of Interior to which the district was attached as a second-rank province. The strengthening of its position was also evident in the fact that it escaped the re-distribution of the second-rank provinces in the area in 1960, which resulted in the emergence of a first-rank province centred in Makkah into which the governorates of al-Taif, al-Līth and al-

TABLE (8.2)

The Subtribes of Ghāmid and Zahran and the District Centres
to which they were Attached, 1927-1933

I GHAMID

A. Ghamid of al-Sarah (B)

1. Baljourashy
2. Bani Abdillah
3. Bani Dabian
4. Bani Khutaim
5. Bani Kabeer
6. Al-Rahwah
7. Balshahm

B. Ghamid al-Badw

8. Al-Hijahjah (B)
9. Al-Ubaidat (B)
10. Rifaah (T)
11. Bani Kabeer (the same as No 5 above) (B)
12. Al-Zuhraa (T)
13. Al-Hillah (T)
14. Al-Talib (T)
15. Al-Qanaziah (T)
16. Al-Maslam (T)
17. Al-Zawaiy (T)

C. Ghamid of Tihama

18. Bani Abdillah (the same as No 2 above) (Q)
19. Ghamid al-Zinad (Q)

. . . . / Continued

Table (8.2), Continued

II ZAHRAND. Zahran of al-Sarah (T)

20. Bani Hasan
21. Bani Kinanah
22. Balkhazmar
23. Dous
 - (a) Bani Fihm
 - (b) Bani Ali
 - (c) Bani Minhib and Bal Tufail
 - (d) Dous al-Ayyash
24. Bani Amir
25. Bani Adwan
26. Bani Hurair
27. Bani Jundub
28. Bani Basheer
29. Quraish
30. Baidan

E. Zahran of Tihama

31. Bani Sulaim (L)
 - (a) Al-Shughban
 - (b) Awlad Saadi
 - (c) Al-Jubbar
 - (d) Aba al-Mufaddal
32. Al-Ahlaf (Q)
 - (a) Al-Ahlaf
 - (b) Al-Saeed
 - (c) Bani Nuqmah
 - (d) Bal Awar
 - (e) Bal Aswad
 - (f) Al-Abdul Hameed
 - (g) Al-Sad
33. Bani Umar (Q)
 - (a) Bani Umar al-Ashaieeb
 - (b) Bani Umar al-Ali
34. Baidan (as No 30 above) (Q)
35. Bal Khazmar (as No 22 above) (Q)
36. Al-Mashayekh
37. Bani Shihab

NOTE : (T) = Al-Taif; (L) = Bishah; (Q) = Al-Lith;
 (Q) = Al-Qunfudhah

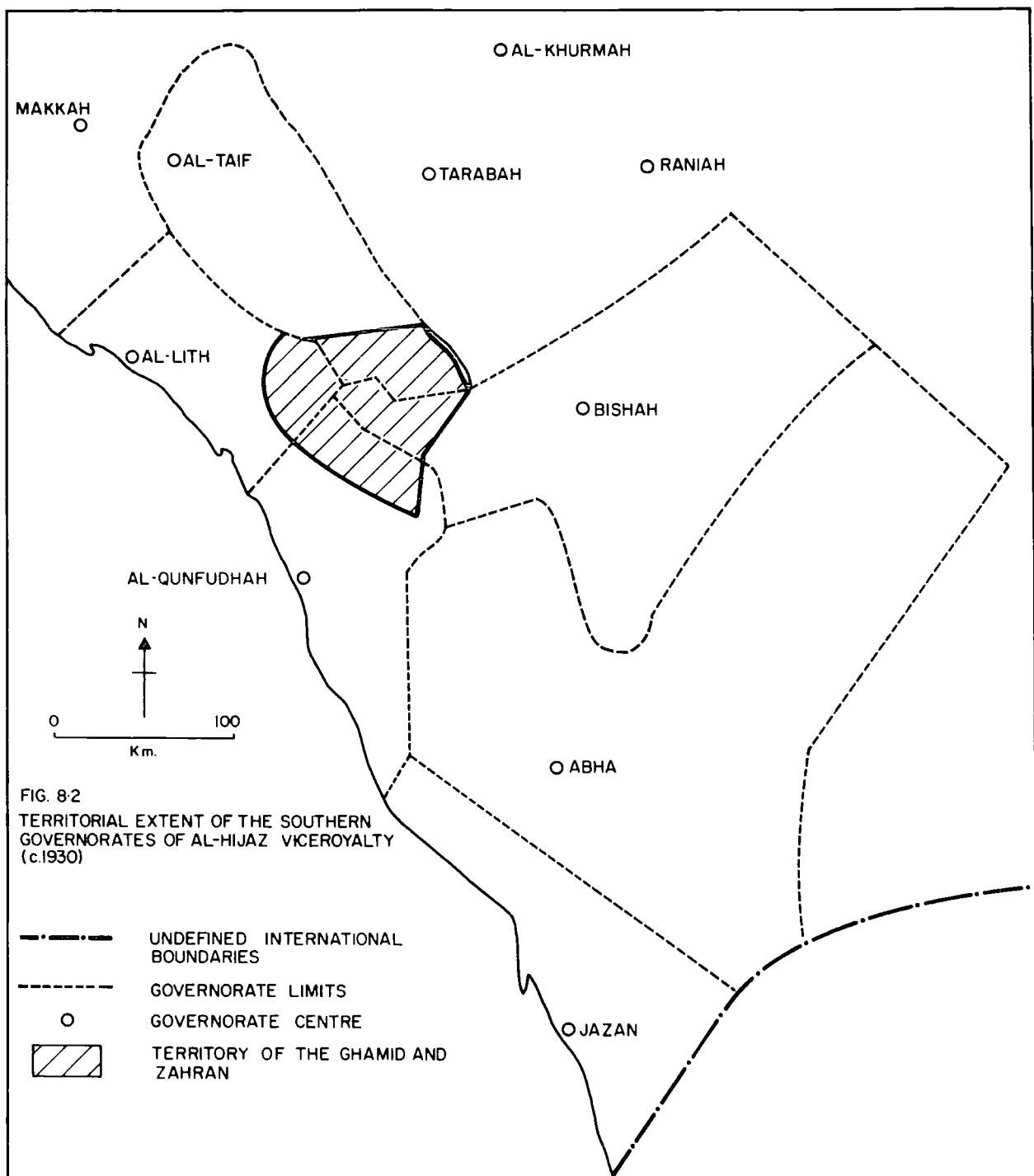


FIG. 8.2

TERRITORIAL EXTENT OF THE SOUTHERN GOVERNORATES OF AL-HIJAZ VICEROYALTY
(c.1930)

Qunfudhah were incorporated. The present governor of al-Bahah province holds an optimistic view that the government is considering in the new plan to re-arrange the Saudi provinces towards the establishment of a first-rank province in al-Bahah to which al-Qunfudhah, al-Lith, Bishah and Raniah governorates will be attached.

8.3 Relocation of the Provincial Capital

This section on the evolution of the province could not be complete without looking closely at the constant shift of its centre from one locality to another, and examining some of the factors involved in this feature and its geographic implications. During the pre-Saudi period, two towns were considered by different sources as the district centre of Ghāmid and Zahran. These were Raghdan and al-Dhafeer. The former was and is the tribal chief centre of the Bani Khuthaim, while the latter was, up to about the mid-1950's, the tribal chief centre of the Bani Abdillah. Both groups are subtribes of Ghāmid of al-Sarāh. Raghdan was certainly the district centre during the struggle between the Ashraf of Makkah and the Al-Ayed of Asir and also the centre of the Qada of Ghāmid during much of the Ottoman administration.⁵ It is possible that al-Dhafeer became the district centre during the last period of the Ottoman administration and during Al-Ayed and al-Idrisi rule of the area (1912-1920).⁶ This could be the result of an inter-tribal conflict between the two subtribes for the political leadership of the tribe, a feature not uncommon in this area, but no document is found to substantiate this theory.

When the Ghāmid and Zahran area emerged as a governorate

within the Viceroyalty of al-Hijaz in 1934; al-Dhaseer was named as its centre, a decision which took into consideration and was undoubtedly influenced by the town's political position as the tribal chief centre of the Abdillah subtribe, which at that time assumed the chieftainship of all Ghāmid. More importantly, this decision was based on the central location of the town in relation to the territory of both Ghāmid and Zahran.⁷

As more and more government offices were established in the town, the demand for housing facilities increased, and as the local inhabitants have always been cautious about selling or letting their land and building properties, a major housing problem emerged and escalated following the influx of government employees from outside the province to the town, with the result that re-locating the governorate centre was inevitable. Baljourashy, 34 kilometres south of al-Dhaseer, was chosen

in 1952 as the new governorate centre.⁸ The reasons for re-locating

the centre in Baljourashy were stated to be "its good location and the availability of housing facilities".⁹ The first part of this reasoning could be interpreted to refer to the town's beautiful site, which is very true. But this aspect is irrelevant if we are to take into consideration the convenience of all the inhabitants of the province. For what is more important to achieve relatively efficient administration is the geographic location of the centre and its accessibility in terms of distance, time and population.

To determine the accessibility and centrality of the present district centres of the province, four crude indices are adopted from the works of Kansky, Janelle, Kolats, Malin, Turay, and

Massam.¹⁰ These measures will now be applied in our case on the basis that they can bring to light relationships that have their consequences

in subsequent developments.

(i) The first index measures the accessibility of the district centres in terms of distance by obtaining the sum of all distances of other district centres from a particular district centre; that is -

$$\sum_{i=1}^n d(i,j)$$

where d is the distance from a district centre i to j and other (n) centres (Table (8.3)). It is clear that Baljourashy has the seventh lowest value (526 kilometres) and hence seventh in rank of space accessibility among the nine district centres in 1962.

(ii) The second index takes into consideration travel time and is derived by the same procedure as the first index. Thus travel time from a district centre to all the other centres is summed, hence -

$$\sum_{i=1}^n T(i,j)$$

where T is the travel time from a district centre i to j and other (n) centres (Table (8.4)). According to this index, Baljourashy has the fifth lowest value (44.7 hours) and hence fifth in rank of time accessibility among the nine district centres in 1962.

(iii) The third index is based on factors of simple relations of distance and population size. It is expressed as the sum of distance between the district centres times population of districts (Table (8.5)), that is -

TABLE (8.3)

Accessibility of District Centres of Al-Bahah Province :Total Sums of Distances of all Centres* (1962)

District Centres	Sums of Distances (kms)	Rank
Al-Bahah	319	1
Baljourashy	526	7
Al-Mandaq	377	2
Al-Atawlah	409	4
Bidah	399	3
Al-Aqiq	544	8
Al-Makhwah	436	5
Qilwah	447	6
Al-Hajrah	585	9

* See Appendix (8.1)

TABLE (8.4)

Accessibility of District Centres of Al-Bahah Province :Total Sums of Travel Time of all Centres* (1962)

District Centres	Sums of Travel Time (hours)	Rank
Al-Bahah	34.9	1
Baljourashy	44.7	5
Al-Mandaq	37.9	2
Al-Atawlah	39.4	4
Bidah	38.8	3
Al-Aqiq	45.9	6
Al-Makhwah	86.5	9
Qilwah	68.7	7
Al-Hajrah	78.2	8

* See Appendix (8.1)

$$\sum_{i=1}^n d(ip, jp)$$

where ip , jp are populations of districts i and j . The result (Table 8.6)) shows clearly that Baljourashy, again, lies fourth in accessibility in terms of distance and population.

The results from the three indices also reveal an important fact concerning the most accessible zone in the province. This zone includes two district centres, namely al-Bahah and al-Mandaq, which lie north of Baljourashy and therefore are closer to the Zahran territory. This fact underlies the events which followed the re-location of Ghamid and Zahran provincial centre in 1952 from al-Dhafeer, which is only one mile south-east of al-Bahah, to Baljourashy. Immediately after this date, the tribal members of Zahran started submitting their complaints to the high authority, explaining how inconvenient the new arrangement was for them, and asking the government to reconsider this decision. Their demands went as far, in 1958, as asking the high authority to establish a separate governorate for Zahran.¹¹ As a consequence, the provincial centre was moved northward and re-located in al-Bahah in 1963. It has already been shown that al-Bahah ranks first in accessibility among the district centres of the province in terms of distance, travel time and the combination of distance and population (Tables (8.3), (8.4) and (8.6)). As for the centrality of al-Bahah as compared to that of Baljourashy, one method is used to show how justified the demands of Zahran tribal members were, and how right the new decision was to move the centre from Baljourashy to al-Bahah.

TABLE (S.5)

Population of the Districts of Al-Bahah Province (1962)

Districts	Population
<u>Al-Sarah</u>	
Al-Bahah	24,828
Baljourashy	—25,954
Al-Mandaq	18,549
Bidah	3,385
Al-Aqiq	2,354
Al-Atawlah	7,840
<u>Tihama</u>	
Al-Makhwah	19,870
Qilwah	11,849
Al-Hajrah	5,845
TOTAL	120,464

Source : Part of the Unratified 1962/63 Census of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, published in al-Jasir, In al-Sarah of Ghāmid and Zahran, op cit, pp 109-122

TABLE (8.6)

Accessibility of District Centres of Al-Bahah Province :Sums of Distance of District CentresTimes Population of Districts (1962)*

District Centres	Sums of Distance x Population	Rank
Al-Bahah	3,425,981	1
Baljourashy	5,070,731	4
Al-Mandaq	4,836,126	3
Al-Atawlah	6,354,434	7
Bidah	6,005,082	6
Al-Aqiq	8,208,102	9
Al-Makhwah	4,310,536	2
Qilwah	5,404,377	5
Al-Hajrah	8,166,459	8

* See Appendix (8.2), and Table (8.5)

The method used is based on the Moment of Inertia concept to define a measure of spatial efficiency of the location of an administrative centre in respect to the distribution of population in an administrative area (see Note 8.1). The spatial efficiency index for both al-Bahah and Baljourashy is calculated for 1962 and shown in Table (8.7). The spatial efficiency index for al-Bahah and Baljourashy is 0.92 and 0.59 respectively, which indicates that al-Bahah lies nearer to the centre of gravity of the province than Baljourashy and therefore its location is spatially more favourable and convenient.

The transfer of the governorate centre from al-Dhafeer to Baljourashy in 1952 has yet another consequence on the evolution of districts in al-Sarah. Since Baljourashy lies to the extreme south of the governorate, and with very bad road conditions, it became inaccessible to the inhabitants of the northern parts of the area, and this situation impelled those inhabitants (mostly from the Zahran) to make their demands as already mentioned. One way of meeting these demands and tackling problems of inaccessibility and environmental frictions was the setting up of districts in the northern part of the governorate so that the inhabitants would be able to refer their cases to the offices of those districts instead of travelling all the way to Baljourashy. This was the main factor underlying the emergence of five major districts in the north during a very short period (1955-1957), immediately after the transfer of the governorate centre to Baljourashy (Table (8.8)).

TABLE (8.7)

Spatial Efficiency Index for al-Bahah and
Baljourashy Centres, Al-Bahah Province (1962)*

The Centre of Gravity (CG) is the point (XCG, YCG)

$$X_{CG} = \frac{1108900}{120464} = 9.2$$

$$Y_{CG} = \frac{1277708}{120464} = 10.6$$

Moment of Inertia (M) of CG = 2838590

M Bahah = 3090657.3

M Baljourashy = 4780441

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Efficiency Index for al-Bahah} &= \frac{M_{CG}}{M_{\text{Bahah}}} \\ &= \frac{2838590}{3090657.3} \\ &= 0.92 \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Efficiency Index for Baljourashy} &= \frac{M_{CG}}{M_{\text{Baljourashy}}} \\ &= \frac{2838590}{4780441} \\ &= 0.59 \end{aligned}$$

* See Note (8.1) for explanation of the method, and Appendix (8.3) for details

TABLE (8, 8)

Evolution of Districts in al-Bahah Province1940 :

Al-Dhafeer (X) (S)

1945 :Al-Dhafeer (X)
Al-Hajrah (T)
Al-Makhwah (T)
Qilwah (T)1957 :Baljourashy (X) X (S)
Qilwah
Al-Makhwah
Al-Hajrah
Al-Bahah (S)
(instead of al-Dhafeer)
Bidah (S) X
Al-Mandaq (S) X
Al-Aqiq (S) X
Al-Atawlah (S) X1962:Baljourashy
Al-Bahah
Al-Mandaq
Al-Atawlah
Al-Aqiq
Bidah
Al-Makhwah
Al-Hajrah
Qilwah1963 :Baljourashy
Qilwah
Al-Hajrah
Al-Makhwah
Al-Bahah (X)
Al-Aqiq
Bidah
Al-Mandaq
Al-Atawlah
Ghamid al-Zinad (T) X1965 :Al-Bahah (X)
Baljourashy
Al-Mandaq
Qilwah
Bidah
Al-Atawlah
Al-Aqiq
Al-Hajrah
Al-Makhwah
Dous (Al-Nimah) (S) X
Bani Hasan (S) X1972 :Al-Bahah
Baljourashy
Al-Mandaq
Qilwah
Bidah
Al-Atawlah
Al-Aqiq
Al-Hajrah
Al-Makhwah
Ghamid al-Zinad
Dous
Bani Hasan
Al-Shaara (T) X
Jamajim wa Anazah (S) X1973/74 :Al-Bahah
Baljourashy
Al-Mandaq
Qilwah
Bidah
Al-Atawlah
Al-Aqiq
Al-Hajrah
Al-Makhwah
Ghamid al-Zinad
Dous
Bani Hasan
Al-Shaara
Al-Jamajim wa Anazah
Nirah (T) X
Nawan (T) X
Balshahin (S) X

(X) The Provincial Capitals

X New Districts

(T) In Tihamah

(S) In al-Sarab

Note 8.1

The spatial efficiency index is developed by Massam using the Moment of Inertia to determine how far the actual administrative centre is from the centre of gravity. The procedure to calculate this index is summarised in the following steps:-

1. Calculate the Moment of Inertia (M) for the actual administrative centre (B) according to the factor being chosen; e.g., population, distribution of consumers, etc. That is:-

$$MB = \sum_{i=1}^n dij^2 mi, \text{ where}$$

the unit is made up of n points, j is the centre of gravity, dij^2 is the square of the distance between each point and the centre of gravity, m is a weight for each point. The Moment of Inertia for al-Bahah provincial capital is given in Table (8.7). In this particular case the distances used are straight-line distances, the points are the district centres (9) and the weight is the total population of the districts (Table (8.5)).

2. Calculate the centre of gravity for the distribution of points within the administrative area by obtaining the X and Y co-ordinates of the centre of gravity as shown in Table (8.7). The point (X_{CG}, Y_{CG}) is marked on the map to indicate the centre of gravity.
3. Calculate the Moment of Inertia of the points around the centre of gravity (MG) by using the same procedure as in step No 1. The spatial efficiency index (E) is defined as $\frac{MG}{MB}$. The nearer the value of (E) to 1.0, the shorter the distance between the actual administrative centre and the centre of gravity.

CHAPTER NINE

THE NATURE AND BASE OF DISTRICT DELIMITATION

Al-Bahah Province occupies an area of approximately 14,919 sq km or about 0·68 per cent of the total area of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

In spite of its small size, it has the second highest population density among the Saudi provinces, which is about 8·0 per sq km (Table 8.1).

The population figure is only an estimate, since the results of the population census of 1962/63 have been disregarded and disqualified by the government. The total of the province's population is, however, estimated to range between 120,464⁽¹²⁾ and 276,000⁽¹³⁾ while the governor of the province estimated the number in 1970 to reach the one million mark.⁽¹⁴⁾

Save for a very limited number of government employees, the inhabitants of the province are totally members of the two tribes of Ghāmid and Zahran, and the territorial limits of the province coincide with the territorial limits of the two tribes, except in a small part in the western section of the province, in Tihama, where the two subtribes of al-Mashaikh and al-Shihab, though they are subtribes of the Zahran, have been attached to the Governorate of al-Qunfudhah (Makkah Province). The surrounding tribes are : the tribes of Bani Malik of Tihama (attached to al-Lith Governorate), Bani Malik of al-Sarah and Balharith (al-Taif) to the north; the al-Buqum (Tarabah), Subai (Ranidh) and Aklab (Bishah) to the east; the Bani Khuthaim (Bishah), Balqarn of Tihama and Harb (al-Qunfudhah) to the south; and the Harb, al-Mashaikh, Al-Shihab (al-Qunfudhah) and al-Ashraf (al-Lith) to the west.

The province is divided into 17 districts, of which ten districts

are located in al-Sarah, while seven districts are in Tihama. The al-Sarah districts are al-Bahah, Baljourashy, Balshahim, Bani Hasan, Anaza wa al-Jamajim, Al-Mandaq, Dous, al-Atawlah, Bidah and al-Aqiq; the Tihama districts are al-Hajrah, al-Shaara, Qilwah, Nira, Nawar, al-Makhwah, and Ghāmid al-Zinad. The names of the districts refer either to the names of their centres, or to the subtribes inhabiting them, or to the major wadis running through them. It is apparent especially from Figure (9.1) and Table (8.5) that these districts vary greatly in the number of their inhabitants and in the size of their areas. They also vary in the compactness of their territories and indentation of their boundaries. Furthermore, district centres vary in the degree of their accessibility to the provincial capital and to each other. All this raises the following questions. How and why do these spatial variations emerge? What are the factors underlying them? What is their impact on the co-ordination and efficiency of provincial and other government departmental administration, on the social and economic welfare of the communities, and on the implementation of developmental projects? The answer to these questions will be the prime concern of this chapter, which in essence undertakes a search for the nature and base of district evolution and delimitation.

9.1 Impact of Physiographic Conditions on Social and Settlement

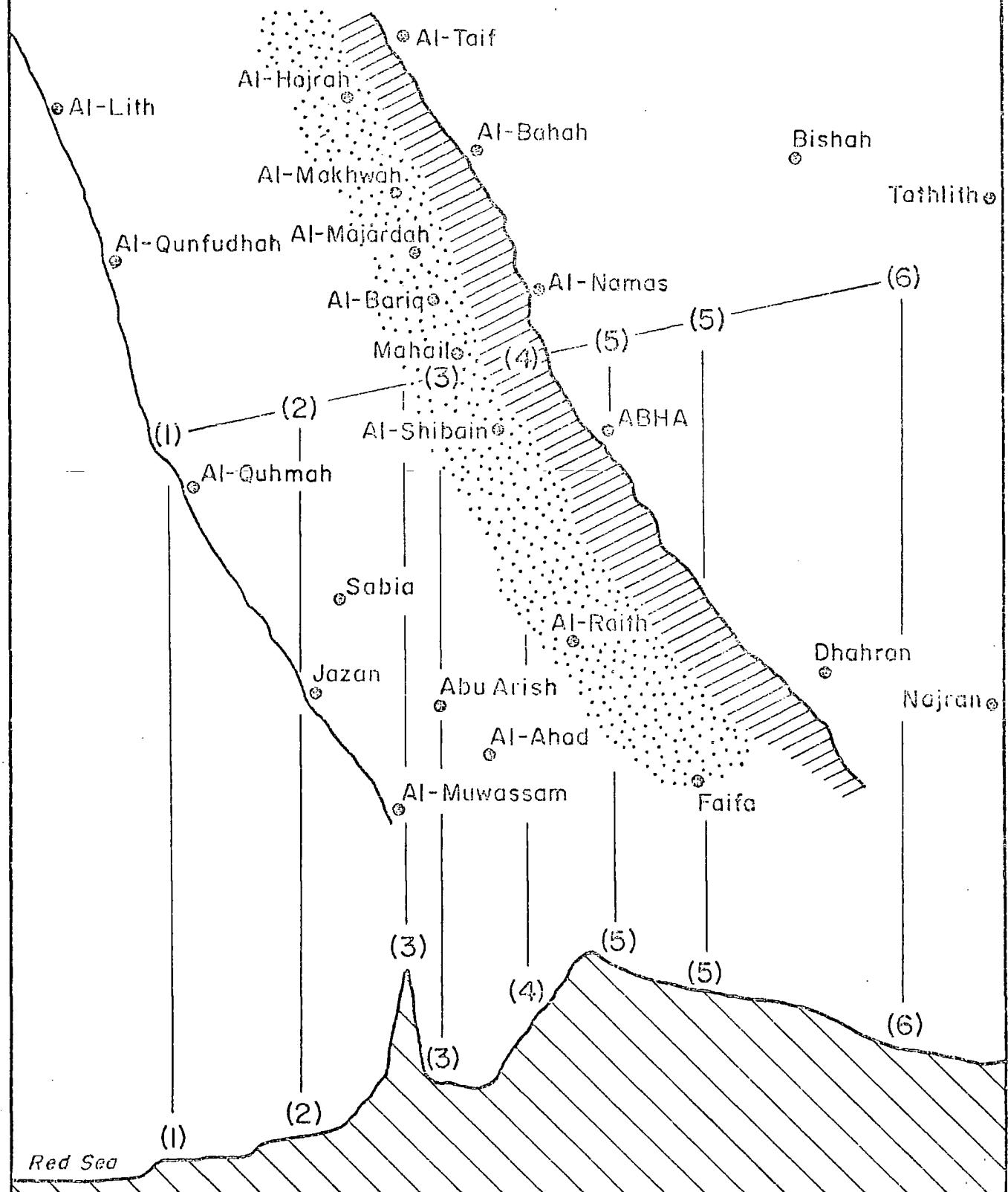
Patterns

It was shown previously that the area of south-western Saudi Arabia has developed through the past centuries a unique pattern of human settlements and economic activities based and depending upon the physical

phenomena of the area, especially the west-facing escarpment of al-Sarah mountains. The territory under the administration of al-Bahah Province is a small part of this area and is distinctively divided into five major physiographic zones or units starting just east of the coastal plain of the Red Sea, as shown in Figure (9.2). First, there is the western part of the pediment where we find the lower courses of the western wadis and scattered pastoral foothills. Here pastoralism is dominant, with scanty agricultural activities along the wadi beds depending on the rainfall. This zone is wholly occupied by the Badu elements of the Tihama subtribes of the Zahran, such as Badu al-Shughban, Badu al-Jubbar, Badu al-Ahlaf, and Badu al-Zinad of Ghāmid. Permanent settlement centres in this zone do not exist except for a few scattered hamlets of straw huts. The only settlement centre of a considerable size is Shaqi, which is also the centre for the only district (Nawan) whose territory lies totally within the zone. Limits of subtribal territories are loosely identified as with the rest of the tribal pastoral territories in the Kingdom, with the result that conflicts over pastoral rights can develop. This is, in fact, the prime factor which motivates the recent emergence of the Nawan district (1973), since the other Tihama district centres are too far to the east to have an effective control over and to be within the range of these pastoral elements.

Further up the pediment, there are the middle courses of the western wadis with much higher and isolated mountains, where rain-fed agriculture is dominant, whether on the wadi beds or on terraces. Most of the settlement centres of Tihama are located in this zone, which is occupied by the sedimentary elements of at least 20 subtribes of the

Fig 9.2 PHYSIOGRAPHIC UNITS IN SOUTH WESTERN SAUDI ARABIA WITH REPRESENTATIVE SETTLEMENT CENTRES AND ALTITUDE CROSS SECTION



I. The Coastal Plain

2. The Foothills

3. Middle courses of the Western Wadis with high isolated mountains parallel to the Escarpment

4. The Escarpment and the Western Scarp Slopes

5. Upper and middle courses of the Eastern Wadis

6. Lower courses of the Eastern Wadis

Zahran and Ghamid. Figure (9.1) shows clearly how irregular, and in some cases fragmented, the shape of the tribal territories in this zone is, a spatial aspect related very closely to the configuration of the relief features of the area and the process of settlement. This aspect as well as the impact of shape irregularity on the distribution of districts in this zone will be dealt with later. It suffices to state here that fragmented tribal territories, isolation of settlement centres from each other and inaccessibility of certain parts to district centres are some spatial characteristics of this zone. Further eastward, we come to the third zone, which is only the western scarp slopes with the upper courses of the western wadis. The very scattered and isolated settlement centres in this zone are usually inhabited by members of al-Sarah subtribes and therefore the tribal territories of this zone are regarded as territorial extensions of the tribal territories of al-Sarah subtribes, in spite of the existence of the escarpment itself as a formidable dividing line. Some villages here are seasonally inhabited by members living in al-Sarah villages who come down from al-Sarah in winter to escape the harsh climate of this season with the result that these few villages are attached to the administrative centres in al-Sarah. Apart from these villages, the rest of the settlement centres in this zone are attached to the district centres of Tihama, which are located in the previously mentioned zone. Hampered by rugged terrain, complete isolation, and non-existence of motorable tracks, the only effective transportation means is the donkey; while in some parts of this zone travelling is possible only on foot. It is here that we find the very difficult and steep foot-paths called Iqab (plural of Aqabah), which are the only tracks through

which trade and contacts between al-Sarah and Tihama areas across the escarpment can be made.

The fourth zone lies immediately east of the escarpment line and constitutes the al-Sarah proper, where the eastern wadis originate and where rain-fed agriculture on the wadi beds and on terraces is the predominant activity. Sixty to 65 per cent of the total population of the province are estimated to live in this zone, which does not account for more than 15 per cent of the total area of the province. The more favourable conditions of this area for sedentary life have underlined the long and solidly established man-to-land attachment to a degree little known elsewhere in Saudi Arabia. This is reflected in the common familiarity of the individuals with the subtribal territorial limits which are precisely identified and mutually recognised. This familiarity of territorial limits extends to the lower levels of the tribal hierarchy and even more firmly to the village level. A blend of this tribal and territorial feelings and the relatively compact shapes of tribal territories has underlined the setting of district boundaries so as to enclose single or a group of related subtribes (Fig (9.1)). As land drops relatively gently to the east, the fifth zone is encountered, consisting of the middle courses of the eastern wadis, which are in fact the sources of the two wadis of Raniah and Tarabah. This area is inhabited exclusively by the Ghomid al-Badu who engage in pastoral activities with a little cultivation in the very few oases in this large area, the bulk of which forms one district out of the ten districts located east of the escarpment.

9.2 Impact of Environmental Frictions and Human Factors on District Evolution and Delimitation

As the general configuration of relief features of al-Bahah Province has undoubtedly great influence on the distribution of settlements and the patterns of social and economic life, it has also an immense impact on the evolution, delimitation and distribution of the administrative units in the province. We have already touched upon some indications of this impact in the preceding section. This section will be devoted mostly to examining the frictional effect of the escarpment as a barrier within the province and the impact of other physical and human factors on district evolution and delimitation.

9.2.1 Frictional Effect of al-Sarah Escarpment

It has already been shown that when the qada of Ghamid and Zahran was dissolved and its territory was divided into districts allocated to the surrounding governorates of al-Taif, Bishah, al-Lith and al-Qunfudhah during the early Saudi rule (1920-1934), al-Sarah escarpment was considered as the dividing line between those districts allocated to Bishah and al-Taif and those attached to al-Lith and al-Qunfudhah. Since the emergence of the Ghamid and Zahran territory in both al-Sarah and Tihama sections as a separate administrative entity (as a district within al-Hijaz Viceroyalty from 1934-1953, and as a province from 1953 on), the escarpment line has separated those districts located in al-Sarah and Tihama sections. Frictional effect of the escarpment has also its impact on similar territorial arrangement in the northern and southern sections of the escarpment, where we find that the escarpment

has constituted in the north the line separating between al-Taif and al-Lith Governorates (Makkah Province), while in the south it has separated between al-Qunfudhah Governorate (Makkah Province) and Bishah Province, as well as between al-Sarah districts and Tihama districts of the Province of Asir. The consequences brought about by the existence of the escarpment as a physical barrier are far more complex than the mere separation of two territorial administrative units. They constitute the roots of so many problems of administration and development from which the Tihama section has suffered the most.

The following few pages will outline these problems and their implications.

A. Changes in Space-Economy Relationships. The bioclimatological heterogeneity of al-Sarah and Tihama areas and their human homogeneity developed through the past centuries, despite the existence of the escarpment as a physical barrier, some form of a complementary subsistent economy which was greatly enhanced by their isolation from surrounding areas. As a result, spatial interactions between Tihama and al-Sarah inhabitants took place. This trend is evident in the large number of periodic markets (26 in all) which were attended by the inhabitants of both al-Sarah and Tihama areas, and where the products of these areas were exchanged. The functions of these weekly markets were not, however, limited to the economic field, but included social and political functions as well which contributed a great deal to the homogeneity of the inhabitants of the two sections. Other evidence to this trend is the large number of footpaths (called Iqab - 34 in all) cut across the escarpment face. Without these paths spatial interactions between the two areas

could not have been possible. A very useful indicator of this situation is the actual range of materials in commercial exchange and their source in Baljourashy Saturday Market 40 years ago as reconstructed and described by al-Mughram, who showed clearly that almost half the goods and commodities in the market came from Tihama, while the rest was local, with very limited and luxury items from outside the area, such as Bishah and Jeddah.⁽¹⁵⁾

Very recently, however, new elements have brought about basic changes on this complementary subsistent economy. Of these elements, the most significant is the ease of access of al-Sarah area both within and with the adjacent northern areas (al-Taif) as a result of the improvement in road conditions, especially the construction of the al-Taif - al-Bahah - Baljourashy surfaced road. Consequently, settlement in al-Sarah by being exposed to exogenous factors has been increasingly tied up to local and national networks of communications, and therefore its physical resource base and the function of settlement are changing.⁹ Parallel to this, the different parts of the Tihama area remain virtually isolated from each other; while they have developed occasional contact, but with growing intensity at the present time, with the adjacent western areas. All this leads us to the fact that the economic complementarity that once existed between the two areas of al-Sarah and Tihama was brought to an end, to the extent that each area has been oriented for the supply of goods and commodities towards different centres : al-Sarah area towards al-Taif, and Tihama towards the Red Sea ports of al-Qunfudhah, al-Lith and Jeddah. Therefore, the frictional effect of the escarpment as a physical barrier has underlined, and has been at

the same time emphasised by, these changes in space-economy relationships. One consequence of these changes is the partial halt of the exchange activities and spatial interactions between the two areas. This is evident, judging by personal observation and by asking local inhabitants in close relation with these economic activities, in the decline of the periodic markets, especially in al-Sarah, as social and economic institutions with continuously and, more importantly, declining number of contacts between the two areas. The decline of some periodic markets in al-Sarah, however, is probably due to a reshaping process which these markets are undergoing because of changes in spatial relationships, such as changes in the frictional effect of distance due to improvements in transportation. Through this process, nodal market centres in al-Bahab, Baljourashy, and al-Atawlah are beginning to emerge and extend their market catchment areas at the expense of others. The impact of this process on the declining number of contacts between the inhabitants of Tihama and those of al-Sarah could be viewed from the argument that the new market centres of al-Sarah are not conveniently within the reach of some of the Tihama inhabitants who lived in the service areas of the declining and dwindling market centres of al-Sarah. In other words, the emergence of nodal markets in al-Sarah has added yet another spatial restraint on the movement of some Tihama inhabitants to al-Sarah who are at a considerable distance from the centres of these markets. This newly emerged frictional effect of distance may well lead those inhabitants to seek alternative and more accessible markets within Tihama, a situation that might be contributing to the continuous thriving of Qilwah and al-Makhwah markets and might also be behind the tribal

collective efforts to open motorable tracks connecting major settlement centres with those trade centres.

B. Inaccessibility of Tihama Districts to the Provincial Capital. The location of the provincial capital, al-Bahah, in al-Sarah area and the absence of motorable tracks connecting it with any of the seven district centres of Tihama across the escarpment have made these centres hardly accessible to the provincial capital, a situation which raises rather serious problems and drawbacks on the functions of provincial and other government departmental administration. Of these problems, the most significant are the occlusion of Tihama districts from any direct supervision by the provincial office, and the delaying of decision process and execution.

(a) Lack of direct supervision by the provincial office. The sheer difficulties of overcoming the distance friction between the provincial centre and the district centres in Tihama have prevented any direct supervision being effectively executed by the central office on the administrative procedures and bureaucratic performance in the district centres. By and large, this results in the fact that the central office is in a very difficult position to estimate the problems and demands of the districts for human resources, public services, or physical facilities, since all these are left to the personal vindication of the district governors who themselves might not be qualified and motivated to appreciate them because of the following reasons:-

(1) All the district governors and most of the government employees in the district offices in Tihama are not natives of the area. Therefore, they lack motivation, a situation more or less enhanced by the low

standard of living of the area and their low wages, which are not compatible with the responsibilities they assume.

(2) Their knowledge of the area's physical resources and modes of life is minimal, to the extent that, in the course of plotting district limits on a map during my field trips in the area, some of the district governors expressed their utter surprise at the size of the territories which are under their administration. Their lack of knowledge extends to the very simple facts of population number, distribution, concentration and tribal affiliation.

(b) Delay of decision-making process and execution. This is primarily the outcome of the over-centralisation of authority and decision-making in the provincial office headed by the governor. This is a widespread administrative phenomenon in the Saudi provinces and government field agencies. However, in the case of the Tihama area the existence of the escarpment with its frictional effect has added a new dimension to the problem. Since every case should be referred to the provincial governor and since direct personal contact between him and all district governors in Tihama is virtually impossible, all decision process relies heavily on writing procedures. Written materials can only be transferred to and from the provincial capital either in the form of telegrams involving limited cases, knowing that only two of the seven district centres in Tihama have telegram offices, or by mail which has to be carried by donkeys, a situation in striking contrast to the sophisticated methods, such as telex and closed-circuit telephone networks, which have been introduced in some parts of the country to speed up communications between administratively related areas.

C. Development of 'Regional' Inequality. The setting up of the capital of al-Bahah Province in al-Sarah area and the breaking of its isolation from surrounding areas has enabled al-Sarah area to develop and acquire a magnetic pulling power for government and private public services. In contrast, the Tihama area, because of its isolation and occlusion from al-Sarah section due to the frictional effect of the escarpment, has been deprived of many public services, with the result that 'regional' inequality in the distribution of these services as shown in Table (9.1) has developed at the expense of the social welfare of Tihama communities. This means fewer job opportunities for Tihama, and with lower wages as well as environmental hardships and physical inaccessibility added, it becomes an unattractive area for employment, especially for those job applicants from outside the area. The worst hit sectors of the population by this inequality are the tribal inhabitants whose tribal chiefs reside in al-Sarah area. Those inhabitants, in their applications for citizenship registration and social security benefits, are committed to contact these tribal chiefs in al-Sarah personally to verify and ratify their claims and rights. Most of the applicants are old-aged persons who face severe hardships in reaching al-Sarah to the extent that most of them give up their rights.

D. A Dual System of Territorial Attachment and Subordination. The frictional effect of the escarpment as a physical barrier between al-Sarah and Tihama areas has its impact on yet another aspect of administrative and developmental significance. It was noted earlier how Tihama area has been further isolated from al-Sarah owing to recent changes in space-economy relationships. The isolation from al-Sarah has induced Tihama

TABLE (9, I)

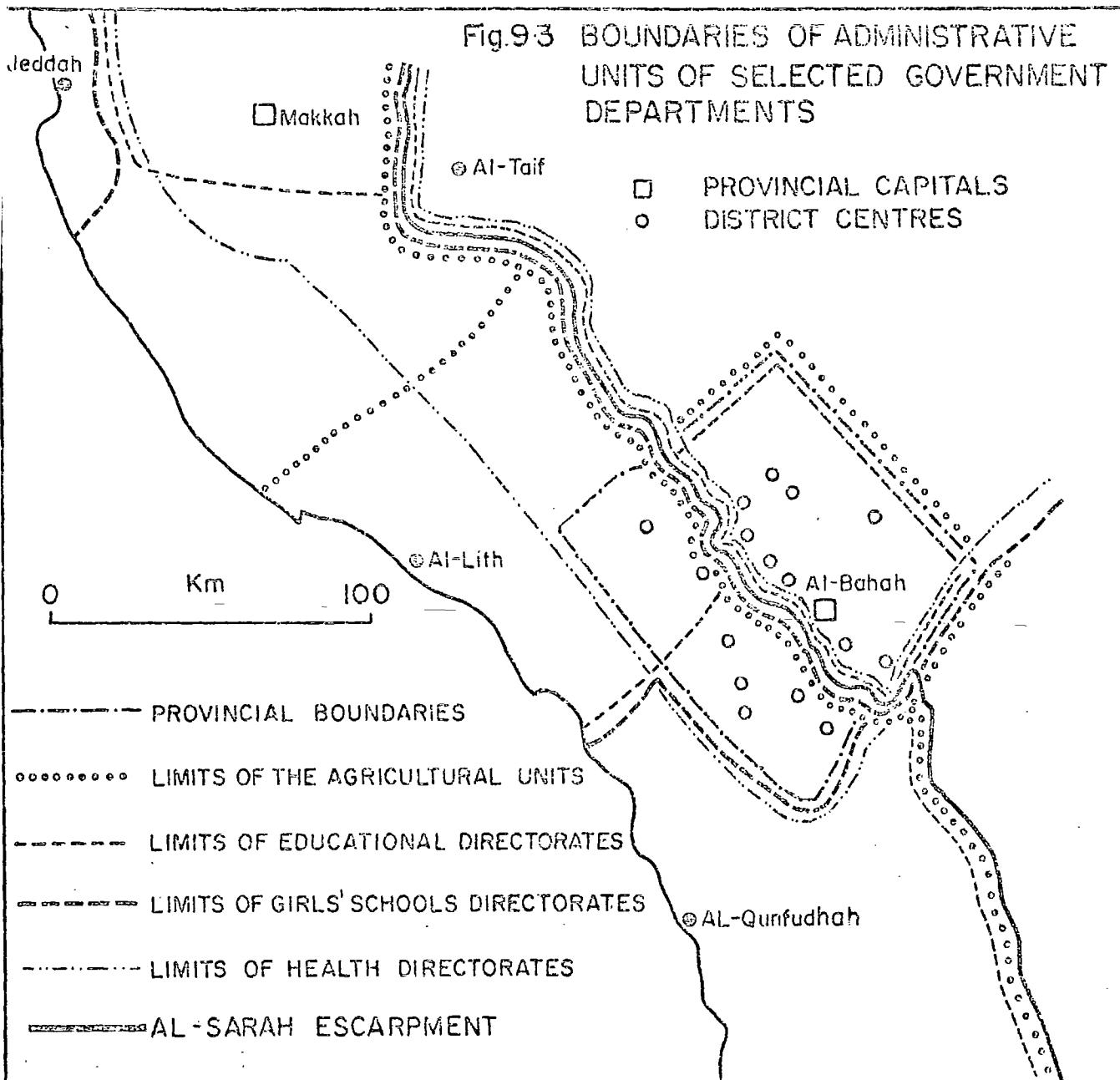
Distribution of Private and Government Public Services in
Al-Sarah and Tihama Sections of al-Bahah Province

Public Services	Quantity	
	Al-Sarah	Tihama
District Offices	10	7
Sharia Courts	6	1
Police Headquarters	7	4
Tribal Representatives in the Provincial Administrative Council	4	-
Municipalities	2	-
Agricultural Offices	3	-
Boys' Educational Offices	3	1
Girls' Educational Offices	1	1
Primary Schools for Boys	127	17
Intermediate Schools for Boys	12	1
High Schools for Boys	4	-
Primary Schools for Girls	14	2
Intermediate Schools for Girls	1	-
Road Department Offices	3	-
Finance Department Offices	1	-
Civil Defence Department Offices	1	-
Agricultural Banks	1	-
Banks	1	-
Endowment Department Offices	2	-
Telegram Offices	3	2
Post Offices	3	1
Telephone Networks	2	-
Electricity Companies	14	1
Piped Water Supply	1	-
Social Security Offices	2	-
Hospitals	1	-
Dispensaries	5	2
Health Centres	9	2
Citizenship Registration Offices	2	1
Length of Agricultural Roads (km)	870	-
Length of Surfaced Roads (km)	170	-

to break its age-old isolation from the western coastal plain by increasing its economic and social contacts with the western sea ports, and therefore modify the frictional effect of rugged terrain that once minimised the degree of contact between them. This has been enhanced by the introduction and heavy reliance on more effective transport vehicles, such as lorries, tanks and jeeps. These continued improvements to overcome frictional effect have paved the way for changes in the territorial attachment of the Tihama area. In other words, changes in spatial realities due to improvements over time-space frictions have necessitated the detachment of the Tihama area from that of al-Sarah as far as their administration by different government departments is concerned. Figure (9.3) shows that while al-Sarah section of al-Bahah Province either forms a separate territorial unit for the administration of certain government departments, such as al-Bahah Educational Directorate and al-Bahah Agricultural Unit, or is attached to al-Taif for the administration of other departments, such as Health and Girls' Education, the Tihama section of al-Bahah Province is attached to the Agricultural Unit of al-Qunfudhah and also to Makkah Health Directorate. Furthermore, the Tihama section is attached to Makkah Unit for the administration of both Girls' Education and Communications, while it is divided into two parts attached to different Boys' Educational Directorates : the northern part, including the two districts of al-Hajrah and al-Shaara, which are attached to Jeddah Educational Directorate, and the southern part, comprising the districts of Qilwah, Nirah, Nawar, al-Makhwah and Ghadid al-Zinad, which constitute part of al-Qunfudhah Educational Directorate.

To show how justified and practical from the geographical point

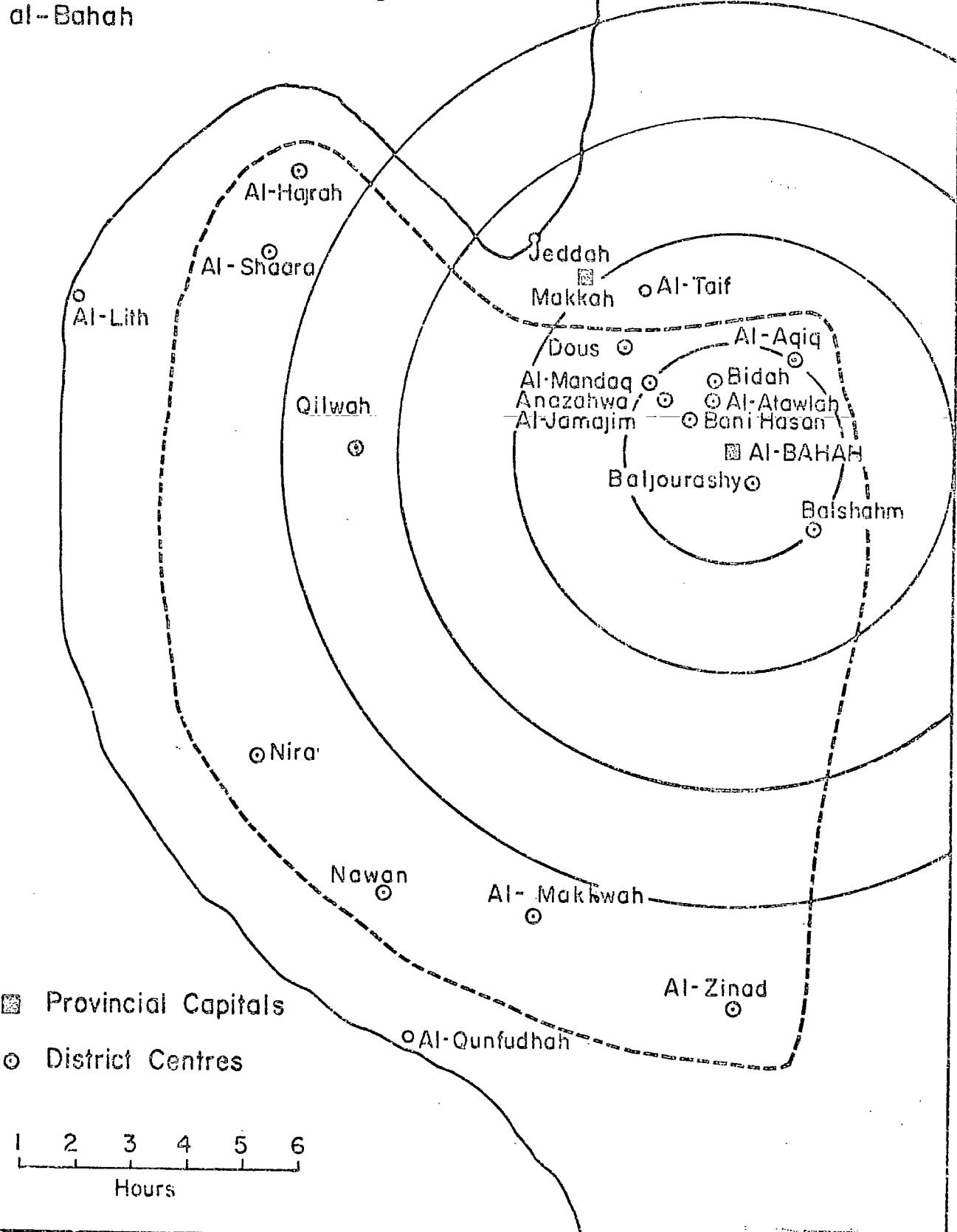
Fig.9.3 BOUNDARIES OF ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS OF SELECTED GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS



of view this emerging territorial arrangement is, a time-distance transformed map of the area based on actual travelling time from al-Bahah is drawn (Fig (9.4)).⁽¹⁶⁾ This map shows clearly that all the district centres of al-Sarah are within three-hour radius from the provincial capital, while all the district centres of Tihama have their locations on the edge of al-Bahah Province and are too far from the provincial capital to be effectively under its administration. On the other hand, if we take time-distance as a criterion on which effective and efficient administration should be based, the best centres to which the Tihama section ought to be attached are al-Qunfudhah and al-Lith. This fact raises the following question : why is it, then, that the Tihama section is attached to Makkah or Jeddah instead of al-Qunfudhah for the administration of certain government departments, such as Health and Girls' Education? The answer lies in the fact that al-Qunfudhah has not yet acquired a central office for the administration of those particular departments. Secondly, although it seems that time-distance, as shown in Figure (9.4), between Makkah and the district centres of Tihama on the one hand, and that between these centres and the provincial capital of al-Bahah Province on the other is equal, contact between the Tihama district centres and Makkah is much easier, especially if travelling by a transport vehicle is required, since no motorable tracks exist between al-Sarah and Tihama areas. This is apparent in the fact that, whenever heavy items or goods - such as office furniture - are to be transported from the provincial capital to the district centres of Tihama and vice-versa, the only road to be taken is that which passes through Makkah and al-Taif, with length up to 800km. With no visible

TIME-DISTANCE TRANSFORMED Fig.9·4
MAP OF AL-BAHAW PROVINCE

Based on the actual travelling time from
al-Bahaw



plan, at least in the immediate future, to construct major roads - whether surfaced or otherwise, connecting Tihama with al-Sarah areas across the escarpment on the one hand, and with the present building of the Jazan-Makkah surfaced road along the coastal plain and the existence of a plan to build a surfaced road connecting al-Qunfudhah and al-Makhwah on the other,⁽¹⁷⁾ the detachment of the Tihama section from al-Sarah, as far as its provincial and other government departmental administration is concerned, seems inevitable, and is, in fact, a spatial necessity if the social and economic welfare of the Tihama communities is to be considered and if efficient administration is to be maintained.

Whatever the future administrative arrangement of the Tihama section of the province is going to be, it remains to be said that building roads across the escarpment is certainly the most effective economic solvent of environmental constraints in the area. A useful example to quote is al-Taif - Makkah road across the al-Kara escarpment and Jazan - Abha road across the al-Dil' escarpment. In the case of al-Bahah Province, there are recent indications of the government's intention to construct such roads. During my field trip in the area, and by talking to officials, I was informed that there have been certain foreign companies, probably French, surveying the escarpment in a preliminary study to determine the possibility and feasibility of constructing two roads connecting al-Sarah area with that of Tihama within the territory of al-Bahah Province. Studies of this kind are also being made for four other roads north and south of the province. It is understandable that building such roads is expensive and involves time, as was the case with the Makkah - al-Taif surfaced road. However,

its social and economic benefits especially to the Tihama section are urgently needed.

9.2.2 Impact of Other Physical and Human Factors on District

Delimitation and Administration

Emphasis in the preceding section was laid on the frictional impact of al-Sarah escarpment on the territorial attachment and administrative behaviour in the province. This section is meant to give equal emphasis on the influences and reflections of other spatial and social factors on the delimitation and distribution of administrative units, especially at the district level, bearing in mind that the inclusion of these factors in one section stems from the fact that their impact on district delimitation and administration is so interrelated that it is impractical to deal with them separately in separate sections. It is of great significance to note at the outset that, although the social organisation of al-Bahah Province is based on the two tribes of Ghomid and Zahran, individuals and villages identify themselves with the subtribes instead of the two major tribes. In other words, tribal bonds and loyalty are strongest at the subtribe level. This is reflected in the general familiarity of the individuals with the territorial limits of the subtribes and the importance of the subtribal chiefs in the administrative and social affairs of the area. This long-established man-to-land attachment at the subtribe level provides us with the only explanation of the current tendency of enclosing a single or a group of related subtribes in one district so that district limits coincide with those of the subtribal territories. The prime aim of this trend is to co-ordinate between provin-

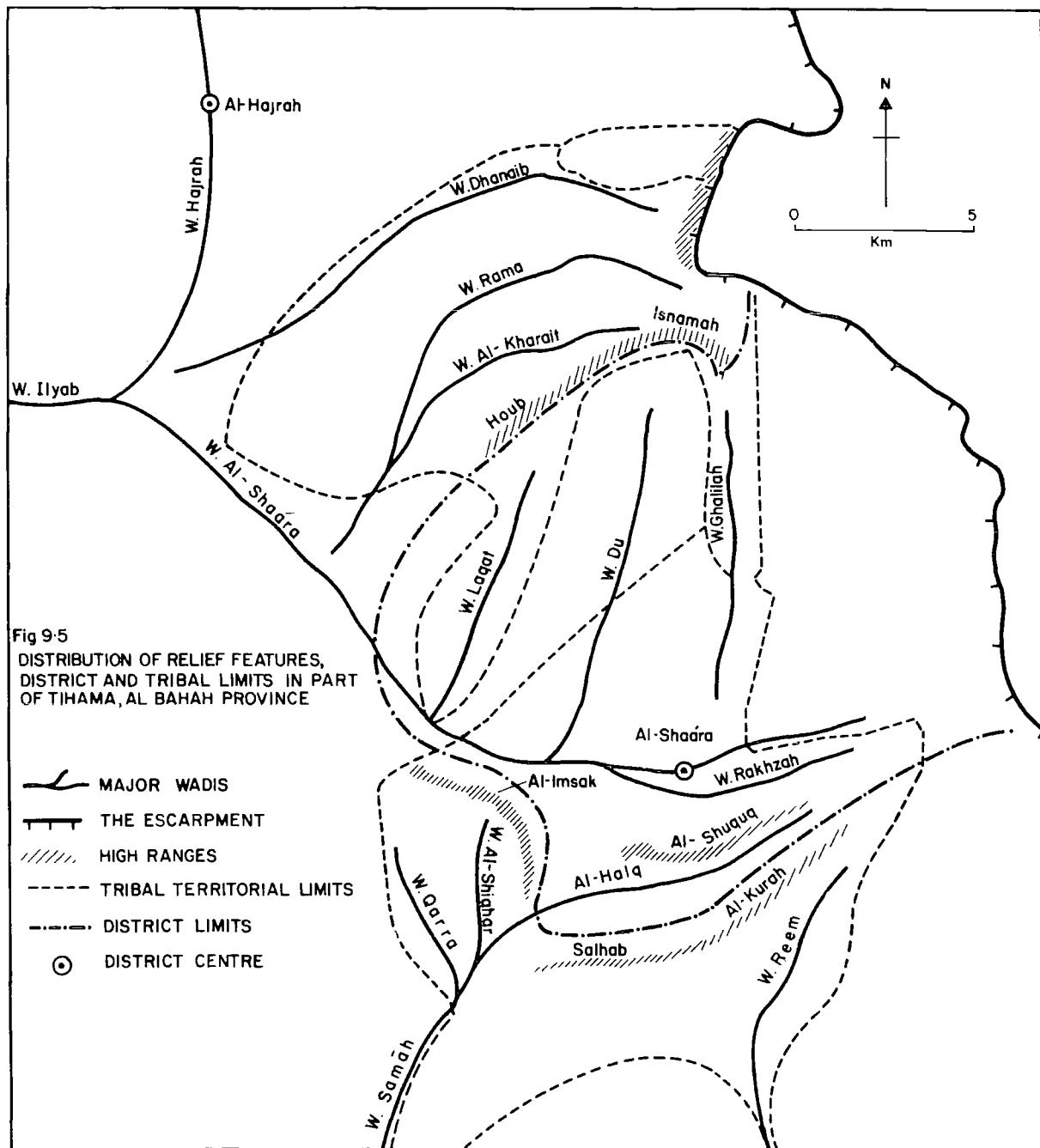
cial and tribal administration, since certain features of tribal administration have been preserved, incorporated and assimilated into the provincial administrative machine and procedure. The setting up of district limits so as to enclose single or a group of subtribes is more evident and apparent in al-Sarah area than in Tihama (Fig (9.1)). Thus we find in al-Sarah that the related four subtribes of Dous, namely Dous Bani Ali, Dous al-Ayyash, Dous Bani Film and Dous Bani Munhib wa Baltufail, are incorporated in the district of Dous centred in the village of al-Qarn. Also, the district of al-Atawlah includes the territories of the subtribes of Adwan, Bani Hurair, Bani Jundub and Quraish, while Bani Hasan district controls only the territory of the subtribe of the same name. Similarly, in the south we find that the territory of the Balshahim subtribe is administered by one district bearing the same name, while the territories of the subtribes of Baljourashy, Banikabeer, al-Rahwah and Bani Salim (the southern section of the Bani Dhabian subtribe) are attached to the district of Baljourashy.

In Tihama, on the other hand, the only districts whose limits coincide with subtribal territorial limits are the districts of Ghamid al-Zinad and Nawar, which control the territories of the subtribes of Ghamid al-Zinad and Al-Saad respectively. Apart from these two cases, limits of district and subtribal territories in Tihama overlap, with the result that the territory of one subtribe is divided between two districts. Examples are the territory of the Awlad Saady, which is divided between the districts of al-Hajrah and al-Shara; the territory of Bal-Mufaddal, which is attached to both al-Shara and Qilwah districts; and the territory of Bani Abdillah, which is divided between the districts of Nira and al-Makhwah.

There are other examples which could be derived from Fig. (9. 1). However, this should not be understood to rule out the fact that the total areas of some subtribes are enclosed in one district, such as the territories of al-Shughban in al-Hajrah district, the Bani Kinanah in al-Shaara, al-Ahlaf in the district of Qilwah, and Bani Umar al-Ali in al-Makhwah district. The point to be emphasised here is that, while limits of district and tribal territories coincide in al-Sarah, they generally overlap in Tihama with few exceptions in every case. The overall factor which underlines these differences in district delimitation is the attempt to make districts as compact as possible and to include within a district those parts which are more accessible to its centre than to the other district centres. In other words, whenever the distribution of a single subtribal territory seems to distort the shape of a district and therefore maximising the frictional effect of distance for certain inaccessible parts of this territory, the general trend is to attach these parts to the most accessible district centre to them.

Three examples are chosen to illustrate this spatial feature of district delimitation. They are concerned with the Tihama subtribal territories of the Awlad Saady, Bal-Mufuddal and Bani Umar al-Ashaeeb. The tribal elements of the Awlad Saady occupy the land dominated by the five wadis of Rama, Dhanaib, al-Kharait, Ghalilah, and Laqat. The first three wadis originate in the escarpment and run westward to join Wadi al-Hajrah and Wadi al-Shaara to end in Wadi Ilyab. The last two wadis originate in al-Houb and al-Ishnamah ranges and run southward to join Wadi al-Shaara. The two ranges act as a physical barrier between the Awlad Saady sections occupying the northern and southern

wadis (Fig (9.5)). Prior to the emergence of al-Shaara as a district in 1972, the whole territory of this subtribe was attached to al-Hajrah district. In 1972, it was decided to attach the tribal elements of the Awlad Saady living in the two wadis of Ghalilah and Lagat to the newly emerged district of al-Shaara, since it is a lot easier and therefore spatially convenient for these elements to contact al-Shaara district centre than al-Hajrah district centre. The division of a tribal territory into two parts attached to two different district centres to solve distance friction problems is also apparent in the case of the tribal territory of the Bal-Mufaddal subtribe which occupies the wadis of al-Shaara, al-Halq, Rakhzah, Reem, al-Shighar, Qarra and the lower course of Wadi Du (Fig (9.5)). This territory is made up of two parts separated by the formidable ranges of al-Imsaq, Salhab, and al-Kourah. Prior to the emergence of al-Shaara as a district in 1972, the tribal elements living to the north of these ranges in the wadis of al-Shaara, al-Halq, Rakhzah, and Du spent a minimum of six hours of walking or riding donkeys to reach the district centre of Qilwah, to which they were attached. Since 1972, these inhabitants have been attached to al-Shaara District, while their kinsmen south of the aforementioned ranges have remained attached to Qilwah District. Finally, the subtribe of Bani Umar al-Ashaeeb lives in the wadis of Diyyan, al-Miriq, Rash, Houran, Minjil, Rahabah, Mamna, and Suqamah. The first three wadis originate in the escarpment, while the rest descend from the ranges of al-Tais, al-Munqidh and Shada al-Ala, which separate between the tribal territories of this subtribe and its northern neighbours and also between the districts of Qilwah and al-Makhwah. These



wadis end in Wadi al-Ahsibah, and their inhabitants are attached to al-Makhwah District. But a small section of this subtribe lives in Wadi Siyalah, which is a tributary of Wadi Douqah and is separated from the southern wadis by al-Tais range. Therefore, Qilwah District centre is more accessible to these tribal elements of the Bani Umar al-Ashaeeb living in Wadi Siyalah than to al-Makhwah District centre, to which the bulk of the tribal members of this subtribe are attached.

The three examples have indicated clearly that the shapes of tribal territories in Tihama are irregular because of the sharp contrast in the distribution of relief features to the extent that limits of tribal territories could not be adopted as district limits if the frictional effect of distance is to be minimised. Irregularity of the shapes of tribal territories in Tihama is extreme, leading in many cases to complete fragmentation, as shown in Figure (9.1). This is mainly the outcome of the early settlement pattern when tribal elements from al-Sarah descended to Tihama and founded settlement colonies within the Tihama tribal territories. Some of these tribal enclaves are the tribal territories of the subtribes of Baidan in Wadi al-Taraf, Douqah, Manarah and Shada al-Ala Mountain; Balkhazmar in Wadi Ushhut, Sabbah and Jabal Neis; Bani Kinanah in Wadi Ushhut, Thamran and al-Khamr; Bani Hasan in Wadi Sabbah; and Bani Abdillah in Wadi Nirah and the Mountains of Shada al-Ala and Shada al-Asfal. The fragmentation of tribal territories often produces or at least multiplies the chances for inter-tribal conflicts which in turn demand more efforts by the district governors and their staffs to maintain law and order. This is probably the main factor underlying the distinction between Qilwah District and

the other Tihama districts in terms of the administrative employees in the district offices, the financial rank of the district governors and the authority delegated to them. Since most of the aforementioned enclaves lie within Qilwah District, the size of the administrative staff in its office is larger than any of the other Tihama district offices, its governor enjoys a higher grade in the employment salary scale than any of the Tihama district governors and consequently he has a wider range of authority in decision-making procedures concerning certain administrative and financial matters. Another consequence of these inter-tribal conflicts resulting from the interspersion of tribal territories is the emergence of separate districts where two or more subtribes share the occupation of a major wadi, especially if this wadi is virtually isolated from the existing district centres. This is the case with Nirah District, which emerged as a separate district in 1973 around Wadi Nirah, which is occupied by sections of the subtribes of Bani Abdillah (from Ghāmid of al-Sarah), Baidan (from the Zahran of al-Sarah) and Bal-Aswād (from the Zahran of Tihama).

TABLE (9.2)
Names of the Subtribes of the Ghāmid and Zahran
 and of the Surrounding Tribes

<u>Ghāmid of al-Sarah</u>	<u>Zahran of al-Sarah</u>
(1) Bani Abdillah	(18) Dous Bani Fihm
(2) Bani Khuthaim	(19) Dous Bani Ali
(3) Bani Dabian	(20) Dous al-Ayyash
(4) Bani Kabeer	(21) Dous Bani Munhib and Baltufajl
(5) Al-Rahwah	(22) Quraish
(6) Baljourashy	(23) Bani Adwan
(7) Balshahm	(24) Bani Hurair
	(25) Bani Basheer
	(26) Bani Jundub
<u>Ghāmid al-Badw</u>	(27) Bani Amir
	(28) Bani Kinanah
(8) Al-Zuhrah	(29) Balkhazmar
(9) Rifaah	(30) Bani Hasan
(10) Al-Hillah	(31) Baidan
(11) Al-Hajahijah	
(12) Al-Abidat	
(13) Al-Qanaziah	
(14) Al-Maslam	
(15) Al-Talib	
(16) Al-Zawai	
(4a) Bani Kabeer	
<u>Ghāmid of Tihama</u>	<u>Zahran of Tihama</u>
(17) Ghāmid al-Zinad	(19a) Dous Bani Ali
(1a) Bani Abdillah	(20a) Dous al-Ayyash
	(21a) Dous Bani Munhib and Baltufail
	(27a) Bani Amir
	(28a) Bani Kinanah
	(29a) Bal Khazmar
	(30a) Bani Hasan
	(31a) Baidan
	(32) Al-Shughban
	(33) Awlad Saadi
	(34) Bal Mufaddal
	(35) Al-Jubbar
	(36) Al-Ahlaf
	(37) Al-Ahlaf and Bal Aswad
	(38) Al-Abdul Hameed
	(39) Al-Saad
	(40) Bani Umar al-Ashaeeb
	(41) Bani Umar al-Ali

TABLE (9.2) (Continued)

The Surrounding Tribes

- (42) Bani Khutaim
- (43) Bani Suhaim
- (44) Bani Baheer
- (45) Harb
- (46) Al-Ashraf
- (47) Bani Shihab and al-Mashaikh (subtribes of Zahran)
- (48) Bani Malik
- (49) Balharith
- (50) Al-Buqum
- (51) Subai
- (52) Aklab

Note : The numbers refer to the numbers allocated to each subtribe in Figure (9.1)

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

The prime objectives of this study have been to trace the evolution of Saudi Arabian administrative units and examine the factors involved in their emergence, delimitation, spatial hierarchy and type of authority. The study of the territorial structure of the state's administration, besides being an integral part of the total study of the political geography of the state, provides an excellent example of the kind of contribution the student of political geography can make for the better understanding of the evolution, present form and consequences of the territorial patterns of power. Such understanding is certainly a prerequisite to any attempt at reform or reorganisation. Hence, such study can be of practical importance to a developing country such as Saudi Arabia, which is considering now the reorganisation of the territorial structure of its administration in search of efficiency in order to bring about rapid economic and social changes.

Many findings of this study stress the fact that the existing territorial structure of the country's administration is an historical patchwork. It is the first aim of this dissertation to supply such a linkage of historical units to territory, and therefore it is necessary to state the background of the historical development of the area and its traditional territorial divisions prior to the emergence of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Part One of this thesis is designed to fulfil this objective.

Although one cannot question the impact of past developments on

the emergence of the contemporary territorial structure of any state, one is tempted to ask to what extent the present features of Saudi Arabian territorial structure are influenced by traditional or historical events and patterns. Part Two is an attempt to find the answers to this question. We have seen that the emergence, for example, of the provinces of Asir, Hail, Jazan, Bishah, al-Qaseem, the Northern Boundaries Province, al-Bahah, Yonbu and Tabouk is primarily related to the historical and political developments within these areas. Equally significant, it has been shown that the territorial extent of the provinces and their districts in most parts of the country is associated with traditional social organisations, while certain features of provincial administration are remnants of the many administrative features which were introduced to the areas as a consequence of Egyptian and Ottoman rule of certain parts of the country.

Apart from this, Part Two also examined other significant factors which underlined the emergence, delimitation, spatial hierarchy and type of authority of the territorial administrative units of the country. Such factors range from the spatial characteristics of the different parts of Saudi Arabia to factors related to the personal characteristics of individual authorities.

However, such study could only be meaningful if related to the present validity and efficiency of territorial administration. Although evaluating this validity and efficiency and their consequences on the social welfare of the community throughout the country is a rewarding task, the effort involved is, at the same time, beyond the capability

of a research student, without the added difficulty of the paucity of data. This is primarily the purpose of studying one administrative unit; the findings of this study are presented in Part Three.

A few concluding remarks are necessary before bringing this thesis to a close. First, many names which were used to designate traditional geographical units and administrative divisions in the past are beginning to disappear. They have been replaced by others which are derived from their geographical location, or from the names of their administrative centres. For example, the once-used terms of Najd, al-Hijaz, al-Mikhlaf, al-Sulaimany, Jabal Shammar, al-Hasa, al-Arudh, al-Washim, Sudair, al-Shuaib, al-Mihinal, and many others are being replaced by such terms as the Eastern, Central, Northern, Southern and Western, or by such names as Hail, al-Riyadh, al-Bahah, Abha, Jazan, Shaqra, al-Majma, Thadiq, Huraimlah and so forth. The motives behind this could be the fact that the traditional names were historically associated with bitter rivalry and still indicate some forms of regional or local patriotism. As the government realises that the continuous use of such names might provide chances for these tendencies to be evoked and to deepen, it decided to replace them gradually. Another reason could be that the traditional names refer to units which have been divided recently and therefore they cannot be used accurately at present. For example, al-Hijaz was used first to designate the whole mountainous area of western Arabia north of al-Yaman during the early Islamic period, then it was used to refer to the area under the control of the Sharifate state which extended from al-Taif northwards; then al-

Hijaz became the name of the province extending throughout the western part of the country during the early stage of the Saudi state, and finally, the name is seldom used at present as the western part of the country has been divided into several provinces.

Secondly, as the state, in a developing country such as Saudi Arabia, takes full responsibility of bringing about rapid economic and social changes, planning is essentially part of the functions of the central government. It goes without saying that planning and implementation of development programmes in such conditions requires a uniform territorial organisation of government as well as field service areas. It has been shown in Chapters Six and Seven that such a uniform system does not exist in the case of the administrative units of the different government ministries in Saudi Arabia. The problems and difficulties which the existing territorial patterns impose upon the process of planning and on the co-ordination between the functions of the different government departments have been examined in the aforementioned chapters and in Chapter Nine. The need for a uniform system was recognised as far back as the beginning of the 1960's when the Provincial Regulations were issued,¹ but due to many factors - not the least of which are the lack of qualified personnel and the fact that the regulations did not set up a timetable for their implementation, nor did they state such aspects as the number of provinces, their subdivisions, their boundaries and the governors' position and grade - these regulations as yet have not been applied in the country. As a result, the government felt that the regulation issuance was premature and that advanced preparation or even modi-

ficiations must occur before application of the regulation. To achieve this goal, the government asked assistance from the United Nations, which sent two experts. One was Mr Charles Harris, who came in 1965 and submitted a report relating to modifications of this regulation and preparation for its application. The other expert came in 1970 for the same purpose . . .".²

However, there are indications that gradual implementation of the regulations is at present being considered by the government. First, the promise to ensure the implementation of the regulations was among the major points of the internal policy which was declared in the First Royal Manifesto by King Khalid upon ascending the throne of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia after the events which led to the death of the late King Faisal on Tuesday, 25th March 1975.³ Secondly, the Minister of State for Interior Affairs announced shortly after that the implementation of the regulations occupies a high priority in the Ministry of Interior, and that the necessary measures have been taken to ensure that implementation.⁴ Thirdly, very recently, a wide range of authority has been delegated to some provincial governors in Ministerial Declaration No 1288, May 4th 1975. The delegated authority concerns both public and private rights.⁵ Fourthly, among the signs of the government's preparation to implement the regulations are the establishment of the Provincial Department in the Ministry of Interior in 1973 and the establishment of the Organisation and Method Central Department in 1966, with Organisation and Method Units in most of the central government ministries. Finally, there have been very recently attempts by different ministries to re-organise their territorial administrative areas. Preparation and

studies to this effect are being undertaken by the Ministries of Education, Agriculture and Water, Health and Communications.

Finally, in many parts of the country, the traditional tribal territorial organisation has been used by central authority as a criterion upon which the territorial administrative attachment and delimitation are based. It has been proved in the case study of al-Bahah Province that adopting such a principle without regard to other human and physical phenomena of the area has hindered effective and efficient administration, and has produced distress areas, imbalance in welfare, and regional inequalities as far as the distribution of government and private public services is concerned. This calls for a more realistic consideration of the administrative attachment of such areas in order that their inhabitants receive adequate attention and equal benefits from the several national development projects which will undoubtedly make such areas viable parts of the state contributing to its economic prosperity and technological progress.

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14. Hamad al-Jasir, In North Western Arabia, al-Riyadh, 1970, p 41
15. Barakati, op cit, pp 125-126
16. Rihani, op cit, pp 23-27. It must be noted here that the primary source of Rihani's divisions of Central Arabia is King Abdul Aziz himself, as mentioned in his book, p 16
17. Zirkili, op cit, p 195; and Lorimer, op cit, pp 640 and 686
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20. Amin Rihani, The Arab Kings, fifth edition, Beirut, 1967, vol 2, p 119; and Abdullah M Khamees, The Route Between al-Yamama and al-Hijaz, al-Riyadh, 1970, p 61
21. Hamza, In Asir Country, op cit, p 26

22. Ibid, p 28
23. Ibid
24. Wahbah, op cit, pp 265-268; and Zirkili, op cit, pp 317-318
25. Hamza, op cit, p 33; and Wahbah, op cit, pp 386-387
26. Zirkili, op cit, pp 317-318; and Khamees, op cit, pp 216-218
27. Hamza, op cit, pp 59-61
28. Hamza, Heart of the Arab Island, op cit, p 163
29. Zirkili, op cit, pp 265-268
30. Hamza, op cit, pp 196-197
31. Ibid, p 187.
32. Admiralty, Naval Intelligence Division, op cit, p 68; and Hamza, op cit, pp 187-188
33. Khamees, op cit, p 80
34. Rihani, History of Najd and Its Dependencies, op cit, p 455
35. Al-Ikhwan were originally nomadic elements but accepted King Abdul Aziz's call to settle, engage in agriculture and learn the basic doctrines of Islam. They were used as primary elements in the Saudi army during the campaigns against the surrounding areas, and they were credited for the annexation of most parts of the present territory of Saudi Arabia
36. A survey of this revolt could be found in Zirkili, op cit, vol 2, pp 463-507
37. Harold H P Dickson, The Arab of the Desert, London, 1972, pp 46-47; and also the tribal map facing page 336
38. Lorimer, op cit, vol II, pp 1485-1486; and Khamees, op cit, pp 66-67
39. Jasir, op cit, p 347; and Zirkili, op cit, p 881
40. Hashim S al-Nami, History of Asir, Jeddah (?), pp 132-133, 170, 173, 176, and 186
41. Ibid, pp 147, 156, 179, 188, 192, 195, and 199
42. Ibid, pp 131-143, and 175

43. Hamza, In Asir Country, op cit, pp 59, 87, 141, 151, 160 and 164. It must be noted that this book presents first-hand information about the area which was acquired during the author's visit to the area as the head of the Saudi delegation and personal representative of King Abdul Aziz in the negotiations between Saudi Arabia and al-Yaman during the war of 1933-34 over their boundaries
44. Ibid, pp 55 and 69
45. Ibid, pp 59 and 69
46. Nami, op cit, p 254
47. Zirkili, op cit, vol 2, pp 539-555. This is a report written in 1933 by one of King Abdul Aziz's top advisors, Khalid Abu al-Walid al-Qarqani, after visiting the area as a member of the Saudi campaign to deal with the Idrisi uprising of 1932-33
48. Two of these commissions' reports are worth studying and quoting. One concerns the Province of Asir and was submitted in 1361 (1942), hereinafter referred to as Asir Province : Document No 2. The second report deals with the Province of Jazan and was submitted in the same year, hereinafter called Jazan Province : Document No 3
49. The Royal Decree dated 5.3.1359 AH, establishing the Governorate of al-Qatif, hereinafter called The Eastern Province : Document No 4
50. The establishment of these districts and the list of the Sahrif tribes attached to them are included in an undated document found in the Documentation Office, Ministry of Interior, hereinafter referred to as Makkah Province : Document No 5
51. This document is referred to as Makkah Province : Document No 6
52. Hereinafter referred to as Saudi Provinces : Document No 7
53. A written reply, dated 20.2.1394 AH (1974) to a questionnaire sent to the Deputy Governor of Jazan Province.
54. Jazan Province : Document No 3
55. The findings of the committee are to be found in Jazan Province : Document No 3
56. Report of a joint committee sent to investigate general conditions in Asir Province in 1965. This report is kept in the Information Library, Ministry of Finance and National Economy, and is

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PART THREE

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CONCLUSION

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX (6.1)

THE SAUDI PROVINCES AND THEIR SUBDIVISIONS

Note : The prime source of this list is the 1393/94 (1973/74) Detailed Budget Plan of Saudi Arabia. The numbers in this table are those used in Fig (6.1) to identify the centres listed here. For the different categories of the administrative centres the reader is referred to Table (6.3).

I MAKKAH PROVINCE

A. Makkah District

- | | |
|----------------|--------------|
| 1. Makkah | 2. Bahrah |
| 3. Al-Sadiyyah | 4. Al-Baidah |
| 5. Al-Khadrah | 6. Um Rakah |
| 7. Shidad | 8. Al-Bajidi |
| 9. Daqaq | |

B. Jeddah District

- | | |
|------------|-------------|
| 10. Jeddah | 11. Dhahban |
|------------|-------------|

C. Al-Taif District

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 12. Al-Taif | 13. Bani Malik (Hadad) |
| 14. Misan | 15. Bani Saad (Sahn) |
| 16. Bani Malik (Qari) | 17. Abu Rakah |
| 18. Al-Hada | 19. Al-Shafa |
| 20. Thaqif (Darin) | 21. Qiya |

D. Al-Qunfudhah District

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 22. Al-Qunfudhah | 23. Harb and Bani Isa |
| 24. Al-Mudhaileef | 25. Al-Qouz |
| 26. Al-Ardiyyah al-Shamaliyyah | 27. Al-Ardiyyah al-Janubiyyah |
| 28. Hali | 29. Doqah |
| 30. Ahad Bani Zaid | |

E. Al-Lith District

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|
| 31. Al-Lith | 32. Mustaraq al-Turuq |
| 33. Al-Shaqah | 34. Bani Yazid |
| 35. Gharneeqah | 36. Al-Jaizah |

(E. Al-Lith District, continued)

F. Rabigh District

- | | |
|-------------|----------------|
| 39. Rabigh | 40. Masturah |
| 41. Tuwal | 42. Al-Qadimah |
| 43. Hajr | 44. Balarizah |
| 45. Al-Abwa | 46. Al-Nuwaibi |

G. Al-Jamum District

- | | |
|---------------|-------------------|
| 47. Al-Jamum | 48. Al-Rayyan |
| 49. Asfan | 50. Hadat al-Sham |
| 51. Ain Ghams | 52. Bani Masoud |

H. Al-Muwaih District

53. Al-Muwaih
54. Al-Hafr
55. Al-Muwaih al-Jadidah
56. Maran
57. Dughabjah

I. Al-Khurmah District

J. Al-Kamil District

- | | |
|---------------|----------------|
| 61. Al-Kamil | 62. Al-Harrah |
| 63. Al-Sirhan | 64. Al-Ghareef |

K. Midrikah District

65. Midrikah
66. Rihat
67. Al-Qufaif

L. Al-Mahani District

68. Al-Mahani 69. Al-Furai

M. Al-Dabiah District

70. Al-Dabibah 71. Sitarah
72. Milh and Buraikah

N. Al-Birk District

73. Al-Birk 74. Dhahban
 75. Al-Umq

O. Dhulum District

76. Dhulum 77. Al-Hafirah

P. Khulais District

78. Khulais 79. Al-Barzah
 80. Um al-Jurm

Q. Tarabah District

81. Tarabah 82. Al-Hashraj

R. Haddah District

83. Haddah

S. Al-Dafinah District

84. Al-Dafinah

T. Ushairah District

85. Ushairah

U. Al-Zaimah District

86. Al-Zaimah

V. Al-Madiq District

87. Al-Madiq

W. Al-Sharai District

88. Al-Sharai 89. Ju'ranah

II YONBU PROVINCE

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| 90. Yonbu al Bahr | 91. Yonbu al Nakhl |
| 92. Al-Suwaiq | 93. Al-Ais |
| 94. Nabt | 95. Shajwa |
| 96. Al-Jabriyyah | 97. Al-Sulaim |
| 98. Al-Murabba | |

III BISHAH PROVINCE

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------|
| 99. Bishah | 100. Bal Qarn |
| 101. Al-Amir | 102. Khaibar |
| 103. Samkh and Al-Suwairat | 104. Al-Alayah |
| 105. Al-Shif | 106. Tibalah |
| 107. Admat Alyan | 108. Al-Qarah |
| 109. Al-Salmah | 110. Tarfat Bal Qarn |

IV JAZAN PROVINCE

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 130. Jazan | 111. Abu Arish |
| 112. Bani Malik (Qahbah) | 113. Al-Quhnah |
| 114. Hurub | 115. Al-Aridah |
| 116. Bal Ghazi | 117. Farasan |
| 118. Samitah | 119. Al-Hiqw |
| 120. Al-Darb | 121. Al-Muwassam |
| 122. Al-Shuqaiq | 123. Al-Raith |
| 124. Al-Hashr | 125. Al-Rubaah |
| 126. Al-Wasili | 127. Al-Masarihah (Al-Ahad) |
| 128. Sabia | 129. Faifa |
| 131. Al-Hakamiyyah (Madaya) | 132. Al-Hurrath (Khubah) |
| 133. Baish | 134. Bani Qais |
| 135. Al-Harjah | 136. Itwid |
| 137. Al-Tiwal | 138. Al-Aliyah |
| 139. Misaliyah | |

V ASIR PROVINCE

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| 140. Abha | 141. Rijal Alma |
| 142. Mahail | 143. Bariq |
| 144. Al-Namas | 145. Qana wa al-Bahr |
| 146. Al-Majardah | 147. Al-Maddah |
| 148. Sarat Abidah | 149. Ahad Rafidah |
| 150. Al-Fatihah | 151. Al-Ain |

(ASIR PROVINCE, Continued)

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 152. Al-Amwah | 153. Bal Asmar |
| 154. Dhahran al-Janub | 155. Badiat Tihamat Qahtan
(Farshah) |
| 156. Tathlith | 158. Bani Amr |
| 157. Khamis Mushait | 160. Wadi Bin Hashbal |
| 159. Ya'ra | 162. Tanumah |
| 161. Tarib and al-Arin | 164. Ai-Shif |
| 163. Tihamat Qahtan (Al-Juwah) | 166. Rak |
| 165. Al-Harjah | 168. Al-Makhlutah |
| 167. Al-Faid | 170. Hijrat Zuhair |
| 169. Al-Wahabah | 172. Tihamat Bal Asmar wa Bal
Ahmar |
| 171. Bal Ahmar | |

VI NAJRAN PROVINCE

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| 173. Najran | 174. Sharurah |
| 175. Al-Khadra | 176. Habunah |
| 177. Al-Mufijah | 178. Hamah |
| 179. Al-Ma'ayin | 180. Al-Khiyash |
| 181. Al-Minkhali | 182. Badr al-Janub |
| 183. Al-Majmaa | 184. Adamah |
| 185. Al-Husainah | 186. Withal |
| 187. Abu-Thamir | 188. Bir Bin Askar |
| 189. Al-Jarbah | 190. Al-Jilwah |
| 191. Al-Harshaf | 192. Al-Hidn |
| 193. Al-Khabash | 194. Rajah |
| 195. Al-Ramjah | 196. Shib Baran |
| 197. Al-Arbah | 199. Al-Wujair |
| 201. Hadadah | 198. Shalia |
| 200. Wadiyah | |

VII AL-QASEEM PROVINCE

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| 202. Buraidah | 203. Unaizah |
| 204. Al-Rass | 205. Al-Bukairiyah |
| 206. Al-Badai | 207. Riyad al-Khabra |
| 208. Al-Khabra | 209. Al-Asiah |
| 210. Al-Nabhaniyyah | 211. Al-Rubai'yyah |
| 212. Al-Shimasiyyah | 213. Qasr bin Aqil |
| 214. Subaikh | 215. Al-Midhnab |
| 216. Al-Quwwarah | 217. Al-Nibqiyah |
| 218. Al-Qara | 219. Al-Hilaliyyah |
| 220. Al-Uyun | 221. Al-Shihiyah |

(AL-QASEEM PROVINCE, Continued)

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 222. Abu al-Dud | 223. Hunadhil |
| 224. Daryah | 225. Miskah |
| 226. Al-Dalf'ah | 227. Qusaiba |
| 228. Al-Qusai'ah | 229. Al-Hadiyyah |
| 230. Al-Shiqqah al-Ulia | 231. Al-Shiqqah al-Sufla |
| 232. Ghaf al-Uyun | 233. Rawd al-Uyun |
| 234. Awthal | 235. Al-Basar |
| 236. Tanumah | 237. Abanat |
| 238. Al-Busairi | 239. Al-Eutain |
| 240. Thedij | 241. Ja'lah |
| 242. Dikhnah | 243. Al-Roghani |
| 244. Al-Shinanah | 245. Adras |
| 246. Iqlat al-Suqur | 247. Al-Ushaziyyah |
| 248. Turaif al-Asiah | 249. Ghamas |
| 250. Al-Murabba' | 254. Al-Muraidisiyah |
| 255. Wadi Abu Ali | 256. Al-Hamjiyyah |

VIII AFIF PROVINCE

257. Afif

IX RANIAH PROVINCE

- | | |
|---------------|---------------|
| 258. Raniah | 259. Al-Adram |
| 260. Al-Amlah | |

X HAIL PROVINCE

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| 261. Hail | 262. Qibah |
| 263. Khaibar | 266. Al-Adim |
| 267. Al-Hait | 268. Baq'a |
| 269. Tarabah | 270. Al-Hufair |
| 271. Al-Hulaifah | 272. Al-Hiyaniyyah |
| 273. Al-Rawdah | 274. Al-Siba'an |
| 275. Al-Sulaimi | 276. Sumaira |
| 277. Shari | 278. Al-Shamli |
| 279. Darghat | 280. Tabah |

(HAJ PROVINCE, Continued)

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| 281. Al-Uwaid | 282. Al-Ghazalah |
| 283. Al-Kahfah | 284. Jubbah |
| 285. Al-Nihitiyyah | 286. Al-Mustajiddah |
| 287. Muwaqqaq | |

XI THE NORTHERN PROVINCE (TABOUK)

A. Tabouk District

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| 288. Tabouk | 290. Damj |
| 292. Al-Uyaynah | 293. Al-Shiqra |
| 294. Al-Muaddam | 295. Al-Akhdar |
| 296. Fajr | 297. Budaighah |
| 298. Al-Uwainid | 299. Al-Qulaibah |
| 300. Al-Bid | 301. Al-Jab'awiyyah |
| 302. Al-Tal'ah | |

B. Diba District

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| 303. Diba | 304. Al-Muwailih |
| 305. Al-Khuraibah | 306. Al-Shuwqaq |
| 307. Al-Disah | 289. Magna |

C. Al-Wajh District

- | | |
|--------------|-----------|
| 308. Al-Wajh | 309. Rida |
|--------------|-----------|

D. Umluj District

- | | |
|----------------|------------------|
| 310. Umluj | 311. Al-Shibahah |
| 312. Al-Harrah | |

E. Taima District

- | | |
|----------------|------------|
| 313. Taima | 314. Arwah |
| 315. Al-Kathib | |

XII THE NORTHERN BOUNDARIES PROVINCE

- | | |
|-----------|--------------|
| 316. Arar | 317. Turaiif |
|-----------|--------------|

(THE NORTHERN BOUNDARIES PROVINCE, Continued)

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|
| 318. Rafrah | 319. Nisab |
| 320. Tal al-Habr | 321. Hazm al-Jalamid |
| 322. Al-Uwaiqliyyah | 323. Al-Shubah |
| 324. Linah | 325. Loqah |
| 326. Al-Duwaid | 327. Rimah |
| 328. Nisab al-Thaniyah | 329. Um Radmah |
| 330. Al-Judaidah | 331. Al-Ma'aniyyah |
| 232. Al-Jirani | 264. Samudah and al-Bushuk |
| 265. Um Khumsuv | |

XIII AL-QURAYYAT PROVINCE

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 333. Al-Nabk | 334. Haql |
| 335. Kaf | 336. Bir bin Hirmas |
| 337. Al-Hamad | 338. Al-Hudaithah |
| 339. Al-Isawiyyah | 340. Alqan |
| 341. Al-Wadi | 342. Aba al-Hiushan |
| 343. Al-Mughairah | 344. Al-Hawj |
| 345. Al-Haj | 346. Al-Badi'ah |
| 347. Madsus | 348. Al-Dirrah |
| 349. Khabra Usailah | 350. Hallat Ammar |
| 351. Mishash Hadraj | |

XIV AL-KHASIRAH PROVINCE

- | | |
|------------------|-------------|
| 352. Al-Khasirah | 353. Hilban |
|------------------|-------------|

XV THE EASTERN PROVINCE

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 354. Al-Dammam | 355. Qariah |
| 356. Al-Hafr | 357. Al-Nuairiyah |
| 358. Al-Khubar | 359. Dhahran |
| 360. Harad | 361. Alqaiq |
| 362. The Neutral Zone | 363. Uthmaniyyah |
| 364. Al-Safaniyyah | 365. Al-Jubail |
| 366. Ain Dar | 367. Ras Tannurah |
| 368. Inta | 369. Al-Raqi |
| 370. Al-Ahsa | 371. Al-Hin |

(THE EASTERN PROVINCE, Continued)

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| 372. Wafra | 373. Al-Khafji |
| 374. Darin | 375. Salwa |
| 376. Al-Qatif | 377. Sihat |
| 378. Al-Qaisumah | 379. Al-Thuqbah |
| 380. Um Aqla | 381. Al-Udailiyah |
| 382. Al-Uqair | 383. Safwa |
| 384. Al-Humatiyyat | 385. Al-Buraimi |
| 386. Khurais | 387. Al-Sufairi |
| 388. Al-Uyun | |

XVI AL-JAWF PROVINCE

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 389. Sakakah | 390. Dawmat al-Jandal |
| 391. Al-Shuqaiq | 392. Mayqu |
| 393. Al-Suwair | 394. Al-Murair |
| 395. Al-Assafiyyah | 396. Al-'Tairi |
| 397. Al-Shuwalhiyya | 398. Qara |
| 399. Al-Tuwair | 400. Al-Nabk |
| 401. Al-Lahawiyyah | 402. Zallum |
| 403. Khaw'a | |

XVII AL-RIYADH PROVINCE

A. Al-RiyadhB. Shaqra District

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------|
| 405. Shaqra | 406. Ushaiqir |
| 407. Al-Qasab | 408. Al-Hurayyiq |
| 409. Al-Dahinah | 410. Al-Waqf |
| 411. Ghaslah | 412. Al-Mishash |
| 413. Al-Farah | 414. Al-Juraifah |
| 415. Badiyat al-Dahinah | |

C. Marat District

- | | |
|---------------|----------------|
| 416. Marat | 417. Uthaithah |
| 418. Tharmada | 419. Labkhah |

D. Thadiq District

- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| 420. Thadiq | 421. Raghbah |
| 422. Al-Bir | 423. Al-Safra |
| 424. Al-Hisi | 425. Al-Ruwaidah |
| 426. Al-Buwairah | 427. Al-Mishash |
| 428. Daqlah | |

E. Al-Zilfi District

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| 429. Al-Zilfi | 430. Alqah |
| 431. Simnan | 432. Al-Thuwair |

F. Al-Ghat District

- | | |
|--------------|-------------|
| 433. Al-Ghat | 434. Mulaih |
|--------------|-------------|

G. Rimah District

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| 435. Rimah | 436. Shuwayyah |
| 437. Al-Rumhiyyah | |

H. Al-Silayyil District

- | | |
|------------------|--------------|
| 438. Al-Silayyil | 439. Tamrah |
| 440. Raida | 441. Khairah |

I. Al-Mizahmiyyah District

- | | |
|---------------------|------------------|
| 442. Al-Mizahmiyyah | 443. Al-Ghutghut |
| 444. Al-Hair | 445. Al-Bakhra |
| 446. Shukhaib | 447. Al-Jufair |

J. Duruma District

- | | |
|-------------|----------------------|
| 448. Duruma | 449. Qusur Al-Miqbil |
| 450. Al-Jaw | |

K. Al-Dilam District

- | | |
|---------------|---------------|
| 451. Al-Dilam | 452. Uthailan |
| 453. Al-Ain | 454. Mawan |

L. Al-Diriyah District

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| 455. Al-Diriyah | 456. Argah |
| 457. Al-Uyaynah | 458. Al-Jubailah |

(L. Al-Diriyah District, Continued)

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------|
| 459. Al-Amariyyah | 460. Ilb |
| 461. Audah | 462. Banban |
| 463. Al-Misajee | |

M. Al-Hariq District

- | | |
|-----------------|------------|
| 464. Al-Hariq | 465. Na'am |
| 466. Al-Mufajir | |

N. Al-Houtah District

- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| 467. Al-Houtah | 468. Al-Hilwah |
| 469. Al-Ityan | 470. Al-Quwai' |
| 471. Barak | |

O. Al-Majma'ah District

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| 472. Al-Majma'ah | 473. Al-Artawiyyah |
| 474. Al-Houtah | 475. Tumair |
| 476. Al-Rawdah | 477. Jilajil |
| 478. Harmah | 479. Al-Audah |
| 480. Al-Attar | 481. Al-Janubiyyah |
| 482. Ushairah | 483. Tuwaim |
| 484. Al-Khais | 485. Al-Husun |
| 486. Al-Dakhlah | 487. Al-Ruwaidah |
| 488. Al-Khatamah | 489. Al-Furuthy |
| 490. Mibayid | 491. Mi'ashiyyah |
| 492. Al-Jinaify | 493. Jarab |
| 494. Um al-Jamajim | |

P. Al-Quwai'iyyah District

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 495. Al-Quwai'iyyah | 496. Al-Rain |
| 497. Al-Milaiyah | 498. Al-Hasah |
| 499. Al-Ruwaidah | 500. Miz'il |
| 501. Tuhai | 502. Sanam |
| 503. Um Siraiyah | 504. Sabhah |
| 505. Hijrat ibn Umar | 506. Hijrat ibn Libdah |
| 507. Hijrat ibn Hizam | 508. Hijrat ibn Sifran |

Q. Al-Aflaj District

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| 509. Layla | 510. Al-Humr |
| 511. Al-Hadar | 512. Al-Badi |
| 513. Al-Saih | 514. Al-Kharfah |
| 515. Wasit | 516. Al-Qutain |

(Q. Al-Aflaj District, Continued)

- | | |
|---------------|----------------|
| 517. Haradah | 518. Sitarah |
| 519. Al-Ghil | 520. Al-Rawdah |
| 521. Al-Sighr | 522. Al-Amar |
| 523. Wasilah | 524. Marwah |
| 525. Suwaidan | |

R. Wadi Al-Dawasir District

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| 526. Al-Khamasin | 527. Al-Nuwai'mah |
| 528. Al-Ladam | 529. Nazwa |
| 530. Al-Makharim | 531. Qaryah |
| 532. Jakhjukh | |

S. Huraimla District

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 533. Huraimla | 534. Sudus |
| 535. Malham | 536. Sulboukh |
| 537. Al-Barrah | 538. Jazwa |
| 539. Al-Uwainid | 540. Al-Qarimah |

T. Al-Kharj District

- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| 541. Al-Saih | 542. Najan |
| 543. Al-Hayathim | 544. Al-Yamamah |
| 545. Al-Silmiyah | 546. Al-Mahimady |
| 547. Al-Dubai'ah | 548. Al-Wusta |

U. Al-Dawadmi District

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| 549. Al-Dawadmi | 550. Al-Jamsh |
| 551. Al-Sir | 552. Al-Nair |
| 553. Sajir | 554. Al-Artawi |
| 555. Nifi | 556. Arwa |
| 557. Arja | 558. Al-Hanabij |
| 559. Al-Qirain | 560. Al-Sha'ara |
| 561. Al-Qaiyyah | 562. Al-Bijadiyyah |
| 563. Badiat Nifi | 564. Afgara |
| 565. Mishrif | 566. Al-Sakran |
| 567. Ain al-Suwaini | 568. Al-Burud |
| 569. Al-Hufairah | 570. Masil |
| 571. Mughaira | 572. Al-Aqlah |
| 573. Al-Athlah | 574. Khuf |
| 575. Al-Rishawiyah | 578. Ain al-Qunur |
| 579. Misaddah | 580. Al-Haid |
| 581. Al-Abl | 582. Hillit |
| 583. Al-Hamameed | 584. Abu Jilai |

(U. Al-Dawadmi District, Continued)

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| 585. Al-Qararah | 586. Kabshan |
| 589. Al-Fugarah | 588. Waddakh |
| 589. Al-Hafnah | 590. Hamjah |
| 591. Usailah | 592. Jafn |
| 593. Al-Khufaisah | 594. Al-Shubrumiyah |
| 595. Najakh | 596. Wuthailan |
| 597. Asma | 598. Al-Damthi |
| 599. Mughib | 600. Sururah |
| 601. Huduijah | 602. Al-Badal |
| 603. Faidah | 604. Banwan |

APPENDIX (8.1)

Total Sums of Distances and Travelling Time* of all the District Centres in al-Bahah Province (1962)

	Al-Bahah	Baljourashy	Al-Mandaq	Al-Atawiah	Bidah	Al-Aqiq	Al-Makhwah	Qiliwah	Hajrah
Al-Bahah	-	35 (1.8)	31 (1.6)	43 (2.2)	31 (1.6)	46 (2.3)	28 (9.3)	37 (7.5)	68 (8.6)
Baljourashy	35 (1.8)	-	66 (3.4)	78 (4.0)	66 (3.4)	81 (4.1)	25 (8.3)	72 (9.3)	103 (10.4)
Al-Mandaq	31 (1.6)	66 (3.4)	-	30 (1.5)	43 (2.1)	77 (3.9)	59 (10.9)	34 (7.5)	37 (7.0)
Al-Atawiah	43 (2.2)	78 (4.0)	30 (1.5)	-	13 (0.6)	43 (2.1)	71 (11.5)	64 (9.0)	67 (8.5)
Bidah	31 (1.6)	66 (3.4)	43 (2.1)	13 (0.6)	-	30 (1.5)	59 (10.9)	77 (9.6)	80 (9.1)
Al-Aqiq	46 (2.3)	81 (4.1)	77 (3.9)	43 (2.1)	30 (1.5)	-	74 (11.6)	83 (9.8)	110 (10.6)
Al-Makhwah	28 (9.3)	25 (8.3)	59 (10.9)	71 (11.5)	59 (10.9)	74 (11.6)	-	40 (8.0)	80 (16.0)
Qiliwah	37 (7.5)	72 (9.3)	34 (7.5)	64 (9.0)	77 (9.6)	83 (9.8)	40 (8.0)	-	40 (8.0)
Hajrah	68 (8.6)	103 (10.4)	37 (7.0)	67 (8.5)	80 (9.1)	110 (10.6)	80 (16.0)	40 (8.0)	-
	319 (34.9)	526 (44.7)	377 (37.9)	409 (39.4)	399 (38.8)	544 (45.9)	436 (85.5)	447 (68.7)	585 (78.2)

* Travelling time between district centres in 1962 is calculated according to the following principles :

20 km per hour in al-Sarah by car; 5 km per hour between Tihama and al-Sarah on donkeys and by foot,

APPENDIX (8.2)

Sums of Distance of District Centres Times Population of Districts (1962) in al-Bahah Province

	Al-Bahah	Baljourashy	Al-Mandaq	Al-Atawlah	Bidah	Al-Aqiq	Al-Makhwah	Qilwah	Hajrah
Al-Bahah	-	868980	769668	1067604	769668	1142088	695184	918636	1688304
Baljourashy	908390	-	1712964	2024412	1712964	2102274	648850	1868688	2673262
Al-Mandaq	575019	1224234	-	556470	797607	1428273	1094391	630666	686313
Al-Atawlah	337120	611520	235200	-	101920	387120	556649	501760	525280
Bidah	104935	223410	145555	44005	-	191550	199715	260645	270800
Al-Aqiq	108284	190674	181258	101222	70620	-	174196	195382	258940
Al-Makhwah	556360	496750	1172330	1410770	1172330	1470380	-	794800	1589600
Qilwah	438313	853128	402886	758336	912373	983467	473960	-	473960
Hajrah	397460	602035	216295	391615	467600	642950	467600	233800	-
TOTAL	3425981	5070731	4836125	6354434	6005082	8208102	4310536	5404377	8166459

APPENDIX (8.3)

Spatial Efficiency Index for al-Bahah and Baljourashy Centres, al-Bahah Province (1962)

$$\begin{aligned}
 XCG &= \frac{(24828 \times 11) + (25954 \times 12.3) + (18549 \times 6.5) + (3385 \times 9.2) + (2354 \times 14.5) \\
 &\quad + (7840 \times 8) + (19870 \times 9.5) + (11849 \times 5.7) + (5845 \times 2)}{120464} \\
 &= \frac{1108900}{120464} = 9.2 \\
 YCG &= \frac{(24828 \times 10) + (25954 \times 7.8) + (18549 \times 14.5) + (3385 \times 16.5) + (2354 \times 16) \\
 &\quad + (7840 \times 17) + (19870 \times 6) + (11849 \times 10) + (5845 \times 16)}{120464} \\
 &= \frac{1277708}{120464} = 10.6 \\
 MCG &= \frac{(24828 \times 2^2) + (25954 \times 4.2^2) + (18549 \times 4.7^2) + (3385 \times 5.8^2) + (2354 \times 7.7^2) \\
 &\quad + (7840 \times 6.5^2) + (19870 \times 5.8^2) + (11849 \times 3.5^2) + (5845 \times 9^2)}{283590} \\
 &= 8
 \end{aligned}$$

APPENDIX (8.3), Continued

$$\begin{aligned}
 M_{\text{Bahah}} &= 24828 + (25954 \times 2.5^2) + (18549 \times 6.3^2) + (3285 \times 6.5^2) + (2354 \times 7^2) \\
 &\quad + (7840 \times 7.5^2) + (19870 \times 4.5^2) + (11849 \times 5.5^2) + (5845 \times 11^2) \\
 &= 3090657.3
 \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 M_{\text{Baljourashy}} &= 25954 + (24828 \times 2.5^2) + (18549 \times 9^2) + (3385 \times 9.2^2) + (2354 \times 8.6^2) \\
 &\quad + (7840 \times 10.5^2) + (19870 \times 3.2^2) + (11849 \times 7^2) + (5845 \times 13^2) \\
 &= 4780441
 \end{aligned}$$

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Fig. 91 AL-BAHĀH PROVINCE
DISTRICT AND TRIBAL TERRITORIES

