UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF ARTS

GEOGRAPHY

PERIODIC MARKETS AND THE TRADE SYSTEM IN AL-BAHA PROVINCE, SAUDI ARABIA

by

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A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 1989

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

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Al-Baha is the smallest of the fourteen provinces forming the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia but it is the second in population density at 25 per sq.km. The southern region of Saudi Arabia contains the vast majority of the Kingdom's periodic markets. and they have played an important role in the economic and social life of the people.

Although long-established, the periodic markets in Al-Baha have lost importance, and decreased in number over recent years. This was especially the result of the economic boom in the mid-1970s which led to an improvement in transportation and concentrated more trade in the larger markets, producing an increase in fixed trading through shops.

Several aspects of periodic markets are dealt with in this study which is mainly based on information collected in the field during the summer of 1987 by means of questionnaire interviews. They include the origins of Al-Baha's periodic markets and their spatio-temporal patterning at different dates (1900, 1950, 1987), the characteristics of mobile and fixed traders, as well as the behaviour of visitors to the markets.

The principal findings may be summarised as follows. Comparison of the region's pattern of periodic markets with those reported in the literature for other parts of the world suggest that tribal political factors were more important here than elsewhere in shaping the pattern, although the economic need to achieve an effective circulation of goods in the local area was also important.

At present the size, level of activity and catchments of the region's thirteen markets vary widely, with the main ones retaining much of their leading role as trade centres in the region by increasing their catchments, attracting fixed shops and other services to them and maintaining a wide range of goods. In contrast, the smaller periodic markets face a much less certain future in the face of competition from other larger markets and new roadside shops.

The thesis concludes with proposals to rationalise the pattern of markets down to seven and to make improvements to them so that they can continue to play a major role in the marketing of goods in Al-Baha in the future.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the people of Al-Baha who were interviewed during the fieldwork and all the assistants who helped me in distributing the questionnaires and interviewing people.

I would like to express my deep thanks to my supervisors, Dr.J.M Wagstaff and Dr. B. P. Birch, for their unlimited support, encouragement and patient guidance and advice throughout all stages of my research. I would also like to thank Dr J A Milne for his assistance in providing some computer programmes needed for this study. Also my thanks to Dr D A Pinder for his advice about nearest neighbour analysis. In addition I would like to thank Mr A. S Burn and the cartographic staff for their cartographic work.

I am very grateful to the King Saud University for giving me a chance to carry out this study and for its financial support during my study at the University of Southampton and for their provision of transport and expenses for most of the fieldwork.

Back home I would like to thank Dr. I. Al-Zaid, the Deputy Amir of Al-Baha Emirate, and M. Atyah, the Al-Baha Municipality Head for providing some information about their services. I am grateful to A. As-Salouk and N. Badran the Head of the Transport Authority for their useful advice and information they provided during my fieldwork. My thanks also to S. Al-Madi, the Director of the Health Authority in the region, and S.J. Al-Ghamdi, the Youth Welfare Manager, for providing accommodation at one stage of the fieldwork.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank my wife, Sameha, for her support and patience during the time of this study. I do not want to forget to express my profound gratitude to my brother, Ahmed, for his constant questioning about my progress and for his continuous support and encouragement. Finally, I would like to thank Ibraheem Al-Zahrani for photocopying and suppling information from the Ministry of Agriculture, Finance and Municipality from time to time.

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL LITERATURE ABOUT PERIODIC MARKETS

1.1 Introduction

This thesis is about periodic markets in Al-Baha Province in Saudi Arabia. Periodic markets, however, are a widespread phenomenon in the Third World, and in order to understand the particular case fully, it is necessary to set it against the background of other studies. That is the purpose of this first introductory chapter. Chapter Two outlines the aims and methods of the research, whilst Chapter Three describes the study region.

In what is now described as the Third World, western travellers for long noticed the existence of markets in rural areas which came into operation only on certain days in the week or year (Fogg 1932 and Hodder 1957). However, the phenomenon was not seriously investigated until the period between the two World Wars when the first pioneering papers on these markets were produced (Fogg 1932). The study of periodic markets was then neglected for a while but it began to receive attention again in the 1950s, 1960s and particularly during the 1970s. The scale and diversity of the literature which now exists makes it difficult to summarise all of it. The same problem confronted Bromley (1971) and Smith (1980) whose review papers have proved invaluable to this review.

It is clear from a review of the literature that whilst certain aspects of periodic markets have attracted a lot of attention (periodicity and spatio-temporal patterning, for example), other aspects, like the relationship between fixed and mobile traders, have attracted less research or discussion. Similarly, markets in some areas of the world have attracted more attention than other areas. Most of the literature deals either with South American markets (Hanneson 1969; Bromley 1974, 1975, 1976 and 1978 ; Gormsen 1978) or African, particularly the middle zone of Africa between the Sahara and the tropical areas (Hodder 1957; Smith 1972; Scott 1972 and Good 1972). However, Fogg produced several articles about Moroccan tribal markets between 1932 and 1942. Some studies deal with Asia, (for example, Skinner 1964-65; Burrough 1978; Centlivres 1972; Yeung 1974 and Wanmali 1981), but Arabia has been largely neglected. Exceptions here include Mughram (1973) who examined Baljurashi market as an example of the periodic markets in Al-Baha, while Mansory (1977) wrote about periodic markets in the southern part of Saudi Arabia. The only other research on periodic markets in Saudi Arabia was by Abdulfattah (1981), whose map shows the periodic markets in the southern region of Saudi Arabia, and the present writer's M.A. thesis (1984) on markets in Al-Baha.

Figure 1.1 shows a world distribution of studies of periodic markets where work in the Arabian Peninsula can be seen to be limited and most of it done in recent years, somewhat in

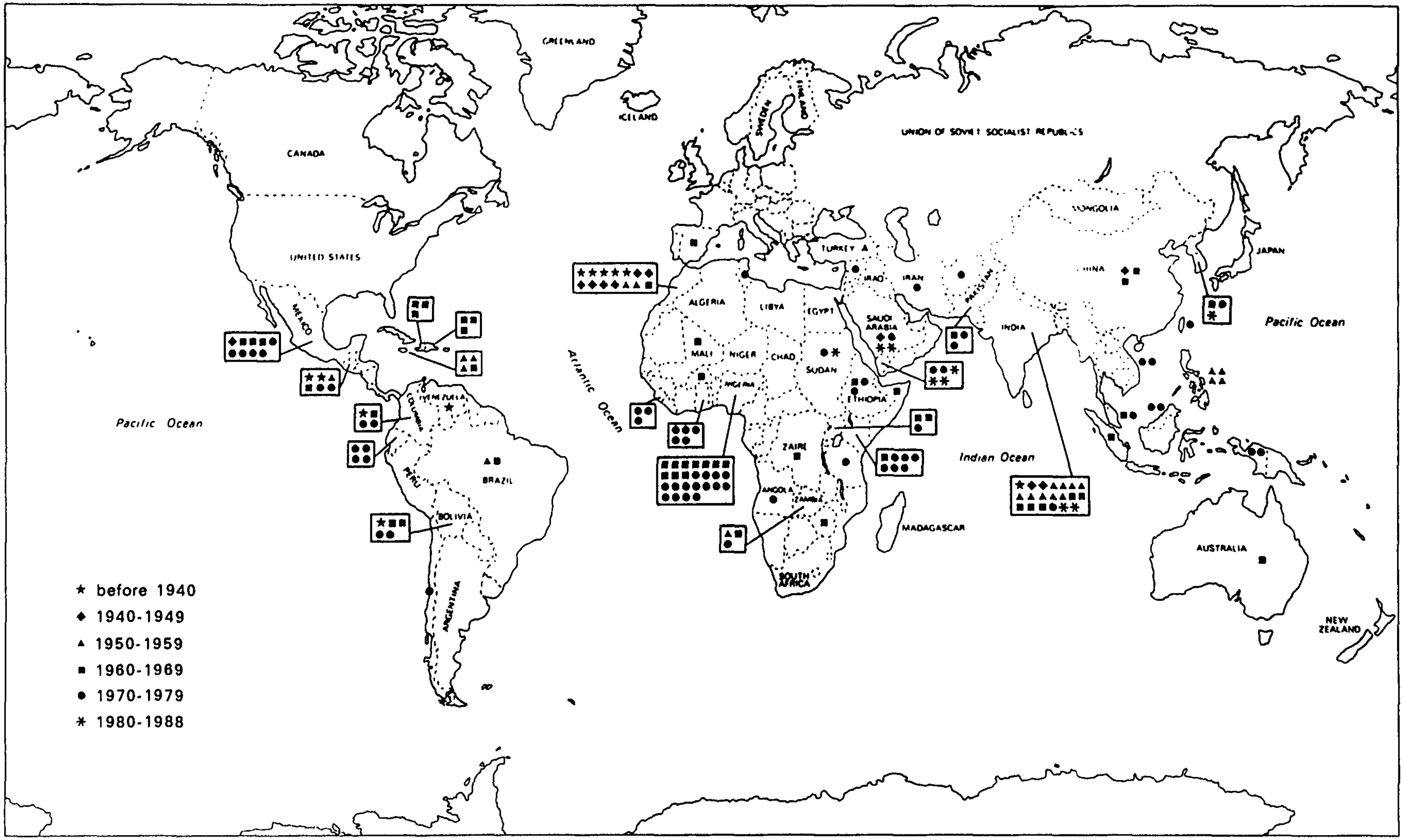

Figure 1.1 The progress and distribution of studies of Periodic Markets

contrast to the situation in Africa, South America and other parts of Asia.

In reviewing the available literature on periodic markets this chapter begins by considering attempts at classification, proceeds to a review of work on the basic functions of periodic markets and ends with a discussion on spatio-temporal patterning. Throughout, the purpose is to draw out potential themes which may assist in the examination of markets in the Al-Baha region of Saudi Arabia.

1.2 Classification of Periodic Markets

A periodic market occurs when a number of people - sellers and buyers of goods - meet at a designated place at regular intervals. This simple definition, however, covers a wide variety of different types of non-fixed markets which various scholars have sought to classify. Many classifications have been attempted. Some were based upon the functions of the markets, while others were based on the functions, location, goods traded and the periodicity.

Fogg (1932) over 50 years ago recognised three types of markets in Morocco. The first type consists of large annual fairs which last for many days. These markets once acted as regional intermediary trading points between the Sahara and Morocco before their importance declined and they became more local in scope. The second type is the annual fair lasting two or three days where a large number of people (often more than 20,000) would gather, often to venerate a famous saint. Such a large collection of people created possibilities of exchange (1). The third type of market is the much more common local weekly market which is still commonly considered an essential feature of social life in Morocco. The regular local weekly market is also still common in many areas of the World including the writer's study area. The first and the second types identified by Fogg are similar to the markets which are believed to have existed in the Arabian peninsula during the "Times of Ignorance" (Jahiliyah) and in the first three centuries of the Islamic period. After the tenth century these kinds of markets largely disappeared.

By contrast with Fogg, Mikesell (1960) recognised only two types of markets in Morocco on the basis of their spheres of influence and reputation. These are the local market (suq) which draws a few hundred people from a radius of ten or twelve miles, and the regional market which draws large numbers of people from a radius of twenty miles or more. These are probably a relic of the large annual fairs Fogg recognised.

As more study of periodic markets was made in other countries, their classifications became more elaborate.

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(1) These kinds of markets had a great importance when the main goods were slaves, gold, ostrich feathers and ivory. These goods were exchanged for European goods. It might be said that their importance decreased with French colonization.

Bromley in his 1971 article classified markets according to their periodicity: daily markets, periodic markets and special markets. Each type has its own characteristics in terms of functions and commodities. Scott (1972) argued that any attempt to classify markets must include market orientation, function and periodicity. He distinguished five types of periodic markets in northern Nigeria. These were: dispersed village and roadside daily markets; weekly evening markets; two-day markets; weekly day markets and urban daily markets (Scott 1972, 31). Scott considered all these to be various forms of lower order markets. In addition, he noticed that the dispersed village and roadside markets are the smallest, and weekly evening markets are the largest. Two-day markets are usually bigger on Friday and smaller on other days. However, he described two-day markets as

> **"transitional, because they are presently adopting bulking as one of their major functions, and also because they are probably moving towards a single weekly day meeting"** (Scott 1970).

Weekly day markets were the most important of all since they contain a high number of buyers and sellers. He also noted that urban daily markets are normally located in historically important towns and cities and probably have deep historical roots.

Hogg (1960) noted that three types of markets exist in Jamaica: the individual itinerant seller going from house to house or from village to village with local produce; the small markets set up spontaneously by a few traders (usually local) at a specific event, such as at a cock fight, or alongside well-travelled roads to sell refreshments, hand-made articles, miscellaneous items, or fruit to passers-by, and the state-supervised and controlled market places established in villages and towns which are transportation and traffic centres, where hundreds of licensed sellers congregate from surrounding areas to offer a wide range of local and imported items (Hogg 1960).

Hodder (1957) suggested that two types of market classification can be applied in West Africa. One is based on the functions of the Yoruba markets. The types recognised were feeder markets, bulking centres, major markets and large trading centres, but Hodder confessed that such a classification has only very limited value in the absence of far more detailed data on the movement of goods and traders within the surrounding area. Hodder's second suggestion for a classification was based on the location and periodicity of markets. He distinguished five types: urban daily markets, urban night markets, rural daily markets, the rural periodic night markets and the rural periodic day markets.

Skinner in his study of social structure in rural China (1964) suggested there were three kinds of markets. These are standard, intermediate and central markets arranged in ascending order of size, with the standard market most common. Skinner defined the standard market as that type of rural market which met all the normal trade needs of the peasant household. The standard market is

> "the starting point for the upward flow of agricultural products and craft items into higher reaches of the marketing system, and also the termination of the downward flow of imported items destined for personal consumption".

The intermediate market is the market

> "which has an intermediate position in the vertical flow of goods and services both ways",

receiving imported goods from the central market to send to standard markets, and vice versa. The central markets have a wholesaling function and are usually located at good sites, such as a crossroads in the transportation system. Imported goods are received at these markets for distribution down the chain whilst local surpluses are sent to other central and higher level urban centres.

In contrast, Vansina (1962) distinguished between types of markets in the Kuba in Zaire on the size of transaction and reputation. Some were local and others were inter-regional markets, although they sell similar goods. Both depend on positions on the main trade routes. In the Volta Republic, among the Mossi, a distinction was made between people specialising in external trading and those specialising in internal commerce. Although there was an overlap between the two types, there was a mutual filtering of the commodities between them.

By contrast with studies mentioned so far, Hodder (1969) pointed out that a simple classification based on time can be more valuable and workable than any other. He applied this type of classification to Yoruba markets. Markets were distinguished as two-day, four-day and eight-day markets and these were recognised to be different from daily markets which might meet all day, during the morning or at night.

Most of the classifications so far mentioned were based on field studies conducted by scholars in individual countries. It seems clear from this that a classification which suits periodic markets in one particular area or for one particular purpose might not suit other areas. For example, it might be convenient to categorize markets according to their commodities where there is a noticeable diversity of goods traded, but when all the markets have much the same goods for sale another type of classification might be needed. When the markets offer the same commodities, serve the same functions and have the same periodicity, it might be better to classify them according to their size, taking into consideration the differing catchment areas of periodic markets and their populations. In some areas where a clear pattern of periodicity can be recognised, as for example with markets in West Africa, it is probably the best means of classification. In short, it is difficult to apply one set of criteria for the classification of all periodic markets in every country because they are influenced by many factors including different cultures, different periodicities and, sometimes, different functions.

1.3 Functions of Periodic Markets

Inspite of these problems of classification, periodic markets emerge from the literature as essential elements in the economic, social and political life of the Third World. They have been examined in urban as well as rural areas with Bromley's study of markets in Quito, Equador, for example, but it is the rural periodic markets which concern us here. Their influence on rural areas can be profound, both socially and economically. Mikesell (1958) explained the almost total lack of towns in Morocco as a result of the existence of periodic markets which discharged functions otherwise performed by towns. Where accessibility is not easy, periodic markets often served as meeting points for people from villages as far as thirty miles away (Fogg 1932). These markets provide opportunities for people to meet together, hear the news and conduct their affairs. For some groups, like the Mawri in Niger, visiting the market place is an opportunity to reaffirm the identity of a spatially dispersed social entity (Piault 1971). Skinner (1962) has noted that some tribes in Africa, such as the Mossi, attend some market places primarily to show off their clothes or to have fun.

The French in their colonies recognised the political importance of periodic markets which flowed from their trading and social functions. They used the places where periodic markets gathered as the sites for their administrative offices and gauged tribal feeling from the mood of people who came in to trade (Fogg 1932).

Despite their important social functions, there is no doubt that the literature sees that the paramount influence of periodic markets in rural areas as economic. Mikesell (1958) emphasised four functions for the markets in Morocco: distribution of local products, exchange of rural surpluses for urban goods, circulation of articles such as pottery and millstones which only have a few source areas within the country, and the dissemination of foreign imports. Eighmy (1972), however, in his study of rural periodic markets in Western Nigeria, reduced these economic functions to three: local exchange, internal trade and central functions.

Local exchange markets result from the small scale division of labour in which an individual deals with small amounts of particular articles. This function is characterised by little spatial separation between production points, market points and consumption sites with the result that trade in the commodity is local. The second and third functions of internal trade and central functions are characterised by a larger scale division of labour, a noticeable increase in local wealth and increases in monetary exchange. The development of internal trade calls also for a transport net capable of carrying commodities at a reasonable cost. In this function the periodic markets serve as bulking points. When internal trade dominates the local exchanges at the market site, the market becomes more complex because more varied goods and more money are involved.

The central function of a market seems to arise in the more developed areas when the existence of large quantities of the same goods and a greater diffusion of information can be found. Although the functions in all periodic markets seem to be similar, no comparative studies have been found in the literature of this range of functions in different societies. It is probable that some functions might be very important in some societies but less important in others. This point is referred to again in the Al-Baha area in tracing through the changing functions of its periodic markets.

1.4 Periodic markets, Fixed and Mobile Traders

One of the most discussed aspects of the periodic markets encountered in the literature seems to be the conditions under which permanent markets, periodic markets and mobile traders can best exist. A market requires sufficient local demand to allow traders to spend a day or more per week (or month) when buyers will come to them, whereas an itinerant trader has to keep moving to his customers to gain enough sales to make his business worthwhile. A shop trader clearly needs an even larger local pool of sales than either a periodic market trader or an itinerant trader.

This situation has been the focal point of several authors' discussions. Some of these have involved the concept of 'range'. Bromley has explained that

"The maximum range can be defined as the greatest distance consumers are prepared to travel to obtain the commodity at that point, while the minimum range is the average radius of the smallst area

containing sufficient demand to support a full-time, fixed trader specializing in the sale of that commodity" (Bromley 1974, 46).

Stine (1962) advanced reasons on this basis for the mobility of some traders and the fixity of others, as well as the existence of periodic markets and daily markets. He said that if the minimum range of a good - the area or threshold within which a trader needs to sell his goods to stay in business - exceeds the maximum range - the greatest distance people are prepared to travel to get that item - the trader selling that good must either become mobile or go out of business.

In this way economic necessity determines whether traders will be mobile or fixed. Thus, when a low demand density exists in an area, the trading pattern may consist of a mixture of mobile traders and periodic markets. An increase in per capita demand, an increase of population, and improvements in transportation can change the balance between the mobility and fixity of traders and determine also the periodicity of the market as either a periodic market or a daily market. Stine believes that increasing per capita demand and increasing population will gradually reduce the need for the mobile trader to travel until finally he can settle in one place. As the economy develops further the periodic market will become a daily market and stalls might be replaced by completely permanent shops. Thus Stine's assumption would apply particularly in rural areas where a low demand density per capita and a low density of population exist, but in the urban areas of high population and greater demand density permanent trading replaces mobile traders and periodic markets.

However, Bromley (1971) added further complications beyond the purely economic about the way in which a mobile trader pattern may become a fixed trader pattern. He noted that a mobile trader can diversify the commodities sold when the minimum (threshold) range exceeds the maximum range (greatest distance) to enable him to stay in business. He could also engage in some other economic activities in addition to trading. Bromley stated that Stine's purely economic explanation seemed to preclude the co-existence of fixed and mobile traders, or of periodic and daily markets in the same area selling the same types of goods. Yet Bromley showed that periodic markets, mobile traders and shops co-existed in Quito where, as a town, demand density was relatively high. He also noted that periodic markets and mobile traders would seem to be on the increase in many cities of the less developed countries, even as density demand grew (Bromley 1971). Bromley therefore stated that there were several non-economic factors which must be taken into consideration when one wants to understand the co-existence of periodic and daily markets in cities like Quito. These could also apply in rural areas. In the case of Quito these include the cultural traditions of the urban society; the social structure and the rapid growth of the city; and alternative employment possibilities available to the traders, as well as the financial powers, values and policies of the municipal authorities.

The economic aspect of mobile and periodic markets traders also attracted Hay (1971). He was not satisfied with simply applying central place theory and demand curve concepts to explain marketing patterns. Yet he also rejected the concept of the periodic market as a purely social phenomenon. For example in seeking some alternatives in economics to explain the periodic market system he argued that where the demand is insufficient to support both the producer and the retailer, it might be capable of supporting a producer who also acted as retailer. Many sellers at periodic markets are also producers. He also suggested reasons for part-time marketing. One alternative arises in a situation, especially in rural areas, where the producer-retailer cannot find an intermediary to act for him as seller because of the difficulties of transport. He will then appear himself as a part-time seller in local markets. But in an agricultural society the producer of a particular product plays other roles which may prevent him from trading. According to Hay, in these circumstances, the outside buyer who purchases the surplus might adopt trading as a part-time occupation because the surplus is insufficient to support a permanent occupation as full-time trader. Alternatively, the availability of produce is so concentrated in time that full-time trading is not practical.

The second explanation by Hay of marketing arrangements is through the treatment of the time spent trading. Webber and Symanski treated trading time as a variable cost but this was unsatisfactory from Hay's point of view since he believed that time represents a large proportion of the traders' overhead costs. In a monopoly situation, it is possible for a trader to lower his long-run average overhead cost curve, for example, by only selling at one place, and therefore spending less on transport time. But in a competitive situation this may not be sensible if insufficient trade can be done at one place. Increasing the number of markets visited by a mobile trader in order to sell more goods will raise the costs for the trader. This could cause him to increase the selling price of his goods and thus lower the total revenue of the trader unless he can do more trade to offset these "costs". But Hay pointed out that some of the overhead costs are geographically fixed (for instance, the rent of a market stall), while some are geographically divisible (for example, the cost of his time and the cost of his stock in trade). The best compromise on these costs for traders in most rural areas where periodic markets exist and daily markets are absent, is for traders who want to be full-time to follow the customers to the periodic markets. The number of periodic markets visited will differ from one trader to another depending on the distance to be travelled by traders, the periodicity of the markets, expected sales and the means of transportation. On the other hand, part-time traders, like most farmers, would normally only sell at one local market, while farmers who become sellers more frequently may need to be more mobile to sell all their surpluses.

1.5 Origins of Periodic Markets

The economics of periodic marketing is not the only area of continued debate. There is also a considerable literature on the origins of periodic markets and this reveals a basic dispute about the nature of the fundamental impulse which led to the creation of periodic markets.

There are two basic theories about the origin of market institutions. The first is the wholly orthodox theory (endogenous origin) which believes that the establishment of markets must have resulted from the necessity for local exchange and may initially have involved informal barter. Bohannan's paper (quoted in Hodder, 1961) on the Tiv market put the view that barter existed among the most isolated and inaccessible societies. As confidence grows between individuals exchanging their respective goods, local markets spring up and the more important markets become regional fairs. This would support the theory of an organic development of larger markets from local origins.

The second theory about market origins reverses the situation. According to this theory (of exogenous origin) a market originates from outside the community in response to the needs of whole groups for external trade to obtain goods and to dispose of their surplus products. In effect, this means that the market is created by long distance trading and the exchange of various products between different areas.

The overwhelming majority of authors are in favour of the second theory. Hodder (1965) gives examples from several parts of Africa south of the Sahara to support it. The line of old market towns along the contact zone between the forest and savanna is cited as one example to support the exogenous theory, and the market points along the coastal lagoons and creeks were similarly seen as important contact points between agriculturalists and fishermen. Differences in population density are sometimes thought to provide the basic reason for creating markets. Stopping places on trade routes can become market points. Yorubaland markets are found on the long distance trade routes across West Africa for example. It was known at the end of the eighteenth century that there was a varied commodity structure in the Yorubaland markets, not only of local goods but also of goods brought from long distances outside Yorubaland. All this evidence, Hodder concluded, tended to support the exogenous theory, whilst positive evidence seems to be lacking to support endogenous origins. Hummoudi (1980) also provided evidence more recently from the Sudan supporting the idea that long distance trade is vital for a market to flourish. Again Vansina (1962) and Skinner (1962) also found similar support for the exogenous theory and this was accepted by Bromley, Symanski and Good (1975). However, it should be noticed that all the discussion about the origins of markets and all the examination and re-examination of the theory has used data from Africa. More evidence is needed from elsewhere to confirm it finally.

One further point relevant to this issue should be made. This is the importance of peace and security for market development. Without peace no periodic market would last for long, even if the market was located at a strategic point and was supported by a considerable population. So the absence of peace generally means that markets do not evolve. Vansina (1962) outlined two examples of this. He noted that the Lele people in Zaire have no periodic markets because they were not able to maintain order at the market places. Similarly, the Lulua people tried several times to keep their markets in business but failed because, when the traders were looted, peace was disturbed.

1.6 Spatio-temporal Patterning

The spatio-temporal patterning of periodic markets - their operation on certain days at certain places - has exercised most fascination for geographers who have examined them in particular regions. In 1932 Fogg reported the way in which the distribution of markets in Morocco showed a well integrated pattern over space and time. He stated that when any tribe had two markets on the same day a considerable distance always separated the two market locations, though the site of the market itself was determined by custom and the general convenience of access within the territory of the tribal sub-division. Mikesell noticed the existence of more than a thousand periodic markets in Morocco in 1958 and these were not only well distributed spatially but also over the days of the week. But he did not try to demonstrate the degree of their integration in location and time so much as to emphasise the role of tribes in founding markets. He argued that every tribe has at least one market and some have several more.

Thorpe (1978) in his study of periodic markets in the Caspian lowlands of Iran tested two hypotheses. One by Hill and Smith (1973) stated that in an essentially Moslem area, Friday should be the most popular day for market meetings. But Thorpe showed that only 7 percent of markets held in Gilan in 1973 were Friday markets. The second hypothesis dealt with the inverse relationship between locational and temporal spacing. Markets closest in distance should be furthest from each other in time. By using nearest neighbour analysis, Thorpe provided partial confirmation for the hypothesis that the markets which were close to each other were held on well separated days of the week.

In his work on marketing and social structure in rural China, Skinner (1964) examined several points on the periodicity and market schedules for mobile traders and buyers. He argued that because there is insufficient demand in any one local market hinterland, the traders have to move from market to market to obtain the amount of demand which allows them to stay in business. From the point of view of the mobile trader regular periodicity in marketing has the virtue of concentrating the demand for his product within restricted localities on certain specific days so that he does not have to be fully itinerant to sell his goods. That is, by re-positioning himself at periodic intervals, at different markets, the trader can tap the demand of several marketing areas and thereby attain a sufficient threshold of sales to allow him to stay in business. Skinner also emphasised that this concentration of demand at certain points on certain days enables producers to co-ordinate production with sales in an efficient manner. At the same time the consumer gets benefit from market periodicity by reducing the distance he might otherwise have to travel to obtain the required goods and services (Skinner 1964). There will be a market close to him for at least one day in every week or so.

Fagerlund and Smith (1970) also argued the case that market places which are spatially close to one another often have market days which are temporally separated. They stated that

"two markets within comfortable walking distance of dispersed population would not normally meet on the same day, nor would they meet on adjacent days since the demand for trading activity would have been temporarily exhausted on the first day".

Smith (quoted in Holas, 1971) who similarly observed that for the Senoufo, in the north of Ivory Cost and south-east Mali

"the weekly markets are held on a fixed day chosen in such a way that the date does not coincide with that of neighbouring markets".

In 1971 Smith discussed the spatial and temporal relationships of West African markets and re-examined the concept that "proximity in location requires separation in time" in more detail by using data on three-day, four-day, five-day, six-day, seven-day and eight-day markets. He examined the distances between the markets occurring on the same day, on adjacent days, and one day and two days apart. He concluded that there was no plausible evidence of an inverse relationship between the timing and location of markets when markets are separated by one day and, in some cases, by more days. He believed that the initial hypothesis requires further re-examination in many situations.

In their attempt at producing a map of the distribution of periodic markets in time and space in northern Uganda, Fagerlund and Smith calculated the distance between the periodic markets according to their periodicity. They concluded that the markets which meet on the same day are on average 20 miles apart. Markets that meet on adjacent days are closer together with an average distance apart of 13.24 miles. Markets which meet on one complete day apart are also on average 13 miles apart, while markets separated by two complete days are, on average, 15.93 miles apart. Theoretically the latter should be less than 6.9 miles apart. Fagerlund and Smith blame this anomalous situation on an insufficient data base.

In 1972 Hill and Smith tried to re-examine the spatio-temporal relationship of periodic markets in northern Nigeria. They recognised that the factors behind market periodicity are not well known, but believed that the role of the Islamic seven-day week and ecological conditions are important. In addition, they believed that two other factors affect the synchronization of periodic markets. One is the relationship of the spatial distribution of periodic markets to the distribution of population. But they did not take this point further because of the lack of accurate maps of the population and of the distribution of periodic markets in the study area. Research was therefore concentrated on the second point, namely the temporal and locational spacing of periodic markets. Smith and Hill re-examined the spatio-temporal pattern of markets using the consumer hypothesis which is based on the inverse relationship between market timing and spatial separation. Their testing of the hypothesis was based on measuring the distance from which consumers and the traders came to appointed markets. For the consumers the average distances were calculated to the nearest markets held on the same day, post-adjacent days and so on. For a travelling trader only distances to the post-adjacent markets were considered because an itinerant trader looks forward in time to map out his optimal route.

The hypothesis was applied to markets in Katsina Emirate, Nigeria. The data confirmed the hypothesis for consumer behaviour that markets which met at about the same time were shown to be widely separated in space. For the travelling trader hypothesis, which implies a direct relationship between locational and temporal spacing, the authors found that five of the seven-day market subsets in Katsina Emirate were distributed in a more uniform rather than a random pattern, suggesting that a space competitive process is at least partially responsible for the spatial distribution of

Katsina's periodic seven-day markets.

McKim in 1972 followed an argument first advanced by Skinner from his examination of periodic markets in China. Skinner stated that the distribution of market schedules is designed to minimise conflict between the timing of a given standard market and that of the higher-level markets toward which it is orientated. That is, it was argued that the schedules of neighbouring markets are essentially irrelevant compared with the importance of a market's place in the hierarchy.

While McKim did not add more detail about the spatio-temporal concept, he recognised a five-level hierarchy of periodic markets in north-eastern Ghana and produced a general classification of markets there. Good, also in 1972, re-examined the spatio-temporal pattern of periodic markets using data from five counties around Ankale, Uganda and compared his results with those produced by Smith. He concluded that the mean distance of 41 periodic markets in the five counties showed stronger support for the spatio-temporal hypothesis than the Ghanaian results produced by Smith. Once again, Good indicated that some anomalies appeared, conspicuously when every county was tested separately. He recognised also that some basic methodological procedures affected the spatio-temporal test and must be taken into consideration when assessing the results. These include the potential bias posed by linear measurement of distance between locations, the persisting problem of scale, and the need to account for overlapping and contiguous market distributions characterised by different temporal arrangements.

In 1974 Bromley found, with few exceptions, that the published evidence supported the accepted spatio-temporal concepts. His own empirical studies also showed that the spatio-temporal structure of periodic markets in Quito was well integrated.

Stine's range model (1962) comes into the discussion here because of its obvious bearing on periodicity. It has been criticised particularly by Alao (1972). His criticisms begin with Stine's neglect of the supply side of market location and his emphasis upon demand, thereby making the assumption that a commodity or service was in infinite supply at restricted locations. Stine also assumed a uniform distribution of population and unchanging taste on the part of consumers. Alao pointed out that Stine examined only single markets and thus neglected the effect which the simultaneous operation of several markets might have on the survival of each market. Partly as a result of this, but partly because Stine's model was derived from central place theory, Alao thought that it provided only an inadequate explanation of periodic market structures. The basic weakness, Alao notes, is the contradiction between the maximum range (beyond which no commodities are sold) and the idea that the minimum range of a commodity could actually exceed it.

After developing his criticisms of Stine, Alao goes on to re-formulate the model in mathematical terms. In the process he redefines the minimum range as "the union of all the boundaries of the ranges of all locations" which is just sufficient to allow the trader to break even. This, Alao argues, is more applicable to periodic markets than the original formulation and he goes on to argue that transport is a key variable in understanding the dynamics of periodic markets. He concludes by saying that an evolutionary theory of market development is needed which will trace the various trajectories over time followed by market structures in a region in the spectrum between full periodicity and complete fixity.

Such a theory, in Alao's view, would have to include two critical variables. The first is the degree of spatial integration of marketing achieved by a particular society, which in turn depends upon the spatial pattern of settlements and the transport network. The second critical variable is the character of the technological development of the society. In Alao's view the degree of spatial integration is crucial in determining the number and location of markets, whilst technology will influence both the number and the size of markets. Alao believes that a theory of what he calls "inter-temporal variation" in the number of markets can be based on the economic theories of Howrey and Quandt (1968) since these suggest that changes in the numbers of markets would be related to the levels of excess profits produced. He goes on to indicate that where demand is dispersed, as in rural areas, certain unspecified spatial structures might develop for market locations and market areas. It is unrealistic to assume the pattern of market areas would be defined, as in Stine's model, by the range of single commodities sold through a single market. Rather the market pattern would be defined as a result of how a single market dominates all the others. Thus A's market area is one in which A's sales exceed sales from any other single market. This pattern of dominance, Alao argues, holds the key to understanding why some markets survive and other fail.

1.7 The Market Ring and Associated Ideas

Some scholars have tried to explain the spatio-temporal pattern of periodic markets in the light of the "market ring" but with only limited success. The market ring can be defined as "a complete and integrated sequence of markets" so that traders proceed each day from one to the next in the ring.

The length of the ring can vary. Adalemo (1975) attributed the difference in length of periodicity of markets in Nigeria to the existence of different tribal groups in particular areas. He mentioned the example of the Ouode who adopted a 4-day market periodicity, while the Egba-Imowile adopted an 8-day periodicity. Adalemo tried to explain these market rings not only in the light of tribal affiliations but also in the light of the different travel patterns of traders. He believed that the existence of market rings would allow him to explain the spatial and time distribution of periodic markets without involving central place theory, but he believed the rings he found in Nigeria were not independent of each other since each ring in his study area shares one or more markets with another ring.

It is not easy to identify actual rings in practice. An ideal market ring would be like that described by Hodder in Yorubaland in Nigeria in 1969. In that case markets next to each other operate on successive days and traders go from one to the next. However, such ideal rings can seldom be found because they overlap. Moreover, every individual trader might have his own ring of markets which he visits on the basis of his experience of the best chances of sales.

Adalemo also discussed some major travel patterns of mobile or part-time traders and distinguished three basic types. The first is the home-market-home pattern, where the trader usually leaves home in the morning to market and sell his goods. He or she will return home and go to another market on the next available day. This is the most common movement pattern adopted in West Africa. The second pattern is the base point-rural cycle-base point which is usually employed by full-time traders who accumulate products on a circuit of rural markets to sell them in one or more urban wholesale markets, including their base point urban market. The third pattern is referred to as the vendor-extensive cycle. This usually involves traders who deal in high order goods which they buy from urban areas to sell in several large rural markets. The trader who follows this last pattern is either a member of a fixed firm in an urban centre or sometimes an individual who buys high order goods, such as drugs, from several shops in the urban centre in order to sell them in rural markets. The trader visits his chosen markets until he sells all or most of his goods. If he sells all his goods before finishing the circuit, he will go back to the urban centre to get more supplies (Adalemo 1975).

A number of further studies of the spatio-temporal concept have been conducted by other researchers. In 1974 Yeung examined the 57 travelling night-markets in Singapore in relation to the spatio-temporal hypothesis. He found that, in spite of their rural attributes, Singapore's markets had undergone some changes in their locations and functions over the last two decades and had become more urban. Also when he used the Fagerlund and Smith method to measure the linear distances between the closest markets operating on the same night, on adjacent nights and one and two complete nights apart, he found that there was little support for the spatio-temporal hypothesis. He criticised the Fagerlund and the Fagerlund and Smith model for only being based on time and location, and ignoring some other elements such as the function and the size of market.

Gosh (1981) used a different method to explain the spatio-temporal patterning of periodic markets in noting that the differences in the economic functions of the markets should produce differences in the spatio-temporal pattern. He used the three major market functions identified by Eighmy - local exchange systems, inter-regional trading systems and itinerant retailing systems - to outline the spatial and temporal patterns required by each function.

Gosh concluded that, in the local exchange system, the need for families to dispose of surpluses and remedy deficits creates local exchange systems or neighbourhood exchange. The participants are both producers and sellers on a part-time basis offering local goods and services for sale or exchange. Thus, there is no rigid threshold requirement for the existence of this type of market. Market size may vary, but the overall structure is not hierarchical in form. He pointed out that in this system, because of the similarity of the goods, each participant needs to visit only one market and there is no real competition between markets. The location of markets with this type of function is determined by the population concentration and by ease of access. Because of the lack of competition, he believed that it is impossible to predict the temporal pattern of this kind of market, but they are often held on days with religious or social significance.

For inter-regional trading systems, Gosh argued that the market would be engaged in either the bulking of the exportable surplus of the region or in long-distance import/export trade. Each would create a separate type of system. The location of these markets is influenced by the location of the exportable surplus, the transport network and, to a lesser extent, by the wholesalers' travel patterns. The periodicity of the market in this system thus depends upon the frequency with which the producers can supply the exportable surplus. For the last type of system identified, the itinerant retailing system, Gosh indicated that the trader visits a number of markets in a sequence until his cumulative sales reach a level that assures normal profits. A uniform spacing of markets should result and the distance between market centres will be equal to twice the maximum distance that people travel to visit any particular market centre.

1.8 Periodic Markets in the Middle East

As has been made clear in this review, much of the literature on periodic markets derives from research in Africa and South America. Few studies deal with Asia, let alone the Middle East or the Arabian peninsula. These studies more related to the writer's area can now be summarised. They largely produce findings in line with those made in Africa and South America.

Research by Grotzbach in Afghanistan (1976) showed that the increase in population led to an increase in periodic markets. Not only that but the bazaars in the small towns have also been adversely affected by the increase of periodic markets. But over a large part of North Afghanistan, all the markets are held either on Mondays or Thursdays and no market ring can be recognised.

In contrast, in Turkey the weekly markets of Anatolia are held on successive days. This enables the travelling sellers to visit several markets per week in a ring fashion (Oettinger 1976). Weekly markets in the Hanasir area of north Syria have been shown to be declining by Gnube (1976). The first weekly markets were only established in Hanasir in 1950 but they have been badly hit by land reforms.

In the Arabian peninsula, periodic markets in the North Yemen Republic have attracted more attention than those elsewhere in the peninsula, despite the considerable difficulties encountered by researchers working there. Because the Yemen is a natural extension of the southern region of Saudi Arabia, these studies might be expected to reveal basic characteristics of markets which might be worth looking at in Al-Baha Province. A study by Eberhard (1976) about Saada weekly markets considered that the pattern of markets was related to tribal authority areas. The markets are therefore situated on the edge of tribally important villages or in neutral territory outside of villages. An anthropological study of periodic markets in Sana by Dostal (1979) described the markets and the distribution of sellers, although this study was concerned primarily with social activities and tribal influences on markets. In a brief article Wilson (1979) discussed the types of periodic markets in the Sana region where he recognized three types: weekly markets located on neutral sites which are sometimes a considerable distance from the nearest settlement; weekly markets usually located on an important route and containing refreshment places for travellers such as tea shops; and permanent markets which are located in large settlements and offer the possibility of shopping every day, as well as the possibility of two special market days each week, such as for livestock and meat.

In 1985, Schweizer produced a study of weekly markets in the whole Yemen Arab Republic. He recognised 325 weekly markets and identified the network of weekly markets as a temporal or spatio-temporal system, comparing their temporal distribution with the distribution of markets in other Middle Eastern areas (Table 1.1). But it is clear from Table 1.1 that there is little temporal patterning.

Table 1 . 1 Temporal Distribution of Weekly Markets in Yemen Arab Republic compared with other Middle Eastern Regions.

Market Day	Yemen Arab Rep.	Central Anatolia	North Eastern Anatolia	Northern Syria	'Asir Saudi Arabia
Friday	38	27	9	9	6
Saturday	38	16	11	6	13
Sunday	50	11	3	7	21
Monday	42	17	11	6	25
Tuesday	50	14	7	5	21
Wednesday	47	14	9	3	12
Thursday	60	16	9	7	22
Total	325	115	59	43	120

Source: Schweizer, 1985.

It seems that markets are common on all days so that on a particular market day a place acts as a periodic central place. Like Newohan, Schweizer also noted that the vast majority of periodic markets in Yemen are located outside of villages, on open air sites that are deserted on the non-market days. Recent economic development has affected the periodic markets in Yemen in several ways, according to Schweizer. Old stone market sheds in the mountains and the thatch-covered sheds in the Tihama are hardly used any more because of the increase in the quantities of commodities traded. Large buildings can now serve as permanent shops and stores and some settlements with permanent markets have recently acquired shops, schools, hospitals and mosques.

In Saudi Arabia, most periodic markets appear to be concentrated in the south- western parts of the country in the area from Taif in the north to the Yemen border in the south where there is the densest pattern of rural population. But so far only three studies of weekly markets have been made for this region and none for any other part of Saudi Arabia, apart from a study of Al-Sawyk market in Yanbu Emirate.

In his thesis on Baljurashi market in Al-Baha (1973) Mughram produced two maps showing the layout of in the 1930s and in 1973. The first map, reproduced here in Figure 1.2, was based on information from old people by which Mughram obtained the location of traders selling different items in the 1930s. The 1973 map (Figure 1.2) shows the location of the periodic market in 1973 surrounded by shops. The 1987

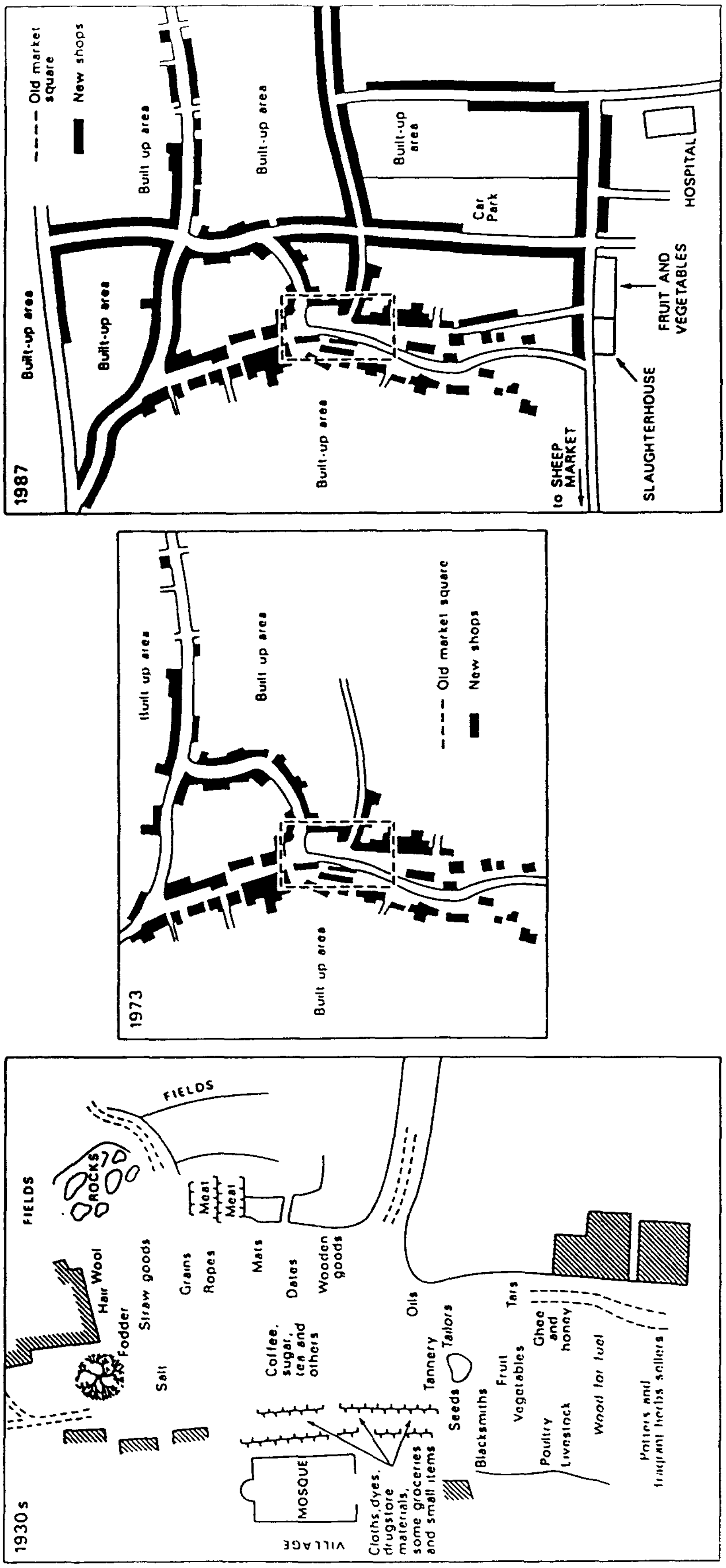

Figure 1.2 Periodic Market of Baljurashi in the 1930s, 1973 and 1987

Based upon Mughram for the 1930's and 1973, amended by author, 1987 map shows the recent expansion of the commercial area in Baljurashi town beyond the market area.

The study by Mansory (1977) which surveyed periodic markets in the whole of 'Asir, to the south of Al-Baha, discussed the patterns of consumer behaviour and market distribution. He offered a market classification which was based on tribal affiliations. Although the study did not discuss either the spatio-temporal patterning or the origin of markets in detail, it is the pioneering work about periodic markets in Saudi Arabia and is basic to any subsequent studies because of the map and data it made available. Mansory identified two vital economic roles for the markets in the lives of the population. The first is that periodic markets were once the only places where people could sell their products and the only locations where travelling salesmen could operate. Secondly, periodic markets were the only places where commodities produced outside the region could be found.

In 1981, Abdulfattah also drew a map showing the weekly markets in 'Asir. This map shows an hierarchical classification of periodic markets and their temporal cycle. Unfortunately, the map shows only two periodic markets in the Al-Baha area, which lies to the north of 'Asir. Nevertheless, the map seems generally to be very accurate on the distribution and location of 'Asir periodic markets and provides a useful comparison for the writer's work. In 1984 the researcher's M.A. thesis took the study of periodic markets in the south of Saudi Arabia a stage further by focusing on Al-Baha for the first time. It examined the tribal organisation of markets and their distribution, but did not deal with the spatio-temporal patterning.

Makky (1985) studied Al-Sawyq market which was one of only two markets remaining in Yanbu Emirate to the north-west of Madinah. He did not state how many markets were there in the past but he did note that periodic markets were once a widespread phenomenon. He suggested a relationship between the origin of periodic markets in Yanbu Emirate and the long-distance caravan routes. In addition, he studied the behaviour and characteristics of traders and buyers, as well as the type and origin of the goods sold in the market.

The very limited study of periodic markets in Saudi Arabia, in contrast to the comprehensive attention given to the topic in other areas of the world, demonstrates the scope for further study of these markets in Al-Baha. It is clear that many aspects of markets still need more investigation and this can usefully be done in the Province. The area lends itself, for example, to the study of the spatio-temporal patterns, the activity of mobile traders and market visitors. In addition, the literature on periodic markets elsewhere raises several questions which can be considered in Al-Baha. They include the degree to which periodic markets are being affected by population growth, transportation improvement, and an increase of household income and other systems of trading. The extent to which places with periodic markets are being selected for the location of other services needed by people and provided by government is also a matter of interest in the development of a pattern of service provision. To reach a point where questions of this type can be addressed, the physical, population and economic conditions in Al-Baha province will be examined in Chapters Three, Four and Five.

CHAPTER TWO

AIMS AND METHODS OF THE THESIS

2.1 Aims of the Thesis

The previous chapter has shown that the study of periodic markets has attracted a considerable amount of attention, particularly in the last two decades. Very few of the published studies, however, have dealt with the Middle East and only three have been located in Saudi Arabia. One of these was the present author's M.A thesis at King Saud University, Riyadh, on periodic markets in Al-Baha. This was essentially a descriptive account and when looking for a topic for doctoral research it seemed sensible to extend and deepen this work. In this I was encouraged by my teachers in the Geography Department of King Saud University. Such a course of action also allowed me to capitalise on my knowledge of my home region while studying overseas. In addition there was some urgency about completing a study of periodic markets for Al-Baha because some had already closed since completing the M.A research and several others seemed on the point of doing so. If the situation in Al-Baha was to contribute to the more general understanding of periodic markets as a world-wide phenomenon they would have to be studied without delay.

It soon became clear to the writer that periodic markets can not be considered in isolation from other means of trading. This thesis therefore investigates the origin and character of periodic markets in Al-Baha and also pays some attention to other traditional and modern methods of selling such as the itinerant traders. The modern roadside markets will be discussed briefly as well. The spatio-temporal pattern of periodic markets will be discussed in the light of the distribution of periodic markets at three different dates (1900, 1950, and 1987) to test the concept well recognised in the literature that proximity of markets in space requires separation in time. Within the markets the characteristics of the mobile traders and fixed traders, as well as the market behaviour of the visitors, were examined by questionnaire. It was hoped that studying these aspects of each market would reveal the size of each market, its catchment area, the types of goods sold and their sources, as well as the functions of the periodic markets in the region's marketing system.

2.2 Data Collection

Basic geographical and other information about Al-Baha is limited in amount but is available from a variety of sources. These are outlined in the next chapter and are drawn upon in Chapters Three to Six to present a general background to the region. Published data related to Al-Baha are not available on certain key issues, including the location of periodic markets themselves, and much of this information had to be specially collected by the writer.

My own long experience of the region provided a basis on which to organise a series of visits to all the major sub-divisions of Al-Baha and to many of the villages. Reconnaissance allowed me to locate surviving markets, to discover which ones had disappeared and which had come into existence more recently and to find out about their accessibility. Thirteen functioning periodic market were found of which twelve were investigated. The thirteenth at Mashogah, only operates for a maximum of half an hour each Friday after prayer time, with a handful of sellers, who sell a few sheep and goats and did not seem worth detailed study.

Questionnaires were used as the best way to collect data on the behaviour, attitudes, and experiences of people who used the periodic markets and thus to try to provide some answers to the questions raised by the survey of the literature on periodic markets. It was decided to use questionnaires to cover the three principal groups of people using the periodic markets. These include the sellers, whether mobile or fixed traders, and buyers. Mobile traders include those who do not own a fixed shop in a particular market but visit one or more markets, either regularly or intermittently, to sell their goods. Fixed traders are those who own a fixed shop and practise their trade in one particular market.

The fieldwork period lasted for five months from the beginning of May to the end of September, 1987. The collection of the questionnaire data from the twelve functioning markets formed the major part of this fieldwork effort. This fieldwork was greatly helped by my local knowledge since I already knew the study area at first hand and the location of every market. Because I had used some of the periodic markets since 1974, this helped to establish changes which had taken place in all the periodic markets in the region during the last fifteen years. Good relations which had already been established with most of the people in high positions at the governmental offices in Al-Baha also helped me in finding accommodation when visiting the markets. This also helped in providing letters of introduction to officials in each subregion asking for their help and cooperation. Overall, local people were found to be ready and enthusiastic in providing information and in participating in distributing the questionnaires and assisting with some of the interviews.

The writer used some assistants in interviewing and distributing the questionnaires especially to mobile traders and visitors. These helpers were university students or graduates. Each was given ten days' training before beginning the questionnaire survey. More details about the conduct of the questionnaires and the use of assistants are provided in Chapter Ten.

Despite these advantages, some problems arose during the course of the fieldwork. One of the problems was created by some of the people who held responsibile positions in villages or within tribes. Sometimes I had to return two or more times to get an interview with an official. This was very time-consuming and involved much additional travelling. Secondly, most tribal heads and some village heads denied me access to documents about periodic markets which they possessed. Written documents are meant to exist on every market detailing local responsibility for the management of the periodic market and it activities. These papers often give information on the history of the market, the part which the local tribes played in its development and their claims on the market site. But officials were reluctant to reveal these documents and they often had only vague information on market history.

The third problem was the absence of the shop owners from most of the shops in and around the markets at Al-Baha and Baljurashi towns. Most of these shops are managed by foreigners (mostly from India, Pakistan, Thailand, Philipines and Bangladesh) who were reluctant to answer many of the questions on behalf of their Saudi owners. Attempts were made to contact owners by telephone, and appointments were arranged with others. All of this took extra time and sometimes I was forced to abandon some of the shopowner interviews.

Another problem was the difficulty of gaining interviews with women in the markets in Al-Baha and Baljurashi. I was only able to obtain information from fifteen women. This was done without showing them the questionnaires which they would have refused to have filled in.

A last problem was the absence of maps showing the location of the majority of the settlements in the study region. This was a major difficulty because one of the purposes of the questionnaires was to find out about the distance covered and time consumed by mobile traders and visitors to get to a particular market. This was in order to establish the catchment area of every market for both buyers and sellers. As-Salouk's book (1970) which mentioned more than 400 settlements in Al-Baha was helpful in some cases but not in all. It was found that most of the traders and visitors could not give an accurate estimate of distance from their home to the market. Thus, they were asked to give the name of their villages, as well as the distance and travel time to get to market. Because I did not know the location of the great majority of the settlements they named and no detailed maps exist, sometimes I had to check the distances stated by visiting some of the villages. In other cases I tried to ask as many people as possible at the market about the location of a particular settlement over whose distance there was uncertainty. In addition the writer also asked people in some villages and markets about locations and distances of other places. This was the only way to overcome the lack of maps showing the settlements in Al-Baha.

2.3 Distribution of Questionnaires and the Conduct of Interviews

Interviews involving open questions were conducted with many officials and villagers to gain as much relevant information as possible. This was in essence a process of talking and listening to them and writing down their answers from time to time. Generally they were not happy to give short precise answers to a question and wanted to tell the story of every event connected with the village and often forgot the original question. Thus I had to listen and try to get the answers by repeating the question in different ways. It was important to stress to them the type of information I needed and which I wanted to write down. The sessions often lasted an hour or more and usually were attended by several people. Interruptions and corrections would come from bystanders. This all took more time but these interventions and corrections sometimes helped to get a clearer idea of the point being discussed and to obtain more accurate answers.

The questionnaire surveys were more straightforward but not without problems. In particular people in Saudi Arabia are not familiar with census forms and questionnaires and suspicious of someone distributing forms for completion. Many are unable to read and write and would be unable to fill in a form. The writer therefore had to open up a conversation with a potential interviewee and then decide if it would be possible to gain all the information needed by general conversation, or whether to produce the questionnaire for them to complete. News that someone was asking questions and recording information also spread rapidly around a market and the writer had to judge whether producing the questionnaire for one respondent might deter other potential respondents from cooperating. In all cases the purpose of the survey was explained to encourage the completion of the questionnaires.

After recognising the existing markets, the next stage in the field investigation was to count the fixed shops in and around each market and to classify the commodities being sold. In Al-Baha town itself, as in Baljurashi, so many fixed shops were found that a sample had to be taken. About a 30 per cent sample was drawn. This was done by counting the number of fixed shops and classifying them to take 30 per cent from each type of shops. However, for some kinds of goods a sample of less than 30 per cent was obtained because of the absence of the shopkeepers. This was especially the case for fruit and vegetables sellers in Al-Baha town. 69 fixed traders were included in the survey in Al-Baha town and 82 in Baljurashi. In contrast, a survey of all shops was possible in all the other market centres. Once the pattern of the fixed shops had been established and their goods classified, the next stage was to distribute questionnaires.

For the fixed traders I mainly distributed the questionnaires to the shopkeeper and asked them to fill them out for later collection. On collection each form was reviewed to make sure that the answers were complete. Some fixed traders were allowed to keep the questionnaires for a week or more before collection and this helped to publicise the questionnaires and their purpose in order to get more cooperation from other shopkeepers. In some cases direct questions were put to the fixed traders.

In the case of the mobile traders all were interviewed who were at the markets at the time of the survey. A few filled in the questionnaires themselves for later collection while most of them were interviewed and their answers written down immediately. This was helped by some mobile traders whom I already knew in most markets. This made the explanation and acceptance of the purposes of the questionnaires easier. I also obtained the help of some local villagers with the questionnaire distribution. In some cases I simply got into conversation with the trader without showing him the questionnaire and would then write the answers down after leaving.

The questionnaire survey with visitors was the easiest of all since I simply had to catch them and talk to them. None of the questions enquired into their trade or finances so that there was less reluctance to answer questions. This does not mean that there were no problems. In fact, there were some people, especially older ones, who refused to answer my questions. Some were in a hurry and declined to answer for that reason. The survey of visitors to market was also made easier than for traders because if some people refused to cooperate then others agreed and there were always more visitors who could be approached. This was not the case with the traders. A bigger problem concerning the visitors' sample was that of knowing the total number of visitors in each periodic market on which to base the sample size. An estimated five per cent sample was sought, but judging how many this required relied on observation of the number of visitors at a market during the day. This was very difficult as numbers fluctuated with people coming and leaving.

2.4 The Contents of the Questionnaires

As already mentioned above, the questionnaires were designed to obtain information about the three groups participating in the periodic markets (mobile and fixed traders as well the visitors).

The questionnaires to the mobile traders were made to obtain information about several things. Questions were asked about trader origins, whether they were from the market settlements, from elsewhere inside Al-Baha or from outside the region. Other questions were designed to obtain information on the travel distance from the trader's home-base to the market, the arrival time at the market and the time spent travelling to the market and transport used. These questions were asked in order to gauge how attractive each market is to traders from different distances. In this way the catchment area of each market could be identified. Questions were asked about the frequency that mobile traders visit the periodic markets, as well as the number of periodic markets visited in the previous week to get an idea of the movement of mobile traders.

Other questions to the mobile traders were put to obtain information on type and sources of their goods, the location of their storage and methods of displaying goods. Some final questions attempted to assess their level of satisfaction as mobile traders.

Questionnaires to the fixed traders were designed to obtain similar information including the trader's origin, his experience as a fixed trader and his former occupation. Questions were also asked about the type of goods sold, the source of goods and the means of transport. This helped the writer to examine any trader specialization in selling particular goods and to assess the importance and the size of trade at each market. Another way of assessing the importance of fixed trading at markets was to examine the number of days shops opened per week and the number of hours per day.

Questions to visitors to the markets were designed to obtain information about their origin, and distances and time spent travelling to the markets to help assess the catchment areas of each market. Questions were also asked about the frequency of visits to a particular market, as well as the number of markets visited the week before. How visitors saw the future of their periodic markets was inquired into to see whether these markets are going to continue as periodic markets or will become daily markets or will cease as markets.

The three types of questionnaires have provided a lot of information but it was very difficult to check all of its accuracy, especially that for the mobile traders. To try to deal with this some cross-checks were built into some questions, for example, those on the distance travelled and origin of visitors and traders. Nevertheless, it has to be expected that some unreliable answers have probably slipped through, especially for the markets in the Tihama area. Another problem is that several villagers helped in collecting some of the information. Since they could not always follow the questionnaire precisely some mistakes must be expected. This was not a problem with the student helpers. However, the writer was aware of these problems and did as much as possible to avoid errors and tried to check the information as much as possible. He believes that enough data that can be relied on has been collected for reliable conclusions to be drawn for the purposes of this study.

Altogether 535 mobile traders, 420 fixed traders and 512 visitors were interviewed. The answers from each of the different groups were coded for handling by computer which was used to store and analyse the data, mainly producing the tables and percentages given in Chapters Eight, Nine and Ten. The computer was also used to produce the diagrams that illustrate those chapters. In addition a computer programme for nearest neighbour analysis was used to construct the spatio-temporal pattern of periodic markets in 1900, 1950 and 1987. Quadrat analysis by computation was employed to describe the pattern of the 240 service centres in Al-Baha region recognised by Finnplanco in 1982, whilst a simple computer programme was used to analyse the pattern of services in the region. These analyses provided the material from which the bulk of the thesis was written.

2.5 Organization of the Thesis

The thesis has been divided into three parts. The first chapter has reviewed the literature about periodic markets in different countries of the world and the common themes in the study of periodic markets. This leads into Chapter Two which sets out the aims and methods of the research detailed in the rest of the thesis. Chapter Three sets the scene for the investigation by outlining the studies carried out about Al-Baha in general, both in English and Arabic. That chapter also describes the physical conditions of Al-Baha, including its subdivisions and climate.

Part Two of the thesis includes three chapters. Chapter Four examines the population in Al-Baha, its social and tribal organisation, distribution and density. For this chapter, several estimations and censuses have been studied to establish recent demographic changes in Al-Baha. Chapter Five outlines the employment and economic structure of the region, including the changes in employment between 1974 and 1982. In this chapter traditional activities and their role in Al-Baha society have been outlined, as well as the transport facilities in the region. Household income and expenditure are also discussed in this chapter. Chapter Six deals with the distribution of the 240 service centre settlements in Al-Baha as surveyed by Finnplanco in 1982. These cover the three physical zones (Tihama, the Proper

Sarah and North Sarah), as well as the region as a whole. In this chapter the relationship between the provision of public and commercial services is considered.

Part Three of the thesis reports the results of the field based analyses of the periodic marketing system. Chapter Seven considers the periodic markets and some traditional trade arrangements in Al-Baha. The origins, and the spatio-temporal patterns of periodic markets in Al-Baha in 1900, 1950 and 1987, are outlined. The recent increase of village shops and the development of roadside markets are also described in this chapter. Chapter Eight studies the characteristics of mobile traders in the twelve periodic markets, including their origin, commodities traded, sources of goods, means of transport and other aspects. Chapter Nine deals with the distribution of fixed traders in the periodic markets. The types of goods, the source of goods, the origins of traders, and related topics are discussed in this chapter. Visitors' behaviour in the same twelve periodic markets is outlined in Chapter Ten. In this chapter, the origins of visitors, the distance of their home bases to the market, travel times and the visitors' aims in visiting markets are dealt with. Chapter Eleven presents the final results of the investigation including recommendations to modify the pattern and facilities of the remaining markets so that they continue to serve a useful purpose as part of the trade system in Al-Baha.

CHAPTER THREE

AL-BAHA EMIRATE: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND THE PHYSICAL BACKGROUND

3.1 Introduction

The word Al-Baha in the Arabic dictionary means the "flat place", an area easy to move through. In fact, much of Al-Baha region is just the opposite. Today Al-Baha Province is a small mainly mountainous area in south-west Saudi Arabia, inland from the Red Sea coast just south of Makkah Province with its famous cities of Jeddah, Makkah and Taif.

Al-Baha originally referred to the site of a small isolated village (Figure 3.3) in a region of many mountain villages, located roughly between territories controlled by the Ghamed and Zahran tribes but actually belonging to the Ghamed tribe. Its site was surrounded by mountains which form the backbone of this part of western Arabia. Before the establishment of the provincial government offices there in 1963, Al-Baha village was known as a place which held a large market each Thursday. The wider area around Al-Baha and controlled by the Ghamed and Zahran tribes was known as "The land of Ghamed and Zahran" at the time when the first Emirate was established in the Province after Ibn Saud integrated Saudi Arabia in 1934. Subsequently, the area became known as the Ghamed and Zahran Emirate. The first Governor's office for the Emirate, however, had been established in 1932 in Al-Mandaq village to the north of

Al-Baha but it lasted only a few months before being transferred to Az-Zafeer village which is adjacent to Al-Baha village. Then, in 1951, the seat of the Province was moved for a third time to Baljurashi which, though an important centre for trade, was not in the most convenient position for the administration of the vast majority of the population in the area. It was not till 1963 that Al-Baha became the Emirate centre, and the Province was renamed Al-Baha after the village. As far as any place can be the right place to administer the Emirate, Al-Baha offers a relatively central location between the farthest point of the Zahran and the Ghamed territories. Since becoming the provincial centre it has grown to be a town of more than 5,000 inhabitants, and the Province governed from it covers over 11,000 sq. km. with a total population of 273,790.

3.2 The Literature about Al-Baha before 1970

3.2.1 Introduction

Until recently little information was available about the Al-Baha area. To review what is available , it is convenient to divide it into two groups.

The first group includes the sources written before the integration of Saudi Arabia in 1934, while the second group deals with the information produced after that date. The information about Al-Baha before 1934 can be further divided into two categories: Classical Arabic books and European literature.

3.2.2 Classical Arabic Books

Classical Arabic literature contains only a little information about the Al-Baha area or about some of its people or tribes. For example, As-Sirah An-Nabaweyah, which deals with the life of the Prophet Mohammad discusses his negotiations and dealings with the tribes, including those in Al-Baha. In addition to this work, a few histories in the tenth century of the common era (the third century of the Islamic era) tried to deduce the origin of the Arab tribes and to reconstruct the situation in the Arabian Peninsula before the emergence of Islam. But these books do not mention which tribes and people were found in the Al-Baha area for the simple reason that they were concerned more to show how Islam diffused throughout the Arabian Peninsula.

More useful from a geographical point of view are the works of two of the classical Arabs geographers. One is the Sifat Jazirat Al-Arab of Al-Hamadani (ed 1974). The book is devoid of maps, and it is not restricted to Al-Baha because it is meant to be a description of the Arabian Peninsula at the end of ninth century and compiled after the author's extensive wandering in the region. But it is very useful in tracing the names of places in Al-Baha. Its value lies especially in the description of tribes, the villages, and their locations. These can be shown to be accurate from the present pattern of tribal names and settlements, especially in the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Several villages in Al-Baha, the names of which still survive, including Dogah and Throq, are referred to. Important wadis, for example, Wadi Al-Ahsaba, Wadi Beedah, Wadi Al-Aqiq and Wadi Dogah are named.

The second classic geography is the Mojam Al-Boldan of Yagut Al-Hamawi (ed. 1979). Whereas the Sifat Jazirat Al-Arab concentrates on the Arabian Peninsula, the Mojam Al-Boldan covers the whole Muslim World in the tenth century. However, despite the references to some tribal locations and places in Al-Baha area, it is not as accurate and precise in this as Al-Hamadani's book. Neither book mentions any periodic markets in Al-Baha, although several annual markets in the Arabian Peninsula as a whole are referred to. One of these , Hobasha, was the annual market located closest to Al-Baha region.

3.2.3 The European Literature

Although the Red Sea and the land routes parallel to it through Arabia were major carriers of trade between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean from antiquity until the early nineteenth century, Roman merchants, as well as soldiers, may have penetrated deeper into the region of south-west Al-Baha, as least as far as the Asirian mountain Escarpment. If they did they brought back practically no information (Cary and Warmington 1929). European merchants do not appear to have visited the area for centuries after the expansion of Islam. Even when the Portuguese broke into the Indian Ocean around the Cape of Good Hope, the almost simultaneous expansion of Ottoman power into western Arabia, Yemen and the Red Sea prevented more than European raiding along the coast. In the late seventeenth century, however, the ports of southern Arabia, particularly those in Yemen, were opened to European merchants interested particularly in coffee. In 1763 Carsten Niebuhr brought back some reports from the interior of Yemen after his visit there. Thereafter, European knowledge about the interior of what they generally called 'Asir remained limited.

Burckhardt collected some information about the region from fellow pilgrims in 1814, although he himself penetrated no further south than Taif. He mentioned the Ghamed and the Zahran tribes and some of their villages when he traced the pilgrim caravan stations across the mountainous areas between Makkah and Sana. He refers to

> Berahrah, on the north extremity of Zahran, a district inhabited by Arabs of the same name. This Zohran is one of the most fertile countries in the mountain chain, although its villages are separated from each other by intervals of barren rock. It is inhabited by the Zohran tribes of Bani Malek and Bani Ghamed. The Zohran chief, Bakhroudj, having bravely resisted Mohammad Ali Pasha, was taken by surprise in March 1815 and cruelly cut to pieces by that Turkish general's order" (Burckhardt 1828, 333-74).

In addition, he mentioned some villages in Al-Baha which seem to have been on the pilgrims' routes to Makkah such as Meshnye, Al-Azahera and Raghdan. The latter village was then a great market centre (As-Salouk 1970).

The most important item about Al-Baha area in Burckhardt's book is the description of Al-Mukhwah village. of which he writes:

"Mukhwah is a large town, nine day's journey from Makkah, for caravans travelling slowly. It has stone buildings, and is the market where the husbandmen of Zohran and the neighbouring districts sell the produce of their labour to the merchants of Makhwah, who send it to Makkah and Jeddah. He ended his description by saying that: "In time of peace the intercourse between this town and Makkah is very considerable, perhaps one third of the supplies of Makkah in grain in different kinds come from this place" (P. 389).

Burckhardt produced a map based on his own travels in Arabia and the information gathered from other travellers. This showed the location of some of the tribes in south-western Arabia. Despite the incorrect location for most settlements he put on the map, he was able to create an image of the area and he recognized that the Zahran and Ghamed tribes both possessed land in the mountain area (the Hijaz) and in the lowland (the Tihama). However, he incorrectly described the Bani Malek and the Ghamed as a part of the Zahran tribe when they are two separate tribes. The Bani Malek area lies to the north of the Zahran tribal area on the borders of Makkah Emirate.

Some Europeans took part in Mohammad Ali's expeditions against the Wahhabis in 1811-1818 and their campaign took them into the Al-Baha area. Reports and maps were produced, for example, by the Frenchmen Ferret and Galinier who produced a relatively accurate map in 1840, better certainly than a British map produced in 1837. The French map (Figure 3.1) shows the escarpment running parallel to the Red Sea and locates the Ghamed and the Zahran tribes correctly. In addition, this map clearly shows Raghdan village, a fact which perhaps reflects the relative importance of that

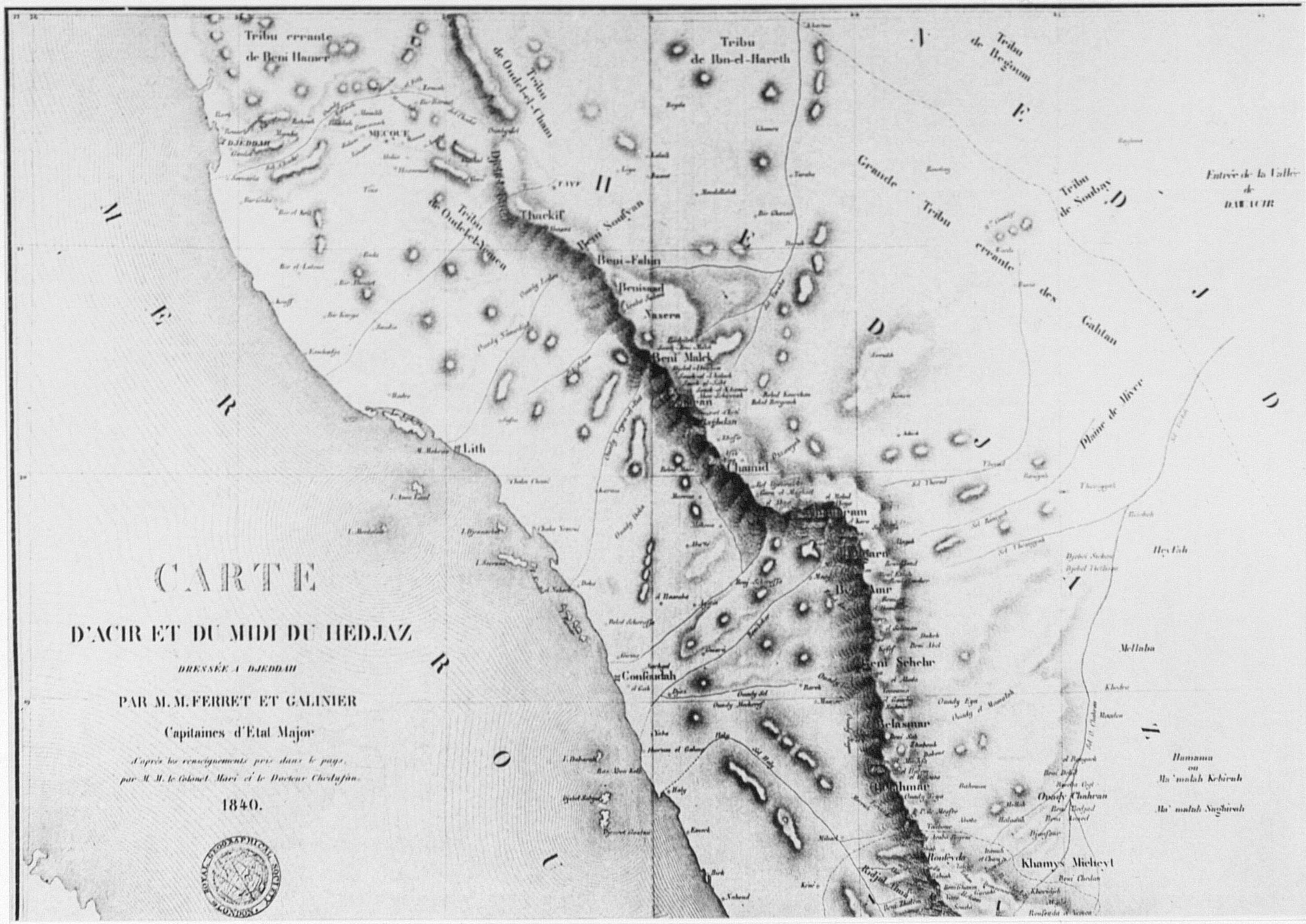

Figure 3.1 Ferret and Galinier's map of 'Asir, 1840

settlement. Of later European incursions, Doughty, in the 1870s, got no further south than Burckhardt and added relatively little to European knowledge of the Al-Baha area.

In general, despite the importance of the Red Sea route after the opening of the Suez Canal (1869), Europeans showed little interest in the hinterland of the Red Sea coast. The major exception is Cornwallis who collected information about 'Asir on the eve of the First World War. Cornwallis considered Al-Baha to be a part of 'Asir and described the Ghamed and the Zahran as powerful tribes in the north of 'Asir. However, as a person who did not set foot in Al-Baha, he made several serious mistakes in his description of the area. One of these was to describe half of the Zahran sub-tribes as nomadic(1). He wrongly classified some groups with the Zahran tribe, including the Bani Salim and Alwadi el-Ahmar. On the other hand, Cornwallis usefully mentioned some villages in Al-Baha area and briefly noted that the Zahran and the Ghamed traded with the adjacent tribes like the Zabeid. But, again, there are mistakes. He described Dhoir (now Az-Zafeer) as a chief village of the Ghamed with "400 houses built of stone. Formerly a Turkish markaz" (centre). It is unlikely that Az-Zafeer was the chief village in that area at that time and it was never a centre for the Turks in Al-Baha. Nor would it have had 400 houses at that time because it has not lost population and it is

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(1) An example of an error by Cornwallis was to list the Bani Souf, Wadi el-Ahmer, Bulkhazmer, Bani Omar, Shubriqah, Bani Hassun, Bani Salim sub-tribes as nomadic. In fact all these sub-tribes were settled people at that time.

still not that large. Cornwallis mentioned that Az-Zafeer is near the Shomran border. In fact, Shomran is one of the tribal areas situated on the northern border of 'Asir Province and about 60 kms. south of Az-Zafeer. He mentioned also that Kamis el-Makwar (Al-Mukhwah) market was one of the chief villages of the Ghamed but again this is incorrect because Al-Mukhwah belongs to the Bani Omar which is a sub-tribe of the Zahran Tribe.

The British Naval Intelligence Handbook on Arabia (1920) gives little information on Al-Baha but mentions some villages in the Al-Baha area and locates them in the mountains on its route maps. Some of the routes ran from Yemen to Makkah through Al-Baha region. Five villages in Al-Baha - Az-Zafeer, Al-Baha, Muktil-el-Basha, Rahuatalburr and Al-Mandaq - are shown, for example, on the Sikkat as-Saltan route. Another route which ran through the eastern part of Al-Baha, described as an easier route, has Al-Aqiq located on it. Al-Aqiq is described in the following way:

"Aqiq a village on a hillock surrounded by date plantations and cultivation, in an unenclosed plain. Near it is a large square building like a fort and, to the northeast a massive tower on the crest of the highest neighbouring peak" (pp. 210-211).

One volume of the Handbook attempted to show the distribution of the 'Asir tribes. Al-Baha was still considered part of 'Asir. It describes the political situation among the Ghamed and the Zahran tribes but, inspite, of an accurate description of their location and general social circumstances, it repeated some of Cornwallis' mistakes, as for example in the description of the settled people of the Ghamed tribe. 22 parts of the Ghamed tribe were incorrectly identified as sub-tribes. What the names described was no more than a set of villages and some of the sub-tribes mentioned actually belonged to the Zahran tribe. In other words, the Naval Intelligence Handbook added little to what Cornwallis had written and made few corrections.

Although produced as recently as 1947, Thesiger's account of his journey through the Tihama, 'Asir, and the Hijaz mountains is very much in the tradition of these earlier travels. Again, he added little to what was already known. The only places which attracted any degree of attention in Al-Baha were Al-Mukhwah village and the twin- peaked Shada mountain. He drew a map showing his route, some of the physical features and a few of the settlements in the Tihama. He described Al-Mukhwah as:

"A village of single storeyed stone houses and a Thursday market of importance, which lies between Shada and the escarpment in a tangle of wadis and broken hills crowned with the ruins of an ancient village" (pp. 188-89).

But the real value of this report about Al-Mukhwah and its market lies in Thesiger's description of the commodities displayed in the market at that time (1947). He counted twenty different items sold in the market, including cattle, sheep, camels, palm-fronds, dates and grindstones.

Philby (1952), in his earlier book on this area of Western Arabia, reveals that he did not set foot in Al-Baha, though he mentioned incidentally the Ghamed tribe when he described the Beshah area. On the occasion when he was in Al-Gunfudah, a small port on the Red Sea to the south-west of Al-Baha region, he noted his impression of Jabal Shada:

> "a double peaked hill north of Qurama and the main range" of which he added, with much doubt "This must have been very near to the main range if not actually a buttress of it" (p. 689).

Philby was also open to error. He mentioned that Shada mountain had on its slope a large village called Al-Hajrah but, in fact, Al-Hajrah is located about 40 km. north of Shada.

All the European reports produced before about 1970 seem to have taken the same approach when dealing with Al-Baha and often repeated the same mistakes. They concentrated on the tribal situation, largely ignoring the physical characteristics, apart from some exceptional references to valleys and mountains. This might be a result of the political situation at that time when the tribes were powerful in the south-western part of the Arabian Peninsula and the interest of the European reporters seemed to be largely political and military. After all, several powers had tried to subject south-western Arabia to their influence in the early decades of the present century. The Sherif of Makkah, the Wahhabi of the interior (Najd) and the Turks, had all tried but failed to control the area. Only Abdul-Aziz Ibn Saud succeeded. The principal reasons for those failures were the physical difficulties of the terrain, particularly in the west, and the firm resistance of the people against strangers. Abdul-Aziz succeeded because of the easier penetration into the area from the east and the fanaticism of his Ikwan.

3.3 The Literature after 1970

Until as late as 1970 no regional studies had been made of the Al-Baha area, inspite of the position of Al-Baha as one of the fourteen principal Provinces of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. It seems that Al-Baha was at a disadvantage because of its location between the much bigger Makkah Province and 'Asir Province. In addition, the physical difficulties and inaccessibility added another obstacle to scholars and others who might otherwise have studied the area. However, since 1970 several studies have been made. These might be divided into three categories.

The first group consists of four books which concentrate solely on Al-Baha. The earliest was produced in 1970 by As-Salouk, and is really a geographical dictionary of the area. In spite of the lack of maps in this book, the writer visited many villages in the area, described their location and estimated their population. Moreover, he estimated the distances in travel times between the settlements he visited. He measured these distances when the roads allowed him to do so. The book was a remarkable effort at that time when there was still no asphalt road in the area. Between 1970 and 1972, two books appeared about the Zahran tribe by M. Al-Zahrani and G. Al-Zahrani. Both books discussed the social life and the distribution of the Zahran sub-tribes. In 1971 Hamed Al-Jasser's book, Fe Sarat Ghamed wa Zahran, gave his impressions of Al-Baha as the result of travelling widely through it, and his attempt to trace the origin of the tribes there.

The second category of books about Al-Baha consists of several theses submitted to universities in Saudi Arabia or abroad. Some of them were totally about Al-Baha or part of it, while some included the area as a part of a larger study. Most of these theses deal with various geographical aspects of the region (Al-Ghamedi, M. 1978, Al-Ghamedi, A. 1977 and 1986, Mughram 1973, Al-Saleh 1975, Ben Sukr 1982, and Al-Zahrani 1984).

The third category of material consists of official government publications and consultant reports. Some of these are annual reports concerning such matters as agricultural production, commerce, international trade and education, as well as general information about climate and weather. Most of these reports contain material which has been useful in various part of the present study and those therefore deserve further attention.

The first specialist report on the area was produced in 1973. This was a regional physical plan and development programme for the Western Region of the Kingdom including Al-Baha. It contains a comprehensive plan and outlines the possibilities for developing the Western Region. It provides information on its physical setting, population, economic structure, communications, administration and public services. A second report, also produced in 1973, concentrated on the Southern Region and includes information about food production, the exploitation of mineral resources, manufacturing activities and transportation, some of which is relevant to the present study.

In addition to those reports several consultant reports have been produced including, for example, the Sogreah Report (1972) on the water resources in Al-Baha area, and the Italconsult Report on various aspects of the area such as roads, livestock and vegetation.

The most recent report on Al-Baha was produced in 1985. It runs to several volumes and includes a comprehensive range of information. One volume provides a general review of the previous studies. This report, in general, is more accurate than the previous reports because of the way it was supported by more sophisticated surveys. There are maps showing land use, while the general distribution of population and commercial activities are examined. Five districts from the Tihama (plain) and the Sarah (mountain) areas are selected for more detailed study. Not only did the study cost more to produce but the area was by 1985 much more accessible than a decade or so before, thus allowing more surveys to be made. Nevertheless, all the consultant reports suggest only very general solutions to the socio-economic problems of the region because of a shortage of specialist knowledge about it.

3.4 Maps of the Al-Baha area

Map coverage for Al-Baha remains poor. Apart from the maps which were produced during the ninteenth century, some of which have been referred to, the British Navy produced maps for Arabia at a scale of 1:7,500.000 and 1:4,000,000 in 1946. These maps show little of Al-Baha region. The U.S. Geological Survey produced topographic and geologic maps in the 1950s which cover the whole of Saudi Arabia at the scale of 1:500,000. Al-Baha is covered by two sheets in each series but, although the geological and geographical features are very well portrayed, the maps give little information about settlements. In fact, only about ten settlements are shown in Al-Baha and, even then, there are some mistakes in their names.

In the last decade considerable amounts of aerial photography have been carried out at different scales over Saudi Arabia. Some sheets of the resulting maps cover parts of Al-Baha and others cover the whole Al-Baha region. Sixty sheets at the scale of 1:1,000 cover only 45 sq. km. in the four sub-emirates of Al-Baha, Baljurashi, Gilwah and Al-Mandaq. In addition, in 1977, some other maps were produced at a scale of 1:1,000 and cover parts of the previously mentioned sub-emirates. The consultants, Asia Aero Survey Company, have produced four sheets at a scale of 1:10,000, but these cover only Al-Baha town.

In 1985 the Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources produced 25 maps covering the whole of Al-Baha Province at a scale of 1:50,000. The Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs produced fourteen maps at the same scale, but these exclude the Tihama area. However, both map sets are full of information concerning settlements, land use and relief features but there appear to be many mistakes in the names of settlements and physical features. This need not discredit the maps very much, as long as the locational features are correct and this appears to be the case.

This review, the first of its kind, has aimed to show what has been written about Al-Baha. Unfortunately, little of direct value to the study of periodic markets was found. The remainder of the chapter provides an introduction to the physical conditions of the region.

3.5 Location

As has already been made clear, Al-Baha Province is located in the south-western part of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. With an approximate area of 11,150 sq. km. it is the smallest of the fourteen principal Provinces which form the Kingdom. As shown in Figure 3.2 Al-Baha Province is bordered by Makkah Province on most sides while 'Asir Province

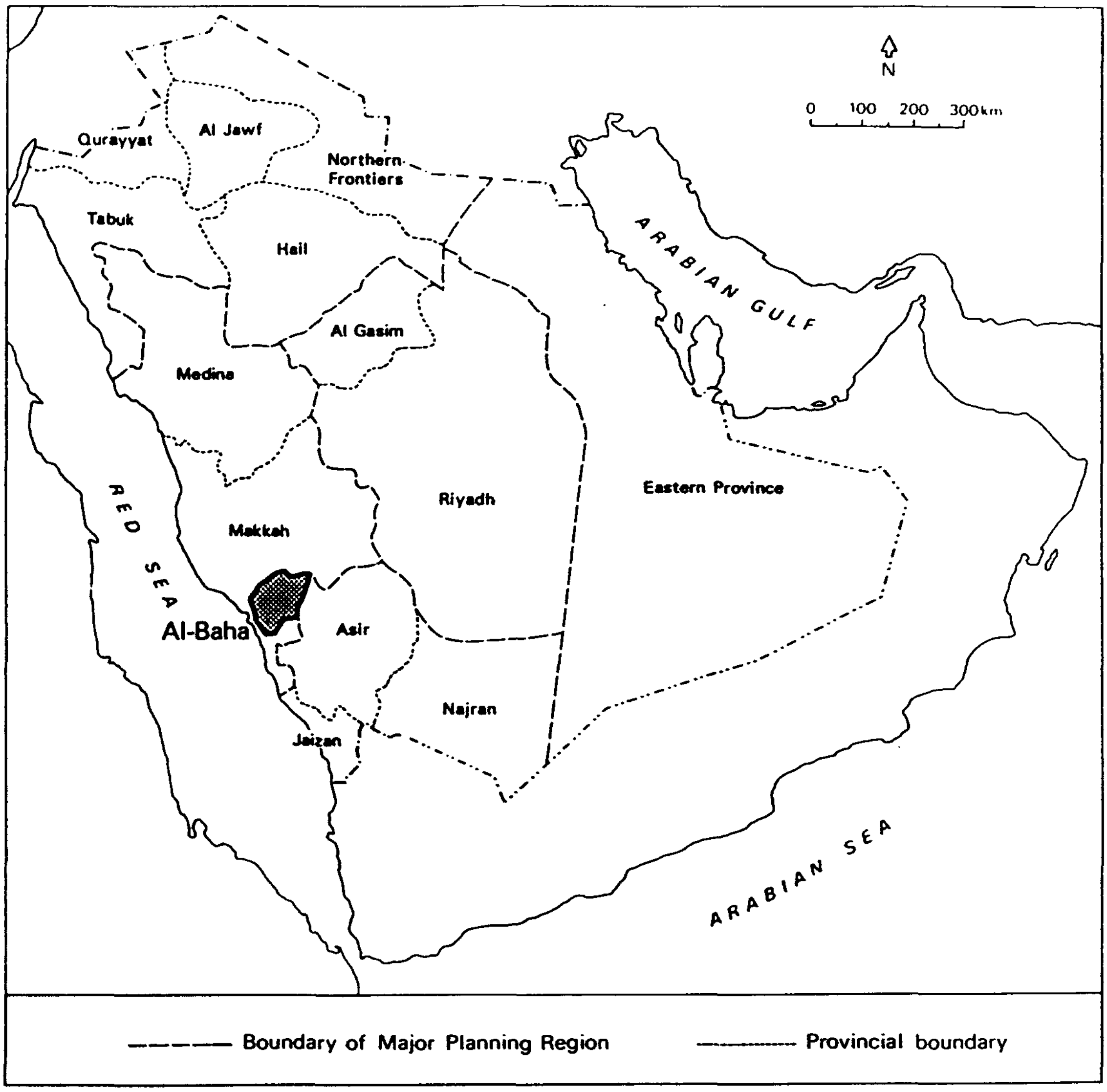

Figure 3.2 Location of the Study Area

Based upon the Atlas of Saudi Arabia

borders it on the south-east. The nearest cities to Al-Baha region are Taif, about 230 km. to the north, and Abha, about 350 km. to the south.

3.6 Physical Conditions

Al-Baha Province forms part of the Arabian Shield, seen in this area as the Hijaz or the Sarah mountains. Most of the area consists of ancient crystalline rocks of schist, gneiss and granite with some younger basalt in the north (Figure 3.3). The study area, as well as the whole Arabian Shield, trends from north-north-west to south-south-west as a part of the Afro-Arabian block (Abdulfattah 1981). When Arabia and north-east Africa were once joined together and separated along the rift, the Arabian and East African blocks came into existence. The Arabian block shows the highest elevation towards its western edge and Al-Baha is a part of this area. The elevation of this western edge increases gradually towards the south-east, ultimately reaching to more than 3000 m. in the Yemen. The physical conditions in Al-Baha, as well as in the western part of the Arabian Peninsula, were affected very much by the rifting of the block and successive faulting. The rift created the outlines of the physical features in the form of the high mountain escarpment overlooking the Red Sea, while other faults created the secondary physical features, including many valleys and hills. In addition, erosional processes active over long time periods have affected the Tihama area to a large degree, creating very deep wadis set in a hilly landscape. The volcanic activities associated with the Red

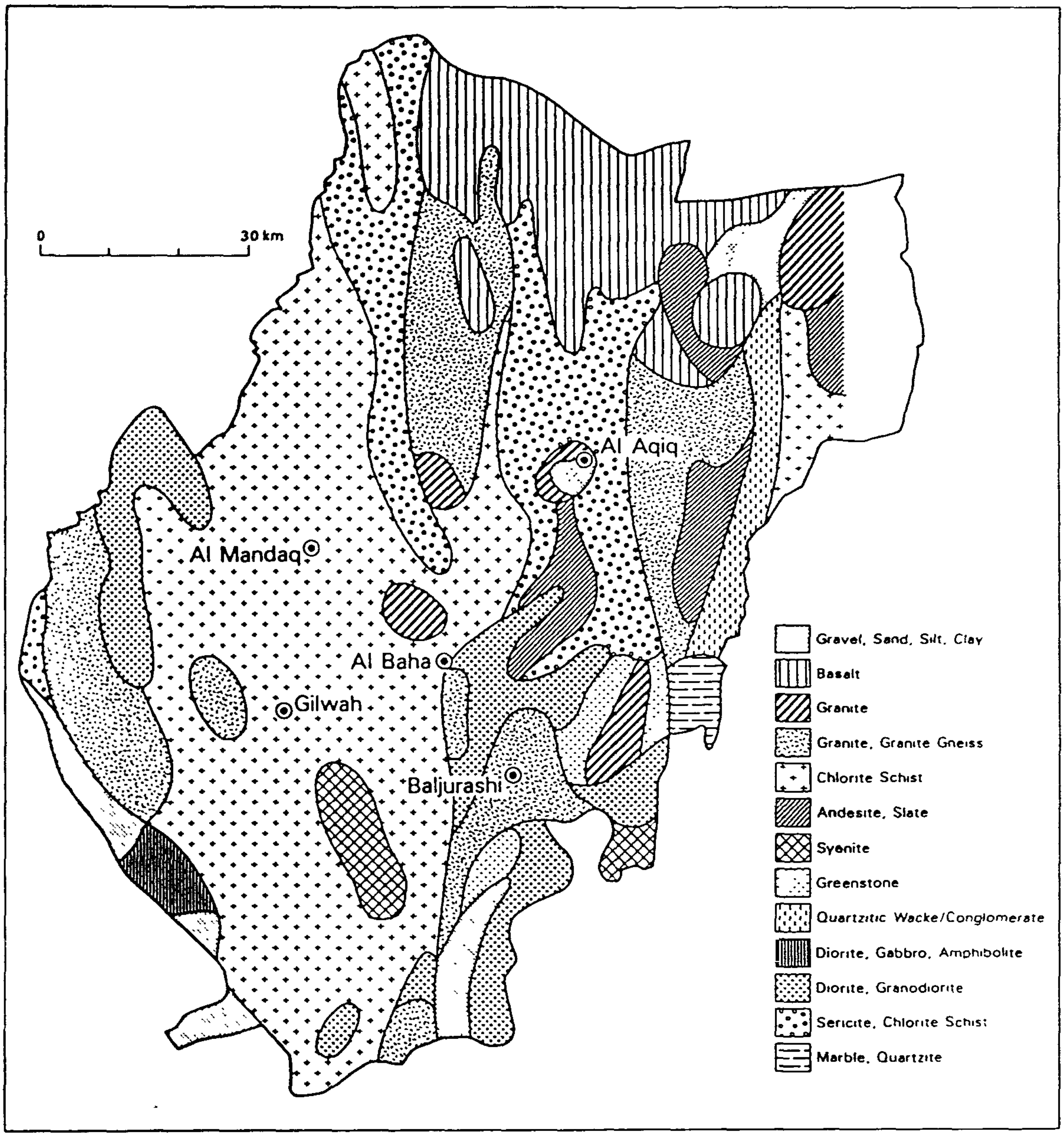

Figure 3.3 The geological features of Al-Baha

Based upon Geological maps of Saudi Arabia,sheet no. 210A/216B

Sea rift left their mark in the north-eastern part of Al-Baha area in the form of extinct volcanoes and basalt sheets.

3.7 Relief

For the purposes of the study, Al-Baha region can be divided into three physical divisions. These three distinct parts are from south-west to north-east: the Tihama area, the Mountain Escarpment and the Sarah east of the main slope. Each area can be further subdivided to understand its impact on the economy and other human activities (Figure 3.4).

3.7.1 The Tihama area

The Tihama is a major component of Al-Baha region, accounting for more than one third of the area (4197 sq. km.). It is situated in the south-west of the Province and reaches to within about twenty km. of the Red Sea. Two parts of it can be distinguished. The first is the sandy plain in the west and the south-west which is the natural extension of the coastal plain along the Red Sea. This plain stretches from north-west to south-east for a distance of about 70 km. within Al-Baha and has a width varying from about 10 km. in the north and middle to about 8 km. in the south. In some places pockets of the sand plain extend eastwards into the hills. Several wadis draining from the east, for example Al-Ahsabah, Wadi Dogah, and Wadi Elyap, penetrate the area and disappear into the sands. The wadis allow some cultivation of sorghum to take place along their banks

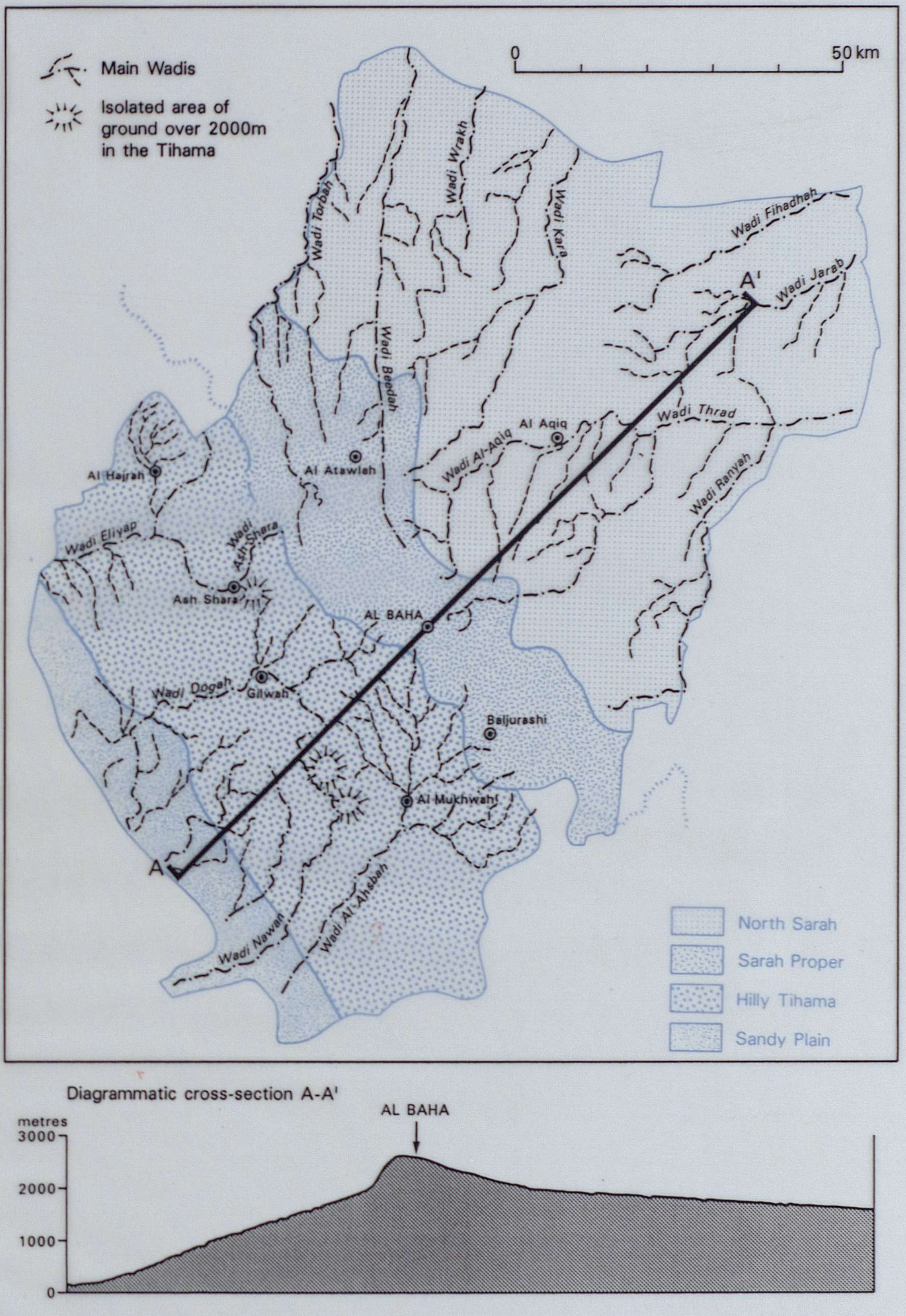

Figure 3.4 The topography of Al-Baha

Based upon Finnplanco Economic Survey

using the irregular flood waters, but the rest of this part of the Tihama is uncultivable and virtually uninhabited. There are no periodic markets in this area.

The second area is the hilly Tihama or upper Tihama, lying between the sandy plain and the Escarpment foot. This comprises the major part of the Tihama and represents the main fault zone. The basic structure of this area was modified by intermittent faulting during Eocene, late Miocene and late Pliocene times. Subsequent erosion of the faulted structures created a pattern of parallel ridges which run from north-west to south-east and descend gradually in height from some 700 m. in the north to 200-300 m. in the south. Some mountains stand above these ridges and approach the much greater height of the Escarpment to the east (Plate 3.1). For example, Jabal Shada reaches about 2,000 m., Jabal Nees 1,900 m. and Jabal Nakarah 1,700 m. and all appear to stand as isolated mountains separated from the main Escarpment. In fact, these peaks are part of a chain of isolated granite mountains, which stretches from west of Taif to the borders of North Yemen (Abdulfattah, 1981).

Although their slopes are very difficult to penetrate, they contain small patches of cultivable land which have attracted some settlers who have created villages. Several villages are found on the lower part of Jabal Nees, while more than twenty villages are found on Jabal Shada. The upper part of Jabal Shada produces a small amount of coffee

Plate 3.1 Jabal Shada, an example of the isolated high mountains in the Tihama

which is mainly consumed locally and has a good reputation in southern Saudi Arabia. The small surplus makes its way to the nearest periodic markets which are at Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah.

The hilly Tihama is watered by several wadis and their branches which descend from the Escarpment and cut through the hills in narrow gorges. Flooding is seasonal and extremely irregular from one year to another but it has deposited potentially fertile soil in the wadi bottoms. The main wadis are Al-Ahsaba, which is located in the southern part of the Tihama, Dogah in the middle section, and Wadi Alyap in the northern part of the Tihama. The upper parts of these wadis, despite their narrowness in comparison with their lower sections, contain most of the settlements and farming land of the area. The reason for this is that the wadi slopes can be terraced for farming using water led onto them by canals from wadis when they are in flood. The lower parts of the wadis, by contrast, lie in the sandy plain which is uninhabitable and uncultivable, as already mentioned.

Because several villages line these upper wadis channels, central villages are found particularly where several small wadis come together. An example is Al-Mukhwah which is located where three wadis - Wadi-Rash, Wadi Zeyan and Wadi Sogama - converge. Ash-Shara and Al-Hajrah periodic markets are similarly located. Ease of communication up the wadis is clearly an important factor in the development of markets at these points.

3.7.2 The Escarpment

The Escarpment is the major feature in the physical and human geography of Al-Baha. It forms the middle section of the area and for convenience it is useful to divide it physically into two parts.

3.7.2.1 The Western Escarpment Face

The slopes forming the western face of the Escarpment vary from place to place. Whilst most are steep, in some locations they are gentle enough for enterprising farmers to have created small plots for agricultural land. Such areas are known locally as Al-Asdar and they occur throughout the southern part of Saudi Arabia along the western face of the main Escarpment. A few small farm settlements are found in association with these Al-Asdar and they usually bear the names of the main villages situated on the top of the Escarpment. Each Escarpment village is normally connected to the slope farms by narrow footpaths which are difficult to negotiate. Farmers visit the small farms on the slope on a weekly or seasonal basis, and coffee beans and flowers are grown there. These items would have been sold in the periodic markets in the Sarah Proper but most of the secondary settlements linked to Al-Asdar farms are now deserted and falling into ruin as a result of the difficulties of access and the changes in the regional economy. Many of the farm lands are no longer worked.

3.7.2.2 Escarpment Mountains

The Escarpment runs from north-west to south-east and basically consists of granite and gneiss, forming bare rock cliffs which drop steeply down to the hilly Tihama (Finnplanco, 1985). The top of the Escarpment is dotted with mountain peaks. The elevation of the scarp varies from about 2000 m. in some places to a maximum of 2,614 m. at Jabal Bydan. One of the highest mountains in Al-Baha is Jabal Ibraheem. This mountain forms the major physical border between Al-Baha Province and Makkah Province to the north. There are several other peaks over 2400 m. at points along the Escarpment, including Jabal Al-Baha (2565 m.) Jabal Bani Thapyan (2466 m.) and Jabal Athrop (2409 m.)

The Escarpment was referred to in ancient literature as As-Sarah mountains (Al-Hamadani and Yagut Al-Hamawi, for example, in the tenth century) but the Sarah mountains have been traditionally divided into several parts and named according to the tribes which inhabited them, thus, Sarat Doss, Sarat Ghamed and Sarat Zahran. The recent literature simply calls the Escarpment mountains the Al-Sarah or Al-Hijaz mountains along their whole distance of 1,300 km. from Taif in the north to the border of North Yemen in the south. Although the Tihama and the Sarah lie close to each other, across the Escarpment, communications and commercial transactions until recently were nearly absent between the inhabitants on either side because of the difficulties of negotiating the scarp. For example, before 1970 the only way to go by car from the Sarah in Al-Baha to the Tihama area closeby was to follow the road which runs through Jeddah, an eight hour drive. This compares with a one hour drive by the direct road route which now exists down the Escarpment. In the past itinerant traders used to cross the Escarpment using their animals to carry the commodities along specific paths only suitable for pedestrians and animals. So difficult were these paths that there were separate ones for laden and unladen animals.

Even so only a few parts of the Escarpment could be penetrated. These were known locally as Eqab, or singular Aqaba, meaning "descent". In Al-Baha there were more than 30 routes and these are shown in Figure 3.5. A few of them were used for the specific purpose of getting to such periodic markets in the Tihama as Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah, but most of them simply connected people in the villages at the Escarpment foot with settlements at its top. Some tribes in the Sarah also maintained villages at the Escarpment foot. These included Bydan, Doss, Bani Kinnanah, Bulkazmer in the north and Baljurashi, Bani Abdellah and Bani Thapyan in the south.

3.7.2.3 The Mountain Zone

The Sarah area to the east of the Escarpment can be divided into two parts: Sarah Proper and North Sarah.

3.7.2.3.1 The Sarah Proper

This part may be considered to be the backbone of Al-Baha in

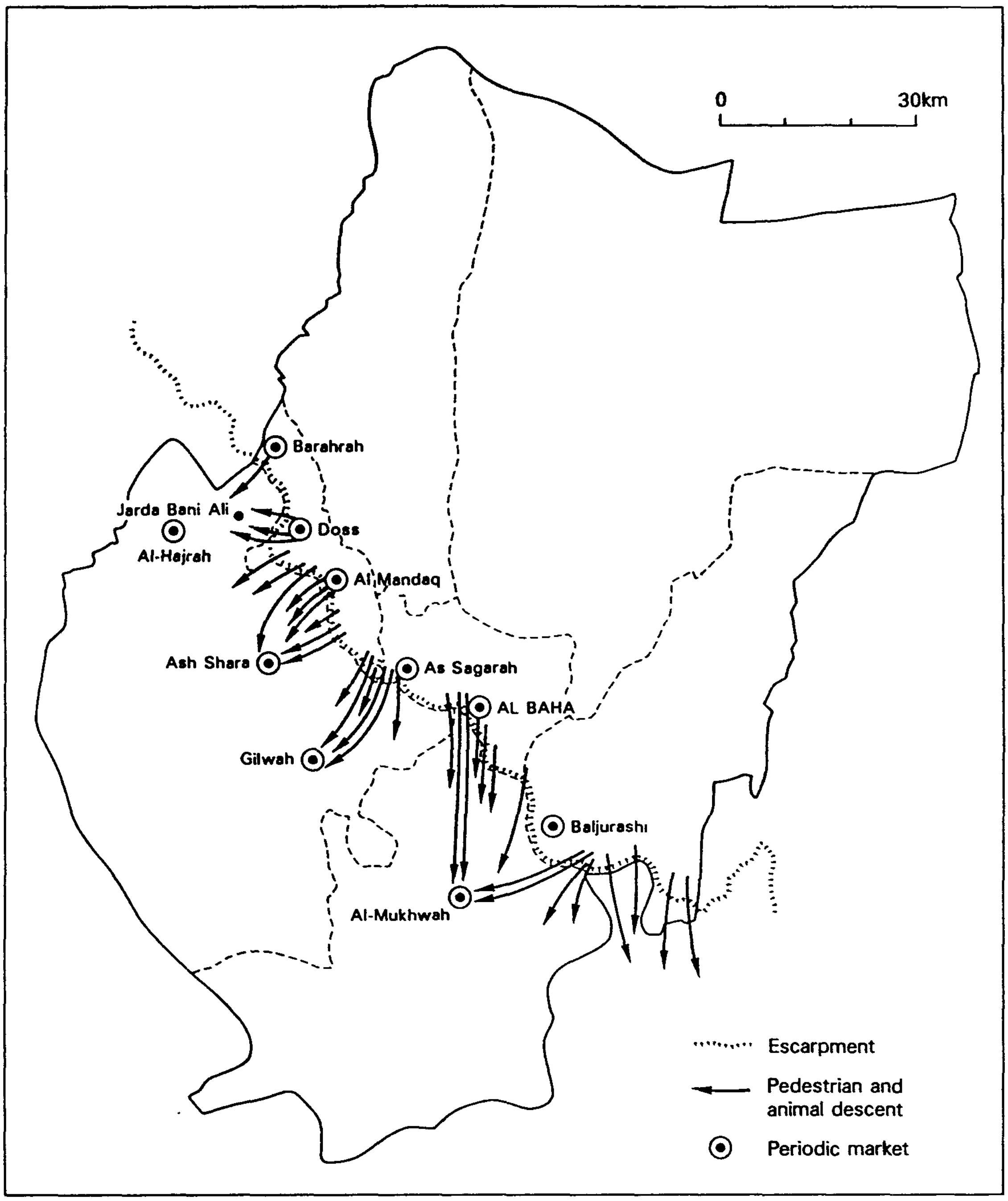

Figure 3.5 The old pedestrian and animal routes between the Sarah and Tihama

being the most densely settled area. It consists of mountain ridges which stretch from the north-west to the south-east, parallel to the Escarpment. It slopes gently to the north-east from maximum heights of about 2200 to 2000 m. and is 10-20 km. wide. It is a much narrower zone than the North Sarah and Tihama but it is the most inhabited part of Al-Baha and contains most of the settlements because of its greater rainfall and developed agriculture. Several wadis originate on the mountains and flow to the east, north-east and north from the Escarpment zone. These include Wadi Beedah and Wadi Torbah, for example, which finally disappear into the sandy area beyond Al-Korma city, 200 km. east of Taif. In Al-Baha these two wadis provide water for farms in that part of the mountains which are the main source of pomegranates. Most of the production goes to the major cities outside Al-Baha but some goes to the local markets. Land along these two wadis is considered the most fertile of the Province. Few settlements are actually found in the wadis because they are very narrow and there is little room for both cultivation and housing. In the southern part of the Proper Sarah, several wadis also descend eastwards from the Escarpment. Their upper basins contain the most easily cultivated soils so that population is concentrated in the upper wadis and the surrounding mountains. Agriculture here depends more on rainwater, and terracing is the principal feature of the cultivated lands. The settlements support several periodic markets.

3.7.2.3.2 North Sarah

This area forms the north-eastern part of Al-Baha and lies parallel to the Sarah Proper. The area consists of lower-lying ridges dissected by several broad wadi courses, the lower parts of the wadis mentioned above. To the east the area gradually descends to the emptiness of the dry Haratin area where, until recently, there were few settlements. The area was once inhabited only by nomads engaged in grazing animals but in the last decade the vast majority of the bedouin have started to settle in the limited places where water is available and where cultivable land exists. New settlements have been set up at Jarab, Kara Al-Hayat,Badiyat Bani Kabeer and Mashogah. The capital of this area is Al-Aqiq which was the first permanent settlement to be established in this area and has been inhabited since the early years of the century. Two periodic markets have been established in the area recently. They are considered unique because the participants gather on Friday after prayer time. This is an unusual time for a periodic market in Al-Baha.

3.8 Climate

Climate has a very considerable impact on human activity in Al-Baha, especially agriculture. Most of Al-Baha's agriculture depends on rainfall but climatic information is not sufficient to document this completely since record-keeping only began relatively recently. Because rainfall is variable in Al-Baha, the climate situation over long periods needs to be examined, so that the limited available data (1966-84) is only sufficient to give a general indication of the climatic character of the area, particularly its temperature and precipitation regimes.

3.8.1 Air Temperature

There are only two stations in Al-Baha collecting full meteorological data on a daily basis. They are at Baljurashi and Al-Mandaq. Both are located in the mountains. There is no station in the Tihama. This deficiency can partly be made good by using data from the Al-Mudhylif station which is located about 5 km. south-west of the Al-Baha boundary in the Tihama. Table 8.1 and 8.2 show the mean maximum and mean minimum temperatures for summer (July) and winter (January) at the three stations.

Table 3.1 Average Temperatures (C) in July at Baljurashi, Al-Mandaq and Al-Mudhylif, 1966-1984.

Region	Station	Elevation(M)	Maximum Mean	Minimum Mean	Difference
Tihama	Al-Mudhylif	53	38	26	12
Sarah	Baljurashi	2400	30	17	13
Sarah	Al-Mandaq	2400	30	16	14

Table 3.2 Average Temperatures (C) in January at Baljurashi, Al-Mandaq and Al-Mudhylif, 1966-1984.

Region	Station	Elevation (M)	Maximum Mean	Minimum Mean	Mean Difference
Tihama	Al-Mudhylif	53	30	25	5
Sarah	Baljurashi	2400	17	9	8
Sarah	Al-Mandaq	2400	14	7	7

Source: Ministry of Agriculture and Water, Hydrology Department, unpublished data.

The differences between the temperatures at the various stations require some explanation. The most important factor is altitude, but the Red Sea also has effects. The much higher mean temperatures in the Tihama compared with the Sarah suggest that altitude plays a very important role. The Tihama part of Al-Baha Probvince has elevations of between 50 to 500 m. so that this area is one of the hottest places in Saudi Arabia. The mean annual temperatures are above 30 C. In the Sarah areas which are over 2000 m. high, temperatures are cooler with an annual mean of 19 C. In both areas, though, the scarcity of rain and cloud cover add to the intense heat.

Latitudinal effects within the region are limited because the study area only stretches from 19° 24′ to 20° 41′ N. In addition, the impact of the Red Sea on the temperatures is also limited to some parts of the Tihama. Onshore winds reduce the temperature but this effect lessens gradually eastwards and is little felt in the Sarah.

3.9 Rainfall

Precipitation affects the natural vegetation, the grazing possibilities for animals and the opportunities for agriculture but, because rainfall amounts are small and it varies greatly from year to year and from place to place, limited reliance can be placed on it. Figure 3.6 attempts to show its distribution. Annual precipitation amounts in the region are affected by the same factors as temperature.

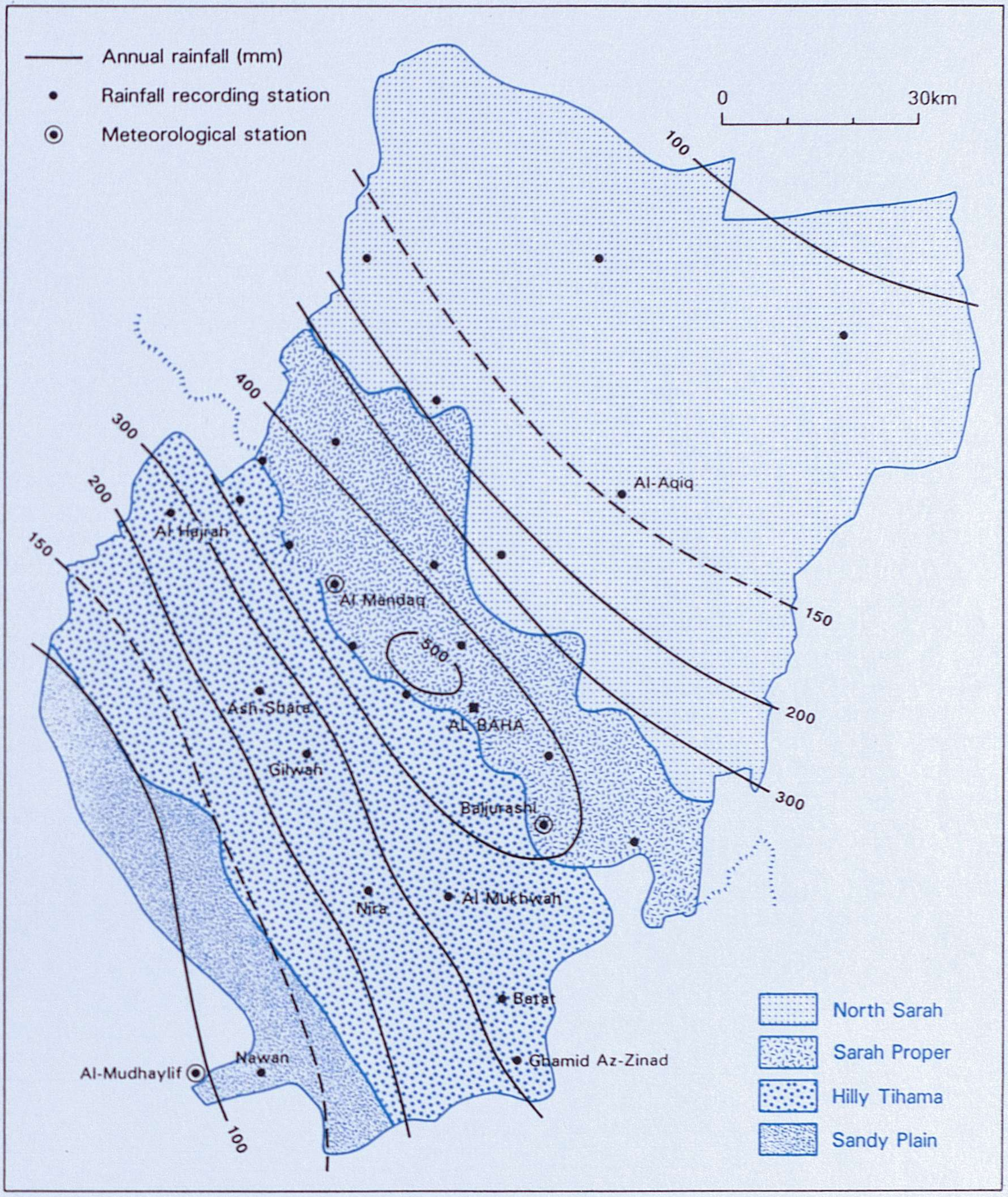

Figure 3.6 Rainfall in Al-Baha

Based upon Finnplanco Economic Survey

Whereas only three stations record temperature, there are 32 rainfall stations distributed over the whole of the Al-Baha area. Data has been recorded at them for 8-17 years which might be considered sufficient to give an assessment of rainfall conditions, apart from the long-term variabilities which can occur.

Table 3.3 Rainfall Distribution in Al-Baha.

Physical Zone	Mean Annual Rainfall (mm)
Lower Tihama	100-150
Upper Tihama	100-400
Sarah Proper	300-500
Northern Sarah	100-300

Source: Finnplannco, Economic Survey, 1985.

It is convenient to divide Al-Baha into four topographic zones to interpret the rainfall conditions. The impact of altitude on rainfall is clear in Table 3.3. In the lower and upper Tihama, the annual rainfall is between 100-400 mm, while in the Sarah Proper it reaches as much as 500 mm. Rainfall amounts decline to the north-east into the drier Northern Sarah. This helps to explain why most settlement is found in the Sarah Proper. There is, however, considerable local variation between stations in the same area. For example, in 1976 Al-Hajrah received 110 mm, while Gilwah which is only some 40 kms away at the same altitude received 15 mm. Equally marked are inter-annual variations. For example, Al-Mukhwah received 601 mm in 1972 but only 113 mm in 1980.

None of these data can indicate the occurrence of extreme climatic events like flood and drought, which probably have the greater impact on the periodic market system than any other aspect of the climate. Occasional heavy rainfall does much damage to the roads and the results in a mountain area with rudimentary roads are not difficult to imagine. Floods destroy the bridges and wash out the paved roads, so that market traders are not able to convey their commodities to market. In 1983, for example, there were floods in several parts of Al-Baha and some roads were closed for nearly a week. Repairing the roads takes time because of the difficult nature of the terrain.

At the other extreme are the indirect effects seen on the agricultural and livestock systems of the area. For example, drought in 1982 led to a scarcity of some crops and animals in the periodic markets.

In more general terms, topographic conditions and climate affect the pattern of settlements and communications on which the periodic markets depend. For example, it has already been noted that the wadis in the Tihama area direct the movements of people and goods to points where wadis converge and these become convenient locations to establish periodic markets. In the Sarah area rainfed farming based on terraced cultivation of the slopes has resulted in a greater concentration of settlements which, in turn, supported more periodic markets than are found in the Tihama. Population distribution and tribal affiliation also had their influence over the creation of periodic markets and these background influences will be considered in the next chapter.

PART TWO

Population, Economic Activities and the Service Centre Patterns

CHAPTER FOUR

THE POPULATION OF AL-BAHA

4.1 Introduction

The first part of the thesis has attempted to provide background material by considering the organization of the work, a literature review of periodic markets and of Al-Baha and the physical basis of the study area. In Part Two further background is provided on the human and economic characteristics of the region and its service centre pattern, of which the markets form a major part. This chapter is concerned with the region's population and begins with a consideration of its tribal background which is relevant not only to the settlement pattern but also to the distribution of markets.

Historical evidence supports the view that the population in Al-Baha probably originated from the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula which is currently the Arab Republic of Yemen. After the destruction in about 542-3 A.D. of the Marib Dam (Hitti 1964) on which the people depended for agricultural subsistence, the population in that area emigrated in a northerly and easterly direction. The people who emigrated to the east settled in the Oman area, while those who emigrated towards the north settled in what is now south-western Saudi Arabia (between Taif and Najran). Some recent authorities believe that the reason for the emigration of people from Yemen was because of tribal conflict but this view seems to be unacceptable to many historians of the region. However, the tradition is strong that the origin of the population in Al-Baha area, as well as in the 'Asir region, lies in what is currently North Yemen.

4.2 The Tribal Social Organization of the Population of Al-Baha

As was stated in Chapter Three, it is also known that Al-Baha was until recently called "the Ghamed and Zahran Land", referring to the two principal tribes occupying the area. In legend the Ghamed tribe is said to be descended from Ghamed Ben Abdullah Ben Kab-Ben Al-Harth, the first Ghamedi who came to the area. The Zahran claim descent from Zahran Ben Kah Ben Abdullah Ben Al-Harth, who was the uncle of Gamed (As-Salouk 1970, pp. 4,7).

Whatever the truth of these stories, tribal organization is the basic social structure in Al-Baha and because it influences the market pattern it needs to be explained. The principal tribes, the Ghamed and Zahran, whose territories are shown in Figure 4.1, are divided into a number of sub-tribes. The main ones are shown in Figure 4.1 and all are listed in Table 4.1. This is the result of the widening of kinship ties which takes place over time. Table 4.1 shows the Ghamed tribe is divided into sixteen sub-tribes, while the Zahran is divided into 24 sub-tribes. The Ghamed tribe occupies a high proportion of the Sarah (mountain) sector and a small part of the southern Tihama, whereas the Zahran tribe occupies a considerable proportion of the

Tihama and only a small proportion of the Sarah. Moreover, nomads are concentrated in the Ghamed area, especially in the north-eastern part of Al-Baha, while there are only a few nomadic people among the Zahran tribe. Nevertheless, some sub-tribes of the Zahran are semi-nomadic and they are concentrated in the west of the Tihama area.

Table 4.1 The Ghamed and the Zahran Sub-Tribes.

Ghamed	Zahran
Bani Abdellah	Bani Hassun
Baljurashi	Bani Kinanah
Bani Thapyan	Bulkhazmer
Bani Kothame	Doss Bani Faham
Bal-Shaham	Doss Bani Ali
Ar-Rahwah	Bydan
Bani Kabeer	Al-Amer
Rifah	Goraish
Al-Zohran	Bani Adwan and Bani Horare
Al-Hilah	Bani Basheer
Al-Talip	Doss Bani Monhip
Al-Kanazah	Doss Balayash and Batofial
Al-Hajahijah	Bani Jundup
Al-Mosalam	Bani Omar Al-Ashaiep
Al-Zawyah	Bani Omar Al-Ali
Ghamed Az-Zinad	Al-Shogban
	Bal-Mofazal
	Al-Jobur
	Bani-Shehah
	Al-Ahlaf
	Bal-Aswad
	Al-Abd Al-Hameed
	Awlad Sadi
	Al-Sad
16	24

Source: (1) Fieldwork 1987.

(2) As-Salouk 1970.

The reasons for the more nomadic and semi-nomadic forms of occupancy in north-east and western Al-Baha relate to the lack of sufficient rainfall for sustained agriculture and

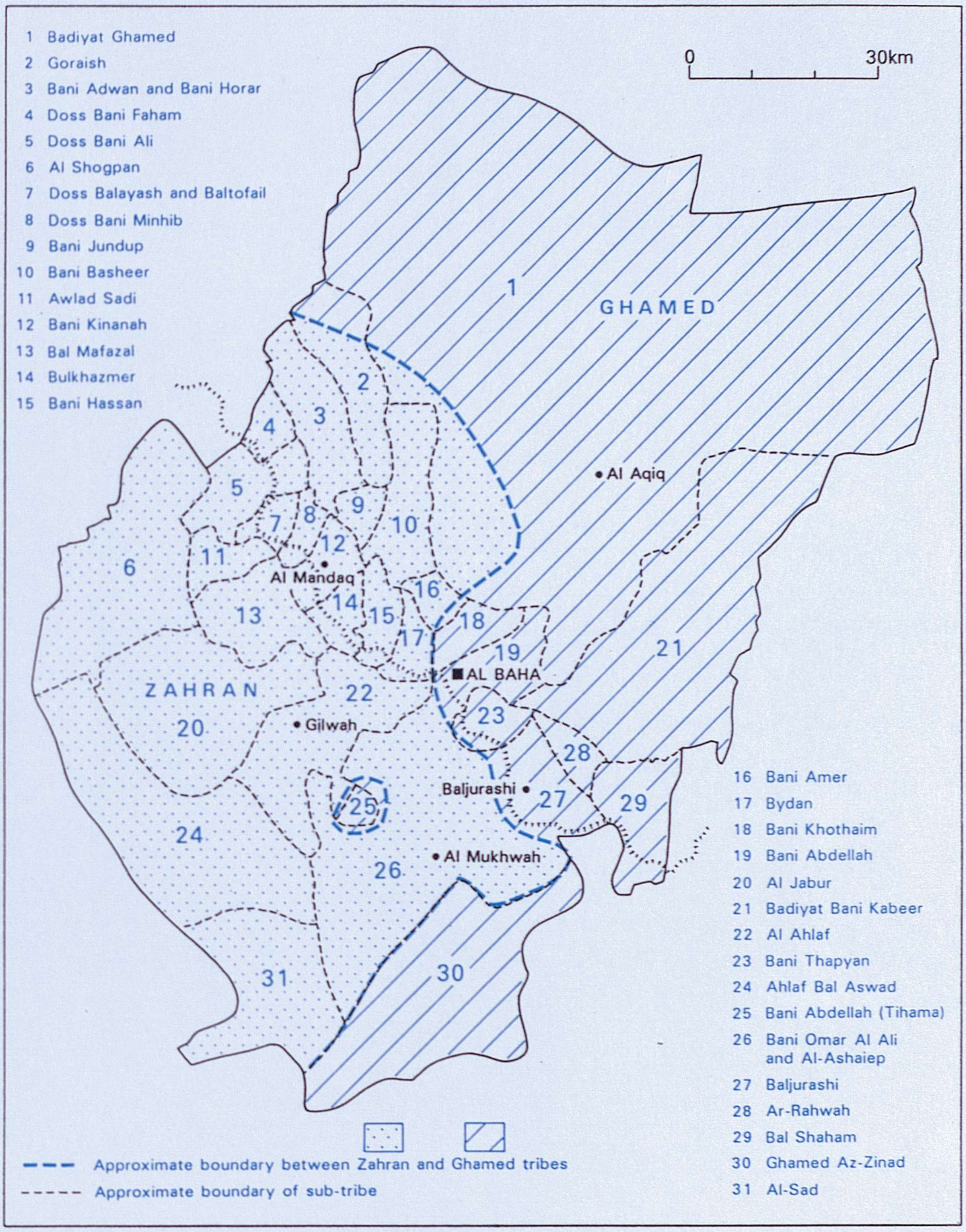

Figure 4.1 The distribution of the main Ghamed and Zahran subtribes

the nature of the land in these areas; much of the surface is uncultivable. The balance between semi-nomadism and cultivation elsewhere is decided by the scarcity of rainfall and the amount of the cultivable land available. Circumstances thus enable the dwellers in north-western Tihama to adopt the semi-nomadic rather than fully nomadic option. They settle when the rainy season begins and move when the dry season starts.

4.3 Tribal Organization and the Distribution of Periodic Markets

Tribal organization has lost much of its importance in the region but it helps to account for the pattern of markets that has evolved. Generally speaking, most sub-tribal areas in Al-Baha possess their own periodic markets but two main conditions seem to have been required to create this pattern. These conditions were that there was sufficient population and purchasing power to support a market, and the sub-tribe was able to maintain security and order in the periodic market, as well as in the tribal territory. The character and pattern of periodic markets in Al-Baha will be detailed in later parts of the thesis but one effect of the tribal structure - relative tribal strength - on them can be referred to here.

Examination of the distribution of periodic markets shows the importance of their tribal base. It also shows that the main markets were set up by the sub-tribe with the greatest number of people and largest amount of tribal power. This is the case, for example, with the periodic markets at Baljurashi, Al-Baha, Al-Mandaq, Al-Mukhwah, Al-Atawlah, Gilwah, and Al-Hajrah. These periodic markets belong to sub-tribes which are considered the strongest in the area.

In some cases in the past smaller sub-tribes tried to create their own periodic markets but this brought confrontation with a stronger sub-tribe adjacent to them, who feared the competition and confrontation. Under these circumstances, the periodic markets of individual small sub-tribes generally disappeared. Two examples of this are given in Figure 4.2. Both refer to market developments that failed earlier in this century. The periodic market in Al-Marwah village is adjacent to Al-Mukhwah periodic market, shown in Figure 4.2. Al-Marwah periodic market belonged to the small Bani Omar Al-Ashaiep sub-tribe and took place on Thursdays. This competed with the market at Al-Mukhwah belonging to a larger sub-tribe, which was also held on a Thursday. As a result, the smaller Al-Marwah periodic market failed to survive.

Often the only solution for the smallest sub-tribes to meet the competition to their markets from the biggest sub-tribes was for them to form alliances and to share their markets. It was in this way that most of the smallest sub-tribes succeeded in creating their own periodic market. But even this did not always succeed. For example, the Goraish, Bani Jundup, and Bani Basheer are three adjacent sub-tribes in

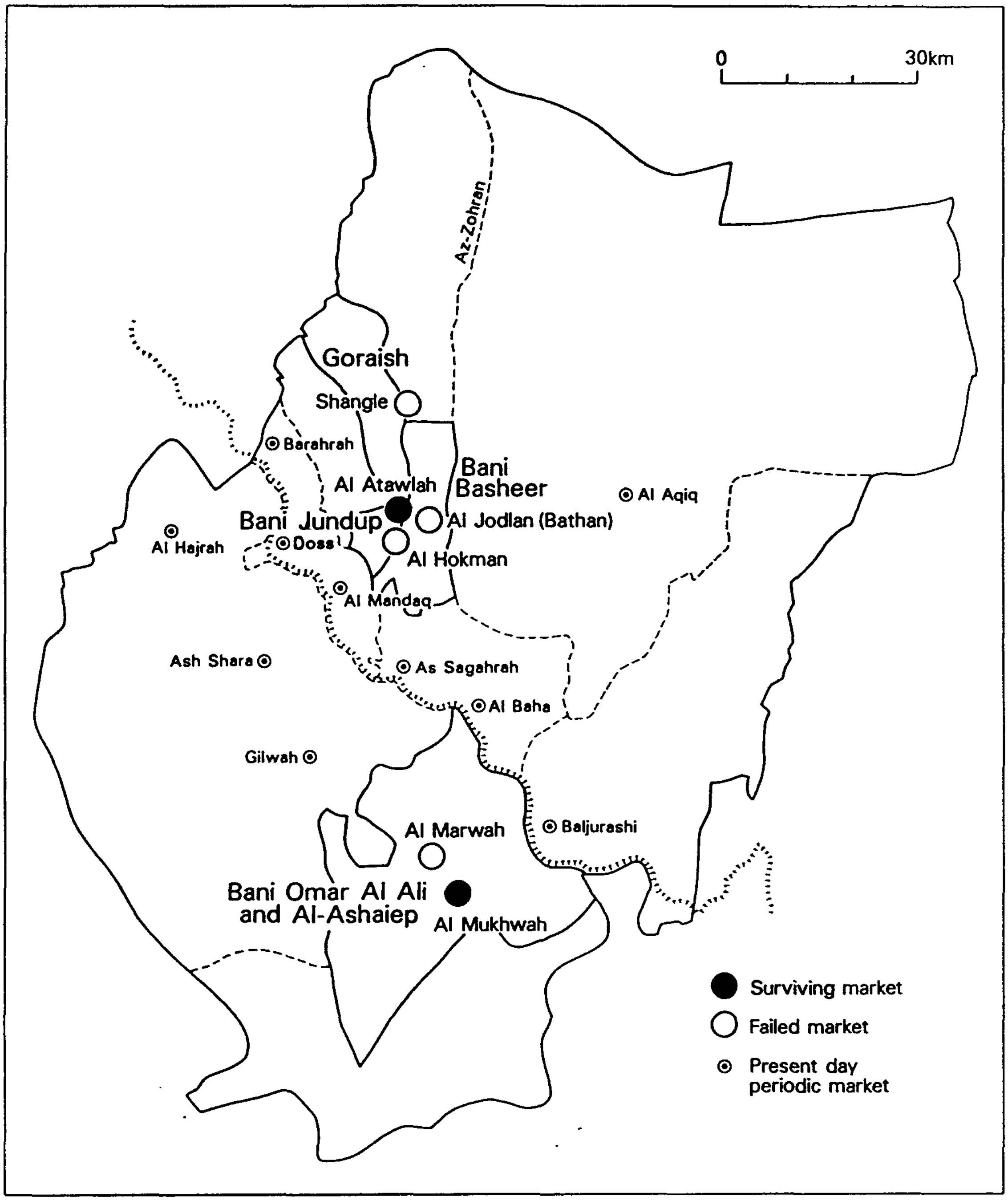

Figure 4.2 Examples of market competition early in this century

the north Sarah Proper of which the largest in population number and territory is the Goraish. In the normal situation of the three sub-tribes one would expect them to share a periodic market and presumably it would be in the Goraish territory. However, because of competition between these tribes over pasture, the Goraish created their own Thursday market in Al-Atawlah village. The Bani Jundup and Bani Basheer sub-tribes agreed to ally together to create a periodic market able to withstand competition from the Goraish market. They established their periodic market, also on a Thursday, in Al-Hokman village but, because of its inconvenient location and because it operated on the same day as the Goraish market, it failed. After a few months, however, it was replaced by Al-Jodlan market close by. The success of Al-Jodlan market later weakened the Goraish market because of competition. Goraish and Az-Zohran sub-tribes finally agreed to ally together to create Shangle market on Thursday as well. But Shangle market only survived a few years. However, Bathan and Goraish markets competed with each other until Bathan market died 1n the late 1940s while Goraish market survived and is now Al-Atawlah market.

It has already been pointed out that evidence on the date of establishment and closure of every market is sparse and the writer could not obtain sufficient information on each market to be able to review the changing pattern of periodic markets over the centuries. However, when sub-tribes allied themselves they usually documented their shares in the periodic market and these documents do provide some clearer evidence of the history of particular markets (1). The document, called the Akoud al Suq, often records the conditions which led to the creation of the periodic market, the market regulations to be enforced and the people in charge of each sector of the market. These documents have been useful, in some cases, in detailing the origin of markets in Al-Baha region.

Studies of the documents and other sources have shown that although one market per sub-tribe is normal, some sub-tribes owned more than one periodic market, For example, the Bani Abdellah sub-tribe once had two periodic markets. The reason for this seems to be that two adjacent settlements (Al-Baha and Az-Zafeer) were the biggest among the Bani Abdellah sub-tribe and each claimed the right to establish a periodic market in its location. But, about 150 years ago, Az-Zafeer market failed. Then, more than 50 years ago, Az-Zafeer village re-established its market when the people there took advantage of its becoming the site of the seat of the Province. Even so this advantage did not boost the periodic market there and eventually Az-Zafeer market failed again because it could not compete with Al-Baha periodic market and because the Emirate seat was transferred to Baljurashi.

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(1) It can be noted that it is not necessary for the sub-tribes which agree to ally together to create a periodic market to have equal shares in the market. According to the tribal constitution of Al-Baha, the sub-tribe in whose territory the periodic market is situated will normally have the larger share. Each tribal shareholding group has the right to build shops and to participate in the conduct of the market.

There is no information about how long Az-Zafeer market lasted from its very first foundation, but it lasted more than 30 years after its second foundation, that is until the early 1970s.

The establishment of a periodic market by individual sub-tribes seems to have been influenced in the past by several factors. Some of these are, as one would expect, essentially economic factors. There was sufficient produce to be traded and often markets were set up to diversify the income of villagers from farming into trade activities as both producers and as sellers. Additional activity was generated in conveying the commodities to the periodic markets or between the markets. A third economic benefit of a periodic market to the community was to rent shops and get taxes from the traders. But in other villages the establishment of a periodic market was more influenced by political factors. This was especially the case amongst the smallest sub-tribes who wanted to affirm their identity and try to escape subjugation to other, larger sub-tribes. Any economic gain which might be received was secondary to this.

Often economic and political factors were both important in the past, when tribal organization was predominant, but their importance has declined over the past twenty years as Al-Baha has witnessed the beginning of rapid and profound social and economic change. Improvements in transportation, the increase in the number of educated people and the growth of per capita incomes have undermined tribal organization as the foundation of Al-Baha society. With changing economic conditions several markets have closed since they could not compete with larger markets or with newly established shops. In the process of socio-economic change, the responsibility for surviving periodic markets slipped out of the local tribesmen's control into the bigger hands of the Government. These and other points of change in the market pattern will be examined later.

4.4 Population Distribution

4.4.1 Introduction

Two official censuses have been conducted in Saudi Arabia. The first was taken in 1962 when the Government started to plan for the first five year development plan (Al-Blehed, 1982). This census was not well organized and the enumerators were mostly untrained school students. Moreover, the lack of good communications, the physical difficulties of the country, the dispersal of the nomads across the desert, and the overall lack of experience of running a census greatly devalued it. Inevitably, perhaps, the first census was doomed to failure. The results were not released, but it became known that the total population of Saudi Arabia at that time was estimated at more than three million. No details were released on Al-Baha's population.

The second census was held in 1974. The results were published in 1977 and showed that Al-Baha had a population of 185,850, when the population of Saudi Arabia exceeded seven million (1).

To facilitate the census procedures, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was divided into fourteen divisions which follow the principal emirates. Every province is divided into several sub-emirates. Al-Baha for example, is divided into sixteen sub-emirates. These are shown in Figure 4.3.

Other estimations (shown in Table 4.2) have been made of the population of the Al-Baha region from time to time, and it is worth looking at these estimates to compare them with the official census of 1974. In the second decade of this century, the population of Al-Baha area had been estimated at only 90,000, two thirds being Ghamed and one-third Zahran (Cornwallis, 1916). In 1970, As-Salouk estimated the population of Al-Baha region at 266,625, three times the figure in 1916. The Ghamed tribe was given as 104,630 and the Zahran tribe as 161,995 (2).

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(1) This census, taken nearly twelve years after the first one, was more accurate. It was very well organized and the preparation for it took about two years. The enumerators who participated, including the present author, received fifteen days of intensive seminars.

(2) The governor of Al-Baha at that time (Al-Sodairy) was not satisfied with that estimation and believed that the total population was greater. He expressed his view in his preface to As-Salouk's book.

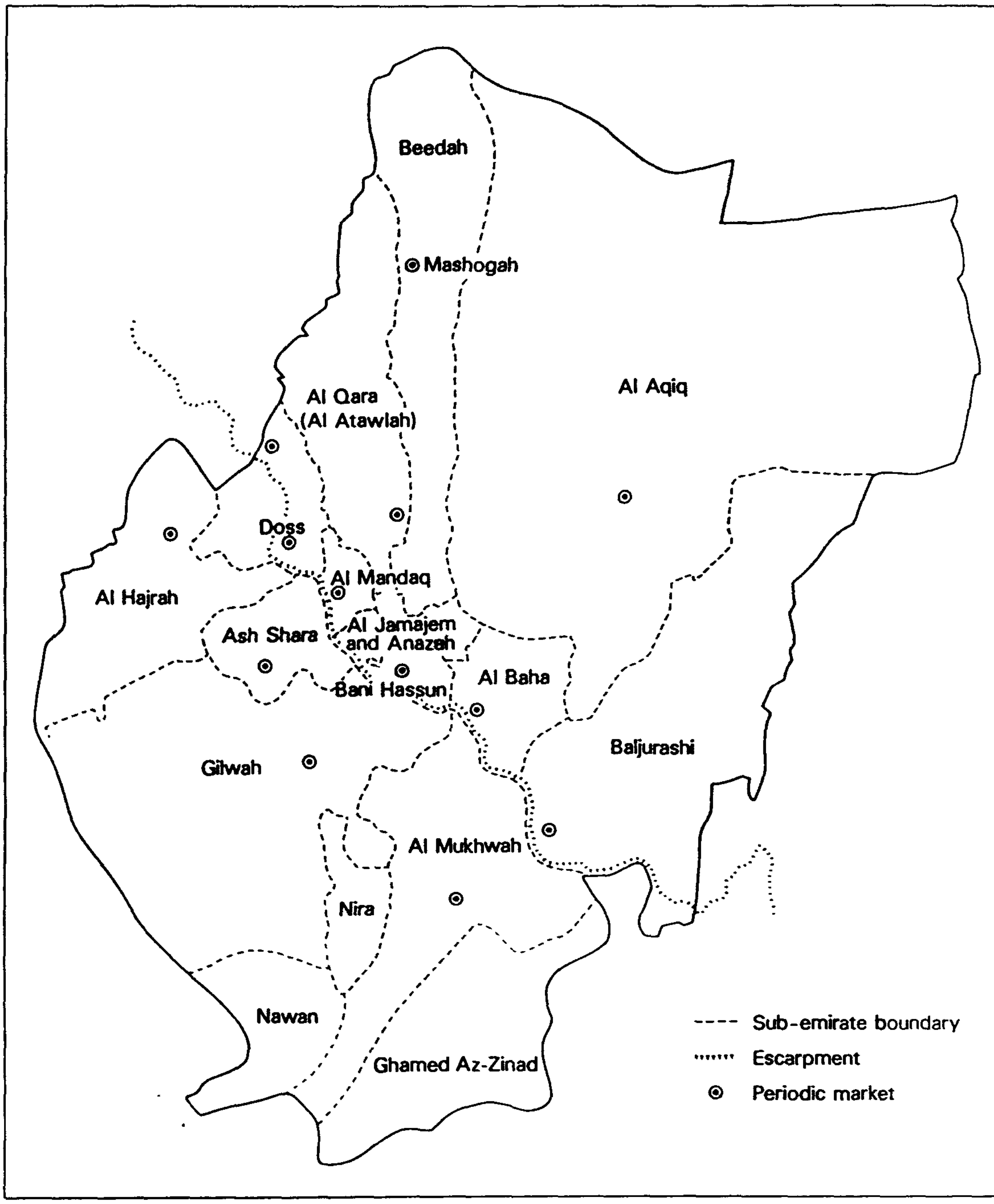

Figure 4.3 The sub-emirates in Al-Baha in 1974

Based upon Finnplanco Economic Survey

Table 4:2 Population of Al-Baha: Estimates and Official Census.

	Corn-Wallis 1916	Estim - ation 1968	As-Salouk 1970	Estim-ation 1973	Official Census 1974	Estim-ation 1982	Estim-ation 1986
Sarah	--- -	101,450	----	120,271	137,060	211,740	----
Tihama	----	49,800	----	46,424	48,o90	62,050	----
Total	90,00	151,250	266,625	166,695	185,850	273,790	290,000

Source: (1) Ministry of the Interior and Municipal Affairs, Consultants, Robert Mathew, Johnson-Marshall and Partners, 1973.

(2) As-Salouk, 1970.

(3) Cornwallis, 1916.

(4) Population Census, 1974.

(5) Finnplanco, Economic Survey, 1985.

(6) Saudi Consulting House, 1986

A 1968 estimate of the population, at 151,250, and another of 166,695 in 1973 suggest that As-Salouk's figure in 1970 was too high. In the 1968 and 1973 estimates less than one-third of the population was believed to live in the Tihama and that population has fallen as a percentage with each subsequent count. In 1974 the official census data showed that the total population of Al-Baha was 185,850, of which 26 per cent was in the Tihama.

The population was estimated again in 1982 and gave a total of 273,790. This estimate was probably more accurate than the others, in that it was based on a 5 per cent random sample interview of households and a direct count for the non-householders, such as the population in hospitals and company compounds. According to this estimate the share of the population in the Tihama had fallen to 23 per cent of the total. The 1986 estimation at 290,000 provided no details, and excluded non-Saudis in the region. These estimates suggest that Al-Baha's population is rapidly growing but the proportion in the Tihama is falling.

The 1974 census and 1982 estimation, as the more reliable counts, can be compared to give a clearer picture of the population growth in the two parts of Al-Baha. Table 4.3 summarises this and shows the considerable increase of population in the Sarah. Whereas the mean annual population growth in the Tihama between 1974 and 1982 has been 3 per cent, it has been 5.5 per cent in the Sarah.

Overall the 1974 and 1982 figures suggest a growth rate of almost 5 per cent per year in the region. A variety of reasons, including improvements in living standards and health care, reduction in emigration and the return of some emigrants because of the increasing opportunities of working in Al-Baha, are all important in explaining this rapid growth.

Table 4.3 Population Growth in the Tihama and Sarah areas, 1974-1982.

Area	Population 1974	Population 1982	Increase 1974-1982	Annual Population Growth
Sarah	137,060	211,740	74,680	5.5%
Tihama	48,790	62,050	13,260	3.0%
Total	185,850	273,790	77,940	4.9%

Source: Finnplanco, Economic Survey, 1985.

The differential rates of increase in population in the Tihama and the Sarah might also be attributed to several influences. First, government has become a major employer and the Sarah has become the area in Al-Baha where most of the governmental regional administrative offices are situated. These attract more people to work in them compared with governmental offices in the Tihama. Second, while the main Sarah zone is only one-seventh of the total area of the whole region, it contains roughly two-thirds of Al-Baha's population so that this population concentration has stimulated more private sector investment. Several enterprises, mostly concerned with construction and repair, have been established there in recent years as the local economy has developed. These enterprises have attracted a considerable workforce from rural areas, including the Tihama. Third, 78.3 per cent of the non-Saudi workforce, which totalled 8,530 in 1982, is concentrated in the Sarah area. Again the reason seems to be the existence of many more jobs for expatriates in the Sarah. Finally, out-migration has continued unabated, or may have increased, from the Tihama because of its relative backwardness. No estimate of regional out-migration was made until 1982, but the 1974 census shows that there was a considerable absence of males in the working age groups (15-59 years) in Al-Baha. The 1982 estimation shows much more balance between the male and female populations because there was by then a net inward migration of about 27,000 between 1974 and 1982, with male immigrants twice as numerous as females. Most of the returning males were in the 20-39 age group (Finnplanco, 1985). That is, the pattern and causes of any continued out-migration, at least from the Sarah, had changed over these years. Whereas the out-migration up to the 1970s was mainly to seek better opportunities outside Al-Baha, more recently most out-migration is a more temporary move to receive an education, and probably to begin a career, with many men returning after a few years away. But out-migration from the Tihama probably continues for more basic traditional economic reasons, with fewer young people returning, so that its population grows at a slower rate than the Sarah. But data is so lacking that further analysis of these trends is not possible.

4.5 Population Density

In 1974, Al-Baha Province ranked tenth in size of population of the Provinces in Saudi Arabia (Table 4.4) but came second in population density. However, the population density varied considerably across the Al-Baha region. Examination of the population data shows that the population was concentrated in the sub-emirates on the eastern edge of the main Escarpment. The concentration of population in the

Sarah area means that more than half the population in the Al-Baha region (163,270) in 1982 lived in an area of only 1,812 sq.km., at an average density of 90 per sq. km., while 110,520 people lived in an area of 9,338 sq.km. which included the whole Tihama area and the north-eastern part of the Sarah, at a density of between 13 to 20 inhabitants per sq.km.

Table 4.4 Provincial Population Size in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 1974.

Administrative Province	Population	Density per Sq. Km.
Makkah	1,760,216	12.92
Riyadh	1,259,145	3.55
Eastern Province	762,037	1.97
Asir	678,679	8.50
Medina	516,636	3.67
Jaizan	408,334	26.31
Al-Qasim	408,334	4.34
Haile	324,543	2.19
Tabook	265,216	2.03
Al-Baha	185,850	17.39
Najran	144,097	1.o5
Northern Border	127,082	1.05
Al-Jawf	66,738	1.03
Al-Qurayyat	3,253	0.62
Total	5,453,285	6.21

Source: Population Census, 1974.

According to the 1982 estimate, the highest density of all occurred in the Bani Thabyan sub-emirate in the Sarah, 10 km. south of Al-Baha town (316 persons per sq.km.). But Figure 4.4 shows that high densities were also found either side of it, along the Escarpment. Densities fell away to west and east, rising locally in parts of the Tihama to 27

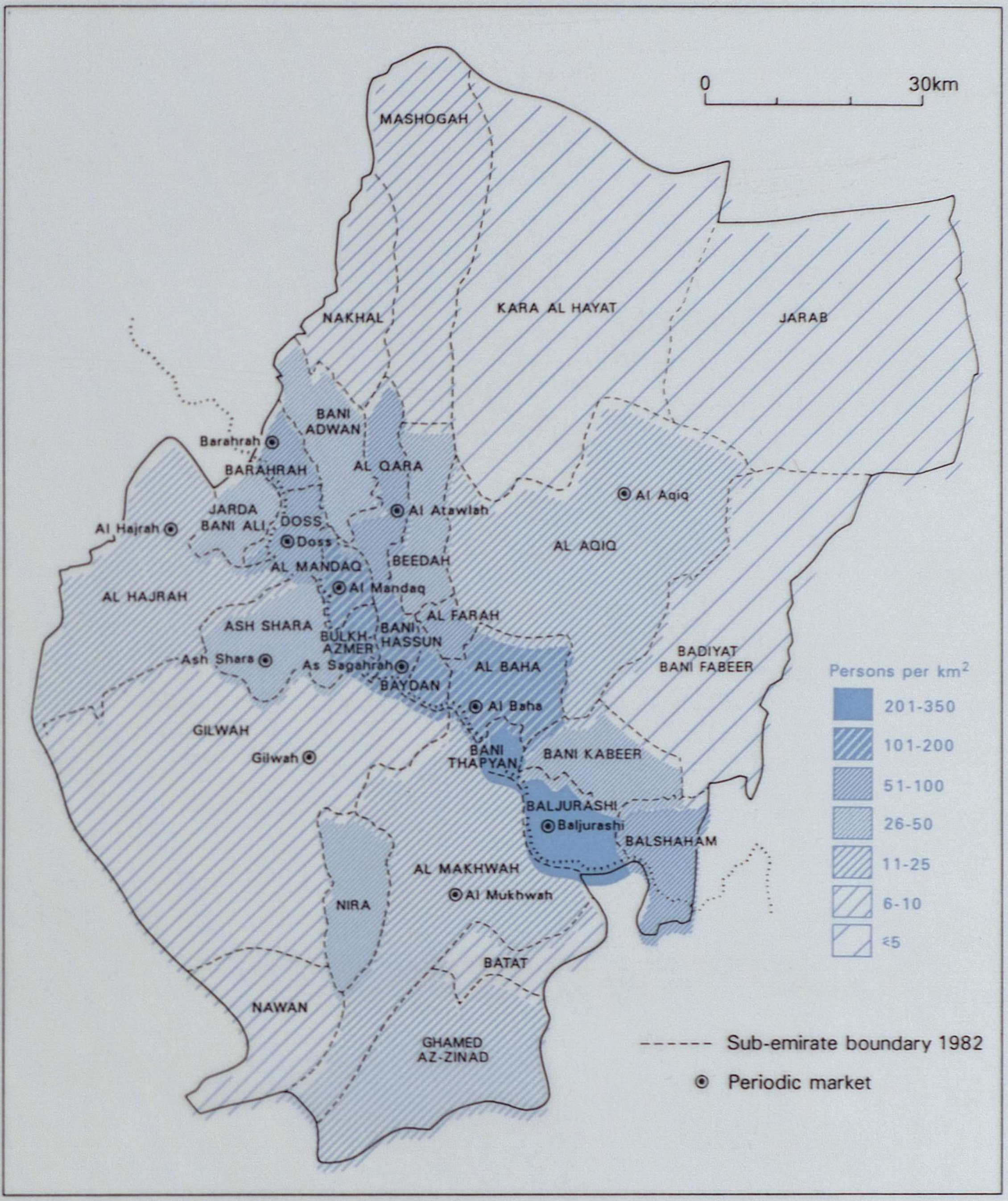

Figure 4.4 Population density in the sub-emirates in 1982

Based upon Finnplanco Economic Survey

persons per sq. km. in Ash-Shara, 24 in Ghamed Az-Zinad and 13 in Al-Hajrah. In part, the decrease is related to the large areas of empty land in some of the sub-emirates concerned, some of which are quite large with only small pockets of settlements. But in the northern Sarah, low densities reflect the more nomadic practices of the people where the population is thinly spread.

The Tihama area shows rather less variation in density compared to the Sarah area. The highest density in the Tihama was in Jarda Bani Ali which, at 32 persons per sq.km., is a much lower density than in the Sarah Proper. As was mentioned above, the Bani Thabyan sub-emirate in the Sarah Proper had 316 person per sq.km. in 1982; Baljurashi ranked second with a density of 292 person per sq. km. But other Sarah sub-emirates had population densities considerably lower than this.

The least densely settled sub-emirates were found in the north-eastern Sarah. These are the main nomadic areas with densities ranging between three person per sq.km. in Badyat Bani Kabeer and Jarab to 11 in Al-Aqiq sub-emirate. Tables 4.5 and 4.6 list these densities.

Changes in the census divisions within Al-Baha used in the 1974 census and for the 1982 estimate also limit comparison of spatial changes in population. At the time of the 1974 census there were sixteen sub-emirates, seven of them located in the Tihama, and nine in the Sarah area. In 1982, there were 30 sub-emirates in the Al-Baha region, nine of them situated in the Tihama and 21 located in the Sarah area.

Nearly all the sub-emirates were affected by the new subdivisions, especially in the Sarah where population growth and density were largest (1).

4.6 Population Growth

Changes in the sub-emirates makes analysis of population growth between the 1974 and the 1982 counts difficult, but Table 4.5 shows the pattern of change for 21 sub-emirates in the Sarah and Table 4.6 does the same for the Tihama.

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(1) For example, by 1982 Baljurashi sub-emirate was subdivided into four sub-emirates (Baljurashi, Balshaham, Bani Kabeer and Badiyat Bani Kabeer). Al-Baha became three (Al-Baha, Bani Thapyan and Al-Farah). Al-Aqiq became three (Al-Aqiq, Jarab and Kara Al-Hayat). Bani Hassun was divided into two (Bani Hassun and Bydan) and Doss into two (Doss and Barahrah). In the Tihama area the re-division process affected two sub-emirates. Ghamed Az-Zinad was divided into two sub-emirates (Ghamed Az-Zinad and Batat), and Al-Hajrah was also divided into two (Al-Hajrah and Jarda Bani Ali).

Table 4.5 Comparative Population Distribution in the 1974 Census and in the Estimation in 1982 for the Sarah.

Sub-emirates	Total Population 1974	Total Population 1982	Area Sq. km.	Inhab. per.sq. km. 1974	Inhab. per. sq. km. 1982	% Growth 1974-1982
Al-Baha	11,420	31,070	175	99.5	177.5	7.3
Bani Thapyan	7,270	11,790	37	196.5	318.6	6.1
Al-Fara'ah	6,230	10,290	44	141.6	233.9	6.1
Bani Hassun	6,860	10,590	64	107.2	165.5	5.6
Bydan	4,950	8,40	43	115.1	187.0	6.3
Baljurashi	24,900	41,536	138	180.4	301.0	6.5
Balshaham	6,190	9,560	134	46.2	71.3	5.5
Bani Kabeer	5,230	8,110	165	31.7	49.2	5.5
Badiyat Bani Kabeer	2,180	2,560	762	2.8	3.4	2.0
Al-Mandaq	6,570	11,240	64	102.7	175.6	6.8
Bulkhzmer	4,910	6,710	35	140.3	191.7	3.9
Doss	4,600	7,100	83	55.4	85.5	5.5
Barahrah	2,860	4,320	68	42.1	63.5	5.2
Al-Atawlah	6,920	10.050	138	50.1	72.8	4.7
Bani Adwan	4,280	5,540	197	21.7	28.1	3.2
Nakhal	1,640	2,030	253	6.5	8.0	2.6
Beedah	4,260	6,590	173	24.6	38.1	5.5
Mashogah	3,060	3,840	595	5.1	6.5	2.8
Al-Aqiq	8,770	11,320	995	8.8	11.4	3.2
Jarab	3,260	3,790	1389	2.3	2.7	1.9
Kara Al-Hayat	4,760	5,670	1401	3.4	4.0	2.2
Total	137,060	211,740	6953	19.7	30.5	5.5

Source: (1) Population Census 1974.

(2) Finnplanco, Economic Survey, 1985.

Table 4.6 Comparative Population Distribution in the 1974 Census and in the Estimation 1n 1982 for the Tihama.

Sub-emirates	Total Population 1974	Total Population 1982	Area Sq. km.	Inhab. per.sq. Km. 1974	Inhab. per.sq. Km. 1982	growth 1974-1982
Al-Mukhwah Ghamed	12,570	16,640	805	15.6	20.7	3.5
Az-Zinad	3,450	4,100	170	20.3	24.1	2.1
Batat	3,460	4,070	458	7.8	8.9	2.0
Nawan	2,370	2,960	346	6.8	8.9	2.8
Nira	3,190	3,910	145	22.0	27.0	2.5
Gilwah	10,360	12,960	1375	7.5	9.4	2.8
Ash-Shara	4,900	6,130	228	21.5	26.9	2.8
Al-Hajrah	5,760	7,930	566	10.2	14.0	4.0
Jarda Bani Ali	2,730	3,350	104	26.3	32.2	2.5
Total	48,790	62,050	4197	11.6	14.8	3.0

Source: (1) Population Census 1974.

(2) Finnplanco, Economic Survey, 1985.

As already noted, the annual growth rate in the Sarah between 1974 and 1982 was 5.5 per cent but several sub-emirates recorded rather higher rates than this. Al-Baha sub-emirate grew at 7.3 per cent per year and Baljurashi at 6.5 per cent. The high annual growth rates in these areas result especially from their position as sub-emirate centres with important public services and expanding private enterprises. As main centres, each place also has a considerable population of foreign workers. In contrast, the much less populated northern Sarah had a much lower annual rate of population growth (about 2% per cent). Most of these people are nomads who had recently started to settle, but the shortage of good public services has encouraged some people to emigrate from the area, thereby reducing the annual rate of population increase.

In the Tihama area the annual population growth between 1974 and 1982 was about 3.0 per cent (Table 4.6) with the highest rate of growth in Al-Hajrah area (4.0 per cent) and the lowest in the Ghamed Az-Zinad and Batat areas (2.1 and 2.0% per cent respectively). Again a factor in the low rates of growth would be the emigration of people to Jeddah and other cities.

4.7 Age Structure

The data on age structure shows a very youthful population that is growing rapidly. Table 4.7 indicates that the people counted in the 1974 census as aged 0-14 years amounted to 51 per cent of the total population, greatly outnumbering the number in the next three 15 year age cohorts.

Table 4.7 The Age Groups in Al-Baha's Population.

Age Group	Total	(%)
0-14	94,410	50.80
15-29	31,790	17.11
30-44	24,355	13.10
45-59	16,015	8.62
Over 60	19,280	10.37
Total	185,850	100.00

Source: Population Census, 1974.

Although out-migration might partly explain this since those of working age are more likely to emigrate, the improvement of health conditions and living standards, along with a traditionally high birth rate, would account for most of this youthful age structure.

The greater detail on age structure provided in Table 4.8, and summarised in Figure 4.5 shows that the total female population 1n 1974 exceeded the total male population. This also largely resulted from differential emigration.

Table 4.8 Age - Sex Structure. Total Population 1974.

Age Group Years	Total No.	%	Male No.	%	Female No.	%
00-04	35,477	19.1	17,682	20.2	17,795	18.1
05-09	34,210	18.4	16,902	19.3	17,308	17.6
10-14	24,724	13.3	12,339	14.1	12,385	12.6
15-19	14,205	7.6	7,003	8.0	7,202	7.3
20-24	8,705	4.7	3,481	4.0	5,224	5.3
25-29	8,880	4.8	3,405	3.9	5,475	5.6
30-34	8,433	4.5	3,288	3.8	5,145	5.2
35-39	7,966	4.3	3,330	3.8	4,636	4.7
40-44	7,956	4.3	3,201	3.6	4,755	4.9
45-49	5,791	3.1	2,659	3.0	3,132	3.2
50-54	6,316	3.4	2,579	2.9	3,737	3.8
55-59	3,908	2.1	2,134	2.4	1,774	1.8
60-64	6,902	3.7	3,488	4.0	3,414	3.5
65+	12,378	6.7	6,135	7.0	6,243	6.4
Total	185,850	100.0	87,626	100.0	98,225	100.0

Source: Population Census, 1974.

In the age group 0-19 there was not much difference between the total female and male populations but in the age group 20-54 years, the total female population easily exceeded the total male population. Some balance is restored in the older age groups. Overall, however, out-migration meant that Al-Baha in 1974 had a sex ratio of 89 males to 100 females,

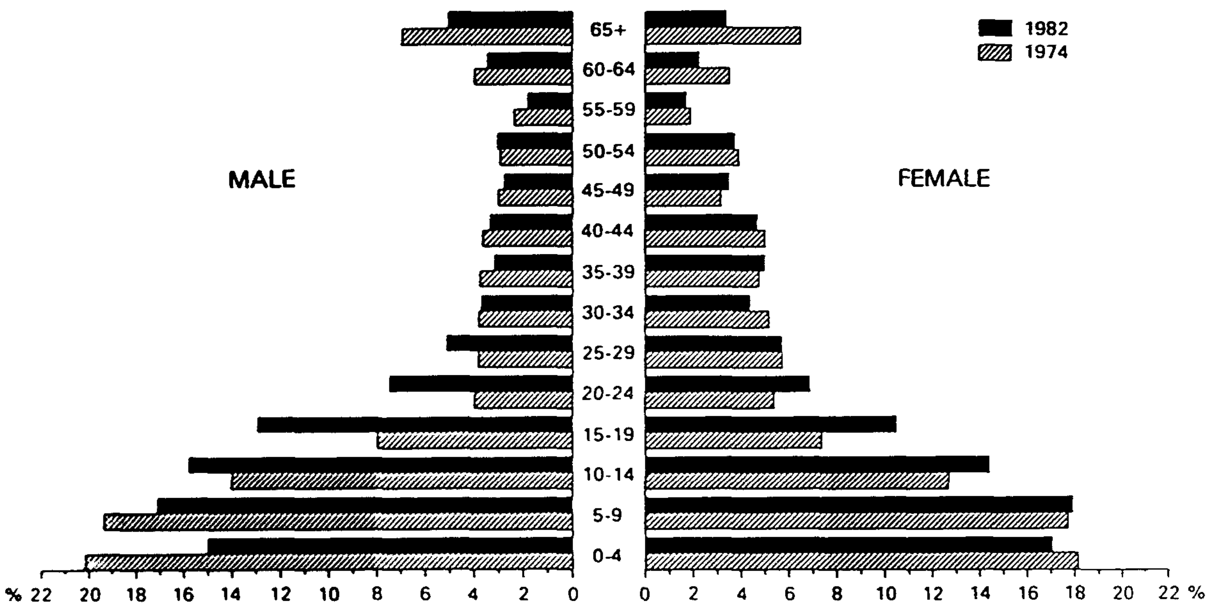

Figure 4.5 Age-sex structure of Al-Baha in 1974 and 1982

Based upon 1974 census and 1982 Finnplanco, survey.

the least favourable in the Kingdom where the average was 114:100.

Table 4.9 Age - Sex Structure. Total Population 1982 (1).

Age Group Years	Total No.	%	Male No	%	Female No.	%
00-04	42,300	16.0	20,140	15.0	22,160	17.0
05-09	46,380	17.5	23,040	17.1	23,340	17.9
10-14	40,000	15.1	21,220	15.8	18,780	14.4
15-19	31,040	11.7	17,360	12.9	13,680	10.5
20-24	18,960	7.2	10,040	7.5	8,920	6.8
25-29	14,220	5.4	6,960	5.2	7,620	5.6
30-34	10,620	4.0	5,000	3.7	5,620	4.3
35-39	10,820	4.1	4,360	3.2	6,460	4.9
40-44	10,320	3.9	4,380	3.3	5,940	4.6
45-49	8,440	3.2	3,820	2.8	4,620	3.5
50-54	8,800	3.3	4,040	3.0	4,760	3.7
55-59	4,600	1.7	2,560	1.9	2,040	1.6
60-64	72,200	2.7	4,680	3.5	2,540	1.9
65+	11,060	4.2	6,780	5.1	4,280	3.3
Total	264,780	100.0	134,380	100.0	130,400	100.0

Source: Finnplanco, Economic Survey, 1985

In the last decade considerable economic development in the Al-Baha area has greatly expanded job opportunities and much reduced out-migration. As a result the sex structure is now more balanced and the younger working age group of the population is larger as a result of less out-migration and as young people feed through into it. This is seen in Table 4.9 and Figure 4.5 which show the age sex-structure in 1982. Males by then outnumbered females overall with a ratio of 103:100. Females still outnumbered males in several of the working age groups but to a lesser extent than in 1974.

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(1) Table 4.9 does not include 9010 people who are mainly the workforce in the compounds of companies and hospitals. There is no detailed data about their ages.

With such a youthful population, the region showed a dependency ratio of 1.6 children to each working adult in 1974.This declined to 1.2 in 1982 but the relatively small size of the workforce and the need for it to provide for the development of the region leads to a consideration of employment, as examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

5.1 Introduction

Although no data about employment and the economic situation in Al-Baha area was available until recent years, one can reasonably reconstruct the main features of the situation which existed no more than thirty years ago. Al-Baha region was then a totally agricultural society. It was not only self-sufficient in food but was also one of the main sources of grain to the main cities of Hijaz (Taif, Makkah and Jeddah) to the north. Agriculture offered the only income to the people of Al-Baha at that time and the collective and co-operative efforts of the families of the region were directed to farming.

However, about thirty years ago, gradual changes started as the Kingdom's oil revenues increased, although radical change only overwhelmed peripheral regions like Al-Baha after 1973. In particular, the previous reliance on agriculture was reduced and other sectors of the economy expanded. In the following discussion employment in different sectors of Al-Baha's economy will be discussed, together with their contribution to the economy.

5.2 Demographic and Economic Indicators

The age structure of Al-Baha, as shown in the last chapter indicates that dependants in the form of children and the elderly made up a high proportion of the total population in recent years. In 1982 the young (<14 years) and old (>59 years) totalled 146,960, which represented 55.5 per cent of the total population (Table 5.1). In 1974 this proportion had been 61.2 per cent so that as total population has increased, the proportion of dependants has decreased but, nevertheless, remains high.

Table 5.1 The Dependent Population in Al-Baha, 1974-1982.

Age Groups	1974	%	1982	%
0 - 14	94,411	50.80	128,680	48.60
15 - 59	72,160	38.83	117,820	44.50
60 +	19.280	10.37	18.280	6.90
Total	185,851	100.00	264,780	100.00

Source: (1) Population Census, 1974.

(2) Finnplanco, Economic survey, 1985

But the situation is more complex than this because, in recent years, many women in Al-Baha have left the workforce. The women were once economically very active in Al-Baha society, at least until about 1970, when agriculture depended on the labour of both men and women. This is no longer the case as traditional agriculture has declined, so that now only about 20 per cent of the population of Al-Baha has to support the other 80 per cent. At the same time, the existence of many kinds of better paid work and better welfare facilities in Al-Baha, as in the rest of Saudi Arabia, has reduced this problem of dependency in many families. Furthermore, some women with appropriate skills have also started to participate to a very small degree in these expanding sectors with an earning power greater than traditional agriculture.

5.3 Employment in Al-Baha

The 1974 census and the 1982 estimation of Al-Baha's population show that a considerable increase has been recorded in the total employment in the Al-Baha area between those years.

Table 5.2 The Change in Total Employed Population in Al-Baha 1974-1982.

Area	Subregion	Total Employed 1974	Total Employed 1982	Change 1979-1982	% Change
Sarah	Baljurashi	6,917	11,060	+ 4,143	60
	Al-Baha	6,118	13,320	+ 7,202	118
	Al-Mandaq	2,797	4,930	+ 2,133	76
	Al-Atawlah	3,201	4,830	+ 1,629	51
	Al-Aqiq	4,322	4,320	- 2	0
TOTAL		23,355	38,460	+15,105	65
Tihama	Al-Mukhwah	4,111	5,160	+ 1,049	26
	Gilwah	4,740	5,210	+ 470	10
TOTAL		8,851	10,370	+ 1,519	17
Total Sarah & Tihama		32,206	48,830	+16,629	52

Source: (1) Population Census, 1974.

(2) Finnplanco, Economic Survey, 1985.

The total employed population in Al-Baha Province was 32,206 in 1974 but it had risen to 48,830 in 1982, a 52 per cent rise at a time when the population grew by 57 per cent. Table 5.2 gives a comparison of employment change between the sub-regions within Al-Baha. It is clear that Al-Baha sub-region experienced the highest increase at 118 per cent in employed population. Baljurashi showed an increase of about 60 per cent. These two sub-regions include about half of the total employed population in Al-Baha region.

This situation is mainly due to the location of the main Governmental offices and public services in the towns of Al-Baha and Baljurashi in these two sub-regions and their capacity to employ relatively large numbers of people. For example, one of the main hospitals of the region is located in Baljurashi and another in Al-Baha subregion. In addition, a high proportion of government projects and private business establishments have been established in Al-Baha and Baljurashi sub-regions. Similarly a 76 per cent increase in total employed population can be noticed in Al-Mandaq subregion where other projects have been sited. These have included a new school, the establishment of a municipal administration and the building of several private business establishments.

By contrast, no increase occurred in the number of employed persons in Al-Aqiq sub-region. This might be attributed to the fact that the number of people who have started to leave the agricultural sector offset the increase in employees of the Government, of which there are relatively few in Al-Aqiq. In fact, Al-Aqiq had witnessed an actual increase in the early 1970s in the number of people who began to settle from nomadism and to farm at Al-Aqiq oasis. Some of them soon became disenchanted with agriculture, sold their land and took work in Government offices outside Al-Aqiq. The people who bought the agricultural land held on to it, waiting for an increase in its price but without working it and thereby not attracting labour.

In general, an increase in the total employment was seen in all sub-regions with the exception of Al-Aqiq. The average rate of increase in employment was 52 per cent across the whole region, but the Sarah area, which includes five sub-regions (Baljurashi, Al-Baha, Al-Mandaq, Al-Atawlah and Al-Aqiq) contained the highest proportion of the employed population in 1974 and in 1982, and showed the largest total increase (65 per cent). Employment in the Sarah increased by over 15,000 jobs between 1974 and 1982. Employment in the Tihama area only grew by 1,519 persons, an increase of only 17 per cent.

5.4 Types of Employment

Six basic categories of employment have been distinguished in the census. These are shown in Table 5.3 which compares the 1974 data with that from the 1982 estimation.

It clearly reveals the dominant importance of two sectors. The first is agriculture which was completely dominant in 1974 but had declined significantly by 1982. The second important sector is public services which increased from 17.7 per cent to 42.4 per cent of the total workforce in the same period. Also significant was the development of the construction sector in the period, partly as a result of public development projects and partly because of private building. Trade and finance also grew rapidly as an employment sector to reach a 10 per cent share of the workforce in 1982.

Table 5.3 The Proportion of Employed Population by Activity Sector.

Activity Sector	% 1974	% 1982
Agriculture	66.3	24.9
Manufacturing	2.2	5.4
Construction	6.0	13.9
Trade/Finance	3.7	9.9
Transport	4.1	3.5
Government services	17.7	42.4
	100.0	100.0

Sources: (1) National Employment Census, 1974.

(2) Finnplanco, Economic Survey, 1985.

Tables 5.4 and 5.5 show the distribution of employment by sectors for sub-regions in 1974 and 1982. Table 5.6 shows the changes between 1974 and 1982. It is clear that agricultural employees have decreased by nearly a half and agriculture is the only sector to have faced a reduction between 1974 and 1982 in all sub-regions. But the decline has been much more marked in the Tihama than in the Sarah. The other sectors have enjoyed an increase in virtually every sub-region. Figure 5.1 summarises the distribution and changes in the number of employees over different sectors

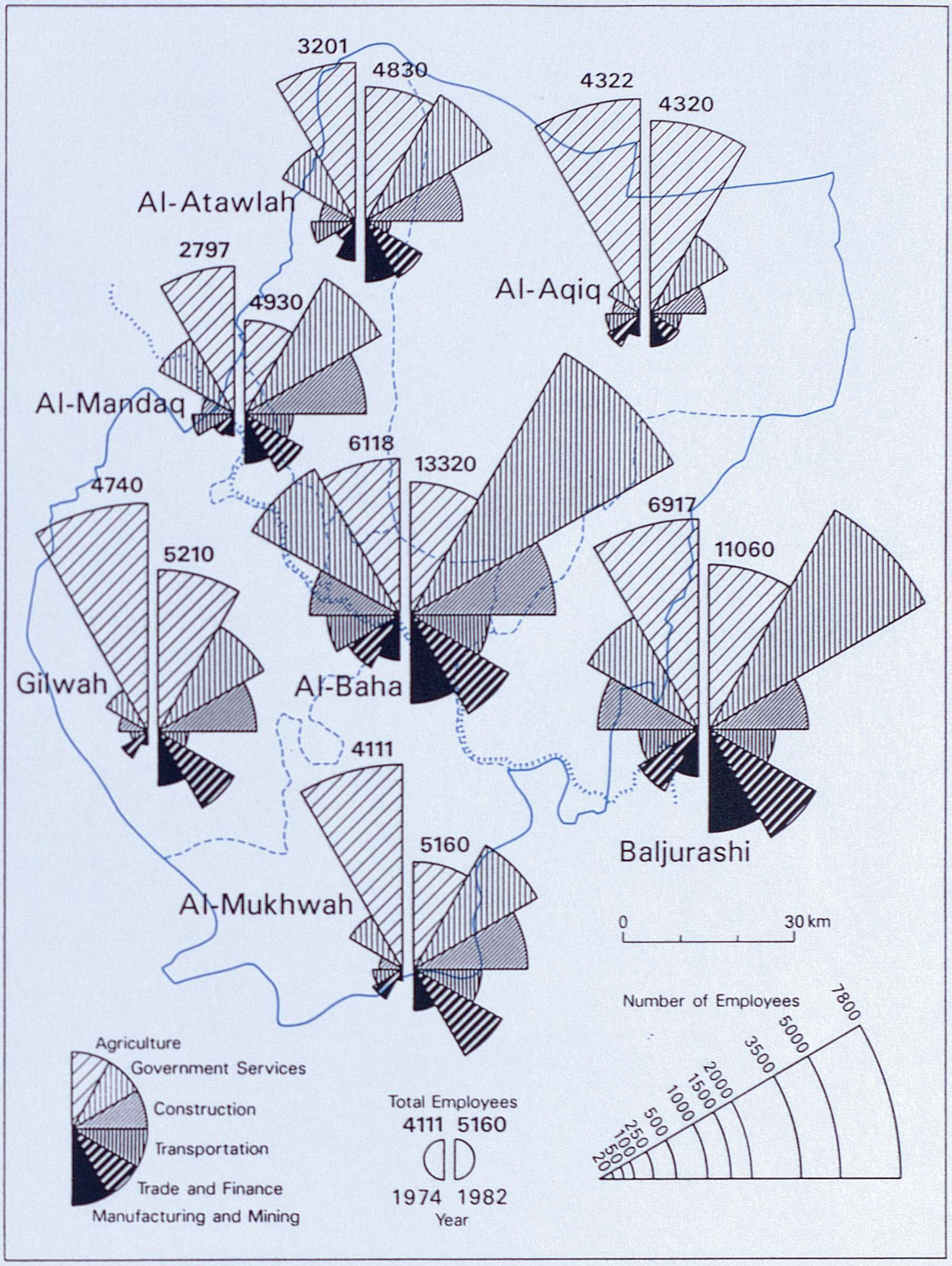

Figure 5.1 Distribution and changes in number of employees by sectors, 1974-1982

Based upon Finnplanco Economic Survey

between 1974 and 1982 in the seven sub-regions. The remainder of the chapter examines the main sectors.

Table 5.4 Employment by Activity Sector, 1974

Subregion	Agric-ulture	Goverm-ment Services	Constr-uction	Transpo-rtation	Trade & Finance	Manufa-cturing Mining
Al-Baha	2,064	2,422	685	454	304	189
Baljurashi	3,685	1,402	875	308	434	213
Al-Mandaq	1,805	628	91	161	58	54
Al-Atawlah	2,114	597	110	179	52	149
Al-Aqiq	3,834	131	64	109	132	52
Tot. Sarah	13,502	5,180	1,825	1,211	980	657
Al-Mukhwah	3,526	323	47	84	113	18
Gilwah	4,338	197	72	26	88	19
Total Tihama	7,864	520	119	110	201	37
Whole Region	21,366	5,700	1,944	1,321	1,181	694

Source: National Census of Employment 1974.

Table 5.5 Employment by Activity Sector, 1982

Subregion	Agric-ulture	Govern-ment Services	Constr-uction	Transpo-rtation	Trade & Finance	Manufa-cturing Mining
Al-Baha	1,480	7,800	1,760	520	1,100	660
Baljurashi	2,240	5,360	840	380	1,340	900
Al-Mandaq	740	2,160	1,230	200	380	220
Al-Atawlah	1,500	1,800	790	60	360	320
Al-Aqiq	3,080	680	280	80	100	100
Tot. Sarah	9,640	17,800	4,960	1,240	3,280	2,200
Al-Mukhwah	960	1,700	1,080	380	880	160
Gilwah	2,180	1,220	810	80	660	260
Tot.Tihama	3,140	2,920	1,890	460	1,540	420
Tot.Region	12,180	20,720	6,790	1,700	4,820	2,620

Source: Finnplanco, Economic Survey, 1985.

Table 5.6 The Changes in the Percentage of Employment by Subregion, 1974-1982

Subregion	Agriculture		Government Services		Construction		Transportation		Trade & Finance		Manufacturing & Mining	
	1974	1982	1974	1982	1974	1982	1974	1982	1974	1982	1974	1982
Al-Baha	33.7	11.1	39.6	58.5	11.2	13.2	7.4	3.9	5.0	8.3	3.1	5.2
Buljarashi	53.3	20.2	20.3	48.6	12.6	7.6	4.4	3.4	6.3	12.1	3.1	8.1
Al-Munduk	64.5	14.7	22.5	43.7	3.2	25.6	5.8	4.0	2.1	7.6	1.9	4.4
Al-Atawlah	66.0	31.1	18.7	37.3	3.4	16.3	5.6	1.2	1.6	7.5	4.7	6.6
Al-Aqiq	88.7	71.3	3.0	15.7	1.5	6.5	2.5	1.9	3.1	2.3	1.2	2.3
Tot. Sarah	57.8	23.6	22.2	46.3	7.8	12.7	5.2	3.2	4.2	8.5	2.8	5.7
Al-Mukhwah	85.8	18.6	7.9	32.9	1.1	20.9	2.0	7.4.	2.7	17.1	0.4	3.1
Gilwah	91.5	41.9	4.2	23.4	1.5	15.5	0.5	1.5	1.9	12.7	0.4	5.0
Tot. Tihama	88.9	30.2	5.9	28.2	1.3	18.2	1.2	4.4	2.3	14.9	0.4	4.1
Whole Region	66.3	24.9	17.7	42.4	6.0	13.9	4.1	3.5	3.7	9.9	2.2	5.4

Source. (1) National Employment Census, 1974.

(2) Finnplanco, Economic Survey, 1985.

5.5 Agriculture

5.5.1 Introduction

Agriculture still occupies about half of the active population in the Third World (Brown and Burrows 1977). So it is not surprising that in Saudi Arabia agriculture was until recently the main source of livelihood in those regions like Al-Baha which possessed cultivable land. As recently as the 1960s, Al-Baha was largely self-sufficient in agricultural produce and had a surplus of some products for export to other parts of the Kingdom. All of this has now changed.

As recently as the 1974 census, as Table 5.7 shows, a considerable proportion of the people throughout the fourteen principal Provinces of Saudi Arabia earned a living in the agricultural sector. For example, in Hail the agricultural sector employed 77.7 per cent of the total employed population, in 'Asir 71.9 per cent, and in Al-Baha 64.2 per cent. Unfortunately, there is no comparable regional data for later than 1974.

As the oil revenues increased, the Kingdom made efforts to improve agricultural production, but this did not benefit all regions. The Government donated land to people who wanted to farm and provided them with modern agricultural technology and loans. These steps brought about an increase in the total agricultural area of the Kingdom, but particularly in regions such as Al-Qasim, Hail, and Riyadh. These areas benefitted most because of the existence of flat areas which are easy to clear and cultivate by machine. The second reason is the existence of plenty of fossil ground water which could provide a reliable source for irrigation on large scale farm projects. The increase in the amount of agricultural land in these areas led in turn to an increase in agricultural production in general, especially in wheat.

Table 5.7 Economic Activities of the Population Aged over 12, 1974 - Percentages in the 14 Principal Provinces of Saudi Arabia

Emirate	Agriculture	Government Services	Trade & Finance	Manufacturing	Other Activity
Makkah	27.5	28.0	22.0	6.8	15.7
Riyadh	27.6	38.1	14.6	4.8	14.9
Eastern Province	21.0	22.0	19.3	18.8	18.9
'Asir	71.9	12.1	6.1	1.4	8.5
Madinah	51.8	17.6	16.0	2.7	11.9
Jaizan	64.7	11.6	12.7	3.5	7.5
Al-Qasim	53.5	20.5	12.6	2.5	10.9
Hail	77.7	9.9	5.6	1.6	5.2
Northern Region	54.0	24.1	11.4	1.2	9.3
Al-Baha	65.2	17.6	7.6	1.7	7.9
Najran	64.7	18.9	10.0	1.8	4.6
Northern Border	66.6	10.9	10.9	1.5	10.1
Al-Jawf	60.1	18.1	8.6	2.0	11.2
Al-Qurayat	38.7	33.4	10.2	1.5	16.2

Source: Population Atlas of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, University of Riyadh, Department of Geography, 1979.

In contrast, the traditional farming regions like 'Asir and Al-Baha offered less possibility for expanding the agricultural area, because all possible cultivable land was already exploited. Furthermore, many farms in Al-Baha were small and output per farm was small, so that as easier ways of making money appeared many farms were abandoned. Improved accessibility also allowed Al-Baha to get most of its food from outside. As a result, the number of people employed in agriculture in regions like Al-Baha declined.

5.5.2 Cultivated Area in Al-Baha Region

In terms of cultivated area, a considerable reduction was recorded in Al-Baha between 1974 and 1979 over a period when the cultivated area in the whole Kingdom remained almost static. As Table 5.8 shows, Al-Baha contained 4.2 per cent of the Kingdom's cultivated land in 1974, but this had declined to 1.7 per cent in 1979.

Table 5.8 Cultivated Area (ha), 1974 and 1979

Year	Al-Baha Region	Total Kingdom	Al-Baha as a Percentage of Total Kingdom
1974	25,038	600,859	4.2
1975	23,257	512,907	4.5
1976	13,468	558,562	2.3
1977	16,539	577,708	3.0
1978	13,691	566,986	2.4
1979	10,515	608.652	1.7

Source: Ministry of Agriculture and Water Resources.

Nearly all the subregions of Al-Baha experienced a reduction in the actual area cultivated after 1973 (Table 5.9). The decline is even more striking when set against the potential cultivated area and suggests a serious under-use of resources. Al-Baha sub-region seems to have suffered most in this decline of farm land. It lost more than 5,000 ha. from cultivation between 1973 and 1982. Al-Mandaq sub-region lost about 3,000 ha over the same period. The losses in the remaining sub-regions seem less serious by comparison. However, the situation in Al-Aqiq sub-region is different. Although 38 per cent of the potential agricultural land remained unused in 1982, the nomadic people of the area had started to settle and increased the proportion of the cultivable area being used, taking advantage of water provision and the absence of urban jobs in comparison with other sub-regions.

Table 5.9 The Distribution of Potential Agricultural Area and Actual Cultivated Area (ha.) by Sub-region, 1973-1982.

Subregion	Potential Agriculture area 1973	Potential Agriculture area 1982	Actual Cultivated area 1973	Actual Cultivated area 1982	% Cultivated to Potential 1982
Al-Baha	7,680	6,650	7,050	1,510	23
Baljurashi	2,870	3,430	2,170	1,890	55
Al-Mandaq	4.360	2,360	3,850	930	39
Al-Atawlah	1,800	2,280	1,740	1,200	53
Al-Aqiq	700	1,720	490	1,060	62
Al-Mukhwah	4,390	6,510	2,190	1,570	24
Gilwah	4,450	3,860	2,080	1,250	33
	26,250	26,810	19,750	9,410	35

Source: (1) Agriculture Census, 1973.

(2) Finnplanco, Land-use, Survey, 1985.

(3) Actual cultivated areas in this table are based on different estimates to those used in Table 5.8.

The reduction in the agricultural workforce and the decrease in the amount of land in cultivation are now very serious in Al-Baha. Despite the considerable subsidies offered by the Government to farmers, farming faces several difficult obstacles. The basic one is the gradual disintegration of agricultural property by inheritance and continued fragmentation of holdings which does not help or encourage people to cultivate the small plots of land. There is no easy solution for this problem because it is connected firmly with religion rather than local customs (1).

The second obstacle to farm improvement is the reluctance of people in Al-Baha to sell any part of their land, especially cultivated land, no matter how small the plot. This is the result of customs and traditions and it has the effect of preventing the building up of larger contiguous economic units on which to create more efficient farms. The people are very proud of their land and until recently anyone who sold any part it was open to criticism locally. This situation has changed slightly in the last few years in some places, particularly the more urban ones like Al-Baha, Baljurashi, Al-Mandaq, Al-Atawlah, Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah. The increase in the population in these places has created a housing demand which has encouraged people to sell their land for development. This has also been encouraged by Government compensation schemes. Some private land was taken by Government by compulsory purchase in places where projects like roads and Governmental offices were developed.

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(1) The Holy Quran initiated this situation and outlined the basic rule for the division on inheritance among the family. The Sharia explained in detail the rights of everyone. One of the basic rules of inheritance is that men should receive twice as much as women. It is not necessary to explain all the rules of inheritance here but it is clear from the Quran and Sharia that everyone in the family will inherit a proportion of their father's property and this results in the fragmentation of farms.

The amounts of compensation were considerable in some cases during the 1970s so that those compensated did not need to stay in farming.

The third problem facing farmers in Al-Baha and which increased the number of people who abandoned agriculture has been a fall in the economic benefit to farmers from this sector in comparison with other activities. The increase in public services and Governmental offices has attracted people from the land. Under these circumstances, Al-Baha has become more a consumer than a producer of agricultural produce. Nevertheless, the capacity of agriculture could be increased if it was thought necessary, but this would require Government incentives because of the difficult nature of agriculture in Al-Baha. Much of this difficulty results from the terrain.

Most of Al-Baha's cultivated land, especially in the Sarah Proper, is terraced for rain-fed cropping, often supplemented by irrigation. Terracing is an ancient technique used throughout the mountainous district of southern Saudi Arabia to create cultivable land on steeply sloping, accidented terrain. Soil builds up behind the walls and moisture is better retained (Abdulfattah 1981) but there are problems in maintaining this system of land use. Maintaining the walls takes time and effort, whilst floods not only sometimes destroy the walls but also litter the terrace surfaces with debris. In addition, most terraces are very narrow and so are not well adapted to the use of machinery. Wheat and barley are the main crops grown on terraces but these can now be produced more cheaply in other parts of the Kingdom. Ground-water from wells is used to irrigate some crops in some parts of the Sarah. Wells which are concentrated in the bottom of wadis and mountain basins are therefore often essential but require much maintenance.

Large sections of the landscape are divided into innumerable terraces. The terraces in the valley bottoms are larger than those on the mountain slopes. In general, every individual terrace has its own well, but situations can be found where three or more terraces are watered from one well. Each well is hand dug to a depth of 20 m. and a width of two and a half meters. Most of the wells can supply water for domestic use and irrigation for about three months after the last effective rainfall. After that, use of the wells will be restricted to drinking purposes. This means that there may be little regularity in water supply for farming. This degree of unreliability, together with the uncertain rainfall, can reduce crop yields and create uncertainty for the farmer. Variations in the amount of rainfall from year to year can also affect the amount of land which it is decided to cultivate in any one season, and whether the crops are to be irrigated or rainfed. Clearly, the full potential of the region's agricultural land cannot be realised under irrigation because there is insufficient water. But without more irrigation the uncertainty in crop production cannot be removed.

The pattern and problems of terrace cropping in small farms are much the same in the Tihama as in the Sarah. The agricultural difference is that land in the Tihama is concentrated in the bottom of the wadis, rather than along the hill sides, as in the Sarah. This is because the wadis in the Tihama have steep sides compared with those in the Sarah and rainfall is insufficient and too irregular in the Tihama to support dry farming to anything like the scale found in the Sarah. While irrigation is dominant in the Tihama, instead of relying upon wells, as in the Sarah, use is made of flood-water diverted from the main wadis coming down from the Escarpment. These diversionary channels, known as kaleej, (Abdulfuttah 1981) lead water on to several broad terraces for crops of sorghum (dura), sesame and dukhun (bulrush millet).

5.5.3 Crops

Until recent years in Al-Baha wheat, barley, millet, sorghum, and sesame were the major grains and formed the main food supplies. In addition, several types of fruit were grown in the region, for example, pomegranates, peaches, apricots, and grapes. Fruit was a supplementary element in the diet and, partly for this reason, most fruit trees were grown in rather scattered locations across farms so as not to hinder the process of ploughing. Vines, though grown in separate plots in many parts of the world, were often found on the edge of fields in Al-Baha. As fresh grapes are easily perishable, in Al-Baha they are dried in the sun and sold as raisins. Pomegranates are grown overwhelmingly in the bottom of only three major wadis in north-eastern Al-Baha at an altitude of 1600-1800m above sea level. Citrus plantations have been tried in the region but have not proved successful. Palm trees are found only in Al-Aqiq Oasis, where both higher temperatures and adequate water are found.

Table 5.10 shows the estimated production of crops in the region for the years 1975-1985. Whereas many of the grain crop declined with the general decline in farming, the date crop witnessed a large increase, especially during 1982 and 1983, and has become more of a staple in recent years. There is no clear reason for the large output in these particular two years but the general increase of date production recently in Al-Baha might be due to the increase of settled people in recent years around Al-Aqiq and the construction of a 45 km asphalted road connecting Al-Baha and Al-Aqiq with the specific purpose of helping date marketing. These circumstances might have encouraged people there to pay more attention to palm trees. The desire by some landowners in Al-Aqiq to sell their land encouraged them to make it attractive to customers by increasing the number of palm trees since the Government pays a subsidy on them.

Very few types of vegetable were grown in Al-Baha in the past. Cucumbers, onions and garlic were probably found, whilst the Turks appear to have grown okra, tomatoes and cabbages (Abdulfuttah 1981). The greater range of vegetable production now found in Al-Baha is a recent innovation as

Table 5.10 Estimated Production of Different Crops, 1975-1985, in Al-Baha Region (Tonnes)

Crop	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Wheat	7,241	12,896	5,780	4,644	7,598	7,878	4,000	4,477	2,542	1,245	1,894
Millet	953	416	446	473	1,141	1,319	3,970	1,126	1,860	1,896	1,033
Sorghum	9,622	3,471	4,078	4,225	1,885	2,879	6,345	8,018	9,408	6,164	3,010
Maize	782	254	661	708	47	158	124	218	271	286	211
Barley	720	2,536	1,775	2,240	1,535	4,208	3,239	2,473	44	246	145
Sesame	3	------	-----	------	------	13	14	1	8	----	2
Tomatoes	749	3,140	2,077	3,133	1,656	2	1,000	1,019	1,150	836	879
Potatoes	329	------	51	252	105	----	----	----	103	44	93
Squash	----	16	-----	------	137	----	----	8	57	163	206
Egg Plants	----	------	75	60	55	----	----	6	33	8	18
Okra	----	2	1	-------	65	----	----	21	28	----	14
Carrots	----	142	4	72	28	----	----	9	26	61	84
Dry Onions	---	26	3	------	60	----	----	6	18	8	13
Watermelons	----	-----	----	-----	----	----	----	54	286	18	89
Dates	887	449	346	694	822	644	560	2,347	3,613	1,078	1,077
Citrus	54	106	212	179	152	----	----	93	77	17	47
Grapes	8,820	2,476	5,476	3,667	2,734	339	616	355	806	2,319	3,124

Source:
(1) Bulletin of Agriculture, Current Sample Survey from 1975-1980
(2) Statistical Year Book, Nineteenth and Twentieth Issues, 1983-1984.

Table 5.10 suggests. It includes tomatoes, squashes, melons and carrots. They need frequent watering and are, therefore, reliant upon irrigation from reliable wells. This means that they are concentrated in wadi bottoms, rather than on mountain terraces. Most vegetable plots are located close to the villages so that they can be regularly tended and watered. Vegetable growing is very labour-intensive and much of the labour is provided by rather elderly people. With an increasing demand for vegetables, and with the aid of Government subsidies, some mountain villages have become specialist producers, but there is a fear that younger people will not be attracted to the work and the demand will not be met.

5.6 Government Services

The Government services cover education, health and administration, including the offices of the sub-emirate in Al-Baha town and the various sub-emirate offices in other parts of the Province. The number of people who work in Governmental service more than trebled from 1974 to 1982. By 1982, this sector contained the highest proportion (42 per cent) of the workforce. In turn this sector has affected the other sectors because of the income it has generated. Government work has proved attractive and generally well paid. It is much easier in comparison with work in agriculture, manufacturing or construction. Because it is spread over several services, it demands a large range of skills. The distribution of government employment, however, differs from one sub-region to another.

Table 5.11 Employment in Government Services, 1974-1982. by Sub-region.

Sub-region	Number in Sector		Number in Sector		% Increase 1974- 1982
	1974	%	1982	%	
Al-Baha	2,422	42.4	7,800	37.6	222.0
Baljurashi	1,402	24.6	5,360	25.9	282.3
Al-Mandaq	628	11.0	2,160	10.4	244.0
Al-Atawlah	597	10.4	1,800	8.7	201.5
Al-Aqiq	131	2.3	680	3.3	419.0
Al-Mukhwah	323	5.7	1,700	8.2	426.3
Gilwah	197	3.5	1,220	5.9	519.3
Total	5,700	100	20,720	100	263.0

Source:

(1) Population Census 1974.

(2) Finnplanco, Economic Survey, 1985.

The pattern outlined in Table 5.11 emphasises the dominant position of Al-Baha and Baljurashi sub-regions where most Government establishments are situated. Not only do the towns in these two sub-regions have more Government establishments than anywhere else but they are often large establishments which employ more people. As a result these two sub-regions include about two-thirds of the employees in this sector. Al-Aqiq sub-region, by contrast, contains the lowest proportion of employment in Government service. This is because most of its population has only recently settled and governmental services are still in the initial stages of development.

While employment in Government service has risen in all the sub-regions between 1974 and 1982, the increase has varied from one sub-region to another. Gilwah and Al-Mukhwah sub-regions, situated in the Tihama area, recorded the highest increases in the proportion of employment at 426 and 519 per cent respectively. This increase was mainly due to the recent annexation of responsibility by Al-Baha for education in those sub-emirates which, until the late 1970s, was the responsibility of Makkah Province. When Al-Baha assumed responsibility for education, there was an increase in the number of school teachers and the associated administration. Although the percentage increases in government employment in the Tihama area were higher than in the Sarah, this is because there was little in the Tihama in 1974 compared with the Sarah. Even by 1982 the Tihama only had 14.1 per cent of the region's total employment in the sector.

5.7 Other Sectors

Employment in agriculture and government services together represented 67.3 per cent (32,900) of the total in 1982, leaving other sectors (manufacturing, construction, trade and transportation) with 32.7 per cent (15,390). 13.9 per cent of the total employment was in construction. This sector grew very fast (by 81.4 per cent) from 1974 to 1982 as Al-Baha witnessed a construction boom with a consequent demand for building workers and equipment. Brief reference to other employment sectors follows.

5.7.1 Industry

One would not expect to find an active manufacturing sector in Al-Baha region in the absence of sufficient natural resources and local markets. In fact, it is the poorest developed sector after transportation. However, a few basic industries to meet some local demand are found in Al-Baha. They include, for example, small factories making concrete blocks, bakeries, car repair shops, tailors, door and window frame makers and shoe-makers. They are all small, however, with the average employment per enterprise in each around four persons. Improved accessibility now makes it difficult for new industry to establish itself in Al-Baha when manufactured goods can be readily brought in.

Local natural resources were sufficient to support some small industries in the past when goods could not be imported but many of these have since disappeared. The traditional activities which have largely disappeared include blacksmiths, carpenters and pottery making. They will be briefly considered here since they probably played a role in the development of the local markets where their products were traded.

5.7.2 Pottery

Pottery making was a very long established activity in Al-Baha. Most household pottery needs were met from locally manufactured pottery until about two decades ago. Despite the importance of pottery to the people in the Al-Baha area, the makers were socially separate and of different status. Their job was not socially acceptable, partly because the potters owned no cultivated land. The potters used to travel across the different parts of Al-Baha in groups settling for a week or so in a village or group of villages to meet the needs of the inhabitants for pottery before moving to another area. They would often settle in a village adjacent to a periodic market to increase their sales. Often potters used to exchange their wares for locally produced foodstuffs, sometimes contracting for a seasonal payment depending on the harvest. Despite the migratory habits of many of the potters, some of them did settle down permanently. Several villages were established by potters with permission from tribes who allowed potters to live there and to produce the material needed for pottery making. No data is available on the number of potters who once worked in the region.

The gradual decline and recent disappearance of pottery making can be attributed to the arrival of imported alternatives of different materials, especially plastics. These products are now easily imported and last for a long time. Furthermore, the growth of a cash economy has enabled the people to pay cash, thus removing the traditional advantage potters had by exchanging their goods. Most of the potters have found work in Government offices or in other commercial activities because few of them had land to cultivate. Others have retired.

5.7.3 Blacksmiths

Fewer people worked as blacksmiths than as potters, but like the potters no figures are available. Also like the potters, the blacksmiths were socially of a low status and had no land to cultivate. They also moved from village to village, selling and making implements for farmers but often they moved individually rather than in groups. Because they were fewer in number than the potters and used to work individually there were no villages of blacksmiths. Their movements from village to village, or from sub-tribe to sub-tribe usually followed the harvest and cultivation seasons, producing new farm implements or repairing the old ones as necessary.

Unlike the potters, the blacksmiths did not need to locate adjacent to a periodic market because they dealt with durable metal items which can be transported safely over any distance. Moreover, they also needed to move from village to village every day to sell enough wares. On the other hand, some blacksmiths did set up stalls in some periodic markets where they could sell and repair farm implements. In this way, they would be able to serve several individual villages at once. Implements could be left with blacksmiths for repair at the beginning of the market day and collected when the owner wanted to leave.

The source of the raw iron which the blacksmiths used in past years, perhaps 70 years ago, was Jabal Hulhal, a high mountain in the Tihama in the south-west of Al-Baha, almost on the border with 'Asir Province. The blacksmiths used once or twice a year to gather there from all over Al-Baha to work together to collect iron ore from a small mine. After a month or so of work they divided the ore equally and returned home. All the ore they could carry on one journey would be enough for their needs for several months because they were also able to re-melt and re-work old iron. In addition, the needs of the farmers were limited and their agricultural implements were of small size, using little iron.

When vehicles first arrived from outside Al-Baha some forty years ago, blacksmiths stopped going to Jabal Hulhal and turned instead to imported refined iron which had the advantage of being ready to work and shape. From that time also the importance of the local blacksmiths to the farmers gradually declined. The arrival of ready-made imported agricultural implements made it impossible for local blacksmiths to compete and it is now difficult to find one working in the region.

5.7.4 Carpentry

The carpenter's trade was again completely different from the blacksmiths and potters. For one thing local carpentry is still traded but on a smaller scale than in the past. Carpenters usually had dual occupations - carpenter and farmer - so that they had land to cultivate when carpentry was slack. In addition, most villages would have a carpenter, although they would differ in their skills and their specialisms. Some of them specialised in making agricultural implements from wood, while a few specialised in domestic carpentry. Domestic carpenters are more likely to occur in groups, while the agricultural carpenters, who are generally less skilled, more usually work singly in villages. There are two villages which are totally inhabited by carpenters and their families. One, Al-Makarmah, is a suburb of Baljurashi. The second, Half, is in the Gilwah sub-region in the Tihama. The carpenters in these two villages are known in almost every village in Al-Baha and their skill is in high demand for house carpentry. They usually come to the site where a house is being constructed to do the carpentry on the spot.

Before the arrival of imported wood 40 years ago, the sources of wood were limited to a few local forestry areas, most of which were in the mountainous part of the Sarah Proper. The main wood source was Jabal Ibraheem at the northern border of Al-Baha Province. The wood used to be cut, cleaned and sent to villages or to the periodic markets for sale. Some periodic markets like Al-Atawlah, Al-Mandaq and Baljurashi were known as good markets for timber. Now the inhabitants of Al-Baha have increasingly turned to imported wood, aluminium and ready-made steel windows and doors for their houses. This, and the use of cement and steel for much construction, has reduced the importance of local carpenters. Some still work in agriculture, for they still possess cultivated land, but few full time carpenters remain. Such carpentry as is still carried out in the region uses imported materials.

5.8 Commercial Activity

Trade has been practised on a small scale for a long time in Al-Baha on the basis of the periodic markets which once provided the only mechanism for buying and selling. Gradually, since the 1960s and especially since the 1970s, commercial activity has increased. With agriculture in decline and the absence of industry in the region, improved living standards and a rising population led to an increasing demand for imported commodities. In turn, this gave an extra boost to trade and increased the number of employed people in this sector.

The rapid increase of commercial activity for the period 1974-1982 can be seen in Table 5.12. Commercial activity, which represented 3.7 per cent of the total employment in 1974, had grown to 9.9 per cent in 1982, nearly a three-fold increase. However, Baljurashi sub-region had the highest proportion of commercial employment in both 1974 and in 1982. This was due to its long-established position as a trade centre and as a place which once contained the Emirate seat. Its increasing urbanisation strengthened its commercial activity and increased the number of those employed in it.

Table 5.12 Employment in Trade in 1974 and 1982.

Sub-region	1974	%	1982	%	Change No. 1974-1982	%
Al-Baha	304	25.74	1,100	22.82	796	262.0
Baljurashi	434	36.75	1.340	27.80	906	209.0
Al-Mandaq	58	4.91	380	7.88	322	555.0
Al-Atawlah	52	4.40	360	7.47	318	592.0
Al-Aqiq	132	11.18	100	2.07	-32	0.0
Al-Mukhwah	113	9.57	880	18.27	767	679.0
Gilwah	88	7.45	660	13.69	572	650.0
Region % of Employment	1,181 3.7	100	4.820 9.9	100	3641	308.0

Source: Finnplanco, Economic Survey, 1985.

Al-Baha sub-region ranked second and it could overtake Baljurashi in the near future as the regional commercial centre. It has the advantage of being the Province capital with a high connectivity with the whole region. Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah sub-emirates in the Tihama experienced a very large increase in the percentage and total number of people employed in commerce from 1974 to 1982. They ranked third and fourth in the region in 1982. This results from the increasing degree to which the Tihama is being opened up to outside influences and trade. By contrast, it is noticed that Al-Aqiq sub-region suffered a decrease in the total number of people employed in commerce, although this might be due to a rush to establish shops at the beginning of the 1970s and a subsequent decline because of the shortage of sufficient population to support this kind of activity.

Commercial activity takes various forms from retail shops selling different commodities, to restaurants, laundries and opticians. The precise categories of trade activity will be discussed in a later chapter, alongside market activity.

5.9 Transportation

Animals were the only means of transport in the southern part of Saudi Arabia until the end of the 1950s. Links between Al-Baha and other parts of the Kingdom to the south, north, west and east were poor but there were some connections, especially with the areas to the north. It seems that relations with the northern parts, where the cities of Taif, Makkah and Jeddah are located, had a dual purpose, one commercial and the second religious. Surplus grain from the southern areas, including Al-Baha, was sent to these three cities. The road running north-south along the Escarpment across the region also acted as a pilgrim route to Makkah, taking people from Abha, Besha and other southern points to Taif, Makkah and even to Riyadh. A long-distance route from Muhail to Makkah also crossed the Tihama (Handbook of Arabia 1920). There was no connection eastwards from Al-Baha because that area is desert. In the westerly direction, the massive wall of the Escarpment was a great barrier between the two parts of Al-Baha (Sarah and Tihama) and connections between the two areas were, until recently, very poor. As has already been mentioned in Chapter Three, the only means of getting from one area to the other down the Escarpment was by foot or by animal along certain routes so that all movement in this direction was on a small scale. There were only a few paved descents which could take laden camels but there were others which could take unburdened animals. As a result, the people in the Tihama tended to look towards the coastal area rather than the Sarah towns and villages for their trade, while the people in the Sarah traded northwards. But most trade was local. The coming of motor vehicles and a modern road system has begun to change all this.

The first vehicle to arrive in Al-Baha came in 1947 from the north and reached Al-Jodlan village in northern Al-Baha. The subsequent arrival of more vehicles in the north in turn also had an increasing impact on the southern parts of Al-Baha by making journey time much shorter to Taif and other places to the north. The time taken to cover the distance from Taif to northern Al-Baha, about 200 km., before vehicles came, is not recorded, but without doubt it could not have been done with animals in less than a week, because the region between Al-Baha and Taif is hilly, rocky and sandy. When motor vehicles began to replace animals as the means of transportation, the journey time was much reduced and road improvements soon reduced even this journey time to about two days.

5.9.1 Roads

In 1963 a branch of the national road administration was established in Al-Baha and this started to connect up the main centres of the sub-emirates. By 1975, Al-Baha had been connected with Taif city by an asphalt road 230 km. long, cutting the journey time to a few hours.

This national road now crosses Al-Baha from north to south, a distance of about 130 km., and continues south to Abha which is 350 km. from Al-Baha town. Although the road connects only a small proportion of the Sarah settlements, other settlements which are not connected by this road derive some indirect benefit. Many are being linked to the main road by local agricultural, often dirt roads. They are called agricultural roads because their main purpose is to ease the transportation of agricultural products to markets. More than 2000 kms. of unpaved roads have been made in the Sarah since the 1960s. A complete network will take time to complete, however, in view of the physical nature of the region and the widespread distribution of more than 1000 settlements. But much recent urban growth has been concentrated on this north-south axis and the aim is to make the whole area economically more active by providing a well-connected road network to allow vehicles to reach every settlement in Al-Baha and to bring the villages into the spheres of trade and service centres.

The Tihama area, by contrast, remained largely unconnected with the Sarah and the main Abha-Taif route until the 1980s, though its settlements had started to be connected together by local roads at the beginning of the 1970s. About 1000 kms. of local roads have already been made in the Tihama.

Road development continues at a rapid rate in the region. During the early 1980s several large road projects, initiated by central government, have been implemented and can be expected to have a major impact economically and socially on the region. The following are the main asphalted roads in Al-Baha region. These roads with their traffic volumes in 1982 are shown in Figure 5.2.

(1) Taif-Abha central road.

(2) Al-Baha - Al-Mukhwah road which connects the Sarah to the Tihama area down the Escarpment.

(3) Al-Atawlah - Al-Mandaq road

(4) Al-Mukhwah - Nabir road which crosses the Tihama from south-east to north-west

(5) Al-Baha-Taif road Through Blad Zahran which is one of the most important in the area since it serves many more Escarpment settlements than any other.

(6) Al-Zayad- Al-Atawlah road.

(7) Al-Aqiq - Al-Baha road.

(8) Al-Mukhwah Al-Mudhylif road.

5.9.2 Traffic

Until 1982 there was no information on traffic volumes in Al-Baha but a study conducted by Finnplanco consultant company and published in 1985 provided some relevant data on traffic volumes (Table 5.13). This data is mapped in Figure 5.2.

Table 5.13 Traffic Volumes in 1982

Road name		Traffic Vol. per Day	Cars %	Pick up_ %	Lorries %	Tot. %
Taif-Abha	N. Of Al-Atawlah	4,200	50	37	13	100
	S. of Al-Atawlah	4,600	47	35	18	100
	N. of Al-Baha	13,400	54	37	9	100
	S. of Al-Baha	7,900	52	38	10	100
	N. of Baljurashi	12,050	52	43	5	100
	S. of Baljurashi	10,100	50	45	5	100
	southern parts	5,100	55	38	7	100
Al-Aqiq	5km.from Al-Baha	1,850	30	38	32	100
Al-Atawlah-	west of Al-Atawlah	1,100	24	72	4	100
Al-Mandaq	east of Al-Mandaq	1,650	24	73	3	100
Al-Mandaq -	north of Al-Mandaq	2,100	26	73	1	100
As-Sagrah	south of Al-Mandaq	1,650	25	71	4	100
Al-Mukhwah -Nawan		2,900	30	49	21	100
Al-Mudhylif Batat		2,500	34	46	20	100
Al-Mukhwah -N. of Al-Mukhwah		600	16	78	6	100
Gilwah	south of Gilwah	800	6	92	2	100

Source: Finnplanco, Traffic and Transportation Survey, 1985.

It is clear from the Table and the map that the Taif-Abha road in 1982 carried the heaviest traffic volumes in the whole region. Around Al-Baha and Baljurashi towns traffic volumes on this road increased considerably to about 13,400 vehicle per day north of Al-Baha and 12,050 north of Baljurashi. By contrast, the remaining roads in Al-Baha generally had traffic volumes of less than 2000 vehicles per day. The traffic volume between the Sarah and the Tihama was still only about 1,000 vehicles per day but the paved descent had not been completed at the time of the survey.

That study was conducted in 1982 before the addition of several roads already referred to which have changed the traffic picture markedly. Three roads completed in 1985-86 have contributed most to this change of pattern. The

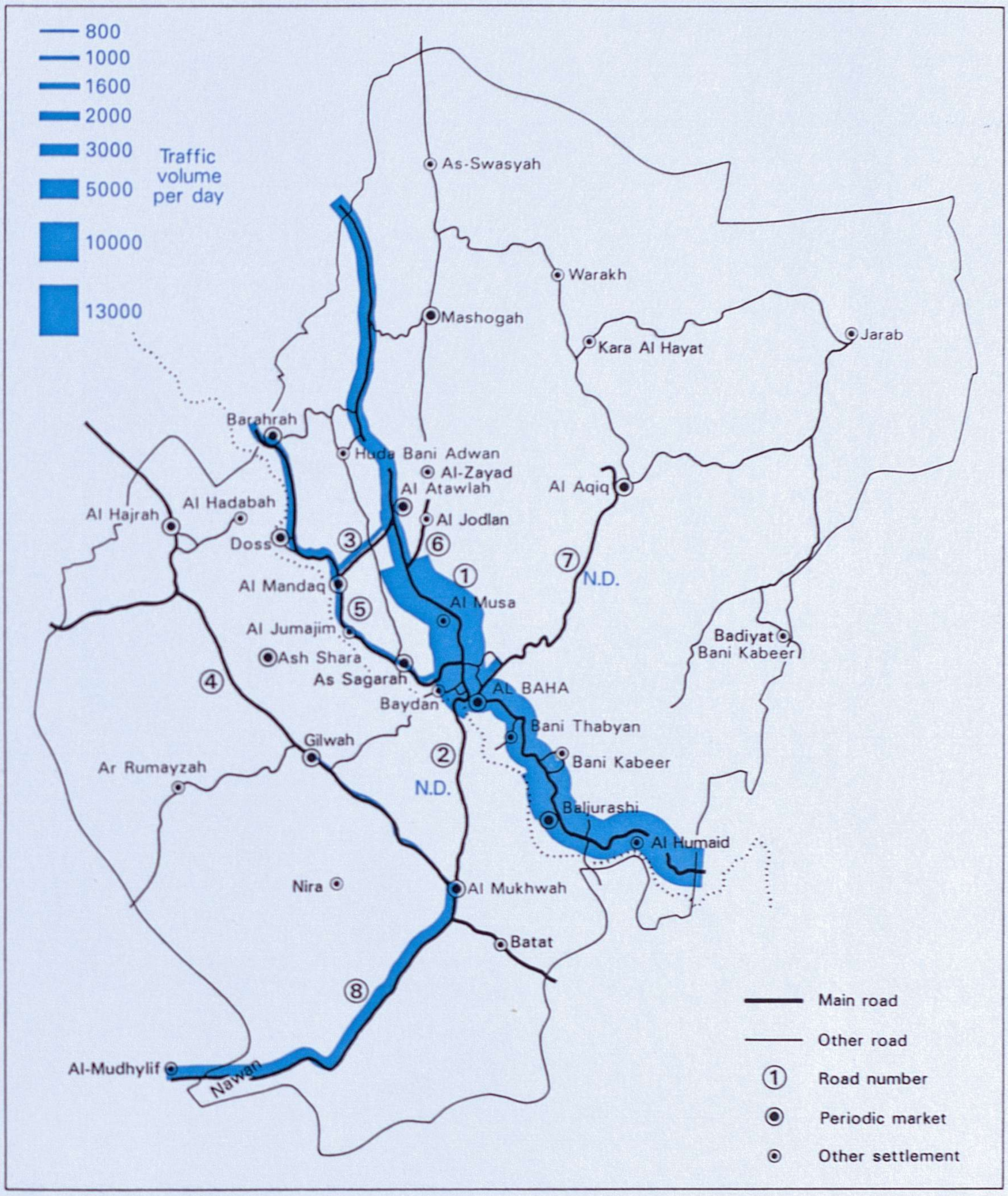

Figure 5.2 Traffic volumes on major roads in 1982

Based upon Finnplanco Economic Survey

Al-Baha-Al-Mukhwah road is part of a larger road project to link the Sarah with the Tihama and coast. Its total length is only 45 km. but it connects the Tihama and the Sarah areas which have remained so separated economically and socially for such a long time. Where it penetrates the massive wall of the Escarpment there are thirty-two tunnels and more than twenty bridges (Plate 5.1). This road is gaining increasing amounts of traffic. The second major road, from Al-Baha to Blad Zahran, was finished in late 1986 and connects Al-Baha town with a considerable number of settlements in the Sarah Proper in the north. Moreover, it connects Al-Baha region with the Taif region, running parallel with, but west of the existing road from Al-Baha to Taif. The third road project, completed in 1986, was the Al-Mukhwah to Nabir road which connects the main centres in the Tihama. These three roads are expected to receive heavy use in the future since they connect areas with a considerable number of settlements.

There is no doubt that any improvement in transportation could be expected to have a major impact on the existing periodic markets, as well as other trading centres. The effect might be to the advantage of some, while disadvantaging others. The most obvious visible impact of the new road net seems to be increase to the amount of traffic and to direct more traffic to the main centres which have governmental offices and other central functions. Markets in these places could benefit as a result. At the

Plate 5.1 Al-Baha Descent recently built to connect Al-Baha town and Al-Mukhwah

same time, the improvement of communications could cause other smaller or intermediately located markets to fail. Not only that, but the gradual improvement in transportation might lead to a gradual evolution of a daily, instead of a periodic system and more permanent shops. The impact of transportation improvement is one aspect of change in the periodic market system examined later in the thesis.

5.10 Household Incomes and Expenditure in Al-Baha Area

5.10.1 Introduction

The nature and size of household and other budgets in Al-Baha have changed markedly in recent years and therefore affected purchasing patterns. Until the mid-1970s, the main source of income in Al-Baha area was agriculture and the 1974 census shows that two out of three persons in the workforce obtained their income from this sector. Incomes were generally low. By 1982 only one in four persons obtained his basic income in this way. Many more now earned higher incomes in other parts of the economy.

At the same time the government budget grew and the proportion spent in the Al-Baha area also increased. Government money was spent under two main headings. One was government expenditure to provide public services which increased considerably after 1970. In turn, this meant an enormous increase in the number of people employed in the public sector, such as in health, education and social services. Investment in infrastructure in the form of various projects like roads, schools and hospitals also attracted a great number of people to work temporarily. Many abandoned farming as more income could be gained in a short time in government funded work, rather than working in the difficult agricultural conditions.

5.10.2 Household Income

Data for 1982 allows the sub-regional division of income and expenditure in the Al-Baha area to be examined for sub-emirates at the household level as a prelude to a consideration of how changing household income may have affected marketing.

Table 5.14 shows clearly that average household income in the Sarah area much exceeds that of the average household in the Tihama; even Al-Aqiq sub-region, which is inhabited largely by nomadic and recently settled people, exhibits an average monthly household income which exceeds that in the Tihama area, even though it is lower than in the rest of the Sarah.

However, the Baljurashi and Al-Baha sub-regions display the highest level of monthly household income in the whole region. This is because these sub-regions are the most attractive places for the new workforce to live since they are the most urban places in Al-Baha and they offer all kinds of public services, including higher rank jobs. In turn, this well-paid workforce has led to increases in the size and range of commercial activity. All these circumstances help to explain the high average household incomes in Baljurashi and Al-Baha sub-regions. Average incomes in other sub-regions, specially in the Tihama, are much lower.

Table 5.14 The Average Monthly Income per Household by Sub-region, 1982.

Sub-region	Household Average Income (Saudi Rials)	Subregion Income 1n Relation to Regional Average (100)
Baljurashi	5,236	117
Al-Baha	5,217	116
Al-Mandaq	4,088	91
Al-Atawlah	4,520	101
Al-Aqiq	3,626	81
Average Sarah	4,814	107
Al-Mukhwah	3,489	78
Gilwah	3,311	74
Average Tihama	3,406	76
Average All Region	4,484	100

Source: Finnplanco, Economic Survey, 1985.

However, it is worth noting that another less visible factor also contributes to high average household incomes in Baljurashi and Al-Baha. These are the earnings of temporary outmigrants who are working outside Al-Baha, especially in Jeddah, Riyadh and Dammam. Many have occupations which provide good incomes, some of which finds its way back to Al-Baha and Baljurashi, but there is no data available about these sources of returned income.

The 1982 socio-economic study allows some comparison to be made between the difference of income in the Tihama and Sarah. Table 5.15 divides these into different groups: the lowest, lower - middle, a higher-middle and the highest.

Table 5.15 The Distribution of Household Income Groups by Areas, Al-Baha, 1982.

Area	Lowest Household Income Group %	Lower - Middle Income Group %	Higher - Middle Income Group %	Highest Income Group %
Amount per month SAR.	0-2,999	3,000-5,999	6,000-8,999	9,000 or more
Sarah	67	77	89	91
Tihama	33	23	11	9

Source: Finnplanco, Economic Survey, 1985.

The study showed that the Tihama contained 33 per cent of the lowest household income group, but only 9 per cent of the highest household income group. The Sarah area with more workers contained more households in each group but with a clear bias towards the higher income groups.

5.10.3 Household Expenditure

The 1982 socio-economic study found that the average monthly household expenditure in Al-Baha region was SAR 3,034. However, the distribution of the average household expenditure across the sub-regions showed less difference in comparison with household income (Table 5.16).

Table 5.16 The Average Monthly Expenditure per Household by Sub-region, 1982.

Sub-region	Household Average Expenditure (Saudi Rials)	Subregion % of Average Regional Expenditure
Baljurashi	3,290	108
Al-Baha	3,373	112
Al-Mandaq	3,120	103
Atawlah	3,200	105
Al-Aqiq	2,457	81
Al-Mukhwah	3,000	99
Gilwah	2,800	92
Average	3,034	

Source: Finnplanco, Economic Survey, 1985.

The highest average household net expenditure at 108 per cent of the regional average was recorded in Al-Baha sub-region (SAR 3,373), while the lowest was in Al-Aqiq sub-region (SAR 2,457). Although households in Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah sub-regions, which are in the Tihama area, have lower incomes in comparison with other sub-regions, monthly expenditure there was close to the regional average.

5.11 Income, Expenditures and Periodic Markets

It might be assumed that where a greater number of people with a higher average income and expenditure are found, a more thriving pattern of markets and shops will exist. To some extent this seems to be the case but the income and expenditure data is insufficiently detailed to clearly establish such a link, certainly for periodic markets. There are thirteen periodic markets in Al-Baha, nine in the Sarah and four in the Tihama but it is difficult to judge how much household income is spent in the markets and how much is spent in other ways. Insight to the average household monthly expenditure in Al-Baha shows that the expenditure is distributed over various items (Table 5.17).

Table 5.17 Average Monthly Household Expenditure in the Al-Baha Area.

Item	SAR	%
Food	1,657	54.6
Clothes	403	13.3
Electricity, Water and Gas	237	7.8
Education	172	5.7
Medical Care	108	3.6
Transportation	113	3.7
Supporting Relatives	113	3.7
On the House	231	7.6
Total	3,034	100

Source: Finnplanco, Economic Survey, 1985.

Table 5.17 shows that much of the expenditure is on food, a great deal of which would occur at markets. Food accounts for 55 per cent of average household expenditure, followed by clothes (13.3 per cent). Because of free education and medical care, food and clothing purchases far exceed all other household costs.

There is no doubt that much of the household monthly expenditure, especially on food and clothes, finds its way either directly or indirectly to the periodic markets, and as purchasing power has increased so the position of periodic markets and fixed shops should have been strengthened. Other factors, though, play an important role in protecting some of the periodic markets. These factors include the increasing population, the improved accessibility of the markets, their increased range of goods and the expansion in some places with markets of public services. All of these could enhance the central-place role of market centres. It is therefore necessary to consider the pattern of service centres in Al-Baha of which the markets form a part.

CHAPTER SIX

SERVICE CENTRES IN AL-BAHA REGION

6.1 Introduction

In order to understand the role and functions of periodic markets in Al-Baha it is necessary to know how they relate to the pattern of settlements in the region. For that we need to know the location of the settlements, their population size and functions. But here we run into a problem, namely that of a definition of settlements appropriate to the region. The opening section of this chapter therefore examines the existing definition and the complications involved in recognising discrete settlements in Al-Baha region. In connection with this it is necessary to refer to settlement history. The chapter then considers the population and services of 240 centres already recognised in the region as service centres.

6.2 Recent Settlement History

In Saudi Arabia individual settlements are recognised on the basis of their administration and association with tribes. While most settlements are very small, in some areas they are close to each other and it is often difficult to decide if they are separate settlements or not. Tribes, of course, may be nomadic, wandering through their grazing territories and camping as and where necessary. In this case, their settlements are mobile in terms of siting, and flexible in composition, both in the number and arrangement of tents, as well as in the kin-relationship which underlie them. Some tribes, however, have at least some members living in fixed settlements. This is mainly the case in Al-Baha so that it is with these that we are particularly concerned in this chapter. The tribal pattern in Al-Baha was reviewed in Chapter Four. Although the permanent settlements belonging to a particular tribe are recognised as related on kinship lines, for administrative purposes separate settlement units are recognised on the basis of whether they constitute a community headed by a person called the Arefah. In theory, an Arefah is answerable to the national government for the people of his village (Quryah). In this sense a village is an administrative unit containing no fewer than three houses but because a village is not defined on its morphology or its separation from other villages, its definition is often not precise. The notion of 'village', therefore, lacks precision in Saudi Arabia.

The problem of settlement recognition for the present study has been made more complicated by the development of the settlement system of Al-Baha since 1970. The region has a long history of permanent settlement and some sites may have been occupied for more than 1600 years (Al-Ghamedi, 1986). The initial core area of settlements probably evolved along the Escarpment where most of the cultivable land of the region is found and the greatest amount of precipitation is received.

Here hundreds of tiny village communities - often no more than compact collections of a few houses - grew up, frequently in quite inaccessible locations on hill tops.

Various changes obviously occurred in the past, including the abandonment of some sites and the occupation of new ones, but the most striking changes are those which started in the 1970s. One aspect of these was that, with the relaxation of the need for security, people started to build houses outside of the old compact villages, on less defensible sites and in more accessible situations. Not only that, but there has also been a propensity to keep one's neighbours at a reasonable distance. Traditional stone-built villages in Al-Baha often had several houses huddled together for defence and with enclosing walls for privacy. Now houses can spread out across the land but are still surrounded by high walls for their privacy. The result has been the creation of a great number of new settlements or groups of houses. Just how many have been created in recent years proved impossible to discover.

There is no published data on this topic but observations during fieldwork certainly brought to light evidence for the erection of many new villages alongside old villages, which also remain abundant. For example, in Wadi Beedah 30 km north Al-Baha, 22 villages were counted. Seven of them were totally abandoned: Al-Jodlan, Az-Zarbah, Al-Lagamees, Al-Hodari, Al-Homah, Al-Zayadh and Al-Gatamiah. The other older villages accounted for about 50 per cent of houses in the area and these would have made up most of the wadi's settlements around 1970. Since then many people have moved from their old villages to spread settlement out in different directions, creating new settlements on land which they already owned, but often close to the old settlements.

Several reasons have lain behind this recent spread of settlement, apart from the improvement of security. The growth of population meant increasing needs for more accommodation. Most of the old villages could not contain the new houses because of very restricted sites. Secondly, as a result of the increase in income and government loan provision, there was a tendency towards building large modern houses and to abandon the dark, cramped old houses. Thirdly, people wished to move to more accessible locations. Many of the older villages were off the roads. Finally, the traditionally strong relations within the family started to decrease and resulted in people in the extended family wishing to have separate houses. Big households, which used to accommodate between fifteen and twenty people as one family, have often separated into three or four households. Since Al-Baha is an agricultural region, division of these big households has also meant more fragmentation of agricultural land, because each nuclear household wants its own land and to be as close as possible to it. As a result of all these circumstances, villages have increased in number. For example, the people who moved from now abandoned Al-Jodlan village in Wadi Beedah erected four separate settlements, though the average distance between them is only about 500m.

Observations made during fieldwork suggest that this increase in the number of villages has been greater in the

Sarah area than in the Tihama. But it must be made clear that it was not possible for the writer to visit more than a small proportion of the villages in Al-Baha, and uncertainty about the total number made the drawing of a sample for examination difficult. He also had more chance to visit villages in the Sarah than in the Tihama. For example, in the Al-Aqiq area many completely new villages, (that is not just groups of houses separated from an old village) have been erected over the last fifteen years by recently settled nomads. In the other sub-regions, the normal process of new settlement formation has been more by the abandonment of old-established villages and the creation of new groups of houses some distance away. These all confirm the impression of similar processes at work across the region but with local variations. In time, these settlements become independent communities. Some of the villages in the Tihama which were visited, for example, Thi Ain, Ar-Rashashah, As-Sacran, Al-Kalf, Al-Marwah, and Al-Wahasah showed the same tendencies as those in the Sarah, that is for families to move outside their original villages. At Thi Ain, 20 kms. north-east of Al-Mukhwah in the Tihama, for example, the writer found that all the people had left the old village and built a new one 500 m. to the west (Plate 6.1).

Despite the tendency for old communities to fragment and their old village sites to be abandoned, some old villages have remained and increased in physical size as the number of houses has grown. Sometimes old houses have been

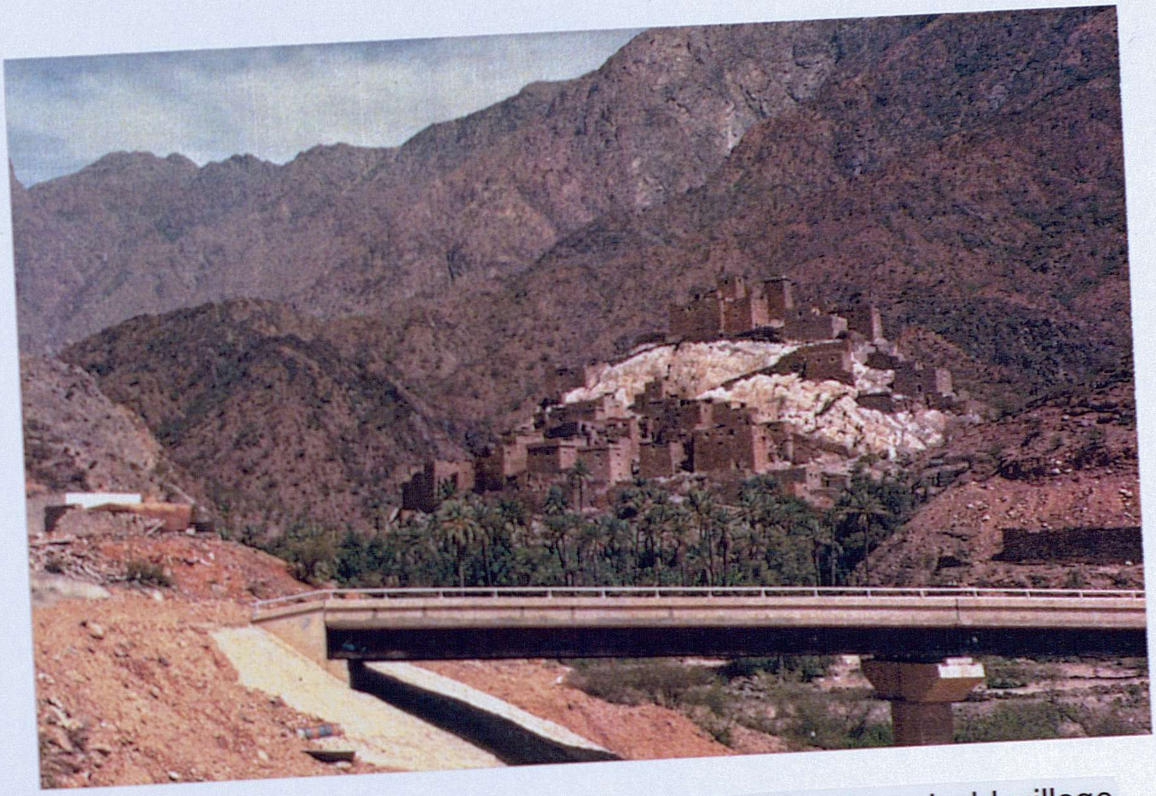

Plate 6.1 Thi Ain village, an example of an abandoned old village in the Tihama

demolished and replaced by new ones on the same site. As a result of both types of developments the appearance of old villages has changed completely. This applies especially in settlements which have increased their importance as service and administrative centres like Al-Baha town itself, Baljurashi, Al-Mandaq, Al-Atawlah, Al-Mukhwah, and Gilwah. All of these have a greater population than the vast majority of the region's settlements.

Unfortunately, there is very little data beyond the writer's field observations to confirm these changes. Some indication of the degree of change in settlements can, however, be derived from an examination of a 5 per cent sample drawn from an estimated total of 30,060 households in Al-Baha in 1982 for the Finnplanco Survey. This suggests that there has been a very large increase in households in recent years. Table 6.1 gives the number of houses sampled in the seven sub-regions. If the sample was accurate, it shows that Al-Baha and Baljurashi sub-regions contain about half of the total houses in the region(48.7 per cent). This is what one would expect because they accommodate about half of the total population. The sub-regions in the Tihama contain about a quarter of the total number of houses sampled (23.4 per cent) to correspond with the population in that area which is 22.7 per cent of the total for Al-Baha.

More interesting is the age distribution of the houses sampled. No less than 32 per cent of the total sample of

Table 6.1 The Age of Houses in Al-Baha Region

Subregion	< 5 years	%	5-10 years	%	10-20 years	%	20-99 years	%	100+ years	%	total	%
Al-Baha	2900	36.5	1280	16.1	1320	16.6	1940	24.4	500	6.3	7940	26.4
Baljurashi	2060	30.7	940	14.0	1640	24.5	1860	27.8	200	3.0	6700	22.3
Al-Mandaq	800	26.1	280	9.1	360	11.8	1100	35.9	520	17.0	3060	10.2
Al-Atawlah	940	33.6	560	20.0	440	15.7	540	21.6	320	11.4	2800	9.3
Al-Aqiq	1300	52.0	460	18.4	320	12.8	340	13.6	80	3.2	2500	8.3
Tot. Sarah	8,000	34.8	3520	15.3	4080	17.7	5780	25.1	1620	7.1	23000	
Al-Mukhwah	880	23.5	460	12.3	860	23.0	1160	31.0	380	10.2	3740	12.4
Gilwah	720	21.7	400	12.0	580	17.5	1000	30.1	620	18.7	3320	11.0
Tot. Tihama	1600	22.7	860	12.2	1440	20.4	2160	30.6	1000	14.2	7060	
Tot. Sarah and Tihama	9600	31.9	4380	14.6	5520	18.4	7940	26.4	2620	8.7	30060	100

Source: Finnplanco, Economic Survey, 1985.

houses were less than five years old in 1982. The large number of new houses was particularly noticeable in the Sarah sub-regions where most population growth and settlement dispersal has occurred. In Al-Aqiq sub-region 52 per cent of the houses sampled were less than 5 years old, reflecting the recent settling of nomads in the area, whilst in Al-Atawlah, Al-Baha and Baljurashi more than a third of all houses were this recent. The two sub-regions in the Tihama have a little less than a quarter of their sampled houses younger than 5 years old but this is still in dicative of much recent settlement change.

There are several factors behind these differences in new housing development in the Sarah and Tihama. One is the fact that population growth has been faster in the Sarah than in the Tihama. Secondly, the per capita income in the Sarah is greater than in the Tihama, so allowing families to contemplate building new houses for themselves, while the greater availability of building materials in the Sarah probably encourages this. Finally, the desire for modern things is probably stronger in the fast developing Sarah and the chance of getting governmental loans to help in house building has been greater in those densely settled and better organised areas.

Sub-regional variations in the rates of new house-building between five and twenty years before 1982 are not so obvious in Table 6.1. Although about another third of houses were of that age, the proportion did not vary markedly across the

Sarah and Tihama. There was much house construction across all of Saudi Arabia in those years. The country witnessed an enormous increase in oil revenue, especially in the 1970s which led to increased per capita income, as well as rapid population growth. Demand for houses rose so quickly that housing shortages led the Government to provide interest free loans to help people to build their houses. All areas of Al-Baha seem to have benefitted more or less equally in this boom, unlike the more recent expansion in the period since the late 1970s. As the result, when one considers the number of houses in the region between 20 to more than 100 years old their proportion is not particularly high (at 35 per cent) but higher in the two Tihama sub-regions than in most of the Sarah. The Al-Mandaq area of the Sarah had the largest percentage of older houses (53 per cent) and this is probably due to the fact that the Al-Mandaq sub-region is located in the most physically difficult part of the Sarah, where there has been least population growth and economic change. It was not until 1986 that Al-Mandaq was connected to Al-Baha and Taif by an asphalt road. Until then the cost of building and of importing construction materials into the sub-region was high so that replacement building was less common. But closely rivalling Al-Mandaq for a larger number of older houses are the two sub-regions in the Tihama. Al-Mukhwah had 41 per cent of its houses in the over 20 years old group. In Gilwah 49 per cent were in this group. Again this is due to the remoteness of these sub-regions and their low per capita incomes which contributed to the delay in house modernization and replacement.

6.3 Definition of the Larger Settlements

Against the recent historical situation outlined above it is clear that considerable difficulties attend any attempt to define what constitutes a village settlement in Al-Baha. The conventional administrative definition of Quryah lacks precision and it is often not clear if a new village is part of an old Quryah. Many new settlements have been created, whilst others have been partially or totally abandoned. Some Qura consist of a cluster of only a few houses, whilst others now contain several hundred. Some of these large Qura are in a single agglomeration but others are grouped in several distinct nucleations. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that there has been disagreement about just how many qura exist in Al-Baha region.

A study by As-Salouk (1970) documented about 400 Qura and is a very useful and accurate source for naming settlements in the region but suffers from a tendency of putting some nucleations together, whilst dividing other agglomerations into separate sections and giving each part a name. As a result 400 settlements is now considered a considerable under-estimation. Two years after As-Salouk's study the Interior Ministry produced a report which came up with 1369 as the number of settlements in the region. An unpublished study commissioned by Al-Baha Province gave the total as 931, whilst the 1974 census listed 1229 Qura. In 1982 the Finnplanco Study came up with more than 1100 settlements. Finally, Al-Ghamedi in a Ph.D thesis (1986) specifically devoted to settlements gave a total of 989 Qura in the region. Despite the obvious differences in these studies, it seems reasonable to conclude that about 1000 Qura exist in the study region now.

Observations suggest that these settlements vary greatly in size according to their number of houses and total population. Their functions also vary somewhat. There has been no official classification of them, into towns, villages, hamlets or something similar in the western sense. Only Baljurashi was categorised as a "city" (Madinah) alongside the other 52 "cities" in Saudi Arabia in the 1974 census. If we apply Smith's (1967) definition of a town, we could distinguish several other "towns" in Al-Baha. He defined a town as

"a concentration of population larger than neighbouring agricultural settlements in which there is a substantial non-agricultural population which may be concerned with defence, administration, religion, commerce and/or industry, though not necessarily, of course, in that order".

On this basis several places could be considered as towns, although there is considerable variation between these places in their number of population and their commercial and public services. Most still look like villages but each is the capital of its sub-region. Table 6.2 lists these towns, their population and the number of public and commercial services in 1982.

Each of these towns became the centre of one of the seven sub-regions into which Al-Baha was divided in 1982 for the purpose of planning. Each has a periodic market. Al-Baha and Baljurashi were the largest in terms of the their population, together accounting for 47 per cent of the urban population of the region, while they shared 46 per cent of the region's designated services. Al-Aqiq had a similar size population to Al-Baha town but far fewer services. Al-Mandaq and Al-Atawlah in the Sarah, and Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah in the Tihama, show less difference in the number of public and commercial services and all have about 3,000 population.

Table 6.2. 'Towns' in Al-Baha and their Services and Population in 1982

Towns	Population number	%	Public Services	Commercial Services	Total
Baljurashi	11190	31.7	54	49	103
Al-Baha	5520	15.7	76	48	124
Al-Aqiq	6780	19.2	25	25	50
Al-Mandaq	2730	6.9	41	37	78
Al-Atawlah	3420	9.7	34	24	58
Al-Mukhwah	3400	9.6	39	38	77
Gilwah	2510	7.1	37	35	72
Total	35250		306	256	562

Source: Finnplanco, Economic Survey 1985.

6.4 Other Service Centres

While these are the only settlements which can be thought of as a towns, the Finnplanco Study identified a further 233 settlements containing at least one service in addition to a mosque. The activities listed as services by Finnplanco included government services like education, health centres, religious facilities (mosques of different sizes, religious police, and endowment offices), sport and culture, administration, police and courts. Also included are commercial services such as coffee and tea houses, hotels, restaurants, laundries, and industrial services or workshops. Villages with some of these services can be considered service centres and although some have several of these services most just have a handful. Unfortunately, there is no list of all these services in each place. Some of the listed centres have more population than some towns mentioned above but they all have the atmosphere associated with rural settlements. People in them seem more conservative about retaining their agricultural land and, despite the spread of houses in many villages, villagers in most settlements, are reluctant to sell their farm land. In contrast in the towns most of the surrounding farm lands get swallowed up by the erection of new houses and new services.

6.5 Pattern of Service Centres

Although no detail exists on the size and character of the 240 service centres recognised by Finnplanco, their distribution within the region can be usefully analysed by means of quadrat analysis. This is based on the pattern of centres shown in Figure 6.1. Quadrat analysis was developed by botanists to analyse the distribution of plants. Some geographers subsequently started to use it to analyse the spatial patterns of different features. For example, Birch (1967), Chorley and Haggett (1967), Witherick (1972) and Al-Kahtani (1988) have all experimented with its use and it seemed appropriate to use it here to describe the pattern of service centres. It has the advantages of speed and simplicity over nearest neighbour analysis which might otherwise have been used but which involves the time-consuming measurement of distances between settlements. In quadrat analysis use of the mean/variance ratio allows a settlement pattern to be described as clustered or regularly distributed. Thus, if the mean/variance ratio is less than one this means that the pattern contains some degree of clustering. If the mean/variance is more than one, it indicates a tendency towards regularity of point spacing.

However, quadrat analysis has some disadvantages, in particular related to choice of quadrat size. To overcome these difficulties it is normal to use a variety of sizes of quadrat. Figure 6.1 shows that three sizes have been employed here. The sizes chosen, somewhat arbitrarily, are 5 x 5 km, 10 x 10 km and 15 x 15 km.

Table 6.3 gives the results of the analysis at the regional level, using the three sizes of quadrat. Although the mean/variance ratios differ with the quadrat sizes they are consistent in indicating a clustering tendency in the pattern of service centres. In other words, the visual impression of a concentration of service centres along the Escarpment edge, particularly towards its southern end is confirmed by the spatial statistics.

However, even casual examination of the distribution suggests that the pattern of service centres, like the distribution of population, is strongly influenced by

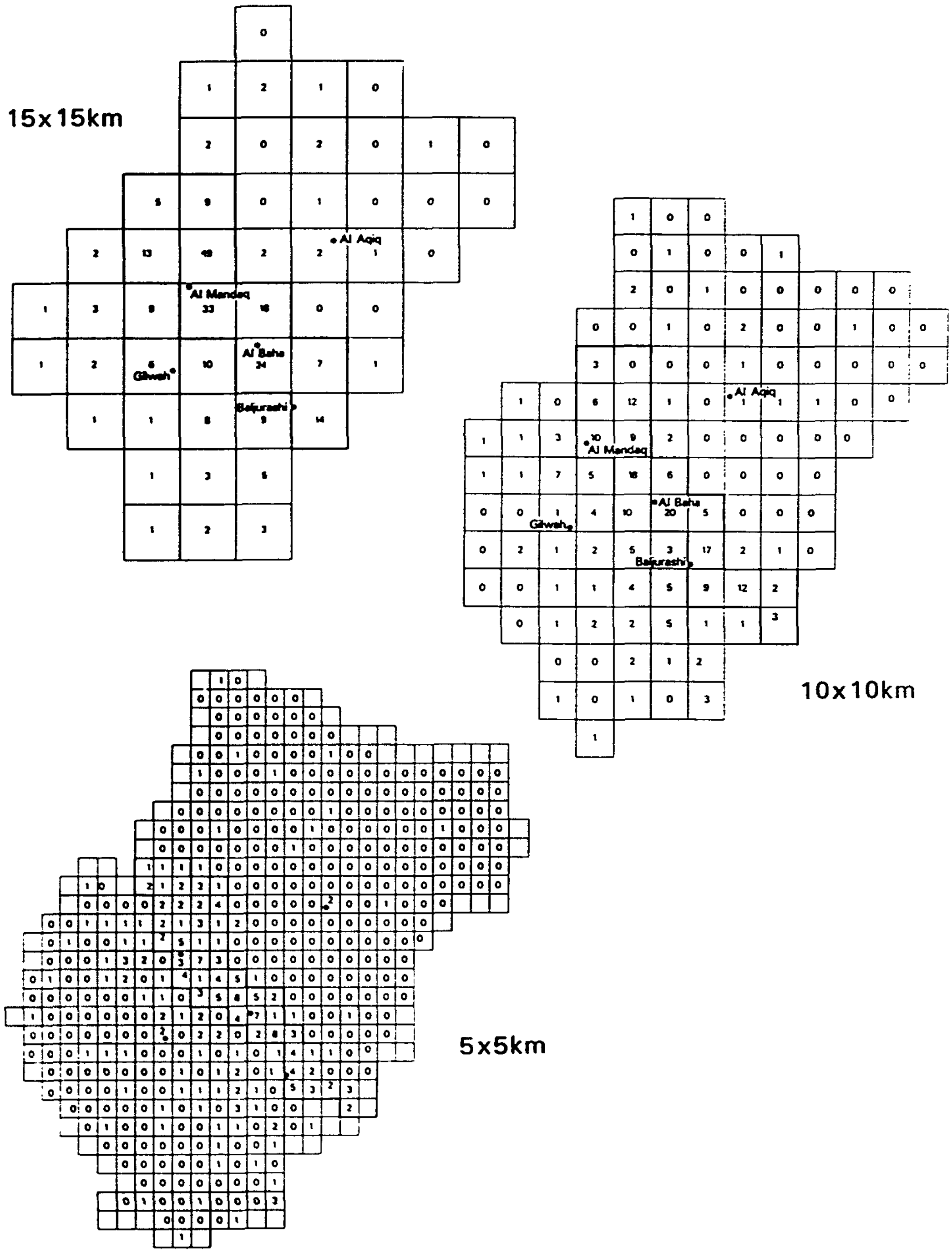

Figure 6.1 Three sizes of quadrat applied in the study region

physical conditions with many more of these centres in the main Sarah proper zone. To take account of this it is convenient to repeat the analysis using the three physically-based sub-divisions of the region already recognised, these being the Tihama, The Sarah Proper and the North Sarah. The result of this analysis are also shown in Table 6.3. Where the sub-regional boundry cut through a quadrat, the whole quadrat was counted in that subregion in which most of the quadrat lay.

Table 6.3 Result of Quadrat Analysis of the Pattern of Service Centres in Al-Baha Region.

Size of quadrat	Whole Region	Sarah Proper	Sarah North	Tihama
5 x 5	0.27	0.74	1.0	0.98
10 x 10	0.15	0.27	1.0	0.65
15 x 15	0.10	0.23	1.8	0.39

It shows that in the northern Sarah, an arid area of recently settled nomads, the mean/variance ratios indicate a randomly distributed pattern of settlement but one which is more regular with the biggest size of quadrat. This is because most of the settlements in this area were established less than fifteen years ago and the nomads chose to settle down in well scattered locations on cultivable land along the wadis.

In the Sarah Proper area, where most settlements are located, and almost two-thirds of Al-Baha's population is settled, all three sizes of quadrat show a clustered pattern. Although the 10 x 10 km and 15 x 15 km quadrats indicate strong clustering , the 5 x 5 km quadrats seem to be more discriminating. This is because, firstly, the larger grids contain some squares which have very few points, while the two bigger quadrat sizes cannot follow the border of the Sarah at all precisely. These points are likely to distort the overall result. In contrast, the smaller quadrat size more closely approximates physical conditions and still shows there is a degree of settlement clustering, concentration on the Escarpment edge and in the more fertile and better watered areas.

Turning to the Tihama, one might expect to find a clearly random pattern, in a way similar to that found in the Northern Sarah. Surprisingly, the mean/variance ratio of the larger quadrat sizes indicates a clustered pattern but one that appears more random at the smallest size. Again this size of grid gives more accurate results since it includes almost the whole of the real area of the Tihama.

6.6 Population of Service Centres

It is now appropriate to examine the distribution of these service centres in each sub-region in relation to their size.

Data compiled by Finnplanco allows the size of the 240 service centres (including the towns) to be studied in terms of their population (Table 6.4 and Figure 6.2). The table shows that most of the centres have less than 1000 population.

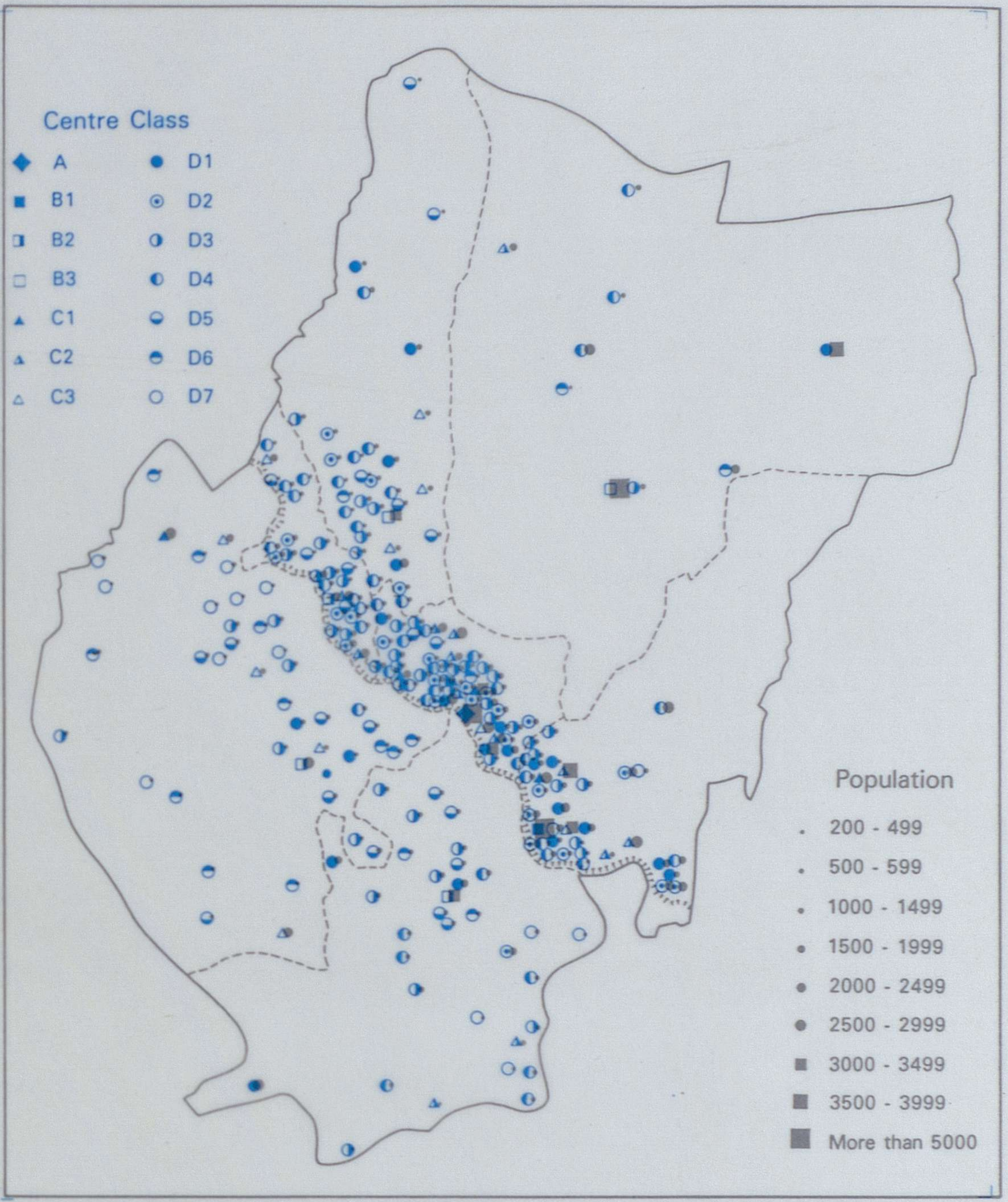

Figure 6.2 Population of service centres and their classes

Based upon Finnplanco Economic Survey

About one fifth (52) of the 240 service centres had a population of less than 500 people. A little less than half of these centres were found in the Tihama, although that area contains only about one third of the total number of service centres in Al-Baha region. The relative concentration of small settlements in the Tihama is largely a result of the dispersed population and the difficult topographic conditions. Settlements are usually located alongside the wadis which descend from the Sarah mountains. These mountains forced people to build where they could find a place to create land for farming. Since such areas were small and scattered, the settlements were small and dispersed. Even when population grew and settlements proliferated, they accommodated fewer people than in the Sarah.

Table 6.4 Classification of Service Centres According to Population in 1982.

Population	Number of Settlements				Total	%
	Sarah	%	Tihama	%		
< 200	---	---	2	2.6	2	0.8
200 - 499	27	16.5	23	30.3	50	20.8
500 - 999	59	36.0	36	47.4	95	39.6
1000 - 1499	34	20.7	6	7.9	40	16.7
1500 - 1999	16	10.0	4	5.3	20	8.3
2000 - 2499	11	6.7	1	1.3	12	5.0
2500 - 2999	8	4.9	3	3.9	11	4.6
3000 - 3499	4	2.4	1	1.3	5	2.1
3500 - 3999	2	1.2	---	---	2	o.8
> 5000	3	1.8	---	---	3	1.3
	164	100	76	100	240	100

Source: Finnplanco, Economic Survey, 1985.

In contrast, in the Sarah there were only 27 service centres with less than 500 inhabitants but many more larger than that. Al-Baha, Baljurashi and Al-Mandaq sub-regions each had only six centres of less than 500 population each. Al-Atawlah sub-region had eight service centres of this size. What is more common, most of the Sarah service centres in this size group actually had a population of between 400 to 499, while in the Tihama most centres in this group had between 300 to 450. Indicative of the smaller size of centres in the Tihama are the two smallest service centres in the whole region which were both found in the Tihama. Al-Kudayd has 130 inhabitants and Al-Athnain 160. Both are located in a semi-nomadic area.

It is clear also from Table 6.4 that most service centres (95 or 39.6 per cent) had a population of between 500 and 999 inhabitants. More of these centres are found in the Sarah area. Al-Baha sub-region alone had 22 service centres in this size category out of a its 57 service centres. This is probably related to the fact that the sub-region is the mostly populated in the whole region (1).

Baljurashi and Al-Mandaq sub-regions had about one-third of their service centres in this same size category. In the Tihama, Al-Mukhwah had twenty out of its 34 service centres

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(1) Al-Atawlah sub-region had about half of its service centres in the 500-999 category but this appears not to have been because of the concentration of people in particular areas, so much as the way in which the data were collected. Two or more smaller settlements were often merged into one in terms of their population data and this produced a relatively large number of centres in this category.

in this size group and Gilwah had sixteen out of 42. In both cases, this is rather misleading because the Finnplanco survey amalgamated the population of essentially separate settlements.

With each increase in service centre size the dominance of the Sarah over the Tihama is more obvious. There were 40 centres of 1000-1499 population in the region and most of them were found in the Sarah (34 centres). Again the greatest concentration was in Al-Baha sub-region where fifteen service centres in this size group were found. Al-Atawlah and Baljurashi had five each, while Al-Mandaq had seven. In the Tihama, Al-Mukhwah had four centres in this size group while Gilwah had two.

53 service centres had populations of 1500 or more. Only nine of them were found in the Tihama. Whereas the Sarah has nine service centres of over 3000 population, the Tihama had only one. 30 of the 53 places of over 1500 inhabitants were found in Baljurashi and Al-Baha sub-regions of the Sarah alone. Al-Aqiq had five in this size group out of its nine centres, which seems a high proportion. This is the result of the recent history of settling in the area and the fact that many of the settlers established themselves in Al-Aqiq town itself which had more than 6,000 inhabitants in 1982. But services are concentrated in only nine of over twenty settlements in the sub-region.

6.7 Number of Services

The Finnplanco Consultants also classified the 240 service centres which they identified according to the number of services possessed by each. This data is shown in Table 6.5 and Figure 6.2 (overlay). The pattern largely reflects the pattern just detailed based on the population sizes of settlements. Table 6.5 divides these 240 centres into four broad groups and a number of sub-groups on the basis of their number of services. It can be seen that only seven A or B classes centres were recognised with 45 services or more each. These seven are essentially the seven sub-emirate centres. The great majority (about 86 per cent) of the 240 centres fell into the D category with less than eighteen services each. These D centres were divided into six sub-types depending on their number of services with the smallest having only one service.

Table 6.5 Service Centres Classified by Number of Services 1982.

Class	Number of Services	Number Centres	% of Total Number of Center
A	110-130	1	0.4
B1	90-109	1	0.4
B2	65-89	3	1.3
B3	45-64	2	0.8
C1	32-44	5	2.1
C2	25-31	12	5.0
C3	18-24	9	3.8
D1	13-17	21	8.8
D2	10-12	24	10.0
D3	7-9	51	21.2
D4	5-6	50	20.8
D5	4	24	10.0
D6	3	19	7.9
D7	1-2	18	7.5
		240	100

Source: Finnplanco, Economic Survey, 1985.

The sub-regional distribution of service centres is given in Table 6.6. The Tihama had 76 service centres, whilst 164 were found in the Sarah. The Sarah contained the only A class centre, namely Al-Baha town. This is the capital of the Province and, as such, it has attracted a concentration of governmental and private services.

Table 6.6 Regional Distribution of Centres, 1982

	Number of Centres			% of Centres		
Class	Sarah	Tihama	Region	Sarah	Tihama	Region
A	1	–	1	100	–	100.0
B	4	2	6	67	33	100.0
C	23	3	26	88	12	100.0
D1-4	115	31	146	79	21	100.0
D5-7	21	40	61	34	66	100.0
	164	76	240	68	32	100.0

Source: Finnplanco, Economic Survey, 1985.

Table 6.7 Distribution of Centres by Sub-region, 1982

	Centre Class					
Sub-Region	A	B	C	D1-4	D5--7	Total
Al-Baha	1		9	44	3	57
Baljurashi		1	6	24	6	37
Al Mandaq		1	4	20	4	29
Al Atawlah		1	4	21	6	32
Al Aqiq		1	0	6	2	9
Total Sarah	1	4	23	115	21	164
Al Mukhwah		1	1	19	13	34
Gilwah		1	2	12	27	42
Total Tihama	0	2	3	31	40	76
Region	1	6	26	146	61	240

Source: Finnplanco, Economic Survey, 1985.

The Sarah has most of the B, C and larger D centres. The Tihama only exceeds the Sarah in its number of smaller D centres. A fuller analysis of this pattern of centres is possible by looking at the distribution of service centre categories between the different sub-regions (Table 6.7).

While each sub-region has one A or B category centre (with more than 44 individual services), each sub-region has a number of smaller centres. But the number of these varies. Al-Baha and Baljurashi sub-regions contained more than one-third of the total number of service centres in the region. Most of them (72.3 per cent) fall in the D1-4 categories, with 5-17 individual service providers, compared with more than 100 services found in the one A category centre, Al-Baha town itself. By contrast, the sub-regions of Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah in the Tihama have the greatest number of the smallest service centres (D5-7), that is places with up to 4 individual providers of services. These two areas are also less well provided with rather larger centres (Types D1-4 and C).

It has already been noted that the distribution of service centres mainly follows that of population. However, some other factors might affect the pattern. For example, recent road construction has probably led to an increase in commercial services in some settlements located on or close to the main roads. Although the sub-regions of Al-Baha, Baljurashi and Al-Atawlah contain half of the region's population, they also have a relatively large number of their settlements on the main roads. As a result there is a concentration of service centres in those areas, many of them on the main road from Taif to Abha. On the other hand, Al-Aqiq sub-region, the only Sarah sub-region not on a main road has only nine service centres, most of them in the lower classes. This is a recently settled area, still poorly served with roads and hence with fewer service centres.

6.7 Periodic Markets and Service Centres

The position of the thirteen periodic market centres within the pattern of 240 service centres in the region can be further examined by looking at the overall distribution of services in them.

The periodic market settlements and the non-market centres can be divided into three groups in terms of their services. It is clear from Figure 6.3 that seven periodic market centres are distinguished by possessing a relatively high number of services compared with the vast majority of the remaining service centres. These periodic market centres are Al-Baha, Baljurashi, Al-Atawlah, Al-Mandaq, and Al-Aqiq in the Sarah, as well as Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah in the Tihama. The largest of these market centres are shown separately in Figure 6.3 (b) with a compressed population scale. All of these centres have between 50 and 124 services and more than 2400 inhabitants, and there is no place in Al-Baha with this number of services which is not also a periodic market centre.

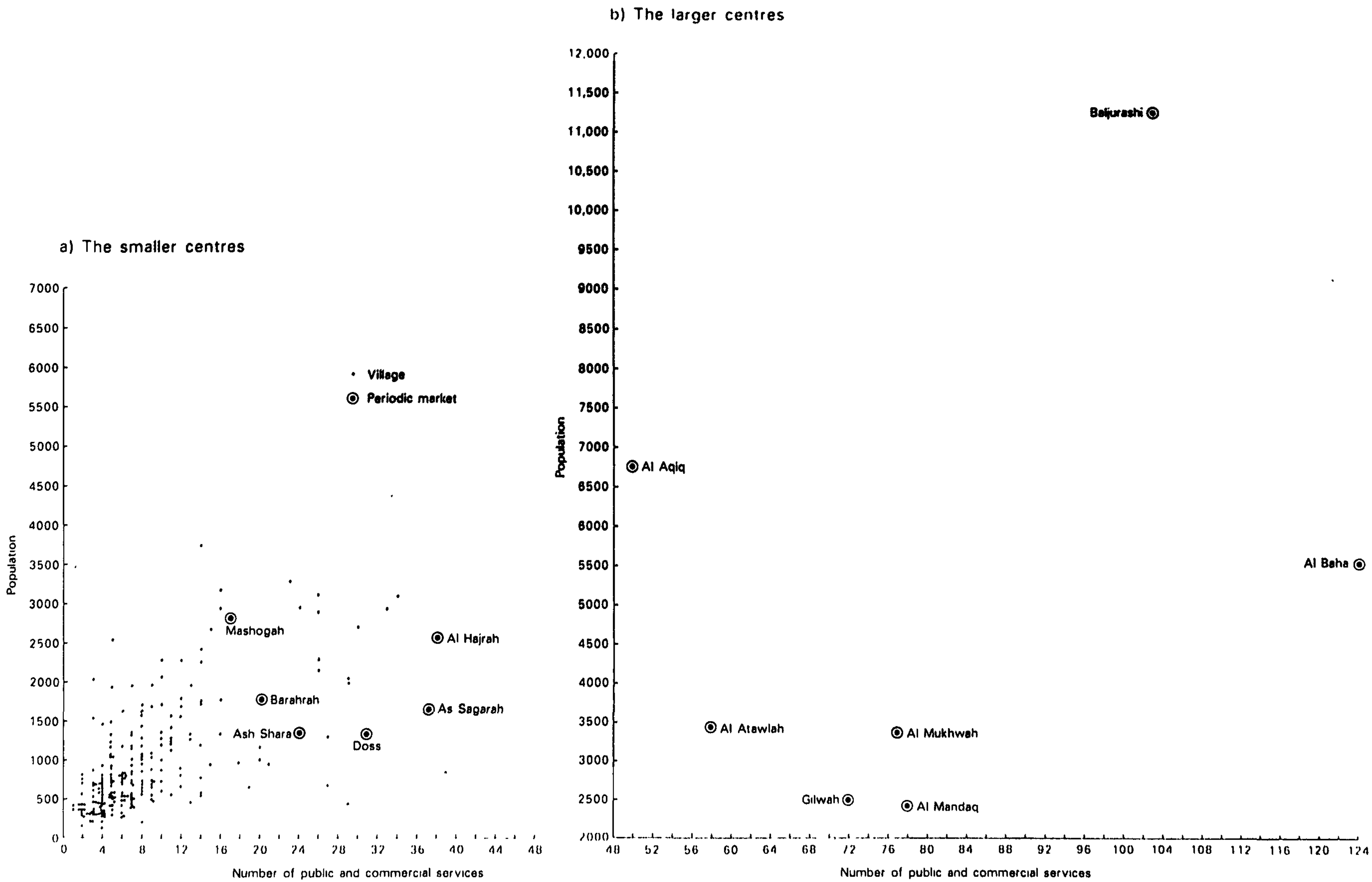

Figure 6.3 The position of Periodic Market centres within the pattern of 240 service centres in the region

The second group of market centres possesses between 17 and 37 services. There are six periodic market centres in this group, besides about twenty other service centres of this size which have not got periodic markets. In fact, some of these non-market centres have more services as well as more population than periodic market centres in this group. For example, Bani-Sar which has 2,750 inhabitants is larger than the market centres of Doss, Ash-Shara, Barahrah As-Sagarah and Al-Hajrah. It also has 30 services which is more than Ash-Shara (24), and Barahrah (20) have. This is because Bani-Sar is not only well provided with public services (11) but it is on the main Taif- Abha road which has attracted a number of shops to it. Villages like Rahwat Al-Burr and Az-Zawyah have less than 700 people but they also have more services than some periodic market centres. These two recently built centres are also located on the main road from Taif to Abha.

The third group contains more than 200 service centres. These places have from one to sixteen services. In fact, most of them have less than six services. Population of these centres ranges from less than 200 to more than 3,000 people. The majority of them have less than 800 people. Some of these centres in this group have more population than some of the periodic market centres but they have fewer services. For example Khidah has only six services to serve 2,500 people. This is because it is located in Al-Aqiq sub-region, a nomadic area which is still not well provided with services.

In general, then, there is a broad hierarchical relationship between the level of service provision and population size in the 240 centres, with the main periodic market centres standing at the top of this hierarchy. Figure 6.3 makes this clear. But some of the market centres have quite small populations for their number of services, while some of the non-market centres have more population for a small number of services. Clearly, most of the periodic market centres have a relatively favourable ratio of public services to population, even though some of them have less population than some centres which have not got periodic markets. This might be due to the fact that the periodic market settlements were often chosen for the location of government services such as sub-emirate offices and schools, not because they were large settlements but because they were the periodic markets sites and therefore ideal places to provide services to the surrounding settlements.

The Finnplanco data allow some further comparison of service provision to the population totals of the service centres in the region. This can be done by calculating a simple ratio of the total population of a service centre, as given by Finnplanco, to the number of public and commercial services in that centre. In the case of Al-Baha town itself, for example, the ratio works out at 72.6 people per service. With this ratio for each of the 240 service centres, it is possible to discover how the periodic market settlements compare with other centres in the availability of both public and commercial services.

The analysis of these ratios can be pursued by examining the spread of the values from their mean. One way of assessing the spread is to use the standard deviation calculated for the whole set of values. Values which fall within the range of one standard deviation plus or minus from the mean may be said to show little significant difference from the mean. Values which fall outside this range, could be considered significantly different. Thus, in the case of public services, the mean for the 240 centres is one service for 163.9 persons with a standard deviation of 133.0. Table 6.8 shows that 173 centres (72 per cent) fall within one standard deviation (plus or minus) of the mean.

Table 6.8 Ratio of Public Services to Population in the 240 Centres.

Mean/variance	< 30.9	30.9-296.9	296.9-429.9	> 430.0
Centres	61	173	1	5

But this leaves a relatively high number (61 or 25.4 per cent of the total centres) which are significantly below the mean. That is, they have a better level of service provision than one would expect. It is noticeable that these are some of the smallest centres. This results because even the smallest service centres have at least one school for boys and one for girls, as well as a Friday mosque. A second reason is that tribal and village influences have often forced the government to disperse public services rather than bring them together in certain major villages. Every village wants to have its health centre and school, so quite small villages will often have three or four services.

Six centres produced ratios which were significantly above the average, meaning that those settlements have more people per public service than the great majority of settlements. Az-Zarqa was in this situation because of its proximity to Al-Baha so that the people of Az-Zarqa benefit from public services in Al-Baha town and have few of their own. The same is true of Bani-Jorrah which had only three public services for a population of 2,000 but it is close to Baljurashi which has many services. The remaining centres in this category are located in nomadic areas where the people have only recently settled and service provision is still in its early stages.

Examination of the relationship between public services and population in the periodic market centres reveals that all thirteen periodic markets show some variation from the mean but not beyond the standard deviation range. Ten periodic market have a better ratio of public services than the average. Seven periodic markets (Al-Baha, Al-Mandaq, As-Sagarah, Doss, Ash-Shara, Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah) have ratios of less than 100 people per public service. On the other hand, Al-Aqiq, Baljurashi, and Mashogah have ratios of more than 200 people per public service. Baljurashi is the largest centre in the region and has more public services than any other place so one might expect a wide ratio. It has more than 11,000 people to its 54 public services, whilst there are more than 6,000 people in Al-Aqiq to use the 25 public services there. Mashogah is a smaller market centre with only 10 public services, the least of any market centre.

Table 6.9 shows the distribution of the 240 centres in terms of their ratios of commercial services to population. Here the mean of commercial services to population, at one service to 267.6 persons is much higher than for public services with a standard deviation of 205, also a higher range than for the public services. This, therefore, means that one expects to find fewer commercial services in each centre and the need for more population to support the level of services. Table 6.9 shows that 114 centres (47.5 per cent) lay within one standard deviation above or below the mean compared with 173 (72 per cent) for public services.

Table 6.9 Ratio of Commercial Services to Population in 240 Centres

Mean/ Variance	< 61.6	62- 267.6	268- 473.5	474- 679.4	680- 885.3	886- 1091	> 1091	Total	None
Total	5	62	52	34	18	3	17	240	49

It can be seen in Table 6.9 that five centres are more than one standard deviation below the mean. This means that these centres have a relatively high number of commercial services for the number of people they serve compared with other centres. For example, Ar-Rahwah, Rahwat Al-Burr and Az-Zawyah each have less than 30 inhabitants for each commercial service they have. The reason for this is that these centres are located on the main highway from Taif to Abha which has attracted a number of commercial services to serve the traffic on this road. 62 centres lie up to one standard deviation below the mean. Eleven of the periodic markets fall into this group. Al-Mandaq, Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah have less than 90 persons to support each commercial service, while Al-Baha, Al-Atawlah, As-Sagarah and Doss have less than 150 persons for each commercial service. 52 centres including the two markets of Al-Aqiq and Mashogah are within one standard deviation above the mean. Only Mashogah market lies far above the mean so that the market centres appear well supplied with commercial services, apart from their periodic markets. This is as would be expected from what has been revealed in the research. But, unlike the situation with public services, there are many of these 240 centres with a much poorer provision of commercial services.

Table 6.9 shows that there are 72 centres with a wide population- service ratio and 49 with no commercial services at all. 34 centres are between one and two standard deviations above the mean, while 38 are more than two standard deviations above, so that all these places have a large number of people for each service present. Some of these centres are in the Al-Aqiq sub-region where commercial services are still in the early stages of development. Some other centres are located close to bigger centres like Al-Baha town and Baljurashi so that their inhabitants use services in the bigger centres nearby. But several of these centres are only small villages and have been classified as service centres only because the Government has dispersed various basic public services, like an elementary school, to them. But, as small villages, they are unable to support any commercial services.

It is clear that the crude hierarchy of centres that appears to exist is based more on the distribution of public and commercial services than on the population sizes of the centres. This is because the population figures used in the analysis refers to the whole populations in the sub-emirates around the centres and not only to the centre itself, whereas the number of services noted are all found in the centres which are being considered. As Table 6.10 shows, all of the periodic market centres except Mashogah, Barahrah and Ash-Shara appear to be well supplied with services compared with the leading non-periodic market centres. Most have ratios of services to population which are more favourable than the average.

It does appear that the existence of a periodic market has often reinforced a centre's dominance as a service centre in its area at the expense of competing centres without a market. This has happened as Government services multiplied and spread and were provided more readily in the existing centres, and especially the market centres.

Some public services, like courts and schools, were established in periodic market settlements such as Al-Mandaq, Baljurashi and Al-Mukhwah as early as the 1950s. These places were chosen for services mainly because of their periodic markets, regardless of whether they were conveniently placed for the surrounding villages. In turn the provision of those services helped to support the periodic markets, taking into consideration the low level of accessibility at that time which made it difficult to visit distant markets. As the number of public services expanded in the 1970s, many more villages became centres for their areas, albeit often very small centres. This was because most villages sought a basic school and health provision, even if they could not become a higher level centre with sub-emirate office, post office or similar.

Table 6.10 Public and Commercial Services in the Settlements with Periodic Markets in 1982

Market	Population	Number of Public Services		Number Commercial Services %		Total	Ratio
Al-Baha	5,520	76	72.6	48	115.0	124	44.5
Baljurashi	11,190	54	207.2	49	228.3	103	108.6
Al-Mandaq	2,430	41	59.3	37	65.7	78	31.2
Al-Atawlah	3,420	34	100.6	24	142.5	58	59.0
Al-Aqiq	6,780	25	271.2	25	271.2	50	135.6
Doss	1,380	18	76.7	13	106.2	31	44.5
Ash-Shara	1,390	15	92.7	9	154.4	24	57.9
Al-Mukhwah	3,400	39	87.2	38	89.5	77	44.2
Gilwah	2,510	37	67.8	35	71.7	72	34.9
Barahrah	1,820	12	151.7	8	227.5	20	91.0
Mashogah	2,890	10	289.0	7	412.9	17	170.0
As-Sagarah	1,720	22	78.2	15	114.7	37	46.5
Al-Hajrah	2.610	21	124.3	17	153.5	38	68.7
13	47,060	404	116.0	325	144.8	729	64.6

Source: Finnplanco, Economic Survey, 1985.

From 1975 until 1982 the number of public services, especially, increased rapidly as a result of the economic boom. For example, at the beginning of the 1970s there were 147 elementary schools in Al-Baha, while in 1982 there were

234. Many of these schools were badly located as a result of tribal and local pressure to have schools in particular places, even though there were not enough children to support them. Now the government provides school transport to all children to take them to the nearest school, regardless of distance, and there is a plan to close some of the non-viable elementary schools so that several of the smallest service centre villages could cease to be service centres. This rationalisation is unlikely to affect places with intermediate or secondary schools of which there are far fewer. In 1972 there were seventeen intermediate schools and two secondary schools in the Province. Their number had grown to 48 and fifteen respectively in 1982. These schools are often in centres with other public services. For example, the only two secondary schools in the Tihama area are at Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah, both market centres. These are not likely to lose this important public service.

The spread of public services has been paralleled in recent years by a spread of fixed shops, both in the market centres and elsewhere on main roads and in non-market centres. To some extent, this should have helped to reinforce the dominance of the market centres but has threatened the existence of some of the smaller market centres. At first, fixed shops were only found around the markets selling sundries and they only opened on the day of the market. Increasingly, fixed shops have begun to open daily and to be established at other places than around the market and so threaten the trade of the mobile traders. This is particularly the case in the smallest markets like Al-Hajrah, Barahrah, Ash-Shara and As-Sagarah. But, in contrast, the well- established larger market centres like Baljurashi and Al-Baha have been strong enough to attract fixed shop traders to them, as well as to get better roads, more Government jobs and a more diverse economy which allows the markets to survive in them. In response to this enlivened activity, the periodic markets in these places have begun to act more like daily markets. But the origins of the pattern of periodic markets must be considered in the next chapter before detailing changes in the pattern later in the thesis.

PART THREE

Analyses of Periodic Markets in Al-Baha and Their Participants

CHAPTER SEVEN

PERIODIC MARKETS AND OTHER TRADITIONAL TRADING ARRANGEMENTS IN AL-BAHA

7.1 Origin of Periodic Markets in Al-Baha Region

As Chapter One pointed out, periodic markets form one of the more important institutions in the rural areas of the Third World but it is very difficult in most cases to trace the origins of individual markets. The markets in Al-Baha are a case in point for the writer found it impossible to establish the precise origin of each market. No documents are available about most of these markets and the fragmentary writings about Al-Baha in classical Arabic works and European sources, as well as recent specialised studies, contain nothing about the origin of any periodic market. Most of these sources do not even list the names of any market in Al-Baha.

This lack of written evidence on the origins of markets in Al-Baha is surprising because they were events which were deliberately organised, not spontaneous in their foundation. Documents laying out the roles of market and the tribal share, locally known as Okod As-Suq, must have been drawn up in most cases. As has been mentioned, if such documents survive, the village or tribal heads who might be expected to have such materials were reluctant to mention them to the writer or produce them. It could be that such papers have not survived, or it could be that because such documents contain sensitive information on the responsibilities of the tribes, clans or persons sharing in the organisation of the market, charges to be levied and similar regulations, the village heads did not want to release such information to outsiders. This reluctance could result from problems that could arise over what the documents might reveal about the role of tribes. For example, the market document might show that the market site has been allowed to pass from tribal hands into private hands over the years . Revealing the document might provoke a tribe to seek to regain the market site. Secondly, markets have now come under the supervision of governmental authority instead of that of the tribes so that the government would not welcome the raising of the question of tribal rights.

The writer was able to see only two markets documents but neither helped much to date the origins of the markets concerned. Mansory (1977) confronted the same problem when he studied periodic markets in 'Asir, where the lack of historical documents prevented him from giving a definite date for the origin of any market. However, one document about Barahrah market which mentions the date on which the market was relocated was seen by the writer and one about Al-Mandaq market. The Barahrah document shows that the market was transferred from one village to another in 1889-90 and reasserts the tribe's role in the market and the way in which order should be maintained. The document also mentions another market at Al- Namah, adjacent to

Barahrah market but held on a different day (1). The tribal significance of this document is apparent from the translation of some of its contents (Appendix 1). Part of the document about Al-Mandaq market was missing. It was written about three hundred years ago, but does not give the date when the market was established. Like the document about Barahrah market, it emphasises the means of keeping order and security inside the market and on the roads to/from the market on the day before and the day following the holding of the market. Both documents, then, indicate the role of tribes in the markets and how the markets were controlled.

It seems that periodic markets in Al-Baha evolved wherever the population concentrated and when self-sufficiency began to break down. Until about 300 years ago the local population was small and would trade little outside of their own communities. Cloth would be obtained annually from Makkah, when villagers went on Pilgrimage. Even recently many people would only sell their surpluses when they were in need of cash, or would exchange things when short of money. At the early markets in the Zahran tribe area , the

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(1) In fact, Al-Namah market was supposed to be held on Tuesday, but it was only 5km. from Barahrah market and both markets belonged to the same tribe (Doss). At the same time there was not sufficient people to support the two markets. Thus, Al-Namah market became an annual market. This market used to be held for several days every year within about 10 days of the Pilgrimage. The only goods sold there were sheep, goats, cattle and camels. Animals used to be bought by local people for sacrifices but most were bought in order to sell in Makkah to pilgrims. This market survived only three decades in the early twentieth century.

main trade was in the surpluses of different kinds of grain. None of the sellers had an interest in becoming full-time fixed or mobile traders, and to be a trader in the Zahran tribe was considered undesirable and for some it was something to be ashamed of. The situation in the Ghamed tribal area may have been a little different because they got involved in trade earlier than people in the Zahran area and most of the periodic markets in the Sarah area probably relied on Ghamedi traders for goods not produced locally.

The periodic market system slowly evolved and fifty years ago there appears to have been a degree of inter-relationship within the marketing system with a few markets serving as bulking markets for others in the area and for the towns outside the region like Makkah, Taif and Jeddah. This can be illustrated with the four examples shown in Figure 7.1. The northern Tihama market at Al-Hajrah was largely run by traders who came originally from southern Yemen. Their families had reportedly settled there 200 years ago. They imported coffee, sugar, rice, tea, clothes and guns from South Yemen, India and Ethiopia through the small Red Sea ports of Dogah and Al-Gunfudah. These goods in turn were distributed from Al-Hajrah to other markets in the surrounding area (Eg. Ash-Shara, Al-Jarda and sometimes to Barahrah). Al-Hajrah also served as a collecting centre for the surplus of grain and other produce in the northern Tihama which was sent on to Makkah and Jeddah.

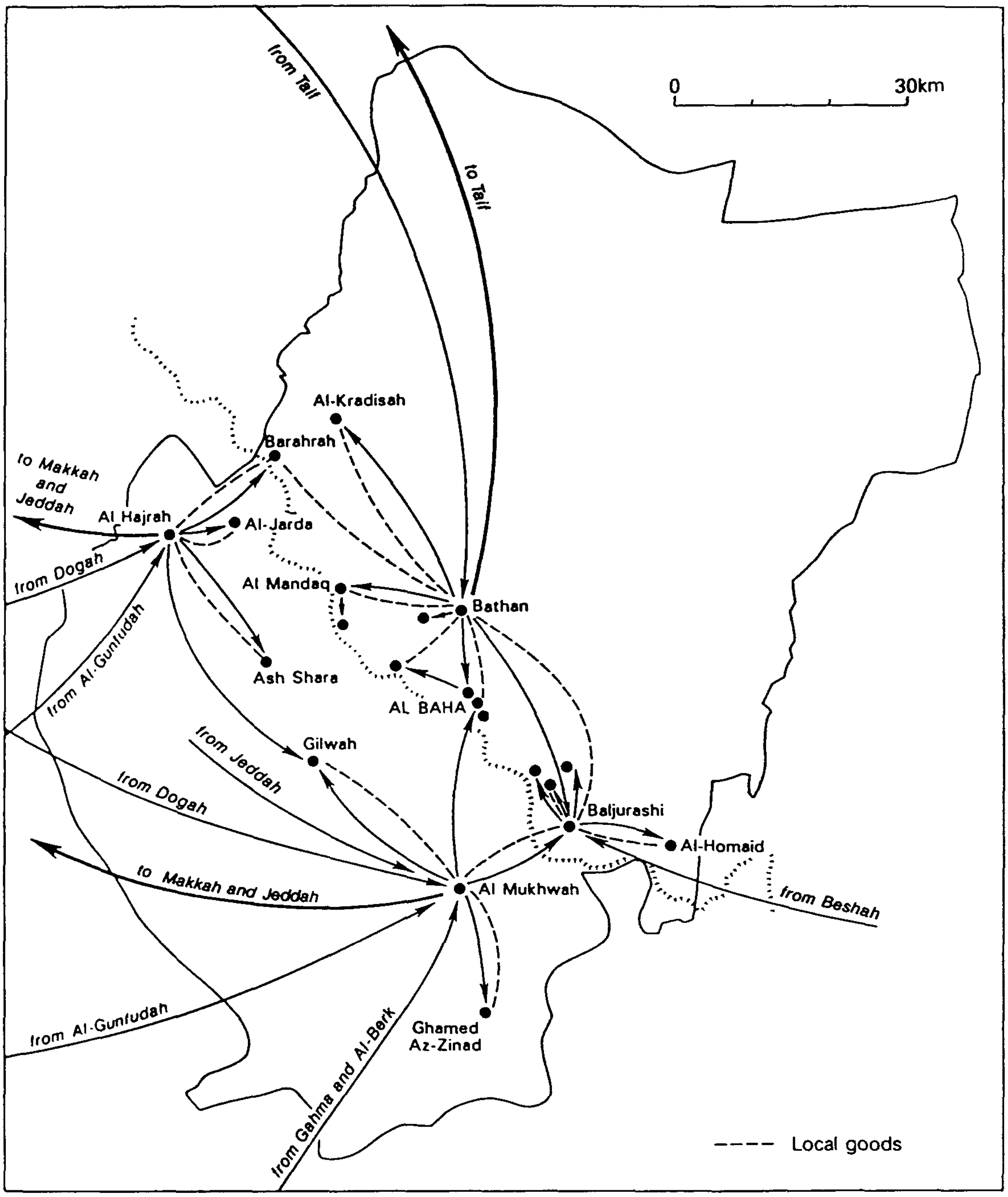

Figure 7.1 Inter-relationships between selected Periodic Markets in the 1930s

In a similar way, Al-Mukhwah market was the largest in the southern part of the Tihama before the advent of motor vehicles, but was dominated by traders from Baljurashi in the Sarah. Goods were imported from Jeddah, Al-Gunfudah and Dogah, as well as from Al-Gahma and Al-Berk. From Al-Mukhwah goods were distributed to periodic markets in the Tihama such as Ghamed Az-Zinad and Gilwah as well as to some markets in the Sarah through Baljurashi. In return, Al-Mukhwah received the surplus grain, Beshah dates through Baljurashi, honey, leather, wool and almonds collected in Baljurashi and mostly destined for Makkah and Jeddah. Al-Mukhwah enjoyed this degree of importance, first because some of the produce from the Sarah could find a local outlet there and, secondly, because, in the days of caravans, camels were changed there. Camels used in the flatter areas were different from those employed in the mountains.

Bathan market in the north-eastern Sarah, established late in the nineteenth century, seems to have been a bulking centre for grain collected from different parts in the Sarah area intended for Taif. On the other hand, this market received goods from Taif intended mainly for traders in Al-Baha, Baljurshi and other markets in the Sarah. Some of these goods used to be sold in this market (eg. sugar, rice, coffee, and cloth), while the remainder would be moved to other markets.

Baljurashi was also a market where local goods from surrounding areas used to be bought and sold in order to be resold at the surrounding markets such as Al-Homaid, Bani Kabeer, Bani Salim and Al-Gashamerah, all close to Baljurashi in the Sarah, as well as at Al-Mukhwah in the Tihama. On the other hand, some products from outside Al-Baha region, such as dates and grains, used to be sold at Baljurashi. Most of the dates used to be sold for consumption in Al-Baha region, while most of the grain and some dates and other items were sent on to Jeddah and Makkah through Al-Mukhwah market or to Taif through Bathan Market.

The structure of inter-relationship between periodic markets in Al-Baha, in fact, corresponds to the mercantile marketing model developed by Vance (1962). It supports the view that external trade, with a significant long-distance component, may have been important in creating the overall need for markets but the periodic, rather than the fixed, nature of the markets may have resulted from the seasonal availability of the local surpluses customarily exported, and the relatively low level of demand for outside goods from the small and relatively poor population in Al-Baha. While the pattern of marketing illustrated by these examples seems to support the theory, the precise location of the periodic markets in Al-Baha c.1900-30 appears to have been related to quite specific factors. These are, on the one hand, topography and natural routeways, and, on the other hand, resource availability and population distribution.

7.2 Distribution Patterns of Periodic Markets in Al-Baha

The lack of historical documents meant that the writer had to seek information about the origin and demise of particular periodic markets in Al-Baha by interviews with old people and the tribal heads in the villages. The information derived from those interviews is patchy but the picture is clearer for those markets founded less than 100 years ago. On this basis it has been possible to construct distribution maps of the periodic markets known to exist in about 1900 and 1950, as well as in 1987. These are the basis of the discussion which follows, though additional information has been exploited from other sources to help discuss the possible origins of periodic markets in Al-Baha and the significance of their spatio-temporal patterning.

Available information from these varied sources allows the reconstruction of the spatial pattern of periodic markets in Al-Baha in 1900. At that time there were 26 periodic markets in the region. Nearest neighbour analysis produces an index (0.67). which indicates a considerable degree of clustering. The pattern of distribution of periodic markets (Figure 7.2) shows the importance of physical conditions, although this acted indirectly because it influenced the distribution of population and tribes which, in turn, determined where the markets were found. In the Tihama, the markets were found in a line west of the Escarpment where the wadis descend from the Escarpment and have incised their valleys across the area leaving a sequence of high ridges. Various wadis systems converge at roughly the same distance from the

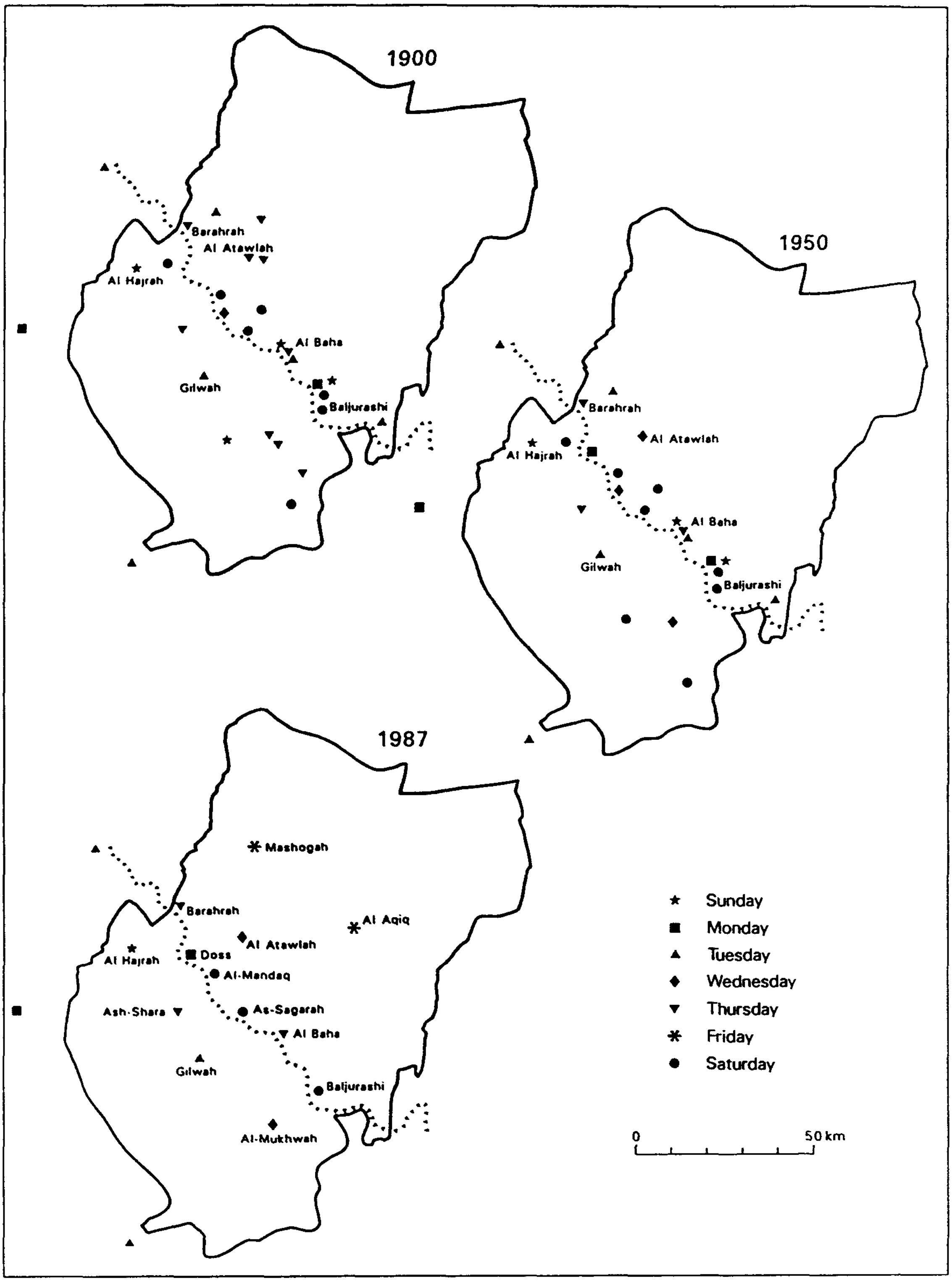

Figure 7.2 The spatio-temporal distribution of Periodic Markets in 1900, 1950 and 1987

Escarpment to produce relatively few major wadis. Markets were located at the convergence points because communication through this settled zone in the Tihama was mainly along the wadis. The wadis contained the cultivable land and water for irrigation and, because they acted as natural routeways, their confluences were traffic nodes. Market centres appear to have been strung out at equal distances apart, related to travel time and convenient access.

In the Sarah the most productive agricultural areas lie along the top of the Escarpment. As now, these were the main concentrations of settlement around 1900 and the periodic markets were located in their midst. Here, perhaps more than in the Tihama, the pattern of dominant tribes often determined the precise locations of the periodic markets. Their motives for setting up markets were partly political and partly economic, as has been mentioned already. On the one hand, the tribal leaders wished to assist their tribe in buying and selling goods but, on the other hand, they wished to assert their political authority over other tribes by establishing a market at which fellow tribesmen would feel obliged to trade.

The changing distribution of periodic markets in the study region for the dates 1950 and 1987, as well as 1900, is shown in Figure 7.2 and summarised in Table 7.1. A simple computer program has been used to measure the distances between periodic markets. The aims of this were, firstly, to examine the distribution of periodic markets as a whole over these three dates and to see the changes in the distribution. A second aim was to examine the hypothesis recognised in the literature that "proximity in space implies separation in time", to see if it applied in the Al-Baha region and to see to what extent this hypothesis could be applied at each of the three dates. Computer analysis allowed the writer to measure the distances between the markets that operated on the same day, on adjacent days, one day earlier or later than that and two days earlier or later.

Table 7.1 Nearest Neighbour Analysis of Markets Location Patterns, 1900, 1950 and 1987.

	1900	1950	1987
Total number of markets	26	23	13
Standard N.N. indices	0.67	0.74	1.06

The standard N.N indices suggest that the initially clustered pattern has become less clustered as time has gone on and as the number of markets has decreased. By 1987 the overall market pattern matches closely patterns that would be produced if the points were distributed randomly. But this does not mean that the markets are distributed randomly. Rather, it means the factors deciding location have produced a pattern that is very similar to a random one. There was a very low density of markets and their widespread dispersal across the region was too great to be clustered and yet it was not a regularly dispersed pattern either. In contrast, the result of nearest neighbour analysis in the earlier years shows that the pattern of all the periodic markets in Al-Baha can be described as more clustered, with a nearest neighbour value of 0.67 in 1900 and 0.74 in 1950.

Table 7.2 examines the patterns on a day basis and shows a similar clustered situation, with Thursday and Saturday markets in 1900 giving a nearest neighbour statistic of 0.68 or less. On the other hand, the patterns of Sunday, and Tuesday markets show that they tended towards a random distribution. There was only one market on both Monday and Wednesday, while Friday was marketless so that no analysis of patterns on those days is possible.

Table 7.2 The Nearest Neighbour Analysis of the Distribution of Periodic Markets by Days in Al-Baha Region for the Years 1900, 1950 and 1987.

	1900		1950		1987	
Day of Market	No. of Market Meetings	Nearest Neighbour Statistic	No. of Market Meetings	Nearest Neighbour Statistic	No. of Market Meetings	Nearest Neighbour Statistic
Sat.	7	0.59	8	0.70	3	0.64
Sun.	4	1.03	3	0.86	1	---
Mon.	1	---	2	1.21	1	---
Tues.	4	1.06	4	1.06	1	---
Wed.	1	----	3	0.81	2	1.41
Thu.	9	0.68	3	0.93	3	0.94
Fri.	-----	----	----	----	2	0.95
Total	26	0.67	23	0.74	13	1.06

In 1950 the pattern of periodic markets shows little change from 1900 with a value of 0.74.The distribution patterns of Saturday, Sunday and Thursday markets show some tendency towards a clustering pattern. On the other hand, Monday and Tuesday markets indicate a trend towards random patterns, but in all cases, except Saturday markets, the numbers involved are too small to be relied upon. The Saturday pattern was clustered in 1950 because Baljurashi market had Al-Gashamerah market which is very close to it as its nearest neighbour and As-Sagarah market had Ar-Romy market as its nearest nighbour whilst the Saturday market at Al-Mandaq which was not very far away.

In 1987, the overall nearest neighbour statistic shows a random distribution (1.06). This can be attributed to the considerable decrease in the number of periodic markets to half the number of 1900. Many markets near each other had closed down and this reduced the degree of clustering. On no day of the week do more than three markets operate so that nothing can be safely concluded from the daily data shown in Table 7.2. Nevertheless, the following discussion will attempt to detail the spatio-temporal patterns and the changing patterns over these dates.

7.3 Spatio-Temporal Patterns

To achieve an ideal competitive situation it could be argued that periodic markets needed to be spatially and temporarlly dispersed to meet the need of a dispersed population. To examine the spatio-temporal pattern of periodic markets in Al-Baha, nearest neighbour analysis has been applied to the pattern in 1900, 1950 and 1987 by examining the distances between markets that operated on the same day, and one day and two days earlier and later.

Table 7.3 Nearest Neighbour Analysis of the Spatio-temporal Pattern of Periodic Markets in 1900.

Day	Number of Market Meetings	Same Day	Adjacent Day Later	One Day Later	One Day Earlier	Two Days Later	Two Days Earlier
Sat.	7	12.7	13.7	28.3	14.0	20.5	27.3
Sun.	4	29.4	28.7	16.5	12.6	31.3	12.3
Mon.	1	-	11.2	35.2	3.1	13.1	-
Tue.	4	33.4	33.3	14.1	17.9	-	17.4
Wed.	1	-	12.6	-	35.2	5.9	20.4
Thu.	9	12.8	-	15.9	17.4	21.3	35.5
Fri.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

This use of nearest neighbour analysis (Tables, 7.3, 7.4, and 7.5) is based on that used by Fagerlund (1970) to test the spatio-temporal pattern of periodic markets in Uganda.

Table 7.3 shows that the average distance between markets held on the same day in 1900 was often more than the average distances between markets held on the adjacent day, one day and two days later or earlier. This result could provide some support for the notion expressed in the literature that markets nearer to each other in space happen on different days. For example, if one takes the Tuesday markets the average distance between same day and adjacent day markets was over 30 km. But the average distances between Tuesday markets and markets held more than one day earlier or later was between 14.1 and 17.9 km. This does suggest that markets which are spatially closer to each other seek temporal separation. Other data in Table 7.3 for markets on other day does not support this contention, however. For example, the average distance between markets on Thursday was 12.8 km. while it was 35.5 km two days earlier.

In 1950 the distribution of periodic markets in time and space seems to support the concept of spatio-temporal separation but only partially. Table 7.4 gives details about the space and time separation of periodic markets at that date. The average distance between the periodic markets held on the same day was the highest (at about 30 km.) and the adjacent day markets show a lower average distances apart (16.8 kms.). The pattern for one complete day earlier or later again lends some support for the notion of spatio-temporal separation in some cases.

Table 7.4 Nearest Neighbour Analysis of the Spatio-temporal Patterns of Periodic Markets in 1950.

Day of Mrket	Number of Meetings	Same Day	Adjacent Day Later	One Day Later	One Day Earlier	Two Days later	Two Days Earlier
Sat.	8	14.0	17.4	17.9	21.1	20.2	14.9
Sun.	3	28.2	12.1	15.6	–	24.2	12.1
Mon.	2	48.6	15.2	17.2	5.7	13.1	–
Tue.	4	33.1	23.3	15.9	19.1	–	17.9
Wed.	3	26.5	19.8	–	17.1	11.3	24.4
Thu.	3	30.5	13.3	13.3	9.6	14.7	14.4
Fri.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

In 1987 the pattern of periodic markets shows little support for the spatio-temporal hypothesis being examined. In general, the average distance between markets on adjacent and other days is greater than for markets happening on the same day although there are exceptions to this. Of course, the existence of only a few markets on any one day, means that the average distances between them are greater than at any previous date. For example, there were only three periodic markets on Thursday in 1987 and they were 31 km. apart on average (Table 7.5). In 1900 there had been nine markets on Thursday and they occurred at an average distance apart of less than 13 km.

Table 7.5 Nearest Neighbour Analysis of the Spatio-temporal Patterns of Periodic Markets in 1987.

Day of Market	No. of Markets Meeting	Same Day	Adjacent Day Later	One Day Later	One Day Earlier	Two Days Later	Two Days Earlier
Sat.	3	21.0	45.3	30.3	17.1	27.5	18.7
Sun.	1	-	16.9	39.5	47.6	33.3	18.4
Mon.	1	-	31.7	17.3	9.5	13.6	38.3
Tues.	1	-	28.4	25.9	39.5	58.5	18.2
Wed.	2	56.5	23.8	44.6	36.8	16.4	50.2
Thu.	3	30.9	40.1	16.8	28.9	31.1	22.3
Fri.	2	38	40.5	56.2	29.5	43.3	62.4

In conclusion, this examination of the periodic market patterns over these three dates has produced little clear support for the spatio-temporal concept of separation. It could be that the writer has too few markets to deal with but it could also be that other factors of population distribution and tribal influence were more important determinants on markets spacing and timing.

7.4 Market Changes and Development, 1900-1987

It is now appropriate to look at changes in the market pattern over time more closely. Several changes can be distinguished. The first one concerns the temporal distribution of periodic markets which is reflected very strongly in the spatial distribution. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the periodicity of the 26 markets was as in Table 7.3. On Fridays there was no market in the region because it is a holy and rest day. The days on either side of Friday - Thursdays and Saturdays - were the most favoured days with around 30 per cent of all markets, a frequency probably influenced by the lack of any market on Friday in the entire region. There was only one market held on Monday and one on Wednesday, but four were held on Sunday and four on Tuesday.

During the first half of the twentieth century five of the 26 markets, at Al-Marwah, Nira, Batat, Shangle and Bathan, ceased to trade. These five periodic markets did not disappear suddenly. For example, Al-Marwah, Nira and Batat in the Tihama area had been set up to compete with Al-Mukhwah but they were weak from the beginning. Al-Marwah market lasted a few years. There is no definite date for its disappearance but it is believed to be between 1905 and 1910. Nira and Batat lasted for more than fifteen years after 1900 but, again, there is no precise date for their disappearance; it was some time between 1915 and 1920. Nira market, re-established in the late 1940s, lasted only until the beginning of the 1950s, It was re-established for the third time in 1978 and lasted until 1985. In the Sarah area Shangle market lasted only a few years, while Bathan market lasted until the late 1940s. These two markets were created mainly to compete with Al-Atawlah market in the late 1890s.

The number of periodic markets were 23 in 1950, despite the disappearance of some periodic markets between 1900-1940. This is due to the re-establishment of Nira market and the establishment of Doss market for the first time in the late 1940s.

The disappearance of the five periodic markets between 1900 and 1940 (Figure 7.3) meant the expansion of the catchments of some periodic markets but not many, because the new markets filled in most of these gaps. After these closures, there was little further change until the beginning of the 1970s when considerable changes happened, reaching a climax in 1980. In this period, several periodic markets ceased operation but several others were opened. Figure 7.3 shows the changes . The periodic markets which disappeared at this time were Raghdan, Ar-Romi, Rabu-Alsafh, Al-Kradsah, Az-Zafeer, Bani Kabbeer, Al- Gashamerah, Bani Salim, Al Homaid, Ghamed Az-zinad, Doss and Al-Jarda. The new markets

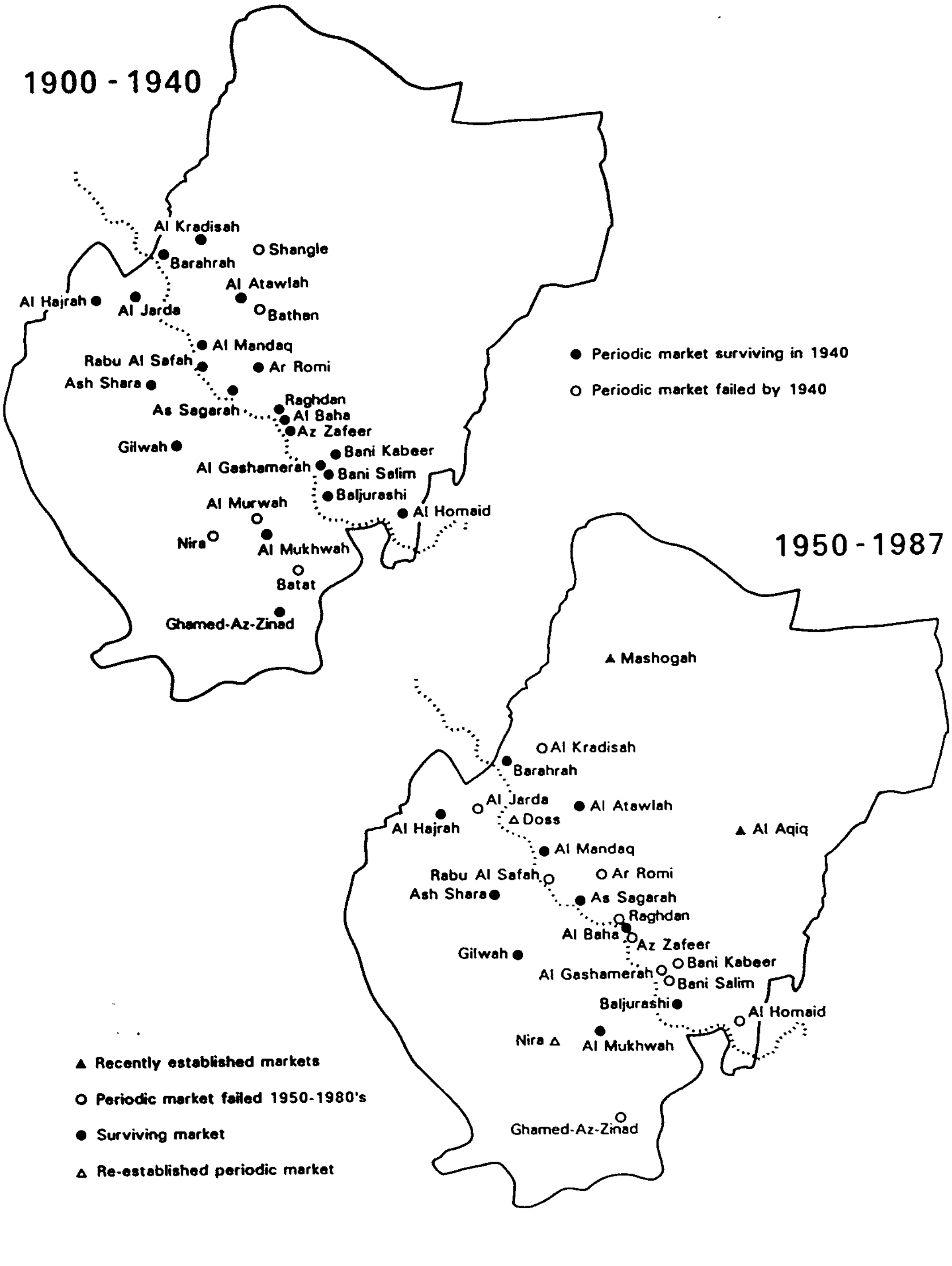

Figure 7.3 The changes in the distribution of Periodic Markets, 1900-1987

created were Nira, Mashogah, Al-Aqiq and Doss (1) This situation markedly changed the distribution of periodic markets both in space and in time. By 1987, only thirteen periodic markets still survived.

Overall, a considerable change had overtaken periodic markets between 1900 and 1987. Saturday and Thursday markets seem to have suffered more than any other, along with Tuesday and Sunday markets. On the other hand, Friday markets started to operate at the beginning of the 1980s, for the first time in Al-Baha area. No mention of Friday as a market day had been recorded in Al-Baha previously, though Mansory in 1977 found a few of them in 'Asir to the south.

7.5. The Effect of Age and Proximity of Periodic Markets on their Survival

One fact that may also help to explain the changing pattern of markets is their age. The ages of the markets vary widely. Some of them like Baljurashi, as has been mentioned, may have been established more than three hundred years ago. Some are about one hundred years old and some are very recent, no more than five or ten years old. It seems likely that the larger markets are also the older ones, like

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(1) Doss market was established for the first time in the late 1940s and lasted only for a few years, then it was re-established in late the 1970s. On the other hand Nira market was established for the first time in the late 1890s and lasted for a few years, as mentioned above. Then it was re-established in the late 1940s and also lasted for a few years. It was re-established for the third time in 1978 and finishied in 1985. This is why Nira appears in the two maps in Figure 7.3

Al-Baha, Baljurashi, Al-Mukhwah and Al-Mandaq. These older established markets have generally been able to withstand and overcome the competition from newer neighbours.

On the other hand, some of the oldest markets have disappeared. Raghdan market, for example, declined gradually from the beginning of the 1970s and functionally finished as a periodic market at the end of that decade as a result of being very close to Al-Baha market, another old and well established market. Improved transport meant there was insufficient trade for two well-established markets so close to each other. Al-Baha town, as the seat of Al-Baha Province, has all the main governmental administrative offices of the region, a situation which made it very difficult for Raghdan village to retain its once large market. Nowadays, Raghdan village has become a suburb of Al-Baha town, connected to Al-Baha by the main road from Taif.

Similarly, Batat, Al-Marwah, and Nira periodic markets were probably established in the late nineteenth century to compete with Al-Mukhwah market which had been set up many years before. Batat market was 12 km. south, Al-Marwah market was 7km north and Nira market was 20km west of Al-Mukhwah. All three markets lasted only a few years however, because Al-Mukhwah was so well established and newer markets were unable to compete with it. These instances reflects the situation Bromley found in the markets of Highland Ecuador, where he cited two examples of markets which were established in the Spanish colonial period but both had declined considerably in recent years as a result of their relative proximity to larger centres and improved communications (Bromley 1978).

7.6 Periodic Market Locations and Settlements

Because most of the periodic markets in the Al-Baha region were established a long time ago, it is very difficult to recognise what relationship once existed between the market and the settlements in which they were set up. Only a few general points can be made on this based on field observations in the region. As already indicated, several factors probably influenced the location of periodic markets and it appears that these factors differed from time to time. Factors important in one century probably differed from those in another.

Since markets were tribal, a major consideration in market siting would be the defensibility of the market place from other tribes. Tribal conflict was common at the markets of the region until the 1920s. An attack on a tribe's market place would strike at that tribe's economy and strength because disturbances at the market place would prevent people going to it. Therefore, the market place had to be defensible. It was not necessary for the market to be inside the village in order to defend it. In fact, a place 200-500 m. outside the village was often favoured where the village could overlook the market site. Several forts normally marked the border between different tribal areas and there would be several others inside some of the important villages. These forts were mainly to defend the tribe as a whole, but they would also act as watch points on the market day.

In the Tihama area, because of the topography, it was very difficult to locate a market any distance from a village and still maintain its accessibility and defensibility. This is because, as noted before, the main villages in the Tihama are located where the main wadis and their tributaries converge and the settlements are built on the steeply sloping land on both side of the wadi with the wadis acting as the main routes to the village. If a market is sited outside a village on the interfluve between wadis it would be in a rather indefensible position. Markets in the Tihama are therefore located inside the villages and open access had to be granted to them. This meant that, regardless of tribal differences, peace was essential for the markets to take place and to enforce this it was essential to have a fort. Therefore, each market in the Tihama has its own fort and on the day before market day several men used to occupy the top floor of the fort to watch over the market until the end of the market day.

Another tribal factor which might have affected the location of periodic markets in the Sarah was the insistence of some tribal heads that the tribal market should be located close to their own village for the prestige and other benefits this would provide. There is no evidence that periodic markets sited in Al-Baha were originally located in the largest villages. Hodder(1957, 53) in Nigeria noted a similar lack of relationship between markets and village size. Rather, the first periodic markets in Al-Baha probably originated in the village of the strongest and largest tribes but, because the strength of any tribe usually lay in the number of its members, the tribally important villages were often the larger villages. The markets of Al-Atawlah, Baljurashi and Raghdan reflect this tribal influence in that these periodic markets were not located in the largest villages but in those which were the residence of the tribal heads.

7.7 Catchment Areas

As the number of markets has declined so rapidly in recent years those which remain now serve a much larger catchment population. In order to analyse these catchment populations further, it is useful to divide Al-Baha region into seven subregions. Five of the subregions are in the Sarah and two in the Tihama (Figure 7.4). Table 7.6 shows that the five sub-regions in the Sarah area contained 77 per cent of the population of the study region (211,740) in 1982, while the two subregions in the Tihama contained 23 per cent (62,050).

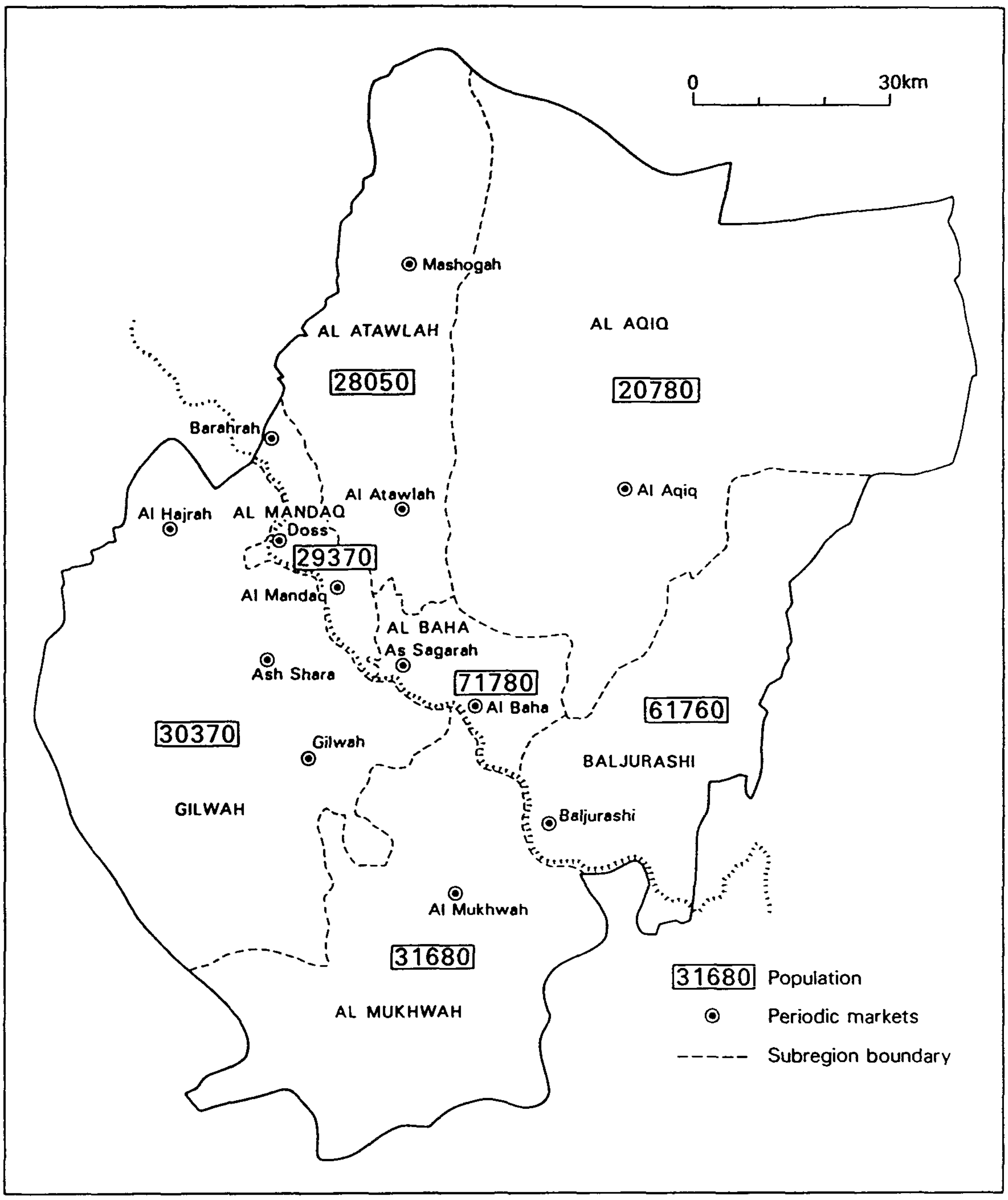

Figure 7.4 The sub-regions of Al-Baha,their Population and their Periodic Markets in 1987

Table 7.6 Subregions in Al-Baha and their Populations.

Subregion	Number of Markets 1987	Population
Al-Baha	2	71780
Baljurashi	1	61760
Al Mandaq	3	29370
Al Aqiq	2	20780
Al-Atawlah	1	28050
Total Sarah	9	211740
Al-Mukhwah	1	31680
Gilwah	3	30370
Total Tihama	4	62050
Overall Total	13	273790

Source: Finnplanco, Economic Survey 1985.

In Al-Baha sub-region there were two periodic markets (in 1987). One is located in the regional capital (Al-Baha town) and the other is situated at As-Sagarah village, 20 km. to the north-west. These two periodic markets basically serve a population of about 72,000 people. Until the 1970s the Al-Baha sub-region contained five periodic markets, although there is no way of knowing precisely how many people could have been served by each of these markets. Because the number of people attending an individual market depends mainly on the number of villages surrounding it and on relative ease of access, somewhere between 5,000 and 20,000 people would have had access to any one of these markets.

In Baljurashi subregion one periodic market still existed in 1987. This was in Baljurashi town itself, serving a population of about 62,000. In this area, too, there were once five periodic markets but four of them ceased to function quite recently. Once again, the development of Baljurashi as a daily and a periodic market had weakened the position of the other four periodic markets, while Baljurashi market itself had been strengthened by the construction of the main road through the region . In short, Al-Baha and Baljarashi, located in the south-east of the Sarah Proper, are major market centres even on a regional scale and the two sub-regions contain more than half of the whole population in the Sarah.

Moving towards the north-west, in Al-Mandaq sub-region there were three periodic markets in 1987. The survival of Al-Mandaq and Barahrah markets and the recently re-establishment of Doss market in that area may be the result of its remoteness and the lack of good communications. In contrast, the Al-Atawlah sub-region has seen the disappearance of several periodic markets. There were five periodic markets around Al-Atawlah at the beginning of 20th century, but two of them (Al-Hokman and Shangle) lasted only for a short period. In fact, Al-Hokman market lasted only a few months, while Bathan market lasted until the late 1940s and Al-Kradsiah market lasted until the late 1970s. The survivor periodic market at Al-Atawlah serves theoretically a catchment of about 28,000 people.

The last sub-region in the Sarah area, located in the north-east, is that of Al Aqiq, Until recently, this subregion was devoid of any periodic markets, mainly because it was inhabited by nomadic people. The question, therefore, arises as to how Al-Aqiq periodic market came into existence at a time when markets were closing elsewhere. Al-Aqiq market appears to have evolved without a decision by any one group. This area was inhabited by a largely self-sufficient nomadic people dependent upon grazing sheep and goats. Occasionally they made visits to markets in the region, especially at the Eid festival, to sell sheep and goats and to buy other goods they needed. Some of the Al-Aqiq nomads used to settle near various farm villages at the time of the wheat and maize harvest and help the villagers with harvesting in return for some grain. Many of them used to camp in Wadi Beedah in the north-east of Al-Baha, while others used to go to Wadi Bani Kabeer to the south-east. From these places they could easily visit Al-Baha and Baljurashi markets for their needs.

From about 1970 the situation around Al-Aqiq started to change. Nomads began to settle permanently in wadis like Wadi Beedah, Wadi Bani Kabeer, Wadi Warakh, Wadi Al-Aqiq, Wadi Kara and Wadi Tharad, which run through the nomadic area. Once settled, these people required facilities like schools, dispensaries and roads, and started to raise fruit and vegetables. As their daily needs increased, the new settlers began to frequent the markets at Al-Atawlah, Al-Baha and Baljurashi until a market closer to the newly settled area evolved. As people started to settle around the old oasis of Al-Aqiq the market grew up. Before the establishment of the periodic market, a few shops already existed to which nomads came from time to time. Others came there to pray because this was the only place set aside locally for Friday prayers. The market started with just a few people selling sheep and goats, but in the course of time people from settlements around Al-Aqiq and other places started to bring dates and clothes to sell. In 1985, Al-Aqiq Municipality changed the place of the market which affected the time of it. People started to come early to buy and sell in the market, pray and then go back home. The informal origins of Al-Aqiq market are useful to help understand how in the past other markets became established in other parts of the sub-region.

Informal changes in markets can also be seen in operation. For example, the market at Mashogah currently operates for only a half hour after Friday prayers. In future it could develop into a morning periodic market but at the moment there is not sufficient population to warrant this. On the other hand, if the road connecting Mashogah with Al-Atawlah is asphalted, the chances of Mashogah surviving as a market could be diminished as more buyers and sellers gravitate to Al-Atawlah.

In both sub-regions of the Tihama (Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah), nine periodic markets existed some years ago, but five have disappeared, most of them from the Al-Mukhwah sub-region because trade has gathered at the larger market. Artificial attempts to revive smaller markets have generally failed. For example, in 1978 the Nira market was re-established 20km north-west of Al-Mukhwah but it failed to survive more than a few years. Its re-establishment was at the wish of the Emir of the sub-emirate because there was not even a shop at the village (of Al-Gahab) where the market was established. Therefore the Emir discussed his belief in the need for a market with the local people and a decision was made to establish a Saturday market. For a time the local people were enthusiastic and for six years they tried hard to make the market a success only to have it close in 1985. The reasons the market failed seem to be, firstly, because of the difficult access to this area, and, secondly, because of the limited range of local produce to be traded. Most of the local population graze animals so that they could offer little to trade. However, two shops remain in the market village selling a few things, though these do not appear sufficient to meet the local demands (1).

The markets at Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah are much larger and more firmly established. In 1987 Al-Mukhwah market had 60 fixed traders and more than 80 mobile traders, while Gilwah market had more than 60 mobile and fixed traders. These two larger markets sell a considerable variety of goods and each could have a catchment area inhabited by more than 20,000

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(1) The shops do not meet all local demand partly because of the lack of an electricity supply in the Nira market village and in surrounding settlements. The shops there cannot sell frozen goods, for example. The poor road conditions between Al-Gahab, Al-Mukhwah and Nira raises the price of goods at Al-Gahab. Thus, people there prefer to buy direct from Al-Mukhwah. and get their relatives or friends to bring their needs from Al-Mukhwah, on the market day or other days.

people. A new asphalt road is being built through the area, and this might well encourage an increase in their trade, but new periodic markets are unlikely to appear now that most trade has concentrated at Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah. The other two remaining Tihama markets at Ash-Shara and Al-Hajrah seem unlikely to become large trade centres, specially after the construction of the main asphalted road which has made it easy for people around these two markets to trade in Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah. Thus, these two markets are more likely to cease, although a few shops could continue functioning on a small scale.

The dominance of the markets in the well populated south Sarah at Al-Baha and Baljurashi has already been noted and this has created another change. While other markets remain periodic, these two have increasingly found their traders operating on a daily basis, whilst retaining a specific main market day which attracts many more sellers and buyers. This change has not yet come to other markets. A major reason why markets in the Tihama and North Sarah do not also open daily is probably the poorer quality of the roads and the dispersed pattern of settlement there. As a result, there is less total demand for specialist goods and even basic produce like vegetables which often need to be marketed daily. Thus sellers in the Tihama and North Sarah still need to visit several markets to make a living, and buyers prefer to go once a week to market to get what they need and so reduce the effort and cost of travelling to market. This does not mean that one cannot find shops open on other days in these market centres, as in Al-Baha and Baljurashi towns, but the traders selling fresh vegetables and local products are only there on one day each week.

7.8 Influences over Periodic Market Patterns

7.8.1 Government Facilities and Periodic Markets

As has been clear, in most cases market settlements have been re-inforced as central places in recent years by having governmental facilities located in them. Establishing facilities such as emirate offices, health points and schools at a centre encourages the local population to visit the market at that centre when they utilize the other facilities. It was because Al-Baha town received Government facilities that Raghdan village, an old market close to Al-Baha, got few new facilities apart from schools, and eventually Raghdan market could not compete with Al-Baha market.

The role of new governmental facilities in encouraging markets can be seen in settlements where the setting up of Government services has in turn encouraged people in some of these villages to establish periodic markets as well. For example, Doss periodic market was recently re-established and Nira was also re-established after the emirate centres were located in those places. These two periodic markets were also established with indirect help from the Government, and under Government supervision, unlike the old periodic markets which were tribal in their foundations.

Nevertheless, Nira market has since failed again, while Doss market is still struggling.

7.8.2 Spontaneous Creation of Periodic Markets

While most markets were founded and organised by tribes, and some were established with Government encouragement, others were spontaneous in their origin. Al-Aqiq and Mashogah periodic markets are examples of spontaneous creation by local people. As was mentioned earlier, these two Friday periodic markets started at the beginning of the 1980s when a few people gathered after the midday prayers to sell sheep and goats which are common products in that area.

Although the main transactions are still predominantly sheep and goats, several other items have started to be sold and outside traders are now joining Al-Aqiq market. It has also started to operate in the morning instead of the afternoon to increase trade but Mashogah market, however, still operates for only about half an hour in the afternoon.

7.8.3 Accessibility and Periodic Market Patterns

The considerable decline in the number of periodic markets in Al-Baha region in the last decade has already been noted. More of those losses have occurred in the southern part of the Sarah area where the Ghamed people are found, than in the northern Zahran area. Six periodic markets have disappeared from the Ghamed area in comparison with three in the north over the last fifteen years. The reasons for this seem partially to be the greater improvements in the transportation network among the Ghamed villages which are located in an area physically more accessible than the Zahran area. Because the villages in the Ghamed area are closer to each other, this has eased the construction of roads so that fewer of the markets which were close together have been able to compete and survive. The whole Sarah area has also lost more markets than the Tihama which had fewer to lose. Two markets have closed in the Tihama in the last ten years, while nine died out in the Sarah area. Again this is due to the slower progress in improving accessibility in the Tihama so that it can be expected that the Tihama area will lose more of its periodic markets in the future, as new roads will make it difficult for all four surviving markets to continue.

7.9 Periodicity and Development Towards Daily Markets

Periodic markets in Al-Baha take place once in the seven day cycle of the Islamic week. But other periodicities are possible. For example, in some African regions like Yorubaland (Nigeria) periodic markets take place on a four-day cycle or multiples of four day cycles (Hodder, 1957). The usual explanation for the seven day periodicity, like any other cycle, is the need to meet a local demand which is not sufficiently great to sustain a permanent market or fixed shops. It is also clear that a well organised periodicity helps both the mobile traders and the consumers by giving them more choice in the local area to attend any market they chose on a particular day. According to Stine (1962), who examined markets in Ghana,

The consumer, by submitting to the discipline of time is able to free himself from the discipline of space".

But the hypothesis on spatio-temporal separation has already been examined and found wanting as an explanation of the market pattern in Al-Baha. On the other hand, it was indicated earlier that the founders of some new markets may deliberately choose the same market day as a neighbouring market in a "conflict approach", as Bromley called it, and this may be why the spatio-temporal pattern is not clearer in Al-Baha.

Al-Marwah periodic market is a good example of a market created mainly to compete with an established market, in this case with Al-Mukhwah market which was only 7 kms. away. These two markets belonged to one tribe, Bani Omar, but each division of the tribe wanted its own market. The Bani Omar Al-Ali used Al-Mukhwah market, and the Bani Omar Al-Ashaiep used Al-Marwah market. The new market at Al-Marwah was deliberately operated on the same day (Thursday), to compete with Al-Mukhwah. Although the two markets operated for a few years, competition eventually killed Al-Marwah market, while Al-Mukhwah market went on to become one of the biggest in the area.

Whilst tribal rivalries like these might affect the periodicity of a new market, other conditions could be important, as is recognised in the literature. An increase in population and per capita income, for example, invariably leads to more frequent markets until the point is reached where they are held daily or shops replace them. This is happening in some centres in Al-Baha.

Another influence on changing periodicity could be the durability of the commodities being sold. Hill (1966) argued, for example, that under some kinds of climatic conditions production of an easily perishable food could cause a shift in frequency of periodic markets, although this situation does not apply in Al-Baha simply because most of the transactions in the past were in grains. However, the increase in the raising of fruit, a more perishable product which might need more regular marketing, started only recently when transportation improved and allowed producers to reach several markets. The increasing frequency of market meeting seems to go along with a decrease in the availability of locally produced commodities, an increase in the use of imported goods and changes in consumption patterns in Al-Baha. This pace of change has, however, varied from place to place. For instance, Al-Baha, Baljurashi and Al-Mukhwah markets - the larger markets - seem to have taken the initiative in moving towards daily markets. The main governmental offices in the region are concentrated in these centres and between them they have a relatively high proportion of the region's population and purchasing power. These markets have become more active and the concentration of higher order goods there is another reason for them attracting more people from a wider area.

The increase in trade activity in the these markets has been paralleled by a growth of other means of trading. These include roadside markets and stalls in some villages outside the market centres. This situation will be discussed in the next section.

7.10 Other Trading Systems in Al-Baha

7.10.1 Itinerant Traders

It is clear that periodic markets in Al-Baha have for long been important institutions economically and socially, but because all transactions in the periodic markets were between males some traders were encouraged to move between villages in order to sell their goods at the doorstep mainly to women who could not visit the markets. These itinerant traders usually traded in items demanded by women like cloth, ready-made clothes and small things such as needles and dyes. However, no records exist about this kind of trade or when it began, although it had ceased to exist by the 1950s. This means of selling goods was probably started by local people before the widespread use of vehicles, but the number of people engaged it was very small and might not have exceeded ten or twenty in the whole area. The main occupation of these itinerant traders was farming, and they only engaged in trading when not involved in cultivating or harvesting. They usually visited the periodic markets convenient to their homes to purchase goods and then went to neighbouring villages to sell them. Traders normally spent a week or more selling before returning home. Transport was by donkey, the traders usually having one and sometimes two with them. If they sold most of their goods at the first three or four villages they visited, they would continue their visit to other villages in the same area asking people if they needed something in particular to be brought to them on the next trip. Because each trader was usually known by the villagers in a particular area he could be trusted to deliver items paid for in advance.

No sooner had this type of activity started to diminish in the 1950s than another group of people started to engage in a similar itinerant trade in the 1960s. These were Yemenis who traded in small items carried in a small box on the head. They would move from village to village and when they had sold most of their goods, they used to visit any convenient periodic market to replenish their stock. A relatively high number of Yemenis were engaged in this type of trading until the early 1970s when the improvement in transportation and the appearance of fixed shops in many villages took the trade away from them. Although there is no definite information about the number of the Yemeni traders, interviews with old people in some villages in the Tihama and Sarah suggested that more than 50 persons were involved.

Increasing vehicular traffic between the Al-Baha area and cities like Taif, Makkah, and Jeddah to the north opened up new trading possibilities in the 1960s. Improving accessibility increased demand for imported goods such as sugar, coffee, cloth and rice which in turn increased the flow of vehicles between Al-Baha and these cities. These were goods that had not before been commonly seen in the local markets. At first vehicles and the imported goods they carried could only reach a few villages and some people used to drive once or twice a year to Jeddah and other cities to buy what they and their friends needed for the next few months or for the year. Others would get the drivers to buy for them. This longer distance trading to northern cities lasted only a few years. As local transport and wealth in the villages increased, village shops and roadside shops started to replace this long distance retail purchasing.

7.10.2 Village Shops

The number of shops started to increase from the 1970s. Most of the first shops to be set up were located in villages which had some governmental facilities because they were mainly intended to meet the demands of people who worked in these services. At first these shops used to sell a few things on a small scale, for example sugar, onions, coffee beans, rice, sweets and pupils' needs like pencils, pens, notebooks and colours. Most government employees working in schools or health centres were foreigners and their jobs meant that they had little time or opportunity to shop at periodic markets. Nor did they own land to allow them to grow their own food. Often these first shops were only opened for a limited time each day because they were run by persons whose main employment was farming. But quickly more shops opened to meet local village requirements, as their needs and the wealth to meet them increased.

The speed of shop growth has been rapid. For example Wadi Beedah, a collection of 30 villages in the north Sarah, had only one shop in 1970, together with two schools, a sub-emirate office and a court. By 1987 there were 15 shops, ten schools, two sub-emirate offices and a police office, as well as the court. A similar process of expansion has been seen in other villages in the Sarah, but in the Tihama the growth of shops has been much less. The main reasons are the poor communications and the less dense pattern of settlements which has meant there is insufficient population to support many shops.

As we have seen, a survey in 1982 by Finnplanco Consultants discovered a wide range of public services in 240 villages in the region, including both the Sarah and the Tihama. It was found that 191 of the settlements included in the survey had at least one commercial service, usually a shop, in addition to some kind of public service. But only 35 of the 76 service centres (46 per cent) surveyed in the Tihama had shops, while 150 out of 164 service centres (91.5 per cent) surveyed in the Sarah had them. This is due to the fact that in the Sarah there is more population to support more shops than in the Tihama. During the author's fieldwork in 1987 it was not possible to survey every village to determine the number of shops and services in each but it was noticeable that the villages close to periodic markets often had more than one shop. Many of these shops are located on or close to the main roads and probably rely on passing trade, as well as trade from local villages.

7.10.3 Roadside Shops

While it was impossible to survey every village service, the author made a field survey of all roadside shops and services along the five main roads which cross the region. The reason why the writer chose to make this survey is the apparent growth in the importance of roadside shops as an alternative, or at least strong competitor, to the periodic markets. It was also possible to make this survey from a vehicle, whereas a survey of all village services would require delving into each of about a thousand villages.

But before examining the pattern of roadside shops in 1987, it is necessary to raise the question of how they originated. Clearly they developed soon after all-weather roads were laid and traffic density increased. As was pointed out in Chapter Five, the first all-weather road was laid in 1947 and ran from Taif to Al-Baha. Over the next fifteen years a second main road, from Taif to Al-Baha, was developed to link villages along the edge of the Escarpment. Another road was later laid from Jeddah to Al-Mukhwah. Before 1965 there were very few shops or stalls on these roads, apart from a few scattered coffee places which also acted as small retail shops. There were no vehicle repair points because few vehicles used these roads and drivers would do their own repairs. At that time the journey from Al-Baha to Taif could take up to two days and few vehicles used the road so there was insufficient demand for repair shops and other roadside services. However, during the 1960s, as traffic increased, several gas stations were opened on the main Taif to Al-Baha road close to Al-Baha town and Baljurashi. Four of them were set up between six and 10 km. north of Al-Baha town. One was established in Al-Baha town and one south of the town. There was also a station in Baljurashi and one south of it. All these gas stations had small grocery sections in them, mainly to serve the needs of drivers and passengers.

After the laying of the first asphalt road in the region in the late 1960s there was a sudden increase in traffic and therefore a proliferation of gas stations and different kinds of shops to serve the traffic. Unfortunately no statistical survey was made of these services at the time of their establishment, even though some of them had to be registered in the Municipality offices. But registration involved relatively few concerns because no taxation was involved. In any case, some of the registered establishments did not start trading immediately. It is not possible therefore to learn from registration records how the pattern of roadside shops expanded after 1960.

The writer has counted and analysed the numbers and types of services on the main roads of Al-Baha in 1987 and these are listed in table 7.7. The roads surveyed are shown in figure 7.5.

It can be seen that Road No.1, which runs for 130 km. north-south through Sarah Proper, contains a higher number of roadside services (total 304) at an average frequency of 2.3 per km., twice the frequency of any other road. This is basically because it was the first vehicle road built, the first to be asphalted and because it links Al-Baha and Baljurashi with many villages it passes through the most densely populated areas of the region.

The second highest frequency of roadside services lies along Road No. 2. This had 76 services in 64 km to give an average frequency of 1.2 services per km. This road also crosses the Sarah Proper but closer to the Escarpment than Route One. It runs from the north-west border of Al-Baha region and terminates six km. north of Al-Baha town in order to serve a considerable number of villages. Completion came in 1986 and the number of services along it is still growing.

Road No. 3 connects Al-Aqiq to Al-Baha town, then runs from Al-Baha to Al-Mudylif through Al-Mukhwah. This road is about 135 km. long, 70 of which go through an uninhabited area between Al-Baha and Al-Aqiq and then other empty areas between Al-Mukhwah and Al-Mudylif. Thus, the services on

Table 7.7 Roadside Shops and Services.

Services	Road 1 130kms.	Rd. 2 64 km.	Rd.3 135 km.	Rd.4 45 km.	Rd.5 90 km.	Total	%
1 Foodstuff	32	11	3	3	3	52	11.4
2 Bakery	7	2	-	1	1	11	2.4
3 Ready made clothes	13	2	1	-	-	16	3.5
4 Tailor	11	7	-	-	-	18	3.9
5 Gas Station	22	3	6	2	3	36	7.9
6 Car spare parts	15	2	1	-	2	20	4.4
7 Car agency	6	2	1	-	1	10	2.2
8 Tyre repair	21	6	2	2	3	34	7.5
9 Car repair	16	2	-	-	2	20	4.4
10 Gas cylinders	9	5	1	2	3	20	4.4
11 Electrical equipment	14	4	2	-	-	20	4.4
12 Household utensils	8	3	1	-	-	12	2.6
13 Building materials	12	5	1	1	2	21	4.6
14 Block factory	6	2	2	1	2	13	2.9
15 Iron/door and window factory	14	4	-	1	3	22	4.8
16 Aluminium window and door factory	12	3	-	1	2	18	3.9
17 Wood, carpentry	11	1	-	-	1	13	2.9
18 Carpets and furniture	8	1	-	-	-	9	2.0
19 Pharmacy	7	1	-	-	-	8	1.2
20 Stationery	4	1	-	-	-	5	1.1
21 Perfume/shoes/watches	6	1	-	-	-	7	1.5
22 Coffee house	11	2	1	1	2	17	3.7
23 Restaurant	15	6	2	1	5	29	6.4
24 Barber	9	-	-	-	-	9	2.0
25 Laundry	4	-	-	-	-	4	0.9
26 Photographer	4	-	-	-	-	4	0.9
27 Optician	3	-	-	-	-	3	0.7
28 Hotel	1	-	-	-	-	1	0.2
29 Travel Agency	3	-	1	-	-	4	0.9
	304	76	25	16	35	456	100.0
Average services per km.	2.3	1.2	0.2	0.4	0.4		

Source: Fieldwork 1987

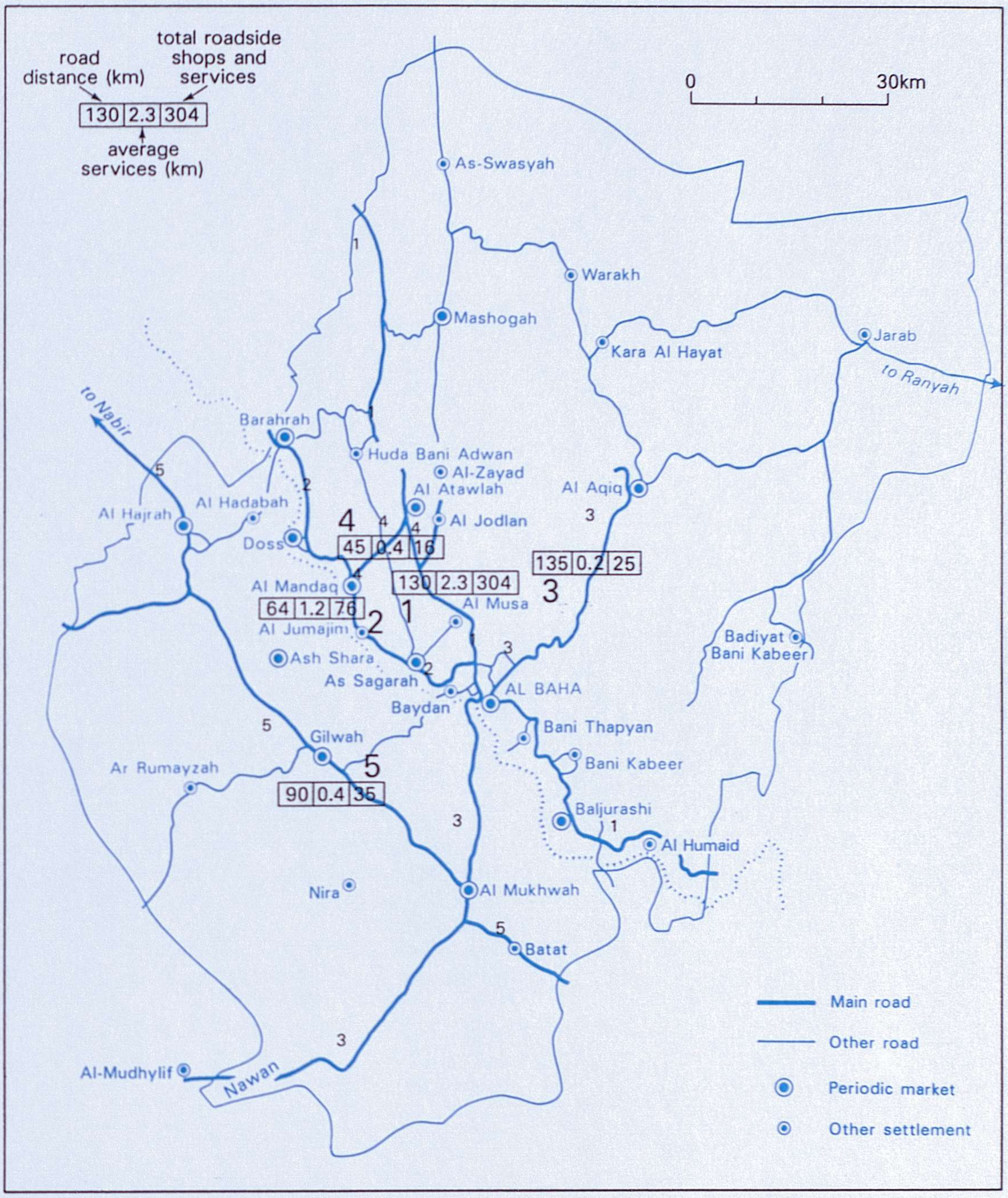

Figure 7.5 Commercial Services on the main roads in Al-Baha in 1987

this road are limited and mainly adjacent to Al-Aqiq, Al-Baha town and Al-Mukhwah. It is expected over the next few years that there will be some expansion of building and services at the Al-Baha end of the road because of the shortage of land for expansion in Al-Baha town itself, but few other services will develop further out. Although the section of road from Al-Mukhwah to Al-Mudylif is about 15 years old, it runs through an empty area where there are two gas stations only. On another part, from Al-Baha to Al-Mukhwah, there is only one gas station as the only service. This is because about 25 km. of the road runs through the western face of the Escarpment and there is no way to establish and service any kind of commercial activity. The distance between the bottom of the descent and the next settlement, Al-Mukhwah, is 20 km. and, because of the short distance, the chance of building shops in this section seems unlikely, although several villages are located close to the road.

Road No. 4 connects Al-Zayad and Al-Mandaq through Al-Atawlah, a distance of 45 km. east of the Escarpment. Because it is just a secondary road it has only a few services and only a few more can be expected to grow. Road No. 5 crosses 90 km. of the Tihama from north-west to south-east. Constructed in 1986, it is the only asphalt road in the Hilly Tihama of Al-Baha. Thirty five services were counted along it in 1987. New services can be expected to appear in due course.

As has been mentioned the first impression one gets from Table 7.7 is the concentration of services on Road No.1, the main Taif-Abha route which passes through Baljurashi and Al-Baha towns. It has 67 per cent of all the roadside services counted in the survey. The second impression one gets is that foodstuff shops are the single most widespread service, especially on Roads No.1 and 2 which have the greatest density of roadside shops. Shops selling foodstuffs form 11.4 per cent of the total shops on all the roads. On road No.1 foodstuff shops form 10.5 per cent of all shops and 14.5 per cent of the shops on Road No.2 although this road was only built in 1986 but runs across a densely populated area. Most shops selling foodstuffs are close to villages on these roads. The next most common service are gas stations (36) and tyre repair centres (34). If one groups all vehicle-related services together they total 120 outlets or 26.3 per cent of the total. 80 (or 66 per cent) of them are on Route No. 1 which is to be expected because it is the oldest one and more traffic runs on it. In future more gas stations can be expected to be set up on other roads, especially Road No. 5 which was constructed recently. Gas stations and tyre repair centres are distributed fairly regularly on these roads because they are used by passing traffic. In contrast, car spares and repair shops, and factories making iron doors, windows and carpentry products, are largely concentrated close to each other mainly between Al-Baha and Buljarashi and between Al-Baha and Al-Atawlah where there is most trade. Roadside opticians, photographers, laundries, barbers and pharmacies are mainly very close to the main towns of Al-Baha and Baljarushi whereas restaurant and coffee houses are spread along the roads as well as some being on the edge of Al-Baha town, Baljurashi and other settlements like Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah.

Because many of these roadside shops and services are located close to villages they also serve the local population as well as road users, especially in the Sarah area. It was also observed that these shops do not commonly market local farm produce and most of the goods sold are obtained direct from the nearest local markets or wholesalers. However, it was also noticeable that in summer time a relatively large number of farmers build temporary stalls at the roadside, in order to sell their products, especially fruit, to passing traffic. This phenomenon was particularly noticeable north of Baljurashi and along the northern section of Road No. 1. The amount of farm produce sold at the roadside in this way is usually on a small scale and only supplements sales through the markets.

There is no doubt that these roadside shops and services have taken some trade from the periodic markets. At the same time, the decline of the itinerant traders seemed to coincide with the increase of these fixed shops, either on the roadsides or in some villages. Roadside shops do not yet rival the dominance of the periodic market places. In the following chapter the commercial characteristics of these markets will be dealt with.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CHARACTERISTICS OF MOBILE TRADERS

8.1 Introduction

The main purpose of the following two chapters is to describe and explain the characteristics of the traders who take part in the trade system based on the periodic markets of Al-Baha. For convenience it is useful to divide the traders into two principal types: mobile and fixed traders. The information used was collected during fieldwork in 1987 amongst the mobile and fixed traders, as well as from visitors to the periodic markets. A total of 535 mobile traders and 420 fixed traders in twelve markets were interviewed. Data on mobile traders is considered first.

The term mobile trader is used here to describe any trader who moves between a number of markets, either within Al-Baha or partially inside and outside the region or people who from time to time trade in one of the markets. This might include the farmer who occasionally sells produce such as an animal or agricultural products, or a women who sells flowers and homemade food. He or she can be distinguished from a fixed trader who operates from a store or shop. The mobile trader can also be in the past distinguished from the small number of itinerant traders who used to go from village to village selling their goods.

Information was obtained from mobile traders about their home base, the distance they had travelled from their home to the market, their time of arrival at market, and the time spent at the market. Information on the means of transport, the number of markets visited weekly, and the types of goods sold was also obtained. Data was also collected on the former occupations of traders, and similar matters. The information is also used to analyse the variation between the markets where the traders were interviewed.

8.2 The Size of Periodic Markets

It is obvious from observations and from the interviews that there is a considerable variation in the number of mobile traders operating in the different periodic markets in Al-Baha.

Al-Baha town has the largest market in the region with a total of 125 mobile traders, representing 23 per cent of all mobile traders recorded in the region. Baljurashi market came second with 82 mobile traders (15 per cent of the regional total). It has already been pointed out that these two markets are the biggest in the region and this is not surprising because both are surrounded by a considerable number of villages containing an estimated 120,000 people. The distance visitors come to these markets will be considered in Chapter Ten but some indication of the importance of these two markets can be gauged from the distances that traders come compared with other markets in the region. Figure 8.1 shows the catchment area of each market for traders and it is clear that both Al-Baha and Baljurashi attract a considerable number of sellers from the whole of the southern Sarah area, as well as from nearby

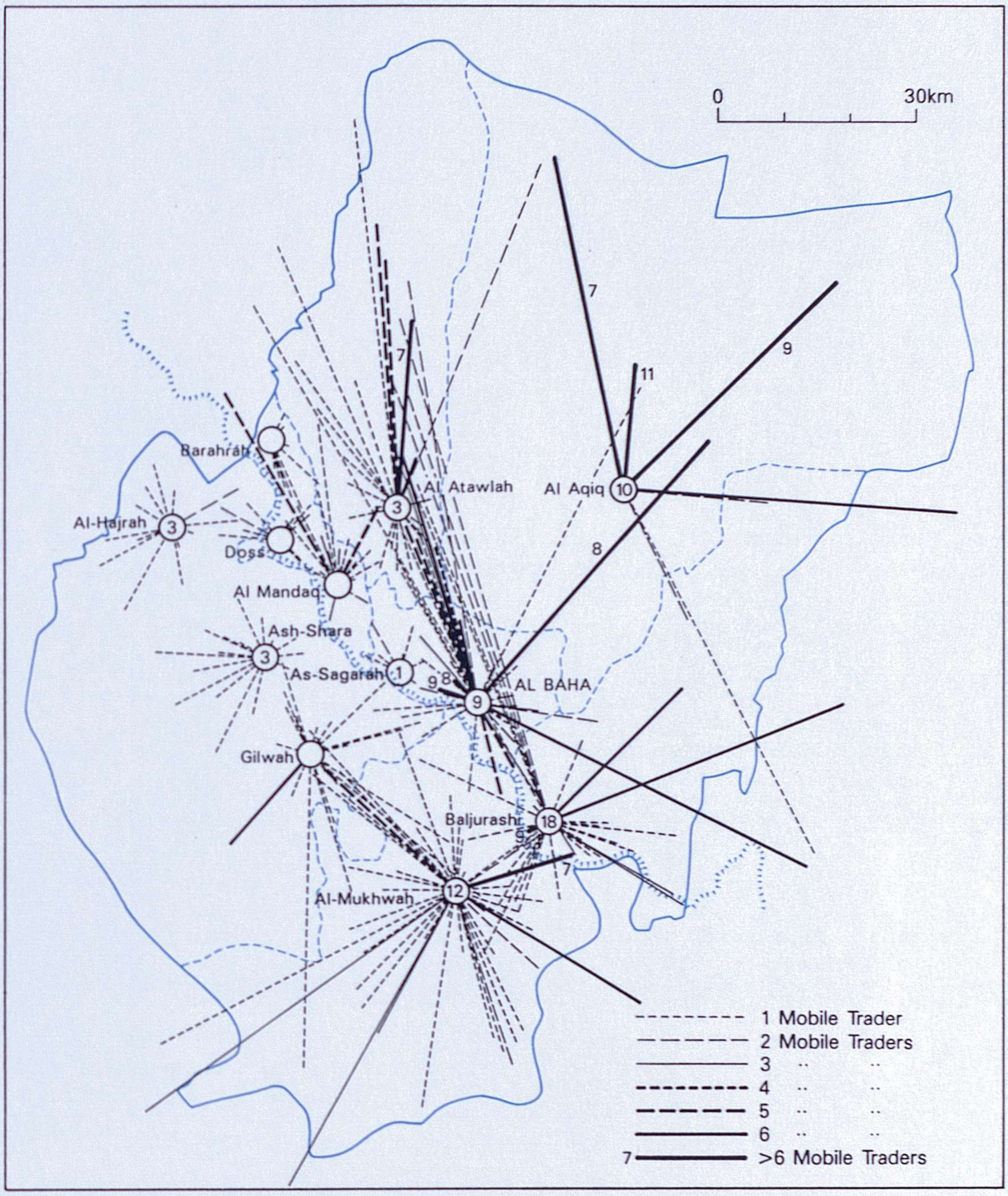

Figure 8.1 The Catchment Areas of Periodic Markets according to the origin of mobile traders

areas in the Tihama. These two markets also have extra advantages which help to put them in the top position of periodic markets in the region. Access to both markets is relatively easy from any where in Al-Baha, especially from the Sarah. Both markets are located in towns where there are a considerable number of employees in the governmental and private sectors, with a concentration of higher purchasing power in comparison with other smaller periodic market centres, for example in the Tihama. Thirdly, these two market centres also contain more than 600 shops, the highest number of fixed shops anywhere in the region. This raises the probability of specialisation in retailing, the better to meet the varied demands of people locally who might otherwise go to Taif or other bigger places outside of Al-Baha for these goods. Buyers are therefore likely to be attracted from greater distances both to use the shops and also the markets. Mobile traders would thus be encouraged to sell at these two periodic markets because of the greater number of customers found there.

Much smaller are the next largest markets in the Sarah at Al-Aqiq (48 mobile traders), Al-Atawlah (50 mobile traders) and Al-Mandaq (41 mobile traders). It is rather surprising that Al-Mandaq market is so small since it is at the centre of a well-populated area in the northern Sarah and should be in a position to be one of the biggest markets in the region. According to the study carried out by Finnplanco Consultants in 1982, Al-Mandaq lay at the centre of a densely settled area of 29,000 population. With 112 persons per sq. km., Al-Mandaq's sub-regional population density comes second only to that of Al-Baha sub-region with 190 persons per sq. km. Al-Mandaq is also one of the oldest markets in the region and the town contains a number of important governmental facilities, including a court, a high school, and sub-emirate and municipality offices. In fact, until recently Al-Mandaq market was attractive to mobile traders across the whole north part of the Sarah and a considerable number used to visit it on market days. Then in the mid-1970s road improvements were made and fixed shops began to appear. These took the space normally reserved for the market traders and probably reduced the trade for them. By 1987 the writer found that the market was being held in the main street instead of in the old market place. This street is very narrow and cannot accommodate a large number of traders. Because Al-Mandaq settlement is located on a steep hill, only about 500m. from the edge of the Sarah Escarpment, this limits the establishment of a more spacious weekly market on a new site.

Al-Atawlah market is also an old one and could accommodate more mobile traders, but it functions more as a seasonal market rather than a weekly one and this therefore reduces its importance. All the Sarah markets are to some extent more active in the summer but this is especially the case in Al-Atawlah. This market seems to be greatly affected by Al-Baha market only 25 km. to the south, although Al-Atawlah market is held on Wednesday, while Al-Baha market is held on Thursday. Traders interviewed at Al-Atawlah said they prefer to trade at Al-Baha, where there is a greater demand for their goods. 50 mobile traders were found at Al-Atawlah and interviewed during the fieldwork in the summer of 1987, in addition to 22 fixed traders. No data could be obtained on the number of traders at Al-Atawlah in winter but it is fewer than in the summer.

As was stated in Chapter Four, Al-Aqiq market is a more recent market which began to increase its activity as a periodic market when it was decided in 1985 to operate in the morning instead of the afternoon. However, its main importance comes from its specialisation in the sale of sheep and goats which derives from the fact that the market mainly serves recently settled nomads in the area, many of whom still trade in these animals. 92 per cent of Al-Aqiq's mobile traders (or 44 of the 48) were trading in animals (which is the highest number of animal traders found in a single market). Despite the tendency towards sedenterisation of nomads for farming, many of them still raise sheep and goats. The market traders therefore avoid competing with the 30 fixed shops in Al-Aqiq town, a relatively large number for a new market centre. As the nomads have increasingly settled down in this area, several settlements have appeared since 1975. These include Kara Al-Hayat, Warakh, and Jarab; and the writer also found groups of fixed shops in each of these villages. Because the new settlers have started to farm in the wadis where these villages have grown up, small periodic markets could well grow up in some of these settlements in the future, specially in Jarab and Warakh, because they are located about 50 km away from Al-Aqiq.

As-Sagarah, Barahrah, and Doss are the smallest markets in the Sarah area. As-Sagarah is the oldest of them but is also small because it is so close to Al-Baha, less than 20 km. away. Al-Mandaq market, which is held on the same day as As-Sagarah market, is also only 15 km away. As-Sagarah market is less attractive to traders and only nine mobile traders were found there during the fieldwork. Barahrah market (12 traders) is located in the extreme northern part of the Al-Baha region and remains small because Al-Grea market, 25 km. north in Makkah Province, has started to grow as a daily market and attracts people from the northern part of the Zahran area which was once served by markets like Barahrah. Doss (14 traders) is a recently re-established market dating from 1977, but it seems unlikely that it will grow into a large market. Al-Mandaq is less than 15 km. away and Doss is located in an area with relatively difficult access. Until 1986 the main road from Taif to Al-Baha ran through the market settlement but now a new asphalt road bypasses it three km. to the east. It is clear from Figure 8.1 that most of these small markets only attract mobile traders from short distances.

In the Tihama area, Al-Mukhwah market, one of the oldest, is also considered the biggest in terms of numbers of mobile and fixed traders, as well as number of visitors. It has retained its local importance as a distributive and collecting centre partly by being the first market in both the Sarah and the Tihama to be connected by an asphalt road with ports on the Red Sea coast like Jeddah, Al-Gunfudah and Jaizan. Then in 1986 it was connected with the seat of Al-Baha Province (Al-Baha town) east of the Escarpment, and with other centres in the Tihama area like Gilwah, Ash-Shara and Al-Hajrah. All of this has helped to encourage traders to continue to visit this market. When the writer visited it 86 mobile traders were counted there.

Gilwah, Ash-Shara and Al-Hajrah markets, the other Tihama markets, seem to be overshadowed by Al-Mukhwah market. Gilwah market (32 mobile traders) has started to acquire more fixed shops in recent years as a result of the construction in 1986 of an asphalt road to the northern Tihama connecting these settlements with the main coastal road between Jeddah and Jaizan.

In contrast, Al-Hajrah market seems likely to decline over the next few years. This is because the market site is limited and many market people have started to move away, looking for a better place to trade from. The writer found only sixteen mobile traders there during his survey. A new project started seven years ago by Gilwah Municipality to build concrete shops near Al-Hajrah market for rent also reduced the importance of the market, even though the project was stopped in mid-development.

Ash-Shara market (20 mobile traders) may also end soon because of its proximity to the stronger Gilwah and Al-Mukhwah markets. Ash-Shara market is held on Thursday, one day after Al-Mukhwah and two days after Gilwah; this fact lessens the number of buyers visiting Ash-Shara. Deterioration in the position of Ash-Shara market got worse in 1987 following the construction of a new asphalt road which leaves the market three km. to one side.

8.3 Commodities sold by Mobile traders

Mobile traders sell a range of goods in the Al-Baha periodic markets. Some tend to sell only local products, while others also sell imported goods, but the range of goods on offer differs considerably according to the size and location of the markets. Table 8.1 and 8.2 give details and Figure 8.2 summarises these.

Figure 8.2 shows that sheep and goats are the most common product on sale, with several traders selling them in every market. 48 per cent of all traders deal in sheep. All other goods are much less commonly traded and none are carried by more than 9 per cent of traders. Some of the least common goods, such as utensils and mats, are found in only one of the tewlve markets but in each of these markets there is often more than one trader in each item. The high number of traders in sheep and goats - no less than 256 - is partly a result of surveying the markets when the sheep trade was at its height during the Pilgrimage season; every household needs at least one sheep or goat for sacrifice. It was also

Table 8.1 Types of Goods Sold by Mobile Traders at Periodic Markets in Al-Baha Region.

Markets	Traders	Sheep+ Goats		Vege-tables		Fruit+ Vegetables		Fruit		Fresh Dates		Dry dates		Water melon		Clarified Butter		Ready-made Clothes	
Sarah markets			%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%
Al-Baha	125	39	31.2	11	8.8	9	7.2	16	12.8	16	12.8	----	---	11	8.8	7	5.6	1	0.8
Baljurashi	82	25	30.5	11	13.3	----	---	----	---	3	3.7	5	6.1	3	3.7	12	14.6	1	1.2
Al-Atawlah	50	37	74.0	6	12.0	3	6.0	3	6.0	1	2.0	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Al-Aqiq	48	44	91.7	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	2.1
Al-Mandaq	41	17	41.5	8	19.5	3	7.3	---	---	1	2.4	5	12.2	2	4.9	---	---	---	---
Doss	14	14	100.0	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Barahrah	12	12	100.0	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
As-Sagarah	9	4	44.4	2	22.0	---	---	---	---	--	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Tot. Sarah	381	192	50.4	38	10.0	15	3.9	19	5.0	21	5.5	10	2.6	16	4.2	19	5.0	3	0.8
Tihama Markets																			
Al-Mukhwah	86	27	31.4	7	8.1	7	8.1	3	3.5	3	3.5	9	10.5	3	3.5	3	3.5	6	7.5
Gilwah	32	16	50.0	---	----	1	3.1	1	3.1	---	---	---	---	---	---	3	9.4	9	28.1
Ash-Shara	20	12	60.0	---	---	3	15.0	---	---	---	---	2	10.0	---	---	---	---	---	---
Al-Hajrah	16	9	56.3	---	---	2	12.5	---	---	----	---	---	---	---	---	1	6.3	1	6.3
Tot. Tihama	154	64	41.6	7	4.5	13	8.4	4	2.6	3	1.9	11	7.1	3	1.9	7	4.5	16	10.4
Tot. Sarah and Tihama	535	256	47.9	45	8.4	28	5.2	23	4.3	24	4.5	21	3.9	19	3.6	26	4.9	19	3.6

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

Table 8.2 Types of Goods Sold by Mobile Traders at Periodic Markets in Al-Baha Region.

Markets	Traders	Sundries	%	Honey	%	Fodder	%	Banana Flowers	%
Sarah Markets			%		%		%		%
Al-Baha	125	1	0.8	5	4.0	3	2.4	4	3.2
Baljurashi	82	2	2.4	2	2.4	---	---	---	---
Al-Atawlah	50	--	---	---	---	---	---	--	--
Al-Aqiq	48	3	6.3	----	---	---	---	---	---
Al-Mandaq	41	5	12.2	---	---	---	---	---	---
Doss	14	--	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Barahrah	12	--	---	----	---	---	--	-- -	---
As-Sagarah	9	3	33.3	---	---	---	--	---	---
Tot. Sarah	381	12	3.1	7	1.8	3	0.9	4	1.0
Tihama Markets									
Al-Muhkwah	86	3	3.5	3	3.5	3	3.5	---	---
Gilwah	32	--	---	---	---	1	3.1	---	---
Ash-shara	20	--	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Al-Hajrah	16	--	---	1	6.3	---	---	---	---
Tot. Tihama	154	3		4	2.6	4	2.6	---	---
Tot. Sarah and Tihama	535	15	2.8	11	2.1	7	1.3	4	0.7

Markets	Henna Flowers	%	Ready-made Food	%	Grains	%	Woven mats	%	Utensils	%
Sarah Markets		%		%		%		%		%
Al-Baha	2	1.6	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Baljurashi	4	4.9	11	13.4	3	3.7	---	---	---	---
Al-Atawlah	----	---	---	--	---	---	---	---	---	---
Al-Aqiq	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Al-Mandaq	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Doss	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Barahrah	---	--	--	---					---	---
As-Sagarah	---	---	--	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Tot. Sarah	6	1.6	11	2.9	3	0.8	---	---	---	---
Tihama Markets										
Al-Muhkwah	---	---	---	---	5	5.8	4	4.7	---	---
Gilwah	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Ash-shara	---	---	---	---					---	---
Al-Hajrah	---	---	---	---	----	---	---	---	2	12.5
Tot. Tihama	---	---	---	---	5	3.2	4	2.6	2	1.3
Tot. Sarah and Tihama	6	1.1	11	2.1	8	1.5	4	0.7	2	0.4

Sourc: Fieldwork 1978.

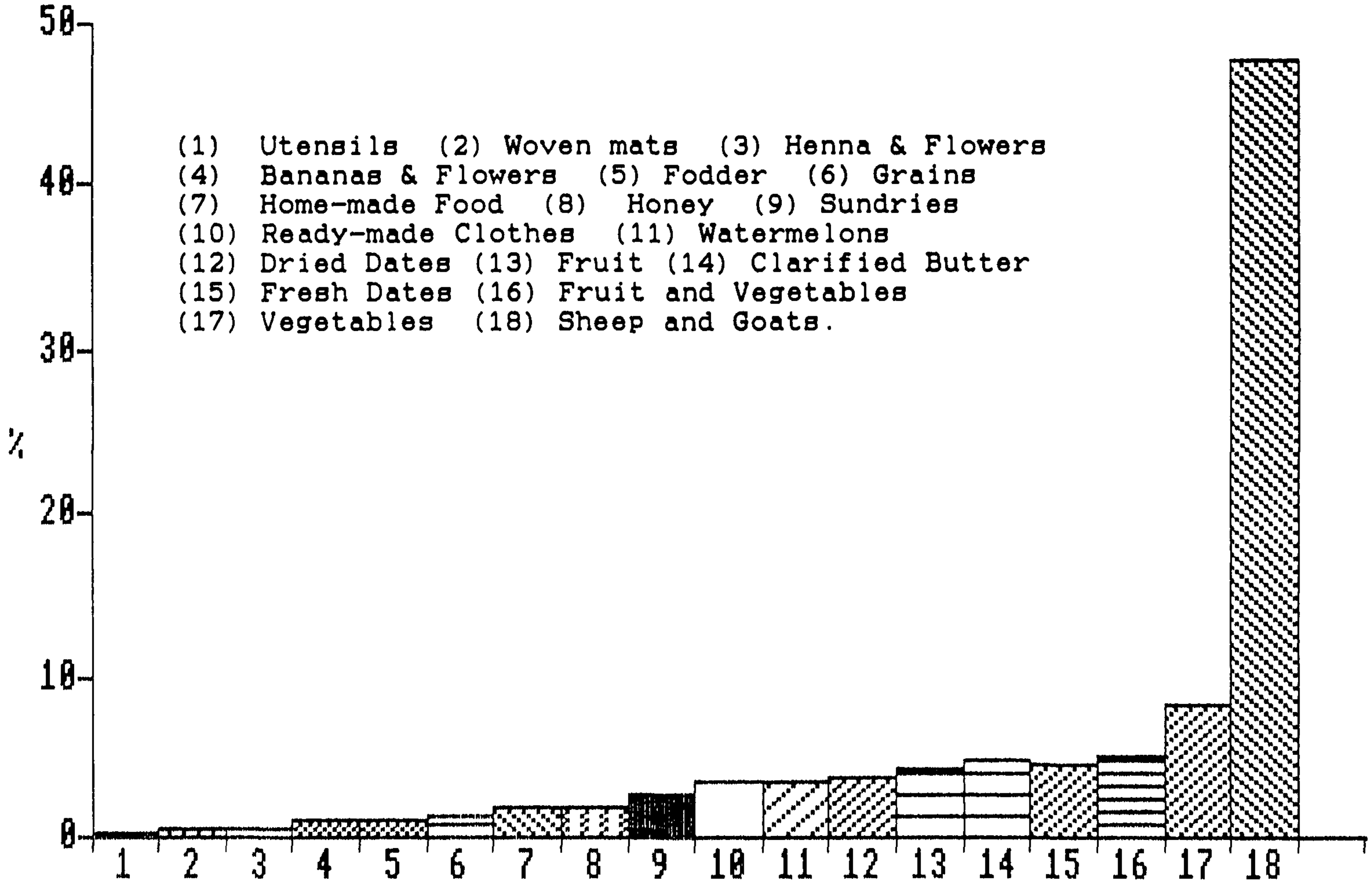

FIG 8.2 TYPES OF GOODS SOLD BY MOBILE TRADERS IN AL-BAHA MARKETS.

the summer holiday period when marriages are common and many sheep and goats are killed for marriage feasts. On the other hand, animal sales are common in the markets at all times because government subsidies for raising animals and for their feed have encouraged many people to keep and trade them. In Al-Atawlah market, 74 per cent of traders were selling sheep and goats. Animal sellers were common at Al-Atawlah market because of its proximity to grazing areas such as at Mashogah and Al-Gara. The dominance of animal sales at Al-Aqiq market has already been mentioned. Several other of the larger markets - Al-Baha, Baljurashi and Al-Mandaq in the Sarah and at Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah in the Tihama - were also selling animals. The small markets at Doss and Barahrah were entirely for sheep and goat sales.

The second most important item sold in the periodic markets was vegetables. These were much less common than sheep and goats but 38 mobile traders who only sell vegetables were interviewed in the markets of the Sarah and seven in the Tihama. These accounted for 8 per cent of all mobile traders. The two main markets, at Al-Baha and Baljurashi, had 22 of these traders. All seven traders in vegetables in the Tihama were found at its largest market, Al-Mukhwah. This concentration of vegetable sellers is because these centres contain most of the non-agricultural workforce in the region, whether governmental or in the private sector. These would purchase most vegetables since they have no opportunity to grow their own. Vegetable sales are much more common in the Sarah because of the larger urban population there, the rising demand as incomes rise, and the switch by some farmers to small-scale vegetable production in the wadis, such as in Wadi Beedah, Wadi Bani Kabeer, Wadi Torbah, Wadi Feeg and Wadi Al-Asalah. Most of these wadis are close to at least one periodic market and even where a market is at some distance access is now relatively easy(1).

There has been a switch by farmers from wheat and other field crops in to vegetables and fruit because the continued subdivision of the land has made it less suitable for growing other less intensive products apart from vegetables, pomegranate and some other kinds of fruit. Vegetables can be grown throughout the year and therefore provide farmers with a more regular income than grain crops. The most common vegetables in the market are tomatoes, green beans, dry and green onions, okra, cucumbers, carrots, lettuce and <u>Molokiyah</u> (a green vegetable which is believed to be from Egypt and is usually cooked with meat).

Mobile traders who sell only fruit form 4.3 per cent of the traders. They usually sell imported fruit such as oranges, bananas and apples. Most of these were obtained from some large stores in Al-Baha or Baljurashi, though some are brought in from Jeddah. Most of the traders involved were found at Al-Baha market. When local fruits are available,

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(1) Vegetable growing in these wadis was also promoted by the construction of several irrigation dams like the At-Tulkyah dam built near Baljurashi in 1978, the Beedah dam in 1985 and Wadi As-Sodor dam in 1983.

fruit sellers buy from other sellers (who are mainly farmers) in order to re-sell in the same periodic markets. But the trade in these is much more seasonal. Traders who sell fruit and vegetables together constitute another 5 per cent of all mobile traders. But mobile traders selling fruit or vegetables or both were only found in five of the nine Sarah markets, indicating the quite limited scale of this trade. Small numbers of fruit and vegetable sellers were found in all four Tihama markets.

Because some traders specialise only in fruit these are considered separately. One of these is fresh dates. Table 8.1 shows that these were sold in five markets by 24 traders but nearly all are in the Sarah and the great majority in the largest market at Al-Baha town. Fieldwork coincided with the harvest period which lasts only two months so that date-sellers were common at that time. Discussion with the traders at Al-Baha market - now much more a daily than weekly market - showed that most stayed in the market until they sold their load, before moving on to the next largest market a few days later at Baljurashi. Accordingly, the concentration in the Table of date-sellers at Al-Baha may simply reflect the days chosen to do the survey. If other days had been chosen more sellers could have been found at Baljurashi. These date-sellers did not seem to go to other small markets like Al-Atawalah or others in the Tihama. Most of the fresh dates come from Beshah, about 150 km. from

Al-Baha town, and Raniah, 80 km. to the east of Al-Baha town.

Almost as many sellers of dried dates as fresh were counted but they were often found in different markets, with more of them in the Tihama than in the Sarah markets unlike the fresh date sellers. Their importance comes from the fact that dried dates are the basic traditional food for the people in the Arabian peninsula, and they are also customorily served with coffee. Being dried, these dates can be stored for a year. Traders selling dried dates do not normally also sell fresh dates.

The selling of watermelons has increased in the markets of Al-Baha in recent years as a result of an increase in production in several parts of Saudi Arabia. Watermelons sold in the periodic markets in Al-Baha usually come from Al-Qaseem and Al-Kharj via Jeddah (370 km. away) or Taif (230 km.). Locally Al-Aqiq oasis started to produce small quantities of watermelons in the last three years and some of these reach local markets, especially Al-Baha town. All the watermelons in the Tihama markets come from Jeddah. In total, 89.5 per cent of the watermelon sellers get their goods from outside the region, while the other 10.5 per cent come from Al-Aqiq. Nineteen watermelon traders were counted in four periodic markets, but most of them were in Al-Baha town market.

Clarified butter is an important item still widely used for cooking. Nineteen traders were found selling this item at the Sarah markets but all were in Baljurashi and Al-Baha markets. They came from particular villages in the Tihama and the Sarah where animals are kept for milking specifically for this product. Because clarified butter is a local staple traditionally sold in the markets, Figure 8.3 shows its sources. Nowadays, it seems that more people in the Tihama still produce butter from sheep and cows than in the Sarah because local butter production in the Sarah has been hit by the introduction of an electricity supply which allowed most households to refrigerate and store their butter. More people, especially in the Sarah, now rely on imported butter which has undercut home production by discouraging people from continuing the time-consuming butter-making process. Few Tihama villages are yet supplied with electricity so that people still need to produce fresh butter capable of being stored and they still prefer local to imported butter. The survey also revealed several butter sellers at the Tihama markets. The butter sellers interviewed get their goods only from Al-Baha region, whether from weekly markets or from herders. Some sell only what they produce themselves. Imported butter is only sold by fixed traders be kept under refrigeration especially in the Sarah markets where butter can because of electricity provision.

Nineteen mobile traders were found who sell ready-made clothes. Most were in the Tihama periodic markets,

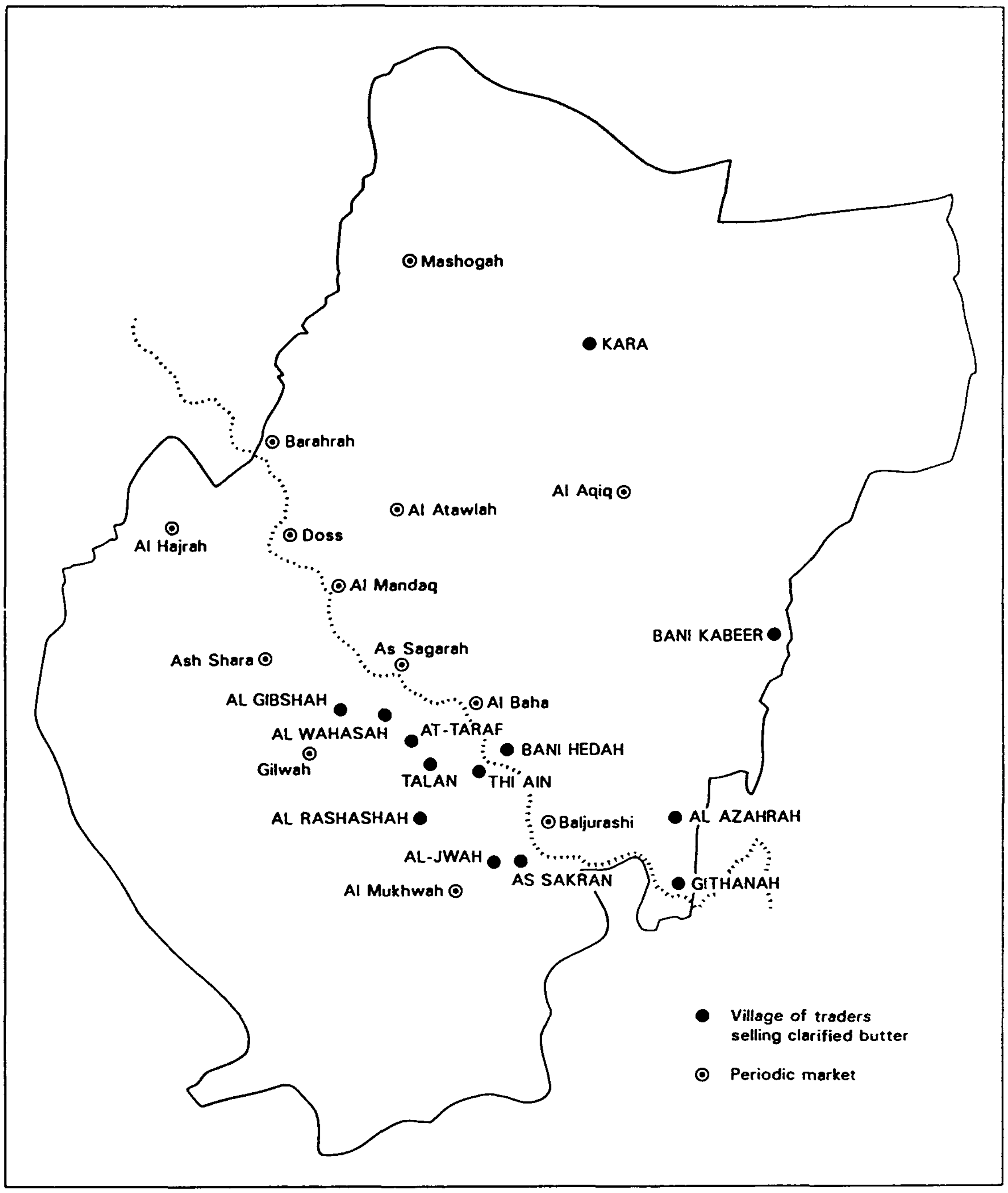

Figure 8.3 Villages of traders who sell clarified butter

especially at Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah. This clearly relates to the small number of fixed shops selling ready-made clothes in the Tihama centres in contrast to the Sarah. There are also fewer tailoresses making women's clothes in the Tihama compared with the Sarah so that there is more demand for ready-made clothes there by women.

A small number of sellers who specialise in products like honey, henna, woven mats and utensils were found in a few markets, mainly the two largest Sarah markets of Al-Baha and Baljurashi and the main Tihama market at Al-Mukhwah. Sellers of sundries are non-specialists who usually sell a great variety of small things like dyes, sweets, toys, and needles. They formed about 3 per cent of the mobile traders. One third of them were found in Al-Mandaq market, while each of Al-Aqiq, As-Sagarah and Al-Mukhwah had three.

8.4 Sources of Goods Sold by Mobile Traders

The goods sold in Al-Baha periodic markets come from many different sources. Table 8.3 and Figure 8.4 show the range which extends from goods produced locally to commodities imported from outside Al-Baha. Goods from outside Al-Baha include foreign imports like clothes and sundries, but also some products from other parts of Saudi Arabia, mainly agricultural produce.

The majority of mobile traders get their goods locally from within Al-Baha region, especially because so many are trading in animals. It was found, for example, that 135 of

Table 8.3 Sources of Goods Sold By Mobile Traders.

Markets	Traders	Raise Own Animals	%	From Markets & Raise Own	%	Outside Al-Baha	%	Own Produce	%	Store in Al-Baha	%	From Markets	%	Mixed Sources	%
Sarah Markets			%		%		%		%		%		%		%
Albaha	125	18	14.4	23	18.4	27	21.6	38	30.4	----	---	13	10.4	6	4.8
Baljurashi	82	11	13.4	17	20.7	11	13.4	26	31.7	6	7.3	2	2.4	9	10.9
Al-Atawlah	50	22	44.0	15	30.0	3	6.0	10	20.0	----	---	----	---	----	---
Al-Aqiq	48	24	50.0	20	41.7	2	4.2	---	---	2	4.2	----	---	----	---
Al-Mandaq	41	5	12.2	11	26.8	9	22.0	11	26.8	4	9.8	1	2.4	----	---
doss	14	10	71.4	4	28.6	----	---	---	---	---	---	----	---	----	---
Barahrah	12	8	66.7	4	33.3	----	---	---	---	---	---	----	---	---	---
As-Sagarah	9	2	22.2	2	22.2			2	22.2	3	33.3				
Total Sarah	381	100	26.2	96	25.2	52	13.6	87	22.8	15	3.9	16	4.2	15	3.9
Tihama Markets															
Al-Mukhwah	86	13	15.1	14	16.3	28	32.6	8	9.3	11	12.8	6	7.0	6	7.0
Gilwah	32	9	28.1	7	21.9	11	34.4	---	---	2	6.3	3	9.4	---	---
Ash-Shara	20	6	30.0	6	30.0	5	25.0	---	---	----	---	--	---	3	15.0
Al-Hajrah	16	7	43.8	2	12.5	4	25.0	2	12.5	----	---	1	6.3	----	---
Total Tihama	154	35	22.7	29	18.8	48	31.2	10	6.5	13	8.4	10	6.5	9	5.8
Total Sarah and Tihama	535	135	25.2	125	23.4	100	18.7	97	18.1	28	5.2	26	4.9	24	4.5

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

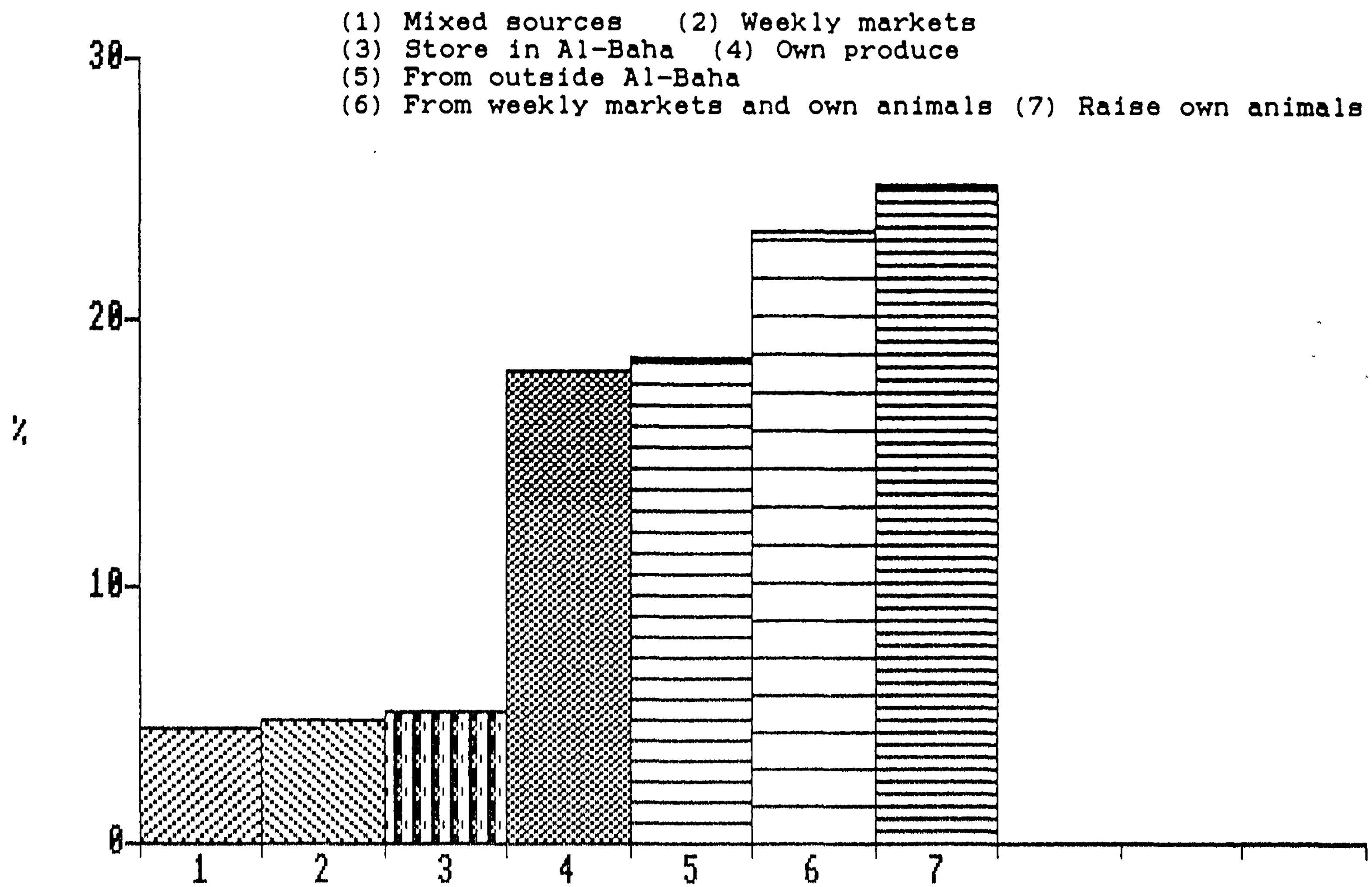

FIG. 8. 4 SOURCES OF GOODS SOLD BY MOBILE TRADERS.

256 traders (52.7 per cent) who sell sheep and goats raise and breed them themselves in their own villages. Almost half of the traders at Al-Aqiq and Al-Atawlah markets who sell sheep and goats said they obtained the animals from local sources. That sheep and goat sellers were also common in the small markets reflects the part-time nature of this trade where farmers go to market only occasionally to sell animals they had raised themselves. Those who had previously bought sheep and goats in order to feed them prior to re-sale were less common in these markets than those who simply bred and raised them. For example, in Doss four traders out of fourteen said they bought animals from periodic markets for later re-sale, while the other ten had bred the animals they sold. The same pattern was found in the Tihama markets. In the bigger markets of Al-Baha, Baljurashi and Al-Mukwah, because of the higher demand for sheep and goats, traders who bought in animals for later re-sale were more common than traders or farmers who were selling animals they had bred and raised themselves.

Traders who said they obtained all their commodities from outside Al-Baha region - mainly traders selling non-agriculture products or non-local agricultural products - totalled 100 (18.7 per cent). They were almost equally divided between traders in the Sarah (52) and the Tihama (48). However, they formed 31 per cent of the traders in the Tihama and only 14 per cent of the much larger number of traders in the Sarah. This imbalance is due to the fact that local agricultural products from the Tihama were traded less there than in the Sarah. The goods which came from outside the region included fresh and dried dates, watermelons, and most of the ready-made clothes. In addition, some traders in honey and a few selling goats in the Tihama obtained their goods from outside. In the Sarah area some of the fresh and dried date sellers came mainly from outside of Al-Baha, from Beshah, Raniah and Torbah. An estimated 90 per cent of the fresh and dried dates came from Beshah, while the other 10 per cent came from Raniah, Madenah and Al-Aqiq. Figure 8.5 shows the main sources for fresh and dried dates sold in Al-Baha. Until 1980, Beshah and Torbah were the two main sources of fresh and dried dates but Torbah, 120 km north-east of Al-Baha, then began to lose its position as a major date supplier (1).

As noticed above a few traders were found who sell henna, flowers, fodder, and fruits like grapes and pomegranates. Most of these goods are produced in the Sarah around the largest markets, at Al-Baha, Baljurashi, Al-Atawlah and Al-Mandaq.

Some mobile traders, especially those selling sundries, were found who get their goods mainly from big stores in Al-Baha, Baljurashi and Al-Mukhwah, that is the largest centres in the region. About 83 per cent of the sundry

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(1) The decline of Torbah dates was due to the construction of a dam about 50 km. south of Torbah in 1979. The purpose of the dam was to supply fresh water to Taif but it affected the farmers' land and reduced date production to a large extent because the dam does not allow a great deal of water to reach Torbah. As a result, drought has afflicted many farms around Torbah.

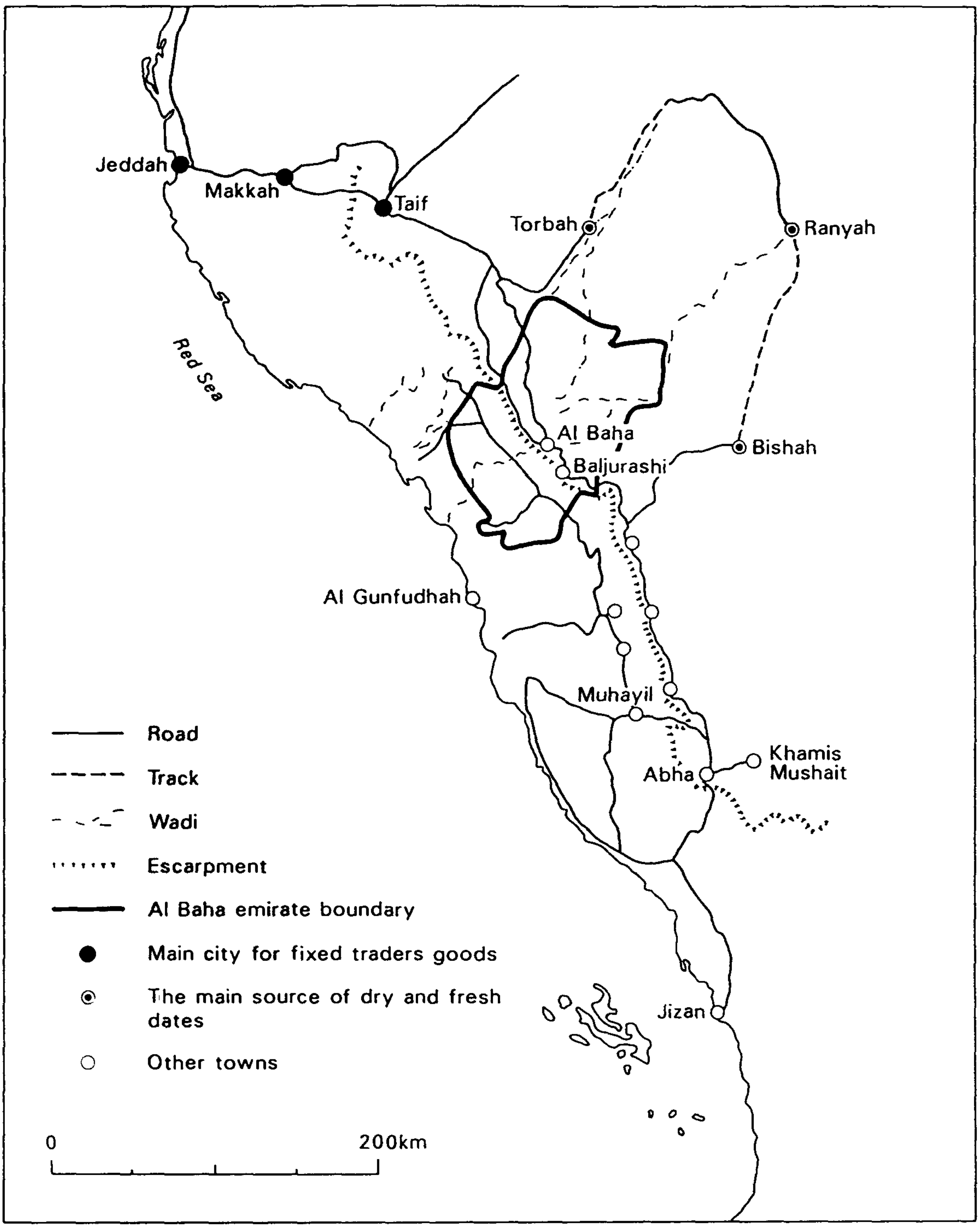

Figure 8.5 The main sources of dried and fresh dates

sellers stated that they get their goods from stores inside Al-Baha, though a few get them from other weekly markets. Many traders reported that they get their goods from a variety of sources.

8.5 Place of Origin Of Mobile Traders

Table 8.4 lists the origins of mobile traders according to whether they came from the place where they were interviewed or from elsewhere in Al-Baha, or from outside the region. Figure 8.6 summarises this three fold division.

It is clear that the great majority of mobile traders (89 per cent) came from Al-Baha region, but only 13.1 per cent were from the village where they were being interviewed. Traders from outside Al-Baha made up 11.4 per cent of those interviewed.

Clearly travel time to market varied considerably as a result of these different places of origin. All the traders who said they came from the market settlement itself obviously came from less than 5 km. and travelled for much less than one hour. In contrast, 56 out of the 61 traders (92 per cent) who came from outside the region travelled a distance of more than 50 km. and half of them had taken up to two hours to reach the market.

The low proportion of mobile traders who reported that they came from the place where they were being interviewed indicates their high level of mobility. The proportion of

Table 8.4 Origin of Mobile Traders at Al-Baha Markets.

Markets	Number of Traders interviewed	Home market of trader	%	Trader from elsewhere in Baha	%	Traders from outside Al-Baha	%
Sarah Markets							
Al-Baha	125	9	7.2	103	82.4	13	10.4
Baljurashi	82	18	22.0	57	69.5	7	8.5
Al-Atawlah	50	3	6.0	46	92.0	1	2.0
Al-Aqiq	48	10	20.8	31	64.6	7	14.6
Al-Mandaq	41	1	2.4	35	85.4	5	12.2
Doss	14	4	26.6	10	71.4	----	----
Barahrah	12	----	---	9	75.0	3	25.0
As-Sagarah	9	1	11.1	8	88.9	---	---
Total Sarah	381	46	12.1	299	78.5	36	9.4
Tihama Markets							
Al-Mukhwah	86	12	14.0	51	59.3	23	26.7
Gilwah	32	6	18.8	24	75.0	2	6.3
Ash-Shara	20	3	15.0	17	85.0	----	----
Al-Hajrah	16	3	18.8	13	81.3	----	----
Total Tihama	154	24	15.6	105	68.2	25	16.2
Total Sarah And Tihama	535	70	13.1	404	75.5	61	11.4

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

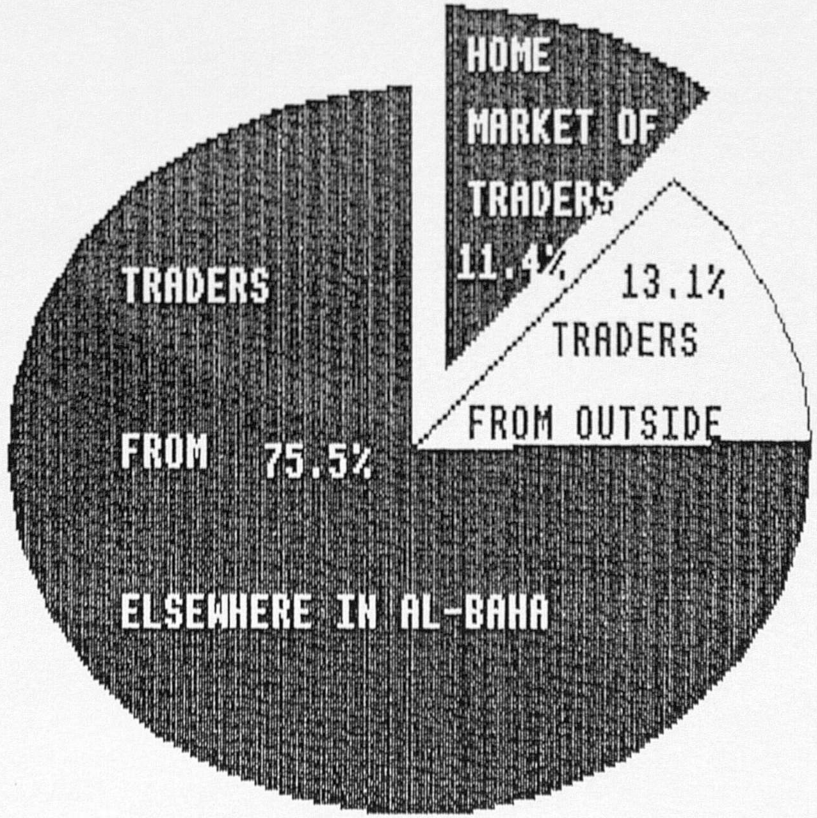

FIG. 8.6 ORIGIN OF MOBILE TRADERS IN AL-BAHA MARKETS.

non-local traders was especially high (over 90 per cent) at large markets like Al-Baha, Al-Atawlah and Al-Mandaq. But non-local traders were also very common at some of the small markets. None of the twelve traders at Barahrah market, for example, were from Barahrah because Barahrah is simply a place devoted to the market. It has some government offices, some houses were built there in recent years, but the local population is small.

Table 8.4 shows that more than half of the traders who were originally from the market settlement where they were interviewed were found in the four markets of Al-Baha, Baljurashi, Al-Aqiq and Al-Mukhwah.

Traders from outside Al-Baha were generally not well represented compared with those from inside Al-Baha. They were few in most markets, totalling 61 (or 11.4 per cent) of the 535 interviewed, but this included a quarter of the traders at Barahrah and Al-Mukhwah. This proportion would be even smaller in other seasons because the data was collected in the summer time when some sellers come in from outside with their agricultural products. Nearly all of the 25 outside traders in the Tihama were at Al-Mukhwah market. This might be due to both its attraction and its location about 30 km from the border with Makkah Emirate. Most of the outsiders trading at Al-Mukhwah were traders in sheep and vegetables from Al-Goaz and other areas on the coastal plain west of Al-Mukhwah where vegetables and sheep are produced. Interviews revealed that they had been attracted to this market by its purchasing power and easy access from their home villages.

Al-Baha market has the second largest number of outsiders (13) after Al-Mukhwah. As the seat of the Province with a large market, it is likely to attract traders from outside because of a good chance to sell more of their goods there than elsewhere in the region. Access to Al-Baha has improved considerably and this must also have helped some traders to come from a greater distance. The maximum distance outside traders reported travelling to Al-Baha is 370 km, that is the distance from Jeddah, or from Abha in 'Asir. Most of the traders who came from outside Al-Baha region to Al-Baha market were selling fresh dates, watermelons and sheep and goats. This was also the situation in Baljurashi market where most outside traders were from Beshah, selling fresh dates, or from some villages just inside 'Asir Province. They were selling either sheep and goats or honey. In Al-Aqiq market, six of the seven traders from outside Al-Baha came from Raniah, while one came from 'Asir. They came mainly to sell sheep and goats because Al-Aqiq is now recognised as a major livestock market.

Ease of access and location are important factors in influencing the number of mobile traders from outside the region at any one market. The recent increase in their number at Al-Mandaq market is undoubtedly a result of recent improvements to the road which connects Al-Mandaq with areas like Taif and Bani Malek in the southern part of Makkah

Province . Overall, it is worth traders coming that far to Al-Mandaq, because it has started to grow as a trade centre, being surrounded by a great number of villages and there is a growing demand for goods, including goods from outside the region.

Three outside traders were even found at Barahrah market, one of the smallest markets in the region. This is not so much because of the attraction of the market but because of its location on the border between Makkah and Al-Baha provinces. At Al-Atawlah market traders reported that in the Pilgrimage period, mobile traders would come from outside the region but only one was present at the time the fieldwork was conducted. Al-Atawlah market is the nearest market to some areas outside Al-Baha like Wadi Nekhal, 50 km. north of Al-Atawlah, where sheep and goats are grazed.

8.6 Distance Travelled to Markets by Mobile Traders

Because mobile traders came to the markets from different distances, they reported spending various amounts of time to reach the markets. Road conditions obviously affect travel time. The time mobile traders said they took to get to the market is shown in Table 8.5 and summarised in Figure 8.7.

Table 8.5 shows that the majority of traders (72.5 per cent) travelled less than one hour and 22.5 per cent came from between one and two hours travel time. Very few claimed to travel for more than two hours. Three quarters of the traders who travelled for less than one hour came from a distances of

Table 8.5 Time Mobile Traders Spent Travelling to Market.

Market Name	Tra-ders	<One Hr.	%	1-2 Hr.	%	2-3 Hr.	%	3-4 Hr.	%	4-5 Hr.	%	> 5 Hr.	%
Sarah Markets			%		%		%		%		%		%
Al-Baha	125	106	84.8	6	4.8	10	8.1	---	---	3	2.4	---	---
Baljurashi	82	52	63.4	27	32.9	3	3.7	---	---	--	---	---	---
Al-Atawlah	50	34	68.0	16	32.0	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Al-Aqiq	48	22	45.8	20	41.7	6	12.5	---	---	---	---		
Al-Mandaq	41	36	87.8	2	4.9	---	---	1	2.4	---	---	2	4.9
Doss	14	9	64.3	5	35.7	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Barahrah	12	12	100	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
As-Sagarah	9	9	100	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Total Sarah	381	280	73.5	76	19.9	19	5.0	1	0.3	3	0.8	2	0.5
Tihama Markets													
Al-Mukhwah	86	52	60.5	31	36.0	---	---	---	---	---	---	3	3.5
Gilwah	32	22	68.8	10	31.3	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Ash-Shara	20	20	100	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Al-Hajrah	16	14	87.5	2	12.5	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Total Tihama	154	108	70.1	43	27.9	---	---	---	---	---	---	3	1.9
Total Sarah and Tihama	535	388	72.5	119	22.5	19	3.6	1	.2	3	.6	5	.9

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

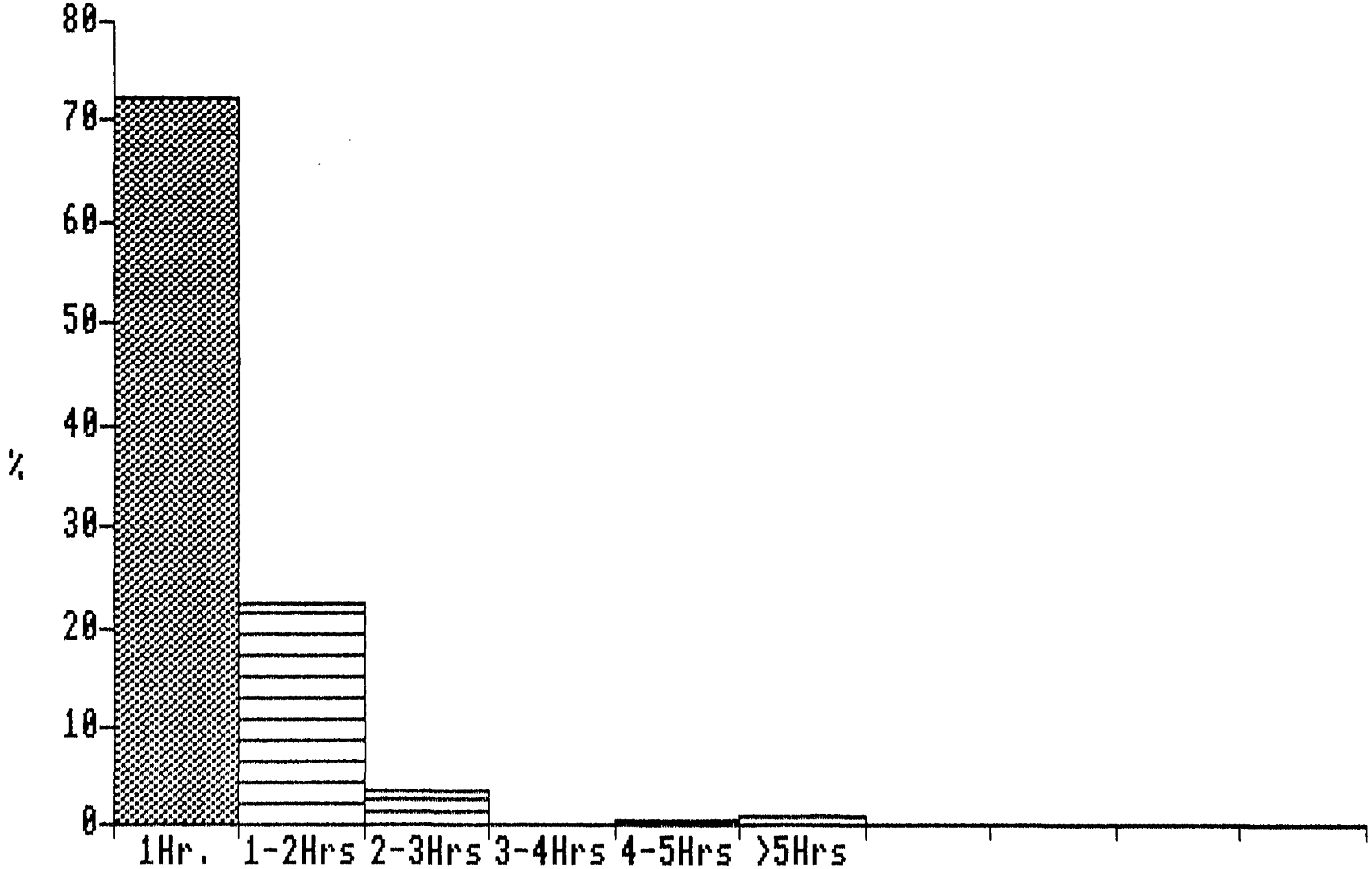

FIG. 8.7 THE TIME MOBILE TRADERS SPENT TRAVELLING TO MARKET.

0-20 km. Those include traders from the market settlements where they were interviewed and villages nearby. Most of the remainder came from 21-40 km., most of them from villages inside Al-Baha. On the other hand, the majority 85 per cent of the traders who said they spent between one and two hours travel time to reach the market came from a distance of more than 40 km.

The time spent travelling to market was seen to vary from market to market. Amongst the larger markets Al-Baha and Al-Mandaq show high percentages of market traders spending a short time on travel and often coming from a short distance. This was to be expected because of the easy access in comparison with other markets. Traders at these markets can cover a distance of 50 km. or more in less than one hour because of the good road conditions. But not all traders who reported they had travelled for more than one hour necessarily came far in terms of kilometres. Rather they often travelled on poorer roads. For example, the traders from the Tihama who came some 25 km. to Al-Baha or Baljurashi markets might spend between one to two hours reaching the market because of the unpaved roads they have to use and the need to climb the Escarpment. The same could be seen at the Tihama markets where poorer roads could increase travel time to markets. The smallest markets often have few sellers from any distance because they were too small to attract distant traders. A few traders reported they had travelled between three to five hours and they usually came from outside

Al-Baha, for example from Taif, Makkah, Jeddah, Abha and Beshah.

The pattern of travel times is largely reflected in the distances covered. These are given in Table 8.6 and summarised in Figure 8.8. Many mobile traders (37.6 per cent) said they came from a distance of less than 10 km. and they usually came either from the market village itself or from one nearby. In the Sarah area, 148 of the 381 traders (38.8 per cent) came from less than 10 km., while in the Tihama markets a similar proportion (34.4 per cent) said they came from within this distance. In fact, a high proportion (27.3 per cent) of the mobile traders in both the Sarah and the Tihama came from a distance of less than 5 km. The traders who came to markets from these shortest distances usually sold vegetables, henna and flowers, homemade food, and sometimes sheep and goats. Baljurashi, Al-Baha and Al-Mandaq markets in the Sarah area and the smaller Sarah markets (Doss and As-Sagarah) were visited by the greatest number of traders who came from less than ten km. Somewhat in contrast in the Tihama, Al-Mukhwah attracted more mobile traders from a greater distance because it is a bigger market. Only 26.7 per cent of traders in Al-Mukhwah came from within a distance of 10 km. But the small Tihama market of Al-Hajrah attracts most of its mobile traders from a close distance. Ten out of the sixteen traders came from within a distance of 10 km. Similarly 45 per cent of traders at Ash-Shara came from within this distance.

Table 8.6 Distance From the Trader's Home Base to the Market in km.

Markets	Traders	0-10	%	11-20	%	21-30	%	31-40	%	41-50	%	> 51	%
Sarah Markets			%		%		%		%		%		%
Al-Baha	125	38	30.4	19	15.2	26	20.8	12	9.6	8	6.4	22	17.6
Baljurashi	82	40	48.8	4	4.8	8	9.8	3	3.7	---	--	27	32.9
Al-Atawlah	50	9	18.0	17	34.0	3	6.0	---	---	----	---	21	42.0
Al-Aqiq	48	10	20.8	11	22.9	---	---	---	----	9	18.9	18	37.5
Al-Mandaq	41	24	85.5	1	2.4	10	24.4	1	2.4	---	---	5	12.5
Doss	14	9	64.3	---	---	5	35.7	---	---	---	---	---	---
Barahrah	12	9	75.0	---	---	3	25.0	---	---	---	---		
As-Sagarah	9	9	100	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Total Sarah	381	148	38.8	52	13.6	55	14.4	16	4.2	17	4.5	93	24.4
Tihama Markets													
Al-Mukhwah	86	23	26.8	16	18.6	9	10.4	2	2.3	8	9.3	28	32.6
Gilwah	32	12	37.5	5	15.6	11	34.4	---	---	---	---	4	12.5
Ash-Shara	20	9	45.0	11	55.0	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Al-Hajrah	16	10	62.5	6	37.6	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Total Tihamh	154	54	35.6	38	24.7	20	13.0	2	1.3	8	5.2	32	20.8
Total Sarah and Tihama	535	202	37.7	90	16.8	75	14.0	18	3.4	25	4.7	125	23.4

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

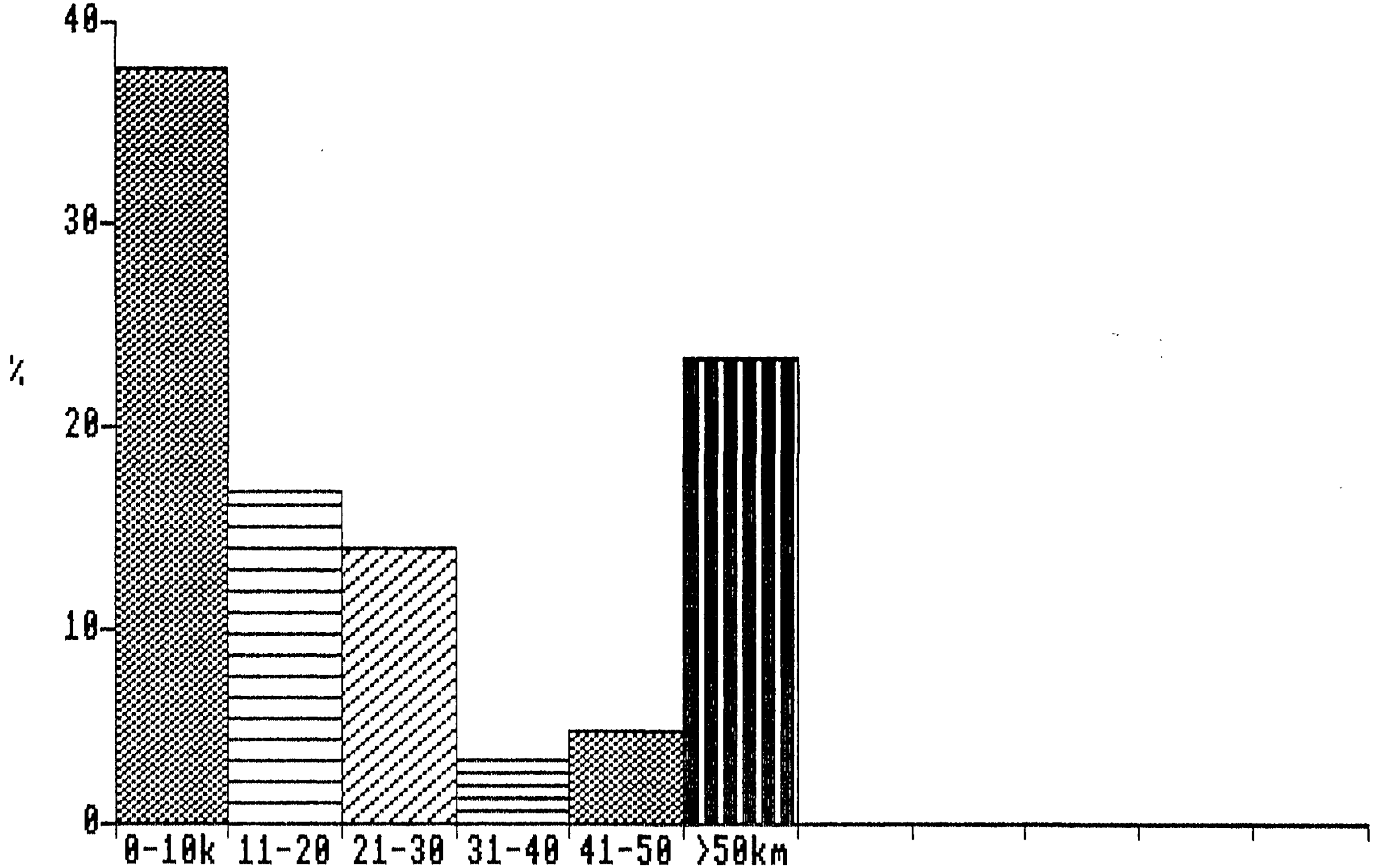

FIG. 8.8 DISTANCE FROM THE TRADER'S HOME BASE TO THE MARKET IN KM.

Table 8. 6 shows also that many mobile traders (23.4 per cent) came to the markets from a greater distance than 50 km. This was more common in the Sarah markets. Baljurashi, Al-Baha and Al-Atawlah had many traders who came this far. This was because these two markets are the largest in terms of their size and trade activity and are thus able to attract buyers and sellers from a relatively great distance. In Al-Atawlah market 42 per cent of traders came from more than 50 km., most of them to sell sheep. Similarly sheep and goat sellers in Al-Aqiq often came more than 50 km. from elsewhere in Al-Aqiq sub-region itself. This is because Al-Aqiq sub-region contains nomads settled over a large area, often at a distance of more than 50 km. from Al-Aqiq market.

Al-Mukhwah market had a high proportion (32.6 per cent) of the mobile traders who came more than 50 km. This is mainly because Al-Mukhwah market attracts traders from Baljurashi, and a traditional link exists between the two places (1). It was also found during the fieldwork that some fixed traders in Al-Mukhwah originated from Baljurashi. Also this market attracts sellers from areas in the coastal plain such as Al-Goaz because of easier access to this market and a chance to find buyers for their products, mostly vegetables.

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(1) The Baljurashi tribe is closely related to the Bani Omar tribe which runs Al-Mukhwah market. Traders in Baljurashi used to have relations with the traders in Al-Mukhwah and used to receive goods from the small ports on the Red sea through Al-Mukhwah. In fact before the arrival of vehicles, traders from Baljurashi used to have stores in Al-Mukhwah. In 1986 Al-Mukhwah was connected with the seat of Al-Baha Province by an asphalt road.

Al-Mukhwah is also a governmental centre in the region, so that its access has recently been improved.

Figure 8.1, used earlier in this chapter, presents in map form the places from which mobile traders, who were interviewed at the markets, came. It is clear from this that many traders are local to their markets whether one considers the larger or the smaller markets. As one would expect the larger markets also attract some traders from greater distances. In this the importance of Al-Baha, Baljurashi and Al-Mukhwah is clear, although Al-Atawlah and Al-Aqiq, amongst the medium size markets, also seem able to bring in traders from some distance.

8.7 Time of Arrival at Markets

The survey showed that mobile traders came to the periodic markets at different times of the day. Their arrival times are summarised in Table 8.7. Most of the traders prefer to start trading early on the market day (by 7 am.), so that some come the evening of the day before in order to ensure an early start. But 85 per cent of traders interviewed came on the morning of the market day. This would not have been the situation until the mid-1970s when more would have had to come the night before because of the slower rate of travel then common, but no data is available on this. Some traders said they come early in order to find better places where they can display their goods because the display area in the

Table 8.7 Period of Arrival of the Traders at Markets.

Markets	Traders	Morning	%	Previous Evening	%
Sarah Markets					
Al-Baha	125	94	75.2	31	24.8
Baljurashi	82	68	82.9	14	17.1
Al-Atawlah	50	50	100	---	---
Al-Aqiq	48	40	83.3	8	16.7
Al-Mandaq	41	37	90.2	4	9.8
Doss	14	11	78.6	3	21.4
Barahrah	12	12	100	-----	----
As-Sagarah	9	9	100	------	----
Total Sarah	381	321	84.3	60	15.7
Tihama Markets					
Al-Mukhwah	86	66	76.7	20	23.3
Gilwh	32	32	100	----	----
Ash-Shara	20	20	100	----	----
Al-Hajrah	16	16	100	----	-----
Total Tihama	154	134	87.0	20	13.0
Total Sarah and Tihama	535	455	85.0	80	15.0

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

markets is often very limited. Traders who had fruit to sell particularly came early to get a good position in the market area and in the hope of getting early sales. Some traders might come early in order to go back home for a second load of stock to sell later in the day but this was more common in the summer when more fruits are available for sale. More early arrivals were found in the large markets of Al-Baha, Al-Mukhwah and Baljurashi. Because the interviews were conducted in the summer most of the early arrivals were watermelon sellers and sellers of fresh dates and fruit in general(1).

While most traders now arrive early on the morning of the market, some still come in the early evening on the day before as was common in the past. These included roughly a fifth of traders at Al-Baha, Baljurashi and Al-Mukhwah markets where more sellers from a greater distance were found. But even Doss market attracted some traders overnight, although it is a small market. Three of the fourteen sellers there came the night before and these seem to represent a group of traders from the Tihama, because this market belongs to the Doss Tribe and some of its members live in the Tihama. Other traders from the Tihama at Sarah markets had to come particularly early because of the Escarpment which separates the Tihama and Sarah and which requires a

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(1) Many of these early arrivals were from Wadi Beedah in the north of Al-Baha region which is the main area of pomegranate and peach production for Saudi Arabia. Though the farmers there sell most of their products in major cities like Taif, Jeddah and Riyadh, some also sell some of their products at the local markets of Al-Baha and Baljurashi.

relatively long journey time to reach the Sarah markets. Most of the early arrivals at Al-Mukhwah market in the Tihama are fruit and vegetable sellers, mainly from the area around Al-Goaz, although some had come down the Escarpment from Baljurashi. Most traders who come from places outside Al-Baha, especially from the Mhial area, 200 km. from Al-Baha, arrive the evening before the market.

It was found that the traders who simply sell from the back of their vehicles normally come overnight or early to get a better position in the market. With the improved roads, not only are travel times now reduced but traders can now break the journey by staying overnight along the way, generally at one of the coffee houses that have opened where accommodation is cheap to rent. This still allows them to come to the market early without having to spend much of the previous day on the journey.

8.8 The Amount of Time Spent at the Market Location

As has been made clear the periodic markets usually receive most traders in the early morning. While all the markets start at about 7 o'clock some continue for longer than others and in all of them the level of activity declines through the day as the heat increases. This is especially so in the Tihama. One way of assessing this level of activity was to ask traders how long they normally stayed at the market.

Figure 8.9 summarises this data and Table 8.8 gives more details. To get this information the writer asked traders how long they stayed at the market and at what time they normally left. Whereas all the markets operate from 7 o'clock in the morning in the summer (and 8 o'clock in the winter) none continues beyond 5 o'clock in the evening. However, not all traders would be selling all day. In fact, most stayed only three hours. The ones that stay longer include most often sellers of fresh dates, watermelons, and fruit. Only the larger markets like Al-Baha last all day. Most of the small markets lasted no more than four hours.

The starting times of markets have tended to become earlier than in the past. Before 1970 all traders and customers would have been at the market sites between 9 and 10 o'clock, which was the peak trading time. With the recent improvement of roads which have shortened travel times, trading can be completed in a shorter time and traders and customers prefer to arrive early and finish early.

The surveys showed that about 41.0 per cent (218 traders) said they traded for three hours, normally between 7 and 10 in the morning. In fact, at five markets - Al-Atawlah, Barahrah, As-Sagarah, Doss, and Al-Hajrah - the activity of the whole market starts at 7 o'clock and is terminated at 10 o'clock. These are all small markets, except Al-Atawlah. Here the early finish to trading results from the traders knowing that there is a big market to prepare for the next day at

Table 8.8 The Time Spent at Market Location by Mobile Traders

Markets	Traders	Market Hrs.	3hr.	%	4hr.	%	5hr.	%	6hr	%	7hr	%	8hr.	%	9hr.	%	10hr.	%
Sarah Markets																		
Al-Baha	125	8	29	23.2	26	20.8	20	16.0	22	17.6	18	14.4	10	8.0	---	---	---	---
Baljurashi	82	9	22	26.8	52	63.4	2	2.4	--	---	2	2.4	1	1.2	3	3.7	---	---
Al-Atawlah	50	3	50	100	---	---	---	---	--	---	--	---	--	---	---	---	---	---
Al-Aqiq	48	4	17	35.4	31	64.6	---	---	--	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Al-Mandaq	41	10	24	58.5	11	26.8	3	7.3	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	3	7.3
Doss	14	3	14	100	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Barahrah	12	3	12	100	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
As-Sagarah	9	3	9	100	---	---	---	---	--	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Total Sarah	381		177	46.5	120	31.5	25	6.6	22	5.8	20	5.2	11	2.9	3	0.8	3	0.8
Tihama Markets																		
Al-Mukhwah	86	6	----	---	---	---	43	50.0	43	50.0	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Gilwah	32	5	6	18.8	25	78.1	1	3.1	--	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Ash-Shara	20	4	19	95.0	1	5.0	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Al-Hajrah	16	3	16	100	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Total Tihama	154		41	10.8	26	16.9	44	28.6	43	27.9	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Total Sarah and Tihama	535		218	40.7	146	27.3	69	12.9	65	12.1	20	3.7	11	2.1	3	.6	3	.6

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

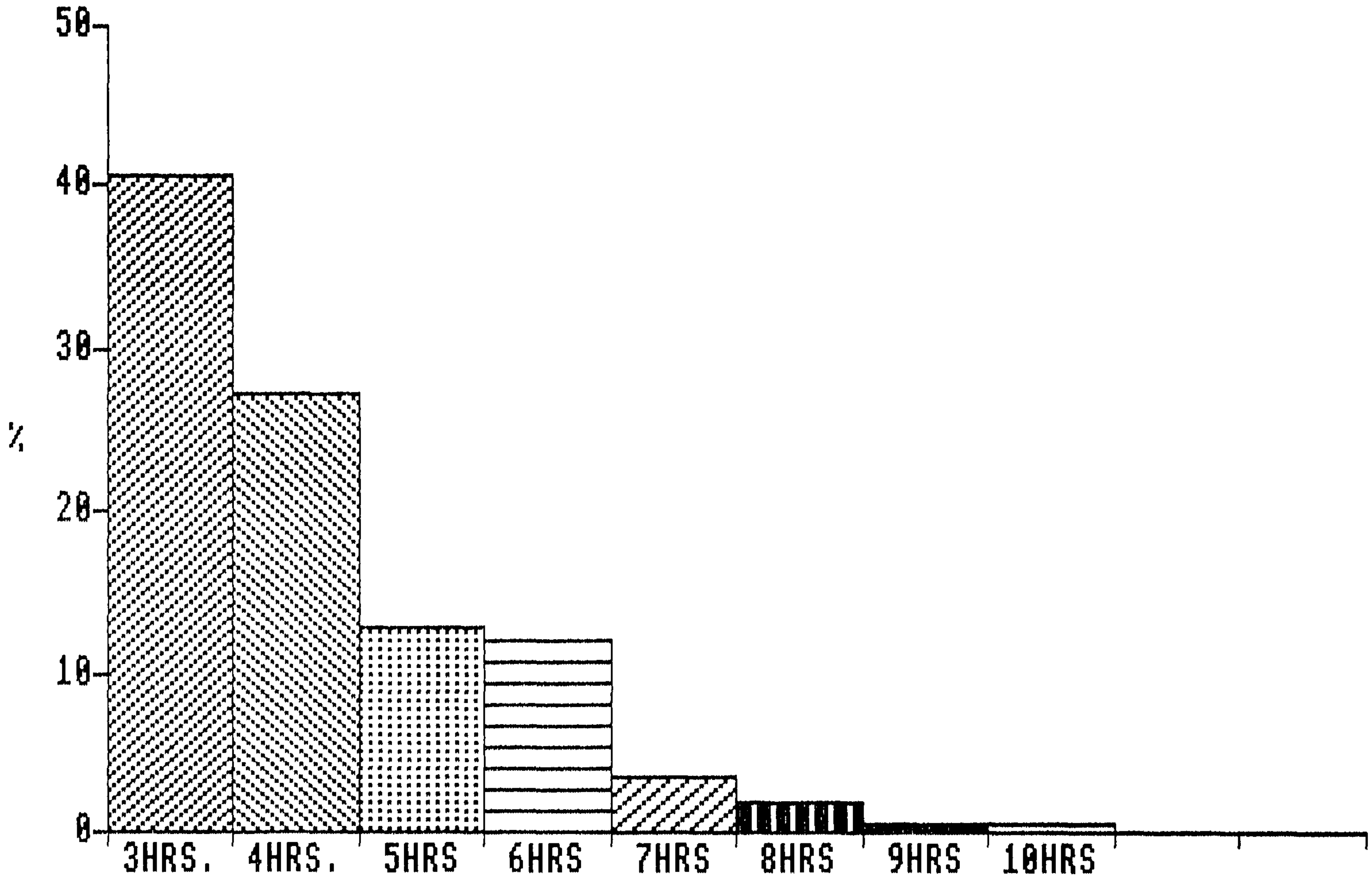


FIG. 8.9 TIME SPENT AT THE MARKET BY MOBILE TRADERS.

Al-Baha. Table 8.8 shows that it is only at the larger markets that trading goes on for more than five hours.

8.9 Means of Transport

Virtually all traders now use vehicles. Dependency upon animal transport as a means of getting to market began to disappear gradually from the beginning of the 1970s and virtually no traders were still using animals in the early 1980s as vehicles took over.

Table 8.9 and Figure 8.10 give information from the interviews on the mobile traders' use of vehicles. It can be seen that 66.9 per cent said they used their own vehicles and another 22.8 per cent shared a rented vehicle. Only 3.9 per cent walked or used other means of transport. This large number of traders using their own vehicles results from the relatively large-scale activity of many traders. In other cases it is farmers who prefer to use their own vehicles instead of going to the expense of renting a vehicle. Vehicle ownership is common in Al-Baha because petrol is very cheap and until recently vehicles were also relatively inexpensive to purchase. Most of the vehicles are small Japanese-made models, especially the Toyota pickups which are considered the most suitable vehicles for the area.

The number of traders who used a rented vehicle seems relatively high at 23.0 per cent of the total. These were usually found to be farmers or traders selling sheep and goats. From the interviews it was clear that traders who were

Table 8.9 Means of Transport Used by Traders to Reach Markets.

Markets	Traders	Use Own Vehicle		Walk to Market		Rented Vehicle with Others		Other Means	
Sarah Markets			%		%		%		%
Al-Baha	125	94	75.2	3	2.4	25	20.0	3	2.4
Baljurashi	82	38	46.3	---	---	23	28.0	21	25.6
Al-Atawlah	50	38	76.0	3	6.0	9	18.0	---	---
Al-Aqiq	48	37	77.1	4	8.3	7	14.6	---	---
Al-Mandaq	41	35	85.4	1	2.4	5	12.2	---	---
Doss	14	5	35.7	4	28.6	5	35.7	---	---
Barahrah	12	6	50.0	3	25.0	3	25.0	----	---
As-Sagarah	9	7	77.8	----	---	2	22.2	---	--
Total Sarah	381	260	68.2	18	4.7	79	20.7	24	6.3
Tihama Markets									
Al-Mukhwah	86	57	66.3	2	2.3	23	26.7	4	4.7
Gilwah	32	22	68.8	1	3.1	5	15.6	4	12.5
Ash-Shara	20	9	45.0	----	---	9	45.0	2	10.0
Al-Hajrah	16	10	62.5	----	---	6	37.5	---	---
Total Tihama	154	98	63.6	3	1.9	43	27.9	10	6.5
Total Sarah and Tihama	535	358	66.9	21	3.9	122	22.8	34	6.4

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

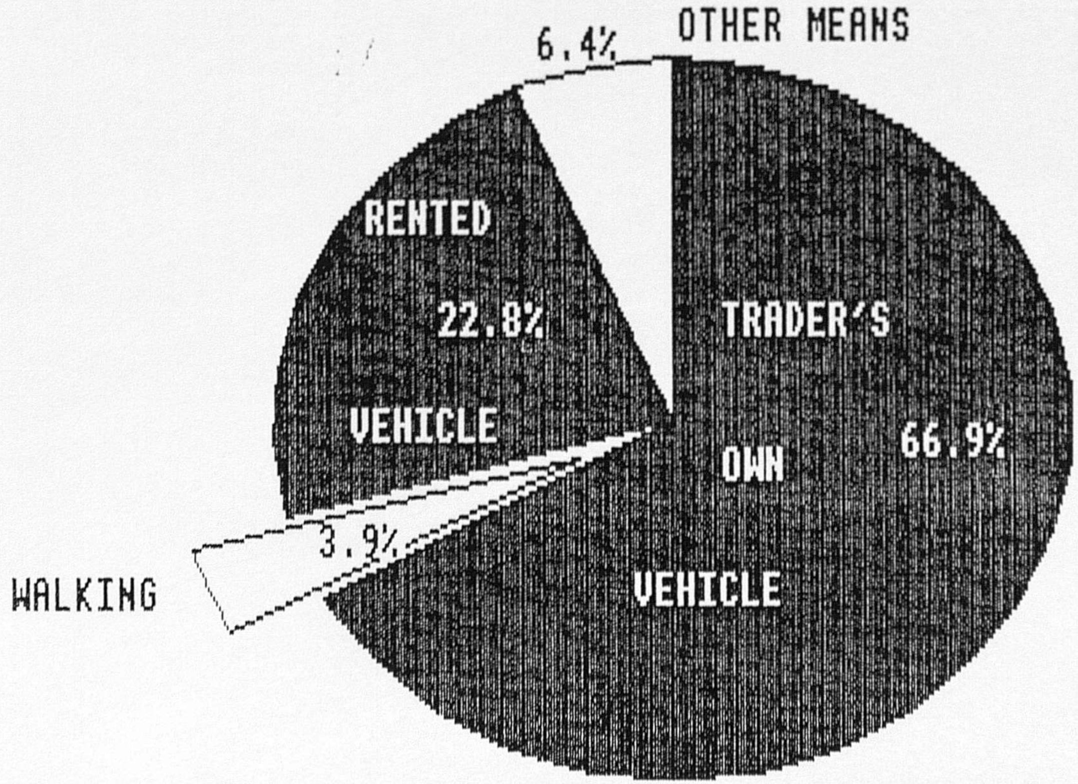


FIG. 8.10 MEANS OF TRANSPORT USED BY MOBILE TRADERS TO GET TO THE MARKET.

sharing a vehicle, often a large truck, did so because they only sell occasionally in the market and it is often traditional for traders to travel together, with one possibly selling and the other buying at the same market. A trader who only sells occasionally would find out before the market day if any one was interested in going to the same market and if they would want to share a vehicle. The vehicle and its owner would then be hired to take the traders to the market and would wait until they had completed their business. In some places, like Wadi Beedah for example at the time of the fruit harvest, it is common for people to rent vehicles to travel to the market in groups. These groups vary in size according to the amount of fruit to be marketed and also according to the size of the vehicle to be shared. A group would have an agreement to pay the owner of the vehicle on the basis of the markets to be visited and the amount of produce to be carried. The cost would usually be fixed on the basis of the number of containers to be carried, the distance to be travelled, and the time taken.

A few traders come to market on foot but the writer found only 22 of these (or 4 per cent of the total) in his survey. Most of them came only a short distance and carry only a small quantity of goods, such as a basket of fruit or herded a small number of sheep and goats. Those who came further would often seek a ride on their way to market if they had no vehicle of their own.

8.10 The Number of Markets Visited by Mobile Traders and the Pattern of movements

The overriding impression from Table 8.10 is that about 76 per cent of traders visit either one and two markets a week and are therefore not operating more than a very simple pattern of home-market-home movements. The reason for this is that most of the mobile traders in Al-Baha region are engaged in other activities like farming or grazing so that most of them only trade part-time to gain a supplementary income. Most of the traders who trade at more than two markets are usually selling fruit or sheep and goats for which there is a more regular demand during the harvest season or the Pilgrimage period. In other cases many goods are best supplied by permanent fixed traders so that there is no need for mobile traders to visit many markets to sell goods that are now available every day at those market centres.

44 per cent of the mobile traders visited two markets and the majority (56 per cent of them) sold sheep and goats. Many of the remainder sold watermelons, fresh dates, fruit and vegetables. Traders who visited only one market formed 32 per cent of the total. 39 per cent of this group sold sheep and goats, while 24 per cent of them sold fruit and vegetables.

In Al-Baha town market most of the traders were found to visit two markets, while in Baljurashi most of them visit

Table 8.10 Number of Markets visited by Mobile Traders.

Markets	Traders	One	%	Two	%	Three	%	Four	%	Five	%
Sarah Markets			%		%		%		%		%
Al-Baha	125	35	28.0	75	60.0	11	8.8	1	0.8	3	2.4
Baljurashi	82	51	62.2	12	14.6	13	15.9	3	3.7	3	3.7
Al-Atawlah	5o	15	30.0	14	28.0	17	34.0	4	8.0		
Al-Aqiq	48	9	18.8	23	47.9	16	33.3				
Al-Mandaq	41	6	14.6	17	41.5	12	29.3	4	9.8	2	4.9
Doss	14	9	64.3	5	35.7						
Barahrah	12	3	25.0	6	50.0	3	25.0				
As-Sagarah	9	6	66.7	3	33.3						
Tot. Sarah	381	134	35.2	155	40.7	72	18.9	12	3.1	8	2.1
Tihama Markets											
Al-Muhkwah	86	12	14.0	38	44.2	26	30.2	8	9.3	2	2.3
Gilwah	32	15	46.9	17	53.1	--	--	--	--	--	--
Ash-Shara	20	5	25.0	14	70.0	1	5.0	---	---	---	---
Al-Hajrah	16	6	37.5	10	62.5	---	---	---	---	--	---
Tot. Tihama	154	38	24.7	79	51.3	27	17.5	8	5.2	2	1.3
Total Sarah &Tihama	535	172	32.1	234	43.7	99	18.5	20	3.7	10	1.9

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

only the one. As was mentioned above, traders who sell fruit especially fresh dates, pomegranates and watermelons usually visit two markets, normally Al-Baha and Baljurashi. These markets are more attractive to the customers because they can make multi-purpose visits to them. Traders therefore enjoy a good level of trade there.

99 traders (19 per cent) visit three markets and most of them (51.5 per cent) sold sheep and goats. Only a few traders visit more than four markets. It was clear from interviews with the traders that moving between more than four markets was possible only in the summer time which is the busiest period for the periodic markets anyway. It is clear, then, from the movement of the traders that the periodic markets in Al-Baha region have started to move away from a clear periodicity of activity for traders, if it ever existed. This is especially the case at Al-Baha and Baljurashi markets where market sellers increasingly treat them as daily markets. Fixed shops are also becoming more important in the markets for daily sales.

In the light of the number of markets visited by mobile traders outlined above, it is possible to investigate the pattern of movements adopted by mobile traders in Al-Baha a little further. In Chapter One the concept of the market ring was introduced as the pattern of movements a trader might follow from one market to another over a period of days without returning home. Several scholars have studied the ring system of periodic markets. McKim in 1972 studied the movement of traders in northern Ghana and demonstrated that there were different patterns to the traders' movements. C.A. Smith (1974), Singh (1965), Good (1975) and Alao (1968) have also investigated market rings in different countries.

Where several markets operate on different days of the week within travel distance of each other, it is recognised that traders have more opportunity to visit markets in the form of a circuit. But the published studies also show that there are always many traders who move from their home to a market nearby daily rather than operate in a ring. In fact, this is the situation for most traders in Al-Baha. They often visit markets directly from their home rather than work a ring around the region. These patterns of home-market-home movements are varied and some traders might visit some markets regularly or change their pattern of movement from time to time. But they usually go to each market directly from their home.

It was therefore not surprising to find in the interviews that different patterns of movement were adopted by mobile traders. Some traders said they visit only one market, whilst others visit two, three, four or even five markets on a regular basis.

Figure 8.11 tries to portray some examples of the trader movements commonly found in Al-Baha but few of these are identical because every trader might adopt a different pattern. Five common pattterns have been identified, all based on traders returning daily to their home. These are based on the number of markets visited by mobile traders. Twenty different movement patterns adopted by traders visiting two markets were identified. These patterns differ not only because of the different markets visited but also in the number of traders involved. For example, the pattern based on Al-Baha and Baljurashi markets was adopted by 70 traders. The Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah pattern involves twenty traders, while only one trader visited Al-Mandaq and Al-Baha. Traders who visited three markets adopted nineteen different movements and they also differ in the number of traders involved. The Al-Aqiq -Baljurash- Al-Baha ring was adopted by fifteen traders. The AlMukhwah-Al-Goaz-Kyadh ring involved twelve traders, while the Al-Mandaq-Barahrah-Al-Grea ring was adopted by only one trader. Traders who visited four markets adopted eleven different rings, while traders who visited five markets adopted eight different rings. Most of these various patterns involve one trader only. Details of the markets involved in these rings are provided in Appendix(5).

8.11 Former Occupations of the Mobile Traders

Some confirmation of why the patterns of trader movements are simple was obtained by asking traders their former or

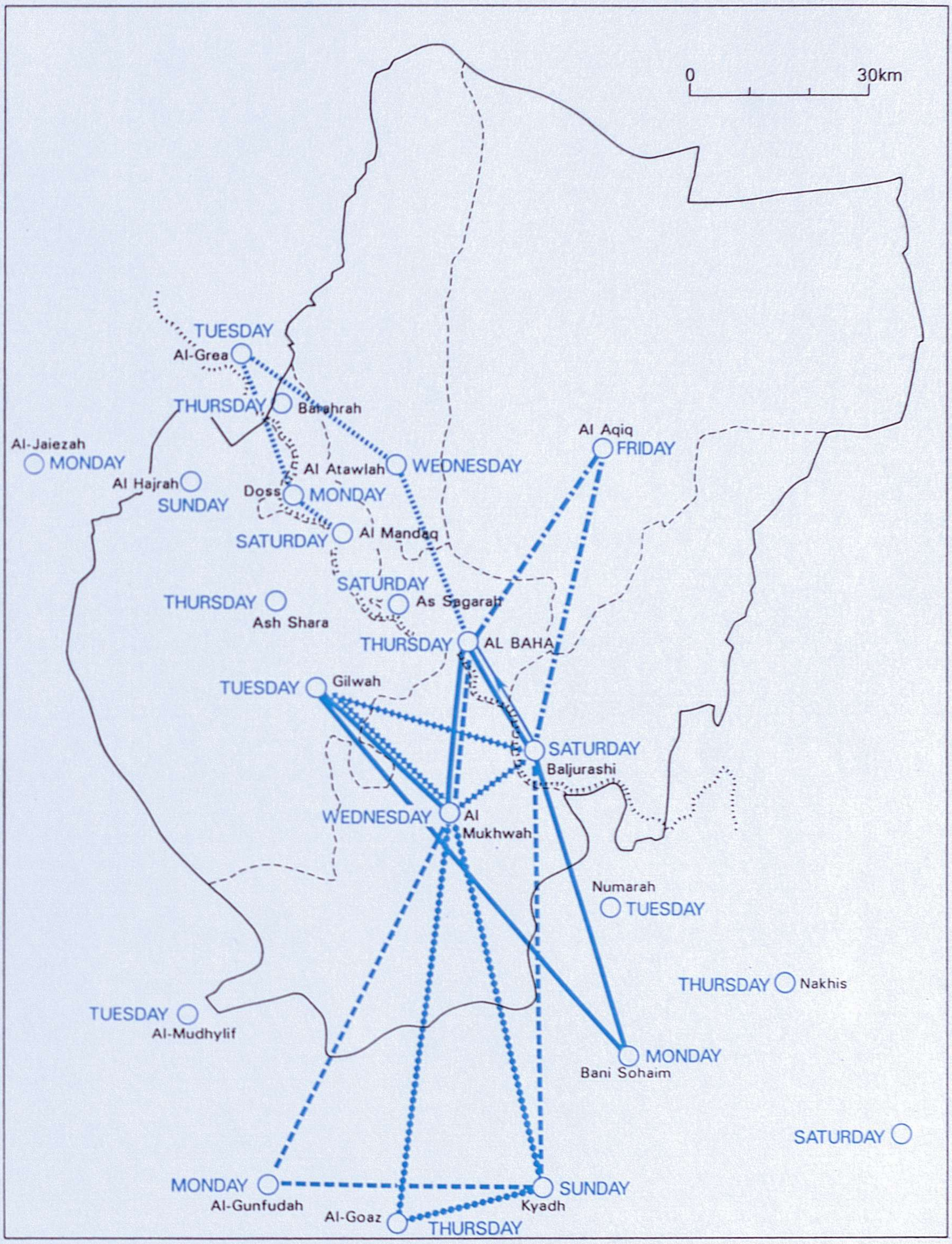


Figure 8.11 Examples of traders' movements adopted by some mobile traders in Al-Baha in 1987

related occupation. Mobile traders were asked about their former or other occupations. These were classified into seven categories: fixed trader, trading combined with other activity, farmer,herder, government official, private sector work and other work. It was found that 382 traders (71.4 per cent) were farmers, while 71 traders (13.3 per cent) were herders. In many cases the respondents still practice that occupation and combine it with selling their surpluses or produce something specially to sell in the periodic markets. A much smaller number of traders - 39 - used to work at a variety of other jobs before becoming traders. Traders who were drivers formed 25 of the total and because they own their own vehicles they found it easy to move from one market to another to conduct their trade.

8.12 Trade Activity of Mobile Traders in Their Villages

Mobile traders in the different markets were asked whether they conducted any kind of trade activity in their home village. The responses are classified in Table 8.11 as follows: do not trade in home village, sell sheep, sell groceries, sell dried dates, or act as a blacksmith. It is clear from analysing the results that most of the mobile traders (77.4 per cent) were not involved in any other trade except at the periodic markets. Another 13.6 per cent sold sheep in their own villages. This low rate of trade in their home villages, except for sheep sales, is not surprising because most traders would find little trading opportunities in their villages since people expect to go to market to buy

Table 8.11 Trade of Mobile Traders in their Villages

Markets	Traders	None	%	Sheep+Goats	%	Grocery	%	Dried Dates	%	Blacksmith	%
Sarah Markets											
Al-Baha	125	108	86.4	14	11.2	1	0.8	---	---	2	1.6
Baljurashi	82	67	81.7	4	4.9	3	3.7	5	6.1	3	3.7
Al-Atawlah	50	37	74.0	13	26.0	---	---	---	---	---	---
Al-Aqiq	48	37	77.1	10	20.8	---	---	1	2.1	---	---
Al-Mandaq	41	17	41.5	15	39.0	4	9.8	4	9.8	1	2.4
Doss	14	13	92.9	1	7.1	---	---	---	---	---	---
Barahrah	12	7	58.3	3	25.0	2	16.7	---	---	--	---
As-Sagarah	9	5	55.6	---	---	4	44.4	---	---	---	---
Total	381	291	76.4	60	15.7	14	9.1	10	6.5	5	3.2
Tihama markets											
Al-Muhkwah	86	69	80.2	6	7.0	9	10.5	2	2.3	---	---
Gilwaha	32	27	84.4	2	6.3	3	9.4	---	---	---	---
Ash-Shara	20	15	75.0	3	15.0	---	---	2	10.0	---	---
Al-Hajrah	16	12	75.0	2	12.5	2	12.5	---	---	---	---
TOtal	154	123	79.9	13	8.4	14	9.1	4	2.6	---	---
Total Sarah &Tihama	535	414	77.4	73	13.6	28	3.4	14	2.6	5	.9

Source: Fieldwork 1987

their needs. Some reported sheep sales in their villages because the raising and preparation of sheep for sale is common in all Al-Baha villages and throughout Saudi Arabia in general. Al-Baha people have traditionally raised sheep and goats mainly for their own consumption or to trade them in Makkah. As some farmers abandoned raising sheep and goats, at a time of increasing demand, the trade in sheep in the periodic markets flourished. In addition, the government subsidy for grazing animals encouraged some people in Al-Baha to concentrate on sheep raising and selling. Table 8.11 shows that more mobile traders in the Sarah are more involved in sheep sales in their villages than those in the Tihama. The reason for this difference lies partly in the relatively large number of people in the Tihama who still raise their own sheep and goats on a small scale, and do not therefore need to buy. In the Sarah animal raising has been concentrated in fewer places such as Wadi Beedah, Al-Qara, and in villages south of Baljurashi and around Al-Mandaq, as well as in the nomadic areas. Figure 8.12 shows the main animal raising areas in relation to the periodic markets and shows how sheep raising in the Sarah has tended to concentrate in and outside certain remote villages.

A few mobile traders reported having a small grocery shop in their villages where they supply daily needs such as sugar, rice, salt, biscuits, sweets, and even frozen chicken and cool beverages where an electricity supply permits. These groceries were generally open daily and are

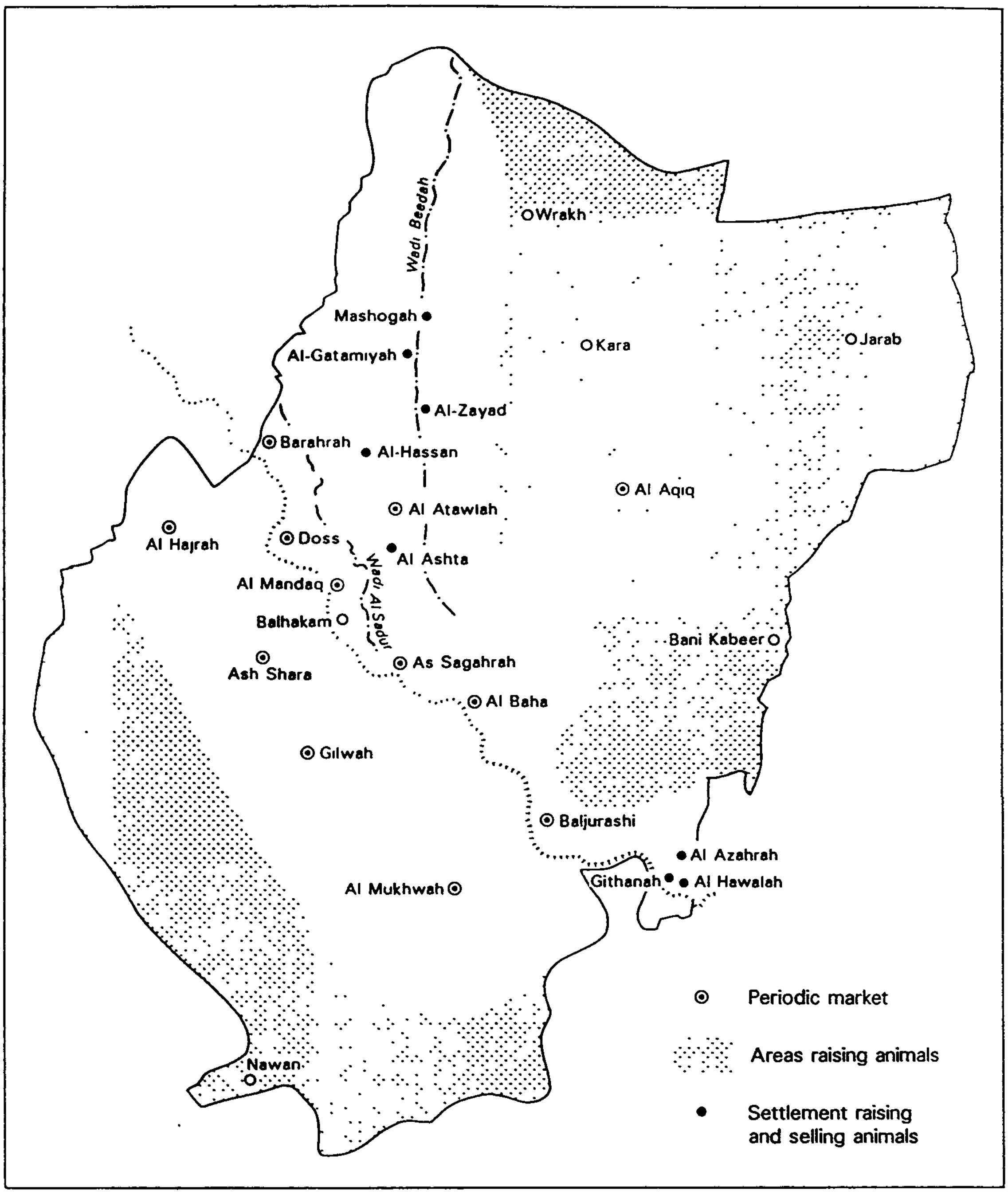


Figure 8.12 Animal raising areas in Al-Baha

run by relatives when the owner is at the periodic market. A few mobile traders (2.6 per cent) reported that they sold dried dates in their own villages. Most of these sales are from their homes on an occasional basis.

8.13 Changes Occurring at the Markets

The markets of Al-Baha are changing, with some in decline and others becoming daily markets. The parallel move towards more fixed trading will be considered in the next chapter. But Table 8.12 illustrates how the mobile traders display their goods at the market sites as another illustration of changes happening. In the traditional way traders used to come to market and spread a carpet on the ground on which to display their goods. All sales would take place in the open air, with the trader sitting on the ground by his goods. In recent years all of this has started to change. Concrete buildings, including several shops, have swallowed the space once reserved for periodic market sellers. With the market place now overcrowded on market day many traders are forced to sit in scattered groups in front of the fixed shops, alongside the streets, and sometimes in the car parks. Figure 8.13 shows the changes which came over the layout of Al-Baha periodic market between 1970 to 1987 as an example of this. A considerable number of shops have been erected and the old periodic market area has become car-parking. The market sellers have been pushed into small areas on the edge of the old market. The cattle and sheep market even moved three km. outside Al-Baha town. Thus, it

Table 8.12 The Ways of Displaying the Commodities at Market Sites.

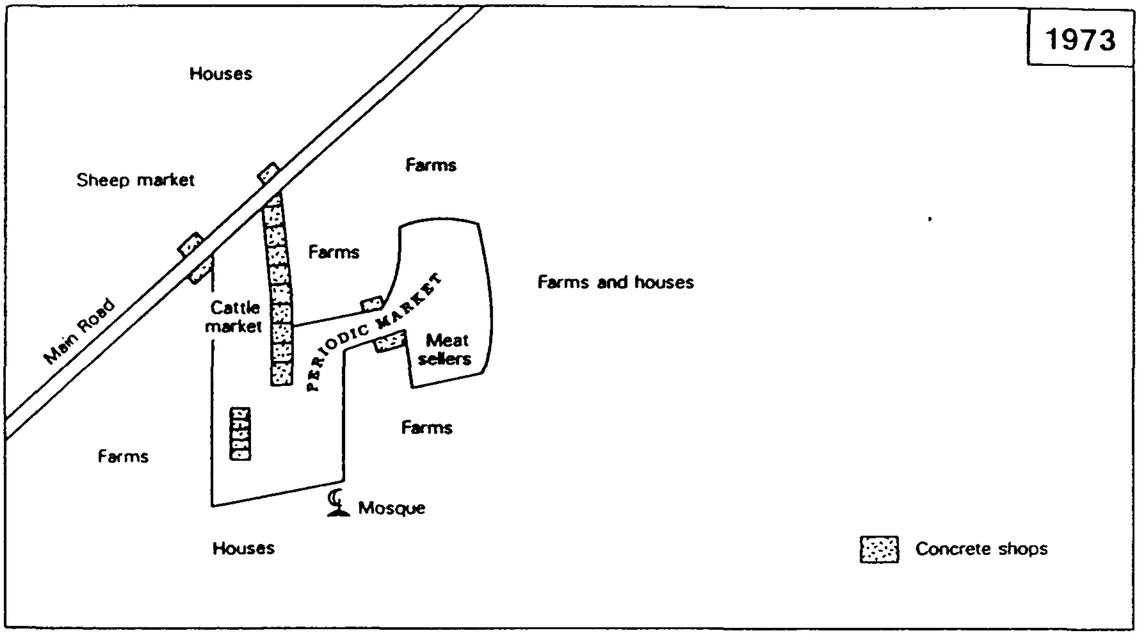
Markets	Traders	In open Air	%	On his Own Vehicle	%
Tot. Sarah	381	292	76.6	89	23.4
Tot. Tihama	154	137	89.0	17	11.0
Tot. Sarah and Tihama	535	429	80.2	106	19.8

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

Table 8.13 Reasons for Mobile traders not being Fixed Traders.

Markets	Traders	Something else to do	%	Do not want to	%	High rental and difficult to find shop for rent	%
Total Sarah	381	308	80.8	43	11.3	30	7.9
Total Tihama	154	107	69.5	19	12.3	28	18.2
Total Sarah and Tihama	535	415	77.6	62	11.6	58	10.8

Source: Fieldwork 1987.



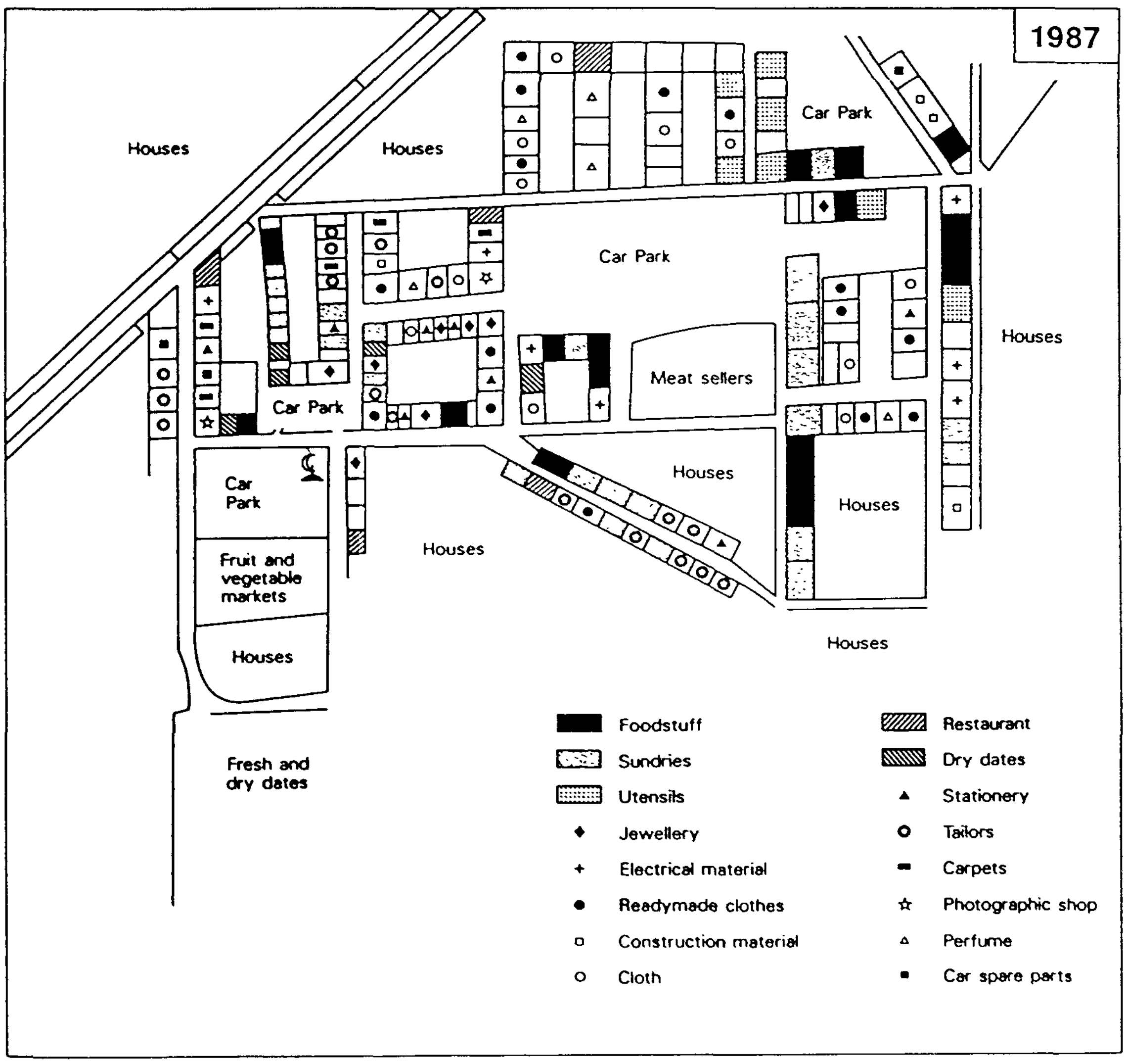


Figure 8.13 Al-Baha Market in 1973 and in 1987

has become very difficult for some mobile traders to find a suitable place to display their goods. While the changes at Al-Baha periodic market can be generalised for other periodic markets in the region, the smallest markets especially in the Tihama have been less affected.

The writer found that 429 (80.2 per cent) of the mobile traders still displayed their goods on the ground. They usually lay out their commodities on a small blanket, and protect themselves and their goods from the sun by hanging a small piece of cloth on four thin sticks (Plate 8.1.). In some cases, traders display their goods on a box or on the back of their vehicles (Plate 8.2). Selling from vehicles was often a characteristic of the traders selling fruit, fresh dates and animal feed in the confined space of Al-Muhkwah, Baljurashi and Al-Baha markets. In Al-Aqiq market there is no shortage of space to force this method, although it is adopted by some to save time and effort in loading and unloading sheep and to avoid animals with different ownership getting mixed.

Mobile traders were also asked about their reasons for continuing to trade in the traditional way rather than become fixed traders. Table 8.13 presents their responses. It is clear that many of these traders are only selling on a part-time basis and they would not consider fixed trading. They have another income source, generally in farming. There

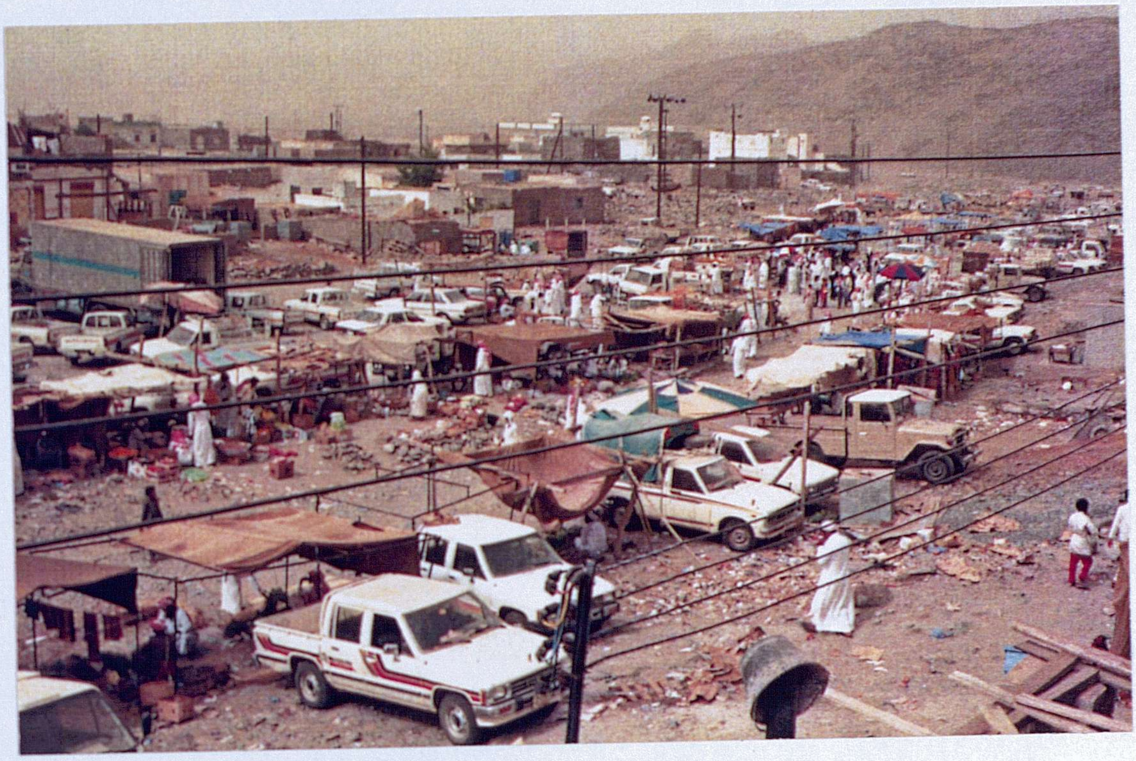


Plate 8.1 Traders in Al-Mukhwah market displaying their goods on the ground

Plate 8.2 Traders in Al-Baha market displaying their goods on the backs of their vehicles

were 415 (77.6 per cent) in this category across the whole region total.

Many of them only engage in trade occasionally because they had some products at harvest time surplus to their needs which can be sold in the periodic markets. Others raising sheep and goats or looking after a farm would not have the time or inclination to look after a fixed shop. A small number of mobile traders had considered fixed trading but the difficulties of finding a fixed shop where the traders would want to work and the high rental charged in centres like Al-Baha, Baljurashi and Al-Mukhwah were seen by some as preventing them from becoming fixed traders. For example, a quarter of mobile traders at Al-Mukhwah said it would be very difficult to find a fixed shop, or, even if they found it, it would be expensive to rent.

Mobile traders were also asked about their future plans, in particular whether they wanted to continue to be mobile traders or to become fixed traders. The results in Table 8.14 show that the majority wished to continue as mobile traders, alhough doing other things as well. These traders accept that since they sell sheep and goats or local fruit and vegetables, they must expect to remain mobile because mobility is the most suitable way for them to sell their goods.

Table 8.14 Future Plans of the Mobile Traders in Al-Baha Region.

Markets	Traders	Continue as Mobile	%	Do not Know	%	Try to be Fixed	%	Change Goods	%	Markets	%
Total Sarah	381	239	62.7	105	27.6	22	5.8	10	2.6	5	1.3
Total Tihama	154	100	64.9	31	20.1	23	14.9	----	---	-----	---
Total Sarah and Tihama	535	339	63.4	136	25.4	45	8.4	10	1.9	5	0.9

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

A large minority (25.4 per cent) said they did not know what they were going to do in the future. Some claimed that they were getting too old to continue to trade in this way, while some want to sell on a larger scale from a fixed shop. Some of those believed they would get more benefit as fixed traders with less effort. A few traders (2 per cent) said they want to change the type of goods they sold but to continue as mobile traders.

These are the main characteristics of the mobile traders. The next chapter will deal with the fixed traders in the same twelve markets.

CHAPTER NINE

THE FIXED TRADERS

9.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter the characteristics of the mobile traders, the major participants in the periodic markets, were discussed. In this chapter the fixed traders will be studied on the basis of an analysis of the data collected on them during the fieldwork.

The term 'fixed trader' indicates any trader who has a fixed shop selling any kind of commodity within, or on the edge of, a market area. Roadside shops and other stores well away from the market areas were not included in the survey. The fixed trader might open daily or only on particular days in the week.

A total of 420 fixed traders were interviewed in twelve of markets of the region. Only a sample was drawn from the fixed traders in Baljurashi and Al-Baha town markets, but all the fixed traders in the other ten markets were interviewed. It seemed reasonable to take samples at Al-Baha and Baljurashi because each contains more than 300 traders and it would have been difficult and unnecessary to interview all of them. Several problems were encountered when drawing a random sample of these traders. A survey was first made of all the fixed traders in Al-Baha and Baljurashi to find out the distribution of the sellers around the markets and the range of goods sold. Because the shops spread out in several directions from the market area it was decided to take a 30 per cent sample from the traders in the central area of these markets and to freely sample the other fixed shops on the main roads or streets which lead into the main market. A second problem resulted from the great variety in the distribution of shops selling particular commodities in these two markets. On the basis of other descriptions of the distribution of shops in Middle Eastern towns, and the situation seen in other Saudi towns such as Taif, the writer expected to find, for instance, clothes traders adjacent to each other and a similar grouping for other commodity traders. In Al-Baha and Baljurashi, by contrast, the particular types of shops were much more dispersed. The third problem of interviewing these traders was that most of the shop owners were absent from their shops, which were run instead by foreigners, who would not always answer many of the questions. This meant that the writer spent a considerable amount of time going to a shop, finding that the owner was absent, then telephoning to arrange an appointment with him. Sometimes the owner was never traced and an interview was not possible. This meant that some types of fixed traders selling particular kinds of goods are not as well represented in the sample as would be ideal.

The interviews were used to provide basic information from fixed traders about several aspects of their trading. They were asked whether they were originally from inside Al-Baha region or outside, and whether they were from the market settlement where they were being interviewed. Data on their number of years of experience as a fixed trader was obtained to indicate how long fixed trading has been developing. In addition, the type of goods sold was investigated, together with the main sources from which the fixed traders obtained them. Information about transport means, the shops' tenure (e.g rented or owned) and the location of storage facilities was collected. In addition, information was obtained on the number of days on which the shops opened per week, the number of hours open per day, the number of employees used in the shop, and whether they were relatives or paid employees. The future plans of the fixed traders, as well as their observations and suggestions about the future of the periodic markets and similar matters were taken into account.

9.2 Distribution of Fixed traders

Because fixed traders were found in all twelve periodic markets, in both the Tihama and the Sarah, the general distribution is the same as that of the periodic, or mobile, traders. However the size of markets as measured by the number of fixed traders differed somewhat from that shown by the number of periodic traders.

In general, the number of fixed traders at markets is related to the population size of the market settlement in the Sarah and Tihama. Two markets in the Tihama, namely Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah, had many more fixed traders than the other two Tihama markets. In fact, Al-Mukhwah market is the third largest for fixed traders, as well as for mobile traders in the entire region after Baljurashi and Al-Baha, while Gilwah comes fifth for fixed traders but sixth for the mobile traders.

It seems that the older markets have attracted more fixed traders because they gained a reputation as commercial centres. This led the government to establish government facilities like sub-emirate and municipality offices in these old market places. The establishment of these services strengthened the position of the old market centres as employment places and led fixed traders to set up there to meet the demand of people who work in the government services and of those who came to the centres to use these services. These people need traders to be open every day, not just once a week on market day. Thus, Baljurashi and Al-Baha have more government and other facilities, as former and present seats of the Province. These two towns also have larger populations in and adjacent to their markets to support more traders. Al-Mukhwah, Al-Mandaq and Gilwah markets have also attracted greater number of fixed traders as the more important settlements in the region with some municipality and agricultural offices to help strengthen their positions as centres for their districts.

On the other hand, there were only five fixed traders in Doss market and the same number in Al-Hajrah market. In the case of Doss, it is a recent market and these shops provide the daily needs for the closest villages on a small scale, while buyers could obtain higher order goods from Al-Mandaq market, 15 km. to the south. Because it is only a small market, it does not attract many mobile traders either. There were only fourteen, in fact. Al-Hajrah, by contrast, was once a great market but people started to move from the settlement because there is not enough room for more houses. A project was started there to build fixed shops which, it was hoped, would attract traders to move in. But it is doubtful if there will be a great increase in the number of fixed shops since Al-Hajrah was connected by road recently with Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah which have a large variety of goods and facilities likely to attract people from the Al-Hajrah area. There were only sixteen mobile traders and five fixed traders operating in this market when the fieldwork was conducted in 1987.

9.3 Origin of Fixed Traders

The questionnaire returns showed that all the fixed traders in the twelve markets came from Al-Baha region. The absence of outside traders probably is due to the fact that the amount of trade was not sufficient to encourage them to come in and compete with local traders who would know the local marketing opportunities better. Another reason for the lack of outside people acting as shopkeepers at the market centres is that Al-Baha people were until recently reluctant to sell any of their land to outsiders who could not, therefore, open shops. Most people, apart from some in places like Al-Baha, Baljurashi, Al-Mukhwah, Gilwah, and

Al-Mandaq are still reluctant to sell any of their land at all. However, in these places as their market potential has risen, some people have been prepared to sell land. Local people might also be more prepared to take the risk of going into trading than outsiders because they would already own houses in the same places as their shops, whereas outsiders would have to rent or buy a house and shop, making trading a more expensive proposition for them.

A glance at Table 9.1 indicates that 55 per cent of the fixed traders were originally from outside the market settlements where they were established and had been attracted to set up shops there because of the greater trade they expected in these places. It should be noted, however, that the two large market centres of Baljurashi and Al-Baha town did not attract a much greater proportion of fixed traders from a distance as one might have expected. In Baljurashi 53 out of 99 (54 per cent) traders were originally from Baljurashi, although only 26 out of 69 (38 per cent) at Al-Baha were from that market town. The relatively high proportion of traders in Baljurashi who came from Baljurashi might be due to its position as an old market centre and the existence there, in consequence, of more experienced traders. This was suggested to the writer by the traders during the fieldwork. In contrast, Al-Baha market was, until the beginning of the 1970s, in strong competition with Raghdan market, about 2 km. to the north. Interviews with old people in Raghdan revealed that, until the beginning of the 1970s, there were almost as many fixed

Table 9.1 The Origin of Fixed Traders

Markets	Traders	Market Settlement	%	Elsewhere Inside Al-Baha	%	
Sarah Markets						
Baljurashi	99	53	53.5	46	46.5	*
Al-Baha	69	26	37.7	43	62.3	*
Al-Mandaq	48	31	64.6	17	35.4	
Al-Aqiq	30	16	53.3	14	46.7	
Barahrah	22	----	---	22	100	
Al-Atawlah	22	12	54.5	10	45.5	
As-Sagarah	11	7	63.6	4	36.4	
Doss	5	3	60.0	2	40.0	
Total Sarah	306	148	48.4	158	51.6	
Tihama Markets						
Al-Mukhwah	58	17	29.3	41	70.7	
Gilwah	40	19	47.5	21	52.5	
Ash-Shara	11	----	----	11	100	
Al-Hajrah	5	5	100	---	----	
Total Tihama	114	41	36.0	73	64.0	
Sarah and Tihama	420	189	45.0	231	55.0	

Source: Fieldwork 1987.
* 30% sample

shops there as in Al-Baha. When Raghdan market closed, the number of fixed shops also declined and some of these moved to the new main road which passes to the east of the village. Others re-established themselves at Al-Baha market.

Nearly all of the other markets in the Sarah, at Al-Mandaq, Al-Aqiq, Al-Atawlah, As-Sagarah and Doss, had more traders who originated from the place itself than came from outside. This is not surprising because one would expect local people to recognise the trading opportunities available locally. In addition, local people have a greater incentive to set up in trading since they may own land at the market site or have a better chance of renting from people who own a building containing several shops. In fact, interviews with traders in the markets showed that people who have fixed shops to rent prefer to rent them to people from the same village, sometimes because they are related or because they are friends.

There was one exception to this pattern. All the 22 fixed traders at Barahrah came from outside the settlement. This is because Barahrah was, before 1980, only a market site with no adjacent houses. In fact, the name Barahrah refers to a broad area which includes several villages. Government offices were first established there at the beginning of the 1970s. Traders obviously had to come from the villages around to sell and some people moved in from adjacent villages to build their houses and shops on the edge of the market place.

Table 9.1 shows that the pattern of shops in the Tihama market is a little different from the Sarah, with the majority of traders from outside the market settlements. Of the 114 traders in these four markets, 73 (64 per cent) were from outside the settlements where they traded. At Al-Mukhwah, for example, 41 out of 58 fixed traders were from outside. This is due to the fact that Al-Mukhwah developed as the Bani Omar tribal market. Because the Bani Omar tribe divides into two sub-tribes (Bani Omar Al-Ali and Bani Omar Al- Ashaiep) Al-Mukhwah was a social, as well as an economic centre for a large area and attracted traders from many places. Some traders have even come from Baljurashi. On the other hand, the five fixed traders at Al-Hajrah market came from Al-Hajrah. All traders there originally came from south Yemen more than 200 years ago.

Interviews with the fixed traders revealed that those who said they originated from outside the market settlements had usually come from villages not far from the market settlements. Most of them at any one market were from one particular village. For example, most of the traders at Al-Baha market originated from outside the settlement and came from Al-Jadiayh village which is 5 km. north of Al-Baha. At Al-Atawlah market many of the fixed traders came from Bani Mohomed village lying 2 km. away. However, in recent years, as a result of improved access to the markets, especially the larger markets such as Al-Baha, Baljurashi and Al-Mukhwah, traders have started to come from much greater distances.

9.4 Types of Goods Sold by Fixed Traders

Fixed traders were asked about the types of goods sold in their shops. These were classified into 20 categories and are listed in Tables 9.2 and 9.3 and illustrated in Figure 9.1. The most common group of traders sold a wide range of items and, therefore, can be called sundries' traders. 22.4 per cent of all traders were in sundries. The sundries sold include items such as rice, grain, flour, coffee, dried dates, sugar, fruit, sweets, biscuits, perfume, beverages, salt, ready-made clothes and tailored clothes, shoes, needles, small electrical items, and frozen chicken. Sundries' sellers were most obvious in the smaller markets such as Barahrah, Al-Atawlah, Doss, and As-Sagarah in the Sarah, as well as Ash-Shara and Al-Hajrah in the Tihama. This is to be expected because the traders in these small markets need to diversify their goods in order to stay in business. Sundries' sellers were also found in the markets which had more fixed traders like Al-Baha, Baljurashi and Al-Mukhwah, but were proportionally less common than in the small markets because there is more opportunity to specialise in the larger markets. Seventeen sundries' traders were interviewed in Baljurashi and Al-Baha but these were under 10 per cent of the fixed traders interviewed there.

The single most important item sold by fixed traders in

Table 9.2 Types of Goods Sold by Fixed Traders

Markets	Traders	Food-stuffs	%	Fruit & Vegetables	%	Fresh Meat	%	Dried Dates	%	Sundries	%	Ready-Made Clthes & Cloth	%	Ready-Made Clothes	%	Cloth	%	Shoes	%
Sarah Markets																			
Baljurashi *	99	10	10.1	15	15.2	5	5.1	4	4.0	9	9.1	11	11.1	8	8.1	5	5.1	3	3.0
Al-Baha *	69	13	18.8	5	7.2	2	2.9	---	---	8	11.6	9	13.0	3	3.4	3	4.3	2	2.9
Al-Mandaq	48	3	6.3	4	8.3	3	6.3	1	2.1	9	18.8	4	8.3	2	4.2	---	---	---	---
Al-Aqiq	30	4	13.3	2	6.7	---	---	---	---	8	26.7	3	10.0	---	---	---	---	2	6.7
Barahrah	22	3	13.6	---	---	---	---	---	---	9	40.9	2	9.1	---	---	---	---	---	---
Al-Atawlah	22	3	13.6	2	9.1	---	---	---	---	11	50.0	3	13.6	1	4.5	---	---	---	---
As-Sagarah	11	2	18.2	---	---	---	---	---	---	4	36.4	1	9.1	---	---	---	---	---	---
Doss	5	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	4	80.0	1	20.0	---	---	---	---	---	---
Tot.Sarah	306	38	12.4	28	9.2	10	3.3	5	1.6	62	20.3	34	11.1	14	4.6	8	2.6	7	2.3
Tihama Markets																			
Al-Mukhwah	58	6	10.3	2	3.4	1	1.7	---	---	10	17.2	10	17.2	2	3.4	3	5.2	1	1.7
Gilwah	40	5	12.5	2	5.0	--	---	---	---	12	30.0	5	12.5	2	5.0	---	---	---	---
Ash-Shara	11	----	---	---	---	--	---	1	9.1	7	63.6	---	---	----	---	---	---	- --	---
Al-Hajrah	5	1	20.0	---	---	--	---	1	20.0	3	60.0	---	---	---	---	---	---	- --	---
Tihama	114	12	10.5	4	3.5	1	0.9	2	1.6	32	28.1	15	13.2	4	3.5	3	2.6	1	0.9
Sarah and Tihama	420	50	11.9	32	7.6	11	2.6	7	1.7	94	22.4	49	11.7	18	4.3	11	2.6	8	1.9

Source: Fieldwork 1987.
* 30% sample

Table 9.3 Types of Goods sold by Fixed Traders

Markets	Traders	Electric Materials	%	Record Goods	%	Potogra-Phic Goods	%	Building Materials	%	Carpets	%	Houshold Utensils	%	Perfume	%	Jewellery	%	Station-ery and Books	%	Farm Materials	%	Car Spare-Parts	%
Sarah Markets			%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%
Baljurashi	99	3	3.0	---	---	---	---	4	4.0	3	3.0	4	4.0	3	3.0	6	6.1	3	3.0	---	---	3	3.0 ‡
Al-Baha	69	8	11.6	---	---	1	1.4	3	4.3	1	1.4	3	3.4	1	1.4	3	4.3	3	3.4	---	---	1	1.4 ‡
Al-Mandaq	48	2	4.2	1	2.1	1	2.1	3	6.3	3	6.3	3	6.3	---	---	---	---	3	6.3	1	2.1	5	10.4
Al-Aqiq	30	1	3.3	---	---	---	---	2	6.7	---	---	1	3.3	---	---	1	3.3	1	3.3	2	6.7	3	10.0
Barahrah	22	1	4.5	1	4.5	1	4.5	1	4.5	---	---	2	9.1	---	---	---	---	2	9.1	---	---	---	---
Al-Atawlah	22	---	---	--	---	---	---	1	4.5	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	4.5	---	---	---	---
As-Sagarah	11	2	18.2	---	---	---	---	2	18.2	----	---	---	---	---	--	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Doss	5	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Tot. Sarah	306	17	5.6	2	0.7	3	1.0	16	5.2	7	2.3	13	4.2	4	1.3	10	3.3	13	4.2	3	1.0	12	3.9
Tihama Markets																							
Al-Mukhwah	58	3	5.2	2	3.4	2	3.4	2	3.4	1	1.7	3	5.2	3	5.2	2	3.4	2	3.4	1	1.7	2	3.4
Gilwah	40	2	5.0	1	2.5	1	2.5	2	5.0	---	---	2	5.0	---	--	1	2.5	---	---	1	2.5	4	10.0
Ash-Shara	11	---	---	1	9.1	1	9.1	---	---	---	---	1	9.1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----
Al-Hajrah	5	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----
Tot. Tihama	114	5	4.4	4	3.5	4	3.5	4	3.5	1	0.9	6	5.3	3	2.6	3	2.6	2	1.8	2	1.6	6	5.3
Tot. Sarah and Tihama	420	22	5.2	6	1.4	7	1.7	20	4.8	8	1.9	19	4.5	7	1.7	13	3.1	15	3.6	5	1.2	18	4.3

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

‡ 30% sample

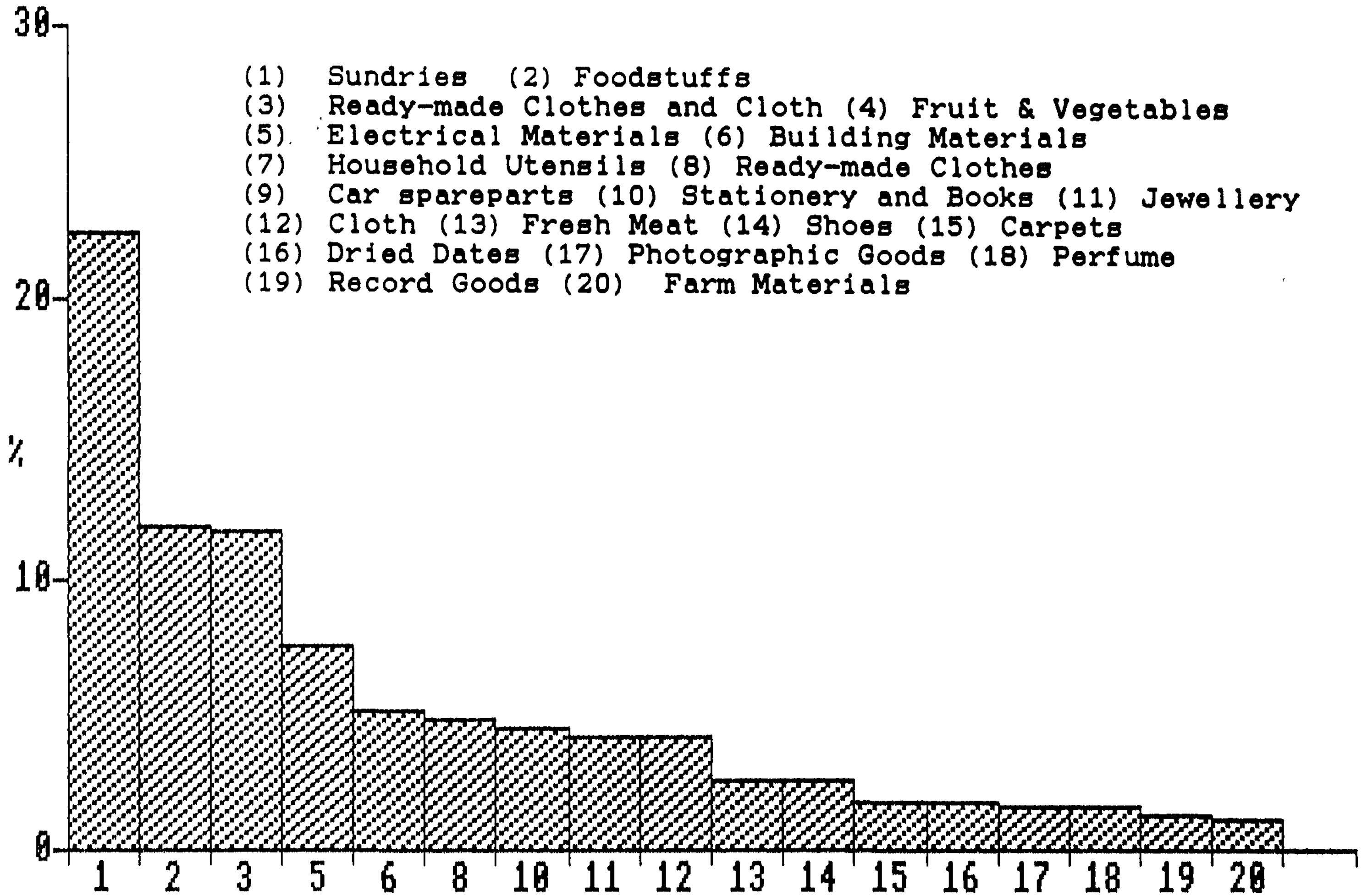


FIG. 9.1 TYPES OF GOODS SOLD BY FIXED TRADERS.

terms of the number of traders involved was foodstuffs. 50 of the 420 fixed traders sold foodstuffs. However, Table 9.2 shows that traders offering foodstuffs were only found in ten markets. Two markets, Doss in the Sarah and Ash-Shara in the Tihama, had no food sellers, though some of the sundries' sellers in these markets sold some food. Traders selling only food would be less likely to survive in those small markets. On the other hand, in markets like Al-Baha and Baljurashi, more than 10 per cent of the fixed traders sell foodstuffs. No less than 18 per cent of the fixed traders interviewed in Baljurashi specialised in food reflecting the considerable demand for foodstuff sales in that town and the large catchment of the market. It also became clear during the fieldwork that several fixed traders in foodstuffs act as both wholesalers and retailers. They sell to ordinary buyers and, at the same time, sell wholesale either to other fixed traders or to mobile traders, as well as traders who have village shops or shops on the main roads(1).

It is likely that, in future, more foodstuff traders will set up in Al-Baha and Baljurashi . This is partly because of the demand that has been concentrated in these two towns but also because each market has had an electricity supply

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(1) An attempt was made to find out the maximum range of goods sold by the fixed foodstuff traders. These traders were asked if they could state which village buyers usually come to buy from them, the amount of money that changes hands and the kind of goods sold. Unfortunately, all the traders involved declined to give such information. Sometimes they said they had no time to discuss it. Others gave unreliable information, such as saying they sold to every village in the region.

for about twenty years or more. This has helped them to supply types of food, such as fruit, meat, and butter which need to be kept under refrigeration. An electricity supply has reached all the settlements in the Sarah area only in the last five years, as well as Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah in the Tihama. These places are, therefore, rather newer to dealing with this type of food.

The selling of ready made clothes and cloth has expanded in recent years and now accounts for 12 per cent of the fixed traders surveyed. Another 7 per cent of traders sell either ready-made clothes or cloth only. This growth reflects increased local demand. Again, the biggest markets have the highest number of traders selling these items. The two small Tihama markets at Al-Hajrah and Ash-Shara, by contrast, had no one selling ready-made clothes and cloth although some of the sundries' traders sold these items. In fact, ready-made locally tailored clothes were first traded by sundries' traders in Al-Baha, Baljurashi, Raghdan, Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah and there were no specialist traders selling ready-made clothes until the mid-1970s.

These ready-made clothes were mainly for women because they took more time and skill to make and decorate than men's and children's clothes. The traders in women's clothes were supplied by tailoresses who specialised in this type of tailoring. Most of them did their work in the villages and relied on sales to traders and direct to clients in surrounding villages. Clients would often bring their own cloth to be tailored (1).

But no store specialising in making the traditional women's dress was found in the survey because, with the influx of imported ready-made clothes from many countries, the women wish to follow the latest fashion. As a result, most of the traditional women tailoresses have given up that type of work or moved to Taif.

The number of fixed traders specialising in selling fruit and vegetables has also grown recently. In earlier times, demand was too low to support many of these traders. Demand for vegetables started to increase in the mid-1970s because of the increase in foreign workers and government employees who had no land of their own where they could grow their own fruit and vegetables.

Changing fashion in diets and meals has also increased the demand for fresh fruit and vegetables. People in Al-Baha in the past depended mainly on grains (wheat, barley, maize

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(1) Until the 1970s when imported ready-made clothes started to be sold in the markets of Al-Baha. the style of women and men's clothes in the Sarah differed from that in the Tihama. Men in the Sarah used to wear a one piece tailored thope of heavy cloth whereas in the Tihama a two piece set of shirt and skirt was common (wizrah). The women in the Sarah used to a dress in decorated dresses whereas in the Tihama women had a lighter and looser dress. These contrasts disappeared from the 1970s when imported clothes appeared. Clothes sales in Al-Baha were not large before the 1970s and there were few fixed shops selling clothes. Now people might buy clothes once or twice a year.

and bullrush millet) for all their meals, with meat and homemade bread. Vegetables were until recently not a common part of the diet. However, from the beginning of the 1970s vegetables have been used more widely, especially in the Sarah area. As outside people came to work in Al-Baha, they demanded vegetables, while education has increasingly introduced local people to the benefit of vegetables in their diet, especially as many have seen new ways of preparing food outside of Al-Baha. With rising demand for vegetables, farmers around markets like Al-Baha and Baljurashi started to raise them to sell in the villages and to the fixed traders of fruit and vegetables.

Most of the traders who sell foodstuffs on a large scale own their own shops, and these shops are usually much bigger than shops selling any other kind of commodities in order to have large refrigerators to store frozen goods. This is especially the case at Al-Baha and Baljurashi markets.

Not all markets have many fixed trader shops which only sell fruit and vegetables, as Table 9.2 shows. Few are found in the small markets where they are unable to compete with the general foodstuff shops and the mobile traders. Local demand is too small at these markets and people can often obtain the fruit and vegetables they need from farms near their homes. In the larger markets many of the fixed traders in fruit and vegetables do not own shops but operate from municipal buildings set up in the markets for sellers of fruit, vegetables and meat. Shops especially for fruit and vegetables cannot compete easily with these. Baljurashi got its food market building in 1978, Al-Baha in 1980 and Al-Mandaq in 1983. The municipalities let space in these buildings to traders who pay a nominal rent, and these traders specialise in selling only fruit, vegetables or meat. There are many of them in some markets. In Baljurashi, there are about 50 fixed traders selling vegetables and fruit. In Al-Baha there are more than twenty, but the writer found it difficult to interview more than five because the shop owners are normally absent.

Another development worth noting at this point is that some foodstuff stores now lie along the main roads next to other stores in the Sarah area. These are normally a small shed beside a larger store and are run by traders mainly from Yemen to sell small quantities of fruit and vegetables.

Few household electrical goods were traded in the region until 1978 and those available were generally sold in general shops. From 1987 specialist shops selling only electrical goods started to increase, especially when the Al-Baha Electrical Company began to supply all the Sarah area with electricity. This greatly widened the market for electrical goods. Places such as Al-Baha and Baljurashi have had electricity supplied for at least twenty years by private electric companies, but the development of the public supply greatly increased the demand for these goods. In the larger centres like Al-Baha and Baljurashi there are several specialist shops selling most types of electrical goods. In Baljurashi most of these shops are situated at one end of the main street. Others lie alongside the main road. Because most electrical shops are located far from the market location, some shops selling these items were not included in the survey but goods traded include heavy domestic equipment such as refrigerators, televisions, water-pumps and air-conditioning systems. But in the small markets only small electrical items are sold. For example, in the Tihama area, no televisions or refrigerators were seen for sale because the electricity supply still covers only Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah, although a project to extend the electricity supply to all villages in the Tihama area was started in 1987. When this is completed electrical goods shops should increase in the Tihama markets. In some markets, for example Ash-Shara and Al-Hajrah, there are no fixed shops specialising in even basic electrical materials, although Ash-Shara had one store selling records. In some markets, like Al-Atawlah and Doss, small electrical items may only be found in the shops selling sundries or in roadside shops.

Sales of constructural materials have also increased in recent years with increased house building aided by government loans(1). These stores are fairly well distributed

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(1) These loans are available to any person over 18 years. The amount of loan varies according to the location of the house intended to be built. In the main centres like Al-Baha, Baljurashi, Al-Mukhwah, Al-Atawlah, Gilwah and some other big villages, the maximum loan is 300,000 S.R (about 45,000 pounds sterling). Larger loans are available here because it is believed that owners have a greater chance to rent part or the whole of their house or to get jobs enabling them to make the annual repayment. In the smaller villages loans are only one-third of this size.

but more dealers in cement, steel, paints and other essentials for house construction are found, as one would expect, in the large markets like Baljurashi and Al-Baha, while smaller markets such as Ash-Shara and Al-Hajrah have no construction dealers. Shops selling construction materials can often be found along the main roads. Despite the widespread distribution of shops selling these materials, some people buy their goods, specially cement and steel, direct from Jeddah, renting a lorry to fetch them because they can be obtained more cheaply that way. The traders also bring these items from Jeddah direct to their stores and some even deliver from Jeddah direct to their customers if the order is large enough.

Sellers of household utensils have increased too in number and distribution as the demand for them has grown. In some smaller markets there were no traders specialising in the sale of household utensils but some were sold by other traders.

Other trades were represented to only a limited extent. Items such as carpets appear to be sold by fixed traders only in the largest markets. Similarly specialist perfume sellers were found only in Al-Baha, Baljurashi and Al-Mukhwah. Traders at Al-Mukhwah also sold shoes and watches with perfume.

Jewellery is only sold in the largest markets of Baljurashi, Al-Baha and Al-Mandaq. Most of the sales are a mixture of gold and silver. The possibility of communicating with the main gold centre in Jeddah by telephone, to know the fluctuations in gold price, has helped sales, whereas in the Tihama the total number of fixed traders in gold and jewellery is much smaller. The fewer gold stores in the Tihama is partly because of the lack of telephone communication with Al-Baha or Jeddah to ensure that sale prices are fair. Only two jewellers were found in Al-Mukhwah and one in Gilwah.

Few sellers of car spare parts were found. Although their number has increased in the region most are be found alongside the main roads rather than in the markets.

9.5 Sources of Goods

Since most of the fixed traders sell imported goods, we expected to find the main sources for them outside the Al-Baha region. This is very obvious from Table 9.4 and Figure 9.2 which list the main sources the fixed traders in Al-Baha markets depend on for their goods. Jeddah, Makkah and Taif play the most important part for 265 of the 420 traders questioned, accounting for 63 per cent of the source areas given (see Figure 8.5). In fact, Makkah and Taif play a much less important role than Jeddah. During the fieldwork only twenty traders stated that they receive all their goods from Makkah and 30 from Taif. In contrast, 230 said they received all their goods from Jeddah. Jeddah, as a large commercial port in the western region of Saudi Arabia,

Table 9.4 The Main Sources of Goods Sold by Fixed Traders

	Traders	Taif Makkah and Jeddah		Outside and Inside Al-Baha		Large Stores in Al-Baha Region		Farmers	
Sarah Markets			%		%		%		%
Baljurashi	99	46	46.5	46	46.5	7	7.1	---	--- *
Al-Baha	69	59	84.1	7	10.1	1	1.4	2	2.9 *
Al-Mandaq	48	28	58.3	15	31.3	5	10.4	---	---
Al-Aqiq	30	21	70.0	9	30.0	---	----	---	---
Barahrah	22	11	50.0	11	50.0	---	---	---	---
Al-Atawlah	22	4	18.2	18	81.8	---	---	---	---
As-Sagarah	11	5	45.5	---	----	6	54.5	---	---
Doss	5	3	60.0	1	20.0	1	20.0	---	---
Tot.Sarah	306	177	57.8	107	35.0	20	6.5	2	0.7
Tihama Markets									
Al-Mukhwah	58	52	89.7	6	10.3	----	----	----	---
Gilwah	40	27	67.5	8	20.0	5	12.5	---	---
Ash-Shara	11	6	54.5	5	45.5	---	---	---	---
Al-Hajrah	5	3	60.0	2	40.0	---	----	---	--
Tot.Tihama	114	88	77.2	21	18.4	5	4.4	----	---
Tot. Sarah and Tihama	420	265	63.1	128	30.5	25	6.0	2	.5

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

* 30 sample

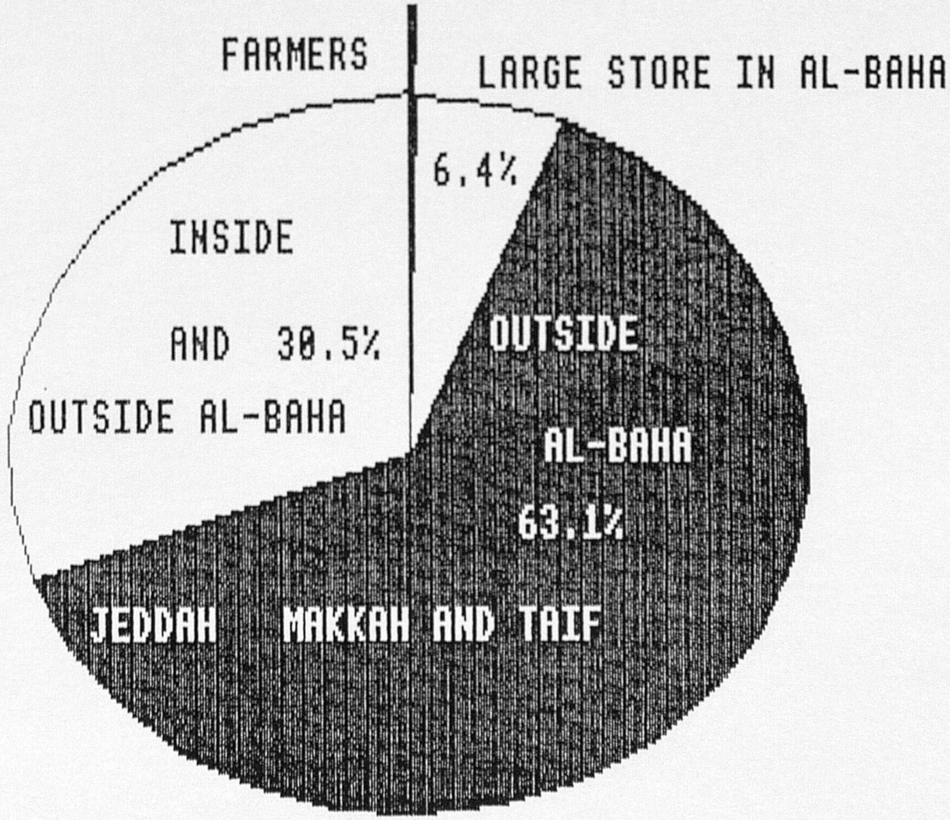

FIG. 9.2 SOURCES OF GOODS SOLD BY FIXED TRADERS.

is a major source of imports, as well as a manufacturing centre. 88 of the 114 traders (77 per cent) interviewed in the Tihama got their goods from Jeddah. None reported goods from Makkah and Taif. The smaller traders at the Sarah markets who reported getting their goods from Makkah and Taif are mainly dealing with wholesalers who have their main store in Jeddah and have branches in Taif and Makkah which are closer than Jeddah to Al-Baha. Traders who trade in a wide variety of items generally visit several stores in Jeddah or Makkah and Taif to get their requirements.

Some traders are more diversified in their sources of goods, and obtain some goods not only from Jeddah, Makkah and Taif but also from large stores in the study region, especially in Baljurashi, Al-Baha and Al-Mukhwah. Altogether, 128 fixed traders (30.5 per cent) stated they relied on goods from inside and outside of Al-Baha. These included a number of traders who said they were not tied to any special store in Jeddah or elsewhere and bought goods as opportunities arose. This is in contrast to the major traders who often rely on regular suppliers.

Only 25 (6 per cent) of the traders depended on one of the large stores in Al-Baha as the principal source for their goods. Large stores located on the main roads in the region formed a source for some fixed traders. Most of these traders were in the Sarah area, especially in the larger markets, like Baljurashi and Al-Mandaq, or from places such as As-Sagarah adjacent to larger markets. Half the traders interviewed at the small market of As-Sagarah said they got their goods from large stores in this way. Five traders in Gilwah in the Tihama reported they get their goods from large stores in Al-Mukhwah and Al-Baha. In contrast, only two traders said that farmers were their main sources of goods, but many more traders get some of their produce from local farmers because many traders sell some fruit and vegetables which they obtain from farmers at the market sites on or just prior to the market day.

9.6 Means of Transport

Questions were put to the fixed traders about the means of transport used to move their goods from the source of supply to where they were ultimately sold. Table 9.5 and Figure 9.3 show the results of this enquiry. It is clear that the majority (66.7 per cent) used their own vehicles to transport their goods. These especially include the smaller traders who buy in the markets in the Sarah and Tihama but also those that buy in cities to the north. All traders interviewed at As-Sagarah and Al-Hajrah markets used their own car for transporting their goods. This dependency on the traders' own vehicles is to be expected because of the improved roads, and the relatively short distances between the main markets in Al-Baha and the cities to the north. Taif is only 230 km. and Jeddah 370 km away. Fuel is cheap and vehicles not expensive, but traders do not purchase enough to get free delivery from their suppliers. Traders' vehicles differ in size. Large traders who also act as wholesalers own large lorries, while small-scale traders

Table 9.5 The Means of Transport Used by Fixed Traders To Move their Goods

Markets	Traders	Own Vehicle		Rented with Others		Provided by Wholesalers		
Sarah Markets			%		%		%	
Baljurashi	99	60	60.9	39	39.4			*
Al-Baha	69	52	75.4	8	11.6	9	13.0	*
Al-Mandaq	48	36	75.0	12	25.0	---	----	
Al-Aqiq	30	13	43.3	17	56.7	---	----	
Barahrah	22	16	72.7	6	27.3	---	----	
Al-Atawlah	22	17	77.3	5	22.7	---	----	
As-Sagarah	11	11	100	---	---	---	---	
Doss	5	3	60.0	2	40.0	---	----	
Tot. Sarah	306	208	68.0	89	29.1	9	2.9	
Tihama Markets								
Al-Mukhwah	58	32	55.2	26	44.8	----	----	
Gilwah	40	29	72.5	11	27.5	----	----	
Ash-shara	11	6	54.5	5	45.5	----	----	
Al-Hajrah	5	5	100	---	---	---	----	
Tot.Tihama	114	72	63.2	42	36.8	----	-----	
Tot.Sarah and Tihama	420	280	66.7	173	41.2	9	2.1	

Source Fieldwork 1987.
* 30% sample

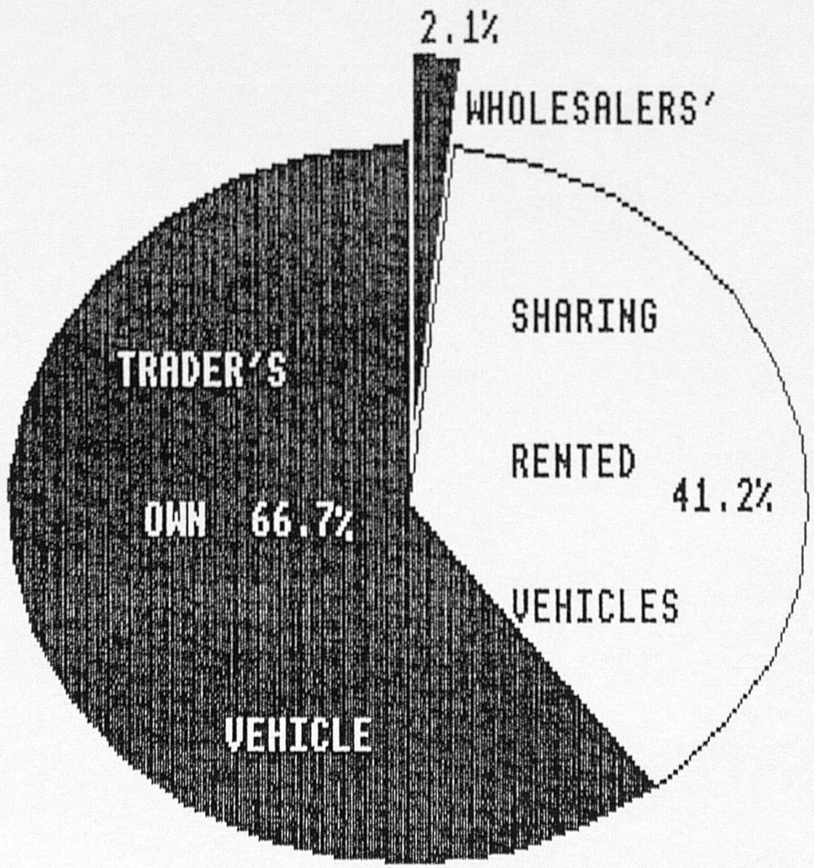

FIG. 9.3 MEANS OF TRANSPORT USED BY FIXED TRADERS TO MOVE THEIR GOODS.

usually have smaller vehicles or cars. The fixed traders interviewed often reported that a car was the most suitable vehicle for quicker journeys to the main cities to buy goods and allowed them to visit several places in order to get different types of goods.

About 41 per cent of fixed traders, nonetheless, depended on sharing a rented vehicle with other traders. This sometimes involves an agreement between several fixed traders and a driver who has a lorry to bring them goods on particular days. This is because traders who trade on a small scale could not afford to rent a vehicle for their goods alone.

Only nine traders (2 per cent) were found who depended on wholesale traders to supply their goods direct to them. All of those traders got these goods from large stores in Al-Baha town and supply to the market was part of the purchase arrangement. This has several advantages, including avoiding transport costs, the chance to substitute damaged goods and the probability of postponing the payment to the wholesalers until the goods are sold. But often these arrangements involve higher costs overall and offer the trader less flexibility in purchasing.

9.7 Years Of Experience as a Fixed Trader

Traders were asked about their years of experience as fixed traders. The results of this part of the survey are summarised in Figure 9.4 with more details in Table 9.6.

Table 9.6 Years of Experience as a Fixed Trader

Markets	Traders	<One	%	1-5	%	6-10	%	11-15	%	16-20	%	21-25	%	26-30	%	> 30	%
Sarah Markets			%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%
Baljurashi	99	5	5.1	21	21.2	41	41.4	19	19.2	4	4.0	1	1.0	1	1.0	7	7.1 *
Al-Baha	69	1	1.4	16	23.2	29	42.0	9	13.0	7	10.1	1	1.4	1	1.4	5	7.2 *
Al-Mandaq	48	2	4.2	15	31.3	19	39.6	5	10.4	3	6.3	2	4.2	---	---	2	4.2
Al-Aqiq	30	---	---	6	20.0	16	53.3	1	3.3	3	10.0	2	6.7	1	3.3	1	3.3
Barahrah	22	---	---	5	22.7	13	59.1	2	9.1	2	9.1	---	---	---	---	---	---
Al-Atawlah	22	---	---	3	13.6	12	54.5	2	9.1	1	4.5	4	18.2	---	---	---	---
As-Sagarah	11	---	---	2	18.2	5	45.5	4	36.4	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Doss	5	---	---	1	20.0	3	60.0	1	20.0	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Tot. Sarah	306	8	2.6	69	22.5	138	45.1	43	14.1	20	6.5	10	3.3	3	1.0	15	4.9
Tihama Markets																	
Al-Mukhwah	58	1	1.7	8	13.8	31	53.4	9	15.5	2	3.4	4	6.9	1	1.7	2	3.4
Gilwah	40	---	---	21	52.5	15	37.5	2	5.0	1	2.5	1	2.5	---	---	---	---
Ash-Shara	11	---	---	5	45.5	6	54.5	---	---	---	---	---	--	---	---	---	---
Al-Hajrah	5	---	----	---	---	1	20.0	3	60.0	1	20.0	---	---	---	---	---	---
Tot.Tihama	114	1	0.9	34	29.8	53	46.5	14	12.3	4	3.5	5	4.4	1	0.9	2	1.8
Tot.Sarah and Tihama	420	9	2.1	103	24.5	191	45.5	57	13.6	24	5.7	15	3.6	4	1.0	17	4.0

Source: Fieldwork 1987.
* 30% sample

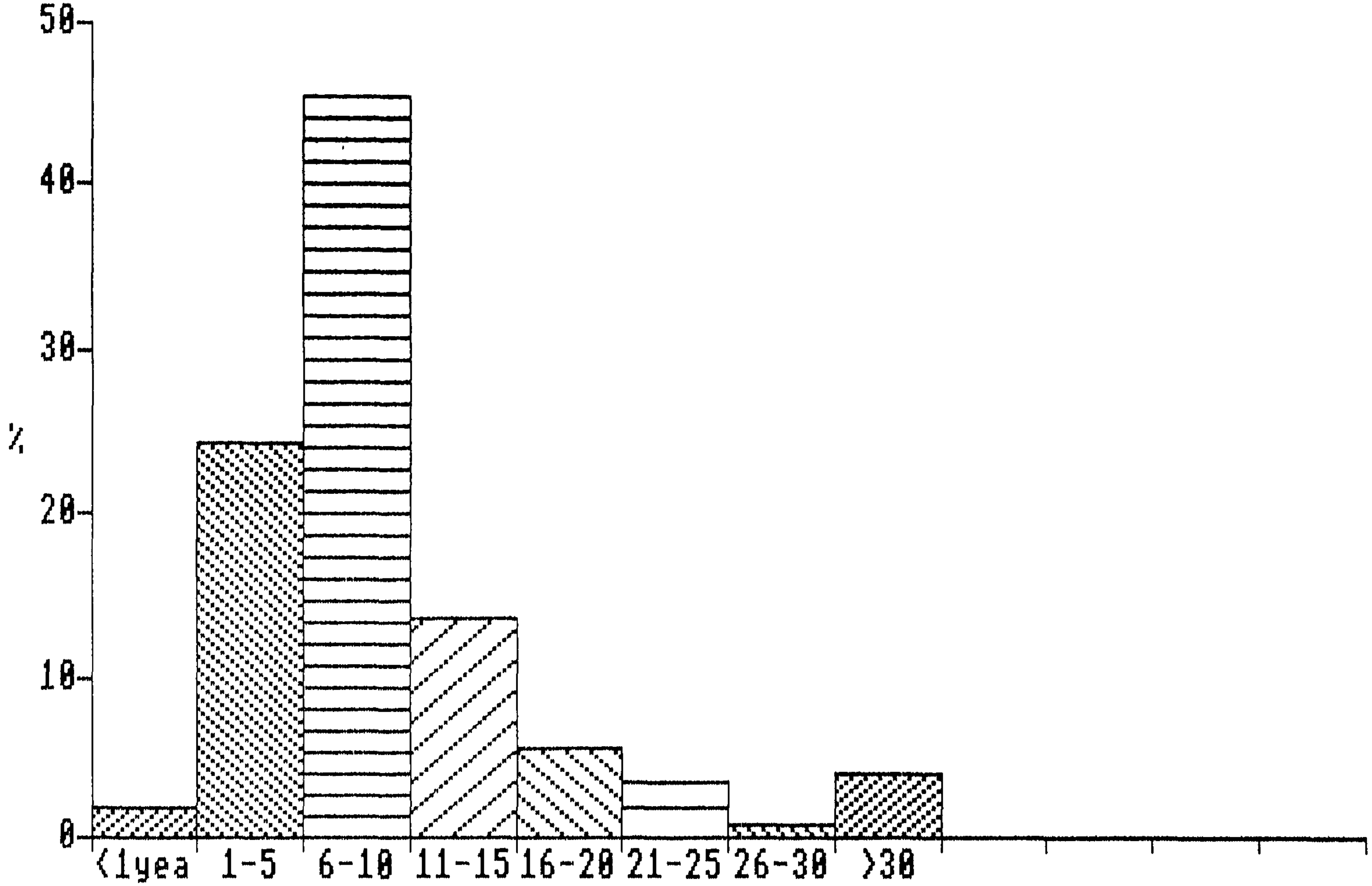

FIG. 9.4 YEARS OF EXPERIENCE AS A FIXED TRADER.

Traders with six to ten years experience were the most numerous, accounting for 191 or 45.5 per cent of the total. This is clearly related to the economic boom which started in Saudi Arabia as a whole from about 1975. The increase in oil revenues, population growth and a foreign workforce led to increased demands for all kinds of goods and a need for further shops to be opened. Markets also benefitted from this increased activity and fixed traders gathered around them. In markets like Al-Aqiq, Barahrah and Al-Atawlah more than half of the traders interviewed reported that they started within that period. 31 of the 58 traders, or 54.4 per cent interviewed at Al-Mukhwah started between six to ten years ago and the proportions were not much less in some of the other markets.

The second highest number of fixed traders appear to have started between one to five years ago, that is between 1982 and 1986. The Saudi economy remained strong and promising at that time and virtually all Al-Baha markets attracted additional fixed traders. The large markets at Baljurashi, Al-Baha and Al-Mandaq in the Sarah reported more fixed traders who started up in this period. In the Tihama no less than 21 or 52 per cent of the fixed traders at Gilwah started between 1982 and 1986. This was due to the provision of an asphalt road which was planned in the early 1980s and completed in 1987. People whose land was taken to construct the road were compensated, and some used the money to build fixed shops as they foresaw the trade which the road would encourage.

Fixed traders who started between eleven and fifteen years ago form a relatively high number (57 or 13.6 per cent) in the region as a whole and about the same number (60) had traded for more than fifteen years. All markets, with the exception of Ash-Shara, reported traders who started up between eleven and fifteen years ago but several had no traders of much longer standing than this. Again, the larger markets of Baljurashi, Al-Baha, Al-Mandaq and Al-Mukhwah had more traders who had acted as fixed traders for longer periods. This is simply because those are the older and larger markets in the region and offered traders secure opportunities to get into and stay in business. It is also noticeable that the same markets were the only ones to support traders who had started up in the year immediately before the interviews, again reflecting the greater opportunities still perceived in the larger markets. But only nine (2.1 per cent) of the traders reported opening in the previous year, compared with 103 (24 per cent) in the previous five years. This may suggest a slowing down in the growth of new traders in the markets. It also shows the importance of the broader economic context on the continued development of periodic markets.

9.8 Former Jobs of Fixed Traders

Fixed traders were asked what jobs they had done prior to starting in this line of business. These former jobs have been classified as shown in Table 9.7 and Figure 9.5. Traders who had been farmers form the largest group, at 37

Table 9.7 The Former Job of the Fixed Traders

Markets	Traders	Farmer	%	Mobile Trader	%	Government Official	%	Other Work	%	Herder	%	
Sarah Markets			%		%		%		%		%	
Baljurashi	99	29	29.3	18	18.2	25	25.3	27	27.3	----	----	*
Al-Baha	69	18	26.1	23	33.3	16	23.2	12	17.4	----	---	*
Al-Mandaq	48	14	29.2	6	12.5	15	31.3	13	27.1	----	---	
Al-Aqiq	30	14	46.7	6	20.0	5	16.7	3	10.0	2	6.7	
Barahrah	22	15	68.2	1	4.5	5	22.7	1	4.5	----	---	
Al-Atawlah	22	11	50.0	1	4.5	6	27.3	3	13.6	1	4.5	
As-Sagarah	11	4	36.4	---	---	1	9.1	6	54.5	---	----	
Doss	5	3	60.0	---	---	2	40.0	---	---	---	---	
Tot. Sarah	306	108	35.3	55	18.0	75	24.5	65	21.2	3	1.0	
Tihama Markets												
Al-Mukhwah	58	27	46.6	24	41.4	5	8.6	2	3.4	---	---	
Gilwah	40	16	40.0	18	45.0	5	12.5	1	2.5	----	---	
Ash-Shara	11	1	9.1	1	9.1	6	54.5	3	27.3			
Al-Hajrah	5	3	60.0	---	---	---	---	2	40.0	---	---	
Tot.Tihama	114	47	41.2	43	37.7	16	14.0	8	7.0	---	---	
Tot.Sarah and Tihama	420	155	36.9	98	23.3	91	21.7	73	17.4	3	.7	

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

* 30% sample

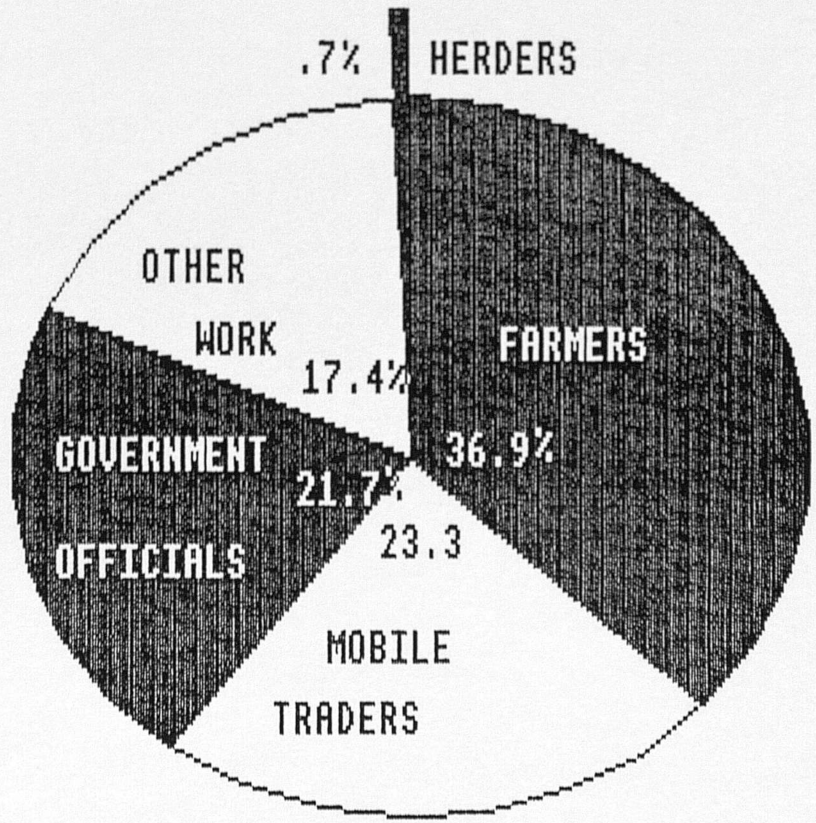

FIG. 9.5 FORMER JOBS OF THE FIXED TRADE

per cent of the total. This is to be expected because farming was the region's main activity until the 1970s. Interviews revealed that most of the fixed traders still have land for farming and brothers often work together in trade and agriculture. In the past, many fixed traders used not to open every day because of the low demand for their goods so that trade and farming combined well. All that has happened subsequently is that farming has become less important for some traders, as the increased trade opportunities were taken up. 49 per cent of the former farmers had been trading for between six and ten years, and 18 per cent between one and five years, indicating the amount of recent switching into trading.

Table 9.7 also shows that 98 (23.3 per cent) of fixed traders were formerly mobile traders. This is also an obvious development for successful mobile traders to open a fixed shop. Many of those were found in the larger markets notably Al-Baha, Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah. However, in some small markets like As-Sagarah, Doss and Al-Hajrah none of the fixed traders had begun in the mobile sector. This might be due to the perceived lower chance of success as a fixed trader in these smaller markets because of the relatively small demand found there.

22 per cent of fixed traders used to work in government offices but they had deserted governmental work for more income and greater opportunities in the markets. However, this situation developed only after 1975. 36 per cent of

the fixed traders who were once government workers have traded for between six and ten years and the same percentage for between one and five years. It seems again that Baljurashi, Al-Baha and Al-Mandaq markets, all in the Sarah, attracted more governmental workers into fixed trade probably because of the existence of a larger number of governmental officials in these centres and the recognition by some that there was more opportunity of selling to their former working colleagues. Far fewer traders in the Tihama had been government officials.

Other fixed traders who were interviewed worked at a variety of jobs before becoming traders, including blacksmiths, drivers, and other part-time occupations. These accounted in total for 17 per cent of the traders. Few traders in the Tihama had been in jobs other than farming or mobile trading. Only three among the whole group of interviewees were found who said they had formerly been herders. Two of these were at Al-Aqiq in the bedouin area.

In further conversation with traders it became clear that many had decided to go into fixed trading because they had found a place where they thought they could succeed and they felt that it would benefit them more than mobile trading as they get older. Some of those who had been mobile traders said they really had no other work they could do, like farming, where they could be in charge. In farming or some other activity a relative would normally be in charge and they would be working for somebody else.

9.9 The Nature of Store Ownership

Fixed traders were asked during fieldwork whether they owned their shops or rented them. Table 9.8 demonstrates that the majority (65 per cent) of fixed traders rented their shops but this is to be expected because few people own land around the market and those owners are reluctant to sell it. Therefore some landowners now erect multi-storey buildings on their property and set aside the ground floor for shops and storage to rent, while using the upper floors for accommodation purposes. In a few cases traders use the second floor for storage. It was expected that many more traders would rent their shop in the largest markets because they would not be local landowners, whereas in the small markets the landowner might open a shop on his own land. However, fieldwork revealed that there was little difference between markets in this respect. In Ash-Shara all eleven traders rented their shops, whilst in As-Sagarah eight out of eleven traders rented. This might be due to the small size of the markets, where landowners prefer regular rents rather than risk time and money in trading themselves. On the other hand, most of the shopkeepers interviewed in Al-Aqiq, Barahrah, Doss and Al-Hajrah, all small markets, owned their shops.

Traders who owned their shops constituted overall only about one third of fixed traders but they were a rather larger proportion in the Tihama than in the Sarah. Most of these

Table 9.8 The Nature of Store Ownership

Markets	Traders	Rented Shop		Owned Shop	
Sarah Markets			%		%
Baljurashi	99	72	72.7	27	27.3 *
Al-Baha	69	49	71.0	20	29.0 *
Al-Mandaq	48	35	72.9	13	27.1
Al-Aqiq	30	10	33.3	20	66.7
Barahrah	22	9	40.9	13	59.1
Al-Atawlah	22	19	86.4	3	13.6
As-Sagarah	11	8	72.7	3	27.3
Doss	5	2	40.0	3	60.0
ToT. Sarah	306	204	66.7	102	33.3
Tihama Markets					
Al-Mukhwah	58	33	56.9	25	43.1
Gilwah	40	22	55.0	18	45.0
Ash-Shara	11	11	100.0	---	---
Al-Hajrah	5	2	40.0	3	60.0
Tot. Tihama	114	68	59.6	46	40.4
Tot. Sarah and Tihama	420	272	64.8	148	35.2

Source Fieldwork 1987.
* 30% sample

shop owners had built on land which they already owned but in some large markets, like Al-Baha and Baljurashi, land had been bought solely in order to build a shop. This is because it is now impossible to obtain an existing shop in the larger markets. Information about the prices paid to rent or buy shops proved unreliable. It became clear in the interviews that some traders were exaggerating the sums they paid. However, it was clear that high rents and prices are obtained in Al-Baha and Baljurashi markets, but rental charges have started to decrease over the last two years because of the weaker economic situation as a whole in Saudi Arabia.

As with the examination of mobile traders the survey attempted by various questions on the questionnaire to assess the relative importance of fixed trading in the different markets. Clearly the number of traders is one measure, but it is clear that some traders in some markets are more active than others. Therefore some attempt was made to gauge this by examining the number of employees, the trading hours, the storage facilities and the future plans of fixed traders in different markets. The results are reported next.

9.10 Number of Employees Working for Fixed Traders

The number of employees is a possible indicator of the scale of trade activity. Table 9.9 and Figure 9.6 show the number of people working for fixed traders in the various markets.

Table 9.9 Number of Employees and Relatives Working for Fixed Traders

Markets	Traders	1-2	%	3-4	%	5-6	%	7- 8	%	None	%	
Sarah Markets												
Baljurashi	99	70	70.7	14	14.1	10	10.1	3	3.0	3	3.0	*
Al-Baha	125	36	552.1	18	26.1	5	7.2	2	2.9	8	11.6	*
Al-Mandaq	48	30	62.5	1	2.1	1	2.1	1	2.1	14	29.2	
Al-Aqiq	30	15	50.0	1	3.3	1	3.3	---	---	13	43.3	
Barahrah	22	10	45.5	---	---	--	---	---	---	12	54.5	
Al-Atawlah	22	10	45.5	2	9.1	--	---	---	---	10	45.5	
As-Sagarah	11	11	100	---	---	--	---	---	---	---	---	
Doss	5	2	40.0	---	---	--	---	---	---	3	60.0	
Total Sarah	306	184	60.1	36	11.8	17	5.6	6	2.0	63	20.6	
Tihama Markets												
Al-Mukhwah	58	30	51.7	7	12.0	--	---	---	---	21	36.2	
Gilwah	40	15	37.5	---	---	--	---	---	---	25	62.5	
Ash-Shara	11	4	36.4	---	---	--	---	---	---	7	63.6	
Al-Hajrah	5	1	20.0	---	---	--	---	---	---	4	80.0	
Total Tihama	114	50	43.9	7	6.1	--	---	---	---	57	50.0	
Total Sarah and Tihama	420	234	55.7	43	10.2	17	4.0	6	1.4	120	28.6	

Source: Fieldwork 1987.
* 30% sample

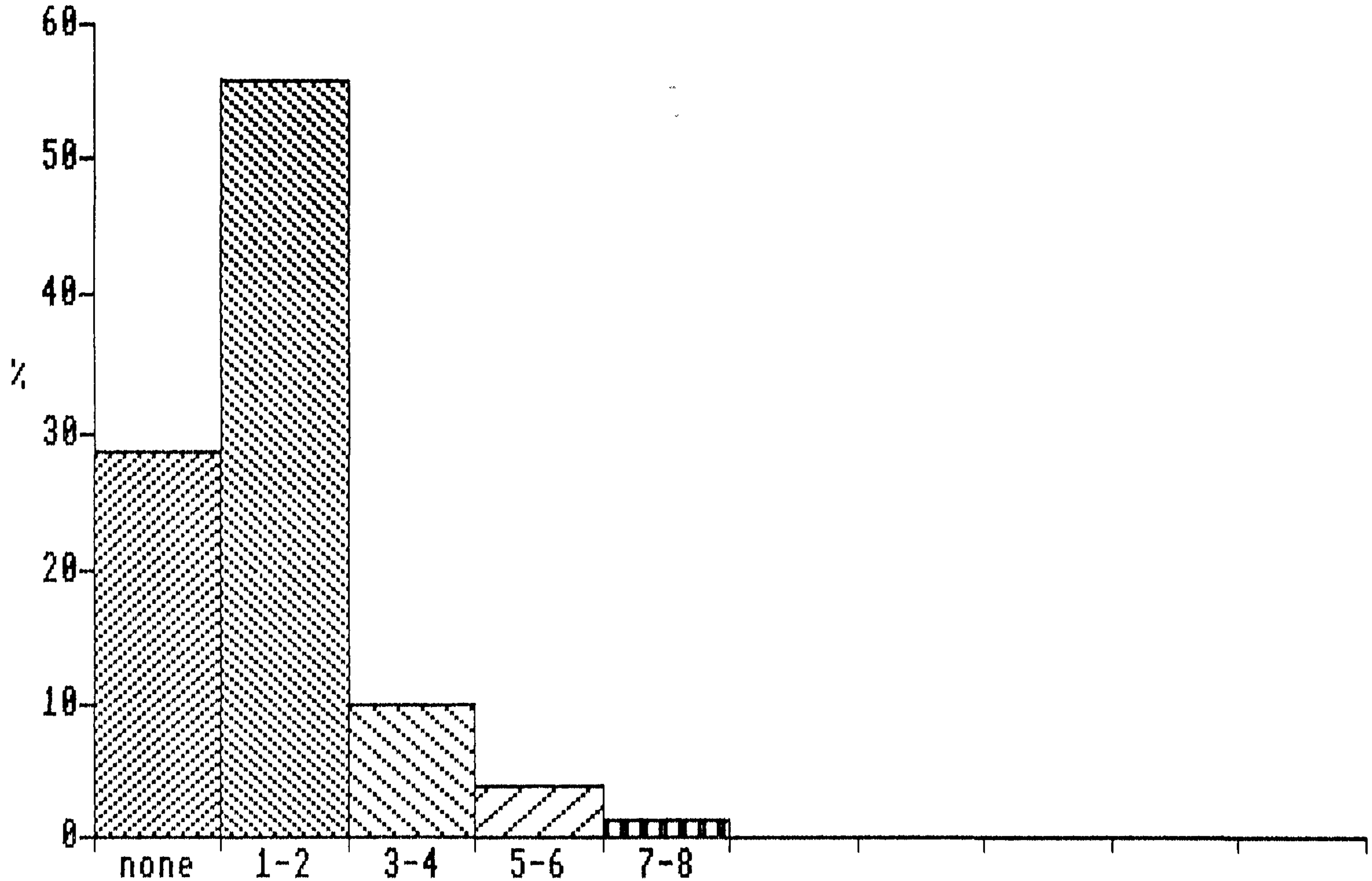

FIG. 9. 6 NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES AND RELATIVES WORKING FOR FIXED TRADERS.

Not all of these are paid employees but it was not possible to separate clearly employees from family or other helpers.

The majority (55.7 per cent) of fixed traders employed between one and two assistants. This is the common situation in all the markets but especially in the smaller ones where virtually no trader employs more than two employees. In the larger markets, a significant minority of traders were large enough to employ more than two employees. 43 traders (10.2 per cent) have between three and four employees, and 23 had more than four employees. Nearly all of these traders with more than two employees were found in the larger markets. Most shops employing between five and eight employees were in Al-Baha and Baljurashi and sold foodstuffs or construction materials.

120 out of the 420 traders (28.6 per cent) reported that they do not employ anyone. Those traders were mainly found in Al-Mandaq, Al-Aqiq, Al-Atawlah, Barahrah and Doss in the Sarah area and Al-Mukhwah, Gilwah and Al-Hajrah in the Tihama. Lack of employees is a clear characteristic of the smallest traders, especially the small traders in the small markets of the Tihama. Paid employees are more common in the larger markets where there is more trade.

Despite the apparent precision of the figures quoted above, too much reliance cannot be placed on them. Some traders probably gave a lower number of employees than they actually employed. In other cases, they reported that they employed relatives when, in fact, they employ unrelated workers. This was to avoid the fear that the writer's report might reach government officials who charge social security on the numbers of employees. Alternatively, it might have been found that a high figure for employment could indicate a high turnover which would require a greater amount of Zakat to be paid; it is levied at two and a half percent of turnover.

Some attempt was made to measure the degree of family help. Table 9.10, shows that 145 out of 420 fixed traders (34.5 per cent) said they employ relatives. These are usually sons or brothers. This compares with about 31 per cent who reported they had paid unrelated employees. Traders employing relatives are widely spread across all markets. They are especially common in the smaller markets like As-Sagarah and Doss in the Sarah, or Ash-Shara and Al-Hajrah in the Tihama, where fixed traders employ relatives only. 24 fixed traders (5.7 per cent) make use of both paid employees and unpaid relatives.

Traders selling foodstuffs, construction materials and sundries seemed to employ more people, either relatives or paid employees than sellers of other items. 62 per cent of the food stuff sellers had two and more employees and 95 per cent of the sellers of construction materials had two or more employees, while in sundries the proportion was 38 per cent. Traders of dried dates, farm materials, fresh meat, fruit and vegetables, records, car spare parts, and books

Table 9.10 Fixed Traders' Relationship to the Employees

Markets	Traders	Relatives Only	%	Paid Worker Only	%	Relatives and Paid Worker	%	None	%	
Sarah Markets			%		%		%		%	
Baljurashi	99	42	42.4	52	52.5	2	2.0	3	3.0	*
Al-Baha	69	15	21.7	37	53.6	9	13.0	8	11.6	*
Al-Mandaq	48	17	35.4	12	25.0	5	10.4	14	29.2	
Al-Aqiq	30	9	30.0	7	23.3	1	3.3	13	43.3	
Barahrah	22	7	31.8	3	13.6	--	---	12	54.5	
Al-Atawlah	22	7	31.8	2	9.1	3	13.6	10	45.5	
As-Sagarah	11	11	100	---	---	--	---	---	---	
Doss	5	2	80.0	---	---	--	---	3	60.0	
Total Sarah	306	110	35.9	113	36.9	20	6.5	63	20.6	
Tihama Markets										
Al-Mukhwah	58	20	34.5	13	22.4	4	6.9	21	36.2	
Gilwah	40	10	25.0	5	12.5	--	---	25	2.5	
Ash-Shara	11	4	36.4	---	---	--	---	7	17.5	
Al-Hajrah	5	1	20.0	---	---	--	---	4	80.0	
Total Tihama	114	35	30.7	18	15.9	4	3.5	57	50.0	
Total Sarah and Tihama	420	145	34.5	131	31.2	24	5.7	120	28.6	

Source: Fieldwork 1987.
* 30% sample

and stationery tend more often to employ either no one or one person only.

Nearly all paid employees were foreigners and most were from south-east Asia. This is because they expect less salary than people from other countries. Because of low salaries, no Saudis or Yemenis were found working as paid employees for fixed traders in any of the Al-Baha markets. The foreign workers are usually employed by traders who sell foodstuffs, construction and electrical materials. All butchers in Al-Baha and Baljurashi towns were foreigners(1).

9.11 Number of Days on which Fixed Traders open their Shops

The number of days that shops open during the week could indicate the strength of the trading. It is clear that most shops are now open daily. As Figure 9.7 summarises and Table 9.11 shows, the majority (53.1 per cent) of fixed traders now open every day, while the number of traders opening six days was 190 (45.2 per cent). A high number of shops still close on Friday in order to keep it as a rest and holy day. Only seven fixed traders, all in the Sarah markets, reported that they open no more than five days a week. No shop reported being open for less than five days. This tendency to open for most of the week started in the mid-1970s with the improvement of roads, the increase in income and the growth of daily shopping. At the same time, a

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(1) Butchery is a job which is considered 'aib or demeaning to tribal people in Al-Baha and nearly all the butchers in the region traditionally come from one village. In the last few years, they have employed foreign workers whom they supervise.

Table 9.11 Number of Days Per Week on which Shops are Open

Markets	Traders	7 days	%	6 Days	%	5 Days	%	
Sarah Markets			%		%		%	
Baljurashi	99	44	44.4	51	51.5	4	4.0	*
Al-Baha	69	46	66.7	23	33.3	----	----	*
Al-Mandaq	48	26	54.2	21	43.8	1	2.1	
Al-Aqiq	30	27	90.0	3	10.0	----	----	
Barahrah	22	10	45.5	12	54.5	----	----	
Al-Atawlah	22	11	50.0	9	40.9	2	9.1	
As-Sagarah	11	5	45.5	6	54.5	-----	----	
Doss	5	1	20.0	4	80.0	-----	----	
Tot.Sarah	306	170	55.6	129	42.2	7	2.3	
Tihama Markets								
Al-Mukhwah	58	33	56.9	25	43.1	----	----	
Gilwah	40	15	37.5	25	62.5	----	----	
Ash-Shara	11	4	36.4	7	63.6	----	----	
Al-Hajrah	5	1	20.0	4	80.0	----	----	
Tot.Tihama	114	53	46.5	61	53.5	---	----	
Sarah and Tihama	420	223	53.1	190	45.2	7	1.7	

Source Fieldwork 1987.
* 30% sample

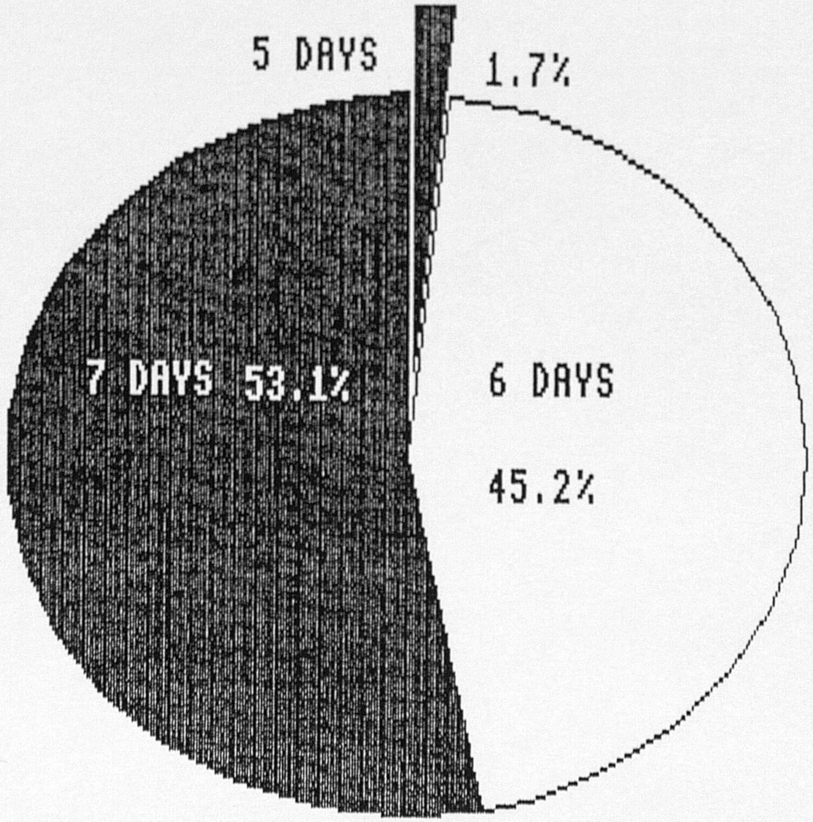

FIG. 9.7 NUMBER OF DAYS PER WEEK ON WHICH SHOPS ARE OPEN.

high number now consider that Fridays offer opportunities to sell more goods, because they are the days when people who work have free time so that seven day opening is now common. There appeared to be no spatial pattern to the six and seven day opening across the markets, although six day opening may be more common in the Tihama markets.

Most traders selling foodstuffs open seven days. Similarly traders in ready-made clothes, cloth and carpets tend to open on seven days. Shops that open for six days include constructional material sellers but also fresh fruit and vegetable sellers, many of which only open for five days per week. Some other trades have shops that open for either six or seven days, such as the sundries' traders, 53 per cent of which open for six days and 46 per cent for seven days.

9.12 Numbers of Hours Per Day on which Shops are Open

Fixed traders were asked about the hours per day they usually opened their shops. Table 9.12 and and Figure 9.8 summarise this, and show the number of hours that shops are open per day. 126 (30 per cent) open for nine hours per day, although eight hours is the most common opening period in the Sarah in general. The larger markets have more shops open for longer hours but also some which open for shorter hours, with some in Baljurashi market only open for five or six hours per day. In the case of Al-Aqiq, shops were open for nine hours to meet the demand of people who come from a

Table 9.12 Number of Hours Per Day on which Shops are Open

	Traders	4 Hours	%	5 Hours	%	6 Hours	%	7 Hours	%	8 Hours	%	9 Hours	%	10 hours	%	>10 hours	%	
Sarah Markets																		
Baljurashi	99	---	---	3	3.0	4	4.0	19	19.2	23	23.2	25	25.3	16	16.2	9	9.1	*
Al-Baha	69	---	---	---	---	---	--	6	8.7	22	31.9	19	27.5	18	26.1	4	5.8	*
Al-Mandaq	48	---	---	---	---	1	2.1	2	4.2	8	16.7	9	18.8	16	33.3	12	25.0	
Al-Aqiq	30	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	11	36.7	15	50.0	4	13.3	---	---	
Barahrah	22	---	---	---	---	---	---	4	18.2	7	31.8	9	4.9	2	9.1	---	---	
Al-Atawlah	22	1	4.5	---	--	1	4.5	2	9.1	10	13.6	---	---	3	13.6	5	22.7	
As-Sagarah	11	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	18.2	---	---	6	54.5	3	27.3	
Doss	5	---	---	---	---	---	---	4	80.0	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	20.0	
Tot. Sarah	306	1	0.3	3	1.0	6	2.0	37	12.1	83	27.1	77	25.2	65	21.2	34	11.1	
Tihama Markets																		
Al-Mukhwah	58	---	---	---	---	1	1.7	2	3.4	15	25.9	30	51.7	9	15.5	1	1.7	
Gilwah	40	---	---	---	---	---	---	9	22.5	8	20.0	16	40.0	4	10.0	3	7.5	
Ash-Shara	11	---	---	---	---	---	--	2	18.2	3	27.3	3	27.3	1	9.1	2	18.2	
Al-Hajrah	5	---	---	---	---	1	20.0	3	60.0	1	20.0	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Tot.Tihama	114	---	---	---	---	2	1.8	16	14.0	27	23.7	49	43.0	14	12.3	6	5.3	
Tot. Sarah and Tihama	420	1	0.2	3	0.7	8	1.9	53	12.6	110	26.2	126	30.0	79	18.8	40	9.5	

Source: Fieldwork 1987.
* 30% sample

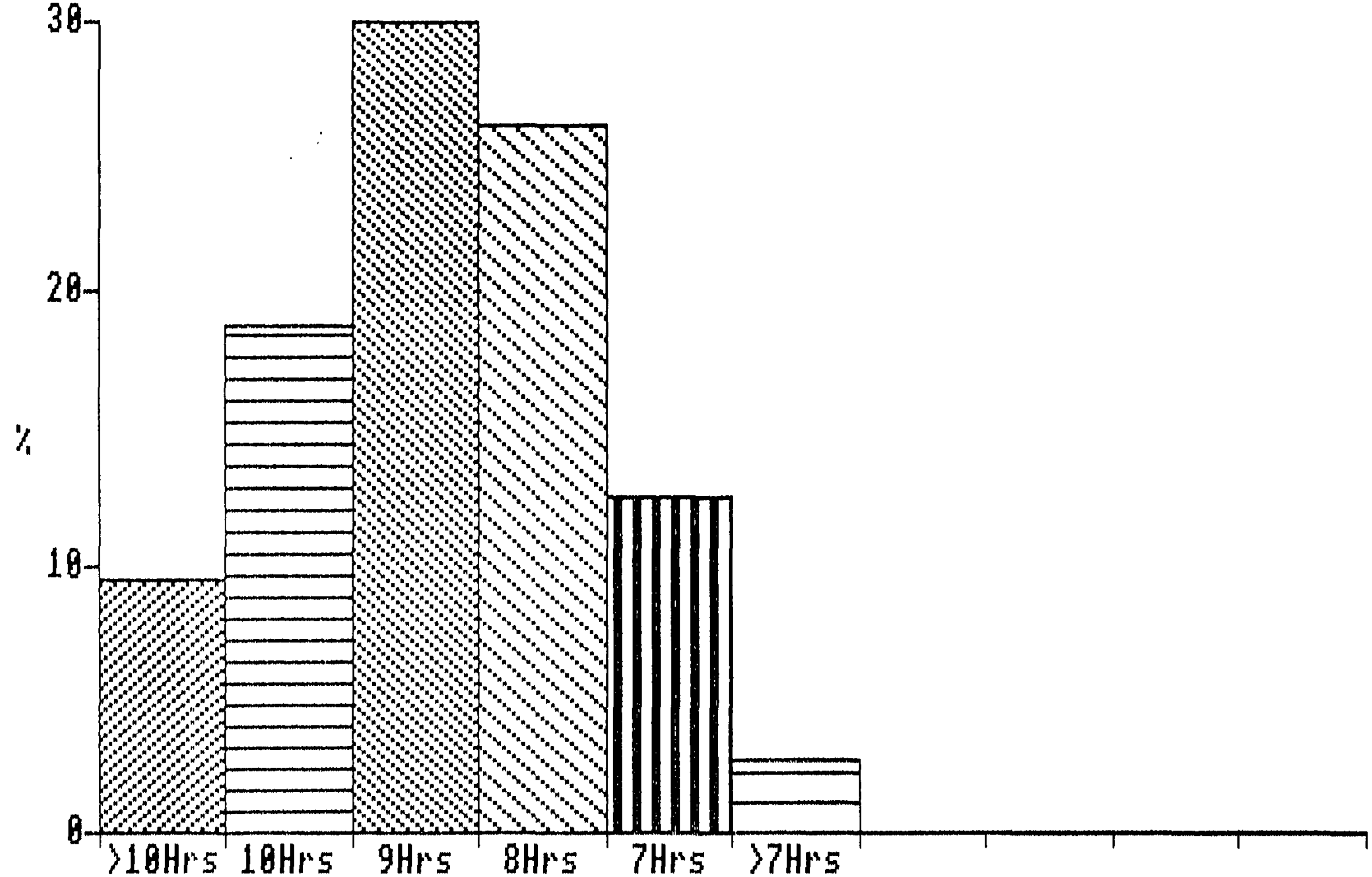

FIG. 9.8 NUMBER OF HOURS PER DAY ON WHICH SHOPS ARE OPEN.

distance during the day. 27 per cent of traders kept their shops open for ten or more hours (1).

Traders selling foodstuffs, sundries and car spare parts tend to open more than eight hours (78 per cent, 71 per cent and 70 respectively). In fact, 22 per cent of the foodstuffs sellers open for ten hours and more. Traders selling ready-made clothes and cloth seem to divide between seven, eight, and nine opening hours. The majority of other items tended to be sold during eight hours or less of trading.

It seems that there is no clear relationship between the length of opening hours and the number of employees. Most traders want to open more hours in order to reach the necessary profit threshold to stay in business, but this increases costs in terms of employees so that only some do this. Nevertheless competition between fixed traders has generally led to their opening on more days and for more hours to attract more buyers than in past years.

9.13 Location of Storage for Fixed traders

Because it was not possible to get direct evidence of the level of trade in the form of turnover or the rents charged for the shops, the writer tried to gauge the importance of shops by several indirect means. Storage space was one of

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(1) During Ramadan, most of the fixed traders, especially in Al-Baha and Baljurashi, open two hours in the morning, two in the afternoon and from ten o'clock in the evening until one o'clock next morning in order to fit in with the day time fasting.

these. Whether or not a shop has any storage for goods, and where that storage space is, might indicate both its economic importance and its size. Table 9.13 shows the storage facilities used by fixed traders in the various market places. The overwhelming majority (75 per cent) had their storage at their premises. Whereas virtually all the Tihama traders had this type of space, a third of the Sarah traders had no such space. These are all small traders, often in fruit and vegetables. Some of these traders kept their supplies at home. A few fixed traders had separate storage near the shops. These were usually wholesale traders selling foodstuffs or construction materials who need more storage space than is available at the shop.

9.14 Future Plans of the Fixed Traders

As another way of gauging the importance of fixed traders, they were asked whether they would continue to sell the same goods in the future, or whether they had other plans. Table 9.14 categorizes their replies. 256 (61.0 per cent) indicated their willingness to continue to sell the same goods because they were satisfied with their trade and believed the economic future was bright. 91 (21.7 per cent) did not know what they would trade in in the future and most of these traders expressed their general uncertainty about the future because of the slow growth in the Saudi economy over the last three years. Many more of the traders in the small Sarah markets were uncertain about their trading future, probably because they have seen the other markets grow faster than theirs. In fact, some expressed

Table 9.13 Location of Storage for Fixed Traders

Markets	Traders	At Market	%	No Storage	%	At Home	%
Sarah Markets			%		%		%
Baljurashi	99	71	71.7	22	22.2	6	6.1 *
Al-Baha	69	40	58.0	22	31.9	7	10.1 *
Al-Mandaq	48	30	62.5	15	31.3	3	6.3
Al-Aqiq	30	28	93.3	1	3.3	1	3.3
Barahrah	22	22	100	----	----	----	----
Al-Atawlah	22	7	31.8	14	63.6	1	4.5
As-Sagarah	11	6	54.5	5	45.5	---	----
Doss	5	5	100	---	----	----	----
Tot. Sarah	306	209	68.3	79	25.8	18	5.9
Tihama Markets							
Al-Mukhwah	58	53	91.4	1	1.7	4	6.9
Gilwah	40	39	97.5	1	2.5	----	----
Ash-Shara	11	7	63.6	3	27.3	1	9.1
Al-Hajrah	5	5	100	----	----	----	----
Tot.Tihama	114	104	91.2	5	4.4	5	4.4
Tot. Sarah and Tihama	420	313	74.5	84	20.0	23	5.5

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

* 30 sample

Table 9.14 Future Plans of the Fixed Traders

Markets	Traders	Sell same Goods	%	Do not Know	%	Sell Different Goods	%	Open Branch In Other Market	%	Open Another Shop	%
Sarah Markets			%		%		%		%		%
Baljurashi	99	58	58.6	20	20.2	---	---	12	12.1	9	9.1 *
Al-Baha	69	43	62.3	16	23.2	1	1.4	3	4.3	6	8.7 *
Al-Mandaq	48	30	62.5	6	12.5	---	---	6	12.5	6	12.5
Al-Aqiq	30	22	73.3	2	6.7	----	---	5	16.7	1	3.3
Barahrah	22	19	86.4	3	13.6	---	---	---	-----	--	--
Al-Atawlah	22	1	4.5	21	95.5	----	---	---	---	---	---
As-Sagarah	11	4	36.4	5	45.5	1	9.1	1	9.1	---	---
Doss	5	1	20.0	2	40.0	---	---	2	40.0	---	---
Total Sarah	306	178	58.2	75	24.5	2	0.7	29	9.5	22	7.2
Tihama Markets											
Al-Mukhwah	58	43	74.1	4	6.9	2	3.4	7	12.1	2	3.4
Gilwah	40	29	72.7	7	17.5	---	---	4	10.0	---	---
Ash-Shara	11	3	27.3	4	36.4	---	---	3	27.3	1	9.1
Al-Hajrah	5	3	60.0	1	20.0	---	---	---	---	1	20.0
Total Tihama	114	78	68.4	16	14.0	2	1.8	14	12.3	4	3.5
Total Sarah and Tihama	420	256	61.0	91	21.7	4	1.0	43	10.2	26	6.2

Source: Fieldwork 1987.
* 30% sample

fears of going out of business. However, some traders were more optimistic about growth in the future. 60 per cent planned to open other shops in the same market where they were interviewed, while 43 (10.2 per cent) expressed their wish to open a branch in other larger markets, such as at Al-Baha, Baljurashi, Al-Mukhwah and/or on the main roads.

It seems, then, that the majority of the fixed traders in Al-Baha as a whole are satisfied with their situation and they reported, as mentioned above, that they would like to continue selling the same goods. For example, 85 per cent of photographic shops, 77 per cent of dealers in electrical goods, 72 per cent of car spare parts dealers, 75 per cent of carpet sellers, 72 per cent of ready-made clothes sellers and 58 per cent of the foodstuff shops. wished to continue their trade. A large minority of sellers of particular items like foodstuffs (20 per cent), ready-made clothes and cloth (27 per cent), construction materials (45 per cent) and household utensils (36 per cent) reported that they wished to open a new shop selling the same goods either in their current markets or at other markets within the region. Most of them were in the larger markets like Al-Baha, Baljurashi and Al-Mukhwah. On the other hand, about a third of sellers of items like sundries (32 per cent), fruit and vegetables (34 per cent) and fresh meat (36 per cent) were uncertain about their future.

9.15 Observations and Suggestions about the Markets in Al-Baha from the Fixed Traders

The fixed traders were asked for their opinions about the the facilities in the markets. Varied observations and suggestions were mentioned. Many traders (19.3 per cent) said they wanted to see markets enlarged to avoid congested conditions, while cleaner conditions, better car parking and more supervision of prices were mentioned by others.

Traders who complained about lack of cleanliness in the markets, claimed that the Municipality was not doing its job and pointed out that a clean market area helps sales because buyers would also expect the Municipality to inspect shops and the goods on sale. The Municipalities do occasionally inspect food shops to make sure that the produce is in good condition and not beyond its sell-by date.

Parking is a common problem, partly because the mobile traders take up some of the available spaces, leaving little room for customers at the stores. This was especially the case in Al-Baha town and Baljurashi which would otherwise have plenty of space. Fixed traders in these two markets complained about having less chance of sales on the market day because of congestion. Buyers went instead, they said, to traders on the main roads leading into the market centres where they can park more easily. Some suggested the construction of a new public car park and the restriction of the existing ones to the cars used by mobile and fixed traders.

It is clear, then, that fixed traders now form an essential element in the markets of Al-Baha region and could be displacing some of the mobile traders as the scale of trade increases. However, both fixed and mobile traders are dependent upon the other principal element in the markets, namely the visitors. The next chapter is devoted to them.

CHAPTER TEN

VISITORS' BEHAVIOUR IN THE PERIODIC MARKETS OF AL-BAHA

10.1 Introduction

Three groups of people can be identified in the periodic markets in Al-Baha and in markets in general. These are the mobile and fixed traders who were considered in the previous chapters, and the visitors who are examined in this chapter.

The term "visitor" here includes any person seen at a periodic market in Al-Baha who was not there to sell something. Visitors are, therefore, mainly purchasers but can also include those who have come to view or join in the social gathering.

The market visitors are as important an element in the market system as the traders. They are not only more numerous than the traders but the traders rely on their purchasing power. Even if a market visitor does not buy from a particular stall, his presence can attract others who may decide to purchase. By examining visitor behaviour with the help of a questionnaire survey, the writer hoped to establish the catchment areas and levels of attraction of each market by means of questions on how long visitors stayed at the market and which other markets they commonly visited.

512 visitors were interviewed at the twelve periodic markets. The numbers interviewed at each market are given in Table 10.1. Questions were asked on where visitors came from, the distance and time they had travelled to the market, their means of transport, their frequency of market visits and the number of other markets visited during the week of the interview. In addition, other questions sought information about the reasons behind visiting the market, visitor occupation and the expectations of visitors about the future of periodic markets. A copy of the questionnaire to market visitors is given in Appendix 4.

Obtaining an accurate sample of market visitors proved difficult because it was not possible to count the number of visitors accurately at a market at any one time. People are constantly coming and going. Nor was it always easy to determine who is a trader and who is a visitor. It was therefore decided to interview as many visitors as possible to obtain a sample of roughly 5 per cent overall. Getting a 5 per cent sample relied on an estimation of the number of visitors in each market which depended on observation and watching the movement of the visitors from their arrival at the market to the time of their leaving. The plan was to contact as many as possible of the visitors throughout the market day so as to sample visitors from different distances. Early visitors are likely to live closer to the market. However, some visitors, especially old people, were reluctant to answer questions, and some others refused because they were busy. At two markets only seventeen visitors could be interviewed, which was unfortunate.

The visitors' questionnaire was conducted during the same visit to the market as the survey of traders so that the patterns of trader and visitor behaviour could be related to each other. The writer employed some student and university graduate assistants to help in this part of survey. The number of assistants ranged from ten persons at some markets to three at others. The number depended on the availability of students and the size of the markets. However, before starting the process of distributing the questionnaires, the author spent ten days training the students to get them familiar with the questionnaire and how to deal with traders and visitors. During that time a test was carried out and the problems were discussed after every trial. When the writer judged the assistants had got to a satisfactory level of performance we started distributing the questionnaire. There were two interviewing groups, one for visitors and one for traders and during the interviews the groups kept close to each other by asking visitors to come to a specific point in the market for the interviews. This helped the author to check progress with the assistants from time to time. However, despite the efforts to avoid mistakes, especially in the Tihama where people seemed to be in a hurry because of the high temperatures, some unreliable answers probably slipped through and some mistakes were made by the assistants. These are not thought to be serious enough to invalidate the results.

Apart from data collected with the questionnaire, some general background information was obtained by talking to some of the visitors. The object was to gain detail about the location of villages, their distances and the character of periodic markets, especially in the Tihama. This can be compared with other information collected by questionnaire.

10.2 Origin of Visitors

A basic question in the interview was to find out where people visiting the markets came from. Their answers have been classified in three categories: from the place where the market was being held; from elsewhere in Al-Baha; or from outside Al-Baha. The results of this question are summarised in Figure 10.1 with more detail for each market given in Table 10.1. An attempt was also made to locate the villages where the visitors came from in order to show each market's catchment area. This has been the basis for the construction of Figure 10.2.

94 per cent of the visitors interviewed came from within Al-Baha and about one quarter of those came from the places where the markets were being held. 23 per cent of the visitors to the markets in the Sarah came from the market settlement, while the proportion was 26 per cent in the Tihama. The 360 of the 480 visitors who said they came from somewhere in Al-Baha outside of the market place, largely came from places near the markets. Table 10.1 also shows that the proportion of the visitors' sample that came from

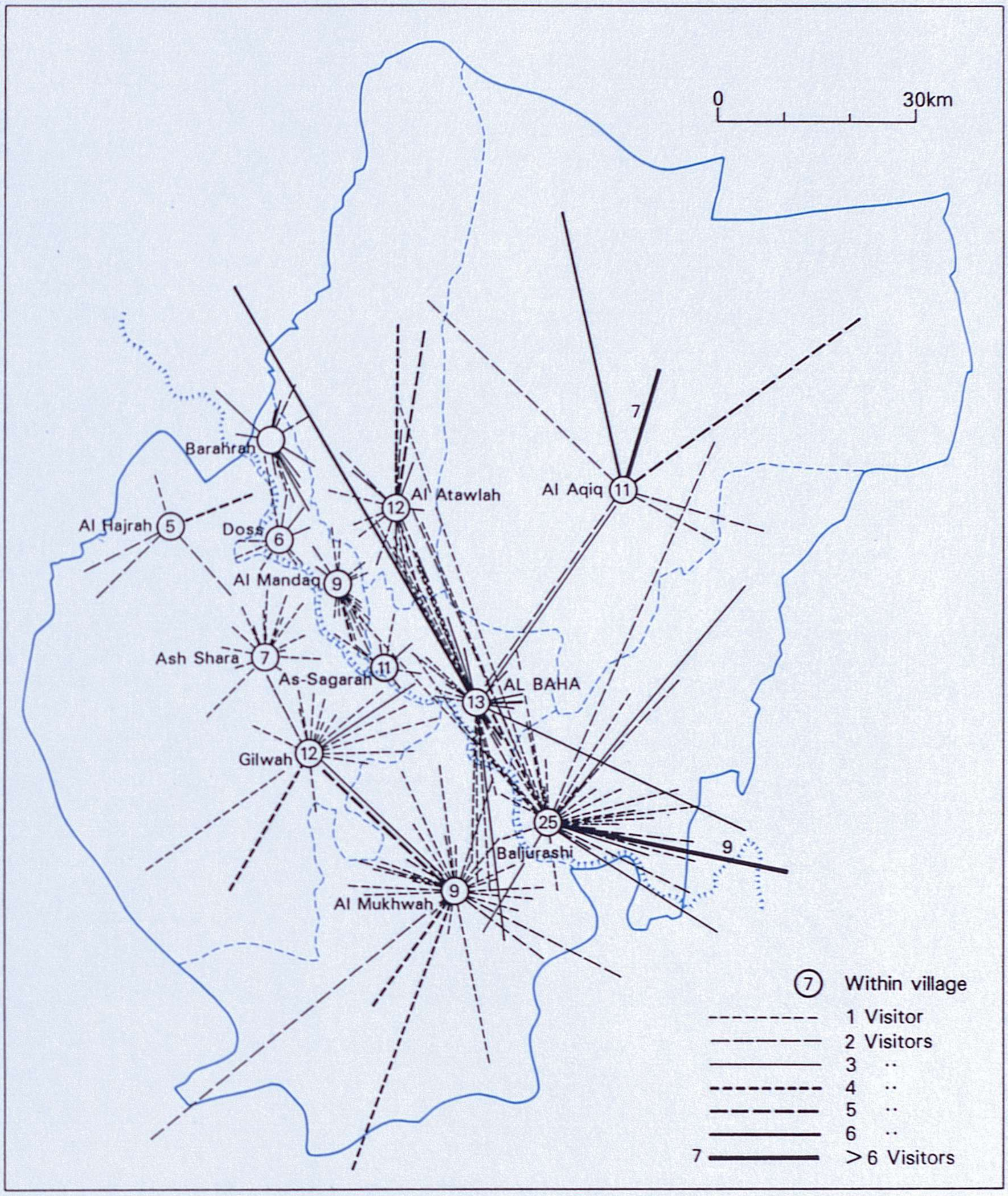

Figure 10.1 Catchment areas of the Periodic Markets according to the origin of visitors

Table 10.1 Origin of Visitors to Al-Baha Periodic Markets

Markets	Visit-tors	Market Settlement		Remainder Al-Baha		Outside Al-Baha	
Sarah Markets			%		%		%
A-Baha	99	13	13.1	78	78.8	8	8.1
Baljurashi	80	25	31.3	42	52.5	13	16.2
Al-Atawlah	51	12	23.5	39	76.5	-	-
Al-Aqiq	44	11	25.0	33	75.0	-	-
Al-Mandaq	34	9	26.5	25	73.5	-	-
Barahrah	32	-	--	29	90.6	3	9.4
As-Sagarah	23	11	47.8	12	52.2	-	-
Doss	22	6	27.3	16	72.7	-	-
Total Sarah Sample	385	87	22.6	274	71.2	24	6.2
Al-Mukhwah	60	9	15.0	43	71.7	8	13.3
Gilwah	33	12	36.4	21	63.6	-	-
Ash-shara	17	7	41.2	10	58.8	-	-
Al-Hajrah	17	5	29.4	12	70.6	-	-
Total Tihama sample	127	33	26.0	86	67.7	8	6.3
Total Sarah and Tihama	512	120	23.4	360	70.3	32	6.3

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

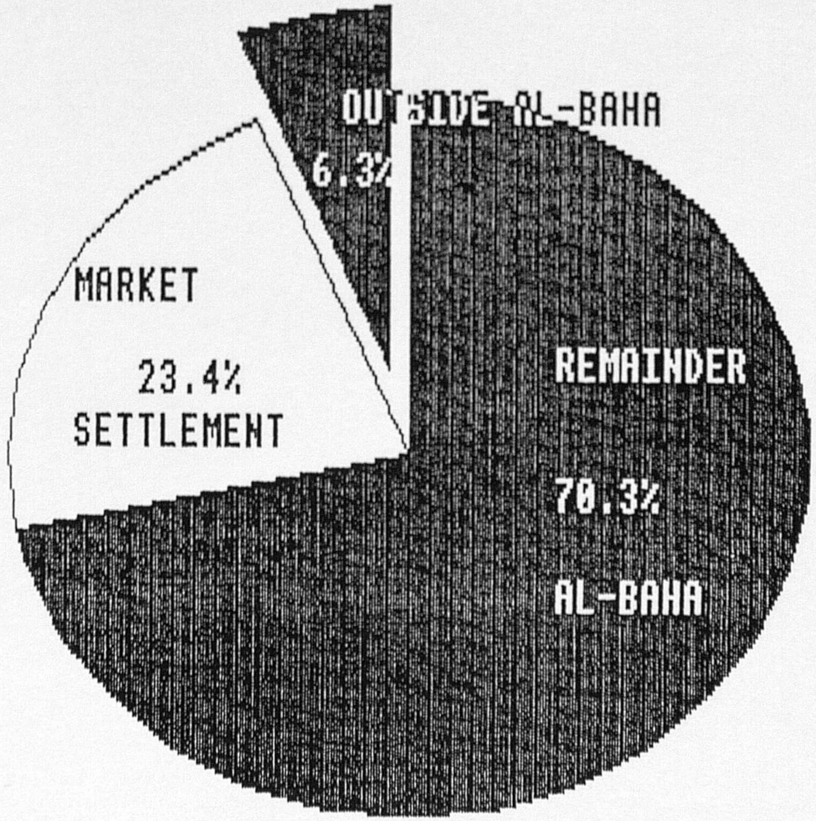

FIG. 10.2 ORIGIN OF VISITORS TO AL-BAHA PERIODIC MARKETS.

Al-Baha villages outside the market settlements in the Sarah area was almost the same (at 71 per cent) as in the Tihama. There about 68 per cent came from settlements in Al-Baha outside the market settlements. As the answers to the next main question on the questionnaire show, about 55 per cent of the sampled visitors had travelled less than 10 km. to visit the market they were interviewed at. As is shown in Table 10.2, this proportion was about the same in the Sarah, as in the Tihama. Larger markets with more traders - Al-Baha, Baljurashi and Al-Mukhwah - were visited by a relatively higher proportion of people from the more distant villages. Some of the visitors interviewed at Al-Baha and Baljurashi markets went there mainly to view, since these markets are adjacent to facilities like hotels and flats to rent which visitors use. Ten visitors interviewed in Al-Baha and in Baljurashi markets were on their summer holiday. Only 32 of all persons interviewed (6.3 per cent) came from outside Al-Baha region.

10.3 Distance from Visitors' Home-base to Periodic Markets

It is clear that most of the visitors came to the markets from relatively short distances. Figure 10.3 summarises the distances which the sampled visitors had come.

Of the 55 per cent of those interviewed who came from less than 10 km. most had came from within 5 km. This would include the 23 per cent of the total visitors who came from the market settlements themselves. But many others came from villages close to the market village. Although all markets

Table 10.2 Distances Visitors Travel to Periodic Markets

Markets	Visitors	0-10 km.		11-20 km.		21-30 km.		31-40 km.		41-50 km.		> 50 km.	
Sarah Markets			%		%		%		%		%		%
Al-Baha	99	43	43.4	13	13.1	7	7.0	9	9.1	10	10.1	17	17.2
Baljurashi	80	34	42.5	17	21.3	7	8.8	1	1.3	-	-	21	26.3
Al-Atawlah	51	23	45.1	16	31.4	6	11.8	-	-	4	7.8	2	3.9
Al-Aqiq	44	12	27.3	8	18.2	6	13.6	-	-	6	13.6	12	18.2
Al-Mandaq	34	34	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Barahrah	32	21	65.6	6	18.8	5	15.7	-	-	-	-	-	-
As-Sagarah	23	23	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Doss	22	21	95.5	1	4.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Sarah sample	385	211	54.8	61	15.8	31	8.1	10	2.6	20	5.2	52	13.5
Tihama Markets													
Al-Mukhwah	60	37	61.7	5	7.4	9	15.0	1	1.7	3	5.0	5	8.3
Gilwah	33	12	36.4	10	30.3	8	24.3	2	6.1	-	-	1	3.0
Ash-Shara	17	14	82.4	3	17.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Al-Hajrah	17	6	35.3	11	64.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Tihama Sample	127	69	54.3	29	22.8	1	13.4	3	2.4	3	2.4	6	4.7
Total Sarah and Tihama	512	280	54.7	90	17.6	48	9.4	13	2.5	23	4.5	58	11.3

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

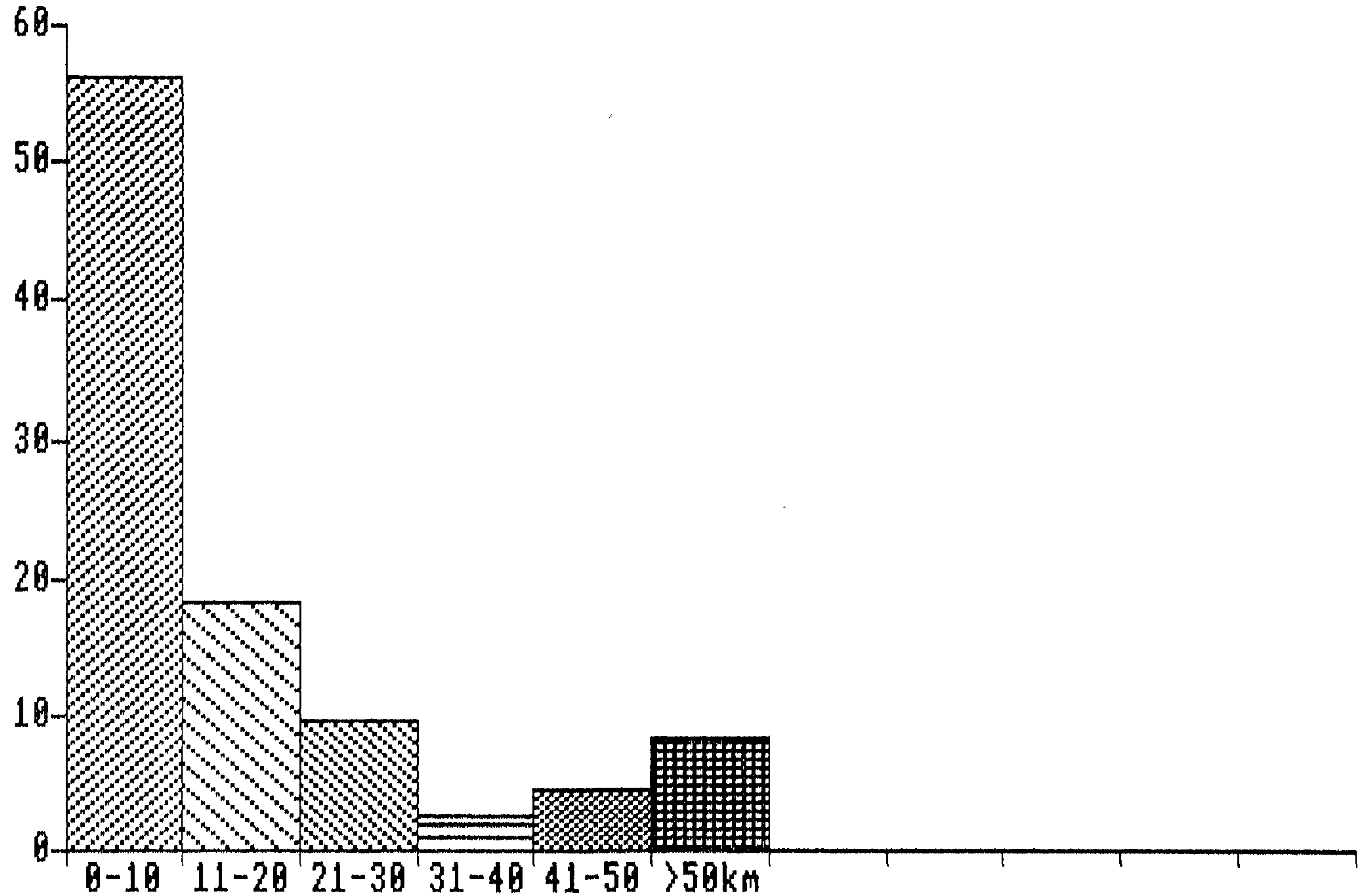

FIG. 10.3 DISTANCE TRAVELLED BY VISITORS TO PERIODIC MARKETS.

without exception have the majority of visitors from within ten kms., some periodic markets appear to have almost all their visitors from within this distance. For example, all 34 visitors questioned at Al-Mandaq came within this range of distance, as well as all 23 visitors at As-Sagarah, and 21 of 22 interviewed in Doss. In the Tihama the settlements are more widely spaced so that a larger proportion of visitors were likely to come from more than 10 kms. away. Those markets which had the vast majority of their visitors coming a short distance were generally small markets in terms of number of fixed and mobile traders. These markets do not have the range or class of goods to attract visitors from a greater distance.

That Al-Mandaq seems to attract so few visitors from a distance may seem surprising since it is considered to be one of the larger markets in the region. It attracted mobile traders from a long distance but all the visitors came from a shorter distance. This is probably due to several reasons. First, most villages surrounding this market are not far away. Secondly, the location of other periodic markets nearby, such as at Al-Atawlah on Wednesday, Doss on Monday and As-Sagarah on the same day might deter visitors coming to Al-Mandaq from these areas. Finally, Al-Mandaq market now has a great number of fixed shops, offering a wide range of goods and has many government facilities which are usually open daily. This range of facilities probably means that people do not have to come to Al-Mandaq on market day to get what they want. For example, Al-Mandaq is the only place in the northern part of Al-Baha to have a telephone service. People from greater distances might therefore prefer to come on a non-market day in order not to wait long to make a telephone call. Finally, the location of the periodic market place inside Al-Mandaq settlement, where there is not enough room for car parking, probably deters many people from visiting this market on the market day because it is so crowded.

The second largest group of visitors (18 per cent) was formed by those who came a distance of 11-20 km. In the Sarah area, the markets at Baljurashi and Al-Atawlah had more such visitors than other markets. This is because Baljurashi market is large enough to attract people from these longer distances, while Al-Atawlah market is the only periodic market in its sub-region, apart from Mashogah which still functions for only half an hour after Friday prayers. In the Tihama, the markets at Gilwah and Al-Hajrah showed a high proportion of visitors from within this distance (11-20 km.) due to the widespread distribution of villages along the wadis in these areas, so that relatively long distances must be travelled to the nearest market. However, the survey at Ash-Shara and Al- Hajrah markets did not produce any visitors from more than 20 km distance, probably because they are very small markets and therefore do not attract people from so far away.

Only the larger markets attracted many visitors from greater distances than 20 km. 9 per cent of the visitors came to the markets within a distance of between 21-30 km (Table 10.3). About 90 per cent of them were from Al-Baha region, while 10 per cent were from outside. The visitors who came from outside in this range of distance were found only in Barahrah market. This market is located almost on the northern border of Al-Baha Province where one would expect to find visitors from outside Al-Baha. 18 per cent of the total sample of visitors interviewed at the region's markets came from more than 30 km away. Most of them were interviewed at Baljurashi, Al-Baha and Al Aqiq markets, with a few of them at Al-Atawlah and Al-Mukhwah markets. Al-Aqiq market is a small market but in a large, sparsely settled sub-region so it has a large local catchment area.

It has been pointed out that most market visitors were from Al-Baha region but Table 10.3 shows that while most of the sampled visitors (71 per cent) who came more than 30 km still came from inside Al-Baha region about 29 per cent of them came from outside. Longer distance (over 30 km) visitors formed 21 per cent of those interviewed in the Sarah markets but only 10 per cent of the sampled visitors in the Tihama. This is basically because markets like Al-Baha and Baljurashi, large markets in the Sarah, attract people from greater distances while Al-Aqiq market, as has been mentioned above, has a large sparsely settled local catchment. This is clear in Figure 10.2 which shows the visitor catchments of the markets based on where visitors reported they lived. The more extensive catchments of the main Sarah markets and Al-Mukhwah market in the Tihama are

Table 10.3 Distance from Visitor's Home-base to Markets and the Origin of Visitors

Origin	0-10km	%	11-20km	%	21-30km	%	31-40km		41-50km	%	>50km	%	Total
Market Settlements	120	42.9	---	--	---	--		-	---	---	---	----	120
Inside Baha	160	57.1	90	100.0	43	89.6	12	92.3	23	100.0	32	55.2	360
Outside	---	--			5	10.4	1	7.7	---	--	26	44.8	32
Total	280	54.7	90	17.6	48	9.4	13	2.5	23	4.5	58	11.3	512

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

clear, with Baljurashi, Al-Baha and Al-Mukhwah all attracting a few visitors from outside the region.

10.4 Travel Time from Visitor's Home-base to the Markets

The local nature of the market catchments is clearer from an analysis of the time visitors took to reach the markets. Visitors were asked to say how long they had travelled to market and their answers were broadly grouped into less than one hour, one hour, less than two hours and more than two hours. This data is summarised in Figure 10.4, and Table 10.4 gives more details for each market.

It is obvious that nearly all visitors to all markets came from less than one hour away. This reflects the fact, as already indicated, that visitors mainly came from places near the market and mostly from inside Al-Baha region. Somewhere over 10 per cent of the visitors to Al-Baha, Baljurashi and Al-Atawlah markets in the Sarah had travelled over one hour. Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah market in the Tihama revealed 20 per cent of the visitors had travelled over one hour to be there. Most of them travelled between one and two hours. Al-Aqiq market revealed the longest travelling times with 18 per cent of visitors travelling over two hours. For the most part only the larger markets revealed many visitors who travelled more than one hour. However, as a result of road improvements and good transportation, the time taken from the home base of visitors has fallen sharply in the last five years. The time consumed from the visitors' home-base to the markets is, of course, related to several

Table 10.4 Visitors' Travel Time To Periodic Markets

Markets	Visitors	< One Hr.		about one hr		< 2 Hrs.		> 2 Hrs.	
Sarah Markets			%		%		%		%
Al-Baha	99	89	89.9	7	7.1	3	3.0	-	-
Baljurashi	80	67	83.7	4	5.0	9	11.2	-	-
Al-Atawlah	51	45	88.2	6	11.8	-	-	-	-
Al-Aqiq	44	32	72.7	-	-	4	9.1	8	18.2
Al-Mandaq	34	34	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Barahrah	32	32	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
As-Sagarah	23	23	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Doss	22	22	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Sarah Sample	385	344	89.4	17	4.4	16	4.1	8	2.1
Tihama Markets									
Al-Mukhwah	60	47	78.3	-	-	13	21.7	-	-
Gilwah	33	24	72.7	3	9.1	6	18.2	-	-
Ash-Shara	17	17	100	-	-	-	-	-	-
Al-Hajrah	17	17	100	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Tihama sample	127	105	82.7	3	2.4	19	15.0	-	-
Total Sarah and Tihama	512	449	87.7	20	3.9	35	6.8	8	1.6

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

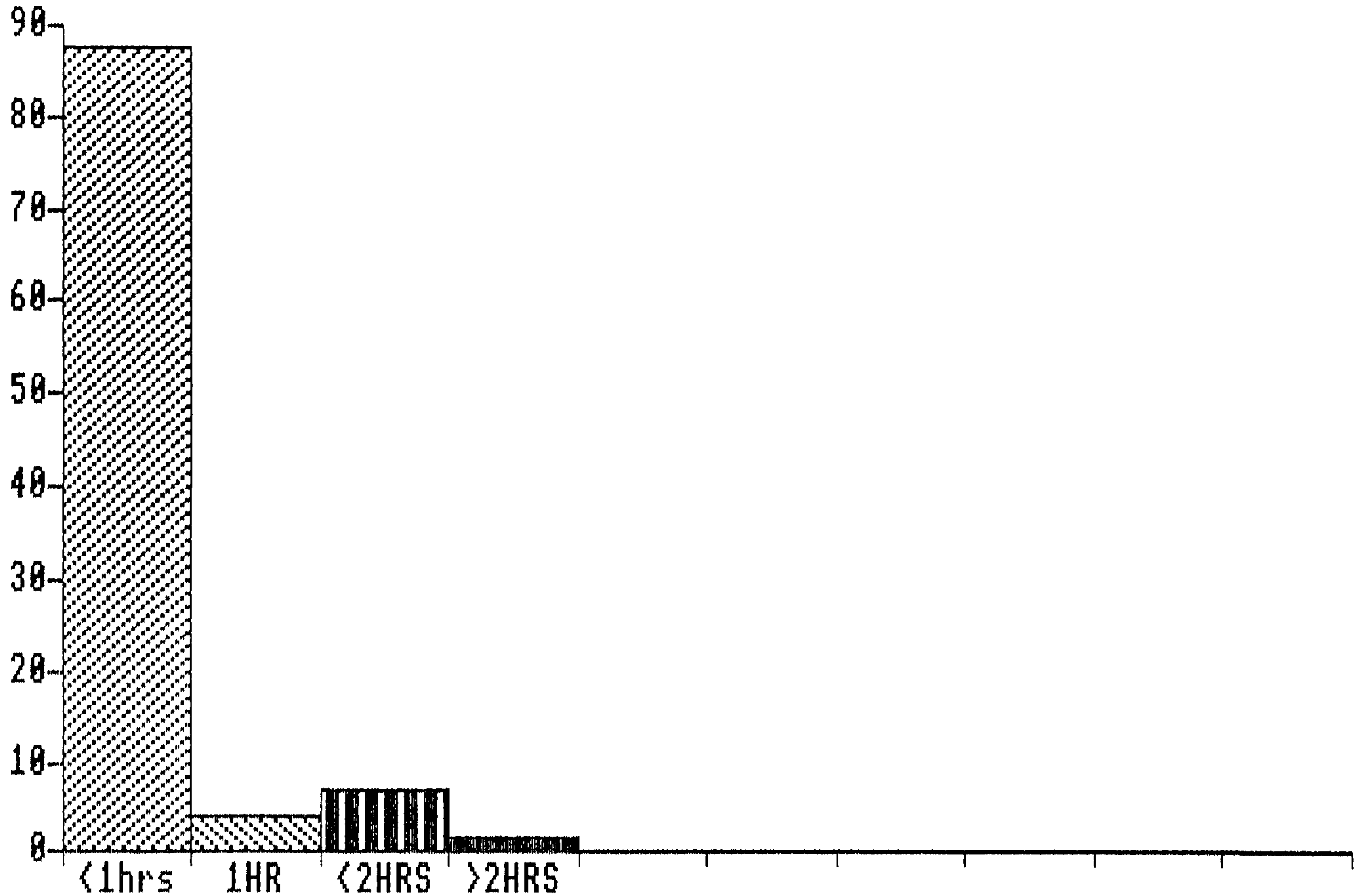

FIG. 10.4 TIME TAKEN BY VISITORS TO TRAVEL TO PERIODIC MARKETS.

factors: the actual distance; means of transport; and the nature of the road between the market and the visitor's home.

Table 10. 5 shows the relationship between the origin of visitors and the time consumed to get to the markets. With the majority (88 per cent) of the visitors' sample coming to the markets in less than one hour, about 27 per cent of this group came from the market settlements, and 69 per cent from elsewhere inside Al-Baha region. Only 4 per cent were from outside Al-Baha region. Even the majority of the visitors from outside Al-Baha got to the markets in less than one hour. This is due to the fact that most of the markets concerned are in the Sarah where more road improvement has taken place.

There is clearly a strong relationship between travel time and distance. Table 10.6 shows that about 88 per cent of the sampled visitors travelled to markets in less than one hour and also shows that about 82 per cent of this group came less than 20 km. Rather fewer visitors came to the markets in one hour from a distance of more than 20 km. Very few visitors came from shorter distance and took more than one hour to reach the markets. Those visitors, usually found in the Tihama or northern Sarah, came from areas of poorer roads. Only eight visitors took more than two hours to reach the markets and these all came more than 50 km. These were all at Al-Aqiq market and the reasons for this have already been noted.

Table 10.5 Visitors' Travel Time and Their Origin

Origin of Visitors	< one Hr.	%	> One Hr.	%	< 2 Hrs.	%	> 2 Hrs.	%	Total	%
Market Settlement	120	26.7	-	-	--	-	-	-	120	23.4
Inside Baha	309	68.8	17	85.0	26	74.3	8	100.0	360	70.3
Outside Baha	20	4.5	3	15.0	9	25.7	--	--	32	6.3
Total	349	87.7	20	3.9	35	6.8	8	1.6	512	100.0

Sours: Fieldwork 1987.

Table 10.6 Visitors Time and Distance from their Home to Markets

	Distance													
Time	0-10 Km.	%	11-20 km.	%	21-30 km.	%	31-40 km.	%	41-50 km.	%	> 50 km	%1	Total	%
<one hr.	280	62.4	88	19.6	36	8.0	11	2.4	17	3.8	17	3.8	449	87.7
> one Hr	-	-	-	-	3	15.0	-	-	6	30.0	11	55.0	20	3.9
< two hr.	-	-	2	5.7	9	25.7	2	5.7	-	-	22	62.9	35	6.8
> 2 Hrs.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	100.0	8	1.6
Total	280	54.7	9o	17.6	48	9.4	13	2.5	23	4.5	58	11.0	512	100.0

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

10.5 Means of Transport Used by Visitors

Travel time is closely related to mode of travel because motor transport is now the main means of getting to market. Animals were widely used for market visits until the beginning of the 1970s but it is now rare to find someone visiting a market in this way.

About half of the visitors used their own vehicle to reach markets (Figure 10.5). The questionnaire shows that visitors used cars even if they came from a short distance to market. 22 per cent of visitors walked to market. These represent 69 per cent of the visitors' sample who reported they came from the market settlements and 8 per cent from nearby villages. 100 visitors (20 per cent) reported that they came to market by relatives' cars, while 34 came by a friend's car. A few paid for a ride. Usually such people did not make prior arrangements. Rather, they walked to the roadside, signalled for a car to stop, and offered money to the driver. They would usually return home with other drivers or would find someone to give them a lift.

Table 10.7 reveals that there was not much difference between the Sarah and Tihama in the percentage of visitors using different means of transport to reach the markets. About 50 per cent of the sample visitors in the Sarah and the Tihama reported that they used their own vehicles to get to the markets. Similarly, there was little difference in

Table 10.7 Means of Transport of Market Visitors

Markets	Visitors	Own Vehicle		Walking		Relative Vehicle		Friend's Vehicle		Rented Vehicle	
Sarah Markets			%		%		%		%		%
Al-Baha	99	51	51.5	18	18.2	19	19.2	9	9.1	2	2.0
Baljurashi	80	44	55.0	15	18.8	9	11.2	8	10.0	11	5.0
Al-Atawlah	51	28	54.9	13	25.5	8	15.7	2	3.9	-	-
Al-Aqiq	44	25	56.8	5	11.4	10	22.7	2	4.5	2	4.5
Al-Mandaq	34	10	29.4	12	35.3	9	26.5	3	8.8	-	-
Barahrah	32	17	53.1	7	21.9	8	25.0	-	-	-	-
As-Sagarah	23	9	39.1	10	43.5	3	13.0	1	4.3	-	-
Doss	22	10	45.5	7	31.8	5	22.7	-	-	-	-
Total Sarah	385	194	50.4	87	22.6	71	18.4	25	6.5	8	2.1
Tihama Markets											
Al-Mukhwah	60	32	53.3	9	15.0	12	20.0	7	11.7	-	-
Gilwah	33	17	51.5	7	21.2	7	21.2	2	6.1	-	-
Ash-Shara	17	8	47.1	4	23.5	5	29.4	-	-	-	-
Al-Hajrah	17	7	41.2	5	29.4	5	29.4	-	-	-	-
Total Tihama	127	64	50.4	25	19.7	29	22.8	9	7.1	-	-
Total Sarah and Tihama	512	258	50.4	112	21.9	100	19.5	34	6.6	8	1.2

Source: Fieldwork, 1987.

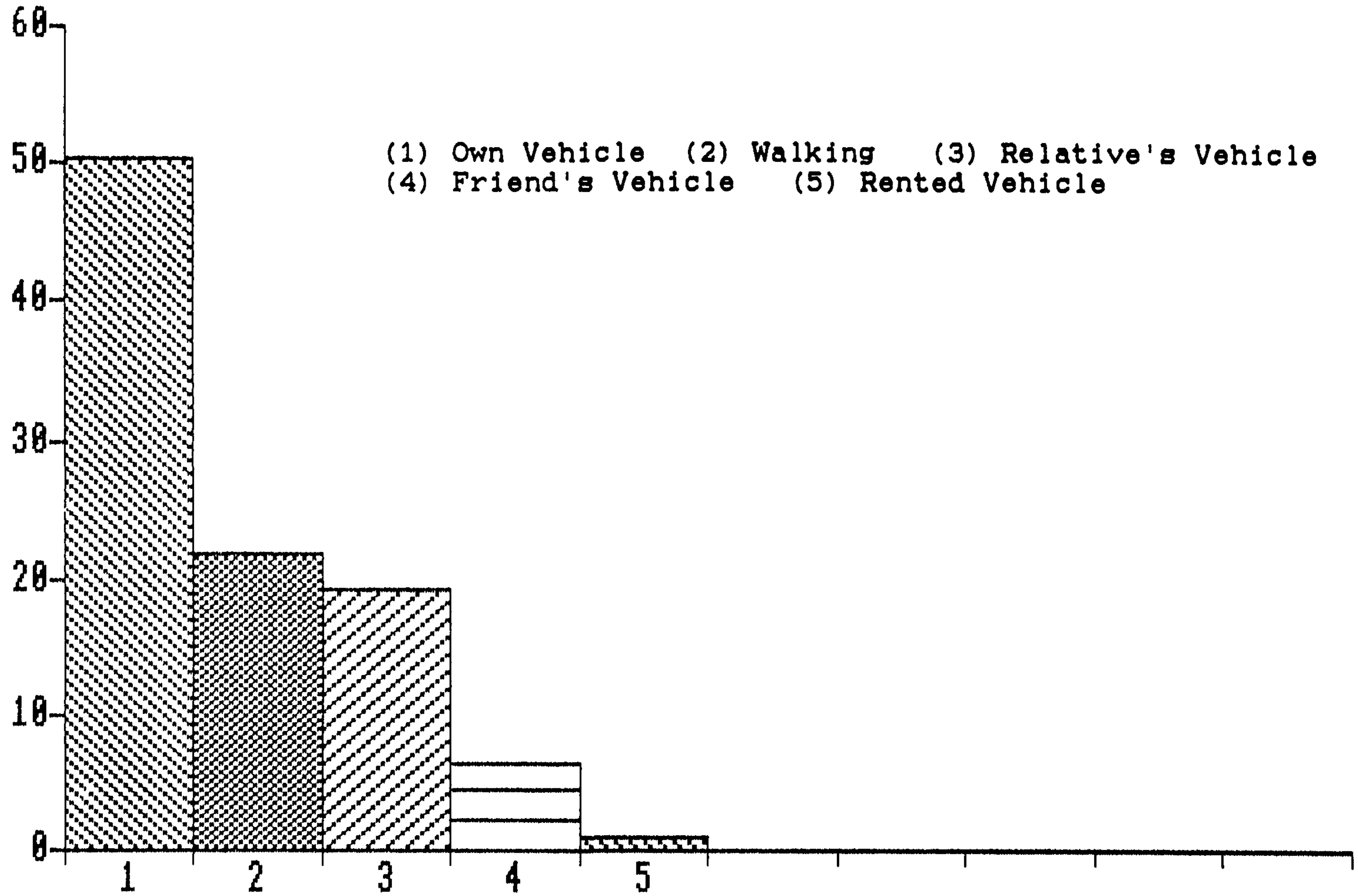

FIG. 10.5 VISITORS' MEANS OF TRANSPORT.

the use of other means of transport, with the small exception of visitors who shared vehicles.

The means of transport used by visitors to get to market are examined here in the light of the distances and origin of visitors to see if longer distance visitors used transport differently from local visitors. The results are shown in Table 10.8 and Table 10.9. It is clear that visitors from the market settlement normally walked to market, although a large minority, about one third, came by car. Visitors from elsewhere in the region mainly came by car, either their own, or in a vehicle of a friend or relative, although a few walked, presumably from local villages. All visitors from outside Al-Baha came by vehicle, normally their own.

10.6 Frequency of Visits to Market

People were asked about the number of visits which they made to the markets where they were interviewed. Their responses are detailed in Table 10-10.

The most common group of visitors were those who went to the market weekly. They form 42 per cent of the sample. More than 77 per cent of this group came from outside the market settlements, while 22 per cent came from the market settlements themselves. Only one visitor among the sample in this group came from outside Al-Baha.

The second largest group were those who came to the market where they were interviewed between two and seven times a

Table 10.8 The Visitors' Means of Transport and their Origin

Origin of Visitors	Own Car	%	Walking	%	Rented Vehicle	%	Relative's Cars	%	Friend's Cars	%	Total	%
Market Settlement	32	12.4	83	74.1	--	--	5	5.0	--	--	120	23.4
Inside	198	76.7	29	25.9	4	50.0	95	95.0	34	100.0	360	70.3
Outside Al-Baha	28	10.9	--	--	4	50.0	--	---	---		32	6.3
Total	258	50.4	112	21.9	8	1.6	100	19.5	34	6.6	512	100.0

Source: Fieldwork 1987

Table 10.9 Means of Transport used by Visitors and Distance from Visitors Home-base to Markets

Means of Transport	0-10	%	11-20	%	21-30 km.	%	31-40 km.	%	41-50	%	> 50 km.	%	total	%
Own Car	96	37.2	57	22.1	30	11.6	10	3.9	21	8.1	44	17.1	258	50.4
Walking	112	100.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	112	21.9
Rented Vehicle	--	--	2	25.0	2	25.0	--	--	--	---	4	50.0	8	1.6
Relative's Cars	59	59.0	24	24.0	10	10.0	1	1.0	1	1.0	5	5.0	100	19.5
Friend's Cars	13	38.0	7	20.6	6	17.6	2	5.9	1	2.9	5	14.7	34	6.6
Total	280	54.7	90	17.6	48	9.4	13	2.5	23	4.5	58	11.3	512	100.0

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

Table 10.10 Visitors' Frequency of Visits to the Markets

Markets	Visitors	2-7 a Week		Once a Week		Occasionally		Never visited	
Sarah Markets			%		%		%		%
Al-Baha	99	32	32.3	27	27.3	31	31.3	9	9.1
Baljurashi	80	21	26.1	38	47.5	21	26.2	-	-
Al-Atawlah	51	10	19.6	21	41.2	20	39.2	-	-
Al-Aqiq	44	15	34.0	23	52.3	6	13.6	-	-
Al-Mandaq	34	21	61.8	13	38.2	-	-	-	-
Barahrah	32	9	28.2	13	40.6	10	31.3	-	-
As-Sagarah	23	7	30.4	9	39.1	7	30.4	-	-
Doss	22	3	13.6	13	59.1	6	27.3	-	-
Total Sarah	385	118	30.6	157	40.8	101	26.2	9	2.3
Tihama Markets									
Al-Mukhwah	60	20	33.0	19	31.7	21	35.0	-	-
Gilwah	33	6	18.2	19	57.6	8	24.2	-	-
ash-Shara	17	2	11.8	13	76.5	2	11.8	-	-
Al-Hajrah	17	3	17.6	8	47.1	6	35.3	-	-
Total Tihama	127	31	24.4	59	46.5	37	29.1	-	-
Total Sarah and Tihama	512	149	29.1	216	42.2	138	27.0	9	1.6

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

week. What is common is that these visitors would come on the market day and on other days so that they can visit the fixed shops.

Nearly all of these market visitors were local. 46 per cent came from the market settlements themselves and only one person came from outside Al-Baha. The remaining 54 per cent came from other parts of Al-Baha, presumably mainly settlements local to the market place. The number of visitors who came occasionally to the markets was relatively high, at 27.0 per cent of the total sample. They came mainly to buy from the market. 81 per cent of the sampled visitors who said they came occasionally to the markets were from inside Al-Baha but from outside the market settlement where they were interviewed. Most of the remainder (16 per cent) came from outside Al-Baha region. Only four were from the market settlements themselves. This suggests that local visitors to markets use them regularly, at least once a week, and that occasional visitors are from a greater distance. This is confirmed by nine respondents who said they had never visited the market before. Eight of them were from outside Al-Baha region. All of these new visitors were found in Al-Baha market.

Further confirmation of the relationship between the frequency of market visits and the distance from the visitors' home-base is provided by Table 10.11. It reveals that visitors who came from different distances appear in most of the frequency columns. But it is also obvious that

Table 10.11 Frequency of Visiting Markets and Distance

Distance	2-7 a Week	%	Weekly	%	Occasionally	%	Never Visited Before	%	Total	%
0-10km.	130	87.2	125	57.9	24	17.4	1	11.1	280	54.7
11-20	12	8.1	52	24.0	26	18.8	--	---	90	17.6
21-30km	3	2.0	20	9.3	25	18.1	---	---	48	9.4
31-40 km.	1	0.7	5	2.3	7	5.1	---	---	13	2.5
41-50 km.	--	--	---	--	23	16.7		4.5	23	4.5
> 50 km.	3	2.0	14	6.5	33	23.9	8	88.9	58	11.3
Total	149	29.1	216	42.2	138	27.0	9	1.6	512	100.0

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

most visitors who visit markets weekly or more often than weekly came from a shorter distance. 87 per cent of the visitors' sample who visit markets between two to seven times a week also came from within a distance of less than ten km away and 58 per cent of those that visit weekly live within ten km. Very frequent visitors are much less likely to live more than 20 km away. On the other hand, visitors who visit markets occasionally show little variation between the different distances. 24 per cent of them came from more than 50 km away. Yet 17 per cent came from less than ten km away.

10.7 Number of Markets Visited by Visitors

There is then a clear distance decay effect at work with those near markets using them regularly and those further from them being occasional users, although some who live near are also occasional users. It therefore seemed sensible to ask visitors about the number of markets they visited within the week previous to the week of the interview, to see just how regular and numerous are their market visits. One might expect that as a result of improved road conditions more people would now visit several markets, but this was not entirely the case. About half reported that the market where they were interviewed was the only market they visited, while most of the rest named only one other market they visited on a regular basis.

50 per cent reported they had visited only one market in the previous week (Table 10.12) but almost no one reported

Table 10.12 Number of Markets Visited in Previous Week (Including the One Where Interviewed

Markets	Visitors	one		Two		Three		Four	
Sarah markets			%				%		%
Al-Baha	99	54	54.5	45	45.5	-	-	-	-
Baljurashi	80	49	61.2	31	38.7	-	-	-	-
Al-Atawlah	51	26	51.0	25	49.0		-	-	-
Al-Aqiq	44	14	31.8	28	63.6	2	4.5	-	-
Al-Mandaq	34	17	50.0	17	50.0	-	-	-	-
Barahrah	32	12	37.5	15	46.9	5	15.6	-	-
As-Sagarah	23	4	17.4	19	82.6	-	-	-	-
Doss	22	5	22.7	17	77.3	-	-	-	-
Total Sarah Sample	385	181	47.0	197	51.6	7	1.8	-	-
Tihama Markets									
Al-Mukhwah	60	29	48.3	31	51.7	-	-	-	-
Gilwah	33	23	69.7	10	30.3	-	-	-	-
Ash-Shara	17	15	88.2	2	11.8	-	-	-	-
Al-Hajrah	17	1	5.9	15	88.2	-	-	1	5.9
Total Tihama Sample	127	68	53.5	58	45.7	-	-	1	0.8
Total Tihama and Sarah	512	249	48.6	255	49.8	7	1.4	1	0.2

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

more markets visited than that. It is clear in the case of visitors to the larger markets that they were less likely to visit another market than visitors in small markets who often went to two markets during the week. Most people who visit only one market live in close proximity to the market settlements and, if it is a large market it can easily meet their needs. Those that visit small markets may also go to another market for some needs and also for the social gathering.

Table 10.13 shows that the majority of visitors who visited only one market (67 per cent) came from a distance of 0-10 km. while 43 per cent of those that visit two markets came from no more than ten kms. from the market they were interviewed at. But a significant minority of those that visit two or more markets came from a greater distance, suggesting that there are a few who will make a considerable effort to visit several markets some distance from where they live. Barahrah and Al-Aqiq markets had most of these visitors. Even visitors to remote markets like Al-Aqiq and Al-Hajrah were more likely to have visited another market in the previous week.

10.8 Reasons for Visiting Periodic Markets

The main traditional function of the periodic markets is the economic one of distributing goods and this remains an important reason, as seen in the fact that most visitors regularly frequent their local market and most markets still remain attractive places for traders to go to. But it seems

Table 10.13 Number of Markets Visited and Distance

Distance	One	%	Two	%	Three	%	Four	%	Total	%
0-10 km.	166	66.7	109	42.7	5	71.4	--	--	280	54.7
11-20 km.	42	16.7	47	18.4	--	--	1	100.0	90	17.6
21-30 km.	20	8.0	28	11.4	--	--	--	--	48	9.4
31-40 km.	2	0.8	11	4.3	--	--	--	--	13	2.5
41-50 km.	--	--	23	9.0	--	--	--	--	23	4.5
> 50 km.	19	7.7	37	14.5	2	28.6	--	--	58	11.3
Total	249	48.6	255	49.8	7	1.4	1	0.2	512	100.0

source: Fieldwork 1987

that this purpose has declined in recent years as more fixed shops in and outside the villages have grown up. The writer, therefore, decided to test this by asking the visitors why they were at the market. Table 10.14 shows the results of this part of the questionnaire.

47 per cent of the total of sampled visitors said they came to the periodic markets mainly to buy, but another 52 per cent said they came mainly to meet friends, and to enjoy themselves, as well as to buy. The social aspect of the market is just as strong in the larger markets and in the Sarah markets where more goods are on sale. But equally in these larger markets visitors can see more, and there is more opportunity to meet friends and enjoy the activities. In the absence of many organised leisure activities and places for recreation in these market centres, simply moving around the periodic market stalls to see what is on sale, going to the coffee houses and restaurants at the market, and meeting people, provide common amusement.

It was not possible to delve deeper into these recreational aspects of market visiting but some visitors, especially the older people, reported that they now visit the markets from a force of habit, rather than to buy goods as was the case in the past. Buying is no longer their main concern, because they can obtain what they need from fixed shops or their relatives will buy for them. Many of these older visitors were from the market settlements themselves or from villages nearby and they went to the market to enjoy the

Table 10.14 Reasons for Visiting Periodic Markets

Markets	Visitors	to Buy	%	Recreation, Meet Friends and to Buy	%	To Buy and Sell	%
Sarah markets			%		%		%
Al-Baha	99	39	39.4	59	59.6	1	1.0
Baljrushi	80	34	42.5	44	54.9	2	2.5
Al-Atawlah	51	28	54.9	22	43.1	1	2.0
Al-Aqiq	44	21	47.7	23	52.3	----	---
Al-Mandaq	34	9	26.5	25	73.5	---	---
Barahrah	32	21	65.6	11	34.4	---	---
As-Sagarah	23	9	39.1	14	60.9	---	---
Doss	22	8	36.4	14	63.6		
Total Sarah Sample	385	169	43.9	212	55.1	4	1.0
Tihama Markets							
Al-Mukhwah	60	35	58.3	24	40.0	1	.7
Gilwah	33	12	36.4	21	63.6	---	---
Ash-Shara	17	11	64.7	6	35.3	--	---
Al-Hajrah	17	13	76.5	3	17.6	1	5.9
Total Tihama Sample	127	71	55.9	54	42.5	2	1.6
Total Sarah and Tihama	512	240	46.9	266	52.0	6	1.2

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

activity there. Very few visitors questioned said they were at the market to both buy and sell, although buying and selling would have led them to be excluded from this part of the survey if they had been selling at the time of the interview.

10.9 Visitors' Occupations

Visitors were asked about their occupation and their replies are classified in Table 10.15 and summarised in Figure 10.6. 228 visitors (45 per cent) of the sample replied that they are farmers, although no information was obtained about the nature of their farming and whether it was still their full time occupation. From the interviews most of them were judged to be over 30 years old. Herders were much less common.

Visitors who reported that they were employed as government officials formed the second largest category (20 per cent). The presence of such a large number of government officials at most markets was due to the fact that markets are located in the settlements where most governmental services are located. Many more were encountered in Al-Baha town and Baljurashi where there are many government offices.

Most of the fieldwork was carried out during the summer holiday season, so that government officials had leisure time to visit markets. The writer visited several markets at the weekend when government offices are shut. Because the fieldwork was done in the summer a large number of students

Table 10.15 Visitors' Occupations

Markets	Visitors	Farmer		Government official		Student		Private Employee		Herder		Driver		Motsibib (any Job)	
Sarah Markets			%		%		%		%		%		%		%
Al-Baha	99	31	31.3	36	36.4	17	17.2	9	9.1	5	5.1	1	1.0	-	-
Baljurashi	80	31	38.7	20	25.0	9	11.2	7	8.7	10	12.5	2	2.5	1	1.2
Al-Atawlah	51	28	54.9	5	9.8	7	13.7	6	11.8	1	2.0	4	7.8	-	-
Al-Aqiq	44	17	38.6	3	6.8	1	2.3	2	4.5	16	36.4	5	11.4	-	-
Al-Mandaq	34	14	41.2	5	14.7	9	26.5	2	5.9	-	-	-	-	4	11.8
Barahrah	32	20	62.5	5	15.6	6	18.8	1	3.6	-	-	-	-	-	-
As-Sagarah	23	12	52.2	4	17.4	6	26.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4.3
Doss	22	14	63.6	4	18.2	4	18.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Sarah Sample	385	167	43.4	82	21.3	59	15.3	27	7.0	32	8.3	12	3.1	6	1.6
Tihama Markets															
Al-Mukhwah	60	27	45.0	10	16.7	2	3.3	17	28.3	2	3.3	-	-	2	3.3
Gilwah	33	16	48.5	5	15.2	4	12.1	5	15.2	2	6.1	-	-	1	3.0
Ash-Shara	17	10	58.8	2	11.8	2	11.8	1	5.9	2	11.8	-	-	-	-
Al-Hajrah	17	8	47.1	2	11.8	2	11.8	2	11.8	2	11.8	-	-	1	5.9
Total Tihama Sample	127	61	48.0	19	1.5	10	7.9	25	19.7	8	6.3	-	-	4	3.1
Total Sarah and Tihama	512	228	44.5	101	19.7	69	13.5	52	10.2	40	7.8	12	2.3	10	2.0

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

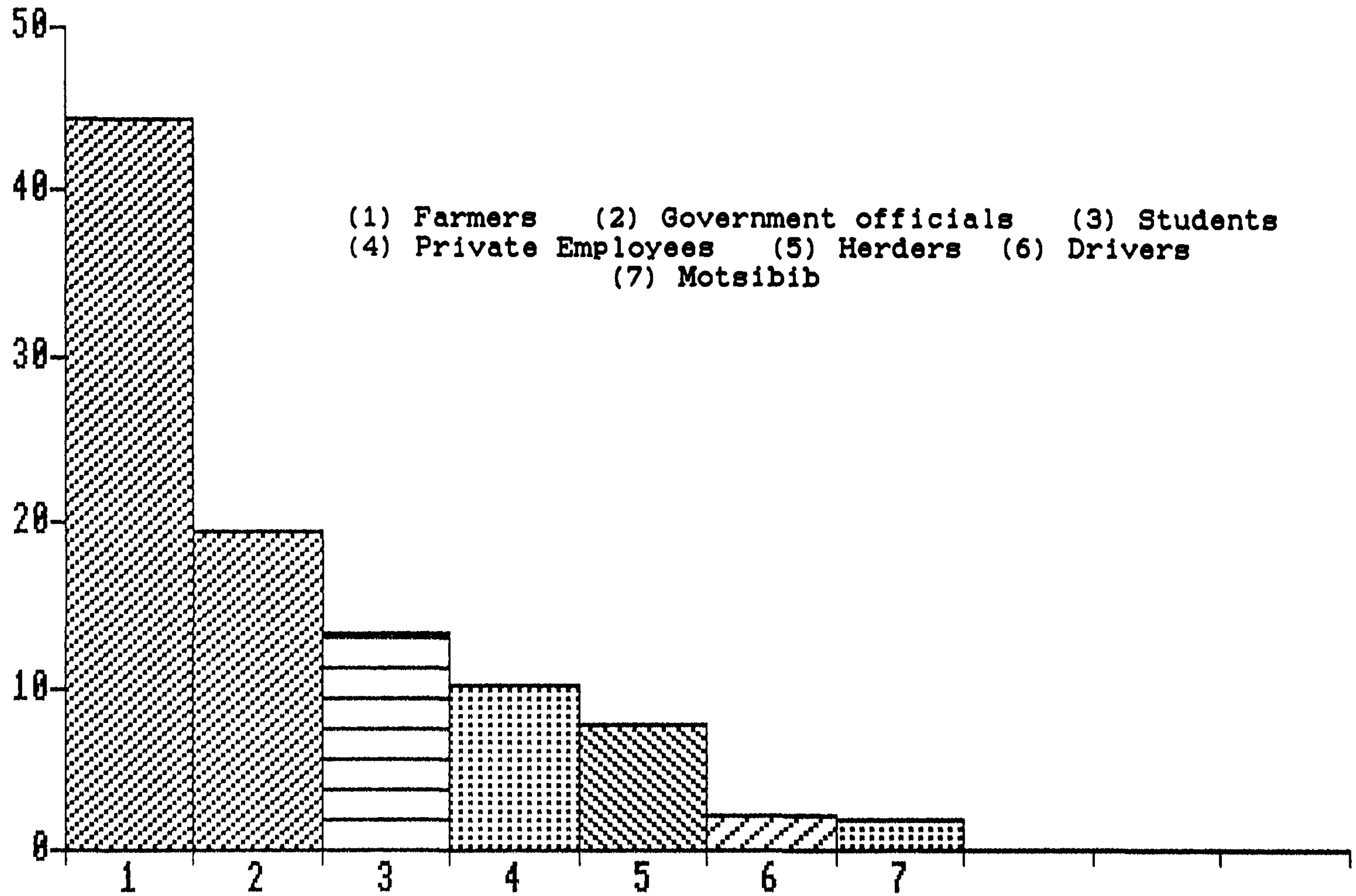

FIG. 10.6 VISITORS' OCCUPATIONS.

were found at the markets. They made up 14 per cent of the total sample. Private employees totalled 52, 10 per cent of the sample, and the majority of them were foreigners who work on construction sites. A small number questioned were classed as <u>motsibib</u>, a person who does not have a particular job, but is usually self-employed. These people usually work as sellers. They buy items from time to time in order to re-sell them in the periodic markets. Only six people amongst those interviewed had come to the markets simply to buy and then re-sell. None were trading at the time of interview but they were intending to buy whatever they believed they could re-sell at a profit on the same day.

10.10 Future Expectations

Visitors were asked about their opinion of the future of the markets where they were interviewed to see if they were aware of changes occurring in the market system. As is shown in Table 10.16, 223 visitors (43.6 per cent) envisaged that some markets would eventually become daily markets and that others would decay. Visitors at the larger markets such as Al-Baha town and Baljurashi, saw them as becoming mainly daily markets. None expected these two markets to remain as weekly markets. Two-thirds thought each would still retain one main market day a week alongside daily selling, but the market-day would eventually become similar to any other day of the week. In some of the other periodic markets there was a large number who gave similar replies. For example, in Al-Mandaq 24 out of the 34 visitors interviewed (70.6 per cent) said that their market would become a daily market in

Table 10.16 Visitors' Expectations about the Markets' Future

Markets	Visitors	Continue as Periodic Market		Changing to Daily Markets		Daily and Large Weekly Market		Finish as Market	
Sarah Markets			%		%		%		%
Al-Baha	99	-	-	71	71.9	28	28.3	-	-
Baljurashi	80	-	-	53	66.2	27	33.7	-	-
Al-Atawlah	51	7	13.7	17	33.3	27	52.9	-	-
Al-Aqiq	44	15	34.1	5	11.4	24	54.5	-	-
Al-Mandaq	34	-	-	24	70.6	10	29.4	-	-
Barahrah	32	6	18.8	14	43.8	12	37.5	-	-
As-Sagarah	23	--	-	4	17.4	6	26.1	13	56.5
Doss	22	6	27.3	3	13.6	-	-	13	59.1
Total Sarah Sample	385	34	8.8	191	49.6	134	34.8	26	6.8
Tihama Markets									
Al-Mukhwah	60	-	-	21	35.0	39	65.0	-	-
Gilwah	33	-	-	8	24.2	25	75.8	-	-
Ash-Shara	17	10	58.8	3	17.6	4	23.5	-	-
Al-Hajrah	17	-	-	-	-	3	17.6	14	82.4
Total Tihama Sample	127	10	7.9	32	25.2	71	55.9	14	11.0
Total Sarah and Tihama	512	44	8.6	223	43.6	205	40.0	40	7.8

Source: Fieldwork 1987.

time. But a common view in all markets was that while their markets would become daily, a special day for the weekly market would continue to be set aside. They could not believe that the periodic market day would disappear altogether. This appeared to be a common view not only in Al-Baha and Baljurashi, but even more obviously in Al-Mukhwah market, where 39 out of 60 visitors emphasised this point. In some smaller periodic markets, visitors suggested that neither their periodic nor their daily markets would continue to function for long. Well over half the visitors interviewed at As-Sagarah and Doss markets in the Sarah area and in Al- Hajrah market in the Tihama area saw no future for those markets. A large minority interviewed at Al-Atawlah, Barahrah, Al-Aqiq, Doss and Ash-Shara predicted that their markets would only continue as weekly markets because there was insufficient trade to switch to daily trading.

10.11 Conclusion

In conclusion to this discussion, it is clear that visitors to periodic markets came mainly from within the Al-Baha region but a few came from outside. Most of the visitors came from within a range of 20 kms. and the majority came to the markets in less than one hour. The short time taken in travel is due to the recent improvement of roads and transportation and must represent a major change to the market system compared with the past when visitors would expect to spend all day at the market or on the journey to the market. But this greater accessibility to markets, together with the growth of fixed shops open every day, has probably sealed the fate of several markets. Visitors seem aware of this.

Comments from visitors about the future of periodic markets suggested that Al-Baha, Baljurashi and Al-Mandaq would increasingly become daily markets. These three markets already have a considerable number of fixed shops and more government offices are found there which means that there is a steady flow of visitors and a market for a wider range of goods. High-class specialist goods are already for sale there. Access to these markets has been considerably improved since the 1970s. In addition, on non- market days when the writer visited these markets one could still find farmers selling their agricultural products. No doubt there were more of them on market days, but their presence on non-market days seems to indicate some changes in selling and buying habits. Visitors no longer rely on a single weekly visit to the market or make all their purchases at one time.

Some other markets, such as Al-Mukhwah, Al-Atawlah, Al-Aqiq and Gilwah are likely to continue but only as weekly markets. Although these markets have quite a high number of fixed shops open daily, they still have to rely on serving people from a greater distance and, apart from Al-Mukhwah market, access is still poor. This means that visiting these markets once a week would be preferable to daily visits in order to save time and effort. Traders therefore need to concentrate their sales onto one day to remain viable even though some traders, especially farmers, in these markets sell on other days. This does not appear to threaten the dominance of the weekly marketing.

The markets at Al-Hajrah and Ash-Shara in the Tihama, as well as Doss and Barahrah in the Sarah, have uncertain futures. From the interviews with mobile traders and visitors, at least the first three named markets might not last for much longer, either as periodic or daily markets. The main reason behind the possible failure of these markets is their small size and their location adjacent to larger centres. For example, Al-Shara is located about 20 km north of Gilwah, which has a large market, more fixed shops and more government facilities. Al-Hajrah is located in a position where there is no way to enlarge the market. On the other hand, there is a project by the Municipality for building fixed shops but it is not completed yet. When this project, which is about 5 km outside the current periodic market location, is finished the revival of the periodic market would be very difficult since the market would need a new location and the shops would be open daily. Moreover, since the main asphalt road connects Al-Hajrah with Gilwah, this would probably strengthen the position of Gilwah as a daily and periodic market. People from Al-Hajrah and the surrounding villages would probably use the Municipality shops for their daily needs and would travel to Gilwah and Al-Mukhwah market for high order goods since the large population there can support the provision of such goods. In the case of Doss market in the Sarah area, Al-Mandaq is about twelve km. to the south and it is a larger centre in terms of number of fixed shops, government facilities and the variety of goods on sale. This suggests that Doss would have no chance to survive as a periodic market. It is also held on Monday which makes the situation worse since Al-Mandaq market is held two days earlier.

Barahrah market might just survive. If it does it will be due to its fortunate location. Barahrah is located almost on the border between Al-Baha and the Bani Malek area in the south of Makkah Province. Because Barahrah attracts trade from surrounding agricultural villages in the two provinces it might continue to function as a small daily and periodic market. Thus, a rather mixed future can be forecast for periodic markets in Al-Baha.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONCLUSION

11.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have attempted to set out the information which was gathered on the periodic markets of Al-Baha. From that it is now possible to better understand the origins, functions and spatio-temporal patterns of the markets, and to assess the extent to which the region's markets conform to the view of periodic markets reported elsewhere in the literature. It is clear that the market system in Al-Baha is continuing to undergo rapid change. Therefore, in this concluding chapter, a number of suggestions are also made for the further rationalisation of the market system in order to smooth the transition that already seems to be underway. Before laying out those points it is sensible to summarise the major points covered in the main parts of the thesis.

It will be recalled that Al-Baha, as part of south-western Saudi Arabia, has an area of about 11,000 sq. km. and a population of 274,000 in 1982. The region divides into two main parts, the Tihama and the Sarah, separated by the barrier of the Escarpment. Each part has a quite distinct social and economic system. The Tihama forms the lower part to the west of the Escarpment and is characterised by sandy plains. The Low Tihama which is poor for agriculture and thinly populated, fronts the Hilly Tihama which forms the majority of this sub-division. In the Hilly Tihama, the people live alongside the narrow water courses and the periodic markets of the area are located in a line just west of the Escarpment where the wadis systems converge.

The Sarah area contains two major subdivisions, the Sarah Proper and North Sarah. The Sarah Proper forms the smallest zone in the region but accommodates more than two-thirds of the population because most of the well watered farmland is here. Most of the stronger periodic markets are also located in the Sarah Proper, where hundreds of villages are scattered across the mountain landscape. The North Sarah is a larger area which was, until recently, inhabited only by nomadic people who started to settle in the 1970s and to practice farming along the broad wadis which cross the area. Because the population was small and nomadic the area was devoid of periodic markets until recently. Two were created in the late 1970s as settlement got underway, but while Al-Aqiq market has gradually begun to flourish, Mashogah market remains very small.

Population and economic activity has expanded rapidly in Al-Baha in recent years. The region's population has probably increased since 1979 at an annual rate of about 5 per cent, so that whereas it was estimated at 273,790 in 1982 it had reached about 280,000 in 1986. Economic activities have undergone much recent change resulting in changes in employment patterns. Agriculture which took 61.3 per cent of the total employment in 1974, had declined to only about 25 per cent by 1982 as many farmers abandoned their farms when they realised that they could earn much better incomes in other occupations. As a result the number of employees in other sectors increased. Employment in the public services, in particular, rose from 18 per cent to 42 per cent of the total workforce between 1974 to 1982. Employment in construction rose from 6 per cent to 14 per cent as a reflection of the economic boom which all of Saudi Arabia experienced in the 1970s. The boom also led to increased urbanisation, more public services, and greater ease of mobility within many parts of Al-Baha region.

As a result of the increase in oil revenue, per capita income rose rapidly in Al-Baha, but the Finnplanco's study (1985) revealed that the monthly household income remained higher in the Sarah area than in the Tihama. This was due to the existence of more non-agricultural work in the Sarah, especially in better paid government jobs. On the other hand, the monthly household expenditure was also greater in the Sarah. All of these changes, in population, employment, accessibility and household incomes can be expected to have had an impact on the amount of retail activity and on the periodic market part of the retailing system.

As far as market activity is concerned, Al-Baha is a small area with no very large service centres. About 240 of the region's one thousand villages and settlements have some service provision, but mostly only of the most basic kind. The leading periodic market centres are also larger centres for shops and other services, but even Baljurashi and

Al-Baha towns only rate as small towns. The other periodic market centres are really only villages, some no larger than the villages without periodic markets.

11.2 The Main Issues of the Thesis

Periodic markets played an important role economically and socially in Al-Baha until the beginning of the 1970s. In particular they acted traditionally as the main outlet for local production and the exchange of goods. They provided a means for people to sell goods produced from whatever the environment could offer. For example, before the 1970s most of the construction materials used locally were produced locally, and could be bought from the periodic markets. Farm products were dominant in the markets, but the products of pottery-making, carpentry and blacksmithing were also widely traded there.

But since 1900 the number of periodic markets in Al-Baha has been halved. During the 1970s several markets closed and it seemed as if some of the remaining periodic markets might not last very long. This recent decline happened mainly because of improvements in transportation which greatly shortened travel time to the markets so that the weaker ones lost trade to the stronger ones. Furthermore some market centres benefitted from enlarged population, government offices and good accessibility to increase their trading advantages.

But markets also suffered in general because by the 1970s they were no longer the only places where consumers could buy what they wanted, as more shops and stores opened up in and around the market and on the main roads. The number of village shops also increased. Most of these shops open daily, from morning to evening, and because they provide for the daily needs of the people, visits to the periodic markets became less important. That fixed traders took more trade is seen in the fact that not only did their number increase but they started to open their shops on days other than market days. Before the 1970s. most fixed traders were engaged in other activities, often farming, and only opened their shops on the day of the local periodic market. Since then, as trade has increased, the period of opening of shops has been extended often to six days a week and by this means they have often taken over much of the trade of the periodic markets.

The thesis has also discussed the social role of the periodic markets which was especially important before the arrival of motor vehicles and shorter travel times. Older market visitors interviewed during the field survey spoke of visiting the markets in the past to exchange news and gain economic information. Such information about rainfall distribution and about the grain situation in other areas was important because most people in Al-Baha used to graze animals and needed to know where to find a good place for the seasonal grazing of their herds for the next few months. In other cases, a part of a family might go to another area to help another part of the family in the grain harvest. In return, they would receive an amount of the grain harvested. The periodic market was a place where people could obtain advance information about the levels of the grain harvest in other areas and what amount they might receive by working there.

Nowadays the improvement of communications with the widespread availability of radio and television has reduced this need for local farm information. News is no longer an incentive to visit the market. The social aspect of market visits is now much more for leisure to move around with friends, to drink coffee and tea, and to eat in the restaurants. Many of the social visitors do not buy anything because the markets do not provide the goods to which they might be attracted. In this way it could be argued that the markets are not fully providing this new function as places of social entertainment.

11.2.1 Origins of Periodic Markets

The writer found it difficult to trace the origins of every individual market in Al-Baha. Few documents were available about most of the markets and those he saw were often unhelpful. Nevertheless, it is clear that the tribal origins of markets set the day of the market, the charges made, and decided the shares to the tribes, clans and sub-tribes. Periodic markets in Al-Baha seemed to evolve as population grew beyond a certain threshold, maybe 300 years ago, and as self-sufficiency began to break down. Until then the population was small and there would be little scope for trade beyond the local confines. The need for something produced non-locally, like cloth, could be met by an annual visit to Makkah. Even in the 1950s and 1960s, people in Al-Baha would only sell their surplus of grain when they were in need of cash, although the Ghamed people practised trade more than the Zahran people. With an increased need for imported goods, like cloth, sugar, coffee, rifles and rice about 50 years ago, some centres developed markets for these goods and to act as bulking centres for the export of the local produce. Baljurashi, Al-Mukhwah, Al-Hajrah and Bathan appear to have been examples of this development. Thus, as found elsewhere in the World, outside trade might have been an incentive for at least some periodic markets to become active and to grow. On the other hand, trade in local goods and other factors probably played an important role in the origin of some periodic markets. These factors emerge from an examination of the spatio-temporal patterning of periodic markets.

11.2.2 Spatio-temporal Distribution of Al-Baha Markets

An analysis of data collected during fieldwork allowed an examination of the spatio-temporal distribution of periodic markets at three separate dates (1900, 1950 and 1987). This allowed the notion that "proximity in space implies separation in time" to be investigated. There were 26 periodic markets in 1900, 23 in 1950 and thirteen in 1987 but with this decline there is only limited evidence to support the notion of spatial and temporal separation of market days in general. With the help of information collected from interviewing old people at the markets it seems that, while some periodic markets were created for purely economic reasons (Baljurashi, Al-Baha, Al-Mandaq, Al-Mukhwah and Al-Hajrah, are examples), some other markets were created for political reasons as tribes gained prestige by controlling their own periodic market. Thus, some periodic markets arose from a conflict approach to economic activity which meant deliberately creating a market on the same day as an adjacent market, to increase competition and, hopefully, to kill off another tribe's market. By 1987, the number of periodic markets had become small as transport had improved considerably and created even more market competition. There were too few markets in 1987 on which to demonstrate the notion that proximity in space implied separation in time. Whereas until the 1970s a distance of 20 km. might have been sufficient space between periodic markets to allow both to function effectively on the same day, nowadays, with the improvement in roads, the average distance apart may need to be more than 50 km., especially taking into consideration the existence of fixed shops in some villages offering intervening opportunities.

The spatio-temporal pattern has been a key aspect in most studies of periodic markets conducted in Africa, South-east Asia and Latin America. Most of the studies accepted Stine's (1962) concept that "proximity in space implies separation on time". But the results of this study conflict with these more general findings.

It must be stressed, however, that a full review of the literature on periodic markets did show that spatio-temporal patterns differ from country to country and even from one part of the same country to another according to the popularity of the day of the market. For example, in Christian Latin America, Sunday markets seem more popular, while Friday markets are more popular in northern Nigeria and some parts of Africa dominated by Islam. On the other hand, the Friday market is less important in Al-Baha. In fact, only two relatively unimportant markets operated on that day. Secondly, research in most Third World countries, has shown that tribes play an important role in the creation and maintaining of periodic markets. Accordingly, political as well as economic considerations are important and this has been seen to be true in Al-Baha.

11.2.3 Participants in the Periodic Markets of Al-Baha Region

A major part of the thesis considered the ways in which mobile traders in the markets, fixed traders and visitors used the markets. This work was conducted on the basis of interviews. Nearly 1500 people were interviewed at the markets.

This survey shows that most mobile traders came short distances to markets and mainly sold locally produced goods. Most trading was on a small scale, although it is clear that the markets at Al-Baha, Al-Mukhwah and Baljurashi attracted traders from greater distances and more traders were attracted to those markets.

A major trend in the region's recent trade system is the increase in number of fixed traders operating from shops especially in the markets of Al-Baha and Baljurashi where more than 300 fixed shops were found in each. Two-thirds of the fixed traders had established their shops in the last ten years. But whereas the markets dealt more in local goods, most of the commodities sold by fixed traders were imported, including foodstuffs, sundries, construction and electrical materials, ready-made clothes and cloth. Most of the fixed traders in Al-Baha obtained their goods from Jeddah.

The visitors were the third group examined and the survey found that the majority of them at the periodic markets came from inside Al-Baha region, mainly less than one hour travel time from home. Although many came to buy, many others came for the social occasion.

11.3. Observations and Practical Suggestions

The scale of trade in the markets, together with the views of those involved in the markets make it clear that parts of the existing periodic market system are in decline and several of the smaller markets are likely to close in the next few years as new trading systems, like roadsides shops, become more important. The examination of the distribution of public and commercial services showed that, while some periodic market centres are large central places, some of the smaller ones are no more important than some villages without markets. Some of these places could soon lose their markets. The following suggestions are therefore made to help the stronger markets play a more useful role in the economic system of the region.

First, there needs to be some rationalisation of the pattern of periodic markets. The thirteen markets could be reduced to seven with little loss in the system's efficiency. Five of them would be in the Sarah area at Al-Baha, Baljurashi, Al-Aqiq, Al-Atawlah and Al-Mandaq. Two periodic markets would be retained in the Tihama area at Al-Mukhwah and Gilwah. These seven markets would be in places recommended as the centres of the sub-regions put forward for planning purposes in the 1985 Finnplanco report. Each would serve several sub-emirates so that even the smallest grouping would have over 23,000 population. This compares with sub-emirate populations of less than 5,000 presently served by Barahrah and Mashogah markets which seem unlikely to survive. Table 11.1 summarises these groupings and Figure 11.1 shows their distribution. Market centres chosen for retention have several factors in their favour. First, each has a long established reputation as a successful periodic market. Secondly, each contains a relatively large number of public and commercial services to supplement the attraction of the market. Thirdly, each market centre is a place of some size in its own right. Each has more than 2,000 population. Each place is also accessible on the new road network.

Table 11.1 The Suggested Redistribution of Periodic Markets and the Sub-emirates' Populations

Markets	Population	Sub-Emirates	Population
Buljarashi	59,200	Baljarashi	41,530
		Balshahan	9,560
		Bani Kabeer	8,110
Al-Baha	50,900	Al-Baha	31,070
		Bani Thabyan	11,790
		Baydan	8,040
Al-Munduq	39,960	Al-Munduk	11,240
		Balkhazmar	6,710
		Boss	7,100
		Barahrah	4,320
		Bani Hassan	10,590
Al-Atawlah	38,340	Al-Atawlah	10,050
		Bani Adwan	5,540
		Nakhal	2,030
		Mashugah	3,840
		Beedah	6,590
		Al-Farah	10,290
Al-Aqiq	23,340	Al-Aqiq	11,320
		Jarab	3,790
		Kara Al-Hayt	5,670
		Badit Bani Kabeer	2,560
Al-Mukwah	31,680	Al-Mukwah	16,640
		Ghamed Az-Zna	4,100
		Batat	4,070
		Nawan	2,960
		Nira	3,910
Gilwah	30,370	Gilwah	12,960
		Ash-Shara	6,130
		Al-Hajrah	7,930
		Jurda Bai Ali	3,350
7	273,790	30	273,790

Source: Finnplanco, Economic Survey, 1985.

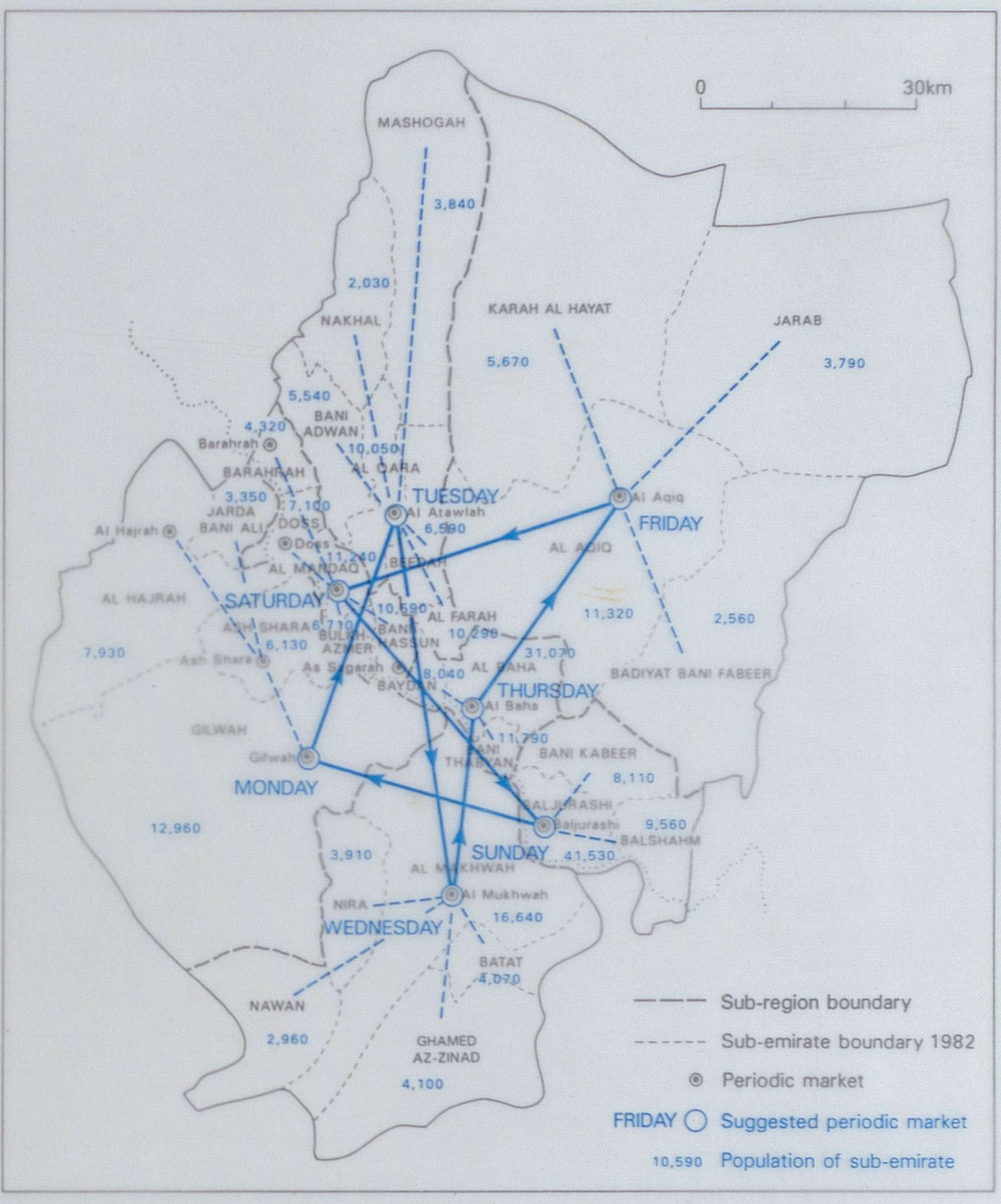

Figure 11.1 The suggested days and locations for a new pattern of Periodic Markets

No attempt should be made to maintain the six small markets at Barahrah, As-Sagarah, Doss, Ash-Shara, Al-Hajrah and Mashogah, most of which show clear evidence of decline as periodic markets, although each of them contains several fixed shops which could meet the daily needs of the local population and would trade on a small scale and in lower order goods.

With this pattern established there would also be sense in reorganising the market days so that one market occurs on each day of the week. The timetable is indicated in Table 11.2.

Table 11.2 Suggested Days for the New Pattern of Periodic Markets in Al-Baha

Market location	Day of the Market	Current day
Al-Baha	Thursday	Thursday
Baljurashi	Sunday	Saturday
Al-Aqiq	Friday	Friday
Al-Atawlah	Tuesday	Wednseday
Al-Mandaq	Saturday	Saturday
Gilwah	Monday	Tuesday
Al-Mukhwah	Wednesday	Wednesday

It is also suggested that markets close to each other should not be held on successive days which could reduce the catchment of both. This proposed timetable would give mobile traders a better chance to move around the circuit efficiently. It is suggested that Baljurashi market be held on Sunday because there is a Saturday market at Shomran 40 km south of Al-Baha region. People in north 'Asir Province and around Baljurashi town would therefore have more chance to visit both markets if they are held on well separated days, and traders could travel to both. The market at Al-Aqiq should be retained on Friday as at present because it was recently established and it would be best not to disturb a small new market. The nearest market to it at Al-Baha town is suggested for Thursday. Al-Atawlah market is suggested for Tuesday instead of Wednesday because it would then be one complete day apart from Al-Baha market which is only 30 km. from it and held on a Thursday. This would give both a chance to prosper.

In the Tihama, Gilwah market is suggested to be on Monday because it is only 25 km. from Al-Mukhwah market,the largest in the area, which is proposed for Wednseday. There is also a large Tuesday market 30 km. south of Al-Mukhwah at Numarah outside Al-Baha Province. By putting Gilwah market on Monday it avoids competition with Numarah market.

The proposed re-distribution of periodic markets, however, will not ensure the survival of all the markets. The following points could also help.

1. All the periodic markets should be re-located outside their existing sites which are largely overcrowded and within built-up areas where it is not possible to provide adequate car parking and other facilities. This is especially a problem in Al-Baha, Baljurashi, Al-Mandaq,

Al-Atawlah, Gilwah and Al-Hajrah markets (1). This seems a better choice than removing some of the buildings that are close to the markets. This would be costly to do. As many of these surrounding buildings are shops, their removal could damage the centre's trade. Moving periodic markets outside their settlements seems more sensible since there is empty land, usually government land, on the edges of these places which could be developed to give the facilities now required by periodic markets.

2. The municipalities should provide better facilities for the markets on these new sites. These facilities should include not only more car parking space and space for selling but more covered space to protect traders and their goods from sun and rain. Some markets already provide covered stores for food traders and this type of facility should be extended to other traders. Places should be set up for the sales of snacks and drinks to traders and visitors because at their new sites the markets will be far from the existing restaurants and coffee houses.

3. The market should be better organised and maintained by the Municipalities to ensure a higher quality of trading satisfaction for both traders and buyers. The sale of

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(1) Al-Mukhwah market is not hindered by buildings but it takes place in the bed of Wadi Dyan which is subject to occasional flash floods. A flood in the 1970s swept several cars away and destroyed several fixed shops. The losses were relatively light only because the flood came during the night before the market day when only a few mobile traders had arrived and were gathered in the coffee houses. But clearly the market should be re-sited to avoid this danger.

animals is a major part of the markets and should be allowed to continue beside the other sales, especially as buyers of animals like to conduct other trade at the market, but restricting animal sales to one part would help to maintain hygiene in the market area. A nominal fee should be charged to all traders to help clean and maintain the market area. The present hours of market opening seem to suit traders and visitors but traders should be allowed onto the market site from the afternoon of the previous day to allow some sales on that day. This would encourage some fixed traders in the centre to buy on the day previous to the market in order to re-sell in their shops and so enhance competition. It would also give a chance to some mobile traders who wish to dispose of their goods to a few purchasers and to return home rather than sell a small amount throughout the whole market day. Farmers who have other work to do usually prefer to sell their goods to one person, even at a lower price, instead of retailing them during the market day. The Municipality could appoint a person to take charge of animal sales and another person to sell fruit and vegetables on behalf of those farmers and herders who do not wish to sell their own goods. The market middle man would take a commision from the farmers and herders in return for selling their goods.

4. Part of the market should be set aside to promote the sale of locally produced goods because these have been increasingly excluded from the markets and shops in recent

years by imported goods. No control can be exercised over what traders, especially in fixed shops sell, but market traders could be restricted in their sales by their licenses. This would be a way of encouraging more local craft and manufacture. Tourist facilities need to be improved in Al-Baha as part of the most scenic and climatically pleasant south of the Kingdom. The periodic markets could be one of the tourist features of the region and sales to the tourists could help to revive local crafts of pottery, woodcarving and similar activities. Amusements, like roundabouts and side shows, could enliven the proceedings for children, especially in the holiday period.

5. Longer term changes might include the establishment of a company to re-invigorate agricultural activities in the region. Much land has gone out of use in recent years because incomes can be made in easier ways than farming and because land fragmentation has made farming inefficient. Such a company could rent land from farmers for production, or contract with farmers to produce particular crops for sale at the markets or for sale at bigger markets in other regions. This, together with further road network improvement and water resource development, might ensure more use is made of the region's underused agricultural potential.

Many of these suggestions would take time to implement and some problems might arise. For example, changing the days of the periodic markets as well as their locations, would need time to persuade people to except the innovotion but because the tribal influence over periodic markets which set the day in the past has become weak, changes can now be achieved more easily. Municipal spending on market improvement would also have to compete for funds with many other calls for local improvement.

11.4 Further Studies

The periodic marketing system is a well established trading system in the southern part of Saudi Arabia but it is undergoing change and probably some decline. This study has covered only one of the four provinces which form the southern region of Saudi Arabia. The periodic market is a widespread phenomenon in all four provinces (Al-Baha, 'Asir, Jaizan and Najran). The periodic markets serve a useful economic and social purpose and deserve to be adapted to meet new needs rather than just allowed to decay. Studies of the market system in the other southern areas where it is strong should be made not only out of intrinsic interest. If the markets were rationalised they would stand more chance of success in the future. Only by examining the markets in the southern region, their trading features, and their spatio-temporal pattern can sensible suggestions be made for their modification to meet changing needs. With better organisation the writer feels that they can continue to play a major part in the economic system of the region. It is hoped that this study will help that process by stimulating further work on the subject.

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Appendix (1)

Translation of the Document of Barahrah Market

(1) People from the Bani Fahim tribe agreed to accept Barahrah as a market on Thursday and Al-Namah on Tuesday.

(2) The Tuesday market should be very secure from the market morning to the morning of the next day and Barahrah market should be secured in the same way.

(3) If anyone intimidated someone with a gun, the intimidator would be fined ten Riyals at that time and host 40 people for a meal to declare his apology to the people threatened.

(4) If anyone used a gun against some one in the market and caused death or injuries, the Sharia law will take its course.

(5) If anyone threatened someone with a Junbiah (a kind of sword), the punishment will be three Riyals and he will host 20 people to announce his apology.

(6) If anyone used a stick and/or stone, the punishment will be the same as for the Junbiah.

(7) Thirty names were given in this document as the representatives of the villages and the clans of the Bani Fahim tribe.

Apppendix (2)

Questionnaire to be Answered by Mobile Traders

Market Name:
Village Name:
Area Name : (1) Sarah (2) Tihama ( )
Day of Market:

[1] Where are you from?
(1) Market village
(2) Al-Baha area, village name [.........]
(3) Outside Al-Baha [province [......]

[2] How long did it take you to come to the market? ( )
(1) Less than one hour (2) One to two hours
(3) Two to three hours
(4) Three to four hours (5) Four to five hours
(6) More than five hours

[3] How long is the distance from your settlement to the market? ( )
(1) 0-5 km. (2) 6-10 km. (3) 11-15 km. (4) 16-20 km.
(5) 21-25 km. (6) 26-30 km. (7) 31-35 km. (8) 36-40 km.
(9) 41-45 km. (10) 46-50km. (11) > 50 km.

[4] When did you arrive at the market? ( )
(1) Last night (2) Market day morning

[5] How long do you intend to stay in this market? ( )
(1) From 7 to 10 o'clock (2) From 7 to 11 o'clock
(3) From 7 to 12 o'clock (4) From 7 to 1 o'clock
(5) From 7 to 2 o'clock (6) From 7 to 3 o'clock
(7) From 7 to 4 o'clock (8) From 7 to 5 o'clock

[6] How did you get to the market? ( )
(1) In your car (2) Walking
(3) On animal
(4) Sharing rented car (5) Privately rented car
(6) Other means

[7] How often do you visit this market? ( )
(1) Weekly (2) Monthly (3) Seasonally
(4) Annually
(5) Irregularly (6) Daily

[8] How many markets did you visit last week? ( )
(1) One (2) Two (3) Three (4) Four
(5) Five (6) Six (7) Seven

[9] What kind of job did you do before the present one? ( )
(1) Fixed trader (2) Trade and others (3) Farmer
(4) Government official (5) Private sector (6) Herder
(7) Any work, <u>Motsibib</u> (8) Blacksmith (9) Driver

[11] What kind of commodities do you sell? ( )
(1) Foodstuffs (2) Ready-made Clothes
(3) Ready-made Clothes and Cloth
(4) Utensils (5) Leather (6) Jewellery
(7) Construction material.
(8) Car spare parts (9) Perfume

(10) Shoes (11) Fruit
(12) Vegetables and Fruit (13) Sundries
(14) Sheep and Goats (15) Dry Dates
(16) Watermelons (17) Fresh Dates
(18) Vegetables (19) Honey (20) Fodder
(21) Bananas and Flowers
(22) Henna and flowers (23) Home-made Food
(24) Fat (25) Grains
(26) Woven Mats

[12] From where do you get your goods? ( )
(1) Weekly market
(2) Big store in Al-Baha region
(3) Produce them
(4) Cities outside Al-Baha area :name..............]
(5) From herders
(6) Raise them
(7) Weekly market and big store in Al-Baha
(8) Weekly market and produce them
(9) Weekly market and cities outside Al-Baha
(10) Weekly market and from herder
(11) Weekly market and raise them
(12) Big store in Al-Baha and produce them
(13) Big store in Al-Baha and cities outside Al-Baha
(14) Big store in Al-Baha and from herders
(15) Big store in Al-Baha and raise them
(16) Produce them and from cities outside Al-Baha
(17) Produce them and from herders
(18) Produce them and raise them
(19) From cities outside Al-Baha and from herders
(20) From cities outside Al-Baha and raise them
(21) From herders and raise them

[13] Where do you store your goods? ( )
(1) In your home (2) At the market location
(3) I have no store

[14] Where do you display your commodities? ( )
(1) In the Open Air (2) In a Fixed Shop
(3) In the Open Air and Fixed Shop (4) On the Vehicle

[15] Why have you not opened a fixed shop? ( )
(1) Difficult to find Fixed Shop (2) High Rental
(3) High Rent and Shortage of Suitable Buildings
(4) Do not want to be Fixed Trader
(5) For all these reasons
(6) I have Something to do Beside Trade

[16] What kind of goods do you sell in your village? ( )
(1) Grocery (2) Ready-made clothes and cloth
(3) Dry dates (4) None
(5) Sheep (6) Iron goods

[17] What do you intend to do in the future ? ( )
(1) Become a fixed trader (2) Continue as you are
(3) Visit fewer periodic markets.
(4) Change from trade activity.
(5) No idea.

Appendix (3)
Questionnaire to be Answered by Fixed Traders

Periodic Market Name:[.............]
Location of Periodic Market : Sarah Tihama
Day of Market................

[1] Where do you come from? ( )
(1) From outside Al-Baha
(2) From inside Al-Baha Region

[2] How long have you been a fixed trader? ( )
(1) Less than one year
(2) 1-5 years
(3) 6-10 years
(4) 11-15 years ( )
(5) 16-20 years
(6) 21-25 years
(7) 26-30 years
(8) More than 30 years

[3] What job did you do before being a fixed trader? ( )
(1) Farmer (2) Government Official (3) Herder
(4) Mobile Trader (5) Any work

[4] What kind of goods do you sell ? ( )
(1) Foodstufs (2) Ready-made Clothes
(3) Cloth (4) Ready-made Clothes and Cloth
(5) Perfume (6) Construction Materials
(7) Household Utensils (8) Furniture
(9) Shoes (10) Stationaries.
(11) Jewellery (12) Sundries
(13) Carpet (14) Car spare parts
(15) Electric Materials (16) Photographic Equipment
(17) Records (18) Fruit and Vegetables
(19) Fresh Meat (20) Farm materials
(21) Dry Dates

[5] From where do you get your goods? ( )
(1) From farmers (2) Large store at Al-Baha
(3) Wholesalers at Jeddah, Makkah, Taif and Other Cities
(4) From inside and outside Al-Baha

[6] How do you transport your commodities? ( )
(1) Your own vehicle
(2) Rented vehicle with others
(3) Relatives vehicle (4) Wholesale trader's vehicle
(5) Other means.........

[7] What is the nature of the tenure on this shop? ( )
(1) Rented (2) Owned

(8) Where is the storage located? ( )
(1) In your home (2) At market settlement
(3) None

[9] How many days each week do you open? ( )
(1) Every Day (2) Two Days (3) Three Days
(4) Four Days (5) Five Days (6) Six Days

[10] For how many hours a day? ( )
(1) One Hour (2) Two Hours (3) Three Hours
(4) Four Hours (5) Five Hours (6) Six Hours
(7) Seven Hours (8) Eight Hours (9) Nine Hours
(10) Ten Hours (11) More than Ten Hours

[11] How many people do you employ ? ( )
(1) One (2) Two (3) Three (4) Four
(5) Five (6) Six (7) Seven (8) Eight
(9) None

[12] Who are the employees? ( )
(1) Relatives (2) Paid employees
(3) Relatives and paid employees.

[13] What do you intend to do in the future? ( )
(1) Open another stall in this market.
(2) Open a branch in another market.
(3) Change goods sold
(4) Sell the same kind of goods
(5) Do not know

[14] What do you suggest for the market in order for it to be better organised? ( )
(1) Enlarge the market (2) Construct car park
(3) Supervise the prices (4) Improving cleanliness
(5) All previous categories.
(6) None
(7) Enlarge market and car parking
(8) Enlarge market and supervise the price
(9) Enlarge market and improve cleanliness
(10) Car parking and supervise the price
(11) Car parking and improve cleanliness
(12) Supervise the price and improve cleanliness

Appendix (4)

Questionnaire to be Answered by Market Visitors

Periodic Market Name:
Village Name   Area Name: (1) Sarah   (2) Tihama
Day of Market   :..............

[1] Where are you from?
(1) Market Village
(2) Al-Baha Area   Village [name]...........]
(3) Outside . Province or Nationality (Name) ....

[2] What is your occupation? ( )
(1) Farmer (2) Government Official
(3) Private Employee (4) Herder
(5) Student (6) Driver (7) <u>Motsibib</u> (any work)

[3] How do you travel to the market? ( )
(1) Your Car (2) Walking (3) On Animals
(4) Rented car with Others (5) In Private Rented Car
(6) With Relatives (7) With Friend

[4] How long did it take you to come to the market? ( )
(1) Less than One Hour (2) One Hour
(3) One to Two Hours
(4) Two Hours (5) Three Hours
(6) Four Hours

[5] How far did you travel to the market ? ( )
(1) 0-5km. (2) 6-10 km. (3) 11-15 km.
(4) 16-20 km. (5) 21-25 km. (6) 26-30 km.
(7) 31-35 km. (8) 36-40 km. (9) 41-45 km.
(10) 46-50 km. (11) 51-55 km. (12) >56km.

[6] How often do you visit this market? ( )
(1) Every market day (2) Every day
(3) Never Visited Before (4) Occasionally
(5) One to Two Times a Week
(6) Two to Three Times a Week
(7) Three to Four Times a Week
(8) Four to Five times a Week
(9) Five to Six Times a week

[7] How many markets did you visit last week? ( )
(1) One (2) Two (3) Three (4) Four
(5) Five (6) Six (7) Seven

[8] Why do you come to this market?
(1) To sell goods (2) To buy goods
(3) To sell and buy
(4) To have fun and meet friends (5) Visit offices
(6) Visit clinic (7) For all these reasons
(8) To sell, to have fun and to meet friends
(9) To sell and visit offices
(10) To sell and to visit clinic
(11) To buy to have fun and meet friends
(12) To buy and visit offices

(13) To buy and to visit clinic
(14) To sell and buy, to have fun and to meet friends
(15) To sell and buy and to visit offices
(16) To sell and buy and to visit clinic
(17) To have fun, meet friends and to visit offices
(18) To have fun, meet friends and visit clinic
(19) To visit offices and visit clinic.

[9] What do you expect of this market in the future? ( )
(1) To continue as a periodic market
(2) To become a daily market
(3) Daily market, with one big day market a week
(4) To finish as a market

Appendix (5)
Market Rings Followed by Mobile Traders

Two Market Visitors

Markets Names	Number of Traders
Al-Baha- Baljurashi	70
Al-Mukhwah- Gilwah	20
Al-Baha- Al-Aqiq	18
Gilwah- Ash-Shara	17
Al-Mandaq- Al-Atawlah	12
Al-Mukhwah- Al-Goaz	12
Al-Atawlah- Al-Baha	11
Al-Hajrah- Al-Jaiezah	10
Ash-Shara- Al-Hajrah	9
Baljurashi- Numarah	7
Al-Mukhwah- Al-Modhylif	6
Al-Aqiq- Raniah	6
Barahrah- Doss	6
Al-Baha- Taif	5
Ash-Shara- Al-Mandaq	5
Doss- Al-Hajrah	5
Al-Mandaq- Doss	4
Al-Baha- Gilwah	3
Al-Atawalh- Al-Grea	3
As-Sagarah- Al-Baha	3
Baljurashi- Al-Mukhwah	1
Al-Mandaq- Al-Baha	1

Three Market Visitors

Al-Aqiq- Al-Baha- Baljurashi	15
Baljurashi- Gilwah- Al-Mukhwah	12
Al-Mukhwah- Al-Goaz- Kyadh	12
Al-Baha- Baljurashi- Taif	11
Al-Atawlah- Al-Baha- Baljurashi	8
Gilwah- Al-Mukhwah- Ash-Shara	6
Numarah- Bani Sohaim Al-Mukhwah	5
Al-Atawlah- Al-Baha- Taif	5
AlMandaq- Doss- Al-Atawlah	4
Al-Mandaq- Doss- Barahrah	4
Numarah- Al-Modhylif- Al-Mukhwah	3
Al-Grea- Gazial- Al-Atawlah	3
Al-Grea- Hadad- Barahrah	2
Al-Mandaq- Al-Atawlah- Barahrah	2
Baljurashi- Numarah- Namas	1
Al-Baha- Al-Aqiq- Beshah	1
Al-Mandaq- Al-Atawlah- Al-Baha	1
Al-Mandaq- Al-Grea- Barahrah	1
Taif- Al-Atawlah- Al-Baha	1

Four Market Visitors

Baljarashi-Taif- Al-Atawalah- Al-Baha	4
Baljurashi- Gilwah- Al-Mukhwah- Al-Baha	4
Al-Grea- Al-Atawlah- Al-Baha- Baljurashi	4
Kyadh- Numarah- Al-Mukhwah- Al-Goaz	1
Kyadh- Numarah- Al-Mukhwah- Nakhis	1
Kyadh- Bani Sohaim- Al-Mukhwah- Al-Goaz	1
Kyadh-Al-Modhylif- Al-Mukhwah- Al-Goaz	1
Al-Mandaq- Al-Grea- Al-Atawlah- Al-Baha	1
Al-Aqiq-Al- Mandaq- Al-Atawlah- Al-Baha	1
Al-Mandaq- Doss- Al-Atawlah- Barahrah	1
Al-Mandaq- Hadad- Al-Grea- Barahrah	1

Five Market Visitors

Baljurashi- Bani Sohaim- Gilwah- Al-Mukhwah- Al-Baha	3
Taif- Trah- Al-Grea- Al-Baha- Baljurashi	1
Abha- Baljurashi- Numarah- Al-Atawlah- Al-Baha	1
Kyadh- Al-Gunfudah- Al-Modhylif- Al-Mukhwah- Al-Goaz	1
Baljurashi- Kyadh- Al-Gunfudah- Al-Mukhwah- Al-Baha	1
Al-Mandaq- Doss- Al-Atawlah- Mysan- Al-Baha	1
Al-Mandaq- Doss- Al-Grea- Al-Atawlah- Al-Baha	1
Al-Baha- Baljurashi- Al-Atawlah- Taif- Numarah.	1