



Urban Policy In Iraq For The Period 1970-2012, Evaluation Study

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ABSTRACT

There are many urban policy alternatives; the most important one is the new town policy, and growth pole policy. Many countries depend upon these policies to decrease urban growth in their big regions, to develop slums areas and defused urban development process, because they are good means for organize urban, regional and national growth. Iraq tried to apply more than one urban policy, industrial location policy, new towns policy were from these policies, but he failed, because there was not clear strategy for urbanization and urban policy in it. After the new situation in 2004, Iraq adopted again spatial planning policy which began in his five years plan 2010-2014, and spatial development plans for governorates 2012-2020. The aim of this paper is to present the principles of urban policy in Iraq. The main challenges facing it, and it's results impacted on the growth and development of the national urban system. Findings of this study indicate the lack of urban policy at the national level in Iraq; nevertheless, there was relative success in it represented with achieved important results in terms of the distribution of economic activities and population. This success belongs to the clear trend in Iraq, since the early 1960s and 1970s, emphasizing the necessity of spreading economic development and industry across all governorates.

The paper provides information on the past status of the urban policy in Iraq and illustrate the new attitude that appeared after 2004 represented with the new principles of spatial planning. In conclusion, this research suggests a group of Proposals that could help to improve the urban policy to achieve urban development goals.

Keywords: urban policy, evaluation study, new towns policy, industrial location policy, Iraq.

1. Introduction

Urban policy is field of actions seeking to eliminate differences in the level of socio-economic development among cities or to solve their problems; it is a form of intervention of the public sector, or more precisely the national, regional and local authorities, in the ongoing processes and pre-formed situations. It is an effective tool to address the complex socio-economic problems, especially concentration of urban population and economic activities in a limited number of cities, regional inequalities, elimination of poverty in rural areas... etc.

It has a significant role in directing socio- economic activities between urban and rural settlement, depending upon it the decision maker can choose the best locations for urban growth, economic activities and changing the urban and economic environment as a whole

.Furthermore, achieving many objectives , like accelerating the socio- economic development ,improving the social relationship and urban system as a whole.

Urban policy, in general, is concerned with the management of urban change. It is a government activity that aims to influence the distribution and operation of investment and consumption processes in the urban areas. It is confined to activity at the urban scale. National and international economic and social policies are as much urban policy, if defined by their urban impacts, as land use planning or urban redevelopment (Geyer, 2009).

It has special importance in developing countries because the spatial distribution of population & economic activities affect the efficiency of their national economies ,and the stability of their political systems , ,income distribution, welfare and social stability., In addition to the need for rapid economic development in these countries (Rodwin, 1970).

There has been a clear trend in Iraq ,Since the early 1960s and 1970s ,emphasizing the necessity of spreading economic development and industry across all governorates; creating balanced spatial development; reducing economic and social disparities; distributing population in a balanced way; and stopping it from becoming concentrated in large urban areas .

But most plans indicated a clear focus on the levels of economic and social development in a limited number of governorates. This generated a growing movement in mass migration toward these centers in a way that largely contributed to the spatial disparity between the developed and underdeveloped governorates in all aspects of economic, social, and urban development. These influences were reflected in the method of the population's spatial distribution: heavily populated centers were the same centers that enjoyed economic growth, so they continued to attract growth away from other areas. As a result, there was a correlation between the level of urbanization and economic development (Iraq, 2010).

The spatial development in Iraq characterized by a high degree of economic bilateral and inequality between regions and urban areas , So the role of the governments must be a dominant role, and "the principle of laissez-faire" does not lead to anything for the distribution of population and economic activities. The government has to play an important role through its policies, the locations of infrastructure investments, control of the public project.. etc (Mahmud, 1998).

Iraq has good experiment in spatial planning including urban and regional planning in 1970s and 1980s of the last century , To evaluate this urban policy we have to review the urban policy alternatives that had been adopted in it, to see whether it achieved its objectives or not , and to identify the main obstacles facing him. Our analysis will depend upon review studies of ministry of planning concern with this subject, and display the reality of the situation of the distribution of population and economic activities between Iraqi governorates at different periods.

In this paper we will discuss the nature of urban policy, goals, components, and alternatives of urban policy in Iraq and its effects on the urban and economic system as a whole.

1.1 Problem and Objectives of the Study

Despite the great efforts done to reduce concentration of population and economic activities in a limited urban centers, it is still a common feature in Iraq ,so this study aims at

evaluating the urban policies in Iraq (review past policies), its types, effectiveness..., to see whether those policies achieved their objectives or not. As a result, the challenges face Iraqi urban policy will be clarified through the study.

The main objective is to clarify the urban policy in Iraq, its characteristics and its role in reduce the concentration of population and economic activities in a limited urban centers, and the role of these policies in promotion socio-economic life in the urban system as a whole, Some suggestions are presented so as to improve the urban policy to be more active and efficiency.

1.2 Significant of Study

This study sheds some light on the urban policy in Iraq; It also provides a diagnosis of the advantages of the urban policy. The importance of research comes from the importance of choosing a successful urban policy which can bring positive results affect the Scio-economic life and the urban system as a whole.

2. Background Theory of the Study

2.1 Urbanization Definition

There are a number of approaches in which criteria are based to determine what an urban area is. Each country defines the term urban in its own way and they can refer to cities, towns, villages, conurbations or localities... An economic approach would be based on administrative units and would define urban areas using a threshold for labor force (economically active population rates) in agriculture (United Nations, 1974).

A geographic approach would be based on the density which represents the main indicator of urbanity. In general, this kind of analysis takes population or houses in a territory (not necessary an administrative unit) as a unit of analysis (Martins, 2009-2010).

In Iraq the approach of determine the urban areas are the administrative units, so the urban system has four levels: the first is the capital of the country (Baghdad), the second level governorates (provinces) centers or capitals, the third level is the Gadhah center, and the fourth level represent with the Nahyia center.

2.2 Urbanization History

The history of urbanization can be summarized as follows:

No society was predominantly urbanized before 1850; by 1900, Britain was the only urbanized society, by 1975, 38% of the world's population was living in cities, today; over half of the world's 6.3 billion people are urban dwellers. the pace of urbanization is faster in the developing countries today compared to the developed countries (UNDP, 2008).

2.3 The Beginning of the Urban Policy

According to PARYSEK (2010), it is difficult to clearly indicate the period when local, regional and national authorities began to implement what we understand today as urban policy. It is possible to speak of the birth of an autonomous urban policy only in the 1980s. It was then, first in the U.S. and later in West European and other countries that a series of measures were taken to overcome problems faces big cities. Those activities can be treated today as the beginning of the work on and implementation of autonomous urban policy (PARYSEK, 2010).

2.4 The Urban Policy Objectives

According to Rodwin (1970), the effective way to address the urban and regional problems is the creation or expansion of a number of cities (Key cities) in the lagging regions to promote development in it. He further added that if we could identify the best location for urban growth, and were able to direct economic activities and families to these locations (areas) , we would have a powerful weapon to change our environment. So the critical element in urban policies is the process of choosing the urban centers that should be developed, since the development of all cities and regions is impossible, for most countries of the world because of the scarcity of economic sources (Rodwin, 1970).

Great importance must be given to evaluate the human and material resources, the characteristics of the population and their abilities, trends in key activities, in the concerned regions, before the choice process of some urban centers to be developed to achieve the objectives of the urban and regional system as a whole (Rodwin, 1970).

The objectives of urban development policy, in general, are to ensure Improvement in the quality of urban living , Planned urban development ,Better quality, access and efficiency of urban service, alleviation of urban poverty and equal access of services to the urban poor, to improve the economic base of cities, reduce regional disparities, promote people's participation in local governance.

Bertrand Renaud , in his book " Urban Development Policies in Developing Countries" organize a list of objectives of national urbanization strategies it is represent the goals that could be selected to improve the situation of developing countries :

1. The integration of peripheral regions to increase the size of the national domestic market
2. Raising regional incomes to improve the demand for domestic products depends very much on rural development agricultural policies, and the development of the transport and communications networks.
3. The integration of peripheral regions and the opening up of new resources to raise the national output. This objective applies to the mineral-rich countries.
4. The reduction of interregional disparities. In a well-integrated society the concern for inequality among individuals or households should be more important than the concern for inequality between places.
5. The more rapid development of border regions for reasons of national security.
6. Improvement of national political integration and social cohesion within the nation .
7. Improvement of the national system of cities because of its dominant role in the transmission of economic impulses and the diffusion of innovations.
8. Raising the level of economic activity in growing medium-size cities will help them reach sufficient economies of scale and will improve the interregional diffusion of growth (Renaud and Bank, 1981).

2.5 Levels of Urban Policy

There are several general forms of urban policy included:

2.5.1 National Urban Policy

National urban policy consists of policies designed to guide urban growth and change at a national scale, i.e. between urban regions (Geyer 2009).

The origins of urban policy can be traced primarily to the uneven level of socio-economic development of cities. The disparities have been due to many different factors: geographical situation, natural conditions, historical past, spatial structure of cities, economic structure and level of its development, dominant functions...etc. The aim of the national urban policy ought to be to eliminate disparities in the level of socio-economic urban development, and especially to improve residents' living conditions and quality of life, primarily by means of legal regulations and the financial support which it involves (PARYSEK 2010).

2.5.2 Urban Policy at the Regional Level

Regional urban policy: consists of policies to guide urban growth and change at an intraregional or metropolitan scale, i.e. within urban regions(Geyer,2009).

This policy should primarily include the implementation of the national urban policy in a given region. It should thus serve as a bridge between this policy and the local (internal) policy of each city. In this context, an important component of urban policy at the regional level should be defining the role of cities in the regional settlement system, in the implementation of the socio-economic development strategy of the region, and in the plan of its spatial development, and also determining ways to support urban development and solve the existing problems (PARYSEK, 2010).

2.5.3 Urban Policy at the Local Level

Local urban policy: in some federal countries there may be an intervening level of policy development at the state or provincial level. This policy plays a special role in implementing urban policy. In fact, it is the most important level of its implementation since it is here that the focus is finally on a concrete city and its problems (PARYSEK, 2010).

2.5.4 Indirect Urban Policies

There are many policies that indirectly affect urban restructuring, these policies include the following:

1. Industrial location policies including decisions to support certain industries or expand certain public expenditure have a differential spatial impact among cities and regions.
2. Equalization policies that result in intergovernmental transfers operate in favor of some urban areas above others.
3. Transport policies can have significant urban effects (Geyer, 2009).

2.6 Types of Urban Policy

2.6.1 Growth Poles Policy

Growth Poles are usually urban locations, benefiting from agglomeration economies, and should interact with surrounding areas spreading prosperity from the core to the periphery (Oxford Dictionary of Geography).

No regional development concept or theory has received greater attention among economists, regional planners, governments and development agencies than growth pole theory. The growth pole concept originated from British Economist, Sir William Petty (1623-1687), who think that strong urban economies are the motor of the wealth of nations. The French Economist, Francois Perroux (1903-1987), is credited with formalizing and

elaborating on the concept. Since then, the growth pole concept has been subject to various definitions and interpretations, and its application has spread across the globe considerably (Gantsho, 2008).

The work of Perroux (1955) is considered the most significant contribution to the theory of growth poles, mainly through the connection of the growth pole with the operation of "propulsive industries" that exert positive influences on the surrounding area. Growth poles would identify a growth pole as an industry or perhaps a group of firms with an industry. At an extreme a growth pole might be a single firm or it might be a group of industries (Christofakis and PAPADASKALOPOULOS, 2011).

2.6.2 New Towns Policy

New towns considered as an effective tool which was a response to the concentration of population and economic activities in some countries like England. There are multiple descriptions and terms reflect the concept of new cities including: planned communities, satellite cities, new towns, green belts cities, garden cities, etc. The definition of Ebenezer Howard, which is known as a "civilian designed for the health and industry life, is one from the famous definitions which refer to a certain size that facilitate the social life, and surrounded by a green belt (A.Clapp, 1971).

Ebenezer Howard contended that garden cities were the solution to the problems confronting both the cities and rural areas. The cities were experiencing massive growth, causing overcrowding and urban sprawl. The urban population lived in squalor, lacking sanitation and adequate water supplies. Housing was expensive and unemployment was high. These conditions, as well as air and water pollution, caused bad human situation (CLARK, 2003).

The 32 New Towns created in the UK from 1946 represent one of the major programmes of post-war planning. Eleven were created in the south east or in neighboring regions but to serve the needs of the wider capital region (Government, 2006).

New Towns became the answer to divert over-populated and congested cities to a new location of a new town. Furthermore it was used in the strategic aspects of many countries to ensure the national security and sustain defense in these countries, besides achieve a balanced geographical distribution of the population, immigration absorption and promote economic development (Alonso, 1975). The importance of the new towns comes from its participation in changing the urban system as a whole toward optimality due to its direct relationship with it (L.s.Bourne, 1975).

The New Towns Committee Report (1945) refers to key recommendations concern with new towns:

1. It should be located sufficiently far from their mother city.
2. Their population will be 20,000 to 60,000 inhabitants.
3. They should be built, outside areas of Exceptional natural beauty, as far as possible, on quality Greenfield sites, but, which had to be preserved.
4. It should be surrounded with a green belt.
5. It should seek to attract a balance of all socio-economic groups.
6. In order to be self-contained, the development corporation must offer every business moving into the new town one housing unit for each job created (BENNETT, 2005).

3. Urban Policy in Iraq

The Republic of Iraq is a federal system made up of a federal-level authority, the federal region of Kurdistan (with 3 governorates), and 15 other governorates, which include Baghdad and 251 municipalities. The Constitution of the Republic of Iraq provides for a model of decentralized political and administrative government, with authority devolved to the governorates (UN-HABITAT, 2009).

3.1 Urbanization Trends in Iraq

Over 70 percent of the Iraqi population lives in cities and towns. Of which 42 percent live in governorates centers and 29 percent in other urban areas. Baghdad alone hosts about 6 million people (23 percent of Iraq's population). The governorate of Baghdad has the highest urban population (93 percent), followed by Erbil (82 percent) and Suleimaniyah (81 percent) (UN-HABITAT, 2009).

Table 1: Total Population and the Urban Population Growth rate and the Percentage of Urbanization for the Period 1985-2025

years \ Demography	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015	2020	2025
Total population (000s)	15,317	18,078	20,095	23,109	26,668	30,422	34,248	38,013	41,600
Urban population (000s)	10,533	12,987	14,975	17,752	21,000	24,441	27,955	31,483	34,916
Rural population (000s)	4,784	5,091	5,120	5,357	5,668	5,981	6,293	6,530	6,683
Urbanization level (%)	68.8	71.8	74.5	76.8	78.8	80.3	81.6	82.8	83.9

Source: www.Iraq Demography, 2012.

Urban policy in Iraq Started at the beginning of the seventies in order to achieve a balance in the distribution of population and economic activities between the Iraqi governorates and reduce the population size of the capital Baghdad, through the National Development Plans 1970-1974 and 1976-1980 and 1981-1985. number of policies were adopted, including the industrial location policy, new town policy, growth pole policy.

3.2 Urban Policy Evaluation

The spatial development in Iraq characterized with concentration of Economic activities in limited areas especially in economically developed governorates: in the capital Baghdad, Basra and Mosul. This led to a series problems such as high cost of living ,the difficulty of providing services , the difficulty of provision the needed lands for housing , and high population concentration in the capital Baghdad. Development plans (74-70), (76-80) were confirmed on Distribution of development projects between governorates to reduce Differences in levels of development between these provinces. . But the absence of standards for the allocating of the projects of the national development plans during this period has reflected on the reality of the spatial pattern of the investment distribution.

Despite of the emergence of trends towards reducing investments in the developed governorates, but directing the fruits of development towards the less developed governorates to achieve a balanced spatial development, still under the desire level.

To evaluate the urban policy in Iraq we will review briefly urban policies to show their effects on the urban and socio-economic system. Industrial location, the new towns policy, and growth poles, were the urban policy alternatives that adopted in Iraq through the period 1970-2000.

3.2.1 Industrial Location Policy

There has been a clear trend in Iraq, emphasizing the necessity of spreading economic development and industry across all governorates; creating balanced spatial development; reducing economic and social disparities; distributing population in a balanced way; and stopping it from becoming concentrated in large urban areas.

The industrial location policy is one of the important policies adopted for both individual and large industrial projects. Industrial development indicators, consisting of workforce distribution and value added for each governorate, reflect a clear trend towards lowering Baghdad's dominance of the industrial structure in Iraq. It went from accounting for about 60-70 percent of the value of these indicators in the early 1970s to about 39-42 percent at the beginning of this decade. However, the absence of a comprehensive spatial development policy in Iraq has reduced the significance of the industrial location policy. This has, in turn, led to the concentration of population, as well as economic, social and urban activities in some cities but not others (Iraq, 2010).

The National Development Plan 1976-1980 explain the proportion of investments in Baghdad, Basra, Nineveh, were 20.7, 21.2, 4.7, respectively, represent 46.6 % of total investments, and these percentages in the National Development Plan 81-1985 were 37.5, 10.1, 9.3, respectively, represent 56.9% of total investments. And investment ratios for the rest governorates ranging between 2.5% and 1% of the total investments, except Taameem governorate 5.3%, Anbar governorate 10.2%, and Salah al- Din 6.9% within the National Development Plan 81-1985 (Iraq, 1989a).

The 1986–1990 plan indicators show that there was a clear decrease in the relative magnitude of allocations earmarked for the Baghdad governorate, 21.7 percent as compared to 37.5 percent in the 1981 - 1985 development plan. There was continued relative focus on the two new development poles, Anbar at 13.9 percent, and Salah al-Din at 6.6 percent. These governorates attracted several vital projects, for example, the highway in the Anbar governorate and the construction of industrial and university projects in the Salah al -Din governorate.

The question could be asked here is the central government put a policy that determine certain cities to develop them through these investment reflected by projects distributed by national development plans to achieve the socio-economic goals or not? . The national development plans do not explain the existence of such policy, and the choose of the industrial locations of economic projects are in the light of the economic indicators only with regard to the requirement of these projects.

This situation reflects the fact that economic policy in Iraq is a sect oral policy and not spatial policy, in spite of the presence of spatial orientation designed to strengthen the social justice.

Most of the Iraq cities and its governorates are characterized by economic underdevelopment, so the sitting of any project in these cities or governorates will have positive effects, but that

does not necessarily means presence of spatial policy; it is often called the geographic distribution of economic projects.

The policy of the industrial location is one of the urban & regional policies, but the absence of comprehensive urban policy reduced the importance of this policy. It is not used in the correct direction to achieve the objectives of the spatial policy.

There were concentration of population and economic and social activities and facilities in some urban centers due to the economic development policy because of the lack of coordination between the two levels sectoral and regional (spatial) levels. This was confirmed by the regional planning committee through the study of the effects of development on the spatial aspects entitled (spatial balance of development) , as it had assessed the effects of development on the Iraqi governorates and show the presence of significant inequities between the governorates. Accordingly, this study pointed out " the need for a regional development policy, take both urban and economic sectors and urban and rural " in order to achieve the objectives of the spatial balance(Iraq, 1984b).This illustrates the absence of urban policy in Iraq.

Finally, it must be pointed that there were increased of interest in the spatial aspects of economic projects at the that time , but the lack of investment plans , with low investment allocations due to the circumstances of the war and the economic blockade , made it impossible to see the results of this interest , however, this interest does not represent the spatial policy without existing of comprehensive urban policy control it.

Table 2: Relative Importance of investment allocations by governorates

For development plans 70-74 - 91-95

governorates	Plan (70-74)%	Plan 76-80%	Plan 81-85%	Plan 86-90%	Plan 91-95%
Baghdad	23.98	20.7	37.5	21.7	37.6
Basra	14.98	21.2	10.1	16.5	13.2
Nineveh	5.90	4.7	9.3	12.5	6.4
Kirkuk	5.71	3.6	5.3	3.6	1.4
Arbeel	3.70	2.7	1.4	2	0.3
Suliamai	4.42	3	2	2.6	0.1
Duhok	1.47	2.2	1.2	0.8	0.1
Daijala	5.35	5.3	2.5	1.9	9.9
Ramadi	6.79	9.9	10.2	13.9	8.4
Salah al- Din	--	6.2	6.9	6.6	9.4
Babylon	6.75	3.1	1.8	7.6	7.7
Karbala	1.66	1.7	2.1	1.1	0.3
Najaf	---	2.0	1.8	1.9	2.2
Qaddisiya	2.5	2.2	1.0	1.1	0.2
Samawa	2.95	1.1	1.7	1.1	0.5
Thi Qar	3.32	3.8	1.0	2.6	5.3
Maysan	5.16	2.7	1.7	0.9	1.1
Kut	5.53	3.9	2.5	1.9	0.9
Sum	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: ministry of planning, 1976-1995.

3.2.2 New Towns Policy

Special importance has been given to the development of new cities in Iraq to achieve the national development objectives through balanced economic and social development. Many problems were stand behind the use of this policy, urban concentration in big cities and increasing population density with the presence of small number of population in other areas, was the most important reason. This policy began to appear in Iraq to face increasing population growth in Baghdad specifically and other major urban areas like Basra and Mosul in general.

The priority was for Baghdad, because of its importance at the national level as well as the continuous pressure on it as a result of immigration and its negative reflection on the population and services ... , the beginning was to study several major axis surround the city of Baghdad to identify some new cities in order to achieve the objectives of Baghdad region (Iraq, 1983). Several studies were conducted to surround Baghdad with cities, aiming to attract new population waves, absorb overpopulation, and create a suitable investment environment for new industries. Among the cities proposed were the new cities of Zubaidiyah in the Wasit governorate and Thar'thar in the Anbar governorate. The hope was for the population of these cities to reach 300,000 and for them to provide services and have economic activity independent of Baghdad. multiple studies were Conducted on this topic starting from proposals of the master plan for the city of Baghdad, prepared in 1973 and development report in 1982 containing three new cities proposed surround the city of Baghdad at the axis of Baghdad - Wasit , and Baghdad - Anbar , and the Urban Planning Authority chose the initial locations of these cities near (Madain , and Sowara , and the Lake of Thar'thar) (Iraq, 1983).

In addition to proposing these new cities, other proposals were made for satellite cities close to Baghdad, such as Husainiyah, Nahrawan, and Saba'a al Bur. These cities were created and helped limit population concentration in Baghdad.

Advisory studies on spatial development also suggested developing existing cities located within the regional impact of major cities. As a general rule, these proposed new cities were not created. Further, population growth was limited to existing cities and some of the aforementioned satellite cities (Iraq, 2010).

Other studies has carried for new cities around the city of Basra and in anticipation of the growth will happen there as well as the fear of urban concentration , which could be similar to the city of Baghdad , so in order to avoid this situation , studies were inclusive of the southern region as a whole in order to create new poles to absorb the surplus population and create new environments far from the eastern border valid to accommodate new industrial investments . The focus was on the city of Basra among the cities of the south (Basra , Maysan , Thi Qar). the alternatives location for the new cities on the axis of Basra - Nasiriya represent with several small towns (50-80) thousand people , or a big city up to 500,000 people, or create satellite cities , not exceed 50 000 people west of Basra, with satellite cities for the city of Nasiriyah .

Other studies have been conducted for the new cities around the city of Mosul , eight major axis have been identified for the establishment of such cities, the most important axis : Ain Sifni , the axis of Erbil - Mosul – Kawir, and Mosul – Alqosh (Iraq, 1983) .

The study of Regional Planning Commission entitled " new cities in Iraq " , concludes the

absence of a systematic policy to study the settlement pattern in the country in both urban and rural sector (Iraq, 1983).

In spite of the early interest in the field of urban planning of the new cities in Iraq, it is clear the lack of urban policy at the national level that could design and regulate the urban growth in all cities. The policy of the new cities was partial policy for certain cities to solve the problems of these cities. While the required policy has to be within the urban policy guided by a comprehensive overview of the urban system as a whole, to achieve the socio-economic, goals of the urban policy.

3.2.3 Growth Pole Policy

Growth poles policy was one of the procedures aiming to redistribute the benefits of development and spread them spatially, as well as redistribute the population. Regional Planning Committee in its study entitled "The Role of Growth Pole in Regional Development Strategy in Iraq" refers to the objectives of this policy as following:

- a. Creating a balance between governorates through the spatial distribution of investments.
- b. Create an optimal balance for the population strategy, especially in the areas that suffer from a lack of population.
- c. Create a comprehensive regional development in Iraq (Iraq, 1984a).

Among the projects that have been considered as growth poles in Iraq Akashat project in Anbar governorate, and the cars project proposed in Hammam Al -Aleel in Mosul governorate.

During the implementation of the 1976-1980, 1981 - 1985 development plans there was preferential treatment consisting of the emergence of new growth attractions (Salah al- Din and Anbar) with 6.2 percent and 9.9 percent, (9.9 % , 10.2 %) respectively, as a proportion of investment allocations (Iraq, 1989b).

This seems a significant shift in spatial dimensions toward new places that represent growth attractions to reduce the dominance of traditional central attractions.

The 1981-1985 development plan stressed the need to reduce the economic and social development divide among Iraqi areas and to work toward improving the balance between developed and less developed areas. The plan also confirmed expanded provisioning of public services to low-income groups, and increased attention to reducing spatial inequalities between rural and urban areas. Despite these objectives, however, reality shows the continuing disparity among governorates.

In order to clarify whether these projects are actually growth poles or just development projects without possess growth pole specifications, we will review briefly what are these projects and how their locations were chosen.

With respect to the project Akashat, which is located in Anbar governorate, 100 km north of Al-Rutba and 150 km south Al-Qaiam, the reason of creation this project was to develop the region based on the existence of the requirements of this project in particular the raw material - production inputs (Iraq, 1984a).

The studies of this project didn't clarify its characteristics and whether it has specifications of growth pole or not, but only refers to this project as an industrial projects created in the governorate of Anbar, in the light of the existence of front and behind links - production inputs, without explain the prospects for other industries that will be established as a result of the creation of this project.

Limited studies were focused on the Anbar governorate, such as the study of the Euphrates River axis, or Iraqi-Syrian tube line or Iraqi-Jordanian tube line or modern project of Dam or development of the city Al-Rutba (Iraq, 1984a)

So this project can't be considered as a growth pole, although there are front links to the resources and potentialities in the region, but there are lack of behind links to the economic environment of the region. These front links are not essential for the growth pole, because the existence of such links can play an important role in the growth processes. It is only an industrial complex has its economic and social development effects on the region, but it does not have the specifications of growth pole.

As for the project of cars production which proposed in Hammam Al-Aleel - Mosul , " there is not any relationship between the project and its location , except there are some workers who could benefit from the project , and the location was chosen as proposed location for the causes of long-term strategy " (Iraq, 1984a). (25-30) thousand jobs for the various disciplines will be provided by this industry .

The project location had been selected to serve large parts of Nineveh governorate and part of Arbil and Dohuk governorates , the distribution of some parts of this project between these governorates were to provide security dimension for the project and to achieve relative social justice in it .

The establishment of such a project would have important economic and social implications to the region, which is held in it, but it does not represent a growth pole in accordance with the characteristics of growth pole , and even if we supposed it was the growth pole location it had not been chosen in accordance with the comprehensive national urban policy .

Accordingly, we cannot consider the location of these projects in certain governorates as growth poles, because these locations were chosen as development projects to develop these governorates. The summary of the study entitled " urbanization in Iraq" prepared by the Regional Planning Commission / 1984 sustain our conclusion ,when the study stated the fact that "Iraq had not urbanization policy or distribution pattern of settlement on the urban and rural areas " (Iraq, 1984c).

4. Urban Policy Results

From the previous display of the urban concentration and hierarchy of the Iraqi urban system , we can observe the presence of urban dominance , without hierarchy system , and the most obvious characteristic of its cities are the small sizes which cannot provide a good environment to promote economic development and social stability. While the economic environment requires the large sizes of cities in the urban system which can provide good environment for economic investment and enhances the development process.

In order to illustrate the success or failure of the urban policy in Iraq, we will use three criteria : The first criteria is Zipf's law of cities hierarchy, to clarify the extent of population concentration in limited number of cities , and shows whether this concentration had reduced or not. The second criteria is the reduction of the economic concentration or the spared of the development fruits between Iraq cities , represented by the economic projects, to explain whether the urban policy was succeeded in reduce the concentration of these projects and labor force in a limited number of cities. The third criteria concern with the concentration of population and economic activities in the capital Baghdad. The following tables show the results of the Iraqi urban policy within thirty years.

4.1 Population Concentration and Hierarchy

In spite of the relative development in the numbers of small towns in Iraq, through the period 1970-2000, there is a long tail of these cities. The ratio of the number of cities of populations less than 15,000 people is still about 64 % from the number of the Iraqi cities for the year 1987 , and 52.8 % for the year 1997 . By comparison with the city of Baghdad, It is clear that there is no hierarchy in the urban system.

In order to show the nature of the Rank-Size (hierarchy) in the Iraqi cities , we will be apply Zipf's law to see the extent of deviation in these cities from this rule , which considered as an important mean of regional planning , as well as economic way to avoid duplication and waste in time, farther more , it helps to achieve relative adequacy of allocation and management of resources within the country.

The application of this rule clarifies a population concentration in one dominant city which is Baghdad. The total population of the second largest city after Baghdad was 17.3% of Baghdad's in the year 1987, and 19.3% of Baghdad's for the year 1997, while the default rate, according to Zipf's law , is 50% of Baghdad's. This refers that Iraqi cities does not have any hierarchy urban system as shown in tables below.

Table 3: Sizes and numbers of Iraq's cities for the year 1987

Sequence	Category of population	Number of cities	Proportion of cities	Population	urban population percentage
1	less than1000	24	%9	5870	%0,05
2	2000-1001	13	%5	16275	%0,14
3	3000-2001	20	%7	51809	% 0,45
4	4000-3001	12	%4	41943	%0,36
5	5000-4001	2	%8	101251	%0,88
6	10000-5001	5	%22	422542	%3,1
7	15000-10001	23	%9	297898	% 2,6
8	20000-15001	17	%6	287401	%2,3
9	25000-20001	12	%4	275680	%2,4
10	50000 – 25001	2	%10	957435	% 8,4
11	100000 – 50001	1	%4	650146	%5,7
12	More than 100001	2	% 11	8336538	% 72,8
Sum		268	% 100	11444715	% 100

Source: (Mahmud, 1998).

Table 4: Sizes and numbers of Iraq's cities for the year 1997

Sequence	Category of population	Number of cities	Proportion of cities	Population	urban population percentage
1	less than 1000	11	% 5,1	2957	%0,019
2	2000-1001	12	%5,6	15624	%0,10
3	3000-2001	5	%2,3	11421	%0,076
4	4000-3001	7	%3,2	24332	%0,16
5	5000-4001	9	%4,2	40953	%0,27
6	10000-5001	46	%21,3	347282	%2,3
7	15000-10001	24	%11,1	296047	%2
8	20000-15001	13	%6	219501	%1,4
9	25000-20001	13	%6	281638	%1,9
10	50000 – 25001	31	%14,4	1116564	%7,4
11	100000 – 50001	18	%8,3	1244125	%8,3
12	More than 100001	27	%12,5	9496390	%63,3
Sum		216	%100	13096834	%87,2

Source: (Mahmud, 1998).

Table 5: Hierarchy of the Iraqi cities according to Zipf's law

The city	Population	Zipf's Law population	The actual percentage	The Zipf's Law percentage
Baghdad	4832477	-	%100	%100
Nineveh	936707	2416238	%19,3	%50
Basra	658941	1610825	%13,6	%33
Kirkuk,	469651	1208119	%9,7	%25
Najaf	415238	966495	%8,6	%20
Karbala,	323897	805412	%6,7	%16,6
Nasiriya	307912	690353	%6,3	%14,2
Omara	278382	604059	%5,7	12,5

Babylon	258568	536941	%5,3	11,1
Qaddissiya	257561	483247	%5,3	10
Kut	200109	439316	%4,1	9
Baquba	174359	402706	%3,6	8,3
Ramadi	163206	371729	%3,3	7,7
Fallujah	153822	345176	%3,1	7,1
Zubair	139573	322165	%2,8	6,6
Samawah	124069	302029	%2,5	6,2

Source: (Mahmud, 1998).

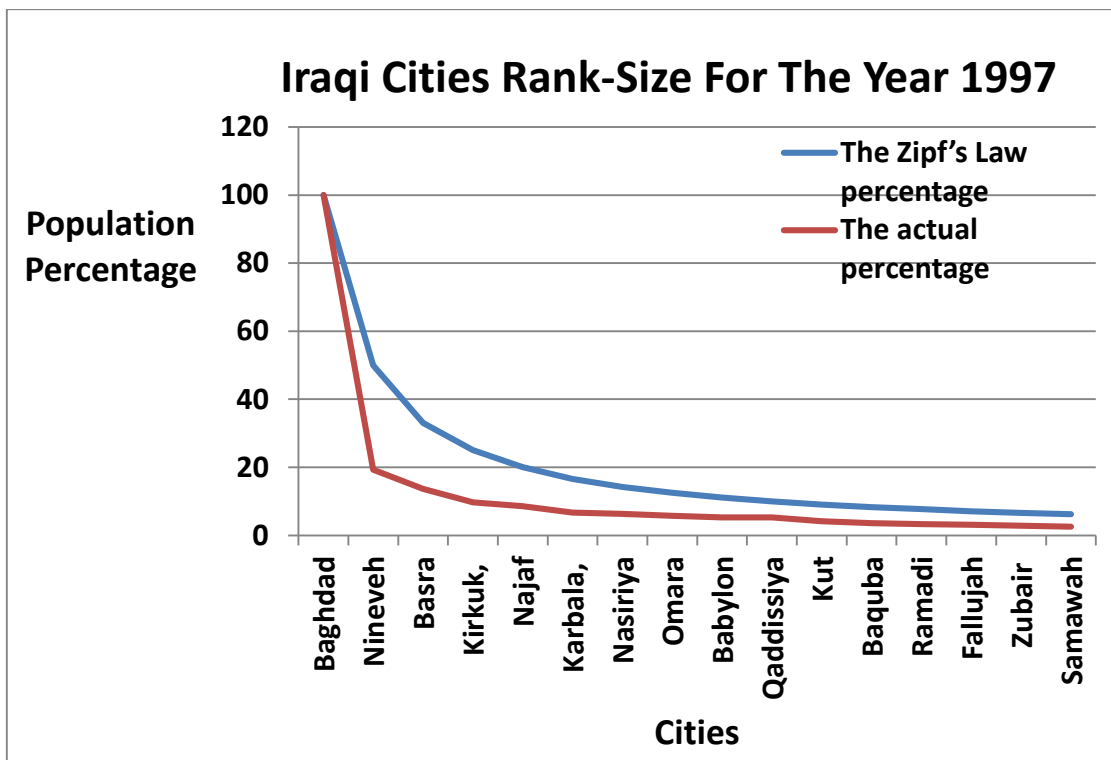


Fig 1: Iraqi Cities Rank-Size for the Year 1997

Source: (Mahmud, 1998).

4.2 The Economic Concentration

It is clear that Baghdad still dominant the proportion of industrial projects and industrial labor force for the years, 1960 , 1969, 1976, 1981, 1987, and the ratios were (52. 4 , 62. 4 , 56. 8 , 55.24 , 49.6) for industrial projects, and the proportions of the industrial labor force were (60. 3 , 65.17, 52.7 , 49.68, 53.3 , 39.1) , Moreover, its population is (24.1) percent in 2007 compared with (25.4) in 1965.

The results that can be deduced from the spatial development experiment in Iraq, there is a clear duality in spatial development reflected in the size of the population's spatial distribution: heavily populated centers were the same centers that enjoyed economic growth,

so they continued to attract growth away from other areas. As a result, there was a correlation between the level of urbanization and economic development. The relative distribution of population concentrations and investments in Baghdad governorate for the period of 1965-2007 as compared to Iraq as a whole reflect this fact, as shown in tables (6,7,8,9).

Table 6: The percentages of industrial labor force by governorates

	1960	1969	1976	1981	1987	1992
Baghdad	60 ,3	65 ,17	52 ,7	49, 68	53, 3	39, 1
Basra	6, 4	9, 4	8, 7	8 ,99	5, 4	9, 8
Nineveh	9, 6	7, 6	7, 4	7, 01	8, 7	6, 2
Kirkuk	0, 7	1, 4	1, 4	1, 29	1, 7	2, 2
Arbeel	0, 7	0, 4	3, 9	2, 61	2, 9	1, 1
Suliamaiia	0, 8	1, 9	1, 4	3, 22	2, 0	2, 1
Daijala	1, 9	2, 0	1, 8	1, 98	1, 6	3, 8
Anbar	0 ,2	0, 5	1, 5	2, 04	3, 5	5, 1
Wasit	0 ,7	1, 5	2, 8	2, 69	0, 8	2, 9
Maysan		0, 7	0, 4	1, 41	2, 0	2, 3
Thi Qar	-	-	1, 2	1, 19	1, 5	1, 1
Duhok	-	-	-	0, 36	0, 5	0, 031
salah al-Din	-	-	0, 9	1, 87	3, 6	6, 0
Najaf	-	-	0, 7	1, 38	1, 2	6, 7
Babylon	3, 2	3, 5	8, 7	6, 71	2, 9	7, 8
Karbala	1 ,1	3, 1	1, 4	1, 78	2, 6	1, 4
Qaddisiya	1, 6	3, 7	1, 4	2, 46	3, 5	2, 3
Nasiriya	0, 9	0, 7	0, 9	1, 41	2, 3	1, 7

Source: ministry of planning, organization of central of Statistics, 1992,(Mahmud, 1998).

Table 7: The percentages of industrial companies (large and small) by governorates

City	Year	1960	1969	1976	1981	1987
Baghdad		52 ,4	62 ,4	56 ,8	55, 24	49, 6
Basra		18, 6	10, 8	10, 4	7 ,28	2, 9
Nineveh		8, -	5, -	7, 3	7, 01	8, -
Kirkuk		-	2, 5	3, 5	2, 5	2, 5
Arbeel		0, 5	1, -	2, 3	3, 05	4, 9
Suliamaiia		0, 7	0, 6	1, 8	2, 8	2, 6
Daijala		0, 6	1, 7	2, 8	3, 6	5, 4
Ramadi		0 ,3	0, 9	0, 9	2, 99	3, 7
Kut		1,-	0, 8	0, 8	0, 29	1, 5
Maysan		1, 7	1, 4	0, 7	0, 99	2, 3
Thi Qar		-	-	0, 9	0, 92	1, 7
Duhok		-	-	0 ,1	0, 51	2, -
salah al-Din		-	-	0, 4	0, 92	0, 9
Najaf		-	-	2, 2	1, 91	1, 1

Babylon	8, -	3, 4	3, 7	4, 3	4, 3
Karbala	3, 5	5, 8	2, 2	2, 05	2, 1
Qaddisiya	0, 9	0, 3	0, 9	1, 2	1, 5
Nasiriya	1, 7	1, 4	0, 7	0, 99	2, 2

Source: ministry of planning, organization of central of Statistics, 1988,

(Mahmud, 1998).

4.3 Dominance of Baghdad

Indeed, Baghdad continued to receive the majority of allocations, this confirms the disparity in spatial distribution of plan's investments. Tables below show the population concentration and investment in Baghdad which represent 24.1, 16.4 respectively for the year 2007. Moreover, proportion of Industrial projects and labor force was 49.6, 39.1 respectively for the year 1992.

Table 8: population and investments in Baghdad for years 1965-2007

Year	1965	1977	1987	1997	2007
Population concentration	25.4	26.6	23.5	24.5	24.1
Investment allocation	30.7	20.7	37.5	37.6	16.4

Source:(Planning, 2007).

Table 9: Industrial projects and labor force in Baghdad for the years 1960-1992

Year	1960	1969	1976	1981	1987	1992
Industrial projects	52 .4	62 .4	56 .8	55. 24	49. 6	-----
Labor force	60.3	65 .17	52 .7	49. 68	53. 3	39. 1

Source: ministry of planning, organization of central of Statistics, 1992.

Finally, Iraq has been subjected to a lot of problems, most notably the Gulf War in the eighties, the economic blockade in the nineties and occupation in 2003, and these complex circumstances affected the investment allocations and reducing the effects of spatial orientation in Iraq.

5. Urban Policy After 2004

Planners, after 2004, adding the spatial (regional) dimension to development plans, to distribute development benefits among Iraqis, Establishing a balance between the needs of the population of different public services and infrastructure and the capabilities of the production sectors, including a wide range of sectors. Balancing developmental decision-making based on the three dimensions of sustainable development: economic, social, and environmental, using environmentally friendly technologies and proper handling of the negative environmental effects accrued over the past decades, also focuses on social and humanitarian aspects .The new vision of spatial planning were included (Iraq,2010):

5.1 At the National Level

The national development plan 2010-2014 has determined many important planning principles have been adopted at the national level to achieve many goals included:

- a. The social justice: create more options for women, build their capabilities, and provide them with an environment that is characterized by equality and justice through preparing developmental opportunities and enabling conditions .
- b. Urban-Rural balance: Reduction of the development gap between urban and rural areas.
- c. Rational use of natural resources: optimized use of natural resources and capabilities of provinces which would contribute to resolving duality in spatial development, the extreme concentration of populations, and the current economic situation.
- d. Environment protection: planning a sound environmental management approach aimed at transforming the approach to dealing with natural resources to a more sustainable one that preserves biological diversity, raises environmental awareness, to protect the environment and tackling sources of environmental pollution and promotes the principle of environmental citizenship.
- e. Competitive Private sector: encourages privatization and transfer to the private sector to achieve an interactive, participatory, and competitive private sector that supports sustainable growth.
- f. Good Governance: Good governance and proper regulation are basic prerequisites for progress in all fields, including economic progress, social welfare, and the achievement of justice in the population. It must be formulated around eight specific elements: the rule of law, participation, transparency, responsiveness, collective opinion, justice, inclusiveness, effectiveness, efficiency, and accountability.
- g. Promoting Sustainable Development.

5.2 At the Regional Level

Ministry of Planning directed all planning units to create a comprehensive spatial development in Iraq's governorates so as to create equitable opportunities for access to public services and infrastructure, decentralization can foster greater accountability and responsiveness in service provision and can strengthen citizens' ability to participate in the decision-making process and claim their rights. It is necessary to empower and strengthen them so they can achieve the objective of promoting decentralized management and planning .The spatial planning plans for governorates 2012-2020 were prepared at the end of 2012; the researcher had the honor to be the head of the University team that worked with the planning unit in Salah al- Din governorate to prepare the spatial development plan.

6. Conclusions and Recommendations

6.1 Conclusions

1. The main challenge facing the Iraqi's urban sector is the absence of a policy to guide urban development.
2. This absence has negatively impacted on the growth and development of the national urban system and has resulted in spontaneous growth, weak link between rural and urban development.
3. Continuing dominance of the dual spatial development phenomenon, with the limited developed areas, especially in major cities and central governorates cities that take up the largest share of economic activity, services, and infrastructure as compared to the underdeveloped regions.
4. Continuing presence of extreme spatial concentration, particularly urban, in a very limited number of large cities .Baghdad, Mosul and Basra.
5. Absence of a comprehensive policy for urbanization.
6. The lack of coordination between economic and industrial development policies, particularly urbanization and population distribution policies.
7. The adoption of a single policy cannot achieve its goals unless integrated with other policies.

6.2 Recommendations

The new development of the Iraqi community requires appropriate planning careful management of socio -economic systems, to achieve sustainable urban system. One of the main steps is to formulate and establish comprehensive urbanization strategy integrated with other socio –economic strategies to formulate the basis for implementing planning solutions. The urban policy must concern and related with:

1. Ensuring re-distribution of urban population, and integrated hierarchy of urban centers.
2. Ensuring urban economic development, through improve, rehabilitation the infrastructure and services, and adequate and affordable housing.
3. Providing environmental quality of urban life, and urban safety and security.
4. Planning and management of urban growth and sprawl, through good urban governance.
5. Ensuring effective rural-urban and urban-urban linkages, and enhancing sustainable development linkages to promote the development of urban rural centers.
6. Ensuring a stable, peaceful and safe urban life.

This need develop a clear program for the urban and regional development, after evaluating the sources of wealth , human and material resources , available in all Iraqi governorates ,identify number of cities to be developed economically and socially , so as to achieve the objectives of urban development strategy , and access to economic, social, and long-term strategic desired objectives. More over developing urban - rural development policy balanced and integrated with regional policy.

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