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9. ABSTRACT  
 The objectives of this study were to (1) survey tribal organization and the operation of local development associations; (2) explore the Yemeni national commitment to local self-help development efforts; (3) gather information on local socioeconomic conditions and tribal organizations; (4) consult with other donors concerning related development efforts; and (5) advise and assist USAID and Yemeni officials in the development of a project design, if the study should show that a rural development project seemed feasible. Four local development associations (LDAs) in northern Yemen, in the Sanaa Governorate, were chosen for study: Al-Hiamahain, Aines, Bany Hoshysh, and Khamer. Each was approached as a separate case in a study of its historical development, organizational structure, development responsibilities, functions, problems, relationships with its area constituency, the villages and villagers, and to the central government and other entities outside its area. Information was gathered through extensive conversations with members of the governing body and with villagers, and through physical inspections of the development projects. The studies showed that the LDAs are the organized forces for development in their respective areas. They are conducting effective if not always efficient development work in cooperation with their villages, and their potential can be further realized and complemented by outside rural development agencies. The highest priority of the villagers in the four areas studied (Yemen has 61 other legally recognized LDAs) is to obtain a nearby source of water for drinking. Well-digging equipment is needed for penetrating the very hard sub-surface rock. The building of adequate roads is also a high priority. Equally important is the need for financing and construction of school buildings. Clinics are a fourth priority, followed by the need to increase resources for improving agricultural production. The author recommends that USAID participate in a rural development project in north-central Yemen, provided that USAID and the Yemeni government make a firm

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long-term commitment to supplement the development efforts of selected LDAs in ways consistent with the rationale and directions of the LDA movement, and provided sufficient resources are committed to help the selected LDAs achieve the development aims of their constituent villages. Further recommendations concern LDA area selection criteria, and staff and role assignments of U.S. and Yemeni rural development personnel.

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LOCAL INITIATIVE IN YEMEN:

EXPLORATORY STUDIES OF FOUR LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

ASSOCIATIONS

by

James Wyche Green

Consultant to the U.S. Agency for International Development

Revised

October, 1975

## PREFACE

This detailed Report, concerning the findings of Dr. James Green during a visit to the Arab Republic of Yemen, has been developed at my request.

It is the first scholarly "look" at a phenomenon which has been developing in Yemen since the early 1960's. This is the emergence of local Yemeni civic organizations dedicated to carrying on many developmental tasks of a self-help character.

While his work can only be regarded as a preliminary study, I believe that Dr. Green's findings are of such a character and detail that they should be shared fully with all those interested in the future development of Yemen. It is my hope that this sharing of knowledge may arouse interest in further studying the Local Development Associations of Yemen.

My thanks to Dr. Green for the vigorous and thorough manner in which he carried out a short-term assignment under difficult operating conditions.

James J. Dalton  
Sector Project & Planning Division  
Office of Technical Support  
Bureau for Near East  
Agency for International Development

Additional copies of this report may be obtained from the Office of Technical Support, Bureau for Near East, Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C. 20523.

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Although the information presented and the views expressed in this report are my sole responsibility, I was greatly aided in making the study by a number of people and organizations whom I wish to thank most sincerely for their time, their thoughts and the courtesies they extended to me as follows:

Mr. James J. Dalton and Miss Grace Langley, NESAs/TECH/SPPS, for selecting me to do this kind of study, and for giving me the necessary support both in AID/Washington and in Yemen to carry out the data gathering, analysis and reporting.

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For their hospitality and great cooperation in giving me the benefit of their personal knowledge of their respective LDA's and access to the villages of their areas and to the files of their LDA Board, I would like to thank the following:

Mr. Ali Harazi, Executive Secretary of the Aines LDA and Members of the Aines LDA Board, Mr. Mohamed Al Sablani and Mr. Abdullah Al Ansi.

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Mr. Ibrahim Al Wazir, Chairman and Sh. Hasan Ali Rasam, Member of the Bany Hoshysh LDA Board.

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Many others, not here named, who were helpful in various ways also have my gratitude.

James W. Green  
Sana, YAR  
26 July 1975

I would also like to thank La Rena Walters for typing the revision and arranging for its reproduction and distribution.

James W. Green  
Washington, D.C.  
October 1975

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INTRODUCTION

Objectives of the Study

In May, 1975 the Project Design Office of the Near East/South Asia Bureau, AID/Washington (NESA/TECH/SPPS) sent a three-man team to Yemen to assist the Yemen Arab Republic Government (YARG) to design a new rural development (RD) project. Specific duties assigned to me, the sociologist member of the team, were as follows:

- (1) To survey tribal organization and the operation of local development associations;
- (2) To explore national commitment to local self-help development efforts;
- (3) To gather information on local socio-economic conditions and tribal organization;
- (4) To consult with other donors concerning related development efforts;
- (5) To advise and assist USAID and YARG officials in the development of a project design, if the study should make a rural development project seem feasible.

By the time of my often-delayed arrival in Yemen, the leader of this project development team, Mr. James J. Dalton, and the other member, Mr. James W. Dawson, had spent two and one-half weeks in Yemen and were far advanced in drafting a "concept paper" called Yemeni Rural Development Through Institution Building and Training: A Proposed Approach. The draft of this paper was circulated within development circles in Yemen and in Washington. The paper itself and the interaction with people consulted during its preparation elicited a number of reactions, most of them favorable to the concept of having a RD project along the lines suggested in the paper. There was near unanimity amongst those involved in discussions, both while the paper was in preparation and after its distribution, that the key to RD seemed to lie in the Local Development Associations (LDAs) which in the last three or four years had been organized and were operative in the Y. A. R. However, various opinions were held as to the effectiveness of these organizations, opinions ranging from "ineffective" and "corrupt" to praise for the accomplishments of some of them. All agreed that what was

most lacking was systematic objective knowledge of the structure, functioning, problems and potentials for development of the LDAs. Therefore, major emphasis was placed on understanding the LDAs, at least as many of these organizations as time permitted.

Further guidelines indirectly relevant to my mission were provided by the Central Planning Organization which stated that an A. I. D.-assisted RD program should:

(1) be addressed to the needs of and be physically situated in the northern half of the country which has received relatively little development assistance as compared to the more favored resource-wise south;

(2) emphasize agricultural productivity, under the leadership of the Ministry of Agriculture;

(3) implement plans with early action;

(4) have as an integral part of the design a strong training component;

(5) benefit whole villages, not simply a few individuals, and

(6) extend as widely as practicable the knowledge gained and other benefits derived from AID projects, especially those concerned with rural water supplies, sorghum and millet production varieties and the new ones in poultry and tropical horticulture. The USAID Mission in Yemen and NES/TECH/SPPS agreed on these guidelines and asked that I concentrate my attention on the LDAs in the northern half of Yemen, especially those in Sanaa Governorate, preferably those within one & half hours driving time of Sanaa.

#### Areas Selected for Study

It would be nice to report that the four areas studied were chosen at random, or in some other scientific manner (such as purposive stratified sampling), and that the four local development associations (LDAs) were believed to be representative of all the LDAs in Yemen or, at least, those located in Sanaa Governorate. However, the procedure actually used was quite different from these ideal methods and does not, unfortunately, permit the type of generalizations which could be made from a probability sample. Of course, the total number of LDA's, reported by CYDA at 80 (65 legally recognized) and the sampling errors for such a small population would be large, even if the best sampling procedures had been followed.

The facts are that no sample was drawn, nor do we have any evidence that the four development associations studied are representative of any larger population of associations. The first LDA area in which a study was initiated was Al-Hiamah-tain to the west of Sanaa. This LDA area was chosen because of the presence in one part of the association area of five Peace Corps Volunteers who could provide, it was believed, initial introductions to Yemeni culture owing to their involvement in some local development projects.

The second LDA area, Aines, to the south of Sanaa was suggested by CYDA on the basis of the LDA's achievements and in the belief that it was within Sanaa Governorate. (Halfway through the study it was discovered that it had been shifted to Dhamar Governorate about one year ago, but it is still considered a part of the northern half of the country and thus meets the CPO criterion). Observing that two of the four major points of the compass were covered by these two LDAs an area to the east and one to the north of Sanaa were sought. CYDA suggested Bany Hoshysh LDA which begins on the outskirts of Sanaa and extends as a narrow ribbon to the east, and Khamer LDA which lies to the north about midway between Sanaa and Sadah, the northernmost large city of the country.

The four LDAs selected present a spectrum of size in terms of governmental units, the number of villages, and the number of tribal ozlahs into which the villages are grouped. Bany Hoshysh consists of one large nahiya, composed of \* villages and 8 ozlahs. Al-Hiamahain consists of two nahiyas and has a total of \* villages grouped into 17 ozlahs. Aines is a qada subdivided into four nahiya and containing 509 villages and 62 ozlahs. Largest of all geographically is Khamer which consists not only of Khamer Qada (4 nahiyas) but also of one half (3 nahiyas) of the Qada of Amran, but contains a total of only 261 villages grouped into 48 ozlahs. This rather extreme variation in size has proven useful in estimating the advantages and disadvantages of each size for regional rural development as practiced in Yemen.

### Conceptual Approach

The focus of the study is on each of the four LDA's considered as a separate case, its historical development, its organizational structure, its development responsibilities, how it functions, its problems, and its relationships to its area constituency, the villages and villagers, and to the central government and other entities outside of its area. All of these facets of the LDA are seen first through the eyes and from the perspectives of the leaders and members of its governing body (called a "board" or "council" by the LDA's studies). But each LDA operates within a socio-cultural-political-economic context and can be really understood only to the extent that this context is known and understood. Therefore, a goodly part of the field data was gathered from the villagers themselves, with the focus on their aspirations, their need-dispositions to act and the actions they have taken in the past to achieve their developmental goals, and their views of their development association and their relationship to it. Another dimension of the relevant context of an LDA is that of the central government offices within the LDA area, their organizational structures and the developmental and non-developmental functions of their officers, the problems associated with these functions, and finally, the officials' relationships to and views of the LDA.

### Method of Data Collection

The approval just described led to the method of field study employed. First, the LDA offices were visited and available leaders and members of the governing body, assisted by clerks and accountants, were encouraged to give

\* This data not available until late in 1975 according to the CPO.

as full and as accurate an account as possible of the LDA's history, organization, functioning, project planning and action, etc. In most cases this required two or more visits, usually made in the late afternoon and evening when the LDA offices are open. The main offices of 15 LDAs are reported to be located in Sanaa where most of the members of the "boards" or "councils" reside and work at their places of employment in the daytime and attend to LDA business later in the day and in the evening. This data was supplemented by further conversations with LDA board members and LDA employees while in the field, and by such records as could be obtained from the LDA boards themselves and from CYDA.

The emphasis in visits to the villages was on lengthy conversations with groups of villagers, each conversation being usually led by an amin or agil. Conversation focused first on whatever project had led us to the village, a physical inspection of it and questions concerning its utility to the people (for example, how far women had had to walk and the vertical distances involved to obtain water before they had a well in the village). Other topics introduced included the priority the project had had for them, what part the villagers and board respectively had played in financing the project, how the village had gone about raising its share of the inputs, what other projects the village was planning, and its interactions with and relationships to the LDA board. To the extent that time permitted and the opportunity presented itself, a simple role description was secured from any amins or agils present.

Role analyses were also obtained from the occupants of each type of important (and some unimportant) positions at the qada and nahiya level. Analysis focused principally on functions performed, the organizational structure within which the position was found, the problems the occupant of the position had had in carrying out his responsibilities, and his relationships to and his opinions of the effectiveness of the LDA in his area. The original plan entailed analysis of all qada-level civil and governmental positions in both Duran Qada (Aines area) and Khamer Qada for comparative purposes. These positions include the amil (governor), the amil-al-waqf (official in charge of mosque-owned lands), the hakim (judge of Islamic law), the director of finance, and the baladeih. All those contacted willingly cooperated in discussing their roles. But in Khamer Qada several officials who live in Sanaa, notably the amil-al-waqf, the director of finance, the hakim and the director of municipalities (baladeih), could not be found either in the LDA area or in Sanaa itself (see also below the section on limitations of the study).

Similarly, it had been planned to obtain for comparative purposes the roles of the amil and the director of finance in one nahiya of each of two LDA areas, an objective which was achieved. Finally, it had been planned to examine the status and role of the small and large sheikhs in each area, but these plans were shelved owing to the supposed political sensitiveness of the position. Too late in the field work we discovered that it is not the position of a particular sheikh which is regarded as sensitive (except in the case of a few public figures), but only the question of the powers of the sheikhs as a class vis-a-vis the central government, a matter of no concern to this study. However, we

were able to secure one role description from a sheikh khabier (large sheikh) who was most cooperative and helpful.

An account of the rise of the "local cooperative movement" in the Y. A. R. culminating in the creation of the Confederation of Yemeni Development Associations (CYDA), and the functions, organizational structure, etc. of CYDA itself was recounted to us by a spokesman for that organization. However, repeated efforts to gain any knowledge from CYDA of how LDA's in fact do work, as contrasted to the ideal described by CYDA, brought avowals that the ideal was reality! It finally dawned on us that this behavior was prompted more by a lack of knowledge of the functioning of the LDAs than by the usual bureaucratic impulse to protect the organization. CYDA was quite cooperative in making available their files for translation of those documents which seemed to promise insights. Similarly, in investigating the actual conduct of LDA elections by an office in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour charged with this responsibility, we received a fulsome account of how elections should be conducted, but almost nothing on how, in fact, they had been conducted (or in many cases not conducted at all).

Finally, some limited data were gathered from the Catholic Relief Service regarding its relationships to certain of the LDAs, but their records were in Hodeida and many of their experiences antedated the recently-arrived present director, my source of information.

#### Analysis and Presentation of Data

Owing to the great variation found not only in the history, structure and functioning of the LDA's themselves, but also in several aspects of their social environments, it became evident during the field data-gathering phase that the most appropriate method of presentation would be in the form of rather detailed case studies. This decision was confirmed by Mr. Dalton, who read the first case study drafted, and then urged, in view of the dearth of literature on the rural social systems of Yemen, that each of the cases should be fully presented. Thus the heart of the study will be found in appendices A, B, C and D which describe in detail what was observed and heard in each LDA area. The findings of possible relevance to the questions involved in establishing a RD organization and the approach to the LDA itself and the people of the LDA areas was derived from a comparative reading of the case studies, and is presented in the section which follows this Introduction.

#### Some Limitations of the Study

Language Barrier: I do not speak Arabic and have never served before in an Arabic-speaking culture. This meant that all verbalized data had to be translated, and all translations, no matter with what care and honesty they may be made, lose some flavor and nuances of meaning in the process. However, since I have done similar studies in a number of other cultures (including five years in the Islamic culture of Pakistan), both in cultures in which I spoke the language and in those whose language I did not speak, I have learned how to compensate to a large extent for language deficiency. In the present study this was

done by having not only an interpreter, who was a graduate in sociology and interested in the content of the study accompany me, but also having as members of the team two others, an official of the Ministry of Agriculture with considerable first-hand knowledge of tribal structure and fluency in English and Arabic, and a member of the Research Department at the National Institute of Public Administration who was professionally interested in doing a parallel study to the present one, possibly for use as a master's thesis. All three were not present for all interviews, but few interviews were conducted without the participation of two persons fluent in the two languages. These gentlemen were requested to listen carefully to what was said by me and our respondents, and to supplement any translations which they believed required it, or to suggest other questions which would follow leads and/or get at the point of previous questions. For the most part, I insisted on translations of replies received, no matter how apparently irrelevant the answer to the question asked. In my interviewing experience I have often found that such responses provide more unanticipated but highly relevant data than that gained from a direct response to the question asked. In fact, I use an interview guide, not a set questionnaire or schedule, and engage in a conversation with the respondent who is encouraged to talk about what interests him. After all, I can always come back to my questions. I believe that my colleagues were at pains to assist one another in making the best translations possible.

Lack of Cross-Checking: Although care was taken to collect as reliable data as possible through multiple approaches to the topics discussed, lack of time prevented as much of the cross-checking from independent sources as I usually do and which is necessary to increase the reliability and validity of interview data. The unavailability of some documents sought and the incompleteness of those obtained added to this problem.

Time Pressures: Some of the village interviews were made under pressures occasioned by previously made appointments elsewhere, including those made for lunch in a visit earlier in the day to another village. While such pressures were resisted successfully in many cases, in others the effect was to cut off or inhibit some of the free response which is essential to procuring the best data.

Incomplete Data on LDA's: Only the data for one LDA, Aines, is complete for the kind of study undertaken, as will be evident to the reader in the descriptions of the other three LDAs. We had expected to collect considerably more data for the Khamer case, but the departure from the country of the chairman of the governing council and the temporary closing of the LDA's Sanaa office, plus inability to locate the Khamer Qada officials residing in the city, left considerable gaps in the information sought. The specific deficiencies of the data for Al-Hiamahain are listed in a paragraph at the end of that description.

Possible Biases of Informants: Much of the village data was preforce gathered from the amins and agils of the villages, usually, however, with other

villagers present and encouraged to participate. How much deviance, if any, there was between the views expressed by these "elected" spokesmen and a cross-section of the villagers is not known. We found no reticence on the part of the rank and file of villagers with whom we talked to express their views, apparently without any fear of or deference for the views of the leaders even when the latter were present. The importance to the villagers of the matters discussed and the degree of probing which was done led my Yemeni colleagues to believe that few, if any, views were suppressed. The fact that all of the data was gathered from men, thus omitting the views of fifty percent of the adult population, the women, regarding issues on which we believe they had both knowledge and strong feelings, must be regarded as a bias.

Lack of Systematic Sociographic Data: The quality of understanding would have been increased considerably, I believe, had it been possible to map carefully the boundaries of the mahallahs, villages, ozlahs and moklafs in one LDA area, and to determine the significance of these boundaries, the peculiar patterns of familial, tribal and other forms of organized social life and leadership within the defined social units, and the functional relationships between the units. Such an exercise, I have found elsewhere, is basic to the depth of understanding of the indigenous social structure which is necessary if the right kinds of RD assistance are to be provided to fit the existing socio-cultural systems. Sociographic analysis should be a prerequisite to initiation of a RD program in any LDA areas chosen.

SOME FINDINGS OF PROBABLE RELEVANCE  
FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT  
IN YEMEN

Local Development Associations

Legality and Legitimacy: The four LDA's studied are bona fide expressions of local initiative for development in their respective areas. These four and 61 other LDA's in Yemen are recognized by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour as legally constituted entities under ordinances and laws dating back to 1963, and each has received a mandate from the YARG to engage, without substantive restrictions, in the development of the areas within which they are certified to operate. In addition, three of the four LDA's have been locally legitimized by acceptance by their clientele, the villages, as the entities with which they will cooperate, always providing, of course, that villagers' priorities for development are respected. The fourth LDA, after a disastrous first stage, has reorganized itself and is beginning to gain acceptance from those villages within the restricted area in which it has projects. While the four LDA's varied considerably in their levels of effectiveness as promoters of development, each would have to be accepted as a partner and collaborator by any central government or foreign aid RD agency operating within their respective areas. This is not a blanket approval of any of the LDA's studied, as each has its weaknesses as well as its strengths as detailed in the case studies. What is asserted is that they are the organized forces for development in their respective areas, they are now carrying on effective, if not in all cases efficient, development in cooperation with their villages, and their potential can be further realized and complemented by outside RD agencies.

Supporting Situational Elements: The LDA movement, as is true with all grass-roots movements, came into being as the result of a peculiar combination of circumstances. Following the civil war and the victory of the republican forces the country was suddenly opened up to the outside world. It found itself in the middle of the twentieth century, but with a level of development little beyond that which it had had centuries earlier--with one important difference, a thin educated elite from many parts of the country determined to bring the fruits of modern development to the peoples of their respective home regions. This desire was increasingly shared by the large numbers of ordinary citizens who went abroad to work and who saw some of the fruits of development in other countries. These experiences led to rapidly rising expectations for development of their own villages, expectations accompanied by some additional means for development derived from their foreign employment.

Many of the elite mentioned above were employed in responsible positions within the central government, and no doubt influenced government policies to encourage organized expressions of local initiative in the absence of central government ability to provide alternatives. The prolonged drought beginning in 1968 gave a further impetus to the LDAs since it made imperative the need to develop additional water resources in order to survive. As the early development associations were formed, they were watched by other regions which were provided a home-grown model consonant with the culture and flexible enough for adaptation to their local sub-cultures. As the number of LDA's increased they saw the need to confederate, to pool their strength, and to assert their claims to national resources with which to finance their local development. This in turn led to the relinquishment to the LDAs by the central government of a part of the local taxes raised each year.

It is for these reasons, I believe, that the LDA movement with all of its faults may be seen to have a basic strength which leads to cautious optimism for the future, and a confidence that an effective relationship can be developed between particular LDAs and other central government and foreign agencies seeking to increase the pace and to broaden the scope of development and productivity in rural Yemen.

An Hypothesis of LDA Evolvement: Based on an analysis of the histories of the four LDA's as recounted by their leaders, a four-stage process of LDA evolution has been projected. Stage One for some of those LDA's formed in the late sixties and early seventies consisted of the creation of LDA's by several sheikhs who declared themselves founders, and then proceeded to nominate and elect one another as chairman and members respectively of the governing boards of the associations. Subsequently, selectedamins and agils from the area were called together and informed that they constituted the "General Assembly" of the associations. The "founders" were then introduced as the "Board", and the meeting was concluded by general remarks of the chairman on the plans of the Board for development of the area.

These boards then collected contributions from the people when they paid their zaqat tax, and received such grants as they were able to wangle from the central government ministries, principally for clinics and schools in the village, or at least in the ozlah, of the chairman or powerful board members. Since CYDA had not yet been formed and the central government had few effective means for checking on the use of the funds received and established few or no controls, public funds tended to become mixed with personal funds and funds for projects were handed out to personal friends who often did not get around to doing the work required. The inevitable result was that funds melted away with little to show for the inputs made. This was also during the period when many houses were built in Sanaa by local rural influentials. As civil

servants and other elites from the area who worked in the central government or in commerce became aware of this state of affairs, pressure mounted for the government to investigate which resulted in resignations of the old Board and the end of Stage One.

Stage Two began with the formation of a new General Assembly composed principally of the elites from the area, and the election of a new Board, which organized itself properly, established accounting procedures, solicited projects from the villages, and accomplished a great deal with the limited resources available from the zaqat tax and from such special grants from central government and foreign aid agencies as they were able to obtain.

Stage Three is beginning now (July 1975) with the election on a broader scale of a genuine General Assembly composed of representatives from each ozlah in the LDA area. Because of dissatisfactions with the pace of development, which is always, even in the most efficiently run LDA area, behind the pent-up and growing demand for projects, some of the most effective members of the LDA Boards may be replaced with less competent local leaders, causing the new Board to be somewhat less efficient, more partisan in locating projects, and slower in the pace of development, but with little or no corruption as in Stage One owing to greatly improved administrative and auditing procedures emanating from the central government and greater awareness and vigilance on the part of the people themselves.

At the expiration of the three-year terms of office of the General Assemblies and Boards (in 1978) new elections will mark the beginning of Stage Four, provided that the central government has extended its direct supervision of elections to cover the elections to the General Assembly as well as those to the Board. The new Assembly will as a result be more representative of the people, more realistic in their expectations of Board performance, more inclined to elect to the Board those with administrative experience, i.e. some of the elite which we project will be rejected in July/August '75, resulting in a higher level of Board efficiency.

In part the above scenario is obviously speculative, but as the reader may have guessed, Stage One has actually occurred in the case of one of the four LDA's studied and in part in the case of another of the four. It did not occur in the case of two LDA's whose original Boards were composed either entirely or preponderantly of civil servants from the area. Thus both of these LDA's began with Stage Two. Since I studied only four LDA's, I do not know, of course, the extent to which Stages One and Two applied to the other 61 LDA's but, of course, this is only an hypothesis anyway.

### Village Development Priorities

As indicated in the preceding section, there is a great and apparently increasing disposition on the part of the villagers in the four areas studied to develop their areas in certain respects, to obtain certain things for themselves, and to do it now. And there is a most remarkable coincidence of needs and of priorities among villages within the same LDA area and between villages of different areas.

Water: The first and by far the highest priority is to obtain a nearby source of WATER for drinking. This need has been accentuated in recent years by the prolonged drought and consequent deficiency in supply systems which depend upon catching and conserving rainfall by means of dams, cisterns and shallow wells. This means the transport of water from more distant cisterns, wells and springs for a substantial part of the year, most of it on the heads of the village women. It is not unusual to find women walking for two hours or more to procure a five-gallon tin of water which all-too-often is so unclean that it has to be boiled at great expense or consumed in a contaminated state. No wonder that in the villages without a nearby water supply it is quite useless to talk to the villagers about commitment to any other development goal until a nearby source of water has been assured. Even in those villages which have been able with LDA assistance to obtain a new well but have completed it only up to ground level, one often finds high priority given to finishing the superstructure with stone walls (to protect the water in the well from contamination) and to supply it with pulleys to facilitate the drawing of water to the surface. Many villages have long-range plans to install a diesel pump and to pipe the water into the village itself which is almost always situated at a considerably higher elevation than the water supply.

The difficulties of digging wells in most parts of the four LDA areas are enormous as the rock changes from the friable, rather easily excavated stone in the first few meters to the very hard solid rock which is very nearly impossible to penetrate without explosives, thus turning the task from a relatively-cheap joint voluntary undertaking by villagers into a costly contract with outsiders who themselves may turn out to be no better equipped than the villagers to penetrate the substrata. There is an obvious need for appropriate "middle-technology" equipment which is transportable over trails, if need be by camel-back, and which is within the capabilities of the LDA's to purchase and operate. Any rural development project in northern Yemen worthy of the name must come to grips with this problem, and provide resources to help the LDA's and the villagers to obtain drinking water at a reasonable cost and with a greater degree of assurance than can be given when hand-dug wells are the only alternative. Perhaps the technology and the appropriate equipment are already present in Yemen as witness the reported 250 locally-drilled irrigation wells in Bany Hoshysh.

Roads: A road may or may not be second priority depending on whether or not the village already has reasonably close access to a road passable by 4-wheel drive motor vehicles, and also depending, not so obviously, on whether or not the road is considered essential for such high priority items as the motor transportation of water, as is the case in a number of villages in the Khamer LDA area. Even when a "road" passes by, it is most often barely negotiable by 4-wheel vehicle and more nearly merits the name "jeepable trail".

The LDA's are engaged in constructing two types of roads. One is a "real" road, built wide enough so that simultaneous passage both ways will be possible in most places, with deep cuts to provide not too steep slopes and to facilitate the placement of culverts, etc., with paving planned for later stages. This strictly layman's description would characterize the 43 kilometers of new road already built by the Aines LDA and the 31 kilometer continuance now under construction. Because of the friable or fissured nature of most of the rock formations near the surface on the western slopes, proper roads can be gouged out with little blasting required, except for occasional solid rock, by heavy equipment such as the D-8 and D-7F caterpillar bulldozers owned and used by the Aines LDA. The same type of strata seem to characterize the slopes of the Al-Hiamahain LDA. In the case of the Aines road the LDA first tried hired middle-weight bulldozers but found them inefficient. The heavy equipment presently used is doing the job with relative ease including the traverse of three mountain ranges, the tallest comparable to the highest and steepest mountains in the eastern U.S.A. By contrast the Al-Hiamahain LDA has hired a Japanese-made bulldozer at 80 rials per hour which is much too light for the job, succeeding only in scratching out a trail with great time-consuming effort, and requiring the aid of a large number of workmen. But heavy earth-moving equipment is costly to purchase, to operate and to maintain. Although the people of Aines appear to be solidly behind the LDA Board's decision to give a high priority to the road, the first-class equipment now owned by the Board has cost more than one and one-half year's revenue of the Board to purchase, and is consuming a large part of current revenue to operate, thus slowing the pace for completion of other projects such as water supplies and schools.

The second type of road, such as the 70 km. stretch from Hoth to Asha and the Reidah-Al-Sodah mountain segments in the Khamer LDA, might be described as jeepable trails following more or less closely old pack-animal trails and one built by the Egyptian army for temporary use by army vehicles. The objective in this type of construction is to go over or around obstacles and to remove only those stone outcroppings which cannot be circumvented. The major type of equipment required for this type of construction appears to be jack-hammers, preferably those motorized types which require no air-compressor.

A second difficulty noted in both Aines and Al-Hiamahtain was the poor quality of the road engineering assistance received by the boards. In spite of the Aines Board's experience, a part of the road near the top of a high mountain had to be replaced and rebuilt because the slopes of the road were too steep and the turns too difficult to manage. This was a very costly and time-consuming mistake. The same error was observed in Al-Hiamahtain where a new road which had proceeded only a kilometer or two up a mountainside was so steep and the turns so short that a loaded but powerful truck could make it up only with the greatest difficulty. What both of these LDAs clearly need is more professional road engineering assistance.

It would appear that any foreign development agency desirous of assisting the LDAs in north central Yemen to increase the pace and quality of RD should give high priority to providing at least some of the appropriate road-construction equipment to the LDA's, establish regional overhaul and repair workshops, provide skilled instructors to train operators and mechanics in both operation and maintenance, and lend engineering advice and assistance in road layout and construction. It would also appear that the YARG has a clear duty to bear a part of the cost of those roads being built by the LDAs which are part of a national primary road net. This is the case with the Aines road which is a segment of the Mabar to Baquil road, of great importance to the southeastern part of the country in eliminating the Sanaa loop and thus saving many miles of travel to and from the port at Al-Hodeida. The building of national roads is the primary responsibility of the central government with LDA's participating in the cost to the extent that the road serves local interests. This is not to say that LDA's should not do the actual construction, for it would appear that in the case of the Aines LDA its capacity to build a good road is at least equal to, and probably superior to that of the Highway Authority judging from the latter's inability to deliver on its contract with the Aines LDA to improve an existing road, a condition which led the Board to purchase its own equipment.

Schools: The construction of school buildings is for many villages second in importance only to obtaining suitable drinking water supplies. Where there is a jeepable trail which does not have to be depended on for transport of water, schools are clearly preferred over road improvement by the villagers in the areas studied. Illiteracy runs as high as 100% in some of the more remote villages (two of the villages visited stated that to read incoming letters or to write one required a journey to an adjacent village). More important in the developmental context is the awareness of the parents that their children are growing up, as one put it "as ignorant as we are", and a determination to have the boys, especially but not exclusively, to gain an education, usually in order, they say, that they may get jobs outside of the village.

In spite of this determination to have a school, few villages participate to any appreciable extent in financing the construction of the buildings, some stating that this should be paid for out of their zaqat tax.

Until recently, the LDAs, especially the one in Khamer, have seemed to share this sentiment as they required little of the communities, even paying in some cases for the site itself when the villagers would not donate it. However, as the squeeze on LDA resources and the demands made by the villagers have increased, LDA governing bodies are having second thoughts and are making commitments only with the provision that the acquisition of the site and the quarrying and hauling of stone to the site be done by the village, and in Aines a further demand of up to 50% of the cost of construction. A second factor contributing to the "let the government pay for it" attitude is the number of school buildings the entire cost of which has been donated by Saudia Arabia or Kuwait or some of the other oil states. Most of these have, in addition to the primary grades, intermediate and some secondary grades.

The number of new schools presently constructed by the LDA's and the oil states appears to have exceeded the capacity of the Ministry of Education to supply trained Yemeni teachers causing the large-scale importation of foreign teachers, mostly Egyptians. Even so, insufficient numbers are available to man all of the new schools. This has caused the LDAs to institute a practice of building housing complete with a water supply for the foreign teachers, and in some cases topping off their salaries with a "country allowance" to entice them into the more remote areas.

The lesson, it would appear, in all of this for foreign RD agencies is to assist in school construction only in the most unusual circumstances and only when it is clearly necessary to do so to obtain other higher-priority development objectives.

Clinics: Clinics ran a poor fourth as a priority, far behind water, of course, and well behind roads and schools. Clinics are desired and usually appear on the village want list but without the fervor attached to the higher priority items. Again, clinic buildings are being offered by some of the oil states, as for example the one built by Kuwait in Khamer town. Only one LDA (the first and now deceased Al-Hiamahain Board) had constructed a clinic in this case in the central village of the ozlah of the former Board chairman, but later evidence indicates that most of the cost was borne by the Ministry of Health. It would appear that the type of supplementary assistance in RD most needed by the LDAs would not include the construction of clinics except in the most unusual circumstances.

Agriculture: There is a common understanding in all the villages that development is paid for largely by the zaqat tax, and that the way to increase resources for development is to increase agricultural production. A few villages in the four areas spontaneously placed on their want lists such production items as the installment of tube wells for irrigation, the importation of tractors for deep plowing, and the greater use of fertilizers and pesticides for certain sorghum pests. But the usual response to questions about increasing agricultural production was the necessity of first increasing the

supply of water, meaning an increase in rainfall in those cases where deep wells were not specifically mentioned. In other words, the Yemeni farmers in the four areas studied were skeptical that agricultural production can be substantially increased in the absence of more water. They certainly are not about to divert any of their meager resources from the pursuit of their other development goals to what they regard as at best dubious economic results to be obtained from investments, other than in increasing water supplies, in other inputs into agricultural production.

However, it was evident that farmers in the areas studied are quite open to change in their agricultural practices, if they can be convinced that a given practice will indeed result in higher economic production under their conditions without increasing their risks appreciably. The Yemeni farmer is not a traditionalist resisting change, that mythological creature created by agricultural extensionists in some other countries, nor is he awaiting some fancy extension techniques from a "change agent" to deliver him from his ignorance and break the chains of his bondage to his outmoded primitive thought patterns. No, what he does need is the development of new higher-yielding varieties and cultural practices by agricultural scientists, and their careful field testing under the always peculiar set of climatic and soil conditions existing in his area. If component agricultural scientists have indeed done their thing and have developed new varieties which they find are appreciably higher producing under at least some of the same conditions as those faced by some Yemeni farmers, then the RD project could be most helpful, it would appear, in conducting careful field tests in each of the microclimatic/soil sub-regions defined for that crop. This step would not only ensure that the varieties which indeed did produce more when tested under specified Yemeni farm conditions were so recognized, but also the fact of their testing and higher production would be known by other farmers in the area and thus make possible a rapid adoption by those farmers having the same Yemeni farm conditions specific to the tested variety. When one considers the number of horticultural and small grain species and varieties with potential for Yemen and the numbers of sets of microclimatic/soil conditions in which each variety should be farm tested before release to other farmers, it would appear more than enough to keep any agriculturist members of RD teams profitably busy for a number of years.

#### The Village and Tribal Socio-political Context

Agils and Amins: Role analysis of agils and amins in villages in all four areas suggests rather strongly that these indigenous tribal leaders are a positive force for development in their villages, although their role prescriptions as they perceive them do not include responsibilities for development. The basic contribution of these leaders is often overlooked by outsiders, but they are crucial to the functioning of rural society so that it can turn its attention to development. Their contributions are first, to sort out and reconcile the differences and frictions which inevitably occur anywhere in group social life; and second, to assess the taxes which when paid will determine the resources available

for development. For, unless persons, families and individuals, can be reconciled to one another, no meaningful cooperation is possible; and, unless taxes are seen to be equitably assessed there will be less collected and, therefore, less will be available to finance development projects. In our four areas, it was evident that the system was working and that those few disagreements which could not be settled at the village could and did go to the sheikhs sagheir and sheikhs khabier, or to the agils at nahiya and qada levels of government.

Village Cost Sharing: As will be noted in the sections on village participation in the description of each LDA (see appendices), the villages have devised a variety of schemes for sharing equitably in village projects according to the norms of their respective sub-cultures. The LDA Boards very wisely have not involved themselves in this matter but have dealt with the village as a whole through its traditional representatives and such others as it has designated. This should be an object lesson to the central government and to any foreign development agency expecting to sponsor RD in Yemen: No matter what the merits are of any imported scheme for cost-sharing or other means of participation by the villagers, it will not be as acceptable or considered to be as equitable as one designed by the villagers themselves. The point is that the villagers, as well as the LDAs, are quite able to manage their own affairs, and both villagers and LDAs must be approached as equals and partners in RD, each fully responsible within its proper sphere. It follows that there is no place for patronizing or attempting to dominate either the villagers or the LDAs, but rather it is necessary to adopt a straight-forward collaboration-with-equals model. Even when the village leaders are illiterate or semi-literate, I have found them to be very intelligent and able people and worthy of full acceptance and respect.

Egalitarian Motif: A second positive value of Yemeni village society in our four areas is the egalitarian motif which appears to underlie social life in spite of the very real differences in wealth and social status. This can be attributed in part to the widespread ownership of land. Although, unfortunately, a question on land ownership was not posed in all the villages, in the two villages in which it was asked, every family owned some land and only a tiny amount of land was sharecropped. This situation is very different from that reported by Mundy in her recent careful study in Wadi Mawr, and it may well be that there is more "shirk" in our four areas than was uncovered by the less elegant methods used in the present study. The egalitarian claim is further buttressed by the firmly-held tradition that "we elect our amins, agils, and sheikhs", a theme that persists even though once elected to these positions tenure is seldom for less than life and sons tend to succeed their fathers in these positions. The villagers, however, are quick to point out that these sons have to be elected (in fact, selected by consensus at a meeting of "respected" family heads), and that they tend to be elected because they are best qualified for the position by virtue of the tutelage of their fathers, the usually superior education which they have had, and the demonstration of their capacities when acting for their fathers in the latter's absence, especially in dealing with the central government offices at nahiya and qada

levels where some literary skills, possessed by few others in the village, are a positive asset. The third bit of evidence adduced to support the thesis of egalitarianism is the great frankness of ordinary villagers in expressing their views even when these differ from those previously expressed by their leaders.

The point of all of this is that in the four areas the great preponderance of farmers are independent, self-respecting, intelligent, largely self-directed individuals, in no way subservient, or certainly not obsequious in their relationship to their leaders, nor under the thumb of a dictatorial and grasping landlord system. This, I would argue, augers well for a strengthened RD effort and a positive and rational response by the rural people to approaches to them which are also positive and rational.

#### The Central Government Context

The Nahiya and Qada Apparatus: This system of functionaries—amils, amils-al-waqf, hakims, directors of finance, baladeihs, and directors of education, and their respective staffs, are in one sense but extensions of the amin-agil system for maintaining order through conciliation and persuasion, and for collecting and accounting for taxes and the modest local expenditures of the central government. In a very real sense, of course, these officials represent the power and control over the country by the central government. In addition to conciliation and persuasion they can wield the stick by levying fines and putting people in jail, but this is seldom necessary. Although they are not charged with development per se, it will be noted that the amil-al-qada has the sole power to authorize the LDAs to execute their projects, but in practice each LDA goes ahead with its projects because of a trust posed in it by the amils. However, it should be noted that it is the amils in Khamer who are the instruments of an element in the central government which has successfully denied the Khamer LDA of one-half of its share of the zaqat tax. So there is the power of central government to interfere very effectively in the development process, but this is the only instance revealed in this study. On the contrary, particularly in the Aines area, full moral support of the LDA Board was expressed by all of the officers all of whom have recently added sponsorship of the LDA to their own list of duties and responsibilities.

CYDA and the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour: There is little doubt of the genuine desire to confederate on the part of the 24 LDA's which met for that purpose two years ago and brought CYDA into being (see appendix E for a description of CYDA). They needed to unite their efforts to deal more effectively with the central government on matters of common interest, to exchange information on methods of operation with one another, to gain help in the keeping of records and accounting for funds, and in securing foreign assistance. CYDA appears to have served all of these purposes, some only partially and some not to the satisfaction of the four LDAs studied. For example, all four are quite convinced that they are not getting their appropriate shares of foreign assistance and all four urged that any foreign assistance to be granted under a RD project

be channeled directly to the LDAs involved in implementing the project. This, of course, cannot be done under the rules recently established by the YARG which require that CYDA be the channel for such assistance. Therefore, CYDA should be used as the channel for this purpose, it is suggested, but not as the executive agency for any activities to be performed by the LDAs themselves. CYDA has demonstrated no executive capacity for development work per se in the LDA areas, and, if given such responsibility, it could only add a useless step in getting assistance to the LDAs who will participate in the actual RD program. It would add nothing useful to the process, neither technical expertise nor resources. Therefore, any foreign agency should go through CYDA to the chosen LDAs, but all implementing agreements should be made with the LDAs themselves with the full knowledge of CYDA, possibly sending it copies of such agreements and giving it the opportunity to comment.

CYDA is attempting in a small way to fill the technical services void which the technical ministries have not filled. While there is no doubt of the need of the LDA's for engineering assistance with their road and water projects and for technical agricultural expertise with such agricultural projects as may develop, it is highly doubtful that CYDA can provide more than token assistance, and even more questionable that it should do so on other than an interim basis, as it is so commendably attempting to do now with Irish Concern and Peace Corps volunteers. An RD project should have as one of its aims the building up of the capabilities of various ministries, such as the Highway Authority and the Ministry of Agriculture, to service the needs of the LDAs.

CYDA and the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour should augment their capacities to carry out those functions for which they are peculiarly fitted, namely:

1. End use and ex poste fiscal auditing of the projects of the LDAs to see that public funds, such as proceeds from the zaqat tax, are used for public purposes. In no sense does this mean that either CYDA or the Ministry should attempt to determine what development projects ought to be given priority by the LDAs. These priorities are now set, as they should be, by the constituent villages of the LDAs and modified when resources are scarce by the LDAs themselves. To interject central government priorities in the affairs of local development associations can have only negative effects on the most precious asset of the LDA movement, the initiative and willingness of local people to use their resources to accomplish their local purposes. Central government priorities should be executed by central government personnel using central government finances, not through misuse of local entities designated to serve only local interests.

2. Closer supervision of elections to the General Assemblies in each ozlah of the LDAs to see that the will of the people is exerted. This can be accomplished, if CYDA will schedule elections over the course of the entire year, or even over a three-year period, i.e. have elections in the

ozlahs of one LDA which might take a team from CYDA and the Ministry one week to supervise. Following this election their team would proceed to another LDA area and so on until all elections in all LDAs had been held in the three-year period. There is no particular virtue in having all LDA general assembly elections on the same day except the concentrated publicity, but this could be remedied by setting up a schedule far enough in advance to provide suitable publicity via the radio and print media. The LDA movement will not last unless the people can feel that it is truly theirs, and this is not likely unless they can identify with the LDA bodies by freely electing its members in supervised elections. The close supervision of elections of the governing boards, should be continued, of course.

3. Solicitation of central government and foreign aid agencies for assistance to LDAs and the channeling of such aid to the LDAs in the most direct manner possible. This will require a larger staff than presently assigned to this function in order that the members can make an intensive study of each development aid agency's policies and programs in Yemen, and to help each LDA to take advantage of existing programs and of those in the planning stage. Such intensive monitoring might require several persons each of whom would be responsible for one or more ministries and one or more foreign aid agencies depending upon their size.

4. Training courses for LDA staff to the extent that this is desired by the LDAs.

5. Other functions specifically requested by LDAs.

Finally, the staff members of CYDA, though paid by central government, should never forget that they are employees of a confederation of independent local-action bodies, and as such are the servants of those bodies, not civil servants trying to make the LDAs either a part of or subservient to the central government, for to do either of these things will slowly kill the LDA movement.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Commitment: If there is a firm long-term (4 to 10 years) commitment by YARG and USAID to supplement the RD efforts of selected LDAs in a manner consistent with the rationale and directions of the LDA movement, and further, if there is a commitment of sufficient resources to help the selected LDAs to achieve the developmental aims of their constituent villages, then I recommended that USAID participate in a RD project in north-central Yemen. If either of these commitments is lacking, the USAID should not enter into such a project.

2. LDA Area Selection Criteria: If it is decided by YARG and USAID to proceed with an RD project, then I recommended that the following criteria for the selection of LDA areas be carefully considered:

a. LDA areas coterminous with a qada, in order to (1) selectively collaborate with villages or other sub-areas for different development activities where the commitment to and opportunities for progress are greatest, and (2) to make, over the life of the project, impacts, as well as to provide an example which other LDA areas can emulate. There are 41 qada and 3 of these, disregarding differences in size, would represent about 7% of the country and roughly 15% of the northern half of the country. The inherently nonconcentrated nature of grass-roots RD as practiced in Yemen precludes concentration of efforts in only one nahiya-sized LDA area. This study shows that those LDAs whose area is of qada size are more able than the smaller LDAs to command the level of resources necessary for the most meaningful development of their areas, yet are not so large as to be unmanageable.

b. LDAs whose leadership is desirous of entering into a long-term RD collaborative relationship with YARG/USAID, and which have established a firm basis for effective collaboration with their constituent villages.

c. LDA areas representative of either the Central Highlands or the Foothills and Middle Heights regions or of both regions.

d. LDA areas which represent a spectrum of relative affluence and apparent opportunities for development- 1 high, 1 medium, 1 low.

3. Staff and Role Assignments of RD Personnel: I recommended a U.S. staff of nine joined as rapidly as possible by nine Yemeni staff as follows:

a. Director: A qualified U.S. social scientist (applied sociologist or anthropologist, or agricultural economist) with practical experience in the application of social science methods to RD situations, problems and opportunities, to be joined as soon as possible by a Yemeni Co-Director qualified to learn from the joint experiences of the RD team and eventually to qualify as an applied social scientist to replace the Director at the expiration of the first four years of the project, or sooner if practicable.

The U.S. Director would be stationed in Sana and double as the chief of an Office of RD to be established in USAID. His functions and that of the Co-Director would include (1) assistance to the staff members stationed in each of the three RD areas in learning systematically and continuously the socio-cultural-economic dimensions of their areas; (2) establishment of a

Rural Analysis and Feedback Team (RAFT) in the National Institute of Public Administration, or in another suitable institution, to make baseline surveys and periodic evaluative studies of development in the three RD areas and in one or more control areas; (3) liaison with other projects of USAID and with the projects of YARG and other foreign development agencies to seek out that which is most valuable for application in the RD areas.

b. Engineers: Three practical U.S. engineers, one in each RD area, qualified to assist the LDAs to lay out roads, to obtain, operate and maintain proper road-making and well-drilling equipment, and to map all physical, social and economic data of significance for development in the area. These three U.S. engineers would be joined at the initiation of the project, or as soon thereafter as practical, by three Yemeni understudies who over a four-year period could learn to carry out the functions prescribed for the U.S. engineers.

c. Agriculturalists: Three trained and practical U.S. agriculturists, one for each RD area, to assist the LDAs to increase the economic production of agriculture under Yemeni conditions, largely through the testing of such varieties of grains, tropical fruits and vegetables, etc. in the various micro-climate and soil belts of their areas as they may be directed to do by the Ministry of Agriculture. These three U.S. agriculturists would be joined as soon as possible by three Yemenis, either qualified to work as coequal partners with the U.S. agriculturists, or as their understudies in the work described above.

d. Social Scientist for RAFT: A qualified U.S. applied sociologist or anthropologist to establish the RAFT, to train two Yemeni social scientist members of the RAFT, and to undertake the baseline studies and evaluative studies described above.

e. Administrative Assistant: A qualified U.S. administrative aide to relieve the RD staff of as much routine paper work as possible.

4. Training: I recommend that the maximum practicable effort be made, not only to train counterparts as described in Recommendation No. 3 above, but to arrange for the training of the staff of the LDAs and the villagers in those skills which are found by experience in each LDA area to be most needed for its development.

5. Equipment: I recommend that the USAID assist the three LDAs selected (1) to secure appropriate road-making and well-drilling equipment, and (2) to establish and equip regional workshops to maintain and repair the LDA equipment and, if practical, that of neighboring LDAs, and that appropriate amounts be budgeted by USAID for these purposes.

## APPENDIX A: AINES LOCAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

This appendix contains a description of the Aines Local Development Association, one of the four LDA's studied, and to some extent its socio-cultural setting. Data was obtained from the General Secretary and a Member of the governing/operating Board of the Association in the Association's offices in Sanaa, supplemented by the Board's accountant, also a Member of the Board. This description is followed by a composite analysis of visits made to villages and to projects, organized around the topics of roads, water, schools, Board planning and village priorities, village financing schemes, and attitudes towards the Board. Partial role descriptions of village/tribal leaders and of central government officials at the nahiya and qada level are presented to show, along with the village data, the context within which the Board operates, and in order to evaluate the actual performance of the Board as a force for development.

### The LDA Story

History and Organization: This LDA, referred to in the Aines area as the "Aines Cooperative," was established at the beginning of 1970 as a result of the operation of two factors, (1) A sense of responsibility for their area and birthplace on the part of a number of persons from the Aines area who had been educated abroad, and a desire to do something constructive for it, and (2) the example set by other areas of Yemen which had established LDAs that were functioning to develop their respective areas. The original group of educated people which tentatively decided to establish a cooperative society numbered between 20 and 30. At first, however, some of these persons objected that it would be useless to have such a society as it would only serve the interests of its members. Others pointed out that the LDAs in Ibb and Taiz did not operate that way, and that an organization formed along the lines of those two LDAs would be useful for the area.

It was then decided to contact the active people in the Aines area and explain the idea to them. Those convinced that the idea was sound numbered about 150, a group which decided to consider itself a General Assembly in order to meet the legal requirements. This General Assembly then proceeded to elect 7 persons as a Governing Body. Those elected by positions within the central government held at the time of election and those occupied at present in the central government were as follows: (1) Member and General Secretary of the Board, then Member of Parliament, now Secretary-General of CYDA and Minister of Social Affairs and Labour; (2) Member, Deputy General Secretary and Executive Secretary of the Board, then and now Director of Administration and Finance in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour; (3) Member and Deputy General Secretary of the Board, then Director of Administration, Finance and Drilling, Ministry of Agriculture, now Director of the Office of the Minister of Agriculture; (4) Member and Director of the Board's Road Projects, then and now Director of Customs; (5) Member and General Accountant of the Board, then Director of Employee Affairs, Ministry of Agriculture, now full-time employee of the Board; (6) Member and Laws Compliance Advisor to the Board, then a student at the University, now Director of Planning and External Relations in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour; and (7) Member and Representative of the Board at the Offices of the President and Prime Minister of Yemen, then a captain in the Yemen Army, now Director of Development in the Prime Minister's Office.

Shortly after it was elected the Governing Body divided itself into three Committees: Planning, Financial and Follow-Through. A General Secretary, not, it was emphasized, a chairman, was elected to head the Governing Body. Each committee in turn elected a head who was also a Vice General Secretary of the Governing Body. The headquarters of the LDA was placed in Sana at the beginning as those who were working on the Cooperative's affairs lived in Sana, and because it was there that they could put pressure on the government departments for assistance.

The Committee System: The first step taken by the Financial Committee was to collect contributions from the staff and employees of the various Yemen Government organizations and army stationed in the area, and from other citizens of Aines. The committee examined the possibilities of sharing in the zaqat tax, but at that time it was all reserved for the central government. However, the committee asked each farmer in the Aines area to pay voluntarily one rial for each ten rials (or its equivalent in kind) paid to the central government as zaqat tax and one-fourth rial for each rial paid as a tax on qat or other produce for which a cash tax was collected by the central government. Two Board Members reported that all farmers paid this contribution as all were in favor of creating the LDA. Furthermore, it was collected by the tax collectors at the time the farmer paid his zaqat tax. The committee set up account books in 1970 and opened an account in the Yemen Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

After organizing itself the Planning Committee went to the area to gain an understanding of the needs of the people directly from them in each moklaf. In order to better understand the planning process it may be helpful to describe the governmental and tribal units which comprise Aines Qada which is itself a subdivision of the Governorate of Dhamar, one of the 10 into which Yemen is divided. Aines Qada consisted in 1973 of three nahiyas, one of which has been subdivided since then into two nahiyas. The nahiya is a relatively new term and method of subdividing a qada used by the central government. Tribally, Aines consists of 13 mokhaf. According to the Statistical Year Book, 1974-75, Aines Qada contains 509 villages within 62 ozlahs. The tribal leader of an ozlah is usually a small sheikh, "Sheikh Sagheir". These 62 ozlahs are divided among the 13 mokhafs, each of whose tribal leader is usually a large sheikh, "Sheikh Khabier".

Meetings were held by members of the Planning Committee in the "middle village" within each moklaf to which came people from the other villages, mostly the amins and agils (also spelled akle). Moklaf meetings were followed by visits to villages. This planning process required the first year to complete during which time no projects were initiated. It culminated in the preparation by the Committee of a plan which was reported to the General Assembly setting out the village priorities which turned out to be first, roads and second, schools. The plan also provided for 120 kms. of roads of which 9 km. would be built in the first year, and for six schools with only one scheduled for the first year. The Committee made an agreement with the Ministry of Education to pay one-half the cost of constructing any schools which <sup>the</sup> Ministry approved and for which the Ministry would provide teachers, books and desks. Priorities for assistance to competing villages <sup>were</sup> determined as follows: For water supplies the village whose women had to carry water the furthest in terms of time received first priority with other

villages in descending order depending upon carrying time. Priorities in building schools was determined on the basis of the density of population to be served and the village's accessibility by road.

The Follow-Up Committee was formed, as its name indicates, to follow-up the planning done by the other two committees and to implement their plans. The Committee first collected the pledges of money which had been made to the Finance Committee. In the case of the first school to be constructed, the committee visited the Ministry of Education with the building design provided to them by the Ministry of Public Works, and had the Ministry deposit its half of the cost in the Yemen Bank. The same procedure was followed in the case of the second school, but the Ministry reneged on its promise to deposit its half, so the second school was not built. However, the Ministry did supply the salaries of 24 teachers already in existing one-teacher village Quranic schools which gave religious instruction and taught literacy. The design of the one school that was built in the first year was advertised to contractors on the radio, a process which produced three bids. The Committee accepted the low bid and saw that the contractor built it correctly. For the 9 kms. of road to be reconstructed on the site of an old trail the Committee contracted with the central government's Highway Authority for YR 92,000, the entire cost being paid in advance.

Problems: The major problems encountered by the Board in the first and second years, (designated by the Board as Stage I) were the following: First, there were simply too many applications from the villages for projects, far in excess of the money available. Second, the Highway Authority did not carry out all of its commitments, was very slow in carrying out the others and did poor quality work. This unsatisfactory performance eventually forced the LDA (within the last year) to buy its own heavy equipment consisting of two Caterpillar bulldozers, a D-7F and a D-8, a large air-compressor and jack hammers, a fuel truck and, most recently, a large Caterpillar road grader. The third problem stated by the Board has already been described, i.e., the failure of the Ministry of Education to carry out some of its commitments.

Stage II Plans and Projects: Stage II in the history of the Aines LDA began in 1973 and extends through the present. A Three-Year Plan extending from April 1973 to April 1976 was devised, replacing the original indefinite term plan. This plan, an extension of the first, was based on what the people wanted. The Members of the Board visited all the villages in the area and completed a paper on the needs of each. The people, they found, wanted everything with greatest emphasis on water, roads and schools with clinics following the first three priorities. The Board members then had to decide on priorities for Board action, based in part on what each village already had and its potentialities for development, and in part on the villagers' desires.

The Three-Year Plan has a total of 103 village drinking-water projects consisting of small dams, wells and pipes, of which the majority have either been completed, or terminated as failures, or are nearing completion. Factors used in choosing villages for water projects included, as in the first year plan, the length of time required to fetch the water. This factor is considered along with the difficulties of transport, i.e. preference is given to those villages whose women have to carry water uphill and which have the largest number to benefit from the installation of the new supply.

The plan provided for constructing twelve primary schools in the three-year period. So far, three have been completed only one of which was paid for by the LDA, the other two by Saudi Arabia. Three others are under contract, with Iraq footing the bill on one and the United Emirate on two others. The seventh school scheduled will consist of the rehabilitation of a palace formerly owned by the son of the deposed Imam. In some schools one room is set aside for secondary education. Both boys and girls study together in all of the primary schools. The LDA not only finances the construction of the school itself, or arranges to have it financed by another country, but also transport books and blackboards from the Ministry of Education, pays as a supplement to the salary paid by the Ministry YR 150 per month to each teacher who is a secondary school graduate, and pays the rent for and equips the kitchen and other rooms of the quarters occupied by teachers from Egypt, Syria and other countries. (All secondary school graduates in Yemen must serve for one year after graduation as primary teachers in a rural school before receiving a certificate of service from the Ministry of Education. The certificate is a requisite for admission to the University).

The plan targets for roads are 75 kms. of new primary construction, 30 kms. of new branch roads including one of 14 kms. to a hot springs resort area and 55 kms. of improved construction of existing road. Of this total about one-half had been completed by mid-June 1975 consisting of 52 kms. of new road and 28 kms. of improved roads. The pace of construction, they say, will be greatly increased when their new large road grader is put into operation in July. The new construction is all of the type which is designated as stage one, i.e. it has been bulldozed into passability by four-wheel drive vehicles. In stage two the culverts and Irish bridges are to be installed and the roadway is to be leveled with gravel. The third stage is paving, to be financed, the Board hopes, by one of the Arab oil states. The second and third stages will be included in later LDA Three-Year Plans. The Highway Authority has provided the LDA with the bridge designs for the 14 kms. access road to the hot springs.

The current Three-Year Plan health section provides for the construction of three clinics each with a house for the doctor and a well to supply water to both house and clinic. Two of these clinics have been built, the one at Duran by Saudi Arabia and the one at Jabul Sheikh by the LDA and Ministry of Health on a three-fourths, one-fourth cost-sharing basis, respectively. The other health project completed by the LDA consisted of piping hot water from a hot springs into 12 baths in a building constructed by the government to which many people come for health reasons.

According to the accountant of Aines Board, the Board and Catholic Relief Service (CRS) entered into an agreement about two years ago by which CRS would furnish to the Aines Board food for work performed by villagers on dams and wells. The agreement provided that each worker would receive 450 grams of wheat, 80 grams of dried milk, and 30 grams of oil per day. Three thousand workers were to be employed over a period of six months.

When the staff of Aines Board began the distribution of food, they discovered that the local sheikhs wanted a high percentage of the food for themselves. (The sheikhs had become accustomed to receiving this food during

the famine emergency of 1968-69 when food was distributed through them, I have been informed by CRS). Because of quarreling between the Aines Board and the sheikhs over this matter, the food was kept in three warehouses for three months and not distributed. At the end of this period the Board again began the work and distribution to the workers. This time the sheikhs came directly to the workers and demanded part of the food but the workers refused. However, owing to fear of the sheikhs many would not return to the work. Owing to the difficulty of coping with this widespread problem, the Aines Board decided to contract out its water projects, the contractor to be paid partly in cash and partly in food. He could either give the food to the workers or sell it as he wished. The CRS stopped the work about seven months ago as they wanted signatures of the recipient workers and this was not possible under the new system.

The Board member observed that Yemen receives assistance from many foreign sources, but few completed projects result from this assistance as much of it goes into the hands and pockets of sheikhs and others. But in Aines all of it goes into projects including the food from CRS.

Total revenues from the LDA's half of the zaqat tax in Aines Qada are YR 1 million per year more or less depending upon yields of crops and market prices.

Villages and Projects: During the five days spent in the Aines area and three part-days in the Aines Board offices in Sana, every effort possible was made to evaluate objectively the work of the LDA. Extended visits of one to three hours duration (the longer one included lunch and qat) were made to five villages where full freedom was given to ask the villagers whatever questions we chose to ask. Shorter visits were made to projects in six other villages where we were able (in all but one case) to discuss the project with villagers who appeared, and to get their reactions to the Board. There was no hesitancy on the part of any villagers encountered in expressing their opinions, both positive and negative, of the LDA and its work. At our request, we were taken to projects classified as failures and to one village which had asked for projects but had not yet received any. Although the Association was often flayed for what it had not yet done, all the villagers, including those in the village which had received no assistance, were in favor of a continuance of the Board. (In the latter village the Board member who accompanied us was told that the lunch they were preparing was not for him, a joke of course, but meant as a further gesture of their loudly-voiced disapproval for not having shared yet in the Board's beneficence).

In addition to village and project visits, simple role analyses were made of the positions of all central government officials, six in number, who are heads of offices and stationed at the qada level, as well as several at the Nahiya level. (The Qada Post-Office official was not interviewed). All interviewees went beyond mere pro forma expressions of approval of the Board.

Roads: Of the 52 Kms. of new and 28 kms. of improved roads which were claimed to have been completed, we personally drove over 9 kms. of "improved" road (between Mabar and the Duran turn-off) and 43 kms. of new construction between the Duran turn-off and the bulldozers and other equipment working on the side of the third mountain range crossed by the road. The nature of the rock through which most of this road passes tends to be somewhat friable and a heavy dozer blade is usually all that is necessary to cause it

to fracture. Only occasionally is solid rock struck making necessary the operation of jack hammers. Bridges are not a necessity although it would be convenient to have them occasionally during heavy rains in the two brief rainy seasons.

All land for the road right-of-way has been given by those through whose land the road passes, in gratitude for having the road to replace the pack-animal trail which formerly was the only connection to the outside, I was informed by the accompanying Board member. The only exceptions were two people who would have had to give up all of their land holdings to the road. In one of these cases the land was taken and the owner given compensation in the form of a job at good pay for a period of six to seven months. In the other case, the road was detoured temporarily around the owner's (a woman's) property and up a stream bed until a satisfactory solution can be found. The road will be continued another 31 kms. to the border of Ains Qada at Madeenat-al-Shark. From there to the juncture with the Sana-Hodeida road at Baquil is said to be another 93 kms.

On the drive along the new road the three home villages of the Executive Secretary, the other LDA Board Member with us, and one other member not with us were pointed out to us in the distance. It had been proposed, they reported, in an earlier Board meeting that a connecting road be constructed to the village of the Executive Secretary. But after discussion it was voted unaimously not to do so and to have the Board do no special work for any Board member, but to follow the original plan of completing the main road before turning to feeder and connecting roads.

While this road traverses almost the entire length of Ains Qada and thus serves the LDA area, it is also a large part of a new national road which when completed will eliminate many miles of driving between the south central/southeastern parts of the country, and the port of Al Hodeida. As an examination of the map will indicate, travel at present between the port and Dhamar, Rada, Al Bayda, Yarim and a number of smaller places must swing far north to Sana before turning southeast to Hodeida.

Owing to the exigencies of scheduling, (we had to return to Mabar to the usual big feast for visitors), we had no time to stop at villages along the way to get their impressions of and participation in the construction of the road. However, chance encounters in subsequent days with a number of residents from the "interior" left no doubt of their extremely high approval of the road project.

Water: Eight drinking water supply projects were examined of which five were successful hand-dug wells, one an unsuccessful well, one a greatly enlarged cistern, while one consisted of a pump, pipe, etc. installed in an old well. The successful well had to be abandoned after a few meters owing to the extreme hardness of the rock which could not be penetrated with hand tools. The villagers digging the well (with Board assistance) were then promised help in restoring to usefulness a dam and cistern carved in the rocks many years ago but which now leaks badly from fissures. The Board will furnish the cement and the villagers the labor to line the entire structure, but work had not commenced at the time of my visit.

Of the successful wells four were lined with cut and fitted stone from top to bottom, while another, the first ever built by the Board, will have to be lined owing to incipient caving of walls. All of these wells are cased in stone to about eight inches above ground level and are open on top. It is the policy of the Board, I was told by the accompanying Board member, to construct wells in the two stages in order to make water available as soon as possible to as many as possible. The village with a well then has the option of either extending the stone work above ground or constructing a well cap and installing pulleys, etc. to make easier the lifting of the water, or to await Board help on these items at some future time after other villages have been provided with water.

Before having the well in one village the women had to walk for water between one and one-half and two hours. Another village estimated the distance to the former source of supply at four kilometers, up, over and down a small mountain.

For two wells the Board secured donations of wheat through CRS. This was used to compensate the villagers and artisans for digging and lining the well. In the other three cases it was necessary for the Board to give cash (YR 7500 in one case, YR 4500 in a second and "entire cost" in a third) to pay the stone artisans and to transport the stone.

One village chose to enlarge and deepen its cistern for collecting rain water, a natural fissure in the rock within the village walls, rather than to risk digging a well which might be dry. The village has provided the labor and the almost complete cavity now measures approximately 20 x 30 x 3 meters. The Board allocated YR 4,000 to purchase cement to line it and thus prevent seepage and to build a wall to keep out the animals which now have full access to it, the village's only source of drinking water. The villagers' estimate, apparently not checked by the Board, of the total cost was YR 150,000.

The final water project visited consisted of a diesel pump, a discharge pipe and a large concrete holding tank, (placed in an existing hand-dug well) to the cost of which the Board contributed YR 9,000 and the villagers YR 5,000. The villagers pay all costs of maintenance and operation. The Board has committed itself to extend the piping up to the village itself, perhaps one-half a kilometer away, but a division of cost has not been agreed on. The accompanying Board member stated that the Board planned no more installations of this nature as it was too costly and there were too many villages without water for the Board to make this kind of an investment only to the benefit of one village.

Schools: The first project of the LDA was the construction in 1971 of a six-room school at Mabar complete with head master's office, a teacher's room and two baths all built around a large inner court. The quality of both the stone and the construction were of the finest. However, the Board found this level of construction much too costly and subsequent school projects have used a coarser stone and less refined techniques. The inner court of the Mabar school is the site of the infrequent meetings of the General Assembly of the LDA. The Board bore the entire cost of construction.

No other completed schools were visited. However, another six-room school nearing completion under contract was inspected. The Board is contributing three-fourths of the cost and the villagers one-fourth. In another village the villagers have quarried the stone and hauled it to the site in partial payment of their half of the construction costs with the Board paying the other half. The LDA will let the contract. The villagers participating in the interview said they wanted the school primarily for their sons, but that girls would also attend. In answer to our questions as to why they wanted their sons educated, one replied that he wanted his sons to become pilots and doctors. The village presently has a Koran literacy school in a small room adjacent to the mosque in which, it was stated, 75 boys and 6 girls are enrolled. Three girls and perhaps fifty boys were present on the occasion of our visit. The room was bare except for a black-board--no desks and no tables-- as students sit on the earthen floor. Instruction is largely by rote.

The village which had received no Board assistance for any of its requests was promised sometime ago a school for its 150 children. In recent years there had been a Koran school taught by the amin. But he had quit because he was not paid. Subsequently the Ministry of Education gave him an examination to test his qualifications to receive pay but he failed to make a passing grade.

Board Planning and Village Priorities: Three of the five villages to which prolonged visits were made volunteered the information that the Board had sent a "commission" to the village to determine its needs, one said "two years ago" and another "in 1971". A source of drinking water was the first choice of four of the five villages, the fifth already having a well. In fact, one of the four, the village which had received no help, also had a well that served all four of the mahallah (separate residential clusters) of the village, but each of the four agils wanted a well for his mahallah. The Board refused their requests because the one well served all of them adequately and its location required walking only short distances. As stated above, the Board has promised this village a school. It will serve three villages but, the member stated, the Board has been unable to provide it because all of the Board's resources are being used for building the road.

The second choice of four of the villages was a school, while the fifth village opted for deepening the recently completed well and installing a pump for irrigation to make possible the planting of coffee trees which once flourished there before the prolonged drought which the villagers stated had lasted for twenty years in their area. The additional money earned from the coffee, they said, would help to build a school to educate "those ignorant children", pointing, as they said this, to the usual cluster of children surrounding any visitor to a village. At present there is not a literate person in the entire village including the amin (how he listed zaqat taxes was not explained). Any written messages must be taken four kilometers to the nearest village for reading and the preparation of replies.

Other lower priorities of the villages included a clinic, increasing the size of the mosque to accommodate the large increase in the village's population, a road into the wadi lands, completion of the superstructure of the recently dug well including pipes and an elevated tank and piped water into houses, a deep well with pumps for irrigation and agricultural machinery especially tractors for deep plowing. Each of the above items was cited by only one village except for the deep wells with pump which was named by two.

Village Financing Schemes; The four villages giving data on the question of how they distributed the village share of the cost of projects each gave a unique reply (the fifth had had no projects). To finance a school about to be built, one village has decided to assess each family on the basis of its crops and livestock production (similar to the method of levying the zaqat tax, although this was not stated). Another village assessed each family, except the very poor, YR 25 to pay its share of the cost of the well. A third made up its one-fourth share of the cost of the school by levying a charge on each family based on its land holdings and the number of animals owned. The agil of the fourth divided all of the men of the village into 5 groups "according to family" and each group accepted the responsibility for working on the well one day each week. Each worker received wheat from the CRS and their lunch and qat from the other villagers. "When we started digging we were eating figs and when the well was finished we were still eating figs" (one year later).

Attitudes Towards the Board: All five villages, including the one which had received no projects, praised the Board although they all wanted the Board to speed up its schedule for meeting their respective needs. As one expressed it, "Our Board is better than those in other parts of the country, as it builds roads with good equipment and operates it, and also it builds schools." Another stated that the Board was "a great thing for the area. We pay our zaqat tax and hope that the Board will help improve conditions." He added, in response to my question, that no benefits at all came to them from the former ruling Imam. The village without projects said that the Board did well in all of Aines except in this village. They stated that they had spent about YR 4,000 in trips to Sana to get the Board and agencies of the government to help them but without success except for the Board's promise to build the school. Finally, at each of the sites of three wells, old unveiled women spoke to us praising Allah and the Board for the well and stating how much effort they had had to expend previously in order to fetch water! (After the third such occasion, we jokingly accused the accompanying Board member of arranging these demonstrations).

#### Partial Role Descriptions of Village and Tribal Leaders

The Aines LDA operates within a larger sociocultural context consisting of the LDA's constituent villages, the indigenous governance mechanisms of these villages and of the ozlahs and moklafs into which the villages are grouped tribally, and the offices of the central government at the qada and nahiya levels. In this section are described some of the functions of and problems associated with the principal positions within these structures practically all of whose occupants are concerned with two functions, the preservation of peace between persons and villages, and/or the collection and accounting for tax revenue with which to finance the LDA and the central government.

Amin: The position of the amin and the functions he performs seem to vary from village to village. In this brief study specific attention was directed to the position in only two villages. In the first, the one composed of four sections each headed by an agil, the amin had only three functions: (1) to attend to the repair of the mosque, (2) to inspect the harvests, estimate yields, prepare the zaqat tax lists indicating the amount of tax owed and forward these to officials of the central government, and (3) to attend to any other business which the government may require of him. This amin, although the only one for the entire village, seems to have a distinctly lower social status than that of any of the agils of the four sections, possibly because of his failure to pass a Ministry of Education examination and thereby failing to qualify as a paid teacher at the mosque school attended by children from all four sections.

Both the prestige and role of the position in the other village were quite different from the one just described. In fact, the positions are not comparable as the second village amin stated that he was also the hakim (judge) for his village which has a population of more than 2500, very large for villages in this area. This amin/hakim had held this position for 13 years since his "university" (actually an Islamic secondary school) training in Sana. He stated that he was chosen by the people for the position as had his father, grand-father and great grandfather before him, because they were the best educated and most respected persons in the village. He stated that his principle duty is to adjudicate the cases which the people bring to him. The government also asks him to judge certain cases. An example of the former type which he described had occurred the day before our arrival. Two men had fought and wounded each other. When the case came before him, he inspected the wounds of each man and set a price on them depending upon their severity. The most grievously-wounded was then paid for his own wounds less the amount charged against him for wounds he had inflicted on his antagonist.

He also settles any disputes which arise between villages in the area. Within his own village he writes all contracts involving the sale of real estate and registers these and other important sales made in the village. He levies the zaqat tax at harvest time, and later accompanies the tax collector when payment is due. If anyone dies, he divides his wealth according to Islamic law. On Fridays he delivers the sermon in the mosque. In settling disputes involving both tribal and Islamic law, he himself renders an opinion based on Islamic law and has one or more tribesmen to render an opinion based on tribal law. These two opinions are then compared and the one prevails which seems most applicable to the facts of the case. He gave an example of a dispute over water rights in which this procedure was followed resulting in a decision that tribal law was most applicable to the case. Appeals of his decision, very rare and made only in very serious cases, he said, may be made to the Almanha, the highest tribal court of appeal.

The amin/hakim stated that he had no responsibility for development of the village. Although there had been no elections in the village to elect a representative to the LDA, he had personally given his full support to the present Board because it helped the villages.

By comparing the roles of these two amins with the description of the roles of amins in villages in other LDAs (as the reader will see by reading Appendices B, C, and D), it is evident that neither of the two roles described here is typical of amins in the four LDA areas studied, but the question of typicality can be resolved only by further role analyses.

Agil: The role of this position, like that of the amin, seems to vary from village to village, but it was examined fairly closely in only one village in this LDA area. Here the agil has responsibilities for an entire village which has no separate sections, in contrast to the four-section village described above with an agil in charge of each. The present agil, a very old man, has occupied the position since he was elected to it by the people forty years ago. His son now acts for him. The old man was the first in his family to be elected agil, the position being filled before him by a man from a different family. The son stated that the agil had two chief responsibilities: (1) to act as intermediary between the people of the village and the government, and between this village and any other village; and (2) to intermediate between people within the village who are having trouble with one another. As an example of the first, he cited an instance in which there had been a fight between some people of this village and those of another village. After the fighting had subsided he and two others had been appointed by the people of his village to negotiate a settlement with the other village (presumably successfully). Within the village the types of cases in order of frequency of occurrence he said, were personal insults, family problems, incursions of animals into the lands of others resulting in damage to crops, and disputes over land. When a case is brought to him he investigates the circumstances on the spot, calling witnesses if any, and then renders judgement. He takes no fee for his services but may require the guilty party to pay those who have been required to spend their time in investigating the case.

In another village visited, the agil was absent but the people interviewed stated that his duty was to watch the harvest and to send to the government a list of the zaqat taxes owed by each person. Then each person, they said, takes his tax, either in kind or in money to the seat of the nahiya.

#### Sheikh Khabier:

The tribal system, the sheikh explained, is made up of agils, who are leaders of the villages, small sheikhs (sheikh sagheir) who are leaders of the ozlahs, and large sheikhs (sheikhs khabeir) like himself who are leaders of moklafs. The moklaf does not coincide with the nahiya which is a modern term introduced by the government. For example, the Mabar Nahiya and the Qada Nahiya together, (until recently united as Mabar Nahiya) contain Duran Moklaf and two other moklafs. Duran Mokhlaf alone contains, he said, 4 sheikhs sagheir and 40 agils. An agil, the sheikh continued, is selected by the people of a village as their tribal leader, while the amin is only the collector of the zaqat tax records. The agil settles the small problems of the villagers, or refers them to the sheikh sagheir who in turn may send them to the sheikh khabeir, or on to the government amils for settlement. An agil must be wise, clever, educated and honest and be selected by the families of his village. He remains agil for as long as he does right and the people want him.

A sheikh sagheir is selected by the families of his villages while the sheikh khabeir is chosen by the agils of the moklaf. After a sheikh has been elected, a scroll (which he exhibited at this point) is prepared and is signed by all the agils in his area attesting that he has been elected sheikh.

This scroll then goes to the government for stamps and signatures and becomes his proof of identity when he does business with the government. He said that he had been sheikh khabeir for 20 years. His father had been sheikh for 25 years, but his grandfather had not been a sheikh.

The function of any sheikh is to settle disputes between individuals or families or villages, and to act as an intermediary for the people with the government. It is the duty of the sheikh to keep an open house for visitors who wish to stay in the area overnight. Most of a sheikh's income must come from his own lands, but he also receives part of the zaqat tax, one-tenth of the tax being used to pay the sheikhs and agils, he stated, while nine-tenths is divided equally between the LDA Board and the Government. Actually, he said, all of the tax goes to the Government which divides it in the manner just described and then later remits to the sheikhs and agils that portion owed to them. The system of sheikhs had not changed in recent years he said, and their powers were as they had always been.

#### Partial Role Descriptions of Nahiya and Qada Officials

Amil-al-Nahiya: This gentleman, appointed by the Ministry of Local Administration, had occupied the position for only three months. Before that he had been deputy amil of another nahiya for one year, preceded by eight years of service as a secretary at the Ministry of Local Administration. He stated that he had three major functions. The first is to settle disputes which are brought to him by people of the nahiya. The cases mediated include: (1) quarrels over ownership of land, especially when someone takes over a small bit of land from a larger farmer; (2) invasion of other people's land by animals and the eating of their crops; (3) failure to repay debts; (4) refusal to pay taxes; and (5) family problems between a man and his wife. Regarding debt payment, he said that he could force repayment, if the complainant had witnesses who could testify that they had personal knowledge that the other person in the case actually owed the claimed amount. However, if it could be shown that the complainant had lied, he would have to pay to the wronged party twice the amount which he had claimed. As to family problems, he said, if it could be shown that the husband had struck his wife, the case would be settled in accordance with Islamic law (unexplained).

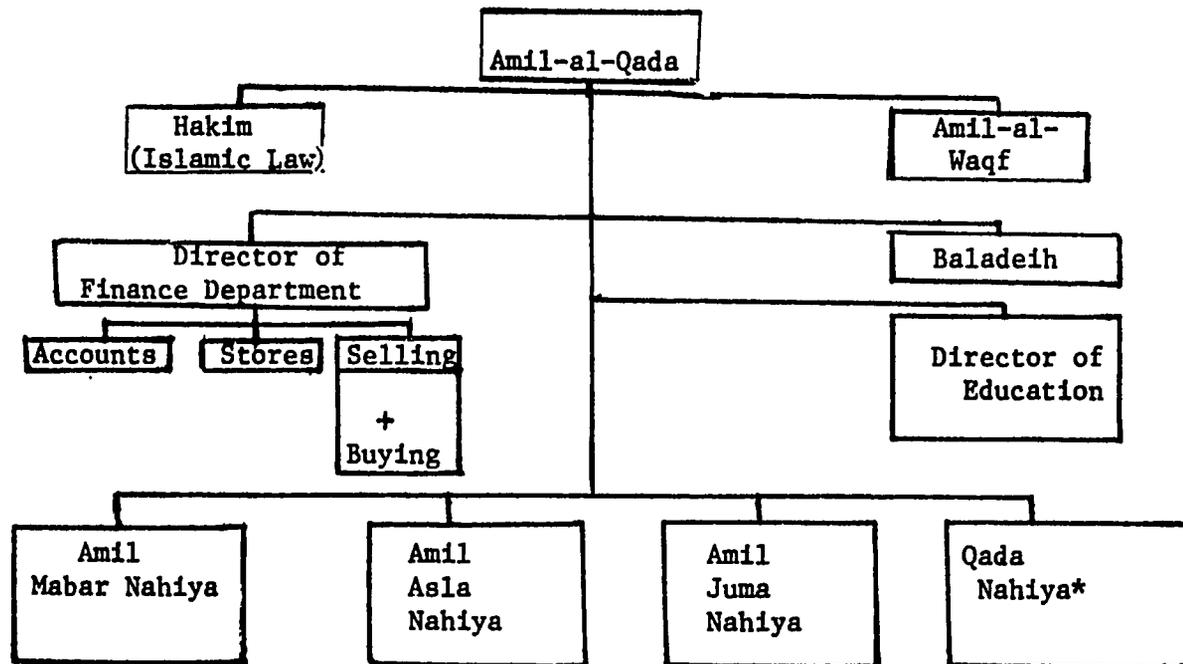
His second major task is to forward the zaqat tax lists received from the approximately 70 amins in his nahiya to the amil of the qada. If the government needs his assistance in collecting the tax, he lends his services. His third function is "to give extension to the people" i.e., (1) to call upon the people of the region to give good cooperation to the Aines LDA Board, and to act as contact between the people and the Board, and (2) to observe the Islamic religion and "not to leave it." Yes, he said, he did have problems in performing his functions. Most important is the lack of transport, no car to enable him to travel in the nahiya on his official duties. The second is a lack of understanding and acceptance of his judgments by one or both of the parties to some of the cases brought to him for settlement. In such cases, he stated, the principals were free to take their cases to the government (presumably the qada hakim-see role description below).

I assume, but do not have notes to substantiate it, that the cases which are brought before the nahiya amil for mediation are those which are either appealed from the amins and agils, or which are not referred to them in the first instance but are brought directly to the nahiya amil.

Amil-al-Qada: The amil-al-qada is the chief government official in the qada. He presides over an establishment which was diagrammed by a member of the Aines LDA Board (see figure).

Central Government Officials in Duran Qada

Governorate of Dhamar



\* Administered directly by the amil-al-qada and the other qada officials

The amil was not available on the occasion of our visit and data on the position was secured from the deputy-amil who has occupied his position "since the Revolution", before which he was the amil-al-waqf. His service in government, he said, totaled 39 years, all of it in Duran.

The principle duties of the amil are "to receive the policies of the government" which are transmitted to him by the Governor of the Governorate, and "to ensure the life and safety of the people of the qada". To assist him he has at his disposal a detachment of soldiers under an officer (no police, he said). A third duty concerns the zaqat tax, as he put it "to make it flow upwards". His fourth function is "to solve the problems of the villagers". If the agil cannot settle a problem in the village, it can be brought to the sheikh or directly to the amil-al-qada. The three major types of cases which he receives are (1) appeals from an agil for help in apprehending a murderer, solved by sending soldiers to arrest the accused and turning him over to the hakim for trial; (2) fighting between persons which he solves according to tribal law after hearing the testimony of both

principal and their witnesses; and (3) incursions by cows and other animals into neighbors' crops. In the latter case he sends someone from another village to get the facts on the basis of which he then assesses the damages to be paid to the complainant.

A fifth duty, related to the first, is to explain to the people the government's policies in speeches delivered on the Prophet's Birthday and on the anniversary of the last revolution. The sixth function mentioned is the referral of problems on education, agriculture, etc. to the LDA with the request that they send them to the proper specialized ministries in Sana. His seventh and last function also involves the LDA in that he gives the executive authority to the Board to execute its projects. He explained that the LDA Board had no executive authority except that which it receives from the government through the amil-al-qada for each project. In practice, however, he trusts the Board to work out its projects with the people. Occasionally, he said, he receives a complaint from the Board that a village has received help from the Board but has not carried out its agreed-upon part of the project in the proper manner. In such a case he sends for the village leader (agil or amin) and asks why they have not cooperated. If the leader says that they have not received all of the assistance promised by the Board, then he consults with the Board. If he ascertains that the village has in fact received what was proper under the circumstances, he may then order it to do the work originally agreed upon with the Board.

The major problem which he, the deputy amil, and the amil-al-qada have in their work is the tendency of the judicial authorities at the Governorate to transfer to its jurisdiction a case under adjudication at the qada level. When this happens the legal procedures have to begin all over again with increased costs to the litigants. A second difficulty is his inability to secure sufficient funds from the central government for small projects such as the repair of the many buildings in Duran damaged during the war. A number of those damaged have been repaired including the rebuilding of the seat of government which was destroyed, but a number of other buildings have not been restored. The third and final problem concerns the municipal market tax which is collected by a contractor who fails to keep good records and to make the correct deposits (see below the role of the Baladeih).

The LDA, the deputy amil says, is hampered by a lack of sufficient funds to assist in financing village projects, because so much of what is collected goes into the construction of the road. However, he believes that the road must not only have first priority, but that its completion must be followed by the construction of connecting roads to the villages. The Board should also build schools, provide drinking water to the villages and improve the agriculture of the area, he concluded.

Hakim: Before coming to Duran six years ago as hakim (judge), the present incumbent was a teacher of Islamic law in the Imam's high school in Sana.

His court sits, he said, from 8:00 A.M. to 12:30 P.M. each day with the afternoons reserved for reading about cases and the evenings devoted to writing up the cases and their associated problems. The cases which reach him, he reported, are the more difficult ones not solved by amils, agils, sheikhs and amils-al-nahiya, and which usually require much time to reach a correct solution according to Islamic law.

One major difficulty, he stated, is that in about 20% of the cases after he has made the necessary investigations and is in the final stages of arriving at a judgement, the case is suddenly transferred to the next level of the judiciary at the governorate. This usually results from influence exerted in Sana by one of the parties to the case. It is more likely to happen when a party has relatives in high places in the Government and when this party fears that his judgement will be adverse to them. When a case is transferred it imposes a great burden on the other party as the case has to be tried from the beginning. However, he is able to solve about 80% of the cases that come before him. A second difficulty in doing his work is his dependence upon the amil, the army and others to make investigations, as they often take a very long time to complete, whereas he could do them much more quickly himself, if he were permitted to deal directly with the village concerned.

The type of case most frequently heard concerns encroachments on another's lands. Cases of this type greatly increased after the war as the government was unable to prevent it during the war and some people took advantage of the situation. Next are husband-and-wife disputes mainly involving a desire by the wife to live apart from her husband. The third type of case most often seen in his court concerns inheritance disputes, often involving persons who look after the interests of widows and sell their lands to settle the estate. Other types of cases are buyer-seller disputes, fighting in which wounds are incurred, non-repayment of loans, and murders.

The accompanying Board member informed me that salaries of hakims were formerly very low resulting in frequent transfers, with the consequence that the number of unsolved cases tended to build up. But recently the salaries have been raised and, in the case of this hakim, he stayed at Duran and has been able to clear up the large backlog awaiting him on his arrival.

The hakim stated that the High Court in Sana reviews all of his cases and sends back for reconsideration any which they believe require further study. After restudy of the facts and the law he resubmits the case to the High Court. Then, if the High Court believes that his decision is not correct, it may enter an overriding opinion.

Amil-al-Wafq: The same man who serves as deputy amil for the Qada is also the amil-al-wafq, a position he has held for 34 years. The position has one function, i.e. to keep accounts of the rental income from the wafq lands which are those belonging to the local mosques. The annual rentals for all wafq lands in the qada amount to about 6,000 kadr of grain (1 kadr= 33 kilograms) and approximately YR 50,000 in cash each year. The man in charge of the local mosque collects rental for lands attached to his mosque, keeps 90% for repair of the mosque and its other needs, and sends the other 10% to the wafq official in each ozlah. These men in turn bring their

collections to the qada amil-al-waqf for transmittal to the Ministry of Waqf in Sana. The Amil stated that the Ministry does not spend any funds in his qada but the Ministry does occasionally send an inspector to check up on revenue.

The amount of waqf lands, he said, is gradually expanding through death bequests and from donations by the living. The total added in the qada per year, he estimated, was about 200 libna (1 libna in Duran Qada = 132 square meters as compared to 44 square meters in some areas), or about 2.64 hectares (if my calculations are correct). Under Imamate rule additions were made, he said, at a much faster rate. The only problem he has in his work is the lack of transport to visit the mosques to see that they are kept in proper repair.

Director of Finance: This office is responsible for the collection of the reports on taxes of all kinds and indirectly for the actual collection, accounting for and transmittal of the taxes themselves to the Ministry of Finance through the Governorate at Dhamar. Most important is the zaqat tax. As has been noted earlier, the amins and in some places the agils watch the harvests of the farmers in their respective areas and determine the amount of tax to be paid after harvest. The amin or agil makes the report in five copies, according to the director, and sends one copy each to the directors of finance at the nahiya, qada and governorate levels, one to the Ministry of Finance, and keeps one for himself. This system was instituted, the director said, to prevent fraud. At the nahiya the village reports are compared with last year's and any differences have to be accounted for. Usually any deviation can be explained by a decrease or increase in yields owing to variations in rainfall, the principle factor affecting yields. The nahiya official transmits his findings to the qada office of finance where the director records and summarizes them for the qada and sends the summaries to the Dhamer Governorate. The director collects reports directly from the villages for Qada Nahiya, the nahiya surrounding Duran. The tax is one-tenth of the production on rainfed areas but only one-twentieth on irrigated lands.

There are three seasons for zaqat tax reporting and collections, as follows:

First Khalam Ghiad (winter) in which tax is levied in maize, barley, millet, bearded wheat and beans.

Second Khalem Ditha (spring and early summer) for red sorghum, maize, wheat, barley, red wheat, small beans, beans, qat, alfalfa, onions, potatoes, fruit and sorghum leaves.

Third Khalam Serab (summer) for yellow, red and white sorghum, maize, wheat, barley, red wheat, beans, hadl (oil extract), hulva, green coffee, corn, vegetables, potatoes, onions, honey, qat, and leaf sorghum.

A tax called nesab is placed on sheep, cows, and camels. If a family owns less than 40 sheep, no tax is levied. For possessing 40-120,

one sheep is due as tax, for 121-199 the rate is 2, for all over 200 the rate is one sheep per 100 owned. If a family owns less than 5 camels no tax is due, but the possession of 5-24 camels requires the payment of one sheep for each 5 owned. The owner of 25 or more will have to give one baby camel for each unit of 25. The owner of each unit of 20 cows pays one sheep. In practice, he said, the nesab tax is paid in cash value, not in kind.

In addition to zaqat tax on plants and animals a personal head tax is payable on Id-al-Fitr. At present the amount is set at YR 2.50 but this may vary from year to year as the market price varies for a standard measure of corn. Finally a patton zaqat tax of 2 1/2% is levied on the value of gold or silver owned for more than one year. Each person, the Director reported with an almost straight face, pays this on being asked to do so, and the authorities rely upon him to report it accurately.

The zaqat collection system operates in the following manner, he reported. Taxes paid in kind, mostly grains, are stored at the nahiya while cash is collected for animals and perishables. If the tax is paid in kind, the farmer is responsible for taking it to the nahiya tax collector. The government uses the stored grain to feed the army and for other purposes, or it may sell it.

The Ministry of Municipalities here has three men to go to the markets and collect a sales tax of 2 1/2% which is then reported to the director of finance. In the past this tax was collected by a contractor. (This information conflicts to some extent with that given below by the baladieh, but the conflict was not resolved). The accompanying LDA Board member noted that a pending law will abolish this tax altogether.

The cost of collecting the zaqat tax is 10% of the amount of the tax collected. The amins or agils at the village level who make the tax lists receive 2%, while the agils and sheikhs (I presume at the ozlah and moklaf levels) receive 6%, while those who actually collect the tax receive 2%. Actual payments to these people must be authorized by the governorate's department of finance before payment can be made by the qada director of finance. Authorization is often delayed causing complaints from those due to receive payments, he said.

The director of finance can expend funds only from his annual budget after approval by the Ministry of Finance. His budget has four sections of which three deal with the usual housekeeping items of salaries, wages, allowances, office rent, light, postage, stationery, transport, rental of officials' houses, and construction of new buildings. The fourth concerns "production projects for industry and agriculture". Actually, the director said, these are budgets of the central government ministries for expenditures on projects in his qada, such as a tree nursery near Duran belonging to the Ministry of Agriculture.

The LDA receives fifty percent of the zaqat taxes collected each month after the 10% for collection expenses has been deducted. The LDA share of such tax as is collected in cash is deposited to the LDA Board's credit in the

Yemen Bank. For the LDA share of the tax paid in kind, a committee composed of representatives of the director's office and the Board meets every three months to receive bids from grain dealers. The highest bid is accepted and the proceeds are deposited in the Yemen Bank to the Board's credit.

The entire business of the director's Duran office is done on three sides of one end of a large room at eight "desks" i.e. wooden boxes with hinged tops and padlocks, which sit on the floor. Behind these desks sit the director and his seven assistants on pads with other pads behind them against the wall. The floor space in the center may be occupied by those who have business with the office, while the remaining two-thirds of the space comprises a waiting room. A few chairs are available but most of the patrons seem to prefer sitting on the floor while awaiting their turns.

The director informed me that Duran Qada's four nahiyas are composed of a total of 460 villages grouped into 58 ozlahs. These data contrast with figures given in the Statistical Year Book for 1974-75 (pg. 23), 609 villages and 62 ozlahs. The population was estimated by the LDA Board member at 150,000.

Baladeih: This functionary is responsible for inspecting the cleanliness of the streets of Duran, the qada capital, and the markets in the qada, especially to see that the meat is sanitary. He finds it difficult to perform this duty in the outlying areas as he has only a clerk, one inspector and one watchman, all stationed in Duran and without transport. Cleaning of the streets occurs when he has money to hire workers from income of the department and from occasional grants from the Aines LDA Board. A second duty defined by the baladeih is to prevent the placement of new buildings in the roadways and streets.

His third function is to collect a sales tax on the sales made in the markets at the following rates: qat-5%, meat-2 1/2%, vegetables, wood, etc. - 1%. He does not collect this tax himself but contracts it out to a private individual who pays the department YR 4,000 per year for the tax collecting concession on all the markets in the qada. When asked his opinion of this system, he stated he felt that it was a good one; if he collected the tax directly, the people would be sure to think he was a thief! (Although we have no data on sales, casual observation of the brisk selling and buying in the markets which are being held daily somewhere in the qada, leads me to the conclusion that this must be a richly rewarding concession). The Baladeih added that as a fourth function he "cooperated with the Aines Board". The present incumbent, appointed by the Ministry of Municipalities, has been baladeih for five years, preceding which he was an assistant baladeih for eight years. He reports to the baladeih's office at Dhamar Governorate.

Director of Education: In the absence of the director at the time of my visit data regarding this position was given by the assistant to the director, a position the present incumbent has held for the past eight years. He has never taught school and before taking this job was not in government service. The director's functions as he enumerated them are as follows: (1) to inspect the teaching in the 82 schools in the qada to determine if the students are learning and to ascertain what needs the school has for books, equipment, etc., (2) to certify that the teachers, (72 currently on the payroll, plus 56 to 60 on contract to the Ministry of Education) are in fact teaching and, accordingly, should be paid; (3) to determine where new schools and additional teachers are needed; (4) to make reports to the Office of Education at Dhamar Governorate; and (5) to look after the welfare of the teachers, to take care of the books, etc.

Problems afflicting this position are many, he said, particularly at the beginning of the year. Especially serious are the difficulties of the schools in securing teachers, books, etc. The problem is made more acute by the slowness with which these needs are supplied by the Governorate education office. There is a need for many more schools, he said, the present ones being so crowded that many students have to learn outside in the sunshine. Especially needed is an intermediate school for the area complete with a dormitory and feeding facilities. At present approximately 400 students from Aines are in the intermediate and secondary schools of Taiz, Sana and Ibb at great expense to their parents.

Teachers need training, but late last year Sana would let him send only one teacher to a course in teaching methods although he had many more wanting to attend the training. Transport is needed for the director and assistant director who between them visit the schools twice each year, and for the four inspectors in his office who altogether pay four visits to each school in a school-year. Walking, he noted, takes too much time to make the rounds to all the schools.

The actual number of students in the qada's schools is not known with certainty, he said. Two years ago when the Red Cross asked his office for this information he estimated that there were about 3,000. However, when the schools were questioned the lists of names submitted totaled about 5,000. Subsequently, the Red Cross donated 400 bags of dried milk which, he said, went to the schools and directly to the students.

The Aines Board has assisted the schools by paying a supplementary salary to well-qualified teachers, especially foreigners, of YR 1.00 per month, plus the rental of their houses, water and lights. The number paid varies from two to six. The Board also paid for teachers' desks and their transport to the schools. At the conclusion of the interview the Aines Board Accountant added that the assistance from the Board is very limited at present because most of the Board's money is now going into the road.

APPENDIX B: KHAMER LOCAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

Khamer LDA, like the other three LDA's studied, has its offices in Sanaa, but its area of operations lies to the north about one and one-half hours drive from Sanaa to its capital also named Khamer. Data was obtained from the chairman of the governing body of the LDA called the Administrative Council. Unfortunately, the chairman left the country for two months while this study was in progress and efforts to supplement the data he gave initially have proven most difficult. Presentation of data in this appendix follows the format described for the Aines LDA (see appendix A).

The LDA Story

Organization: This LDA was organized in April 1973 at the suggestion of the area's most prominent citizen, the President of the Parliament (Majlis-Al-Shara) and head of the Hashid Tribal Confederation of northern Yemen. A total of 21 persons comprised of civil servants, sheikhs, and leading merchants assembled, decided to form an LDA and elected an Administrative Council. The areas represented in the meeting were the four nahiyas of Khamer Qada, namely Khamer, Hoth, Asha and Al-Harf and three nahiyas, namely Thebin, Reidah and Alashmor, from Amran Qada. The latter three had asked to join the LDA and had been permitted to do so by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour. Those elected to the Council held the following positions in government or private life:

1. Director in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour, (Hoth Nahiya).
2. General Secretary to the President of the Y.A.R. (Reidah Nahiya).
3. Secretary to the President of the Parliament (Khamer Nahiya).
4. Sheikh (Khamer Nahiya).
5. Worker in the Ministry of Health (Khamer Nahiya).
6. Building Contractor (Thebin Nahiya).
7. Merchant (Asha Nahiya).

In January 1975 a General Assembly of about 500 persons was convened. The assembly was composed of all those who had joined the LDA and had paid the required fee of YR 24. The Chairman indicated that anyone living in the LDA area was and is free to join by paying the fee and receiving a membership card. The General Assembly then proceeded to elect a new Administrative Council composed of all of those on the old Council less numbers (3) and (6) above who were replaced by the following:

Assistant to the Governor of Hajja Governorate (Thebin Nahiya).

Member of Parliament and Sheikh (Reidah Nahiya).

Development Projects: The first Administrative Council made plans for development projects by having its members visit each ozlah, and then each of the villages within the ozlah which had applied to the Council for a project. Many villages did not ask for projects but there are projects in each ozlah in the LDA area, the Chairman stated. The type and number of projects currently completed and/or underway are as follows:

Drinking water projects, are the most demanded of all types. By June 1975, 2 dams for cisterns had been completed as had 2 wells and 1 cistern and 5 reservoirs for collecting rain water. A total of 31 projects consisting of dams, cisterns and wells, are under implementation, including a very large well/reservoir for Khamer town.

A student hostel built by the Council is nearing completion in Khamer town to complement a large school. The entire cost of the school was contributed by Kuwait. The hostel contains 26 four-student bedrooms, (although we were informed on our visit to the structure that it would accommodate 150 students), a restaurant, common room, baths, etc. To complete this educational complex the Council has almost completed a housing unit composed of four three-room apartments to accommodate a total of eight single teachers or four teachers with families. In addition, six four-classroom village schools, each with an office, toilets and water tanks, have been completed and seven more of the three class-rooms each are under construction and are expected to be completed by the beginning of the next school year. The three-room schools are designed and constructed to have three additional class-rooms added later to complete the unit. I was later informed by the Deputy Chairman of the Council that the Council now builds schools in two stages. The first concludes with erection of walls up to the roofline while the second includes the roof, windows, doors, etc. He explained that by concentrating on stage one, more villages can be involved with a given expenditure of funds than would be possible if a lesser number were completed under one contract. This also increases the involvement of the people in the planning and supervision and results in better construction. The Council also likes to contract directly with the village, if the village is regarded as reliable, and if its people are reputed to be hard workers. When these preconditions are met this procedure results in better construction at a cheaper price than can be obtained from a commercial contractor, he said.

On the health side, the Council has built in Khamer town a house for a doctor, his assistant and their families adjacent to the clinic built by Kuwait. An operating room was added by the Council to the clinic and the clinic furniture was also donated by the Council. The doctor is paid a "country allowance" of YR 500 per month and the twelve nurses and assistants receive a total of YR 2,000 each month in allowances from the Council.

The first stage of two roads has been completed. One is only one-half kilometer in length and connects the center of the town of Khamer to the highway. The other is from Hoth to Asha reported to be 70 kilometers in length and completed within one year of initiation. To construct these roads the Council rented a bulldozer, air compressor, etc. from a Yemeni contractor whose main business is in Saudi Arabia. A contract has been let to construct the culvert pipes for the road but the Council has not yet contracted to install the culverts and bridges owing to a lack of finances.

In addition to construction projects the Council presently supports "service projects" consisting of the transportation of water in four tank trucks to Hoth and to those villages which are entirely without water. The water is obtained from a well drilled by the Chinese when they were building the main north-south highway. Hoth and the villages served by tank trucks formerly secured their water from rainfed cisterns, but the low rainfall of the last seven years has produced so little runoff that the water in the cisterns lasts only four months. Villagers pay nothing for the water service but may contribute to the cost of the petrol in some cases, said the Chairman. He indicated that this service would continue until A.I.D. drills a well at Hoth within the next year, followed by one at Khamer. Saudi Arabia, the Chairman added, has agreed to finance eight wells in the LDA area.

The final type of project undertaken by the Council is participation in the CYDA-Ministry of Agriculture afforestation project. Last year a total of 5,000 trees were planted along certain roads in Hoth and Khamer and at schools. These are watered by the trucks which transport water to Hoth and to the other villages. It is estimated that about 85% of the trees are surviving.

The inspector of projects employed by the Council (in a later interview) informed us that he inspects all construction projects in which funds of the Council are committed. Insofar as buildings (schools, hostels, teacher apartments, etc.) are concerned, he checks on compliance with the contract at three stages of construction-walls up, roof on, and fully completed. Well-digging inspection consists of occasionally measuring the depth of the well dug as a basis for paying the contractor. Roads, in which the Council is involved only in blasting rock with the villagers providing the labor, require inspection only of the holes drilled for blasting and the use of the dynamite. Reports are made on each project to the Council.

Problems Encountered: The greatest difficulty, the Chairman stated, is in getting the villagers to understand the Council and what it is trying to do. Cooperation for development is very new in the northern areas of the country and the people are so anxious for projects that they want everything done at once. For example, the Council has levied a tax on each animal slaughtered of one-fourth rial, in addition to the zaqat tax. This is not only hard to collect, but when they do pay they feel that the Council should give them everything.

Another example is the difficulty of getting villages to donate land for their own projects. In some cases owners will not donate land nor accept the amount offered in payment of it. In such cases the Council asks the amil (nahiya or qada level not specified) to intercede and attempt to convince the owner to accept the Council's offer, failing which the amil may take the land by force. The Council now has a policy of favoring those projects in which land is donated. Fortunately, the 70 km. road from Hoth to Asha did not pass through any crop land. Villagers are also reluctant to give the local materials needed such as the stone for buildings, but expect the Council to pay for everything.

Collection of the zaqat tax by the central government is very difficult as the government has little power and organization for collection in this qada. In fact, the amount of tax collected has decreased each year thus reducing the income of the LDA. When it is collected the amil-al-qada does not divide it properly as the Council receives only 25% rather than its proper 50% share. In support of his position, the Chairman stated, the amil asserts that the Council does not spend its money properly. Later a Council member explained to us that it was not possible for the Council to take the obvious step of going to the Governor of Sanaa Governorate and asking him to desist from instructing the amil to deduct half of the Council's share as he had been doing, because the Governor only follows orders issued to him by the Minister of Local Administration and the Minister was acting on orders from the Prime Minister. The Governor issues orders to qada amils and through them to nahiya amils. It appeared to the Council member that the Governor and the amils are acting on an earlier order of the Prime Minister affecting the whole country which gave the central government its usual share of 50%, but gave only 25% to the LDAs and the other 25% to the poor. The share for the poor had been entrusted to the sheikhs for distribution through the agils and amins. However, after a six-months trial period the amils at the nahiya and qada levels reported that the poor were not receiving it. Subsequently, the government changed its order and allocated 50% to the LDAs for development and none to the poor through their tribal leaders. The reason why this has not been changed in Khamer, the Council member explained, is that the President of the Parliament comes from Khamer and has many demands made upon him for help because of his government position and because he is also chief sheikh of the Hashid Confederation. Since he cannot meet these many demands from his own private funds, he sends notes to the amils of Khamer to give from the 25% allotted to the poor. Thus they continue

to obey the earlier order regarding division of the tax rather than the new order giving the Council 50% as elsewhere in the country.

The Council has also had difficulty in obtaining aid through CYDA, especially that coming from other countries. CYDA distributes aid as it likes rather than in accordance with the progress which a LDA is making. "Although I am a member of the Administrative Board of CYDA, they do not implement the plans which have been made," the chairman stated. The Khamer Council has received 700 bags of American wheat through CYDA and the Catholic Relief Service.

### Villages and Projects

A cross section of the projects described by the Council were visited and, to the extent possible extended interviews were conducted with the people of each village in which a project had been completed or was underway. At the first three village projects visited (all schools located some distance from the villages themselves) we were told by the accompanying Council member that all of the men of these villages were in the distant fields in the harvest, or that they had gone to the nearest market town or elsewhere, and that no one was available with whom we could talk. This information was accepted somewhat uneasily in the first two villages, but at the third our insistence that the village must have at least one old man in it who was not working did indeed produce an old man, who, it turned out, was quite senile and unable to discourse with us. However, he was soon followed by seven more quite able-bodied and able-minded men and we had an excellent discussion. In all we visited six villages each within one and one-half hours driving time of the north-south highway which runs through the LDA area and managed to have lengthy discussions in three of them. A contingent of 13 villagers from a fourth village came to the highway a few days later to meet us and to fully present their views. We saw one project in each of the two villages whose men were in the harvest, and five projects in the capital of Khamer town all of which were discussed with Council members.

Roads: We drove over 3 roads to which the Council had made contributions, two of which had not been included in the Chairman's list of the Council's achievements. One of these comprised the continuing mountainous parts, about 10-12 kilometers in length, of a road running across the plain from the main highway. The new road followed somewhat the trace of the trail which the Egyptian army had constructed, but which was hardly passable even in a four-wheel drive vehicle. The work was done entirely by the villagers along the route who had initiated the work prior to gaining Council assistance. Council aid consisted of only YR 3,000 for rental of an air compressor to drill blasting holes in rock which the villagers could not remove. The road is now jeepable-at a slow pace. The villagers were motivated to build this road, they said, by the necessity of bringing drinking water all the way from a well at the highway during the part of the year when cisterns are dry. Until the road was built this water had to be brought in by camels and donkeys, but the road will make it possible, the villagers said, for a tank truck to bring the water, although it had not been necessary to use the truck so far as there is still water in the village cistern.

The second road, about 5-6 kilometers in length leading from the town of Khamer to a village, had been constructed across a rock-flow plateau by the villagers with assistance from the Council limited to dynamite to crack up the surface blocks which could not be removed by hand.

Water: The Council-built or Council-assisted water projects visited included two village wells, one village cistern, one large well/reservoir and a temporary storage structure at a school. One of the village wells presently being dug by a contractor was reported to have reached a depth of 47 meters without finding water. Although data given separately by the villagers and the contractor appear to be in conflict, it seems that the villagers dug the first twelve meters before the rock became so hard that they were unable to continue. The well site, about two kilometers from the nearest village (largest in the area) and intended when completed to serve other nearby smaller villages, was selected by both German and Egyptian geologists. The contractor agreed to work for YR 750 per meter but has since raised his price to YR 1600 owing to the hardness of the rock. The Council and villagers have agreed to share the additional cost and to go no more than ten meters further down unless water is found. So far, according to the Council member, the costs have amounted to YR 80,000. The villagers have paid YR 100 for each person in the village, but I was unable to learn the total amount collected. The villagers were willing to pay this large amount, they said, because at present they are having to bring the water by tank truck from two wells more than an hour's drive away.

The second village well was begun in 1973 by the villagers from each of the three mahallah comprising the village (total population of about 1500). Four men came each day, except during harvest and at planting time, from one of the mahallah and worked as a team without compensation. Because of the hardness of the rock only 10 meters was dug in the first one and one-half years. Then the Council gave assistance in the form of dynamite for blasting and began to pay selected villagers for their labor at the rate of YR 15 per day. A depth of 30 meters had been reached at the time of our visit. There is water but not enough and the work will continue. At present after the new village cistern dries up each year the women have to walk about an hour's distance to another cistern where the water is very dirty since animals have access to it. When this cistern runs dry, there follows a period of two to three months before the rains come during which water has to be brought by donkeys from a spring about two and one-half to three hours from the village.

This same village is receiving assistance from the Council for a second water project (as well as a school, a plaza at the mosque and a road). This project is a large new cistern about 40 meters long by 2 1/2 to 5 meters wide and 5 to 6 meters deep. The villagers provided all of the labor while the Board gave dynamite for blasting the rock and cement for sealing it against seepage. Last year there was only one rain after the cistern had been completed. This provided about two meters of water, enough to last two months but it was not good water as it tasted of cement, they said.

The Council has entirely financed the well/reservoir in Khamer town which is 72 meters long, 5 meters wide and 12 meters deep. This L-shaped trench is presently almost full of clear blue-green water, but is not being used for drinking purposes as it is open to the air and to surface pollution from the surrounding town. It is planned to harden the walls and construct a roof of zinc metal. The pump is already installed in a pump-house. The Council member stated that the well/reservoir and pump have the capacity of supplying all of the water requirements of the town.

The final Council-financed water project visited was a stone tank at the Kuwait-built school at Hoth. This tank will furnish water which will be trucked to the site by the Council for the school toilets and for drinking when the school begins operating in the autumn. The Council member explained that this was only a temporary expedient as AID has promised to drill a well here.

In addition to these Council-assisted waterworks, we inspected a series of small cisterns dug by individual families in a field covered by rock flow near a village located at an elevation reported to be considerably above 3,000 meters (snow flurries in winter). When the water in these cisterns is exhausted, about four months after the rains cease, then it is necessary to haul water from wells on the highway, a distance of 1 1/2 hours (one-way) by four-wheel drive vehicles.

Schools: Five village schools, all under construction, were inspected. The only 6-classroom school being built is nearing completion, but the contract payments have been stopped by the Council until the sinking of a part of the foundation and the leaking of the roof have been corrected. The Council paid all costs except the sand and stone which were donated by the villagers, although the Council had to pay the cost of quarrying, transport and labor required. This school will have both girls and boys in attendance, about 95 initially, but the proportion of each sex could not be ascertained. The Council has advertised by radio the six teaching positions. The accompanying member of the Council stated that seven Yemeni and three Egyptians had been signed for the next session; presumably, some will be used to man other schools. The member reported that the people of the village have offered accommodations in their homes to the Egyptians while the Yemenis will live in the larger village (Hoth) on the highway.

The other five schools are of 3-classrooms each expandable to six at a later date. Four of these are being constructed by private contractors and one by the village itself under a contract with the Council. One of those built by a private contractor exhibited basic faulty construction.

The villagers near whose villages the four private-contractor-built schools are located have contributed only the sites and the stone itself, as described above for the six-room edifice. As one of the group of villagers expressed it, "we have paid our zaqat tax for many years and have received nothing." In the case of the village acting as contractor, all common labor has been contributed by the villagers without charge, but the village did charge the Council YR 100 for the site.

The villagers in the most remote area visited stated that they very much liked having the school, but that it would serve five other villages as well as their own in which there were a total of approximately 300 boys, too many for the three rooms. No, in answer to my question, there would be no room for any girls. Another village had asked for a nine-room building but it is getting only three rooms with a Council promise of three more rooms two years hence. At present they have only a Koranic school. In this school the Koran is taught and the teacher is paid by the parents the sum of YR 50 when a son completes the Koran. In addition, he is paid some grain each month (about 1 qada or 33 kilograms), plus a small percentage of the harvest, plus YR 1 per student each Thursday. They estimate that between 600 and 700 potential students will want to enter the school now under construction. About 30 of these are in primary school at present in Sana. When asked why there was so much interest in having their children educated, one replied, "We are lost. Do you want our children to be lost, too?" Others said they wanted their boys to get a good job in the future and "not just be a worker like us - maybe become a doctor or engineer."

In the village near Khamer town which has contracted to build its own school, the people stated that 110 boys and 10 girls would enter the first session. Although all could send their daughters if they wished, they said, the parents of girls, other than the 10 enrolled, had refused to do so.

In Khamer town, visits were made to the auxiliary educational buildings under construction -- the hostel and teachers' flats which were as described by the Council Chairman. Construction is suspended as money is not available at the moment. When the Kuwait-built school begins instruction it will teach three intermediate grades and three years of secondary. The Council has committed itself to supplement the salaries of the teachers in this school.

Council Planning and Village Priorities: The largest village (or town?) in the area, Hoth, which is receiving water by truck from the Council, has placed first priority on deepening the present well and building a clinic, neither of which are on the Council's current work list. The most remote villagers visited had had a meeting a year ago among themselves, and had decided to ask

the Council for help on four projects in the following order of priority, the school which is now under construction and the road for which they received a small amount of help and which is now passable, were jointly listed as priority number one, followed by a clinic and, last, a well. Since they had impressed upon us that their overriding problem was water for drinking, we asked why they had given a well such a low priority. They explained that they had been working on the road at the time the list was made and thought that they could get the small assistance (for drilling holes in rock preparatory to blasting) which they needed. Now that the road is passable they are more sure of getting water by tank truck whereas a well in their high country might not have any water in it. However, the highest current priority, they added, is a well, because a geologist had been there recently and had selected a site for it and they expected to find water when it was dug.

In two other villages in each of which a school is being built through stage one and near which a well is being dug, each now has as top priorities the completion of both school and well. In third place for one of these is a road on which to bring in water, if the well is a failure, and to take out the sick. A clinic is the fourth priority.

The Council member informed me that it was the policy of the Council to respond to requests from villages by sending a planning committee to the village and planning with the villagers the first stage of their top priority item. Then as money becomes available the Council and village can begin implementing the plan. As mentioned earlier, one village near Khamer has secured Council assistance for a well, a cistern, a school, a plaza in front of the mosque and a road. Asked for the secret of his success, the village headman (called "Shiekh" by some--we did not investigate his status) reported that he put each project in written form and pushed the Council to accept it. If they were not responsive and he could not get action, he then went to the President of the Parliament who then contacted "the government". Besides, he added, his people were ready to work hard on any project submitted and this fact was known by the Council which favored those who helped themselves.

Village Participation Schemes: Both villages which had built roads with voluntary labor stated that there was such a need for the road (in order to bring in water) that people gave their labor freely without requiring any organized effort or plan. One of these villages had also dug part of a well in which each mahallah (village section) had participated by sending four men on a rotating basis. As with the road the need for water was so great that getting their cooperation was nothing, they said. In the case mentioned above in which money was contributed by the villagers at the rate of YR 100 per person, it was said in answer to my question, the need for the well was so great that collecting the money had not been difficult. It would appear that the driving necessity of obtaining water led to highly cooperative action in all of these cases. On the other hand, when this drive was absent as in the case of school construction so also was the willingness of the citizens to give of either themselves or their means.

Attitudes Towards the Council: The amil of one of the nahiyas, acting as spokesman for and with the evident approval of a large group from the

largest village, stated emphatically that the Council was of no use to them. In response to a question he said that the village does get water from the Council's tank trucks, but this service is not regular nor is it enough and besides, we have to pay for the petrol. The Council should do what the community wants. As to how soon the desires of the community should be fulfilled, he responded that the Council should work quickly and do all of the things asked of it "and bring us civilization". "We can't help ourselves, a foreign body must start these things through the Council".

The village which had received Council help on five projects was so evidently pleased with the Council that the question was not asked. In contrast the most distant village stated that the Council will be a good thing when it gives them the well, an improved road and a clinic. Until the Revolution, one stated, God gave us the rain, but not since then--implying that it was the obligation of the Council to make up for this divine deficiency. Why do we want the Council to work so quickly? Because we need to connect to the outside world and its situations. While the Council should be blessed for giving us this school we are afraid that there will be no teachers. One said, "now, if I want to write to a friend in Saudia Arabia, I have to go to another village to find someone who can write it".

One group of village men, when asked what development had taken place before the Council began its work two years ago, agreed that there had been no development--no roads, schools, wells or clinics--since the time of the Prophet. But, when asked what would be a reasonable time within which to expect development, they replied that with good cooperation these four needs could be provided by the Council within one year. When asked if this could be paid for with one year's proceeds from zaqat tax collected in their village, they said no since the annual amount collected was only YR 6,000-10,000. They added quickly that such sums as these projects required would have to be obtained from others. All agreed that they wanted a Council of honest men--an active Council. The Chairman of the Council, they said, has a special relationship with men in high places in the government who collect the tax and keep it for themselves, build houses for themselves and do not help us.

A captain of the security forces in one part of the Council's area, who had sat in on part of the above discussion, stated that, although he had not participated in the work of the Council, he believed that they were doing the best they could with the income they had. Some people support it, he said, but many do not as they do not know or understand it. The only way to increase the confidence of the people living in the mountains in the Council is for the Council to furnish them water and schools. In addition, the knowledge of the Council and how it works must be extended to all the people, as the villagers are willing to cooperate with the Council, if they understand it. As to the upcoming LDA elections, he suggested that they should be overseen by a committee from another region, implying that only in this way would they be properly conducted.

#### Partial Role Descriptions of Certain Officials

Amin: At a meeting in a restaurant on a market day attended by 13 persons from one village and by a number of other curious onlookers, there

were four amins present. One of these said that the only function he performed was to visit the farms at harvest time, estimate the harvest and the zaqat tax due, and send this information to the Government. The others nodded assent, but the inadvertently public nature of the meeting was not conducive to lengthy responses concerning this role.

Amil of Qada: The present incumbent stated that he had been amil since 1963, and that he was reappointed by successive central governments because he did his work well. His functions were enumerated as follows: First, to collect the zaqat taxes, the market taxes and a tax on automobiles. Secondly, he said, he has to settle disputes especially (1) those concerning the estates of the dead and how to divide each among the heirs; (2) those emanating from discord between husband and wife and resulting in the wife returning to her father; (3) those involving the distribution of water among the lands; (4) those arising from distribution of benefits from common property purchased by several people, to the total cost of which each person had contributed a different amount from that contributed by the others; (5) those involving the damage caused by cattle entering another's fields and eating the crops; and (6) those which have led to strife between two villages. Domestic problems are usually settled, he said, by bringing together the husband and the father of the wife, along with any witnesses, and discussing the matter in his presence. In handling a case of trouble between villages, the first thing done is to send soldiers to stop the fighting which is often in progress. The next step is to bring together those from both villages who have been having trouble, along with their respective amins, agils and sheikhs, and to discuss the matter until a solution is found. If someone wants to take a case directly to the hakim, he said, he may do so. All the cases which he himself cannot settle are sent to the hakim for judgement. Both he and the hakim use Koranic law or "orif" (tribal custom), depending on which applies to the facts of the case.

His third major function, he mentioned, is to see that those who violate Koranic law, especially by such offenses as thievery, drinking and illicit sex, are punished. A fourth duty is to help the poor with a part of the 25% of the zaqat tax which has been allocated for this purpose. Actually, he said, in answer to a question, he himself spends only about 10% of this amount for such cases. These charity cases are of various kinds such as helping a father to buy drugs for a sick son, or assisting a father to send his son to school or to get married.

Yes, he said, there are problems associated with the functions of this position. The greatest difficulty is to find solutions to the large problems which come before him for arbitration. Sometimes, although he is able to work out a good solution for the case, the contending parties will not agree and the dispute goes on. Many who bring cases do not tell the whole truth, or they may even lie, while others will bribe the witnesses. Some men with power also use it falsely to get lands from others. A second problem is the lack of any transport, "neither car, nor donkey, nor camel", for investigating cases thus making it difficult to get the facts in the case. Sometimes he pays for transport out of his own pocket, but he may require the parties to the dispute to pay this cost. A third problem is the nonpayment of taxes by some. For this offense he puts them in prison, but, he implied, this does not solve the problem.

His observations of the LDA Council have led him to believe that it is a good thing, if its officers are honest and hard-working. The present Council is doing important things for the people in constructing roads, schools and water projects. These things cannot be done by the people alone, especially those in the far villages, but this Board can do them. Since the U.S.A. helps Israel with guns and tanks, it ought to help Yemen with schools, roads, and water projects, he stated. He expressed satisfaction that wiser men are now changing U.S.A. policies from war in Indo-China to peaceful purposes and he hopes that there will be friendship between the people of the USA and Yemen.

Director of Education, Khamer Qada: The Director stated at the outset of the interview that he was responsible for "seeing after the whole education" of the area. The most important function, he continued, is to procure teachers. The requirements of the schools of this qada are sent to the Sana Governorate and from there to the Ministry of Education. When the Ministry receives his request it sends him teachers whom he assigns to specific schools. He then provides them with books, etc. and pays their salaries. These teachers are supervised directly in each school by one of the teachers who is appointed director of the school. As Director of Education he is required to visit each of the schools in the area, numbering 50 last year and manned by 115 Yemeni teachers, 19 Egyptians and 3 Palestinians. Eight schools are currently under construction. In addition to his visits to the schools an inspector from the Department of Education at the Governorate comes to the area once each month.

The most acute problem he faces is the lack of books. Although the money for books is collected from the pupils, except the very poor, and is sent to the Ministry, the latter does not have enough books on hand to send the required number. The next greatest difficulty is the lack of transport to permit visitations of the schools. In order to get to them he must rent a car from his personal funds and this is so expensive that he does not visit all of the schools. The schools are also very deficient in desks and chairs, and since there is no money to employ custodial staff at the schools, the buildings and equipment are not kept clean.

Director of Nahiya Finance Department: This official has been in this particular nahiya only three months, but he said he had held a position as cashier in the finance department of another nahiya in Amran before being promoted to this position by the Ministry. (The nahiya from which he came is also a part of the Khamer LDA area). To assist him perform his duties he has three clerks, one cashier, one Mamor Ambar (keeper of the granary), one weigher of grain, a sweeper and one other, a Mamor Alf, who has no duties but continues to be paid.

The most important function of the finance office, he said, is to collect the zaqat tax. Theamins see the lands of the farmers before harvest, estimate the yields, determine the tax due, and send this information in four copies, one each to the nahiya director of finance, one to Khamer Qada, one to Sanaa Governorate and one to the Ministry of Finance. After the harvests the farmers bring to his cashier the cash zaqat tax owed by them while their grain is taken to the Mamor Ambar who receives, weighs and stores it. All transactions withamins and farmers are recorded in a book. If the rains are good, this nahiya produces in one year about 5,000 qadr (33 kilos each) of grain and YR 40,000 in cash.

His second official function is to pay the office staff and amins for the reporting of zaqat assessments. The amins receive two percent of both the cash and grain proceeds of the zaqat tax collected from their areas. For their shares in grain he pays them directly from his stores, but their cash shares come from the Governorate because the money has been deposited in the bank and only officials at the Governorate can withdraw it. His third duty is to sell the stored grain. This is done when he receives an official letter from Sanaa Governorate authorizing him to sell at a price set by the Governorate. Most of it is purchased by dealers coming from Sanaa.

The most troublesome problem he has is the underpayment of taxes usually caused by a difference between the amin's estimated yields on which zaqat tax is based and what the farmer says were his actual yields. Usually he settles the matter by having the farmer swear by Allah what his yields are, accepting the lowered figure, and then charging zaqat accordingly. The second problem is the difficulty of getting some farmers to pay their zaqat tax at all. Sometimes he has to send a policeman to bring him in or to actually collect the tax. However, in other cases it turns out on investigation that the plants of the farmer actually died before harvest, or the yield was greatly reduced by various causes. In the latter case he adjusts the tax and in some instances may charge no tax at all.

His only relationship to the Council, he said, was to give it an account of what he had collected, but he concluded that they are doing good projects with the money.

### APPENDIX C: BANY HOSHYSH LOCAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

This appendix contains a description of the Bany Hoshysh Local Development Association, one of the four LDAS studied, and to a limited extent its socio-cultural setting. The LDA area begins on the outskirts of Sana and extends to the east in a relatively narrow but very fertile valley. It consists of one large nahiya within the Qada of Sana. The nahiya is made up of 8 ozlahs but the Central Planning Organization's Statistical Department had not yet compiled data on the number of villages.

Data concerning the LDA was obtained from the General-Secretary (pre-siding officer) of the LDA Board, from a Board member, and from the villagers of the LDA and their tribal and other leaders interviewed in visits to the villages of the area. Presented here are a brief description of the history, organization, projects and problems of the association followed by a composite analysis of visits to villages and projects. The analysis is organized around the topics of water, schools, other projects, board planning and village priorities, and village financing schemes. This is followed by partial role analyses of two local officials.

#### The LDA Story

History and Organization: The Bany Hoshysh LDA was established in the latter part of 1973 in response to the observed accomplishments of LDAs operating in other parts of Yemen. Twenty-one "wise and educated" men from the nahiya, some of whom were living in Sana, formed "the Foundation Assembly." From their number ten were elected as members of the Administrative Board, consisting of a chairman and vice-chairman and one representative from each of the eight ozlahs comprising the nahiya. Shortly after its organization the Board chairman became involved in a number of disputes with other members of the Board resulting in a cessation of Board activity for a period of eight months. (The nature of these differences was not explored). The impasse was broken when the Foundation Assembly conducted a new election to the Board, this time consisting of four members each representing two ozlahs plus a General Secretary (chairman) for a total of five, one-half the size of the former Board. The new General Secretary is a member of the National Assembly (Majlis Al-Shara) to which he was appointed by the Government in 1971. The Board employs a manager, a cashier, an accountant, a typist, a watchman and an office boy. Engineers and other technical personnel are obtained as needed by paying overtime to regular employees of the central Government.

The nahiya of Bany Hoshysh is reputed to be one of the richest agricultural areas in Yemen. We were told that between 200 and 250 wells, most of them drilled and tubed, had been sunk by private enterprise within the last few years. The water is used to irrigate grapes, qat and vegetables most of which are marketed in Sana. According to the General Secretary of the Board the area is not as rich as it is reputed to be since a considerable part of the eight ozlahs are rainfed and receive no irrigation.

Development Projects and Problems: In the approximately one year of active operation (omitting the eight months of nonoperation by the first Board) the LDA has engaged in two school construction projects (both incomplete), four drinking water projects and one partial funding of teachers' salaries in a large school. Aside from the impasse between the Chairman and members of the first Board, the only problem mentioned by the present Board head was his inability to obtain any assistance from foreign donors and any further financial support from CYDA beyond YR 6,000 received earlier this year. However, the Bany Hoshysh file made available by CYDA revealed that a complaint had been lodged against the Board by several villagers from one ozlah who stated that they had been forced to collect money for a school while the Board had not paid its share. In its reply to CYDA the Board pointed out that the agreement to build the school was made by the Ministry of Education, not by the Board. The Ministry had agreed to furnish the roof, doors, windows, etc. when the villagers had completed the floor and walls, but since the villagers had not completed this work the Ministry had refused to contribute to it.

#### Villages and Projects

Visits were made to seven villages in the Bany Hoshysh area, in five of which projects initiated by the Board were observed. As in Aines and Khamer every effort was made to test the validity of the Board's operations by engaging the villagers in discussions of the projects and determining the extent of their participation in initiating and financing each one, and their perceptions of the Board and its effectiveness. In two of these villages time was made available for full discussion of these topics and for obtaining a description of the roles of one tribal leader and one government official. Visits to the other villages were briefer and less satisfactory as some of the villagers most knowledgeable of the projects were unavailable. However, arrangements were made to interview two groups of villagers who came to Sana for this purpose and provided much of the missing data.

All of those interviewed expressed positive feelings for the Board, but it was evident in all but one<sup>of</sup> the villages that the people were not as dependent upon the LDA as was true in Aines and Khamer. The village without projects was the poorest of those visited. It had no irrigation system and had to bring water for drinking from another village further down the wadi. When pressed as to why they believed the Board was a good thing (no members of the Board were present at this interview) they replied that since the Board was only a year old it could not do everything in Bany Hoshysh in such a limited time. They indicated their readiness to cooperate with the Board when it was ready.

Water: Drinking water is not now a primary concern of the majority of the villages in Bany Hoshysh as most of them obtain it from one of the many privately-funded tube wells which have been drilled in the last few years. One village visited had begun earlier the drilling of a well for obtaining drinking water, but had abandoned it after the drill bit broke and it had become apparent that the cost would be much higher than anticipated. It was then decided by the villagers and the Board to tap into a private well located about 600 meters away and to pipe the water to the village and into a small reservoir which had to be constructed. The project was almost

completed at the time of our visit lacking only a second small reservoir for animals. The Board and village will divide the cost equally between them when the project is completed. Expenditures to date total YR 141,000 inclusive of the unsuccessful well, the pipe and reservoirs. Of this amount the village had paid YR 43,000 and the Board YR 33,000 with the remainder owed to contractors. Prior to this project the village had transported water for drinking by tank truck. In Board records translated after visits to Bani Hoshysh had been completed three other LDA-assisted water Projects are briefly described. None of these was visited. In one case pipes were provided to transport the water 200 meters from an existing well to a village and to the mosque pool which was repaired as a part of the project. The record indicated that the village and the Board shared equally in the cost of the project. The second case involved Board assistance in "the digging of a derrick well," the purchase of pumps, pipes, etc, the construction of small reservoirs at the village (called "dams" in the record) and the piping of the water to the village and mosque. The Board paid 25% and the village 75% of that share of the total cost for which the Board and village were responsible. This Board/village share consisted of 12.5% of the total cost of the well and pumps plus the entire cost of piping water to the village and constructing the reservoirs. The other 87.5% of the cost of the well and pumps was paid by private persons who use the water for irrigation.

We were informed that most of the 200-250 tubewells in Bany Hoshysh are drilled on a cooperative basis by private persons. The total cost is usually divided into 20 equal parts corresponding to the irrigation cycle in which water is applied to a particular field every twentieth day. If a farmer can supply all of his irrigation needs from the equivalent of one day's output of the well, he will pay 5% of the cost of drilling, pumps and operations. If he requires two-day's output, he will pay 10%. Of course, each farmer will pay the full cost of the pipes used to transport the water from the well to his lands as well as any other irrigation structures which are purely for his benefit, just as the village and the LDA Board had to do in the case described above. It will be noted that the village received and the village and Board together paid for 12.5% of the well's output. This, we were told, permitted the village to have two hours of water each day. This implies that the well pumps water for sixteen hours each day, but this inference was not checked.

Two other village water systems were visited neither of which had been Board-assisted. In one case a well-to-do sheikh had dug a well and had installed a pump and piping principally for irrigating his fields. Later he increased the depth of the well from 20 to 30 meters and constructed an above-ground walled-in reservoir with brass faucets which supplies all of the drinking water needs of the villagers. An open concrete canal carries water to the mosque pool and a pipe takes water to the nearby school which is under construction. According to the sheikh, later confirmed by the villagers, he paid the entire capital costs of these distribution works and the operational costs as well. The sheikh and villagers have plans to construct a large above-ground tank in the village and pipe water into each house by gravity flow.

The second non-assisted system when operational had served a village located in the upper, rain-fed, poorer part of one ozlah. According to the villagers, there used to be a good spring and stream at the head of the wadi above the village, but the severe drought of the last ten years has dried up the spring. At present the large cistern near the spring is filled when it rains, but it seeps away through the clay bottom within a month of filling. There are no plans to seal the cistern as the spring is almost dry and the water in the cistern is not good to drink. The village has requested the Board's assistance in digging a well which the Board plans to do if it can secure A.I.D.'s help.

Schools: The Board had assisted in the construction of two schools and in the temporary operation of one other, all three of which were visited.

In one case the walls of a stone building consisting of four school rooms, two rooms for living quarters for teachers, two bathrooms and an office had been constructed by a contractor. This school will serve two villages which together will share the cost equally with the Board. About three-fourths of the students will be boys and one-fourth girls. Some tribesmen will not send their daughters as they do not wish them to be touched by boys, it was explained. The second school, which will serve only one village, consists of two rooms, an office and a bathroom. The contracted cost of the nearly-completed walls was YR 22,000 shared equally by the village and the board. In both cases a second contract will be let later for the roof, doors, windows, etc.

The third assisted-school visited was constructed and financed by Kuwait. Board participation consisted in influencing the Kuwait Ambassador to increase the number of classrooms from six to eleven to permit a full primary school plus one grade of secondary. The 900-1,000 students enrolled come from all parts of the nahya, some by autos used by their parents to travel to places of work in Sana. The recently-installed Minister of Education, it was reported by the Board, decided in mid-school year to lower the Ministry's participation in the school's operation and maintenance resulting in a reduction of the number of teachers from seven to five, two financed by the Ministry and three by the Board. The Minister also decided that the Ministry would finance only one-half of the cost of the three custodians and the three soldiers required to protect the school. The Ministry has promised to finance eight teachers in the coming year although the Board says fifteen are needed. The Board has protested strongly to the Government that it should not have to pay any salaries as this is the proper role of the Ministry, not of the Board.

We also visited two other schools on which construction had barely begun. One of these is being financed entirely by Iraq while the other is a village enterprise. Relative to the latter one of the villagers explained that the LDA had agreed to assist in construction by paying two-thirds of the cost. Construction was stopped a year ago because the Board had decided not to participate after the sheikh of the village insisted on having the school at his village rather than locating it, as the Board wanted, between three villages all of which would be served.

Other Projects: A palace formerly owned by Iman Yahyah and damaged during the civil war is to be repaired and converted, at the request of the Board, into a tourist hotel by the Alamlak Department of the Government. The cost of YR 300,000 is being borne entirely by the Government, but the Board hopes that its operation as a tourist hotel will cause the Government to pave the road from Sana to the benefit of the entire LDA area. A second project not assisted by the Board consisted of a twelve horsepower engine, electric generator and distribution lines to all the houses of a village, the entire cost of which, reported to be YR 25,000, was paid by the village sheikh. The sixty families in the village paid only for wiring within their respective houses. They also pay for the gas and oil and wages of the man who operates the system.

Board Planning and Village Priorities: Unlike the Aines LDA, the Bany Hoshysh Board did not send a commission to the villages to determine their priorities, but has relied upon requests from the villages in determining the LDA development program. This appears feasible in view of the small size of the area and the proximity of most of the villages to the Board offices in Sana. The Board's plan for 1975 consists of six water projects and six school constructions affecting in all eleven villages. Three of the water projects involve the digging of wells and three require pumps, while all six require pipes to carry the water from the wells or springs to the village, in one case a distance of a kilometer. Four small schools (two rooms each) are planned, one to be expanded from two to six rooms and one, partially constructed last year, to be completed. In a recent letter to CYDA the Secretary General of the Board stated that the Board has made a five-year Plan, but he listed only five projects which the Board intends to begin soon. This list includes two of those in the '75 plan, adds repair of a road and the construction of what the Secretary-General described in an interview as a "scientific institute to teach modern theories and philosophies and Yemeni history." The institute is required, he stated, because Sana University is too modern and does not emphasize Yemeni philosophy and history and its relationships to other world philosophies.

Village priorities, other than those indicated by specific projects proposed by various villages to the Board for assistance, were investigated in only one village. Here first place was given to the completion of the two-room school, the first phase of which is now under construction. This was followed in order by the construction of a tank in the village and the piping of water to each house, the improvement of the main road to the village, and an increase in the size of the school to accommodate all of the children. Although few of the villagers have had any formal education except in the memorization of the Koran in the mosque school, they added that their children should go through primary, intermediate, secondary and even the university. When asked why such a high priority was given to schools, they replied that they wanted their children educated to improve their chances in life, as would happen if they could become doctors.

When asked about means of increasing their agricultural production in order to pay their share of these projects, the immediate reply was to have more drilling machines to drill wells for irrigation. (This is essentially the same response to this question given by the people of Aines and Khamer).

Village Financing Schemes: In the case of the four-room school under construction described above, the cost had been estimated at YR 40,000. The villagers agreed to pay half of this amount of which YR 15,000 was raised by collecting YR 100 from each family. The other YR 5,000 was obtained by assessing each family on the basis of its wealth in terms of land owned, with YR 200 levied on the richest and YR 12 on the poorest. There is no system, they said, whereby the poor can substitute their labor for money contributions. We were informed that all families had paid directly to the contractor on the basis of letters of instruction issued by the Board.

The two-room school under construction was financed in a similar manner except that the YR 100 assessments were made not on each of the families in the village but on each man defined as a male of 15 years or older. This method raised YR 10,000 and the sheikh gave YR 1,000 to complete the village's obligation to the Board to pay half of the cost. This is the same sheikh who provided the entire capital for the village water supply and electricity systems. Further enquiry as to why he was so generous revealed that he was related to 58 of the 60 families in the village all 58 of whom bore the same surname! This village is the only one in Bany Hoshysh which lies over the mountain from the Bany Hoshysh valley. Although there is no road over the mountain and entry to the village is through Sana and up the length of another nahiya, identification of the villagers is strongly with Bany Hoshysh, their tribe of origin.

#### Partial Role Descriptions

Analyses of roles were obtained for only two positions, an amin and the amil-al-nahiya.

Amin: The Amin interviewed lives in one of the two villages to be served by the four-room school presently under construction. He assesses the zaqat tax for his own village and accepts the assessments of the amin of the adjacent village for transmittal to the nahiya financial officer. He also collected the YR 20,000 from the people of both villages to finance the school after determination by the sheikh as to how much each family would pay. Since the original cost estimates for the school are being exceeded and the people have already made two contributions to this project, the Amin expressed the hope that either the LDA Board or the Government would make up the deficiency as the people are unable to pay more. In reply to a question, the Amin stated that there were advantages in having the village rather than the Board contract with the contractor as they could better control the quality of his work and organize it more efficiently than could the Board.

The other functions performed by the Amin included solving problems which arise between people in the village, dividing the land of the deceased among their heirs, drawing up documents for people to submit to government officials, and measuring land when it is being divided and sold. For his services he receives 2.5% of the value of any land which he is requested to divide and measure, and 2.5% of any money involved in any document which he is requested to draw up. If no money is involved, no fee is charged.

The Amin and the 12 to 15 others present at the interview explained that the word "amin" means "honest", and the people here elect a man who is honest, religious and has good manners. He himself was elected one and one-half years ago and does not have to be reelected. If the people want a new amin, they must meet and show what the incumbent has done wrong and why they want to be rid of him. If he is ousted, the people then select another person, a process which we gathered was very rare.

Amil-al-Nahiya: Data on this position was provided by the Deputy Amil who was appointed by the Amil one year ago. His principal duty is to act for the Amil while the latter is in Sanaa or elsewhere outside of Bany Hoshysh. The first function of the Amil is to be in charge of the "public" army and the "state" army together consisting of about 100 men. These men can be turned out (called away from their usual occupations) in an emergency such as hunting down a murderer or in the event of a violent dispute between mahallahs over boundaries. A second function is to oversee the amins in the preparation of their zaqat assessments. He also settles any disputes which people may bring to him, and on request from the LDA Board encourages villages to have development projects. If an individual will not do his proper share in a project, then the Amil may compel him to do so. The Deputy Amil indicated that he himself was not paid for performing the functions of the Amil but that he did receive pay as an officer in the army.

When asked his opinion of the Board, the Deputy Amil stated his belief that the Board would continue to carry out projects based on the record of its first year of operations. It is too soon to judge the Board, he said, but it seems that this Board (implying a contrast with its predecessor) is concerned with the interests of the people. When pressed as to why he felt this way, he replied that the Board meets every month or two months and invites to its meetings the sheikhs, amins, and other citizens who participate in its deliberations.

## APPENDIX D

## AL-HIAMAHTAIN LOCAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

This appendix contains a partial description of the Al-Hiamahtain Local Development Association, one of the four LDAs studied, and to a limited extent its socio-cultural setting. Data was obtained from the Chairman of the first LDA Board, CYDA officials, and members and employees of the second LDA Board. This description is followed by a composite analysis of visits made to villages and to projects, and is organized around the topics of roads, water, schools, clinic, village priorities and Board planning, village financing schemes and attitudes toward the Board. Partial role-descriptions of two village/tribal officials are presented to show, along with the village data, a bit of the context within which the LDA operates and to serve as a means for evaluating the actual performance of the LDA as a force for development.

Al-Hiamahtain LDA area consists of two nahiyas, Al Hiamah Khargia (Outer Hiamah) containing 7 ozlahs and an estimated 15,000 population and Al Hiamah Dakhliya (Inner Hiamah) with 10 ozlahs and 45,000 estimated population. The number of villages had not been compiled by the Statistical Department of the Central Planning Organization at the time of this study. Al-Hiamahtain lies on the mountain slope due west of Sanaa on either side of the Hodeida - Sanaa road; the center of the area is approximately 50 kilometers from the capitol city.

#### The LDA Story

According to the first Chairman of the Board of Al-Hiamahtain LDA, some of the leaders of the area began to think and plan for a cooperative society in the area in the period 1967-70. Then, in 1970, a "cooperative society" was founded in Sanaa by seven persons from the area. These seven, he stated, were not elected by a General Assembly; rather, each became a nominee for the Board as a result of being nominated by the others present. Subsequently, a number of amins and others from the area were called to a meeting at Suq Al Khamis by the nominated Board. Those who attended, the former Chairman stated, constituted a "General Assembly" which then proceeded to "elect" the Board. (In a subsequent interview with an amin who attended this meeting at the school at Suq Al Khamis, he stated that the Chairman and the other six founders simply presented themselves as the Board and no election was held. This amin had not been called to any other meetings since then, nor had he heard of any such meetings being held.) The first Chairman stated that this Board had built one school and a hospital both at Suq Al Khamis.

Other sources reported that other projects were undertaken by the Chairman without proper planning by the Board. Money was given to various people to undertake these projects, but nothing was accomplished and the money disappeared. It was reported that in 1974 the Government appointed a commission to enquire into the operation of the Board. The enquiry disclosed that since the Board's founding, YR 170,000 had been received and

expended for which the Board could not account. Subsequently, friction between the Chairman and other Board members increased to such an extent that the Chairman resigned in late 1974 and departed from the country for medical treatment.

The Ministry of Social Welfare and Labour then called a new "election" in January 1975 (place and electorate not specified by our source or by the Ministry) resulting in the establishment of a twelve-man Board, only two of whom were members of the first Board. Shortly after this election the Chairman of the first Board returned from abroad and laid claim to the Chairmanship which was denied to him by the new Board. However, out of respect for the former Chairman, arising from the fact that he had been one of the founders of CYDA, the new Board had not yet (at the time of the study) been given official recognition by the Ministry.

The new Board members stated that, since taking office, they have been unable to find any records or files of the old Board and have concluded that none were kept. To assist it in establishing a proper office and files and in planning and executing projects, the following personnel have been employed by the new Board: a manager-general, a manager of planning and follow-up, a secretary, a director of accounts and an assistant, a controller of accounts, a cashier, and an office boy.

The original aims of the new Board were quite modest: to build 4 roads, dig 8 wells, and construct 6 schools and 4 houses for foreign teachers. However, it later presented to CYDA the following list\* of projects which it had planned together with their estimated costs:

51 schools (presumably primary)	3,600,000
450 kilometers of roads	6,750,000
2 secondary schools	300,000
7 medical centers	460,000
1 hospital	150,000
45 water wells	4,600,000
42 water springs	840,000
Improvement of a hot spring ("for the people to get washed")	60,000
1 agricultural project	360,000

The new Board claims to have accomplished the following in its first six months: (1) built 37 kilometers of roads in four separate parts of Al-Hamahtain, constructed mostly by hand labor but assisted in one case by a bulldozer; (2) aided villagers to complete three wells, almost complete a fourth, and initiate the digging of eight others; (3) began the construction of a four-bedroom teachers' house to be completed entirely by Board finances at a cost of YR 51,000. The Board has paid the cost of hiring the bulldozer on the one road on which it is being used while most of the labor has been donated by villagers, the Board stated, although

\*This is a consolidation of the Board's list which had a number of duplications of categories.

they do receive wheat and oil donated by the U.S. Government and distributed through Catholic Relief Service. Penetration roads are given the highest priority by the Board in order to increase communication between the families of the LDA and to make possible the marketing of crops. One-third of the cost of wells is borne by the Board and two-thirds by the villagers. Although the new Board has supplanted the old one, the influence of the latter is still being felt in a part of Inner Hiamah through the presence of five Peace Corps Volunteers who were placed in the area by the former Chairman. The work of these PCVs in the villages is partially described below.

### Villages and Projects

Six villages in the area were visited, three of them for sufficiently lengthy periods to permit extended conversations with villagers. In these visits the two projects carried to fruition by the old Board were examined in detail. Also five current village projects assisted by the Peace Corps volunteers were seen and discussed with villagers as were two projects now under construction by the new Board.

Roads: Neither the old Board nor the Peace Corps claimed to have assisted any road construction projects. However, the new Board was actively engaged in building a new road and most of one day was spent in observing it. The road began at Bany Mansoor on the Sanaa-Hodeida road and proceeded overland for 3 to 4 kilometers, thence down a small stream bed and a large dry river bed, up the bed of one of the larger tributaries to its end, and terminated about 40 kilometers from Bany Mansoor at the construction site about 1-1/2 kilometers up the side of a mountain. The first 3 to 4 kilometer overland construction had been accomplished by a bulldozer pushing out a road with little grade leveling. Parts of the 35 kilometer portion which used stream beds, we were told, had been improved by the removal of occasional large stones or boulders which had prevented the passage of motor vehicles, the only work necessary to convert them into roads.

The route of the part actively under construction zigzagged up a steep mountain-side. The approximately 1 1/2 kilometers which had been made negotiable by four-wheel drive vehicle was built by a medium-sized Japanese-made bulldozer, hired by the Board for YR 80 per hour. It was assisted by a force of workmen which Board members told us numbered 500 but which members of our party independently estimated did not exceed 100. These workers cleared a path for the bulldozer by removing large boulders and by building low rock walls to retain the fills. We were informed that each worker was paid YR 10 per day and furnished food and qat by the villages on the route or by the Board.

Although it was our intention to interview a number of the workers, we were beguiled into a journey up to the ridge line to see the trace of the road and then led further on to a village for a luncheon followed by the usual qat party. Long before our return the workers had departed. We did observe a Catholic Relief Service truck loaded with wheat and oil stuck on the new part of the road near the construction site. Although it

was a powerful vehicle, the grades of the road were too steep for it to negotiate without assistance from the bulldozer. The foodstuffs were supposed to have been distributed to the workers by the CRS representative, but he had also been "kidnapped" and taken to the luncheon. (There is no way to escape Yemeni hospitality!) This maneuver resulted in the signing over of the load to the Board by the CRS representative. The Board had argued for this procedure earlier as, the members stated, they could make it go much further than could the CRS. Their method of distribution, they said, would result in more work accomplished per unit of foodstuff distributed by preventing part of the food given to each worker by CRS from being taken by the small "sheikhs" of the area as was happening at present. (It was suggested by one source that these foodstuffs would be sold by the Board and the proceeds used to pay the workers in cash which would not be levied on by the sheikhs, but this matter requires more investigation.)

Water: Visits were made to four villages in three of which the Peace Corps Volunteers, placed there by the former Chairman, were assisting in improving the water supplies. In one case an existing village well had been found to be inadequate to supply the new clinic as well as the nearby village. A PCV engineer had recommended that it be deepened and that channels be cut back into the rock near the bottom to tap other water seams. This had been begun but had to be stopped after three days because of a lack of funds. The local sheikh who had authorized the works had not expected workers from the village to demand payment since they were to share in the benefits.

In the second village, the PCV engineer had designed an enlargement and lining of an existing cistern which leaked badly and had secured 100 bags of cement from USAID for this purpose. He had also found a site in a canyon above the village for a dam which would hold water and together with the villagers was preparing plans for its construction. This project, the villagers said, would require outside resources not yet arranged for.

The third village had spent nine months in digging a cistern adjacent to the village. It was estimated to hold 15,000 gallons and would be filled by runoff during the rainy season. The decision to dig it was made because of a promise of YR 30,000 from the Ministry of Waqf (mosque lands). The value of village labor expended on the digging already done was placed at YR 35,000 by the villagers. Work had been suspended when the former Chairman of the LDA Board, through whom the Ministry of Waqf grant had been transmitted, failed to deliver the grant to the village (reasons not specified). Work on this project had been suspended before the recent arrival of the PCV.

The fourth village obtained its drinking and irrigation water from a large water channel fed by a spring and cistern at the head of the wadi. Two PVCs (engineers) had made measurements of water flow indicating a loss of approximately 3 gallons per minute between the spring and the cistern, and a further loss of 30% through seepage from the cistern and from the channel which takes the water to the village. The PCVs were in

the process of making plans with the villagers to pipe the water from the spring to the cistern and to line the channel with concrete to prevent seepage, but financial assistance had not been obtained.

Schools: During its tenure the old LDA Board added 4 modern rooms to an existing 5-room school located in the Chairman's moklaf. It had also built a modern residence near the new clinic to accommodate the doctor and a part of the staff of 12 Egyptian teachers reportedly assigned (along with 2 Yemenis) to the school. These structures were built entirely by the Board without contributions from the villagers as the school was meant to serve the entire upper part of the nahiya, we were informed. A second teachers' residence consisting of 4 bedrooms, each bedroom designed to accommodate three teachers, was observed under construction at Bany Mansoor by a contractor of the new Board. The school itself had been built by the Ministry of Education with local support to accommodate students from the villages of Outer Hiamah.

Clinic: The second project brought to fruition by the old Board was a 14-room, 4-bath clinic also located near the school mentioned above. One source reported that most of the funding was supplied by the Board, but a second source stated that the Ministry of Health had built it with its own funds. Both sources agreed that the former Chairman had been instrumental in having the clinic built and that he had helped to solve some of its problems. One of the clinic's early needs was electricity which was obtained from the Chairman's government-supplied generator but which is paid for each month by the Ministry of Health.

The Ministry also supplies a doctor and a British Save-The-Children-Fund (SCF) registered nurse, one Yemeni trained male nurse, two translators who register patients, and one school boy who assists with registration and drug dispensing. The doctor is assigned to the clinic for a period of 14 months after which he will return to a hospital in Sanaa. The SCF nurse serves at the clinic in the mornings and at another beyond Sanaa in the afternoons. Medicines used or prescribed in the mornings are furnished by SCF at a cost of YR 1.00 per prescription and in the afternoons by the Ministry at a cost of YR 0.50. The SCF has recently initiated a YR 1.00 charge per visit because the clinic had been flooded with mothers bringing in as many as six well children for examination, thus interfering with service to the sick.

The SCF nurse is primarily a health educator with two primary "target groups," pregnant women and classes of boys from the village school. In the five months of her work at the clinic she had usually examined and advised only one or two pregnant women a day. But on the day of our visit, ten women had come in from one village as a result of the efforts of the husband of a woman whom the nurse had recently treated in the village. The class of boys (13-16 years of age) is taught nutrition and personal hygiene and is examined and treated for worms. It is the nurse's very firm belief that health education can be effective for the majority of the population only if it is a part of a community development scheme. As she put it, if there is insufficient water, good

personal hygiene and village sanitation will be poor; if the level of general education is not advanced, it is not possible to make much progress in health education; unless agricultural productivity is increased and other nutritious crops introduced, the level of nutrition will not be raised. The hospital has a small vegetable garden used primarily as a demonstration to mothers that such nutritious crops as spinach can be grown under local conditions.

Village Priorities: Improving the water supply for both drinking and irrigation was the number one priority in each of the three villages whose priorities were ascertained. Not only was it first in order, but its importance was obviously much greater than any other need, although the women of all three villages had to carry water for much shorter distances than in the villages of Aines or Khamer LDA areas. They explained that the drought of the last ten years had progressively dried up or greatly reduced the water from the springs on which they had formerly relied. The second priority of all three villages was a school as, they stated, they were located too far away to take advantage of the school built by the first LDA Board. Mosque schools were operating in two of the villages but the villagers felt that the course, which is concentrated upon memorization of the Quran, requires supplementation by qualified teachers who can teach the kinds of things taught at schools run by the Ministry of Education. Both of these villages indicated that a new school would serve both boys and girls, a point given emphasis by the Agil of one village who had formerly sent two of his own girls to a distant school. The third priority item for two of the three villages was an access road to the village from the main road somewhat less than an hour distant by foot.

Village Financing Schemes: The village which plans to enlarge and line its cistern will use local unpaid labor furnished on the basis of the amount of land owned, although the water will be used only for drinking and not for irrigation. The Agil stated that he himself would furnish seven laborers because he owned the most land, other villagers two and some only one. Since several other villages will also use the cistern, they, too, will be required to furnish laborers. In an attempt to persuade the Ministry of Education to build a school in a nearby village to serve the villages of the area, the Agil stated that over a period of several years he had made many trips to Sanaa at a cost of more than YR 2,000 for transport and hotel bills. Sometime after the school had been authorized by the Ministry of Education it was cancelled, he said, by the Deputy Minister who offered him YR 600 to compensate him for his travel expenses. He refused this offer as it was inadequate and because he still wanted to secure the school. He expressed a belief that the Deputy Minister and other sheikhs had "eaten the money" which had been allocated for the school.

The village which had dug the 15,000-gallon hole for a cistern had decided to proceed with the project themselves when the various ministries in Sanaa would not assist them. The Agil stated that he and two other villagers had conceived the idea which had then been presented to a meeting

of all the people who were unanimous in supporting it. Each man was assessed YR 30, or he could perform labor on the project for 6 days at the going rate of YR 5 per day. The assessments when paid in cash were used to employ other villagers.

Attitudes Toward the Board: Three of the four villages located in the moklaf of the former Chairman were extremely negative to the old Board. (They had not heard of the new Board whose members informed us later that they had avoided working in that moklaf.) In one case the villagers stated that the Board received one-half of their zaqat tax but had contributed nothing to the development of their village nor to those surrounding it. The members of the Board, they said, "ate" the tax and paid out nothing. In the early years of the Board (before the zaqat tax became available) the villagers had actually collected contributions for the Board; but this, they presumed, had gone to pay rent on the Board members' houses in Sanaa. Eight months earlier the Ministry of Education had given the Board YR 15,000 to build a school in a nearby village; but, they said, the sheikhs on the Board had divided it amongst themselves.

The Agil of another village stated that the old Board had little money and very weak leadership. It used its resources to benefit the rich not the poor. He attributed this to the nature of Yemen society which cannot build itself as there are too many pockets to line. Change, he said, can be brought about only by foreigners. In answer to a question, he stated that the Board had not been elected but that he did not know how it had been formed. However, he was sure that the money received by the Board had been spent to build houses in Sanaa for the members. Assistance to the village, he said, should come directly to it and not through a development organization which will use it only to line the members' pockets.

The Amin of the third village, the one who had attended the meeting at Suq Al Khamis at which the Board had been presented by the former Chairman, did not know that the Government had given half of the zaqat tax to the LDA. He expressed opposition to this allocation as it is much better to let the Government have the whole tax and then he and others could ask the Government for assistance on projects.

#### Partial Role Descriptions

Amin: The one Amin interviewed stated that he had only two duties: collecting the zaqat tax records and settling disputes in the three mahallahs which comprised the village. In the event that he could not settle a dispute it was referred to the sheikh of the mohlaf, the former Chairman of the Board.

Agil: The two Agils interviewed were more communicative than the Amin. In one case, the Agil stated that he had been elected 20 years ago and would serve for life "unless I commit some crime." His uncle had been Agil before him but had voluntarily relinquished the position because so many people had asked things of him. Before his uncle another member of the family had been Agil. There are 16 extended families in the village

and leadership is rotated between the houses by decision of the people. Duties consisted of the collection of zaqat tax assessments, the settling of quarrels, and the development of the village. (The remainder of the interview time was devoted to the various development projects described above.)

The second Agil stated that his father, grandfather, and ancestors extending back for many generations had been Agils of this village. His second son would become Agil after him because this son spends all of his time with him, has learned how to be an Agil, and has the respect of the people. (His elder son spends most of his time at the various markets where he sells the production from the three sewing machines owned and operated by the family.) At present the father is Agil only of one of the three mahallahs composing the village. Until three years ago he had been Agil of the next mahallah up the mountainside. But after they had complained that they received nothing from him, he had cut them off from his village. Besides collecting the zaqat tax assessments and turning them over to the office of the Ministry of Finance in Suq Al Khamis, his principle duty, he said, is to settle disputes. The types of cases most frequently judged are the following:

1. Quarrels between husbands and wives usually brought to him by the husband whose wife has left him and returned to her father's house. He investigates the case because each one is different. If the husband has beaten his wife, the Agil may require that he give a sheep to his father-in-law. If the husband has insulted his wife, he may be required to give her a robe or a kerchief or perhaps five rials. Every insult has an attached cost, some of which are much higher than others.
2. Conflicting claims to land among a deceased's heirs. Such cases are most likely to arise when some of the heirs are living away from the village and one of the sons is farming the land.
3. Quarrels between two persons resulting from an exchange of insults or from fighting between them. Judgments vary according to the gravity of the insults and the physical injuries sustained.
4. Thefts of items from the homes of people who are away working in their fields, for example, a water pipe for smoking. When this happens, he calls the people together and asks them to swear by Allah. He may also use soldiers to round up those who do not come to the meeting. If people do not like his judgment in a case, it is referred to the sheikh.

His third duty is that of developing the village, a function taking much of his time as evidenced by the projects described earlier.

#### Additional Research Requirements

When the description of Al-Hiamahitain is compared to those of Aines and Khamer, it is obviously much less complete. Lack of time to conduct more field work is the major reason, but the confusion generated by having

two LDA boards and limitations of access to both boards imposed by CYDA and the Ministry made it difficult to use most effectively the limited time available. In order to bring the study of this LDA area up to the level of completeness of that done for the Aines area, it would be necessary (1) to visit at least four villages with which the new Board claims to have cooperated in digging wells and in building roads in order to test the validity of the projects and to determine the villagers' perceptions of the new Board; (2) to perform analyses of the roles of the two amils of the two nahiyas composing the LDA, of one nahiya director of finance and two amins and two agils in villages of Outer Hiamah; and (3) to check on anomalies and supply deficiencies detected in the data already gathered.

## APPENDIX E

## THE CONFEDERATION OF YEMENI DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATIONS

The data for this description was provided by the Director of the Foreign Relations and Aid Department of CYDA, except as noted. (See also Appendix F, "The Agreement of Establishment of CYDA.") In addition, the reader may wish to obtain from CYDA a copy of "Development of the Co-operative Movement in Yemen," a three-page document which elaborates somewhat on the facts presented below.

The Pre-History of C.Y.D.A.

Before the Revolution of 1962 a few voluntary charitable organizations were formed in the southern part of the country with the objective of building schools and for other purposes, using subscriptions and donations. A cooperative was formed in Wadi Hamdan but had to disband as it was interpreted as a threat by the government. After the Revolution the legal basis for local development associations was laid with the enactment of Ordinance No. 11 of 1963 which established permission of the government to set up various types of organizations. This was followed by Law No. 26, also passed in 1963, which specified the form of cooperatives to be organized. But this law was formulated by the Egyptians and incorporated ideas from other countries which, the Director stated, were not in keeping with the situation in Yemen and, further, was not understandable by the people. (These laws are expected to be superseded by a new law now in passage through the government and scheduled to be promulgated in July 1975.)

Under authority of these two laws, a fishermen's cooperative at Hodeidah and a consumers' cooperative in Taiz were organized in 1963. Neither one lasted very long, the Director stated, because they were too difficult to manage. The first local development association to persist was established in 1963 in Taiz (according to the present USAID Director who was present at its formation). According to CYDA, the Taiz LDA was formed under the influence of a group of intellectuals from Aden. In 1966 a housing cooperative was formed in Sanaa, but the political situation was such as not to give people confidence enough to participate in it. In June of 1968 the Department of Social Affairs and Labour was formed and this department "gave a push" to the registration of cooperatives. From 1969-72 the new Department tried to establish cooperatives on the European model in which shares were issued. Although these were tried in a number of areas, all of them failed as the people did not understand the rationale behind them. Furthermore, this type of cooperative required accountants and other specialists who were not available.

But, continued the Director, the people of Yemen have their own ideas of what a cooperative should be; i.e., the donation of their money and/or labor to support projects for their own benefit and organized in their own way. The civil war, the drought, the great needs for the basic things of life made possible by the opening up of the culture, and the

political conditions of the country provided the setting in which such organizations could flourish. While the state could give nothing, the people wanted everything. They decided not to wait but to exercise their own initiative. Wise intellectuals in the government said that these organizations should be in any form which the people could understand. On this basis they formed simple locally-adapted "cooperatives" in various parts of the country, particularly in the south. By early 1973, 28 such local organizations had been formed. Four of these, Sanaa Ibb, and two others invited the other 24 to meet with them in June 1973 and to organize a confederation which they called the Confederation of Yemeni Development Associations or CYDA.

#### CYDA Functions

1. To coordinate local development projects with those projects of the central government with which they should harmonize.
2. To assist the local associations to plan and to organize their work and to have control over their finances, and to assist them in the technical aspects of their projects, especially in economic analysis and in the engineering requirements.
3. To obtain aid from foreign organizations and from central government ministries and channel it to the LDAs.
4. To give the LDAs legal representation before the central government ministries and foreign agencies.

According to the Director of the Department of Local Cooperatives, CYDA relates most closely to the LDAs through his department. It assists the LDAs to obtain the services of qualified directors, treasurers, accountants and planners and to see that they perform their duties; to formulate a standard set of rules of procedure to replace those which each LDA had formulated for itself; to accumulate files on each LDA from which much can be learned concerning their finances, projects, successes, and failures, and to pass on this information to other LDAs; and, finally, to audit each LDA Board's accounts.

To become operational, CYDA was permitted to charge its constituent LDAs annual membership fees. These range from YR 1400 for an LDA formed for a whole governorate, to YR 800 for a qada-level organization, to YR 400 at the nahiya level. Last year the government gave CYDA a budget of YR 3 million with which it pays its staff and other expenses. None of this, we were informed, is used to make grants to LDAs.

#### CYDA Organization

The Chairman of CYDA is the President of Yemen, while the Secretary-General is the present Minister of Social Affairs and Labor. The Assistant Secretary-General is selected by CYDA's General Assembly and must be a chairman of an LDA Board. The General Assembly itself is composed of two persons from each LDA. This body, which meets once per year, elects the

governing body of CYDA called the Administrative Council, 15 in number, each of whom is elected for a two-year term. The Administrative Council, which meets monthly, puts into effect the policies adopted by the General Assembly.

CYDA itself is organized into five departments; i.e., planning, foreign relations and aid, cooperatives (functions noted above), administrative/financing, and information. Planning presently consists of three engineers, (2 Irish Concern Volunteers and 1 Yemeni) to plan roads; 1 Peace Corp Volunteer engineer and one Yemeni to plan water and agricultural projects; and one Yemeni each for health/education and statistics/research. Foreign Relations and Aid consists of two Yemeni officials and one Irish Concern Volunteer. The Cooperatives Department is manned by 4 Yemeni, while 15 Yemeni staff the internal housekeeping department (Administration and Finance). Five Yemeni compose the staff of the Information Department, which publishes a weekly newspaper concerning CYDA and the LDAs and which goes to all LDAs, produces a weekly radio program about CYDA's and the LDA's accomplishments, and writes a weekly page for the newspapers.

#### Major Problems

The CYDA spokesman stated that the administration of CYDA's relationship to its constituent LDAs needed improvement. For example, letters come in from the LDAs, are registered and referred to the appropriate department. But there is no consistent follow-through to see that the proper action is taken, either by the department to which the matter was referred and/or by others who should play a part in properly responding to the LDA. A second problem concerns coordination of the field visits of technicians. Lack of transport plays an important negative role in CYDA's ability to help the LDAs, since CYDA owns only two vehicles, one assigned to the Secretary-General and one to the Assistant Secretary-General. The four Irish Concern Volunteers have two vehicles which are used on occasion for CYDA purposes.

One problem not mentioned by the CYDA official was expressed by an officer in another ministry; i.e., the absence from CYDA of some of the larger LDAs, notably Al Bayda, Goban, and Rada, all in Al Bayda Governorate, and Al Hodeida on the coast. The cause for their non-association with CYDA was not investigated, but the rationale of these dissidents should prove useful in gaining further understanding of CYDA and its actual and potential role in development.

#### Major Activities and Future Changes Contemplated

In December 1973 shortly after its formation, CYDA sponsored a conference of Foreign Assistance Agencies at Sanaa. Eleven voluntary agencies participated and eleven other governmental and voluntary organizations sent observers. The conference served to call attention to CYDA and the LDAs and has resulted in a greater amount of assistance from those not formerly knowledgeable of the movement. As a result of this conference, Catholic Relief Services programmed its food for work assistance through CYDA for ultimate distribution to those workers who are engaged in implementing LDA projects.

A conference of 65 LDAs held at Sanaa in November of last year resulted in the adoption of a number of resolutions. Perhaps the most important for the future of CYDA and the LDAs were the following: (1) a call for a new LDA law to establish General Assemblies in all the LDA areas each to be composed of LDA founders, representatives of economic and social institutions in the region and representatives from "certain quarters and villages" all to have "the necessary qualifications" (not specified); (2) a requirement that each LDA General Assembly elect an Administrative Council to serve for three years (to replace the present indefinite terms, in most cases, of those who are self-appointed and not elected by a General Assembly); (3) a requirement that each LDA, which had not already done so, open an account in the Yemen Bank, keep uniform accounts, and present a balance sheet at the end of each year; (4) a policy that each LDA should establish a Three-Year Plan which CYDA would use to coordinate activities of the LDA with CPO and the ministries; and (5) a call on CYDA to distribute foreign aid contributions to the LDAs on the basis of population, the degree of cooperation with CYDA, the approval of CYDA's Planning Department based on the works to be undertaken, and the level of deprivation of the LDA area. A total of 18 resolutions was adopted.

Within the last year CYDA has taken over implementation of the government's afforestation project. Oman gave a grant to CYDA of YR 3 million, of which about one-third has been used for this project. In the first season 70,000 trees were planted by the LDAs and a high survival rate has been reported. The remainder of the Oman grant was used, I was informed, for road projects being carried on by the LDAs.

Elections to the General Assemblies of the LDAs are now (July 1975) underway and are scheduled to be completed by the end of the month. These elections are to be conducted in each ozlah on the basis of one assemblyman for each 500 population. Supervision is to be provided by a local committee composed of one member of the present board of the LDA, a member of the "opposition" and one other person. In August these newly-elected General Assemblies are to elect the Administrative Councils of each LDA under the supervision of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor which will subsequently certify the new assemblies and councils as legal entities

Interviews and subsequent interactions during village visits with the four LDA governing bodies involved in this study elicited few comments or mentions of CYDA. These LDAs are engrossed in the planning, financing and execution of projects with their villages and CYDA simply does not loom large in their affairs, with one exception--the obtaining of foreign assistance. They (rightly or wrongly, I cannot say) are convinced that CYDA does not channel to them the proper amount of foreign aid received by CYDA. They would much prefer to deal directly with the foreign agencies themselves and to make their own arrangements--except where the grant is made directly to CYDA as was true of the afforestation project by Oman, in which case they want their fair share. As for technical assistance, each of the governing boards has made its own arrangements with both private and governmental bodies, including the army engineers, not always with satisfactory results as was evident in one case observed in which a road

already built by the LDA had to be relocated and constructed again because the design called for grades too steep to negotiate. None of the four LDAs appeared to expect technical assistance from CYDA.

## APPENDIX F

Yemen Arab Republic  
 General Union of Yemen  
 Development Commissions  
 Preparatory Committee

## Agreement of Establishment

Realizing principles of justice and welfare,  
 Complying with our people's wishes for a better life based on co-operation,

Pursuing principles of the Great Revolution of September 26,  
 Understanding the responsibility and valuability of public initiatives for effective participation in development and growth,

Acknowledging needs for co-operatives alongside success that has been achieved, to establish a union that assists them in the field of know-how and scientific studies, and which encourages and sustains them materially and morally for achievement of their objectives,

Implementing ordinance No. 11 for 1963,

Regarding the Ministerial Resolution for 1968 on identification of specializations for the Department of Social Welfare and Labour Affairs, which aims at encouragement of public initiatives for establishment of associations and public unions, that are of a co-operative nature in the field of development and growth, and which calls for the mobilization of efforts and potentials by formulation of programmes and projects necessary for development of local communities and promotion of social, economic, sanitary, cultural, and agricultural fields and,

Insuring more consolidated efforts with different quarters, associations and international organizations working in the field of community co-operation, an agreement has been reached, this day, Wednesday 24th March, 1973 by the undersigned (Representatives of Development Commissions) as founders for the establishment of General Union of Yemen Development Commissions for the Yemen Arab Republic:

This is in compliance with Ordinance No. 11 for 1968 and according to the basic constitution here attached.

(Signers of this agreement were: Head of the Social Welfare and Labour Dept., Head of the Northwest region, Advisor of the COP, Head of the Aniss Region Dev. Com., Head of Sanaa Dev. Com., Head of Al-Hajarria Dev. Com., Head of Raimah Dev. Com., Head of Al-Hodeidah Dev. Com., Chief Deputy of N.W. Dev. Com., Head of Ibb Dev. Com., Head of Al-Haimatain Dev. Com., Secretary-General of Raimah Dev. Com., Head of Wosab Dev. Com., and Head of Dhamar Dev. Com.)

APPENDIX GGLOSSARY OF SELECTED TERMS USED IN TEXT

agil (also aqil and akele)-tribal leader of a village or village section.

amil - "governor", an official of the Yemen Government who heads the administration of a nahiya or qada..

amil-al-waqf - a government official who supervises the administration of lands in a qada owned by the mosques and/or the Ministry of Waqf.

amin - village tax records collector appointed by the Ministry of Finance.

baladeih - a government official who supervises the markets and street cleanliness in a qada.

Board - the governing body (executive) of a local development association (also called a Council).

cooperative - a term sometimes applied to a local development association.

Council - the governing body (executive) of a local development association (also called a Board).

CRS - Catholic Relief Service.

CYDA - Confederation of Yemeni Development Associations.

General Assembly - the governing body (legislative) of a local development association.

governorate - a major administrative subdivision of Yemen (10 in 1975).

hakim - judge of court at the qada level using primarily Islamic law.

hectare - a measure of land containing 10,000 square meters (2.471 acres).

kadr - a measure of grain weight consisting of 33 kilograms.

kilometer - 1000 meters or about .62 miles.

LDA - local development association

mahallah - a geographically-separate section of a village.

moklaf (also mokhlaf) - a grouping of tribal ozlahs headed usually by a large sheikh.

nahiya (also nahiyah) - sub-district consisting of a variable number of ozlahs created by the central government for administrative purposes.

nesab - a tax similar to zaqat levied on the number of animals owned.

NIPA - National Institute of Public Administration.

orif - tribal custom.

ozlah - a grouping of villages belonging to one tribe, usually headed by a small sheikh.

qada (also quada) - a "district" or subdivision of a governorate.

qat - a cultivated shrub whose leaves produce a mild narcotic effect when chewed.

RAFT - Rural Analysis and Feedback Team.

RD - rural development.

SANA - (also SANAA) capitol of Yemen

SCF - Save the Children Foundation.

sheikh, sagheir - (small sheikh), the tribal leader of an ozlah.

sheikh, khabeir - (large sheikh), the tribal leader of a moklaf.

USAID - United States Agency for International Development.

YARG - Yemen Arab Republic Government.

zaqat - a tax levied on the production of crops.