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BIBLIOGRAPHY, ABSTRACTS, AND RESEARCHERS ON JORDAN:

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INTRODUCTION

This report on Jordan is the first of a series which will include others on Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, and Yemen (San'a). Each report will focus on socio-cultural and political-economic aspects of development and will consist of a bibliography, abstracts, a list of researchers, and recommendations about which bibliographic sources might be distributed to USAID offices.

The bibliography in the current report includes articles, books and monographs, dissertations and theses, project-related papers, Jordanian government documents, and a few other sources. The majority of them are in English, but a small number are in Arabic. Almost all have been produced since 1970.

The twenty abstracts were made from sources selected according to four criteria. The contract for this project stipulates that sources chosen should be "of high quality," "empirically based," and "relevant to development." The first of these criteria was taken to concern formal considerations (such as consistency and comprehensiveness); the second, substantive considerations (such as testing hypotheses or at least clearly relating claims to data); and the third, addressing "basic needs." To these interpretations was added the criterion of balance, both in topics and in perspectives, so that all twenty sources selected would not concern a single subject area or viewpoint. Sources chosen for abstracting, then, were judged according to these four criteria and rated highly on all or most of them. For this reason we recommend that, funds permitting, all twenty be duplicated and distributed to relevant USAID offices.

The list of researchers was composed from the authors of the sources in the bibliography. Information about their addresses, topics of research, and language competence were compiled from seven directories, biographical data in their publications, and personal networks.

FCH
Project Director

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ARTICLE GENERAL DEVELOPMENT INTRANATIONAL POLITICAL
ECONOMY

ABSTRACT

This paper was prepared for the Sixth International Conference on the Unity of Sciences, held in San Francisco on November 25-27, 1977. It discusses three main influences on Jordan's development: external factors, the government's role, and internal factors.

The first and most important influence has been Arab society's contacts with the West. Since the early nineteenth century, the militarily and technologically superior West has dealt with Arab society as an inferior adversary. "Western intrusion and its Zionist manifestation into Arab society, politically, militarily, economically, and culturally" have thrust Jordan into the complex events of the Palestine problem. This external factor was beyond the country's means to master. The resulting Palestinian exodus into Jordan has had negative and positive effects on its socio-economic and political life. While thousands of destitute refugees strained an already weak economy, this vast array of human resources nonetheless played a positive role in Jordan's development. Unlike countries whose existence and stability were unquestioned, the political reality of living with an aggressive and menacing neighbor forced Jordan to jump from "scapiprimitive" subsistence in the early 1940's to a consumer and services society today, bypassing

the industrial and agricultural revolutions.

The second main influence has been the government's deliberate role in promoting development. To counter Western intrusion, Arab leaders from Mohamed Ali's time have acquired military skills, espoused social reforms, supported nationalist and socialist ideals, and pursued comprehensive planning. In Jordan such planning has consisted of socio-economic and political reforms. Economically, the government has encouraged private enterprises, initiated projects, and shared investment in large local companies throughout various National Plans since 1964. Socially, it has improved education, health, and welfare. Legally, it has replaced the Tribal law with formal authority. However, rapid modernization by the government has caused an uneven and incomplete process of growth at the high price of social stability. Only the shock of the Zionist challenge, Abu Jaber argues, has made this price seem appropriate.

The third, or indigenous, influence on development has been the Jordanian people's acceptance of social mobility and change as two tenets of Islamic society and tradition. In contrast to the Western experience--where the breakdown of the feudal system and the rise of new cities, new modes of production, and new ideologies and classes brought about changes in spite of ruling elites--developing countries like Jordan have initiated change from above, and the new social classes have come as products rather than initiators of change. Also, in Jordan a "shame culture" requires people to "save face" by outwardly denying their inadequacies and inwardly imposing constraints. Thus, while change has been justified as part of Arab heritage and culture, an awareness of the old Jordan's inability to survive in the twentieth century has promoted development. Moreover, the government's prudent use of local resources and foreign aid, and "humane treatment of political opponents," were due to "an aware population" and "a moderate leadership."

Although the effects of development on Jordan are hard to measure, they have been qualitatively and quantitatively drastic. Abu Jaber provides a table on socio-economic indicators from 1952 to 1975. Changes are also shown by urbanization, dress styles, consumer habits, food consumption patterns, and caloric intake. Psychologically, the family, kin, and tribal loyalties are slowly

being "replaced by" those to labor unions and professional associations. Modernization, urbanization, and industrialization have caused old landed and other elite classes to make way for rising new ones: the middle class, the intelligentsia, the bureaucrats, the army officers, and the urban labor classes. The benefits of development, however, are unevenly distributed among them. Socio-economic disparities between urban, village, and Bedouin sectors (and among various urban neighborhoods) are obvious, although class consciousness has not yet fully developed. In conclusion, the author emphasizes that it may still be too soon to assess these changes properly, which are in process and whose final outcome is unforeseen.

Abu Jaber's article echoes the official stance on Jordan's changes. It reflects attempts to take account of, and to justify, social contradictions which have yet to be resolved, but which arise from processes of uneven development.

Antoun, R., Arab Village: A Social Structural Study of a Transjordanian Peasant Community, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, IN (1972). JORDAN BOOK GENERAL DEVELOPMENT SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE

ABSTRACT

This is an anthropological study of the social structure of Kufr al-Ma, a village in northern Jordan which "probably shares many cultural traits with other Arab villages located on the rim of the desert and other Sunni villages." Antoun collected his data in 1959-60 while working in this community of 2,000 as a participant observer. Following a Malinowskian path, the book addresses four main issues: the coincidence of kinship and proximity in agricultural communities, their relationship to the actual behavior of the villagers, the effects of social change on kinship norms, and the nature of the village as a "community."

In this village, unpredictable ecological and climactic conditions, and the resulting two-crop agricultural regime, prevented concentration of economic wealth. These limits on differentiation supported an egalitarian Islamic social ethic which persisted despite basic political, economic and social changes. These included the lessening of district authority through government centralization in 1922; the increased social mobility of peasants, forced by diminishing amounts of arable land into nonagricultural jobs outside the village; and the destruction of corporate landholding with the abolition of the Musha (communal land tenure) system in 1939. Accordingly, Antoun analyzes the recruitment, composition, spatial relations, ideology, and social relations of patrilineal descent groups in the village using maps, tables, diagrams, photographs, and genealogies for documentation. He also provides case studies to illustrate the significant functions of such groups in village life. Given the heritage of propinquity in the subdistrict, neighborliness remains an important support for social, economic, and political cooperation. Patrilineality is the unifying principle at four levels of society: 1) the Household (a consumption unit with a common purse), 2) the Luzum (a close consultation group of households for political, marital, and land issues), 3) the Lineage (groups of luzum aligned in village politics), and 4) the Clan (groups of lineages whose elders exercised social control on other members). Clan elders, in turn, are grouped into alliances, each headed by a mukhtar, who is jointly the elder of his clan and a local official linking the village and the government. The mukhtar counsels, mediates, registers vital statistics, and applies administrative policies, but he has no ritual functions. Thus patrilineality permeates local organization yet is flexible enough to accommodate groups or individuals who otherwise would not qualify for membership or authority in the village. It is a continuum rather than a set of discrete units, which accounts for its diversity and flexibility.

A village "community" as such is a specific focus of kinship ties and a unit of social control with ideological, economic, and ecological sanctions. Reinforcing the community of kinship are matrilineal ties, interpreted symbolically as blood kinship. The modes of marriage also reinforce kinship ties. In particular, the effects of patrilineal cousin marriages on close kinsmen is to soften economic differentiation, maintain land

ownership, reinforce agnatic alliances, and provide a basis for division as well as for intensification of ties. Despite social change, then, village and clan continue to function as frameworks for political rivalry, social status, social control, and as the loci of kinship and land ownership.

The main relevance of Antoun's analysis of descent, kinship, and proximity in a Jordanian village pertains to their role in economic and political development, particularly when such ties are used to obtain services from the central government. The main weakness of the study lies in Antoun's choice of village: Kufr al-Ma may not be representative of other Jordanian villages because of its heritage of strong communal political action and economic control, which were shown by its participation in the area's intense rebellion against centralization. Antoun's static approach and the date of this study may further limit its utility.

Antoun, Richard E., Low Key Politics: Local Level Leadership and Change in the Middle East, SUNY Press, Albany, New York (1979). JORDAN BOOK GENERAL DEVELOPMENT INTRANATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

ABSTRACT

This study of local-level or "practical" politics in the Jordanian village of Kufr al-Ma has four intertwined aims: first, "to provide a detailed case study;" second, "to identify and document...low-key politics;" third, to test a conceptual framework for the anthropological study of politics; and fourth, "to refine that framework by focusing on certain key concepts, reworking them, and evaluating their worth." Antoun had done research in this village in 1959-60; he returned in 1965, 1966, and 1967 to analyze its political process, defined as a competition for scarce ends (power, honor, purity) through various means of combining scarce resources.

Before discussing his analysis, some introduction to basic concepts seems useful. Antoun feels that F. G. Bailey's view of "competition" (rivalry according to certain rules) characterizes local politics in Kafr al-Ma better than does the concept of a "fight (unregulated hostility). Such competition occurs in an "arena" (e.g., the village or government bureaus outside it) between coalitions, each composed of a leader and his supporters. The supporters themselves may be divided into a "core" group and an associated "following" according to their ties to the leader and to each other. Such coalitions may be classified along a spectrum going from "movements" (relatively stable collections of people linked by loyalty, habit, and a sense of the rightness of their cause) to "machines" (relatively unstable collections of people linked by their calculations of limited mutual advantage). Competition between coalitions generally takes place in three sequential phases: "subversion," where at least one competitor tries to neutralize or capture another's support; "confrontation," where at least one competitor communicates about support s/he can command; and "encounter," where a climax occurs and some resolution is reached.

Recalling the social structure of Kufr al-Ma (discussed more fully in his Arab Village; see the abstract in this collection), Antoun says that one coalition (Yasin) acts as a movement. Its leader is a mukhtar (which Antoun translates as "mayor") who is paid primarily by yearly donations from members of his own clan to dispense services and hospitality in a traditional manner. The core of his supporters are patrilineal kinsmen, but he also has a following from other lineages. The second coalition (Dumi-'amr) shifts between acting as a movement or as a machine, with a growing tendency toward the latter. Its leader is the village's second mukhtar, and he is paid primarily by charging fees for the services he provides. The core of his supporters are members of his own clan and an allied one; he also has a following of other villagers, including (for a short period) a lineage generally part of the first coalition's core. Mainly in response to national government policies (such as establishing village councils and revising the basis for remunerating a mukhtar), machine politics have been increasing in frequency and importance. The tendency, however, is limited by ecological, social, and political factors which attenuate competition. "Low-key" politics (characterized by muted subversion,

confrontation in absentia, and "encounter-through-mediation"), therefore, continue to predominate in Kufr al-Ma, a "transitional" society where old and new politics often coexist but are not (yet?) resolved into a coherent system.

This study is significant theoretically and substantively: it tests and modifies Bailey's concepts of politics while discussing a wide range of other analyses; it concerns data collected on repeated occasions over a relatively long period. No other source in this collection so systematically views change from the local level (as seen by a keen and sympathetic, although foreign, observer). However, the book's very strength's may become liabilities for some readers: it requires some familiarity with issues and positions discussed in the literature of political anthropology; the detail of the points presented may obscure the overall pattern of argument. The book is sometimes slow going, but it is worth the effort for its contributions to an understanding of Jordan and of politics.

Aresvik, Oddvar, The Agricultural Development of Jordan, Praeger Publishers, New York (1976). JORDAN BOOK AGRICULTURE AGRI-OTHER

ABSTRACT

This book presents a detailed and accurate analysis of the structure and development of the agricultural sector in Jordan between 1954 and 1973, with main emphasis on recent years and prospects for future development. The book and the proposed strategies are intended to serve as references for those interested in the economic aspects of development and in the role of well-developed, high yielding agricultural technology in Jordan, the Near East, and other poor countries. Aresvik has worked extensively in the Middle East and has served as Agricultural Economics Advisor to the government of Jordan. For data, he uses readily available published materials,

information collected during travels in rural areas, and personal interviews.

Following a brief historical background and a description of Jordan's geography, population, and infrastructure, Aresvik reviews the growth of agriculture within the Kingdom's general socio-economic development from 1954-1966 and from 1967-1973. During the first period, the economy (on the East and West Banks) made "impressive progress": G.N.P. grew at 11 percent, and agricultural output roughly doubled. This growth was due partly to higher yields generally, but more specifically to rapid increases in vegetable, fruit, livestock, and poultry production. The expansion of fruit and vegetable production, as compared to field crops, resulted mainly from the extension of irrigation (especially in the East Jordan Valley), the introduction of improved technology, and the growth of export markets. The 1967 war and the loss of the West Bank disrupted this progress. Thereafter G.N.P. grew at 5 percent, and the economy, with continued foreign aid, became more service-oriented. The aftermath of the war, Israeli raids on the East Ghor Canal, and the military confrontation with the commandos in 1970 (with consequent border closures for exports) rendered farming stagnant. Overall, the agricultural sector of Jordan witnessed a rapid growth of agricultural production up to 1969, averaging 8 percent a year. This growth "was heavily influenced by infrastructure development, such as construction of main roads and village roads, construction of dams and canals for the purpose of irrigation, and rapid population growth, urbanization, and a rapidly growing domestic market."

Given the limited land and water resources of the East Bank, the total area under cultivation cannot be increased. The relatively small share (less than one-third in 1973) of the total labor force employed in agriculture reflected such limited resources rather than the advancement of the industrial or service sectors. However, a potential for rapid increases of agricultural production can be realized, mainly through more efficient use of resources already available. Constraints on agricultural development in Jordan have included: a majority of small and fragmented farms, and an unsatisfactory land-tenure situation; the risk of low and erratic rainfall for unirrigated agriculture; and a lack of credits and inputs on reasonable terms for the majority of farmers. These factors have slowed the adoption

of improved technology. Other constraints are the shortage of well-trained production specialists and extension staff for the introduction of modern techniques; a low educational level among farmers; a traditional marketing system which keeps the farmer dependent on middlemen for credits and supplies; nonintegration of crop and livestock production; lack of proper coordination among the various agencies involved in agricultural development; and a lack of strong and efficient farm organizations.

Aresvik makes several recommendations which comply with government views for the improvement of agriculture. The prospects for increased yields depend on the provision of the complete "package" of tested and well-adapted technologies. The technical factors, which must be manipulated simultaneously, included the following: "(1) good seed of high-yielding fertilizer-responsive varieties; (2) improvements in soil fertility (fertilizer); (3) improvements in cultural practices (such as land leveling, seed-bed preparation, planting time, and planting depth); (4) improvements in water management (proper irrigation methods under irrigation, proper moisture conservation under rainfed conditions); (5) improvements in weed control; and (6) improvements in harvesting, grading, storage, and marketing methods." Long-range prospects for livestock productivity depend on the introduction of improved animal husbandry practices, especially in the control of diseases and parasites, and in feeding and management. Technical, financial, and management assistance is needed in poultry, fish, and cattle production. Proposals for strengthening and coordinating agencies involved in agricultural development include the following: forming a High Council for Agricultural Production; establishing a number of specialized boards such as the Wheat Production Board; organizing and decentralizing the Ministry of Agriculture; and facilitating participation by forming village committees composed of farmers and the extension and cooperative agents in each village. Furthermore, there is a need to expand and strengthen the existing agricultural research system to bridge gaps between the level of technology available, its adaptation at research stations, and its subsequent introduction among farmers.

The author views prospects for increased agricultural production and yields as realistic and optimistic. Through optimal implementation of

programs like those mentioned above, especially for certain fruits and vegetables, Jordan can supply a major part of domestic requirements and increase exports.

This study is valuable for its thorough analysis supported by extensive tables. Aresvik's careful examination of constraints considers the harsh physical and political conditions that have shaped Jordan's development more realistically than do other studies deriving from loose comparisons with Israel.

Aruri, Naseer, Jordan: A Study in Political Development (1924-1965), Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague (1972). JORDAN BOOK GENERAL DEVELOPMENT INTRANATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

ABSTRACT

This book gives a comprehensive assessment of the development of Jordan until 1965, with emphasis on interactions between domestic and international politics. Aruri provides a case to show "that Middle Eastern rulers, in spite of their rhetoric, and high-flown aspirations about sovereignty and independence, have never been free agents in shaping the destiny of their nations." The study is based on documentaries, memoirs, books, articles, newspapers and magazines, as well as on personal interviews with Jordanian officials, intellectuals, and citizens during a research trip in 1965. The author uses several structural-functionalist concepts of political development to contrast "state-building" (essentially, improving government institutions) with "nation-building" (essentially, fostering "cultural and psychological" norms).

The first part of the analysis discusses historical, economic, demographic, and communal factors in the country's political development. Aruri explains how, after World War I, "the *raison d'être* of the principality of Transjordan was that of British strategic interests in combination with

Abdullah's desire of a throne." In return for his loyalty, and prevention of nationalist incursions into French-mandated Syria, Britain reconized the Hashimite prince in Transjordan: they provided subsidies to set up a civil administration and a security force; they helped suppress local tribal and nationalist opposition; and they supervised the newly created state apparatus. The army performed the function of state-building; it became "an agent of political socialization" by recruiting Bedouin tribesmen and instilling them with "blind obedience" to the monarch as their "supertribal leader." Thus a centralized state was created, but the population remained subjects, as opposed to "participant-citizens." The problem of building a nation was accentuated with the merger of the East and West Banks. This merger "superimposed a comparatively literate and urban society on a predominantly rural one," and added regionalism to other disintegrative factors in the country's political development. Communalism (along with ethnic, religious, and national divisions), was perpetuated by the forms of constitutional representation, and it increased political fragmentation. Moreover, Jordan had many economic problems: shortages in capital and resources, dense population on arable land, chronic balance of payment deficits, dependence on unstable foreign aid, and influx to the cities and resulting unemployment. All these factors made it difficult for the government to achieve stability.

The second part of the book analyzes the structural changes in the society from a patriarchal oligarchy to a "constitutional monarchy." Throughout the Mandate period, state power was held by an Anglo-Hashimite oligarchy. This formal structure of government, with little connection to the indigenous population, strained social cohesion. In 1928, a constitution which gave "a semblance of legitimacy to an indigenous government dominated by the executive branch" was created. While it enabled Britain to undermine Abdullah's sovereignty, it also enabled him and his bureaucracy to undermine the legislature. Parochial, kinship, and tribal loyalties impeded the growth of a mass nationalist party with organizational programs. After the first legislative council was dissolved (as punishment for opposing Anglo-Hashimite hegemony), subsequent legislatures accepted that a genuine parliamentary democracy was never intended and acted as advisory councils. The proclamation of independence in 1946 did not change this situation. However, the annexation of

the West Bank in 1948, and the assassination of Abdullah in 1951, contributed to an initial democratization of the political system. A new constitution was established (with legislative checks on the executive), and power was transferred from a single king to a group of palace politicians headed by Tawfiq Abul-Huda. On the popular level, several political parties emerged and contested the legislative seats. There were "ideological" parties (Ba'ath, National Socialist, Communist, Muslim Brethren, and Al-Tahrir) which opposed the government, and "bloc" parties (Arab Constitutional, and Community Party) which supported it. Although the Palestinian middle class effected constitutional revision and legislative ascendancy, the new system failed to create a pattern of orderly change, and the demands of nation-building were handled diffusely and intermittently.

The third part of the book examines the relationship between international relations and domestic politics. Between 1954 and 1957, encounters between conservatives loyal to King Hussein and the nationalist opposition centered on the objectives of foreign policy. Disagreement on non-alignment and Arab cooperation led the nationalists to apply pressures through riots and demonstrations. This eventually led to the rejection of the Baghdad Pact (a British-sponsored multilateral defense treaty against "Soviet Aggression"), the expulsion of General Glubb (the British Chief of Staff of the army), the termination of the Anglo-Jordanian treaty of 1948, and to Jordan's joining the Unified Arab Command with Syria and Egypt. Furthermore, when a nationalist pro-Egyptian government was elected in late 1956, it took measures to make Jordan part of a larger Arab nation. Fearing that he might be overthrown, King Hussein (with support from the conservatives, a loyal army, and fellow Arab monarchs) reimposed his authority. The U.S. replaced Britain as the Hashimite sponsor via a \$10 million grant. A "reign of terror" ensued under martial law until 1958. American involvement through the Eisenhower Doctrine broadened the internal conflict into a Cold-War polarization. A U.S.-backed Arab Union between Jordan and Iraq failed following the military coup in Iraq. A Soviet backed United Arab Republic of Egypt and Syria gave its support to the nationalists inside Jordan. The 1958 crisis in Lebanon, and the landing of U.S. Marines there, also highlighted the regional struggle. British paratroops landed in Jordan to protect the king.

When combined with Israeli threats to occupy Jordan in the event of a change in regime, Nasser's desire to avoid such a confrontation, and a U.N. resolution on Arab nonintervention, this was sufficient to restore internal stability. Military and foreign aid thus became an integral part of a "challenge and response" pattern which prevented real political development. Between 1959 and 1965, King Hussein "conscious of the depletion of monarchical power in the region, and of the tendency of the Kennedy Administration to come to terms with the 'revolutionary' Arab states," consolidated his unofficial alliance with the West and called for a "new way of life" internally. A youthful Cabinet was commissioned, and a seven-year plan was inaugurated in 1962 to achieve economic development and political reform. However, when challenged in 1963, the monarchy again unleashed the army to maintain itself: "Jordan stands out as a state by virtue of its monopoly of the instruments of violence, its power to settle disputes, and allocate [sic] goods, services and values. But it is not a nation since this power has never been a consensual one."

Aruri's book is a valuable background to 1965 for the present political structure in Jordan and for the delicate system of "checks and balances" it has developed over the years--both internally and externally. Through the analysis presented, one can better appreciate the role of the army and various pressure groups affecting the larger development of Jordan; however, the book's age makes it less valuable for understanding more recent social transformations, such as the Palestinian-Jordanian civil war of 1970-71.

at-Tall, S., 'At-Iawziy' 'al-'aqliymi 'al-Mushariy' 'al-'asukan fi 'al-Manlakat 'al-'urduniyat 'al-Hashimiya (The Regional Distribution of Housing Projects in the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan), Irbid Urban Regional Planning Group, Irbid, Jordan (1979). JORDAN GOV. DOCUMENTS URBANISM HOUSING AND CONSTRUCTION

ABSTRACT

This is an occasional paper by the chief of the Irbid Urban Regional Planning Group--one of five agencies responsible for Jordan's regional development. The study aims to show the past achievements of two main government institutions in the housing sector: the Housing Corporation and the Housing Bank. Using available figures, the report examines the distribution of activity in Jordan between 1969-1978.

During this period, the Housing Corporation constructed 5762 units in the East Bank with a total area of 433,000 square meters costing JD 19.4 million. Given the means available to the Corporation at the time, these are considered good achievements by at-Tall. However, this activity has been unevenly distributed in favor of the Amman-Balqa Region. Over 60 percent of the amount spent (JD 11.8 million), the houses built (3550 units), and the areas constructed (278,503 square meters) were located in this Region. Similarly, while the Housing Bank has granted 11,063 loans at a total cost of JD 80.5 million between 1974-1978, more than 70 percent of the loans (7963) and over 80 percent of the amounts spent (JD 67 million) were in the Amman-Balqa Region.

While noting that a defined Regional Development Policy was lacking during this period, at-Tall says this concentration "is contradictory to the Five-Year Development Plan, which emphasized the necessity of stopping the rural migration to urban areas." Moreover, it is contrary to H.R.H. Crown Prince Hassan's statements on the need for "an equitable and social development distribution." Hence, the continuation of this housing trend could mean the continued immigration of people to Amman to an extent that it would be impossible to supply them even with drinking water. Therefore at-Tall questions the correctness of four large housing projects planned for the Amman-Balqa Region (Abu-Naseir New City, Marj El-Hammam Project, Sahab City Housing Site, and Queen Aliya Airport Housing Project); he also questions whether the government's budget can afford to provide as well for the badly needed Yarmouk University and urban expansion projects in the Irbid Region. The pressing need for such projects is seen in the large numbers of people who work in the university and commute daily from Amman.

Although the Housing Bank accepts applications for loans regardless of the region from which they come, the tables indicate that 72

percent of those successful came from Amman. This, at-Tall concludes, necessitates the need to "create more human opportunities in all regions which enable people to apply for the Housing Bank in order to have residential shelter." Five suggestions are put forward to improve conditions.

First, the allocation of funds for housing projects should be evenly distributed to enable each region to meet its housing demands. Second, sites in Amman should be provided with services only, leaving construction to the private sector. Third, the construction of housing projects should be financed jointly by the two agencies in the regions where lower income groups cannot borrow from the Housing Bank alone, in order to create an incentive for people to remain in their native regions. Fourth, some housing projects in the regions should be considered vital and subsidized by the government. Fifth, a Reconstruction Corporation should be established in Irbid, as in the case in Amman, with input from the Housing Bank, the Industrial Development Bank, and the Housing Corporation to promote their investment outside Amman.

The value of this report is mainly its organization of scattered data for presentation in comparative regional terms. The report also reflects the pressing need to change the pattern of development felt by those who see it closely and are taking the initiative to induce awareness.

Birks, J. S. and C. A. Sinclair, International Migration and Development in the Arab Region, International Labor Organization, Geneva (1980). JORDAN BOOK POPULATION MIGRATION

ABSTRACT

This book, based on a study for the ILO's Migration for Employment project, examines the dimensions and patterns of labor migration in the Arab world during the 1970's, and evaluates the impacts of

this migration upon countries of origin and countries of employment. The authors assume two propositions: first, "that the international migration of labour in the Arab region occurs as a result of an economic demand for labour which is not or cannot be met locally," and second, "that labour from within the region as well as from outside would meet this demand in so far as it was available quantitatively." Taking this "demand" and "supply" approach, the analysis divides the countries into "capital-rich" (Kuwait, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), and "capital-poor" (Tunisia, Sudan, Egypt, Jordan, Syrian Arab Republic, Yemen, and Oman)--essentially, into major oil producers and others. Based on available statistical data and intensive interviewing, the manpower resources of each Arab state are described, and a regional perspective is provided. Also, an extensive and detailed series of tables is appended to the study.

Manpower is the key determinant to further economic development in the Arab world. However, the uneven distribution of education, wealth, and population among these countries have caused marked variations in incomes (GNP per head, and wage rates) and strikingly divergent paths of development. Thus, differential rewards have determined the fundamentals of international labor migration in the Middle East. This migration was moderate in size and flow until 1972. Since the oil price rises of 1973, however, the oil-endowed states have financed large-scale development plans, and rapid transfers of labor have enabled high degrees of economic development. By 1975, the number of migrant Arab workers reached 1.3 million but still demands increased, with the development plans entering their labor-intensive stages. Since the countries of origin had reached their demographic, economic, and political limits for labor export, the rich states turned to Asian and Far-Eastern sources of labor. This change in labor migration was also

associated with a preference for single males (to decrease the cost of providing for dependents) and for Oriental labor because of its efficiency, speed, and lower costs in "enclave" projects of development.

Viewed superficially, this dynamic system of international migration has been essentially advantageous to all parties. Labor movements have allowed capital-rich countries to embark upon a period of rapid growth and diversification by increasing their small national labor forces both numerically and in terms of skills. Yet the form of economic development is considerably dependent, not only on expatriate Arab labor, but more and more on Asian and Far-Eastern workers. While the capital-poor countries receive remittances from their migrants, and have reduced their pressing problem of unemployment, their own progress is being stunted by three factors: the depletion of labor sources, the use of remittances for conspicuous consumption (adding to domestic inflation), and the problem of reabsorbing of the migrants.

A variety of issues will influence policy planners in the 1980's. Clandestine movements of unskilled labor to rich states is one cause of concern which has prompted official bilateral labor agreements. The inequality of the benefits to the poor countries has spurred debates about possible means of compensations. Replacement migration (labor filling vacancies created by emigration) overcomes absolute manpower shortages; however, especially in agriculture, it often lowers productivity. Furthermore, the unstable nature of the migration system inhibits using a "cost-benefit" analysis to guide policy controls or planning to harness remittances.

In conclusion, the authors feel that this manpower crisis will widen the gap between rich and poor Arab nations, which could eventually lead to political and economic instability in the 1980's.

The policy options open to the Arab labour suppliers are: to maximize the immediate economic and social benefits derived from migration; to give high priority to domestic policies which attempt to create growth by encouraging investment expenditure; and to stem inflation. The best long-term policy is to encourage cooperation in regional manpower coordination. The high levels of unemployment which could result from large-scale reduction in demands for Arab labor "ought to underlie the attitudes of the capital-poor States towards negotiations over the migration system."

Jordan is one country of origin that has responded successfully to the international demand for labor. By 1975 it ranked highest among Arab countries in terms of the proportion of work force employed abroad. Two factors are responsible: first, the high level of educational attainment; and second, the lack of job opportunities. The immigrant community of Jordanians and Palestinians in Kuwait totalled 172,770 and 31,400 in 1975, or 39 percent of total immigrant workers. Other countries of employment included Saudi Arabia and Qatar. Because of their size, cohesion, technical skills, and Arab origin, these workers formed influential groups in the oil-rich states. Moreover, because of the largely professional nature of this work force, (whose contracts and conditions of work included dwellings for their families), it had a participation rate of 31 percent. A trend toward settling in the countries of employment is growing. Remittances from workers contribute significantly to Jordan's economy. However, the adverse impacts of this migration has been lowered productivity due to the Egyptian, Pakistani and Indian replacement labor; skill shortages in some sectors; and rural and unskilled labor shortages from the upward mobility of local labor. Jordan's Prince Hassan has addressed the problem of remittances by calling for an "International Labour Compensatory Facility" at the ILO conference in 1977. As do other labor-exporting countries,

Jordan faces the threat of considerable unemployment for returning migrants in the event that demand for labor drops.

Dajani, Jarir and Muneera Murdock, "Assessing Basic Human Needs in Rural Jordan," Project No. 278-322, Agency for International Development, Amman, Jordan (September 1978).
JORDAN PROJECTS BASIC HUMAN NEEDS RURAL

ABSTRACT

This study seeks two main goals: (1) to determine the basic needs of people in rural Jordan (defined as that 40 percent of the national population living in communities under 20,000) and (2) to recommend what policies and priorities should be adopted for addressing those needs. Nine villages representing different geographic, environmental, economic, and administrative contexts across the nation are examined via an approach "based on the premise that a study of human needs must address the question from the perspective of the villagers themselves, on the one hand, and on the mechanisms available for the satisfaction of the needs of these villagers, on the other."

Dajani and Murdock combine statistical indicators, in-depth studies by "competent professionals," and villagers' views to develop the following hierarchy of human needs: (1) basic material needs (nutrition, water, housing, etc.), (2) health, (3) education, (4) income and economic opportunity, and (5) personal adjustment and social participation.† (Curiously, the authors include child care and family planning as part of the last need, rather than as part of health.) The level of need satisfaction in a given community may be measured along two dimensions: an average (e.g., average income) and a distribution (e.g., the share of total village income some subgroup has, relative to the others). These "measures of system performance" may be changed by policy inputs from outside the village (e.g., by governmental funding for street construction), depending on the nature of the inputs and the local community's abilities to obtain and to use them.

Considering their nine villages (and others described in earlier studies) in terms of these basic needs and the services now provided by the Jordanian government (as shown by official statistics and an unreferenced CARE survey), the authors come to six general conclusions and recommendations. First, a centralized data base should be established for information on the demographic, economic, social, and physical structures of the villages, and this data base should be linked to one on transportation networks among villages and cities. Second, policy makers should use the hierarchy of basic needs to guide both the nature of services provided and order of their provision--i.e., first material needs, then health, etc.* (Accordingly, the authors accept the CARE survey data and give highest priority to providing potable water systems even though their own sample of villages showed seven of nine already had such service.) Priority in services should also "be given to communities with the potential for developing a viable economic base," as determined by "an explicit decision which is deemed to be in the best national interest." Third, incomes should be increased and employment generated by establishing and/or strengthening agricultural cooperatives, by granting more loans to small producers, and by creating small industries in rural areas. The national government also should develop intermediate-sized cities, so they will absorb more people leaving rural areas and lessen the migration pressure on larger cities. Fourth, while clinics are relatively accessible to villagers, there are problems in staffing them. Accordingly, the focus of health care should shift from curative to preventive; more local people (and especially traditional healers) should be trained and employed in this effort; and an extensive nutritional survey should be undertaken. Fifth, while schools are present in most villages, their curricula should be better adapted to rural needs. Local people could be employed to teach more applied skills (such as sewing or carpentry), and school buildings may be converted into comprehensive community development centers. And sixth, the Jordanian government should undertake a broader approach toward the provision of services, by funding programs for training personnel and for operating facilities (as well as for establishing them), and by organizing outreach teams which will provide and collect information while coordinating the delivery of services by different agencies.

The report contains a bibliography of sources

consulted and three appendices (nine village profiles, a proposal for a new funding institution, and a town and village index).

The strengths of this report are its serious and generally well-conceived attempt to implement the USAID mandate of addressing basic human needs and its informed use of statistical indicators to show regional differences in the types and amounts of services provided.* (The sample of villages chosen for profiles also is useful: it includes Kufr al-Ma, about which Richard Antoun has published extensively, and indicates both how accurate and how representative Antoun's information is.) The main problem in the report concerns the implementation of its desire to include a village perspective. If the recommendations to prioritize services were followed literally, the satisfaction of needs one through four would produce a village society like a well-run prison--where people are fed, housed, healed, educated, and employed, but have no say over how they are "developed." The recommendation that services be prioritized according to potential for "a viable economic base" and the "best national interest" sounds ominous in this context. In addition to these more theoretical concerns, a substantive one may be raised about the authors' use of local preferences for new services, as given in the appendix on village profiles. The desire for paved roads was the most common preference (six of eight villages), and it was also the highest preference of those mentioned more than once. Following this preference would impact desirably on other needs as well: it would enable faster sale of crops and herds, easier transport to and from clinics and schools, and creation of local construction and repair jobs.

Accordingly, this report is a worthy and impressive piece of work somewhat marred in the execution of its aims.

El-Haddad, Y., Social Change and the Process of Modernization in Jordan: A Case of a Developing Country, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Missouri (1974). JORDAN DISSERTATION GENERAL DEVELOPMENT INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

ABSTRACT

This sociological study focuses on the process of modernization in developing countries. It has three main aims: first, to re-examine critically current sociological views of development; second, to analyze the process of modernization and social change, taking Jordan as a case study; and third, "to design an alternative perspective with an accompanying strategy for investigation." The author uses already published materials to provide data on these topics.

Following a critique of several current approaches to studying modernization, El-Haddad calls for an alternative which, first, is sensitive to the differences between earlier and later paths toward modernization, and second, recognizes the specificity of each society's development. As a step toward such an approach, he examines several recent changes in the demographic, economic, and social structures of Jordanian society. The country's rapid urbanization, which preceded industrialization, was "a consequence of special cultural and geophysical circumstances rather than an indicator of development." The growth of Amman was mainly due to immigration and the dynamism of the city's population. Population movements have included the "normal" rural-urban pattern, the "abnormal" mass movement of Palestinians, and the emigration of Jordanian workers abroad. Although industrialization is still at an early stage, it has contributed to the country's development effort and is bringing about changes in social structures (labor unions, employment of women, social security, etc.). Rural change is marked by out-migration as a result of "push" and "pull" factors. Measures to stabilize the rural population by improving conditions have included agrarian reform (especially in the East Ghor Canal Project), agricultural extension, community development, and the establishment of cooperatives. However, the author says, these measures have been "palliative in nature and do not represent parts of comprehensive rural development policies." The structure and function of the family in Jordan have shown resistance to change. Despite the effects of rural exodus, some degree of women's emancipation, and gradual modernization of some rural areas, extended families remain the most prevalent structural type. Finally, although established family groups still maintain

influence, Jordan has witnessed some changes in power structure at the national and local levels.

The author then discusses historical changes in Middle Eastern stratification patterns before returning to the case of Jordan. He sees the process of modernization there in terms of shifts in "group" and "class" relations over time. He says that the "Jordanian-Islamic" class structure has consisted of three main categories. The ruling class was generally composed of the king, the families of the reigning dynasty, tribal nobility, big landlords, religious leaders, and the military elite. More recently an indigenous economic "aristocracy" and landless rentier elites have joined the upper class. The traditional middle classes, whose elements have controlled and benefited from the traditional educational system, included the bureaucratic, bourgeois, and clerical classes with similar power positions. The lower classes consisted of workers, peasants, and nomads. Two new classes have appeared in the second half of the twentieth century--namely, the industrial working class and the professional middle class. This class structure has been knit together in constant movement by "networks of power relationships which possess profound plasticity due to the balancing nature of the tensions among classes." This "web system" has served to distribute and fracture concentrations of threatening power, and permitted a great deal of controlled change and movement as personalities are allowed to advance and circulate. Moreover, the pattern of class relationships in Jordan has been characterized by reciprocal but permanently imbalanced power patterns. Thus, while individuals and groups from various classes may change positions, the classes themselves remain in general hierarchy. The power flow is consistently from upper to lower classes (who remain in a disadvantaged position). However, group linkages, which pervade the class relationships into which they are woven, blur contradictions and reduce conflicts. Two interrelated principles explain this pattern: "(1) the overlapping membership that characterizes interclass groups; and (2) the high rate of personal mobility that occurs between classes." These patterns, whereby groups interact together in balanced fluidity, have buttressed and strengthened class relationships.

The Hashimite political system has also been dominated by power networks preserved by "reciprocity and stabilizing conflict." Conflicts arose

when new forces, including new classes, challenged traditional relationships. Intelligentsia in the new salaried middle class have constituted one such class. The members of Jordanian intelligentsia are characterized by the following: a refusal to accept traditional power relationships; more education; power positions derived from skill and talent; exposure to outside philosophies, thoughts, and ideas; and freedom from rigid religious dogmatism or the "blind worship of past history." There are four subgroups, each maintaining a different relationship in regard to conflicting power patterns, within the intelligentsia. These are: "uprooters," or initiators of transformation; "technocrats," concerned with carrying out tasks; "maneuverers," or defenders of the traditional power network; and "followers," who float in the safest and smoothest direction. These groups overlap and interlock, and individuals shift from one group to another.

The author identifies primary variables of modernization and suggests a paradigm for their study. A country's process of modernization must be perceived historically according to "its own subjective perception of its status of non-modernity and modernity in comparison to other societies." For example, feelings about the degree of citizens' relative deprivation should be taken as a crucial variable with regard to change in the country, in the roles of its modernizing agents, and in the ideologies and strategies it employs to modernize. The talents and initiatives of the elites are primal in the process of measuring this relative deprivation. Finally, the degree of acceptance or rejection of societal change by various social units relates to the structure of power and influence and the extent and nature of contact and communication within the units and between them.

In conclusion, the author stresses two parameters which effect a country's process of modernization: first, international and national patterns of social stratification; and second, the country's modernization goals and strategies.

The value of this study is its detailed analysis of the classes and groups in Jordanian society. The description of the interaction of the class structure with the political system is also valuable for understanding the country's dynamic internal "stability." The theoretical aspects of the study are less valuable, given the

more recent and clearer articulations of development and underdevelopment by the Dependency School.

Farrag, A., "The WASTAH among Jordanian Villagers," in Patrons and Clients, ed. E. Gellner and J. Waterbury, pp. 224-238, Duckworth, London (1977). JORDAN ARTICLE GENERAL DEVELOPMENT INFORMAL PROCESSES

ABSTRACT

The goal of this article is to show how wastah (loosely speaking, an intermediary or the process of acting as one) "is both a mechanism for ensuring conformity and at the same time a threat to the existence of the very status quo which it is supposed to protect." The study is based on an analysis of five cases where wastah was used or considered and on a narrative account of one village's history, as recalled by (some sample of) its population.

This village of 5000 people lies in the hill region north of Amman. During Ottoman times villagers mostly cultivated grapes, olives, and onions or worked in cottage industries to process cheese or raisins and to weave mats. Today, however, the working population consists of "those who work in the service of the regime" (50-55 percent, mainly in the army), those who have "deliberately opted out of the army," and those who still cultivate (mostly people who could not find other work).

To indicate how the use of wastah developed among these villagers, Farrag sketches the evolution of the "tribal, political, and administrative system" from the Ottoman period, through the reign of the Emir Abdullah, to the present. She says that the community today, as in the past, is structured along a segmentary model, where the total population is subdivided into successively less inclusive patrilineal groups from the ashira ("tribe"), through the hamula ("clan"), down through intervening groups to the extended

patrilocal family.

In Ottoman times the largest group with political functions was the clan. Each of them chose an elder "as mediator and go-between" who was partly supported by contributions from other members. The head of the largest clan became a Pasha when he also "was chosen by the Turkish authorities to mediate on their behalf." The Pasha was the local tax farmer, although he had to consult with the other elders regarding village matters like resolving conflicts between members of different clans. Thus, the Pasha was considered a representative of the Ottoman state; the other elders, as representatives of the village. All the elders together chose two mukhtars ("clerks"), each of whom actually collected taxes, conscripted soldiers, and registered vital statistics for the clans under his authority on a service-for-fee basis. Formal interactions with all these local dignitaries (as well as with outsiders, or even with members of other clans) were arranged indirectly by "going through channels"-- i.e., by working through intermediaries according to the segmentary model of social structure. Thus, a son had to work through his father and intervening groups to speak to the elder of their clan; he could not directly request help from elders of other clans or outsiders.

During the reign of the Emir Abdullah, the village became more integrated into the state. Some village leaders (e.g., the Pasha's son) were included in the government. Other elders continued to settle disputes within the community; however, they were no longer seen as its representatives in opposition to the state, and they were decreasingly supported by contributions from other clan members. The role of mukhtar broadened; his post was taken more fully into the government; his duties increased; and he was paid a salary as well as fees for services rendered. Correspondingly, villagers sought to use the mukhtar as an intermediary, although they still could appeal only to the one with authority over their respective clans. Young men increasingly sought employment in the army, which gave them income and connections to intermediaries outside their fathers' control.

During the reign of King Hussein, the village has become a municipality, with an elected council headed by a mayor. This administrative change illustrates the still greater integration of the

locality into the state: candidates for office must be approved by the Ministry of Interior; the council has authority over local affairs and access to government funding and services; the role of mukhtar has been reduced to registering vital statistics; the elders act only to settle disputes and are seen somewhat as relics. Within this context, wastah "applies to both village and town" to help people get almost all jobs. Furthermore, now an individual does not necessarily have to follow the segmentary model of social structure even within the village; in theory, he may go directly to the mayor or outside his clan to request intermediation; in practice, "the responses vary according to which category the wastah-seeker belongs to." A person "in service of the regime" can approach the mayor directly and be accepted; a peasant or an "opter-out" can not, as is shown by Farrag's first three case examples. The fourth case demonstrates that having an intermediary is crucial to obtaining a job in a field even as technical as engineering. And the fifth case illustrates how intermediaries may be linked to form a long and complex chain of personal obligations.

Thus Farrag's account of the evolution of wastah use has two main themes: the growing economic and political integration of the village into the state and the concomitant changes in paths for intermediation. Use of wastah, then, supports the state by constraining personal loyalties and relationships to channels over which the state has some control; however, it also weakens the state by dividing its citizens into those who follow these channels and those who "opt out."

The main strength of this article is its concentration on a major, perhaps the major, process by which people in Jordan build and use networks of personal ties to satisfy their needs--to find a job, to get married, to settle a dispute, etc. Farrag presents five case examples which clearly illustrate how the process works, and her chronological account of the evolution of village-state relations gives a useful background for the focus on wastah. Furthermore, her remarks help to contextualize Antoun's studies of another village which is in the same region but which is smaller and still more traditionally organized. The main weakness of the article is its lack of a clearly articulated theory to integrate the cases, oral history, and analysis into a more coherent and comprehensive explanation. One aspect of this

problem is that Farrag never defines what wastah is: in the first paragraph of the article she identifies it with "go-between"; later she uses "mediator and go-between" to describe intermediaries during Ottoman and Emirate times, while wastah occurs at present, etc. Furthermore, she repeatedly emphasizes state interests in fostering wastah, but she nowhere considers how local people might see it as legitimate, as well as expedient. And finally, although she emphasizes that some local people have "opted out" of supporting the regime and the processes it (somewhat) controls, a careful reading shows that these people have also opted out of cultivation and still more traditional forms of village organization.

Accordingly, Farrag's article is one of the too rare studies of wastah; as such, it provides useful information despite its limitations.

Fikry, Mona, "The Maqarin Dam and the East Jordan Valley. Social Soundness Analysis for the Maqarin Dam Project," Contract No. AID/afr-c-1132, Agency for International Development, Amman, Jordan (1979). JORDAN PROJECTS AGRICULTURE IRRIGATION AND WATER MANAGEMENT

ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to discuss the impacts on the East Jordan Valley and its inhabitants resulting from the increased availability of water through the Maqarin Dam Project. Dr. Fikry relates her analysis to earlier changes in the Valley resulting from construction of the East Ghor Canal and from agricultural development programs in progress. The author's data comes mainly from existing studies, personal contacts, and a brief visit in 1978.

Although the East Jordan Valley has been settled and cultivated for the past ten thousand years, its modern development began only recently. After 1948, two distinct social groups emerged: the original tribes, and the Palestinian refugees. Both groups, totaling nearly 82,000 in 1979, still

valued tribal, clan and family ties for social stability, cohesiveness, and economic access. However, several changes followed the initiation of the East Ghor Canal Project. One aspect of the program was land reform which, in theory, intended "to encourage the emergence of owner-operated small family holdings; to enable easier settlements for new owners; to minimize hardships of old landowners with large holdings; and to diminish the power of landowners who had the Valley subdivided among them." Although some successful land distribution took place in the northern Valley, elsewhere "the reins of power remained unchanged." One major change was an increase in the number of sharecroppers, which was positive for agricultural productivity in the Valley. The incentives for this arrangement were the availability of water, landless refugee-farmers, expertise, and the desire of landowners to retain their power, prestige, and profits. Thus the economic impact of water from the Canal reshaped the traditional social structure without destroying it, and added new social classes of owners, commission agents, sharecroppers, and laborers. Underemployment of Jordanians continued in the Valley due to several factors: first, a lack of mobility because of family and clan ties; second, a rise in salary expectations and standards of living, especially among the youth; third, an influx of foreign laborers accepting lower wages; and fourth, a biased educational system which did not encourage farmers' children to work the land.

Given the new dimensions of agricultural development, and especially the increased costs of new techniques, the sharecroppers' future depends on their securing improved education, financial incentives, and tenure rights. Otherwise, Fikry warns, the sharecropping system could lead to a "feudal" society. Economic incentives have attracted "a new breed" of sharecroppers and cash-rent tenants to the Valley--namely, agricultural engineers who work in the government bureaucracy. This trend may have positive impacts on the social respectability and efficiency of agricultural practices. Another trend has been the increased employment of women in the agricultural labor force due to the exodus of men working outside the Valley. However, greater education (when combined with traditional values) may make it difficult for women to continue working as laborers. Finally, although increased irrigation and improved agricultural techniques have brought about changes in the socio-economic structure,

labor force, land utilization, and people's food consumption in the Jordan Valley, many constraints have created imbalances in benefits. Poor marketing conditions, high costs (of supplies, credit, and labor), lack of an efficient distribution system of inputs and information, and the replacement of animals by costlier tractors were some of these constraints.

Several supports have been provided as part of the social development of the Valley. The first is in housing. New housing was to encourage settlement, attract new inhabitants, and upgrade living conditions of the poor. Yet the majority of farmers have rejected the new houses because of their inadequate space and privacy and because local people lack information on loans and interest payments. The real beneficiaries, according to Fikry, will be the "petite bourgeois" class of the different villages. The proximity of the houses may bring about a new sense of community living, but a serious reconsideration of farmers' needs is required for future physical planning. Schools have been another infrastructural addition which will "provide the deepest and most long term impact on all levels of the society of the Ghors." Nevertheless, the type of education itself, not the school buildings, will determine future benefits. Community centers are another needed asset for adult education, cultural functions, and the encouragement of grass-roots participation. A third support has been in agricultural development. One form of assistance is extension workers, whose role is to disseminate information and make facilities available to farmers. Yet these workers lack the training, facilities, transportation, and coordination to do their jobs effectively. The attitudinal problems of both extension workers and farmers towards each other are "very deep and embedded in social, economic and psychological factors." This attitude, characterized by mutual lack of trust, needs to be addressed. Another support is the Jordan Valley Farmers Association, whose objectives are to centralize the marketing system, to set standards in production, and to support the farmers directly in order to eliminate the "commission-jiiyah" (middlemen). However, the benefits have not yet been seen: the large landowners' control of land, income, and decision-making, in the Association still exists; the middlemen still control the markets; and the small farmers' requests are dealt with after the large owners'. The complexity of the socio-psychological problems, and their

intertwining with various political divisions, require an "anthropological/social worker/researcher" in the Jordan Valley Farmers Association to establish trust and mutual understanding. The person would act as a liaison between the people and the Association, analyze and project farmers' needs and complaints, and monitor the political competition with the institution.

The paper concludes with a review of the physical, agricultural, social, and economic changes that have taken place in the Valley. Recommendations based on this review indicate how a more equitable social situation might be linked to the completion of the Maqarin Dam. These recommendations include: the improvement of agricultural education, a readaptation of the role of extension worker; initiation of agricultural research in drip versus sprinkler irrigation and in other areas; a reappraisal of the size, distribution, and type of housing construction; encouragement of small industries and grass-roots organizations; and more research to define better the expected impact of development programs.

The study is valuable in offering a review of the effects of the East Ghor Canal project, and in highlighting the potential social contradictions which threaten the future of the Valley and the benefits from the Maqarin Dam. The proposal for a researcher position is an innovation beyond the typical recommendations to ameliorate class contradictions in the Jordan Valley.

Gubser, Michael P., Politics and Change in Al-Karak, Jordan, Oxford Press, London, New York (1973). JORDAN BOOK GENERAL DEVELOPMENT INTRANATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

ABSTRACT

This is a political study of the town and district of Al-Karak in south Jordan which has the following aims: first, "to describe the structure, function, and dynamics of the political society";

second, "to discuss the persistence of traditional forces,"; and third, "to indicate the change within the political system." The book is based on nine months of field research in 1968, on memoirs, on records of the town's municipal council, and on Foreign and Colonial Office reports.

The town of Al-Karak, numbering 7,422 in 1961, sits in the center of Al-Karak district, which has a population of 44,901. The town and the district have an integral relationship; the people share the same history, political traditions, economy, and come from the same tribes. Prior to 1893, Al-Karak was an independent unit with local power and authority; since then, it has become part of a larger political system--first, the Ottoman Empire and then the Kingdom of Jordan. While Al-Karak remained on the periphery of Transjordan during the Amirate period, by 1950 a new political balance had emerged with the Kingdom. With the development of Nasserism, Arab Nationalism, and local political parties, the politics of big towns and cities became a constant challenge to King Hussein. During this period, the Karakis, headed by the Majaly tribe, were among the King's staunchest supporters. Since 1948 the central government has penetrated many aspects of local life: schools were opened, communication became available, and some local political functions were taken over. These elements have helped to change Al-Karak's political system.

To indicate this continuity and change in political life, Gubser first describes the fabric and dynamics of the traditional society, then those of the contemporary one. Many elements that have persisted into the contemporary system have evolved slightly from their traditional forms. The tribe (a corporate territorial group) remains the most important social and political unit in Al-Karak, commanding an individual's primary loyalty, but "other political groups, the village, the educated middle stratum, and the Kingdom of Jordan compete for his loyalty and are partially successful." Changes in tribal residential patterns have also taken place; state security has replaced the tribes' traditional functions in important disputes; and in employment, credit, welfare, and services, the tribe has lost its primacy. Major tribal alliances (long-standing political agreements between equals) or even minor alliances (between unequal tribes) have retained their significance. This is reflected in representative bodies like municipal councils.

Moreover, while the traditional system of self help and balanced opposition continued to be upheld by much of the population, new concepts of legitimacy, authority, and power have become partially acceptable. New forms of leadership based on a more flexible meaning of status (stressing achievement) and "a new differentiation between traditional and modern outlooks" were added to the traditional patterns.

Villages in the traditional period were non-corporate territorial groups, but with sedentarization, government economic development programs, and the formation of village councils, a sense of corporateness has been created. These changes, however, have also created opposing groups; for example, the new agricultural cooperatives have challenged the financial and political positions of the more traditional tribal leaders who are also usurers.

Although Christians formed a more cohesive political group than Muslims did (because of their minority status and their church organization), the pattern of mutual respect and tolerance between the two groups continued in political relations.

With regard to other minority groups, several changes have taken place. First, most of the Armenians left the district for better economic opportunities elsewhere. Second, a number of people originally from Damascus and Hebron emigrated after 1948 due to the influx of merchants and artisans from Gaza who took over the sug (marketplace) from them. Third, Palestinian peasants and Bedouins settled in rural areas. Conversely, minorities like the Ghawarna (dark-complexioned people of the Jordan Valley), former slaves, blacksmiths, and Gypsies remained in the district. All of these minority groups have been largely unintegrated into the pyramidal segmentary political structure.

While in the traditional political system, socio-economic strata were of minor importance, they have taken on a greater significance in the contemporary period. There are four distinct strata: the lower stratum (peasants and labourers), the traditional middle stratum (middle-sized landowners, and traditional leaders). The educated middle stratum (teachers, civil servants, and professionals), and the upper stratum (major landowners and traditional leaders). The educated

middle stratum is the only one to have formed a "definite mutual identity and a measure of corporateness through a few formal and informal sub-groups." This stratum, which differs from the rest by its education, occupations, and new views of political and social relationships, has contributed the most to creating a new division in Karaki society. Moreover, this group is especially important with respect to change and social communication because its members staff the expanded bureaucracy and translate the government's work and development programs into reality for the people.

The expansion of formal government brought new institutions, aims, and arenas for political competition. It balanced tradition and change, allowing some disputes to be settled through Shari'a (Islamic law) and 'urf (customary law), while other disputes were reserved to government courts using contemporary codes.

Political parties were a new addition to Al-Karak. During their active period in the 1950's they influenced the society by offering new socio-political views which challenged the power of the traditional local leadership and helped to bring Al-Karak into the mainstream of Arab events.

All these changes, Gubser concludes, have caused cleavages in the socio-political system of Al-Karak: "the increasing distance between the educated and uneducated, the more rapid development of the town in contrast to the rural area, the distinction between modern and traditional outlooks or approaches to life, and the growing division between ruler and ruled." Although the government is using various mechanisms to close these gaps and to integrate citizens into a new political structure, much of the population continues to use traditional methods in their daily living.

The value of Gubser's book is its ability to relate the traditional patterns of political action to the present. Particularly, it explains the persistent importance of the Majaly family in Al-Karak and in Jordanian political history, and it stresses the role of the educated middle stratum in the emerging political system.

Halcrow Fox and Associates and Jouzy and Partners, Jordan Urban Project, Interim Reports, Amman, Jordan (May and July 1979). JORDAN PROJECTS URBANISM URB-OTHER

ABSTRACT

This is the first interim report submitted by the World Bank to assist the Jordanian government's Urban Project: "Each section of the report seeks to express the nature and importance of the various issues involved, the options available for their resolution, an analysis of the options, and the consultants' outline of recommendations." The study summarizes several sector reports which were based on social surveys, field studies, financial analyses, technical designs, and institutional frameworks involved in implementation. There are four parts (supported by illustrations, tables, and graphs) in the report.

Part I reviews the current situation of housing at the national, urban and low-income levels. A discussion of population, employment, income distribution, and housing needs (due to population growth and deterioration of dwellings) concludes that "a programme of over 8,000 new units per annum for households earning less than JD 200 a month can be justified, together with the need to upgrade the slums in which some 7000 families live." Neither the formal institutions providing housing and services (such as the government-backed Housing Bank, the Housing Corporation, and the Amman Water and Sewage Authority) nor the private sector are directing their efforts to the lowest income groups. Accordingly, there is an oversupply of housing in the market for the highest income levels, but an undersupply for the lower ones. Moreover, the high prices for urban land are beyond the means of the poor, given the nonexistence of land assistance programs. Following a review of the situation, services available, and direction of development in low income areas of Amman and Zerqa (including UNRWA camps, squatter areas, low-income suburbs, and peripheral villages), it is clear that "highly crowded conditions prevail throughout the wide variety of housing forms occupied by some 4-500,000 people in lower income families." Rents range between JD 40-50 per month, in most areas. Although wide variations in conditions both within and between

areas existed, surveys of squatter and non-squatter areas show high occupancy rates (4-5 persons per room), lack of legal land tenure and social services, low family incomes (between JD 40-90 per month), and preference of most dwellers to remain and improve conditions in situ.

Part II is concerned with selecting seven to nine thousand new plots in and around Amman and Zerqa and with choosing slum areas for upgrading in the cities. Sixteen possible sites for new schemes, each with distinct characteristics, were listed in three groups: urban and infill areas, peripheral expansion zones, and free-standing developments close to new employment centers. Several criteria were used for selection; proximity to employment; possible beneficiaries; access to social, commercial, and transportation services; physical characteristics; infrastructure; other possible uses; and ease of acquisition. Alternative sites were compared according to land values, size, and location; then five major sites were recommended for land acquisition. In addition, nine areas which contained most squatter and slum housing were defined. Using household incomes, service availability, dwelling conditions, overcrowding, and community interests as the major criteria, these were considered to need either a "policy" response (in essence legalizing land tenure) or a "project" response (execution of basic work essential to upgrading the area). The report advocates that the government acquire land in advance for the new schemes, legalize tenure and make loans available to the designated slums, freeze land prices, and carry on other projects in selected areas.

Part III discusses design standards and affordability of the project. It aims to determine the most cost-effective mixture of critical elements--land, structures, and services--and to set standards for providing social facilities. Given that the target population can pay up to 25 percent of its income on housing, loans at 8.5 percent annual interest over a 20 year period seem justified. For new housing, evaluation of alternatives and their costs showed that "for most families, a median to low level of land prices, a 54 square meter plot, water and electricity connection, an aqua-privy system for sanitation, a sanitary core and one room were all that could be afforded initially." Even considering the minimum acceptable level of shelter and services, the land was unaffordable by most people. Similar results

were found for upgrading schemes. The danger of market reactions to government housing policies prompted recommendations to allow cross subsidies and the sharing of land price burdens between sites.

Part IV considers major issues in the successful realization of the project's proposals. These include the need for establishing clear institutional responsibilities, a housing policy unit at the level of a ministry, a project agency for the program, and project units for on-site implementation. The project responsibilities are considered in relation to the power, resources, and policies of various existing ministries and agencies (such as Amman Municipality, the Housing Corporation, and utility agencies). A series of measures for cost recovery and funding (which will also depend on the institutional proposals ultimately adopted) were outlined. Urban land cost, legislation, acquisition, expropriation, codes, and related government policy issues also were discussed in relation to cost recovery. Moreover, the authors reviewed proposals to include social services (such as education, religious facilities, and recreation) and components for economic, community, and social development in the project. Finally, possible approaches to implementation and scheduling examined potentially delaying factors, such as obtaining necessary information, forms of contracting, and technical assistance.

The ambitious scale of this project is captured by the report. Its major importance is in bringing together data resulting from extensive studies on the housing situation in low-income areas. However, the tentative nature of the project's interpretations of these data, and the future plans it has based on them, limit the project's overall value.

Jordan Development Council, Amman Region and its Weight in Jordan's Economy, Amman, Jordan (1976). JORDAN GOV. DOCUMENTS URBANISM URB-OTHER

ABSTRACT

This paper was presented at a Jordan Development Conference in 1976; it focuses on the primacy of Amman in shaping the country's economy, the problems this has created, and ways to alleviate them. The discussion is supported by maps, tables, and appendices.

Like many developing countries, Jordan has urbanized rapidly in the past few decades. This pattern was dominated by the growth of the Amman Region (including the capital, thirteen municipalities, and surrounding unincorporated areas). Such growth resulted from a reciprocal interaction between, on the one hand, a concentration of activities (economic and governmental) and of services (educational, social and cultural), and on the other, the availability of labor and communications facilities. Accordingly, the natural rate of increase per year in the Region was 3.5 percent from 1961 to 1975. When this natural rate of increase was combined with rural-urban migration and the influx of displaced persons after 1967, however, an overall growth rate of 11 percent per year has resulted over the past decade.

The paper states that "Jordan's economy is shaped by the activities in the Region;" the tables in the paper show that 93 percent of economic establishments and 95 percent of the labor force (outside of agricultural or governmental employment) are located in this Region. Given that 88 percent of Gross Domestic Product in 1975 came from here as well, the study concludes that "Jordan's economy is the economy of the Amman Region." Furthermore, social indicators reflect a higher standard of living there than in the rest of the country. In 1973, for every 1000 people in the Region there were 30.6 cars and 15 telephones; outside it the figures were 9.8 and 4, respectively. In 1975, 71 percent of all hospitals, 73 percent of pharmacies, and 70 percent of doctors were in the Amman Region. Although this distribution of goods and services reflects the population concentration, it has created many problems: crowding, traffic congestion, housing, power, water, sanitation, conflicting land use, slums, insufficient social services, escalating land prices, and inadequate revenues. Lack of planning and coordination is recognized, and plans have been made to address all these problems.

Four alternatives are presented and discussed. First, the uncertainty of the Middle East political climate might "justify" leaving this

situation unabated. A risk would be the possible collapse of the whole system of services under increased population pressures. Second, encouraging further concentration in the Region, while advantageous for better distribution of services and training of labor, would overstrain resources and underutilize rural lands. Third, promoting limited diversification would concentrate services and employment in five regional development centers and thereby encourage the rural population to move to them. Fourth, a more radical alternative would involve decentralization of governmental activities and services to cover all of Jordan. This would foster the development of the countryside and maintain its food production capacities. The Conference preferred the fourth proposal. The success of this alternative, however, depends on "a coherent and comprehensive legal framework outlining the objectives and policies that ought to be followed."

Appendix 1 lists the Amman Region's population by municipalities; appendix 2 reviews government policies and actions to deal with urban problems. For example, the Three Year Plan aimed at decentralizing the country and taking pressure off Amman. Housing projects were constructed in or outside other cities to provide comprehensive social, economic, and community facilities. The Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs integrated policies and projects to decrease rural-urban disparities. And the Jordan Valley Development Plan sought to improve socio-economic standards in the Valley. The following Five Year Plan aimed to balance urban growth by extending public services to all areas, balancing population distribution, promoting regional development, and coordinating projects within cities and other communities. A summary of these projects and others is presented, along with costs and sources of financing.

The value of this paper is that it outlines clearly the immense problems which have resulted from Amman's primacy and the severe implications this city-state has for the future of Jordan.

Madanat, S., The Jordan Housing Corporation, Master's Thesis in Public Administration, American University of Beirut (1977).
JORDAN DISSERTATION-THESIS URBANISM HOUSING AND CONSTRUCTION

ABSTRACT

"The aim of this thesis is to examine the structural-functional characteristics of the Jordan Housing Corporation in the light of the prevailing social and economic conditions. Then evaluate its performance and the extent to which it has been able to meet its goals." This is a comprehensive work by a Jordanian social planner who, at the time, was among the J.H.C.'s staff.

The main causes of the housing problem in Jordan are rapid population growth, rural-urban migration, and the influx of Palestinian refugees. Jordan has limited resources and a chronic trade deficit; it relies on rainfall for its agriculture; and requires extensive foreign aid. While housing was a major domestic expenditure, it remained exclusively in private hands until 1966. The high costs of building, rising rents, and lack of lending facilities were causing housing shortages even for middle-income civil servants. The poverty, unemployment, and land and rent speculation compelled most people to live in undesirable, unhygienic, and congested conditions.

In response to these considerations, the government established the Jordan Housing Corporation in 1966. Its functions were to acquire and develop land for housing; design, and rent or sell houses for limited-income people; grant loans; and prepare urban housing policies. Its financial support reached JD 1,513,000 in 1968 derived from loans and grants (by local, other Arab, or foreign organizations, or by the Government), from the sale of bonds, and from private lending funds. Its organizational structure included a Board of Directors with governmental and nongovernmental members headed by the Director General, and lower managerial divisions for policy, technical affairs, construction, administration, and legal affairs. The Corporation has been run de facto by the Director General, who makes all important decisions with no delegation of authority. The U.N.D.P. (Special Fund) assisted the Corporation

in 1968-73 to develop policies, new building materials, and construction industries, to train personnel, and to build pilot housing projects.

By 1972, the J.H.C. had invested JD 2,604,000 for the construction of 1284 units in the form of individual loans to civil servants (509 units, JD 1,116,000), low income housing projects (660 units, JD 1,207,000), and loans for cooperative societies (115 units, JD 281,000). Another achievement was acquiring land for housing projects. The Three Year Plan (1973-1975) was to build a further 6,000 units. However, Madanat warned that unless housing were integrated into long range socio-economic developments, these short-range measures would remain inadequate.

The author then reviewed several limitations that reduced the Corporation to the role of a designer-contractor. For instance, long-term financing programs and reliable sources of funding were unavailable but could be established by developing a private savings and loan industry. Administrative problems required trained personnel, technical experts, efficient clerks, and clear job responsibilities. Excessive centralization, lack of internal communications, and line-and-staff disorganization have also been big obstacles. Policy limitations could be overcome by establishing a 20-25 year national housing policy as a "continuous chain of interrelated actions." This would require collecting census data on basic housing, migration, and building costs. It would also require prioritizing among rural versus urban housing and rehabilitation versus new construction, as well as establishing a system of coordination and communication among agencies involved with housing. Reduction of construction costs, an easier credit system, and carefully planned subsidies could offset the economic problems of high cost of housing. New housing should be constructed to balance the urban primacy of the capital. The land problems included lack of information on prices and ownership, and low taxes on land. The author, while acknowledging the political forces against land price regulations, suggested raising property taxes on vacant lots, price regulations, and bulk buying by central or local governments to help address the situation.

In conclusion, Madanat argues that the Corporation cannot be blamed for its limitations because of its lack of funds and trained personnel. These limitations have caused it to adopt,

not a coherent policy, but an ad-hoc one which has limited its projects to middle and moderate income groups; accordingly most, if not all, of the low-income groups and all the squatters and slum dwellers cannot qualify for Jordan Housing Corporation Housing.

Mazur, Michael P., Economic Growth and Development in Jordan, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado (1979). JORDAN BOOK GENERAL DEVELOPMENT INTRANATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

ABSTRACT

The goal of this book is to present a comprehensive description and analysis of the economic development of Jordan in three historical phases: 1954-1959, 1959-1967, and 1967-1975. Mazur, who teaches economics at Dartmouth College, collected his data in the Middle East in 1969 and 1976. Using available statistics, he developed time series for measuring the growth and sectoral composition of the economy, as well as for sources of financing it. Beginning with a historical outline of the area prior to the creation of Jordan, the analysis then proceeds in three parts.

Part One of the book is a quantitative assessment of the pre-1967 economic structure and performance: "for Jordan, the 1950's were years of adjustment to the establishment of Israel, the annexation of the West Bank, and the influx of refugees." The construction sector grew rapidly due to additions in infrastructure, such as housing for refugees and a transport network adjusted to the new political boundaries. From 1959 to 1966, a period of relative political stability for which reliable data exist, Mazur gives statistical evidence to explain the "success story" of Jordan's prewar growth. The country's rapid growth in output, as compared to other "Less Developed Countries," was due to an effective use of investment and increases in capital and labor combined. The concentration of activity in the services sector is explained quantitatively by a

relatively large import surplus, a heavy defense budget, comparative advantages in tourism, and a "structural disequilibrium in manufacturing."

Part Two surveys the pattern of the post-1967 economy. Due to the lack of statistical information (on population, labor, and employment) and shocks to the economy (Israeli occupation of the West Bank, closure of the Suez Canal and borders with neighboring states, Israeli shelling of the East Ghor Canal, and the 1970-71 civil conflict) the analysis is limited. However, in the mid-1970's the pattern of industrial production and exports, plus the overall dominance of services, were broadly similar to the situation in the 1960's. The differences were a "higher aid level in the later years and, partly as a consequence, the greater relative size of total domestic investment, government spending, and military employment." In contrast, employment in agriculture decreased.

Part Three is a general survey of development policies and experiences in agriculture, industry, and planning. While Jordan's pre-1967 agricultural production increased greatly due to irrigation and livestock production, it remained stagnant between 1967-1975 due to military and civil conflicts. Dry land crop production remained stable despite government efforts to promote new technologies in the mid-1970's. Irrigated agriculture increased in the Jordan Valley. The industrial sector (which increased significantly between 1959 and 1966 from phosphate exports, domestic demands, and import substitution) grew little after the war. The government promoted industry through protection, regulation, and incentive measures. Despite controls on investments, imports, exports, foreign exchange, commodity prices, the government believes in "free enterprise," as is shown by the large aid receipts it has funneled to support it. Development planning in Jordan began with the Seven Year Plan of 1964-1970 which was "fundamentally a long-term government investment budget." After a postwar hiatus, the Three Year Plan for 1973-1975 did not achieve many of its objectives but helped in "restoring a systematic approach to development policy." The succeeding Five Year Plan for 1976-1980 adopted a high-investment, big-project strategy predicated on large foreign aid receipts. The expected growth rates, Mazur indicates, were overoptimistic. Problems in plan execution included an overly centralized management, a lack

of connection between development plans and government budgets, and weak budget analysis and controls.

The study concludes with a review of Jordan's development experience and speculations on its economic future with or without a Middle East peace settlement.

The main strength of the book is the author's effort to include a wide range of published and unpublished statistics and to present them systematically in various tables. However, Mazur's conclusions remain conjectural. A main weakness of the book is its omission of definitions for terms like development, "Less Developed Countries," growth, efficiency, etc. Such terms can no longer be taken for granted after two decades of failure in alleviating poverty in the Third World. A critical discussion of income distribution is also lacking in Mazur's book.

Mitchell, R., Equitable Access to Basic Necessities in the Balqa-Amman Region: Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, United States Agency for International Development, Washington (1979). JORDAN PROJECTS BASIC HUMAN NEEDS BASIC-OTHER

ABSTRACT

This paper was submitted to the Amman Urban Region Planning Group as a draft chapter in the comprehensive plan for the Balqa-Amman Region. The chapter, one of fourteen, addressed the problems of providing "social justice for the regional poor" by insuring "an adequate and decent state of health and well-being for every Jordanian citizen, family and neighborhood." The analysis uses existing data and surveys to approximate people's health and well-being in Jordan and to indicate the existence and magnitude of problems or opportunities within these two major areas.

For example, although the health status of Jordan has improved remarkably over the years,

there are clear disparities between the poor and non-poor, educated and non-educated, and rural and urban populations with the Region. Jordan's crude death rate has declined from 21.1 per 1000 in 1955-59 to 14.5 per 1000 in 1970-74; however, infant mortality rates are 80 percent higher for illiterate mothers than for literate ones, 70 percent higher for the lowest income categories than for the highest ones, and 23 percent higher for non-urban residents than for urban ones. Morbidities are also class-patterned: there are higher rates of disorders for the urban poor than for the non-poor, and these morbidities have adversely affected poor students' academic work. Furthermore, malnutrition is especially evident among poor infants and mothers, and has the same spatial and class patterning as infant mortality.

For another example, education and literacy are also increasing in the Kingdom, and the elementary and preparatory schools are qualitatively well-developed in the Region. The benefits, however, are unequally shared: "the urban poor, rural residents, and females benefited least."

A third example is employment. "Jordan's unemployment rates dropped from 8 percent in 1971 to 2 percent in 1975," but serious problems remain. Women's participation in the paid labor force is low (3.9 percent compared to 34 percent for men); bad economic conditions have forced villagers to emigrate and leave farming to their wives; a dearth of skills among the urban poor inhibits their social mobility; high rates of unemployment and insecure employment remain in many neighborhoods; and the possible re-migration of workers threatens to exacerbate the conditions of the poor.

A fourth example is given by changes in Jordanian social structure and social relations. First, adolescents have become a sizeable group but they are characterized by "indecision, suffering, indirection, and a lack of enthusiasm for being of service to their country." Second, there is a trend towards greater freedom of choice in marriage and divorce. Finally, there is a lack of civic involvement among people generally, and among low-income persons especially.

The first set of factors influencing these conditions is individual and family resources and family size. The improvements in Jordan's material well-being have been unequally

distributed. Estimates have shown that "the richest 20 percent of households earn 45 percent of the total incomes," and "the average incomes of the richest 10 percent is 13 times that of the poorest 10 percent." In Amman around 30 percent of the population are poor, barely able to meet food, water and shelter costs; when they are forced to save on essentials like health and nutrition, the consequences are serious. Households in Jordan are relatively large; urban families are larger than rural ones; and large families are found most frequently among the urban poor. "In addition to the implication these large families have for the per-capita consumption patterns and well-being of family members, large families and high fertility have seriously adverse effects on mothers and infants." Cumulatively, these are referred to as the "maternal depletion syndrome." A 1972 national fertility study found that the average number of live births per woman was over seven. According to a C.A.R.E. survey, problems related to food and nutrition were found among 85 percent of rural mothers in Jordan. The combined effects of high fertility, large families, and poverty are deleterious on health and well-being.

Environmental stresses and resources are the second set of factors influencing health and well-being. Water is Jordan's scarcest resource. The poor in the Amman Region receive insufficient amounts of low quality, expensive water. However, water systems are more developed than sanitary arrangements: Amman's sewage system serves only 21 percent of the population, while 71 percent receive water. Along with solid waste disposal, human waste is an especially serious health hazard in slum areas. Shelter is another factor that affects health and well-being. The average urban house in the Region has 2.7 rooms, while houses in slums have an average of 1.3 rooms. Housing costs vary according to location, tenure, and age of structure. Even in relatively deprived low-income areas, there is a diversity of occupancy conditions and attitudes of families among neighborhoods which requires a variety of institutional responses. However, the main challenge is to make "definite political and economic commitments" to addressing housing and other problems of the poor.

The study next reviews the delivery systems for the various services, the problems they face, and their impact on the poor. (Tables indicating rural and urban access to particular government facilities and services are appended.) Proposals

for the strategies that will enhance health and well-being among the poor are given.

In health, the author first recommends developing a national and regional health policy that would reallocate existing resources, and develop new ones, for high-risk populations (mothers and children, low-income persons in urban and rural areas). Second, health sector programs should be coordinated with those of other sectors to provide a comprehensive approach, including a preventive health strategy, community clinics, and mass media campaigns to inform people. Third, the use of clinics should be improved through better location, scheduling, and integration of services in community-based health facilities.

In education, the author recommends increasing school enrollment and reducing the drop-out rates among low and moderate income urban and rural children, and increasing the access of young workers and drop-outs to vocational training.

In water and sanitation, credit and other means are recommended so the poor can connect to the water and sewage systems at reasonable costs. Also, a comprehensive environmental health strategy should be developed which will address problems in unserved areas, be linked to community development programs, and will educate people about the use of water and sanitary facilities.

In shelter, a national housing policy (with the organization necessary for implementing it) is needed.

In the sector of income enhancement, a strategy to address the needs of the poor should reform food programs, review government salaries and subsidized food stores, assess "costs and benefits of alternative welfare and subsidy programs," and create a small-enterprise program linked to neighborhood-development strategy.

In citizenship and neighborhood development, resources and encouragement should be provided to neighborhoods (to enhance self-reliance) and to governmental ministries and municipal agencies (to coordinate planning efforts).

The major strength of this study is its well-documented analysis of the social injustice prevailing in the Amman-Balqa Region. The author, by recognizing the adverse implications of social

distinctions, proposes concrete strategies which could avoid class conflicts. The major weakness of the study lies in Mitchell's inability to contextualize these imbalances within Jordan's greater chronic problem--the limited opportunities for citizen initiatives. This could explain such problems as adolescent apathy and lack of self-help programs in the slums.

Othman, I., 'Al-Bina' 'al-'usari 'al-Mutaghayr fi Hadar 'al-'urdun (Changing Family Structure in Urban Jordan), Kuwait University, Kuwait (1976). JORDAN OTHER GENERAL DEVELOPMENT SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE

ABSTRACT

This paper, presented during a U.N.E.S.C.O. conference at Kuwait University in 1976, discusses the effects of social change on urban families in Jordan during the past 25 years. Taking a "traditional" versus "modern" model to explain social developments, Dr. Othman first gives a general quantitative account of developments; then he examines family adaptations to them, using a survey of 200 families in Amman conducted by the Department of Sociology at Jordan University.

Jordan is modernizing rapidly; at the same time, it is seeking a national identity. The two processes are not always compatible. The modern trend is dominant, but traditional values often appear to be in conflict with it. This is reflected in various social groupings and institutions. Another conflict concerns material and nonmaterial values: although a family has all the modern material goods, it may still maintain a traditional outlook. Hence, change is a complex phenomenon hard to gauge.

In Jordan, several changes have taken place since 1948. The first, and most drastic, is the influx of Palestinian refugees due to the wars in 1948 and 1967. This has contributed not only to the rapid increase in the populations; it has also had a socio-cultural impact. Palestinians were

more educated, urbanized, and contributed to the modernization and industrialization of Jordan. Moreover, their pressure helped loosen traditional ties and create new social groupings based on neighborhoods. Urbanization is the second major change that has taken place in Jordan. In addition to the refugee influx, rural-urban migration (due in part to population pressure on the land) caused this rapid urbanization. By 1972, Amman's population was five times that of 1952. However, this urban concentration was not accompanied by a complete change in social relations and values. The cities of Jordan may be viewed as "conglomerations of various social groupings" mostly maintaining traditional outlooks. The refugees, for example, created close-knit groupings with similar traditional patterns, thus creating protective barriers against change.

Among other changes has been an increase in communications. The expanded network of roads has enhanced people's mobility and the government's ability to provide services. Radio and television have played an equally important role in transforming the society. For example, television has replaced traditional visiting and socializing activities.

Changes have also occurred in employment. The rate of participation of workers to total population has decreased from 23 percent in 1961 to around 20 percent in 1971. Conversely, employment of women has increased. This was mainly in agriculture, and was correlated with expanded cultivable lands due to irrigation. However, when agriculture becomes more mechanized, a decline occurs in the employment of women. The main change in the sectoral labor distribution has been from civil servants towards technical jobs and increased respectability for manual and handicraft labor. Although not many opportunities are open to women (except in nursing and teaching), new jobs are appearing in the security and engineering fields. Also, jobs are appearing due to male labor migration. This in turn has affected the family structure, giving the mother increased duties, which she often retains when the father returns.

Education has been a fifth area of change. The illiteracy rate dropped from 67.6 percent in 1961 to 41 percent in 1971. While increased education has lessened rural/urban and male/female gaps, the spatial distribution of the schools

still favors urban areas. (The poorest rates of school attendance were among the nomads.) Nevertheless, education is considered the main cause of social change in Jordan. Secular education, in particular, has helped to replace the traditional sources of power, authority, and ability. Whereas age was the main determinant within a family, youth are today able to challenge this view, with increased opportunities due to education. Moreover, education has opened up new possibilities for women. On the whole education is the main factor influencing social mobility in Jordanian society.

Changes have also occurred in health: expanded preventive and curative services, abolition of some epidemics due to vaccinations, expansion of hospitals and physicians, and more Maternal and Child Care Clinics. The improved health status has decreased mortality rates and, with continued high fertility rates, led to population growth.

While traditionally resistant to change because of the importance religion gave to this institution, the family in Jordan today is experiencing slight changes--in size, in type, in the roles of its members, in the status of women, in age required for marriage, and in other aspects. Despite these changes, however, the family is still an essential unit in traditional kinship patterns. The main cause for these changes in the family have come from education, as opposed to urbanization or industrialization. Education has increased demands for higher standards of living, which has often led individuals to decrease their family commitments because of the lack of jobs in the country. Some have forsaken traditions regarding marriage age, duties towards relatives, and family size to live according to new and more comfortable standards. This is partially seen in the rise of nuclear families, especially among the educated youth, in contrast to the majority of extended families in rural and urban areas.

The results of the family survey were presented for three main areas: marriage, fertility, and women's status. Marriages within the patrilineal family were predominant, although the institution was still considered a union of two families. Pre-marital dating and socializing was acceptable for males only. All respondents agreed that a longer engagement period should be allowed for the better acquaintance of couples, and

marriage at a later age was preferred.

In fertility, while children were still considered important for family well-being, most respondents expressed the need for fewer children. At least one method of birth control (traditional or modern) was known by most women. The traditional preference for male children was evident.

As for the status of women, attitudes allowing women to work and receive an education were helped by economic necessity. Freedom for women was "acceptable" if it was not one's wife or daughter. The central role of women in the family was recognized, especially that of mothers.

The paper is appendixed with a review of recent references on the topics discussed.

Othman's paper is valuable in giving a view of the changes in family structure in Jordan and in providing a sense of the attitudes still prevailing in urban areas. It is, however, limited in scope and its conclusions are tentative.

United Nations, Jordan Report of Mission on Needs Assessment for Population Assistance, United Nations Fund for Population Activities, New York (July 1979). JORDAN PROJECTS POPULATION POP-OTHER

ABSTRACT

This report provides an overview of the shifting demographic characteristics of Jordan and a good sketch of the country's overall development. It is part of the U.N.F.P.A./Jordan bilateral agreement (which expired in December 1979) to outline the government's needs for aid in developing self-reliant population policies and programs. Given the country's insufficient natural resources, the political and economic impacts of the Palestinian problem, and present manpower fluxes, the need to stabilize Jordan's "greatest resource"--its population--is crucial for maintaining a "dynamic balance between

development opportunities and manpower utilization."

The present high rate of 3.5 percent population growth is due to two factors: first, the repeated influx of Palestinian refugees (over 350,000 in 1948, and a further 40,000 in 1967), and second, improved health conditions which produced lower death rates (from 21/1000 in 1952 to 12/1000 in 1976) and high fertility rates (48/1000 in 1979). This growth and continuing rural exodus have caused rapid urbanization, intensified urban density, concentrated 87 percent of the 2.78 million people (1977 U.N. estimate) in less than one-eighth of the area, and accentuated pressures on the land. Another consequence of high population growth is that over half of the population is under 15 years of age. This age distribution, the outmigration of skilled labor, and low participation of women in the paid labor force, have resulted in a participation rate of only 19.6 percent of the population. Full employment, shortages in some sectors, and inflated wage rates have also attracted foreign labor (60,000 in 1977). Although Jordan has no population control policy, its economy has evolved, in part, in response to the population and manpower supply. The Five Year Development Plan of 1976-80 emphasized education, established a Family Planning and Protection Association, and encouraged employment of women; it also provided social security, unemployment and old age benefits as incentives for Jordanian labor to remain in the country. The next plan (1981-85) is expected to shift from a project-oriented approach to one which emphasizes integrated regional development. In order to formulate and implement population policies and programs, Jordan needs international assistance of the following types: first, establishment of an administrative framework for collecting and encouraging the free flow of basic population data; second, evaluation of the current situation and recommendations for the National Planning Council on the population aspects of the 1981-85 Plan; third, strengthening of existing institutions and organizations involved in population programming (the National Planning Council, the University of Jordan, and others); fourth, assistance in curricula planning and training in the field of social statistics, maternal and child health, family planning, health education, and population education (in schools, outside them, and especially at the Jordan University); and fifth, assistance in planning for multisectoral

projects and field programs involving women, which the 1981-85 plan gives high priorities.

Ware, John Alex, Housing for Low Income Rural Families in Less Developed Countries: A Case Study, Jordan, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Syracuse University (1978). JORDAN DISSERTATION URBANISM HOUSING AND CONSTRUCTION

ABSTRACT

This study of the East Jordan Valley housing problem has two objectives: first "to formulate housing policies to assist low income rural families obtain satisfactory housing, with minimum direct government participation and financial subsidies"; and second, "to determine a suitable house construction system which could enable low income rural families to provide themselves with adequate shelter to satisfy their minimal aspirations within their economic means."

The overriding problems in valley housing have been, first, generally small household incomes, and second, the lack of alternative means of financing a plot of land and/or construction of a permanent house. Valley population increases, due to high birth rates and immigration, have outstripped the financial, technical, and administrative resources of the nation. Neither government agencies nor the private housing industry were able to provide well constructed, permanent, affordable housing for people living at a subsistence level. In 1977, the majority of the 75,000 people living in the valley were landless sharecroppers squatting in overcrowded, insanitary, temporary mud huts. Compounding the problems of rural poverty--seasonal unemployment, low productivity, and low wages--were the lack of a national housing policy to assist low income groups, the shortage of financing for rural housing, an ineffective housing delivery system, and unrealistically high planning and housing standards. The self-built squatter settlements (representing considerable investments in time, money, materials, and labor) were the poor

farmers' only housing choice.

To address these problems, Ware examined the physical, historical, political, social, and economic aspects of the valley environment. Development and housing policies were reviewed and prior government and private agency programs were evaluated. Valley housing construction systems, along with similar systems used in arid regions, were analyzed to determine the most suitable and economical among them. Although the valley is the most important agricultural region in Jordan, the government authority responsible for its overall development has given low priority to housing. The shortage of trained technical and administrative personnel, and the inability to organize viable assistance programs using low interest international loans, have contributed to the agency's ineffectiveness in housing. The agency also obstructed the one successful "aided self-help" project in housing.

The author, who worked as a consultant for the Jordanian government during his research, used a field survey to determine community development priorities, housing needs and aspirations, and major socio-economic problems of valley living. The results and analysis of the survey are presented in tables, and gross housing needs and the effective demand (based on ability to pay) of various socio-economic groups are presented graphically.

Based on this study, the author proposes six recommendations. First, housing requires a comprehensive national policy which outlines objectives and priorities, resource allocations, responsibilities and contributions of all related institutions, and clarifies the role of housing in socio-economic development. Popular self-help methods are probably the most feasible way to construct affordable housing, but an advisory service providing free advice and assistance could facilitate the process. Second, land policies should include tenancy agreements to protect sharecroppers' rights, provisions to control speculation and secure essential utilities, and regulations to prevent building on prime agricultural land and to establish safe and hygienic standards. Third, construction policies should reduce costs of government-built housing, promote sites and services and "squatter-upgrading" schemes, and provide material and technical assistance to self-builders. Fourth, construction policies

should train local craftsmen to counter the shortage of skilled construction workers and foster a technology using valley building materials to reduce transport costs. Fifth, financing policies for low income rural groups should be amended with respect to eligibility criteria, security requirements, and mortgage loan terms. The Jordan Housing Bank should provide minimum quotas of funding for the rural poor. And sixth, the appropriateness of stated housing policy objectives, and the methods used to implement them, should be re-evaluated.

As a step toward partial fulfillment of these recommendations, Ware proposes a simple system for constructing permanent housing, using materials readily available in the valley, to enable low income people to build their own homes.

This ambitious work is valuable for covering most aspects of the Jordan Valley housing problem, filling a gap in writings on landless Arab sharecroppers, and having some general applicability to housing rural families in less developed countries. Its major theoretical weakness, typical of many housing studies, is the view that the question is completely solvable within the structural limitations of the free market and consequent class stratification. As such, the socio-economic and political aspects are dealt with as "givens" on which the policies and house recommendations are based.

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