December 9, 1949

To the Committee on Graduate Study:

I am submitting to you a thesis written by Nassir Abed Lateef entitled "Analysis of Institutions in Ein Yabroud Village, Palestine." I recommend that it be accepted for nine quarter hours credit in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Agricultural Economics.

E E Allred

Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:

M A Sharp

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Accepted for the Committee

E. G. Watts

Dean of the Graduate School

# ANALYSIS OF INSTITUTIONS IN EIN YABROUD VILLAGE, PALESTINE

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A THESIS

Submitted to
The Committee on Graduate Study
of
The University of Tennessee
in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of
Master of Science

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by

Nassir Abed Lateef

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Survey of Palestine. Jaffa 1937.

FIGURE 1 – MAP OF PALESTINE (CULTIVATED AREA)

# CHAPTER I

## THE PROBLEM

Professor H. A. Gibbs of Oxford University said before the Harris Institute meeting at the University of Chicago in 1942:[1]

> I have not yet seen a single book written by an Arab of any branch in any Western language that has made it possible for the Western student to understand the roots of Arab culture. More than that, I have not seen any book written in Arabic for Arabs themselves which has clearly analyzed what Arabic culture means for Arabs.

This investigation is by no means a challenge to the statement of Professor Gibbs, although it is intended to familiarize the Western student with some aspects of rural Arab culture in a small community in the Arab world.

Some general publications have been published since the above mentioned statement, principally during World War II and in the post-war period, mostly by Arab personnel employed by the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, the United States Department of Agriculture, or the Middle East Supply Centre established in 1941 by the British Government and made later into a joint Anglo-American agency in 1942. These publications concerned themselves mainly with the problems facing the Arab farmer in the Middle East, enumerating his lack of

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[1]Philip W. Ireland, The Near East Problems and Prospects (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), p. 60.

scientific knowledge in modern agricultural technology, his need for things which may contribute to a higher productivity and better marketing.

An attempt is made in this thesis to restrict the study to the social institutions in this particular community, although such institutions are inseparable from the political influences in a turbulent land such as Palestine.

No social analysis of rural society can be complete without a brief comparison with the urban segment of the population. Some differences are found to be slight and steadily lessening, while others are deep and abiding.[2] However, an analysis of this community reveals that it has the same national origin, language, customs, social interrelations, and moral standards as that of the Arab urban community in the country. It is not easy to separate the finer differences between them; yet, the cleavage is wide in certain things such as the levels and standards of living, schools, educational advantages, health services, and recreation, that little effort is required to observe the wide extremes. Even the differences in their brogue and in pronunciations differ widely as the rural people pronounce the "k" letter in their speech as "ch", the letter "d" as "th" along with many words which may have two entirely different concepts when used either by an urban or rural speaker.

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[2] C. C. Taylor, Rural Life in the United States (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), p. 8.

Some of these words and expressions may serve as a giveaway in identifying one Arab to another, as a trained Arab ear can often identify the place of residence of the speaker according to his speech.

The holy Koran which is rich and effulgent in its Arabic prose serves as a binding force in unifying the pronunciation of both the urban and rural Moslem societies as far as classical Arabic is concerned. Many Moslems memorise the Koran in its entirety guarding against the slightest mispronunciation, hence should the Imman (minister in Arabic) make the slightest mistake in reciting parts of the Koran during the prayers he is corrected by a multitude of voices in the assembly. The holy bible in classical Arabic serves the same purpose in unifying the pronunciation of both urban and rural Christian Arabs. Few of the Christians, particularly in Ramallah County, fail to quote some psalms and passages from the Bible in their daily lives.

The selection of Ein Yabroud village, Ramallah County, Palestine, for this study is due in no small measure to the intimate familiarity of the writer with its inhabitants, culminating from long years of residence in the area. It may be justifiably considered as a representative sample of rural life in most of the Arab countries lying within the fertile crescent of local and regional variations in such

things as the form of the national government, rural schools and land tenure. Some of these differences are found to exist within the continental limits of the United States according to the various farm-type regions in the country, although there is a far less cleavage between such regions in the United States than those existing in the Arab world.

Regarding the stability of this society, Professor Gibbs says:[3]

> The Islamic society was the heir of the oldest and most stable societies in the world. Its peoples, including the Arabs, have inherited what we may call a social sense--a capacity for preserving the social balance under even the worst calamities. Wars and revolutions might disturb the outer surface of its life and bring severe economic crises; but its moral stability was unimpaired.
>
> In times of economic decline or even of stationary outward conditions, such a society tends to fall into a rut and force the lives of its people into stereotyped patterns; but in times of rapid external change, it is able to adapt itself to new conditions, more slowly--certainly, than younger societies--but without suffering the tempests and the violent fluctuations to which our Western Societies are distressingly subject.

The elements which caused the progressive propagation of this society in this village will be weighed and analyzed and those

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[3] Ireland, op. cit., p. 61.

factors which hindered its progress will be studied and scrutinized in this thesis.

## Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to determine the achievements, difficulties and problems of the Arab farmer in Ein Yabroud village and formulate the findings so as to arrive at definite conclusions regarding his social, moral and economical status upon which appropriate recommendations and constructive suggestions based on these findings can be made.

## Timeliness of the Study

This study is warranted at this time due to the following factors:

1. Since the United States has become a leader of the democratic block of nations throughout the world, henceforth, increasing its responsibilities in helping the weaker nations outside the Russian iron curtain, it becomes apparent that the strategically located Arab Middle-East of which this little community is an integral part will assume greater importance as Russia is proceeding at the present time to do the following:
    1) Press for a complete communization of the Far-East and follow it up to the Middle-East through its agents and local subversives.

2) Knock at the door of Iran--gateway to Arabian oil and the wealth of the Middle-East.

3) Inject communism in the suffering human masses displaced as a result of the recent disturbances in Palestine.

President Truman has adequately declared the good intentions of the United States to aid such undeveloped countries in his famed Inaugural Address of 1948 in which he said:[4]

> We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas.

Hardly anywhere else in the old world could people benefit so greatly from such American scientific advances made in agriculture, as would the people of the Arab countries. The Arab farmer's continuous practices of antiquated agricultural methods, the absence of machinery, the lack of scientific knowledge concerning soil conservation, the use of fertilizer, has given him low yields, placing his very subsistence in a precarious condition. Thus, American scientific aid can be of great value.

The awakening of the farmer in this community to his needs and

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[4]Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations of the United States Department of Agriculture, Foreign Agriculture (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office), April, 1949, p. 75.

the development of a consciousness of his backwardness in scientific agricultural technology would make him worthy of external aid extended to him with a view towards increasing his production in face of a rapidly increasing population.

2. Much has been written about the Arab Palestinian farmer (fellah in Arabic) by travel writers and other interested parties in the United States during the last decade or two. Such writers have always been motivated by political prejudices whether for the farmer or against him, notwithstanding the truth about him and without taking any scientific analysis into consideration. Spahr and Swenson have adequately described such writers in their following comments:[5]

> One cannot but observe with amusement the discourses of the modern popular writers who visit this or that country for a month or so and then proceed to write "authoritative" articles on the political, economic, and social conditions which they insist are found there.
>
> Such writers frequently are neither scholarly nor scientific in their method, often they are blinded by an inordinate egotism fanned by an insatiable desire for popular recognition.

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[5] Spahr and Swenson, Methods and Status of Scientific Research (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1930), p. 41.

## Analysis of the Problem

This study is made for the purpose of surveying existing social conditions in Ein Yabroud village in order to determine their virtures and shortcomings, analyze their problems, summarize conclusions and formulate suggestions and recommendations based on the findings with an end view towards improving the farmer's lot socially and economically in order that he may take his rightful place in society.

In order to present the analysis in a logical manner, it will be necessary to break the subject matter into its minutest elements, and answer certain questions throughout this analysis as they occur in their logical sequence. The questions are the following:

1. What was the evolution of Arab rural society formed in Ein Yabroud and what influence did tradition and early experience exert in shaping it?
2. Divide the history of this village into distinct periods giving their economical and social progress or retrogression.
3. What influence did foreign domination leave in this community and what prospective future does this village expect?
4. What type of family prevails on Arab farms? Is it patriarchal or democratic and what relationship does it have with the clan?
5. What are the duties and role of the farm wife and mother, and what is the extent of her participation in community activities?

6. How is a marriage consummated in Islam and what expenses are incurred?
7. What is the education situation in Palestine, and what are some of the problems facing the rural school in Ein Yabroud?
8. What is the influence of Islam in this community and what is Islam's cardinal principles?
9. List the problems and difficulties facing the rural church in this village.
10. What are the health services received by this community from the government and what is the pattern of their health care?
11. How does their diet fare in nutrients, and what is the extent of their nutrition?
12. How does the levels and standards of living fare in rural Palestine and what are the future trends of the levels and standards of living for both Arab and Jew?
12. How does the levels of living in Ein Yabroud fare?
13. What are the wasteful social practices exercised in this village?
14. What is this community's recreational level and what do the people do for entertainment?

## Procedure and Source of Data

Data for this study were secured from research at the library of the University of Tennessee and inter-library loans on behalf of the writer by the University of Tennessee from the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., and Columbia University, New York, New York.

Some information on the subject matter was secured from publications made available by the British Information Services in New York since the British Government has been the mandate power over Palestine from the first world war until 1948.

Other information was secured from the archives of Ein Yabroud, and by having the community answer a certain questionnaire prepared by the author in 1945, while on military leave, touching on matters of interest pertaining to this investigation.

## Organization Study of the Chapters

This study is divided into ten chapters including the last chapter of the findings, conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter I presents a statement of the problem, gives its purpose, timeliness, justification, procedure and the source of the data.

Chapter II discusses the general background of the study giving the settlers' early experience, effect of machinery on the welfare of this community, its geographic location, topography, rainfall, climate

change, and types of agriculture followed.

Chapter III discusses the complete evolution of rural society in this village dividing this period into four distinct intervals dating from 675 until 1948 A. D.

Chapter IV deals with the social structure of Ein Yabroud, contrasting it with the American town, presenting the functions of the clan, type of family prevalent, role of farm wife and mother, and a thorough analysis of marriage and divorce institutions.

Chapter V presents an analysis of the rural school and education system in Palestine and in Ein Yabroud with a discussion of its evolution, problems and difficulties.

Chapter VI discusses religion and its influence in the community and analyzes the various problems and functions of the church.

Chapter VII deals with the rural health situation enumerating health services received, the pattern of health care in the village and the nutritional diet of the community.

Chapter VIII presents a broad discussion of the levels and standards of living in rural Palestine including Arab and Jewish sectors, with an analysis of land holdings in the country and a presentation of future trends in the people, levels and standards of living and the logical reasoning for such trends. Also a thorough analysis of the levels and standards of living of Ein Yabroud follows; pointing out the virtues and shortcomings involved.

Chapter IX discusses the role of recreation in this community and the means used in its attainment.

Chapter X presents a summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations for the subject matter.

## CHAPTER II

## GENERAL BACKGROUND

### Early History

The traditions of Palestine grew out of a history in which rural life and agriculture were and still remain dominant. The Arabs who wrested the country from the Romans over thirteen centuries ago were in search of a place to settle away from the scorching heat of the Sahara Desert. They wanted a place where their dense population could be relieved as they searched for oasis and green pastures to graze their camels, sheep and horses which represented their sole capital.

During their long centuries of settlement in Palestine and other Arab countries, they were able to carve out a civilization that left its imprints in modern science, such as in mathematics, astronomy, medicine, music, et cetera. In the field of agriculture, modern English speaking people have inherited from them the Arabic words sugar, coffee and cotton, just to mention a few.

They were a people with a mission. They proceeded to spread their religion of Islam from one region to another until they had penetrated deep into Spain, reaching the Pyrenees Mountains, where they remained eight centuries before the tide began to ebb.[1]

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[1] Ireland, op. cit., p. 59.

To the Arab rural life was incidental. It was a temporary way of making a livelihood as their nomadic spirits were hardly expected to submit to the burdens demanded by the cultivation of the soil; however, they had to live on the land until harvest time in order to be compensated for their efforts. Most crops they cultivated gave fair yields under the scanty annual rainfall of Palestine in comparison to the rainless, empty wastes of the desert to which they had been accustomed.

Their initial method of obtaining land was similar to that of the early colonizers in America who came here from Europe some ten centuries later by simply laying claim to the land as there was no central authority to parcel out the land (since it was a matter of first come first served). In some instances the land was collectively claimed by the tribe, leading to tenure and land division problems, generations later, among members of the tribe. Little of this was practised in this community as they had evidently divided the land among themselves at the outset.

The land they found was sparsely settled by the Roman settlers in a situation similar to that existing between the Colonials and Indians in America.

No records have reached us, and it is doubtful if any were ever kept regarding the quality of the soil at the time it was wrested from the Romans, as to its degree of erosion, fertility, productivity,

and other particulars affected by its extensive cultivation by previous generations. This is in sharp contrast with the American Colonials who laid claim to a rich virgin soil hardly touched by the primitive plow of the red Indian.

What appeared as large land holdings to the Arab settlers at the time has been constantly reduced in size due to the division of land among many generations of their offspring. The new low of 2.3 acres per capita of rural population was reached in 1946, according to "A Survey of Palestine" made by the Anglo-American Committee sent by America and England to investigate the possible absorptive capacity of the country on behalf of foreign settlers.

It is very likely that this low per capita acreage will continue to decline since the inheritance laws of Islam allow equal portions of land to all progeny of the deceased (giving twice as much land to the male as to the female heir). This can only lead to unfavorable results in a country such as Palestine having a higher crude birth rate than all the neighboring Arab countries and believed to have one of the highest birth rates in the world. The rate of 48 births per 1,000 population was reached among the Arab population in 1943 (Table VII) and has shown no tendency to fall. The death rate has fallen from around 200 per 1,000 live births in the nineteen-twenties to below 100 in 1944, and has been on the decline in view of improvements

made in health conditions during the last decade.[2]

Urban jobs for the rural population in Palestine are extremely limited. This condition is due to the absence of natural resources or any worthwhile industry to absorb excess farm labor. This situation is in sharp contrast to the surplus labor force on American farms which can be readily absorbed by industry under normal conditions, thus the rural population's standards of living in the United States are not impaired by an increase in population as the case is among the rural population in Palestine.

Machinery and Migration

There is very little machinery used on the farms. The ancient wooden plow is the only means employed in tilling the soil. The blessings which usually accrue due to the time and labor savings made by mechanical contraptions should not be welcome with the Arab farmer, particularly if they should be available without the presence of a worthwhile industry to absorb those who are rendered jobless. Should machinery be introduced on some cooperative basis, since the average individual is unable to afford its purchase, what effects could it have on the future economy of the country? The effects are undesirable and migration from the country will consequently be the only result.

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[2]Doreen Warriner, Land and Poverty in the Middle East (London, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1948), p. 54.

Migration of a good portion of the inhabitants in several communities has already taken place during the last two or three decades due to an increase in population, let alone the introduction of agricultural machinery. Ein Yabroud village with a population of 2100 has already lost 182 of its youth during the period between both world wars to migration. This migration has been to the Americas, Europe and other parts of the Middle East. Some of these emigrants failed to return home and those who make a success in the country to which they go pay occasional visits to their families, sometimes taking their families along with them to their new homes. Such emigrants are without exception people who derive their livelihood from the soil, leaving usually under stressing economical pressure. The fare used for this voyage is either secured by selling a piece of land handed to them from many generations of ancestry or by borrowing the money from money lenders to whom they pay an exorbitant rate of interest. Should the money-lender be a well-to-do village resident, no usury is practiced as usury is prohibited by Moslim law, a thing to which the villagers adhere piously. Instead, the money-lender demands a piece of land as collateral until his money is returned. This practice is, in itself, usurous but it is beyond the scope of this investigation to discuss.

This migration from the country, necessitated by the low productivity of the soil is the only alternative for the poorer inhabitants if they are

to avoid debt in order to purchase the bare necessities of life which cannot be raised on their land.

Such migration has been conveniently mitigated and put into oblivion by the foreign element in the country. They have greatly propagandized the great absorptive capacity of the land in order to bring more Jewish immigrants to the country. This has been done through the sponsorship of financially potent organizations, notwithstanding any economic laws.

Dr. Keen states in his report to the Director General of the Middle East Supply Centre in May 1945:[3]

> A very important point bearing on the development of the colonization in Palestine is that the Jewish authorities rejected the idea that the standard of living of the colonist should be that dictated by the economics of the farming system at any given time. Instead, they fixed a satisfactory minimum standard and endeavored to evolve a farming system that would sustain it and that could be worked without hired outside labour.

The Peel Commission sent by the British Government in 1937 to investigate the general conditions in Palestine, and which subsequently published a favorable report to the Jewish community acknowledged the following:[4]

> When the Jewish settlers were more or less on their own, big numbers of them left the country after a short

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[3] B. A. Kleen, The Agricultural Development of the Middle East (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1946), p. 25.

[4] Palestine Royal Commission, Palestine Royal Commission Report, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1937), p. 46.

> stay. In 1926 as many as 13,081 entered Palestine with 7,365 leaving during the same period. In 1927 the immigrants numbered 2,713 and the emigrants 5,071, nearly twice as many immigrants went out. The figure of Jewish unemployment rose from about 400 at the beginning of 1925 to 5,000 at the end of 1927.

Jewish immigration to Palestine, legal or clandestine, has been greatly increased during the last decade or two. This is due to Jewish political ambitions and somewhat due to their persecution in Europe. It is doubtful if a small area such as Palestine with a length of only 160 miles and a width of 55 miles and a dense population can support much of their numbers for an indefinite period of time. The existence of the new state of Israel and the Jewish scientific knowledge concerning agricultural technology can do little to accommodate more immigrants economically. The Jewish scheme to irrigate the Negeb desert is preposterous, due to the absence of an adequate water supply or the infeasibility of the economics involved. The absence of natural resources such as coal, steel, iron ore, oil, etc. to support any worthwhile heavy industries makes it doubly difficult though there are some deposits of potash in the Dead Sea ceded to Jewish concerns.

Henceforth, any contemplated increase in Jewish population in their new state must be accompanied either by territorial expansion or a decrease in immigration. Should this go unheeded, a certain oncoming crisis will develop, culminating in widespread unemployment and much unrest. This social and economic condition would result in lower standards of

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[5] B. A. Keen, op. cit., p. 2.

living and increased economic, social and political unrest, particularly if the present external financial aid should be severed due to a world-wide depression. With this general background discussed, it will be easier to understand the subsequent investigation of a typical native community in the country.

## Geographic Location

Ein Yabroud village, with an area of approximately four square miles, is one of sixty communities in Ramallah County which covers over 200 square miles of territory. Ramallah City, located ten miles northwest of the holy city of Jerusalem, is the county seat. Ein Yabroud community is less than five miles northeast of Ramallah, falling on longitude 35°15' and latitude 31°57', with an elevation of 2200-3000 feet above sea level. It is located almost in the center of the arable region of the Western Mountain Range which runs parallel with the eastern shores of the Mediterranean at a twenty-mile distance inland.

## Topography

This community is situated on a ridge 2200 feet above sea level. It is surrounded with mountains in all directions, those on the north and south being the highest with an elevation of

2850 and 3000 feet above sea level, respectively.[5] Most of the territory owned by the community is within sight of the village, being on the slopes of the surrounding mountains facing the community. The entire mountainside owned by members of the village is terraced with neatly built walls from rocks quarried from the fields on which they were built as an erosion control measure. These mountains form the boundaries with the adjacent villages which surround this community from all sides though none of them is within view of the community.

The eastern and southern valleys are fairly rich with colluvial soil and may correctly be called the bread basket of the village where all small crops are cultivated. The northern and western valleys are not fertile yet they are densely covered with fruit trees such as figs, vines, and olive trees which are well adapted to the region.

Rainfall

Rain comes in winter only. This is due to the depressions of the Mediterranean which fade out eastward into the plains of the Syrian Desert and Iraq. A statistical analysis of rainfall in the eastern Mediterranean area made by Mazloum in 1944 shows the variability from year to year to be greater than that in European

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[5]Government of Palestine, Map of Palestine (Hartford, Yale University Press, 1947).

countries. This renders rain-grown crops very risky, reduces the possibility of long-range forecasting, and complicates all questions of water storage.[6]

Fifty-eight percent of the peasants in this community have cisterns of various capacities filled by directing rainfall off their roof-tops for their year-around personal use. No such cisterns exist in this village for irrigation purposes as the capital outlay is beyond the means of the average villager for such an enterprise.

The annual rainfall average in this area varies from eight to thirty inches and for the country as a whole from two to thirty-five inches.

Climatic Changes

A one-hundred year of rainfall records have been kept for this area by the government. Dr. Ashbel of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem concludes from the records that there is some indication of an increase in precipitation up to the turn of the century, then a decrease for some forty years perhaps with a tendency to another increase quite recently. This suggests the possibility of a periodicity in accordance with the Brückner cycles of thirty-five years

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[6] E. B. Worthington, Middle East Science (London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1946), p. 28.

intervals, which have been traced back in Europe for several centuries. Each Brückner cycle is made of three sun-spot cycles of about 11-12 years each. Some authorities hold that the stability of seasonal changes in the weather of equatorial climates tends to reveal sun-spot cycles, contrary to positive evidence for such a phenomena in other parts of the world.[7]

The temperature for this country varies from zero degrees to 115 degrees in the shade. The humidity is low and the air is brisk and clean. The climate for the area is distinctively seasonal, being cold in winter, hot in summer and intermediate in spring and autumn.

Agriculture

This community is engaged in a self-sufficiency type of agriculture like most areas in Palestine. One-hundred percent of all available land is utilized effectively. The eastern and southern valleys of the village are alternatively cultivated from year to year as one is always followed to preserve its moisture for next year's crops, while the other is planted with wheat, barley, maize or sesame, depending on the amount of rainfall for that particular winter. Barley is usually cultivated when there is a low amount of rainfall and corn when there is an abundance of it, while other crops are grown when the amount of rainfall is intermediate between both extremes.

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[7] Ibid, p. 29.

The decision on what crops the villagers should grow rests usually with the village elders who meet in a pow-wow fashion to pool their experiences in the Madafa (a place of congregation) near the mosque. Their suggestions are not binding since everyone is on his own, but few dissenters are ever found.

Wheat, which forms the stable diet of the community, is usually planted annually though in various amounts. The olive tree which also commands their special esteem for its precious oil has become synonymous with wheat bread, and revered by them as the Irish potato is by the Irish and spaghetti by the Italian.

The olive groves are mostly grown on the southern and northern mountain sides. Their productivity is alternative, being heavily laden with olives one year and almost barren the other.

Figs and grapes are the main cash crops. They substantially contribute to the diet and income of the community, whereby the fresh fruit is consumed locally and the surplus disposed of on the local market in Ramallah or Jerusalem. When prices are low and the peasant is not sorely pressed for cash, he dries what he cannot consume, storing it for the winter months in hope of a better price for the preserved product.

Of the various imported American fruit trees introduced during the last two decades into the village, peaches have made the best growth with the most satisfactory results, and almost all

peasants have planted some in various quantities on their land. The product is consumed or sold fresh on the local market but none has been preserved by the villagers.

The livestock and dairy enterprises are limited due to the lack of an adequate water supply, fodder or pasture. Sheep and goats are kept by 21 percent of the community since they can survive on practically any vegetation within their reach. Only two percent of the livestock kept in this village are used strictly for milking purposes. The rest of the livestock is kept primarily for meat with milk being secondary.

Little vegetation could be found for the livestock during the winter months. A village shepherd herds the livestock on foot to the warm "Ghore area". This area is some fifty miles away from the village. It is located in the vicinity of the Jordan river which is almost a thousand feet below sea level. Vegetation is relatively abundant in this area and the livestock are kept there until vegetation grows in the village during the spring months when they are returned. Farm machinery in this community is totally absent. Sixty-five percent of the population have never heard of a tractor and 93 percent have not heard of a combine cultipacker and said they could not identify them if they were to see them. Their work stock is their sole substitute for machinery. Over 88 percent of the village inhabitants own some work-stock. The workstock consists of donkeys, mules, oxen and cows, as seen in Table I.

TABLE I

WORKSTOCK COMPOSITION IN EIN YABROUD VILLAGE, 1945

| Kind of Workstock | Percentage |
|---|---|
| donkeys | 32 |
| oxen | 29 |
| mules | 17 |
| cows | 10 |
| Horses | 12 |
| Total ..... | 100 |

Soil Types

There is a wide variety in the fertility of the soils of this village. They range from the productive silty clay loam in the eastern and southern valleys to the shallow infertile soils in the western and northern territory of the village.

## CHAPTER III

## EVOLUTION OF RURAL SOCIETY

### Period of Settlement, 675-800 A.D.

The evolution of Arab rural society in this community is almost the opposite of that of a similar community in the United States. Little or no change has taken place here during thirteen centuries of settlement until the advent of the first world war in comparison to the ever-changing conditions on a progressive American farm.

This community, like most others in the Middle East, has inherited a backlog of social and economic habits and traditions carried by scores of preceding generations and which it has faithfully observed.

Any lack of change cannot in all fairness to the hard-working peasant be attributed to his backwardness or laziness, as he is one of the hardest-working creatures in the world. In a society like his it might have been to his advantage to have held on to what he had inherited without any serious changes caused by the predicament he found himself in, or by ill-meaning foreign colonialism.

He is usually eager, if not anxious, to adapt himself to any economical change within his reach, provided he is thoroughly convinced of the wisdom involved in such a change, but he is far slower in changing any of his antiquated social practices.

Members of this community take great pride in relating their history which has been relayed to them mostly by word of mouth from their forebears. The more learned members of this village trace their ancestry from the time they started out across the Sahara Desert until today. Four distinct periods are significant.

In the beginning came Khalid Ibnul Waleed, the Arab military leader who was one of the bitterest enemies of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula. When he adopted Islam, he became one of its outstanding supporters and leaders. He was responsible for annexing this territory to the domain of the rising Islam. He marched with a small expeditionary force across the Sahara Desert in 640 A. D. until he reached the embankments of the Yarmuk River in northern Palestine. It was here where he was met by a strong Roman army many times the size of his tiny force. This Roman army was better trained and equipped than his force as it was a veteran of many conquests which were won for the potent Roman Empire. Yet, Khalid Ibnul Waleed and his men miraculously defeated them in battle, and the Romans lost much of their force in dead and wounded on the battlefield. They were forced to desert the scene of battle, leaving their casualties behind. A good portion of the Arab troops sent for their families in the Arabian Peninsula after the battle and settled in the fertile Syrian plains (Palestine was a part of Syria at the time, a fact which has existed until the advent of European colonization created two states in 1918). Other Arab troops were employed as a garrison force or were dispatched further south to aid in the conquest of Egypt under Amru Ibnul 'Aas. More Arab men and women migrated

in the ensuing period to join the Arab expeditionary forces which proceeded to invade the northern part of the dark continent, but many of these tribes, presumably exhausted after the long journey across the desert, settled on the eastern rim of the desert, in what is known today as Trans-Jordan. Some of the Arab emigrants who swept past this territory stopped in the vast Syrian plains which they found quite fertile and prolific in its agriculture, and settled in already established settlements following the agricultural methods practiced by the vanquished Romans. During this period the Roman empire declined rapidly after a successive series of military reverses in their middle-eastern possessions at the hands of these sons of the desert.

The Roman settlers remaining on the land were not molested, instead they were protected by the new regime, and did much in conveying their technical skills and experiences to the newcomers.[1] However, these Roman settlements presumably spent themselves out as they were at the end of a golden civilization, as most of the settlers returned to their homeland or were assimilated with the Arabs in due time, leaving no distinctive physical trace behind.

We can only see the remnants of their ancient civilization in this part of the world by the sturdy buildings which they have left behind them in this village, many of which are still being put into effective use.

Returning to the Arab tribes which settled in Trans-Jordan upon arrival from their journey across the desert, we find one such

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[1] I. Darwazah, Arab History, (Arabic), (Jerusalem, Arab Press, 1930), pp. 321-323.

tribe named "Beni Murah" moved further east around 675 A.D. in search of a still better place to settle. Upon arrival in present day Ramallah County they split into two segments, one settling in this village, naming it Ein Yabroud (meaning in Arabic the fountain of coolness), and the other segment in a nearby settlement which they called Yabroud (meaning coolness), as seen on the county map in Figure 2, while the country map is represented in Figure 1 (see Appendix). Their presumed motive in giving these villages such names is due to their high elevation above sea level and the coolness they felt during the hot summer months when they arrived there from the rim of the desert. This was something they esteemed with affection after they had tolerated the heat of the desert for so long.

The number of those settling in Ein Yabroud did not exceed 42 and formed the bigger portion of the tribe.

They found the clustered settlement deserted except for a handful of Romans remaining there. Olive and fig groves were much in evidence on the mountain sides of the new settlement, indicating the adaptability of the area for such trees.

When the cold winter months of Palestine arrived, the settlers found the tents they brought with them from the desert were not sufficient to protect them against the extremities of cold weather, so they built primitive dwellings from what resources they could find at their disposal, following the fashion set by their predecessors.

Three more smaller tribes drifted in from the vicinity of the Jordan River arriving during the following few decades, according to the historical record preserved in the archives of the Village, bringing the total population of the village to a mere 169 people, as seen in Table II.

TABLE II

SETTLERS IN EIN YABROUD
BY TRIBES DURING SETTLEMENT PERIOD

| Name of Tribe | Date of Settlement | Number |
|---|---|---|
| Bani Murah | 675 A.D. | 42 |
| Dahabrah | 677 A.D. | 37 |
| Jaghamah | 725 A.D. | 31 |
| Juburah | 800 A.D. | 59 |
| | Total . . . . . | 169 |

Only the number of newcomers at the time had evidently been recorded in the village archives, and no census records have been found to show subsequent periodical increases though some must have undoubtedly been kept for such purposes as the collection of revenue, public work assignments for male members of the village, etc.

The coming of these new tribes caused a housing shortage which was partly relieved by many of them living in the Roman establishments they found already built. In 800 A.D. a mosque was added in the center of the settlement through the combined collective efforts of the four tribes. This mosque was erected on the same pattern that Moslem mosques were built in the fatherland, though the three-foot thick walls built with large neatly shaped quarried stones from the vicinity is indicative of a tinge of Roman architectural influence.

Period of Prosperity, 800-1500 A.D.

Little recorded history has reached us after the initial settlement of these tribes in the village as this was a period of transition from a Bedouin to a farming life. They adapted themselves at this stage to the peculiarities of the country, increasing the number of dwellings in the village and becoming full-fledged farmers under the protection of three separate and independent Arab dynasties sprawled over most of the known world at that time. The

Vmayydds, Abbasids and Ayyubids dynasties. Their expansive knowledge in agriculture during this period was on a trial and error basis until they became familiar with the best adaptations their land was fitted for. Due to the absence of agricultural experiment stations and scientific agricultural methods, a crop failure caused by any circumstance after their population had increased came to have far more reaching effects in upsetting their nutritional and economical balance for the year, particularly after they had discarded the meager diet of the Bedouin and acquired a farmer's diet rich in proteins and vitamins with a higher number of calories.

This period was one of prosperity within their own right. They acquired a different standard of living and were determined to make their future living from the soil permanently. They were free from the molestation of external powers and practiced all the nobility and refinement in character which they were brought up to love and admire in the fatherland.

Period of Decline, 1516-1914 A.D.

In 1516 A.D. the invading Turks sprung from Asia Minor and tucked this little community, as well as the rest of the country, under the wings of the Ottoman empire bringing what prosperity and self-content achieved in eight centuries of settlement on the land to a standstill. Indeed, they set any progress made into retrogression, as no new structures of any worthwhile value were built

in this village during the entire four centuries of Turkish rule. The very presence of a government agent in the village had come to be associated in the minds of the villagers with terror and oppression as the Ottoman empire was interested solely in two things: taxes and military conscription to administer and extinguish the multitude of continuous rebellions cropping out in its far-flung outposts from the Balkans to the mountains of Yemen.

The appearance of a revenue collector in the village signalled panic and terror for those with no cash on hand. It was not uncommon for such individuals to move out of the village along with their families for periods ranging from a few days to a whole season until the revenue collectors had left town and things calmed down. Those peasants who could not leave the community and had no cash to pay were obliged to supply the collector with food and quarters for himself and his transport (usually a mule or a donkey) until the money could be raised. It was not unusual for such a tax delinquent to share his meager food supplies for days or weeks until he could produce the money. Often the official would dictate what he and his transport desired to eat and his wishes had to be met to avoid adding insult to injury. This was accomplished by the peasant going further in debt to accommodate the official. Nor was it unusual for the tax collector to make more than one round of collections a year as a result of corruption and misappropriation between him and his

superiors; this usually precipitated a storm of indignation and unrest from the community, but was often put down by a show of force, whereby a military contingent would maneuver in the immediate area to intimidate the residents in case of refusal.

As for military conscription, there seemed to have been a tacit agreement among the able-bodied men of this community to refrain from assembling before all government officials dispatched to the village on any mission or before any military groups in the area in fear of conscription in the Turkish Army.

Whenever the Turks could not draw sufficient recruits from the area they would allot a certain quota of draftees for this community which had to be filled within a fixed period of time. The Mukhtar (elected head of the village) would haggle with the official or Mustashar (Turkish administrator of the county) employing all the diplomacy and ingenuity at his command in the hope of reducing the number of the quota or extending the deadline to be met.

Bribery of the Mustashar or other involved officials often saved the village from giving up its youth, and whenever all means of evasion seemed futile the elders would substitute their names for those of their sons with the recruiting officials in order that the younger generation could be spared to support the family. The elders had good reason to fear the safety of their sons, as less than two percent of those drafted ever returned home, and this was

accomplished only by fleeing their stations in far away posts, such as in the Balkans or in mountainous Yemen. Some of those deserters retrieved by the local Turkish authorities later on were never to be seen again.

This continued practice of military conscription, collection and misappropriation of taxes caused members of this community, not by a long stretch of the imagination, to misrepresent their numbers as well as their possessions, rendering census figures as well as tax records in the files of the government unreliable for any statistical purposes.

It was not an unusual practice for male members of this village to adopt names of deceased men in the village to escape taxes and military conscription as there were no benefits to be reaped from such taxation without representation or from fighting for the Turks. Members of this community with assumed identities literally began to rise from the dead once their rulers were cleared from the land!!

This oppression exercised by the Turks for such a long period left its unfortunate marks in the people's economical, moral and social lives. The economical prosperity established in eight centuries of settlement was practically non-existent by the time the Turks left the land. Their continued hangings of intellectual Arabs who dared rebel to air their grievances amidst the widespread clamor

for independence and reform deprived this community and the country as a whole of a good source of effective, honest leadership for generations to come. Certain aspects of the moral situation in which this community found itself were deplorable. The formerly existent brotherly love preached by the Koran and practiced by the community, the famous characteristics of the proud almost rebellious Arab, colored with a deep sense of altruism and extrovertness for his fellow man, were subdued under the oppressiveness of the Turk and changed into self-centered interests, selfishness, and hatred. Character degeneration became rampant and subservience became widespread. This was accompanied with a sense of hopelessness and malicious jealous competition among members, families and clans of the community, leading to bitter coveting and deep hatred among themselves. Members of the community would become informers to the Turkish administrator on their own kin for such matters relevant to the possession of firearms, delinquent tax payments, escape from military conscription, agitation for reform and a multitude of other things motivated essentially by shear jealousy and personal coveting of the accused.

This quizling activity created a strained relationship between the Turk and the Arab, as the Turk in addition to his oppression came to hold the Arab in contempt for his action towards his fellow Arab, and such was the situation on the eve of the first world war.

Many of these Arabs of this period of decline who were imbued with such a spirit live today to contaminate the newer generations. Some of them unfortunately hold responsible positions of leadership whereby they are able to employ their evil influence, and anchor their venomous fangs in places where most harm could be done. Their patriotism is feigned and their main concern is their material welfare and whatever financial possessions they can accumulate, giving little or no regard to the well-being of their kinsfolks, community or country.

Among the novel introductions of the Turks in this community, as well as in the country that remained after the Turks had gone, were such titles as Effendi, Beyk and Pasha. It became the habit of the Turkish ruler of the district, who was usually titled as Pasha from Constantinople, to bestow titles in turn to whomever he wished, usually to those who subserviently entertained him most lavishly or to those who were men of wealth or had performed some special services for the imperial government.

Pasha was evidently the highest title he could give, being equal to the title he held; Beyk was next in a decreasing order, and Effendi last on the scale. No one in this community was granted such a title though members of this village became accustomed to call all government officials sent to the village by one of the two titles--Beyk or Effendi, depending on the importance of the official's

mission, authority and appearance. In due time the title of Effendi became standard among the young educated Arabs and left its imprints in everyday Arabic language until it has almost completely displaced the Arabic title of Sayed, which is equivalent to Mister in English.

Ironically enough, this affair of obnoxious titleships, started by the Turks here, has been erased by law from the Turkish vocabulary of present day reformed Turkey while it persists in this country with more ramifications and conniving praise fabricated with it among the half educated masses in the country.

The Turks also introduced many of their rules, codes and laws in this community as some of them coincided with those of the community since both ruler and occupied were Muslims. Many of these laws were rescinded with the departure of the vanquished Turks at the end of the first world war, though such laws dealing with land tenure, land taxation, water rights and others were new to the Arabs and have been retained by subsequent regimes, and they are still in use.

As seen from evidence just related, the bond of religion between both factions mattered very little to both Turk and Arab as the ruling Turk observed no common connections at all with the Arab except within the confines of the mosque, and not elsewhere, as he proceeded to oppress this community, as well as the rest of the

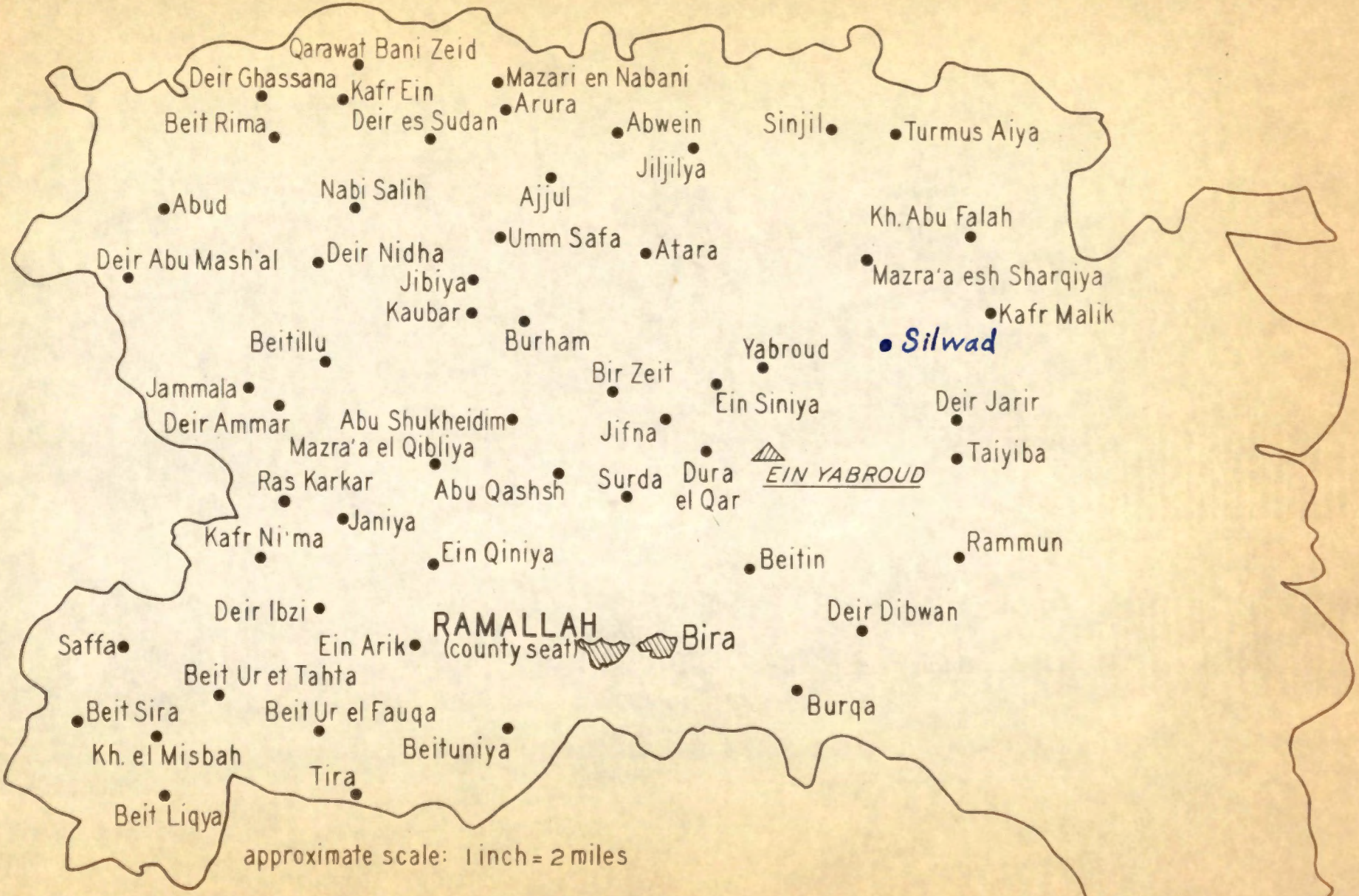


FIGURE 2

EIN YABROUD VILLAGE, RAMALLAH COUNTY, PALESTINE

country, paying little or no attention to the religion of the conquered.

As seen in Figure II, Ramallah City, the seat of the county, is predominantly Christian as well as the nearby communities of Jifna, Bir Zeit, Taiyiba and others in the district. It is needless to say that they received the same dose of oppression and injury meted to their Muslim brethern at the hands of the Turk. There was a tendency to attribute this to religious differences between them and the Turks as well as their co-religionist Arab population; therefore, an invisible but unwholesome gap tended to precipitate between the inhabitants. Fortunately, the Arabs as a race do not know prejudice based on religion, race or creed, and any cleavage created by the Turks between them and their Christian brethern was swiftly abridged and completely forgotten along with the departing Turk.

It is of interest to note that the late Mustafa Kemal, founder of modern Turkey, has declared in his memoirs in repentance to Turkish misdeeds in the Arab world;[2]

> The maintenance of Turkish domination over the Arabs has been one of the main causes of our decline.

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[2]Ireland, The Near East, p. 28.

This is true indeed as the "sick man of Europe" did not live or let others live as he lived in a state of agony, heaping oppression and abuse on a traditionally self-respecting free society. He not only harmed this community economically, socially and morally but deprived it of an invaluable deep-rooted self-confidence upon which the Arab was reared, particularly during his period of expansion from the desert. This domination stripped him of many of his noble traits that were dear to his heart before the Turk ever set foot on this soil.

Period of Growth, 1914-1948 A.D.

This community had a taste of the ravages of war just before the end of World War I, as Allenby's British Army used its southern mountain (3000 feet above sea level) as an OP (observation point) from which British artillery fire was directed against the positions of the retreating German officered Turkish Army which was entrenched across the way on Assur Mountain near Silwad village, two miles north of Ein Yabroud.

Women and children were evacuated to safety behind the British lines, while men joined the British forces to flush Turkish stragglers from their positions as they fortified themselves in their homes or helped expose their positions to British artillery fire. As a result, over 22 percent of the community's homes were demolished

from this bombardment which lasted for a week, and two percent of the residents lost their lives.

Before the Turks withdrew from their side of the line, they, too, demolished five percent of the village's dwellings with their artillery salvos.

The British proved themselves less oppressive in their dealings with the farmer, as they appointed an Arab administrator for the county under their direct supervision, and employed Arab officials to collect taxes and transact other business. Taxes were even foregone during years of drouth, and subsidies were granted, much to the surprise of the peasant.

Most damaged homes were repaired and new ones cropped up during this period until 65 percent of all dwellings in this community were built during this era. However, most of the capital involved in this expansion was not due to prosperity on the land but directly due to money transmittals sent by the village's sons who had migrated in considerable numbers seeking opportunities in faraway lands.

A new school was built by the collective effort of the village, though the teachers were supplied by the government. Newspapers and various publications were more abundantly published in the country and increasingly read by the villagers. A high morale was evident among the peasantry as they improved their economical

conditions and increased their shopping trips to Ramallah and Jerusalem in spite of the presence of two general stores in the community.

Roads were not improved in the vicinity of the village as they had no military use as far as the mandatory government was concerned and, therefore, were never paved. However, members of the community would annually add a new layer of dirt from the adjoining fields to the surface of these roads lying in the immediate territory of the village, allotting a certain distance to be so covered on a per capita basis of the village residents.

It was the explosive political question which checked the prosperity of this era as the British brought with them the philosophy of a Jewish National Home in the country and undertook the task of encouraging it by Jewish migration and other means, leading the Arabs of this community to partake in the various national revolts by engaging nearby British troops at night and working in their fields at daytime. These revolts occurred in 1920, 1921, 1933, 1938 and 1948.[3]

By the end of this period in 1948, members of the community found themselves still confronted with their paramount goal of freedom from want and freedom from fear. Their psychological

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[3]Secretary of State for Colonies, Palestine Royal Commission Report, p. 80.

attitude had changed from that of passive subservientism to fiery nationalism as they saw that their old Turkish oppressors were about to be replaced by a more uncomforting, patent Jewish state, with the avowed intent of taking over the whole country through the process of infiltration and migration.

This community itself increased its population tremendously from the time of its settlement, as seen in Table II, principally by birth alone until it reached 2,124 in 1945, as shown in Table III.

A neighboring satellite state of the formally withdrawn mandatory power has taken over this community at the present time, and the future of this community and the free portion of the country remains a dim perplexing problem for the country to solve.

One thing is certain, however, and that is the Arab farmer of this community and others over the country must compete from every angle with the rising danger of European settlers if he does not wish to have the same fate that befell the American Indian at the hands of the European Colonizers in North America.

TABLE III

EIN YABROUD CENSUS BY AUTHOR IN 1945

| Name of Clan | Number |
|---|---|
| Bani Murah | 592 |
| Dahabera | 468 |
| Jaghama | 345 |
| Jabarah | 719 |
| Total*. . . . . | 2,124 |

*This is inclusive of 182 temporary migrants.

## CHAPTER IV

## SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF EIN YABROUD

### Contrast with the American Town

The closest resemblance in the social structure of Ein Yabroud village to that of the rural community in the United States, if any exists, is the New England town which is the home of the New Englander, his socio-geographic unit that provides for the education of his children, his church and a place for town meetings in which the citizens discuss their affairs and arrive at some consensus of opinion or a plan of action whenever need arises. Thus, the town has been institutionalized, and is recognized by both townsmen and outsiders as an independent functional unit, as the families within express a feeling of belonging, while those outside recognize the members of the area as a group in themselves.

It is within the confines of the town that the rural dweller whether he be a New Englander or Arabian, spends the greater part of his time, and it is into those confines that the science and culture of the larger society are usually brought to the rural family in a chain of social contacts which stretches ultimately to the world's end.[1]

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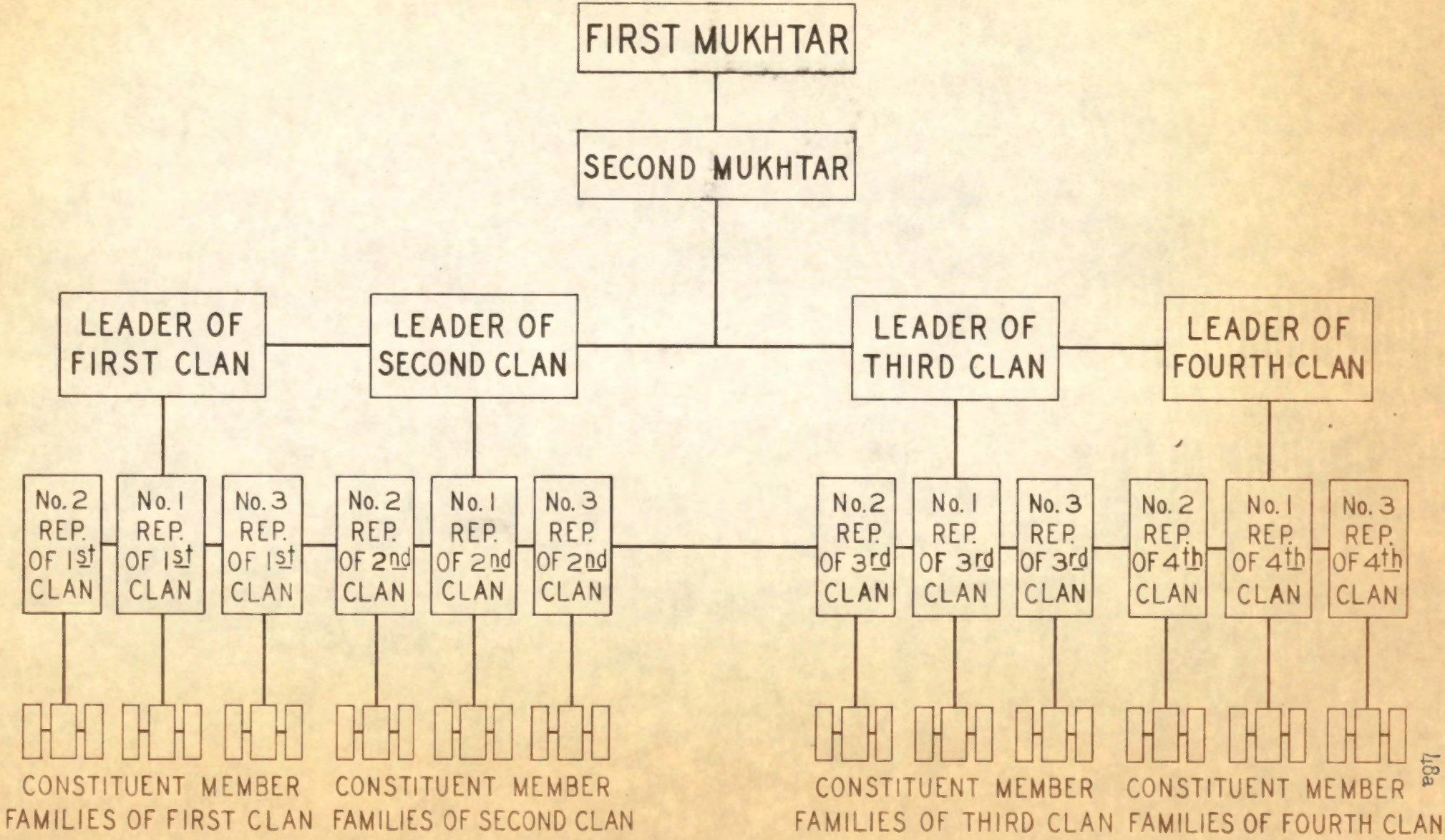
[1] Taylor, Rural Life in the United States, pp. 55-59.

FIGURE 3

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF
EIN YABROUD VILLAGE, PALESTINE



Among the things in which this Arab community differs from the New England town is its original method of settlement whereby the four nomadic tribes claimed land collectively and in due time divided it among their constituent family members which has been in turn multi-divided by many generations of progeny until today's per capita share has dwindled down to a few acres, and in many instances to a fraction of an acre, while the New Englander continues to retain a substantial portion of the original acreage inherited from his ancestors intact. This is due to the differences in the inheritance laws, economical, social, and traditional ties existing in the Arab world, as discussed in Chapter II and which are unknown in the New England town.

Social Skeleton

There are two mukhtars (elected heads of the village) in this community. They are titled according to the importance of their positions as "First" and "Second" mukhtars consecutively, the first acting in the capacity of president and the second as vice-president of the social organization of the village. Their election is accomplished in a democratic grass-root manner, as seen in Figure 3, whereby each clan elects two or three representatives from its ranks, depending on its size, to sit on the village council. These representatives in turn select a spokesman

from amongst them who becomes the clan's number one man. The election of the mukhtars rests with the clan leaders. Vacancies in the mukhtars positions are usually rotated among all clans in the village so that each may have a chance to occupy the honorary post as the position is a lifetime job. The election of the mukhtars must be approved by the county administrator (Kayem-makam) who has authority from the state government to veto the appointment, regardless of the outcome of the election.

Elections are held on a verbal vote basis and the candidate's selection usually depends on his influence in the village, his wealth, personality and self-expression. Elected representatives or the mukhtars may be removed from their posts should there be any dissention in their clan or in the village as to their acceptability due to any irresponsible future conduct. A vote of confidence may be held and the disputed representative is replaced should he fail to rally enough support to keep him in his post.

Functions of the Clan

In the Arab village, the settling tribes put their nomadic spirits in oblivion and quickly adapted themselves to the modes of farm life. The tribe became a clan, which is the present unit of social thought in the village, and members of each clan continued to work in the fields collectively, dividing the produce equally

among all member families as they did formerly before they settled on the land. This situation is accurately depicted by Dr. Tannous in the following:[2]

> Legally, the grandfather or patriarch is the owner of the property in an Arab village. Actually, however, all members of the large joint family have an equal claim on the land. They contribute toward its cultivation and share in its produce, each according to his ability and need.
>
> For a young son to start upon an early independent farming career, as is usual in the United States, is practically unknown in the Middle East. Normally, when the patriarch gets too old, or upon his death, the joint family splits into as many units as there are sons, and the land is divided equally among them.
>
> In many cases not only the produce but also the cash income and cash expenditures are shared. Similarly, the undertaking of a trading activity and a capital investment, or the establishment of a new business, are supported in some localities by the whole unit (that is the clan). In some localities agricultural machinery has been similarly acquired and put to use, and oil presses and flow mills are jointly operated. In case such projects fail and debts are incurred, all members involved share in the responsibility.

There is a definite tendency in this community, as well as in Ramallah County as a whole, at the present time for families biologically composed of man, wife and the immediate progeny to separate themselves economically from the rest of the clan in order to become masters of their own economical destiny. As

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[2] Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations of the United States Department of Agriculture, Foreign Agriculture, (Washington: D.C.: Government Printing Office), June 1944, Volume 8, No. 6, p. 134.

for changes in the social aspects this yet remains to be seen as nothing different has occurred since the days of early settlement.

The elected head of the clan still tacitly retains the ancient authority of the sheikh who used to assemble his men, voice the problem of the day, discuss it and help make decisions no matter of what magnitude it might be, as long as it affected the welfare of the tribe.

Common problems for which the clan usually assemble fall in one of the following six categories:

1. Affairs dealing with rape, accosting women, or murder, in the order of their importance, and which are intolerable and considered capital crimes, usually with the most destructive consequences. Should a member of one clan murder someone from another clan then the blood of the murdered is on the hands of the entire clan to which the murderer belongs, as all of his clan are held accountable for the crime he has committed and, therefore, they all share the guilt and responsibility as far as the injured clan is concerned. Quick decision on the part of the clan held responsible for the act is required as the entire clan must move out of the village immediately if further bloodshed is to be avoided. They usually take refuge in some other village until a third party can mediate

between them, arrange for indemnity, and facilitate their official return to their homes. This action is in excess of punishment netted the offender by the civil authorities. Should the aggressor clan fail to evacuate the village, a feud is certain to follow in which no man is immune from harm, similar to the famed Hatfield-McCoy feuding style in Kentucky and the more recent Daisy Mountain feud in Tennessee.

2. Matters connected with larceny, burglary or theft should the identity of the burglar be identified. The clan to which the burglar belongs must make good the damage done by compensating the injured party. They oblige their accused kin to repair what damage he has done even though he may have to sell some valuable possession, such as land or borrow the money to make up for his foul deed. Should the accused deny his guilt in the case of the absence of witnesses, or lack of definite proof, he is escorted by his clan along with the plaintiffs to some ancient tomb of some saint where the accused swears of his innocence. The involved parties believe that the wrath of false swearing will cause the accused bodily harm or some other misfortune.

3. Matters dealing with the infringement of the rights of any member of the clan by an outsider (usually a member of another clan). This may deal with land boundaries, financial claims, petty quarrels, etc., where the dispute is settled by mutual negotiations between both clans involved as they represent their individual members. A third clan may act as judge and its judgment is binding with both parties concerned.

4. Affairs dealing with the making of a budget for the clan and determining the per capita share for expenses incurred in the purchase of mats, rugs, quilts, sugar or coffee for the guest house of the clan. The guest house is usually that of the clan leader should he have a third floor room known as "Ilya" or in any other such room possessed by the clan.

5. The prospective betrothal of a girl in the clan by an outsider requires the assemblage of the whole clan to air the matter for their ~~"outrageous"~~ approval, lest there be an eligible bachelor in the clan who entertains the thoughts of priority in this marriage due to his closer kinship, and may prove himself a dissenter, therefore leading to unpredictable difficulties within the clan if the family of the girl should persist in giving their daughter to the outsider.

6. They may meet to make routine assignments for the families of the clan towards serving food by rotation among the member families for the bereaved family of another clan in case of death. This courtesy which involves the killing of a sheep or two is usually repaid by the other clan in the same manner in the event of death in this clan.

The madafa which is the village's guest house and social center is the place where the village council meets. This council consists of the mukhtars, clan leaders and their representatives. It is here where all common problems concerning the welfare of the community are threshed out. These problems may cover such things as the repairing of the village roads, village school or mosque, the purchase of accessories for them and for the madafa, selection of mediators from the village to be sent to another community that may have asked for their help, appointment of a watchman to guard the cultivated area of the village against stray livestock (the owner usually fined for damages inflicted by them), placing a service man to attend to the food and dwelling needs of strangers who may stop by the village, assigning the employees pay which usually consists of cash or kind or both.

Meals served in the madafa are contributed by the village's families according to a roster approved by the village council and

which the service man undertakes by reminding those whom it is their turn to serve as he brings the food to the guest house. This service man also attends to chore work in the madafa and the mosque and other public places.

We notice in the social structure of this village the absence of jails, a sheriff, a state patrol station or any other law enforcement agencies. This lawfulness, prevalent in the community, is due in no small measure to the individual's consciousness of the fact that he upholds the honor of his family and his clan and must behave in a manner satisfactory to the whole village lest he be the butt of their jokes in their gatherings and bring contempt and dishonor on himself and his clan. Furthermore, if he should prove himself dignified and trustworthy, he is rewarded with respect by his fellow men who would carefully listen to his opinions in their gatherings. Therefore, he brings credit upon himself and his clan as he is considered their product and representative in his behavior. These facts tend to stamp a certain stability of social life in the community as every individual is keenly aware of the fact that his deeds, whether good or bad, are closely observed by his fellow villagers, and whatever he may say is going to pass everybody's attention, reflecting on the degree of his intelligence and his ability to get along with people in the community. This fact in itself draws definite limits and boundaries on the behavior of the

individual and presses him to do chivalrous deeds along such lines as aid to those who ask for it, forgiveness of the guilty, hospitality to strangers and guests and many other splendid deeds. These magnificient customs were brought with the early settlers from the desolate desert and have never diminished unless under the duress of economic pressure or ingratitude on the part of those receiving the benefits.

Should any individual overstep the tacit boundaries of decency, and which seldom occurs, it becomes the duty of his clan elders to correct him even though force may be used at times. The civil authorities are called from Ramallah only as a last resort after all persuasive methods at their disposal have failed.

Type of Family Prevalent

Though the clan is the social unit, yet the independent family consisting biologically of two generations, man and wife and unmarried children, constitute 38 percent of all families in this village. The other 62 percent live as a joint family, consisting of three generations--grandparents, unmarried and married sons and daughters, and their children all living in the same compound and stand as one social and economic unit. They jointly have a say about the personal affairs of each member and a strong sense of

loyalty is manifested by the respective members of the family group.[3]

The two-generation family group is similar to that existing on the American farm. It may be "patriarchal" in which a high degree of authority is vested in the father, or "democratic" when authority is more equally shared by various members of the family.[4]

There has been a steady increase towards the democratic type of family since the first world war, not due to any undue hard frontier life endured by the wives enabling them to share much of the work and responsibility beyond the confines of the home, therefore allowing them a greater share of authority as in the United States, but due to the rise of the general educational level in the nation and reaction towards the emancipation of women in the civilized world. However, woman's everyday life in this community, as well as in most of Ramallah County, remains much the same as that of the days of the early settlers. The absence of gainful work outside the home has led her to economic dependence on her husband. The lack of granting suffrage to women due to antiquated customs, and the failure of introducing modern aids to lighten her household work has not lessened any of the drudgery of her daily

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[3]Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Foreign Agriculture, p. 132.

[4]Taylor, Rural Life in the United States, p. 45.

toil or allowed her time to participate in any worthwhile social and community affairs. Simultaneously, the modern principles of child psychology have not been developed in schools and families and no trends for the "emancipation of children" have yet been secured.

In general, the Arab farm family has lagged behind the urban family in the transition from the patriarchal to the democratic type of family organization as the case is in the United States. But this generalization requires immediate qualifications, for it is by no means true that all farm families are patriarchal, or all urban families are democratic. Nor is it true that families fall neatly into these classifications as there are infinite gradations existing in the allocation of authority and responsibility between the parents, and between the parents and the children.[5]

Role of Farm Wife and Mother

The average rural woman in this community still has to walk a mile or two to the village spring to carry several gallons of drinking water in a container on her head, or in a leather skin on her back. In the autumn she must go several miles out from the compounds of the village and fetch wood, brush, and thorns to use for fuel, and pick olives from the olive groves. In the winter months, she

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[5] Ibid, pp. 45-46.

swings the hoe behind the plowing team to pulverize hard masses of soil that have not been threshed out by the plow. In the spring it is her duty to clear the weeds from the cultivated area of the village and bring it home for use as fodder for the livestock. In the summer she helps harvest the crops, cover the vineyards with bushes picked from the mountain slopes to protect the grapes from being sun scalded, then sort them out if they are to be sold, or add a coat of olive oil to the fruit and dry it in the sun for several days in case it is to be preserved.

All these duties are superfluous to her household work which requires her to knead the flour and bake her family's daily bread in the "taboon" (a conoidal shaped clay structure, the interior of which is covered with pebbles on which the knead is spread over in the shape of flat round loaves) after she has gathered dried dung and had it spread on the outside of the taboon along with straw which she sets on fire to generate the required heat to bake the bread. Then she has to cook, carry the food to her working spouse, wash the family's clothing by hand and more than likely mend the clothes and clean the house, besides attending to her small children if she should have any, as there are no kindergartens or nurseries in the village.

It is evident from all this that she is just a little more than a beast of burden. Yet, she is also the wife and mother of

the community, exerting great influence in shaping the family and the clan. Ironically enough, there is not a single recorded divorce case in this whole community though Muslim laws are liberal in facilitating divorce for marriages that have not proved successful. This may be due to one of the following three things:

1. The expense involved in paying a dowry which reached the record-high inflatinnary amount of 1000 pounds or the equivalent of $4000.00 during World War II in this county, besides the cost of the marriage banquet which may range from 50 pounds or $200.00 to thousands of dollars, depending on the means of the bridegroom.
2. A wife dissatisfied with her husband usually returns to her family whereby her closest male relatives listen to her grievances as they are considered her second protectors and, therefore, mediate between her and her husband until they have been reconciliated and the cause of dissatisfaction has been ironed out, after a short "cooling off" period, thereby preventing a hasty divorce.
3. Divorce is considered taboo among the Arabs though their religion allows them to avail themselves to its blessings in case of a certain marriage failure.

In spite of all the hardships suffered by the farm wife and mother, she retains the profound respect of the well-brought-up in the

village, and her sons are eager to prevent her from tiring herself as soon as they are old enough to do the work, restricting her activities to household work, and once they are married they are anxious to shift the burden of the household work on to their wives as they are usually grateful to their mothers for bringing them up amidst all sufferings in the earlier days.

Mrs. H. H. Spoer of England reports in her book of "Arabs In Tent and Town" that she has never seen a single case of "Saturday-night" treatment of wife or child or mother during twenty years of intimate association with the Arabs in Palestine, and cites the verified fact that a man on his way to execution was safe from punishment if he could lay hold on the skirts of a woman, and continues to say that she has seen criminals led blindfolded to prevent them from exercising this privilege.[6]

Analysis of the Marriage Institution

The principal objective of the institution of marriage in Ein Yabroud village, as well as in the Arab world in general, is the begetting of male offspring. This deep rooted desire stems from

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[6] Mrs. H. H. Spoer, Arabs in Tent and Town, (Seeley, Service & Co., London, 1924), pp. 45-49.

the early experience of tribal life in the desert, when the very existence of the tribe as a unit and its ability to protect itself and its possessions against other raiding tribes depended solely on its manpower. This has been somewhat modified since the settlement of the tribe in the village, until it has come to include the partnership of the spouses in sharing the burden of life and the hardships of farm work. However, the husband is still aware of the fact that without leaving a son behind him after his death his possessions will be lost to other relatives in the long run. He also knows that only a son can carry on his name and perpetuate the chain of generations of his ancestry; while a daughter married to others will soon lose her identity as she assumes that of her husband.

Marriage is binding between both spouses in the form of a written contract known as "kitab" (book) in which both parties make certain pledges and agreements which they promise to fulfill. The closest male relative of the bride usually acts as her representative in the presence of the village religious teacher. The drawn contract stipulates the dowry which is to be paid by the husband, and may vary according to his means, ranging from a few hundred dollars to a fortune, and stipulates the settlement he will be obliged to make in case of divorce. A good deal of the dowry is usually spent by the bride's family on the trousseau and adornments which she takes with her, and the equivalent of which must be restored

to her in case of divorce as Muslim laws protect the wife by holding her property and wealth inviolate to her husband and immune from his debts.[7]

Marriage is consummated by a banquet for all those present (usually the entire community as it joins the procession which is led by the bridegroom on horseback from his house to the village guest house). The fiesta is sprinkled with folk dancing (debki), singing, and horseback racing among the youngsters until sunset when the short holiday comes to an end.

It has been the custom of the youngsters in this community as it is in most rural communities in the world to marry earlier than their opposite urban numbers. This is due mainly to a lack of divergence and recreation on the farm, the need of more help on the farm and the constant wish of the family elders to marry their children during their life time in order to have toddlers around.

Recorded cases of marriages in Ein Yabroud through the last three decades indicate that girls are married between the ages of 15 and 21 and boys are married between 18 and 27. Figure 4 shows the percentages of married and unmarried eligibles 18 years old and over in this community.

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[7] Dr. G. I. Kheirallah, Islam and The Arabian Prophet, (New York City, Islamic Publishing Company, 1938) p. 154.

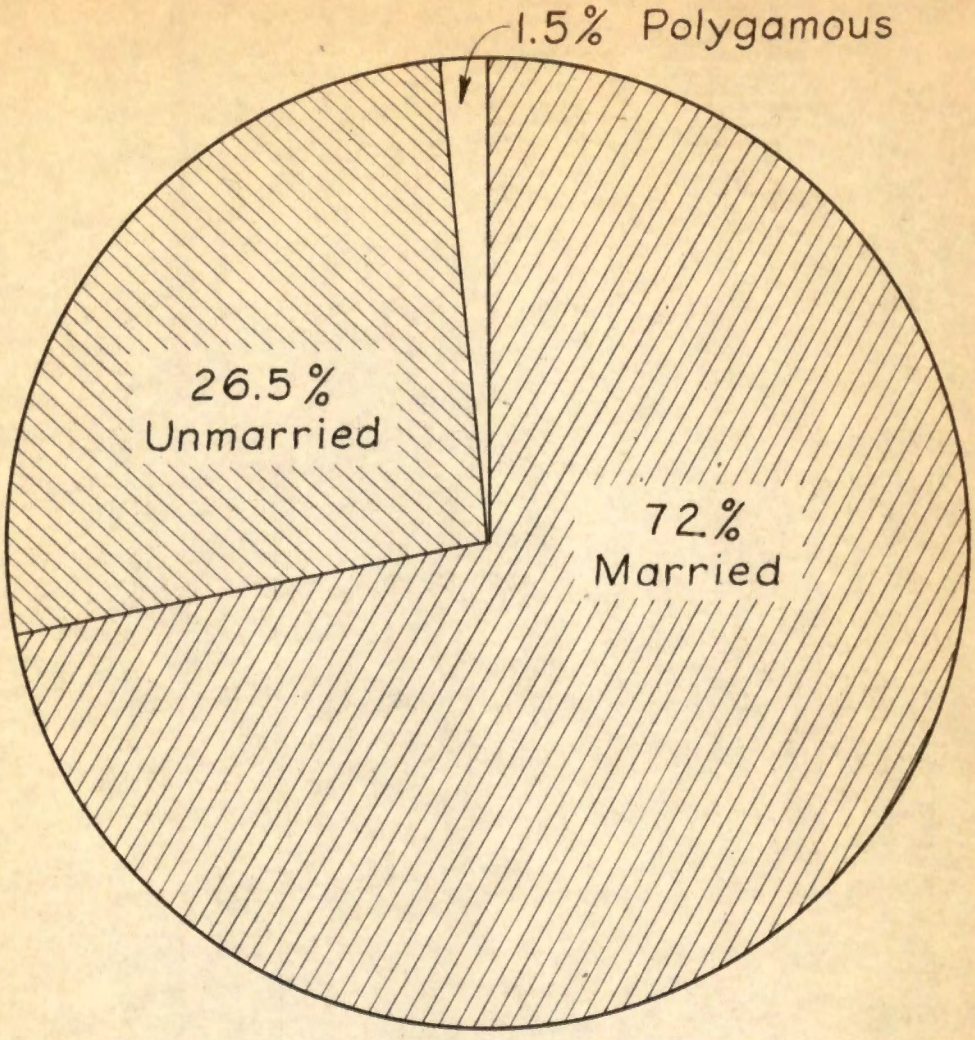


FIGURE 4

PERCENTAGES OF MARRIED AND UNMARRIED ELIGIBLES OVER EIGHTEEN YEARS OLD IN EIN YABROUD VILLAGE 1945

The present trends are to marry within the upper brackets of these age limits, especially since boys must raise the dowry needed through the accumulation of their savings which may take years of work, while some are forced to sell or mortgage a piece of land to finance their ambition. During the period 1935-1945, 28 percent of the male bachelors had to dispose of a piece of land or some other property to pay the dowry. This percentage more than doubles in periods of economical reverses. It is no small wonder why divorces are non-existent in this community when it requires so much capital on the part of the farmer to marry.

Of the 392 families which constitute this village, six families are polygomous. When the men were asked as to their reason for acquiring another wife they unanimously blamed their wives of infertility and their failure to produce sons. Paradoxically as it seems, all had sons from their second marriages. These polygomous marriages were contracted in the twenties as there is an obvious disdain and reluctance among the younger generations toward practicing such a venture.

Polygomy has been increasingly discouraged among the urban population until it has come to be non-existent; while it is seldom practiced among the rural population in towns, it is on the verge of oblivion among those living in villages and hamlets. The adoption of children by the childless or sonless may be the best way out of

such a venture in this age where polygomy and the hareem had come to be something of the past. However, this is rather difficult since the poorest among the Arabs will not humble himself and give away any of his children to be reared as those of another. The only way to stamp out polygomy is to introduce strict civil legislation in the state to end its practice.

Dr. Kheirallah in his book of "Islam and the Arabian Prophet" gives the point of view of Muslim law regarding polygomy by declaring that Islam permits polygomy but does not enjoin it. He points out that the permission to restrict the unlimited polygomy of the pre-Islamic world (including those of the prophets of the Bible) is based upon the following verse from the Koran:

> Surah 4-3..And if you fear that you cannot act equitably towards orphans, then marry such women as seem good to you two and three and four; but if you fear that you will not do justice (between them) then (marry) only one.

He continues to explain that a childless marriage, an ailing or overburdened wife, or a woman reaching the age of menopause, when nature closes her sex book, may find a welcome relief in a secondary marriage by her husband, for it obviates the necessity of divorce and its consequences under these circumstances. Multiple marriages, when socially and economically permissible, he says, may prove to be a preferable and by far a more humane solution, than prostitution and illicit philandering, which stigmatizes women and children.

He concludes that polygomy has been practiced from the dawn of history among all people, and that he is not aware of any teacher, prophet or reformer before Muhammad who had limited or forbidden its practice. Muhammad, confronted with what he witnessed around him, was the first among the teachers of mankind to limit polygomy, and to raise and safeguard the status of womanhood. Yet the Western World of the twentieth century is generally unaware of this fact, and paradoxical as it seems, holds him responsible for its institution.[8]

The Israelites of the Bible time practiced it extensively. Mrs. H. H. Spoer declares that, by and large, divorce and polygomy in Palestine are confined at the present time, mainly to the Jewish population in that country.[9]

The average farmer in this community seeking a wife is greatly interested in his prospective wife's ability to manage a home adroitly, as a woman who is a good manager is held in high esteem. The following anecdote is related to illustrate their attitude towards the home management of prospective wives:

An Arab King announced one day that he wished a wife, so all mothers with eligible daughters bathed, perfumed, and dressed their daughters in the best attire, and took them to the Palace.

The King had his own views, and wanted a girl whom it would be a pleasure to have in the house, and who would make his home

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[8]Dr. Kheirallah, Islam, pp. 152-158.

[9]Mrs. H. H. Spoer, Arabs in Tent and Town, p. 19.

comfortable. So he prepared a test. The way to the throne-room was up a long outside staircase. Upon the stairs he threw a broom, and watched from the window to see what would happen. Some of the girls stepped over it as they passed, some gave it a kick, some pretended not to notice anything so humble, some, unobservant, stumbled over it. There came a little simple farm girl, used to work and to looking about her intelligently. She stooped, picked it up, and put it carefully out of the way.

The King came to the door, and without even looking into the faces of the others, took the girl by the hand and drew her into the room. The mothers were furious. Not only had he ignored all their daughters, but had added to this injury the insult of choosing a common little farm girl. As they could not get at her, they vented their fury upon her mother, "What value had she," they asked, "this poor girl with a blue dress looking like every other farm girl. What was she, and who was she?"

"She is nothing," said the mother, "she has nothing, but it is not to save herself that she thinks, but to help others, and that is why our Lord has honored her with his regard."[10]

Members of this community are becoming increasingly conscious of their responsibility towards their daughters who will be the

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[10] Ibid, p. 44.

future wives and mothers of the community. The extent of their action to promote their educational level is discussed in Chapter V.

# CHAPTER V

## THE RURAL SCHOOL AND EDUCATION

### The Educational Situation in Palestine

No analysis of the educational situation in Ein Yabroud village can be thorough, without a preliminary review of the general educational problems in the country as a whole.

We know from empirical experience that the education of the masses and the reduction of illiteracy among its members form the very fundamentals of any progress among the democratic nations of the world. In a country like Palestine of which over three-fourths of its inhabitants are rural, the rural school occupies a special position of eminence. It stands as the lighthouse of guidance and advice to the rural population living in its vicinity, as it introduces new ways and means of thinking to help the farmers cope more intelligently with their problems of everyday life, and molds the thinking of their offspring as it prepares them to be better citizens in the future, and a greater potential source of leadership in their community.

Schools in Palestine have exerted a potent influence in shaping the thoughts, beliefs and reasoning power of the educated individual, until they have bypassed the older influence of the church which has become secondary in influence during the last two decades, particularly among the younger generations.

In spite of the acknowledged value of the power of their influence, they have been pathetically neglected by the Ex-Government of the Mandate Power in the country, though their conditions had been better at their worst than under the period of Turkish domination which ignored education almost altogether except for the privileged few in some of the urban centers.

However, this neglect of Arab education on the part of the Ex-Mandate Power has not been due to accident. The British Royal Commission of 1937 made no secret about this when it made the following statement in its published report:[1]

> Arab education produces one of the most intractable difficulties in the political situation. We cannot wish there should be less of it, merely because of its political results....The fact must be faced that every year some thousands of young Arabs emerge from a school-system which has inevitably fostered their nascent patriotism.

The Royal Commission frankly admits the Arab's desire for knowledge and education as it states the following:[2]

> Among the Arabs there is a great demand for education. It is evidenced by the number of applications made every year for entrance into the town and village schools. But, owing to their limited resources, the Arabs have been unable to meet this demand. Although there are a few schools maintained by Arab funds, such as the secondary schools at Jerusalem, Nablus and Bir Zeit, it has fallen principally to the Government to provide educational facilities for them; and unfortunately the Department of Education has always been short of funds.

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[1] Palestine Royal Commission, Report, p. 97.

[2] Ibid, p. 251.

The meager amount of money spent by the Administration on the country's education in comparison to other items is shown in Table IV. It is noticed that the percentages spent for this purpose have declined steadily since 1933, while those for the somewhat unnecessary Public Works have almost tripled and those for Police and Prisons doubled by 1937, leading a stranger to think this country to be a criminal nation!

The income of the Government, on the other hand, is shown in TAble V, where an accumulation of 4,181,655 pounds can be readily seen during the same period.

TABLE IV

EXPENDITURES OF THE PALESTINE GOVERNMENT DURING 1931-1937

| | 1931-2 | 1932-3 | 1933-4 | 1934-5 | 1935-6 | 1936-7* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Pounds | Pounds | Pounds | Pounds | Pounds | Pounds |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURE | 2,374,867 | 2,516,394 | 2,704,856 | 3,230,010 | 4,236,202 | 6,099,997 |
| Expenditure: | | | | | | |
| Public Works | 334,353 | 317,451 | 373,224 | 540,697 | 991,824 | 1,105,793 |
| Police and Prisons | 469,516 | 475,042 | 486,605 | 506,712 | 527,467 | 744,455 |
| Department of Health | 105,918 | 111,052 | 135,838 | 166,311 | 194,632 | 204,356 |
| Department of Education | 146,988 | 159,520 | 179,635 | 201,498 | 221,087 | 243,265 |
| Percentage of Total Spent on Education | 6.19% | 6.34% | 6.64% | 6.24% | 5.22% | 3.99% |

*Ibid, p. 252.

TABLE V

INCOME OF THE GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE
DURING 1931-37

| | Customs | Total Revenue |
|---|---|---|
| | Pounds | Pounds |
| 1931-32 | 922,080 | 2,333,895 |
| 1932-33 | 1,544,052 | 3,673,206 |
| 1933-34 | 1,868,598 | 3,985,493 |
| 1934-35 | 2,600,370 | 5,452,633 |
| 1935-36 | 2,751,245 | 5,770,456 |
| 1936-37 | 2,019,479 | 4,639,953 |

The Royal Commission deplored such a needless surplus drawn from the taxpayers.[3] It suggested that it should have been spent on public works or some other services, but no mention was made of spending some of it on the sorely needed public education, though it declares the following in the same report regarding Arab education in Palestine:[4]

> The Government system is able to satisfy no more than half the Arab demand for education. Of recent years nearly 50 percent of the applicants for entry into schools, in areas where schools exist, have had to be refused for lack of teachers and accommodation; and this makes no allowance for the unsatisfied demand in areas where no school has yet been built within accessible distance.
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> Out of an Arab population of school-age youngsters, estimated at about 260,700, only 42,700 are at present accommodated in Government schools; and Arabs calculate that about 85 percent of the farmers are still illiterate. This is the more deplorable in that many Arab villages are willing, if only Government will do its share, to contribute towards the erection of school buildings.

Then the Royal Commission concludes the following about conditions of the school-system in Arab communities:[5]

> Although the principal Arab demand is for primary education, the Government secondary school system is inadequate even for the limited output of the primary schools. The Government Arab College is the only establishment offering a full secondary course, though there are secondary classes at a few other town schools.

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[3] Ibid, p. 152.

[4] Ibid, p. 251.

[5] Ibid, p. 251.

The inevitable shortage of trained teachers under such a system is commented on by the Spokesman of the above Commission in the following statement:[6]

> The supply of trained teachers is severely limited. The output of them from the Government Arab College suffices for the replacement of losses only through illness or retirement, but not for the full staffing of new schools. The construction of this College, approved by the Secretary of State in 1928, was postponed by Government for one reason or another until 1935; only the first part of the plan has actually been completed, and until the Government rescinds its refusal to countenance any extension of the buildings, no effective increase can be achieved in the output of teachers. The Government Women's College is even less adequately housed in rented buildings, and there is a more serious lack of women teachers than of men.

Arabs who desire to continue their education beyond the secondary classes at university levels are forced to go abroad. The majority of those who can afford it go to the American University at Beirut, and a few go to Egypt, Europe or the United States. It is evident that thousands of mentally eligible youngsters who are fitted for a higher education must forfeit such a privilege due to their lack of funds and inability to afford travel abroad, not to mention the comparatively high fees required by most universities, including the university established by the American Presbyterian Mission at Beirut.

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[6] Ibid, p. 251.

Most of these discontented youth have been led to believe that they have been frustrated early in life as their half education is of little value to themselves or to their country. Eventually, they settle down in low-paying jobs in an environment devoid of the incentives and opportunities available to similar youth in the United States.

Their adolescent discontent turns into hard-boiled bitterness, which finds vent in joining the sublime national cause, as their ego finds triumph in supporting whatever the national cause may entail, such as national demonstrations, strikes, or rebellions. Such a situation is not uncommon, indeed, among the discontented youth of any nation under similar circumstances. Had the Mandate Power spent generously on education, it would very likely have had less to spend on internal security measures and would have gained much good will and respect from the populace.

C. K. Webster, Professor of International Economics at the London School of Economics, sums up the situation in the following statement regarding British policy in the Near East:[7]

> Large sums of money had been expended in the Near East, but it had been expended mainly for war or, on occasion, for the repression of rebellion. The expenditure of one-tenth of such an amount on the economic and social welfare of their new wards would almost certainly have

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[7]C. K. Webster, British Policy in the Middle East, as edited by P. W. Ireland in The Near East, p. 170.

> caused the Arabs to adopt an entirely new attitude toward British leadership. It is becoming increasingly evident that the great mistake of the democratic Powers, in the period between the two wars, was their failure to translate democracy into economic and social welfare, and nowhere was a laissez faire policy more disastrous than in their relations with those areas, both in Europe and in Asia, where the transition from one form of society to another demanded large and carefully planned expenditures. No successful attempt was made to set up a great Arab University such as the Jews created. Such enlarged conceptions of the duties of a mandatory Power were, as we have seen, altogether outside the conceptions of the British ruling class.

The authorities in charge realized early that education is the only practical means of raising the people's social and economical levels, and with that their standards of living and hygiene are sure to be elevated. They were also aware that it would be difficult for a foreign government to regulate their affairs under such conditions of widespread knowledge and education, since light is apt to be shed on the shortcomings of the existing economical and social systems, and corrective measures will have to be taken. The authorities steered away from such a course to prevent the arousing of young leadership in the future that might awaken the nation from its dormancy.

If the consistent demands of the people for elementary schools are to be complied with, this can lead only to further clamoring for secondary schools, colleges and a university to serve the mounting demands of those who have completed their elementary

education. The downfall of the Darweeshs (phony religious evangelists) who are already on their way to non-existence, and of the ubiquitous uneducated Religious Sheiks feigning as preachers, will certainly be inevitable along with the disappearance of other superstitions and useless relics. The intelligentsia of the nation already dominates the scene.

Defects of the Educational-System in Palestine

In addition to the foregoing general defects of education in Palestine, the following shortcomings in the educational-system are evident:

1. Teachers are poorly-trained in the social and psychological aspects of their profession, especially those teaching in the rural communities. It is of interest to notice the foresightedness of the Tennessee Department of Education's ruling in this matter. This ruling requires teachers to have a degree in education, at least theoretically, or a certificate in education inclusive of prescribed psychological and social courses. Colleges do not require such a requisite. This is evidence of the Department's concern to handle the adolescent youth carefully with trained men and women. The writer is in a position to state that the overwhelming majority of teachers from the lowest elementary grade to the highest secondary class in Palestine, go to class

equipped with a stick or a pair of strong biceps to man-handle the student for a mere mistake that he may make in reciting an assignment or neglecting homework. Teachers who are too old to use force resort to mental torture and ridicule. To improve this entire undesirable system, certain courses in the fields of psychology and sociology should be definitely taken by all teachers before they should be allowed to practice teaching.

2. Teachers are underpaid, causing them to lack interest in their work. Their living facilities in the respective communities have limited facilities, especially those teaching in the rural communities.

3. The educational-system makes no provisions for kindergartens nor does it make allowance for adult education in night classes or otherwise. These things are badly needed in view of the fact that 85 percent of the population are illiterate, yet the people are willing to learn if offered an opportunity.

4. It is apparent that there is a definite scheme in government schools to overload the curriculum. This is done to burden the minds of the students with a great deal of cramming and little thinking. This causes a large number of students to bog-down and eventually wash-out

to make room for others due to the limited available educational facilities offered by the Government. A graduate of a secondary school which is the equivalent of a high school here, is stuffed with several college freshmen and sophomore courses though he may lack the intellectual ability to absorb the fundamentals of such courses, and when the material is absorbed, it is lightly retained. Such cramming by the adolescent youth, allows little or no time for recreation, or time for them to join any patriotic social activities that might be found.

5. Students dropped from such Government schools for academic reasons usually enroll in private national or missionary schools in the country, which are in turn wrongly dubbed by government pupils as inferior due to their acceptance of such students. The curriculum of these private schools might be somewhat less burdensome than those of the government, but nevertheless, they more than make up for this by offering physical, social, and religious activities which outweigh any other seeming disadvantages they may have.

The underlying fault of this situation is the absence of an accepted standardized educational system in the form of a national association to cover the fundamental curricula of all operating schools in the country.

6. Adequate essential laboratory equipment and material for the performance of individual experiments in the exact sciences, such as chemistry and phyics, are absent. Thus, the student is forced to depend a great deal on his imagination for the chemical reactions involved in his experiments in chemistry. He also has to imagine the operation of the various physics laboratory instruments in his course of study. Therefore, the courses are not so hard to forget a few months after the last examination, and many students are apt to find a considerable degree of difficulty in university level studies should they continue their education.
7. One of the purposes of education is to produce intelligent leadership. An examination of the records shows almost the complete absence of community leaders who are products of government schools unless they happen to be the lone literate members of the community, whereby no other substitutes are present. Augmenting the curriculum with appropriate courses in the social sciences will undoubtedly have far-reaching effects in this direction, especially in producing rural leaders.

8. The lack of sufficient vocational training for rural schools is evident. The Palestine Department of Education has of late encouraged the development of school gardens worked by supposedly trained men under the supervision of a member of the school staff. The program has made some progress as seen from an increase in the budget for this work from 30 pounds in 1928 to 3000 pounds in 1943 for the whole country.[8] This is far from sufficient though it is a step in the right direction.

9. There are no adequate agricultural experiment stations or institutions of agriculture in the country at university level. The government had an experiment station at Acre, along with various sub-stations engaged in growing and distributing better plant varieties. The sub-station at Beersheba has developed dry-farming cultivation studies. It is questionable whether Acre was the best place for this type of work. It is in the limited marshy region of the northern coastal plain, whereas much of the Arab agricultural activities are in the upland and hilly regions and the dry-farming area of the Negeb. It was suitable for irrigation studies,

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[8] B. A. Keen, The Agricultural Development of the Middle East, p. 41.

but unfortunately the well-water rested on saline water, and there were signs that the irrigation water was contaminated, and a fresh supply of water had to be found.[9]

As for agricultural schools in the country, there is only the two-year Kadoorie Agricultural School at Tulkarm (Figure I), which has had so far an unfortunate accomplishment. Originally the two Kadoorie schools were expected to produce the future agricultural officers, but experience has shown that the scholars of the one at Mount Tabor are absorbed by the Jewish colonies, while those from Tulkarm are inadequately trained. Further, the graduates entry into the Agricultural Service could only be as occasional replacements, as the Department of Agriculture is fully staffed on its existing, but inadequate basis.[10]

10. There are no public libraries of any dimension to aid those interested in studying, as the case is in most civilized countries throughout the world.

## The Educational Situation in Ein Yabroud

The yearning of the most primitive Arab, whether Muslin or Christian, has always been to master the Koran or Bible, respectively. This earnest desire upon which their philosophy of life is built was

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[9] Ibid., p. 81.

[10] Ibid., p. 82.

the foundation of their early school systems which weathered centuries of time, and upon which present day schools in hamlets, villages and towns were established.

In the absence of school buildings in the early history of this community, the mosque served as a place of prayer and study, while the church served a similar twin purpose in the nearby Arab Christian communities such as Bir Zeit, Jiffna, and Et-tayiba, as seen in Figure 2.

Youngsters came to the mosque daily whether on foot or horseback from outlying areas surrounding this village, to learn to read and write and eventually master the Koran under the vigilant care of the local Khateeb (elder religious teacher of the village). The students assembled in a partitioned section of the mosque to learn the teachings of the Koran, usually memorizing a good deal of it before they had learned to read or write. What they learned in school was supplemented at home by the parents who memorized a good many Surahs (psalms) from the Koran themselves to use in their daily prayers, though they might have been illiterate due to their lack of opportunity to receive an education in their younger days.

The older Khateeb was in due time replaced after the first world war, by a teacher who revolutionized the basic curriculum consisting of Religion, Composition and Mathematics, and added a few other courses such as Arabic History, Literature, Algebra,

Geometry, Geography, Hygiene and even an English course as he happened to know a little.

The younger teacher was not satisfied to receive a loaf of bread from his pupils for pay, or to have his daily three meals brought to him by the students according to their turn on the roster as did the elder Khateeb; nor was he interested in receiving clothing, fuel, laundry service and other various necessities from the parents of his students like his predecessor. He was often a stranger who was paid in cash by the village and attended to his own services and expenses. Later on, he was compensated by the government and became more or less independent of the village.

With an increase in the student body, the partitioned mosque with its few benches could not accommodate the enrollment, and the entire village pitched in, in 1930, to raise funds for a larger school. The government agreed to match half the funds needed and supply a teacher, provided the rest of the funds were raised by the village, and a piece of land was offered for the site of the school. This completed, a three-room modern school building was erected to accommodate the entire enrollment of the student body. A decade later, the villagers realized the significance of teaching their daughters what had been taught to their sons. Since co-education was something they knew little about, they treated the subject coldly due to the lack of separate facilities for the purpose. They petitioned the

government to erect a school building for the girls' education as they had done a decade earlier for the boys. The government was this time uninterested in their affairs as it had its hands full in supporting the needs of its mother government in London to fight the late World War. The village council then settled the issue temporarily by allowing girls to attend school with the boys, until a building could be erected. However, they were to be seated on separate benches in the class room as the case is in many town schools in some regions in the United States.

At the end of the war they repeated their petition to the government to erect a separate girls' school. This time, they were given the cold shoulder by the government , as it evidently had no intention to comply with their desire.

Members of this community were, nevertheless, determined to erect the building and they commenced to raise funds for the prupose. They turned to their emigrant relatives in foreign lands for financial aid, but unfortunately, selfishness and mutual mistrust between both factions failed to materialize their noble ambition. Emigrants overseas felt that they had no daughters who would benefit directly from their contributions, and residents in the village were unable to raise sufficient funds for the purpose. The result was a dismal failure of the project which is to be blamed on all concerned. However, their observation of the constant progress of the girls, who outperformed the boys in their studies, did not diminish their desire to build them a school. They felt that it would

be wiser to wait until the post-war inflationary prices of labor and material could be stabilised, in order to assure the financial success of the project.

Since girls started to go to school, illiteracy among them has become the exception rather than the rule. This fact has excited the fancy of the villagers who felt, at long last, they can have at least literate wives and mothers who can be of a greater asset in their homes. Younger girls who went to school taught their elder sisters what they learned in school day by day as they returned home. This method of teaching proved to be a success as the younger girls' homework was done equally by all other girls in the household. The elder girls found it more convenient to learn from their younger sisters than to attend classes as they felt too old to go to school, and besides they had much household work to do. This unique method of spreading literacy among the girls of the village proved most rapid and popular with gratifying results.

Should the education of these girls be continued to produce teachers, nurses, midwives, home demonstration agents and a multitude of other badly needed professions, this can indeed lead to certain prosperity in the mode of life of this community. If the prejudices of this community against co-education are reconciled, many economical benefits can undoubtedly be realised as the funds required for another school can be spent on the facilities of the present school to a greater advantage.

Signs of anxiety for information in this community are evident everywhere. One of the first inquiries made by individuals coming from work and gathering in the village guest house is to investigate if someone has been shopping that day in Jerusalem or Ramallah as it is tacitly understood that anyone going there will bring the daily newspaper with him for the use of the community, whether he is literate or not. Once the shopper is located, as he is usually seen leaving the compounds of the village in the morning, the paper is brought to the village guest house. It is handed to one of the literates present who in turn sounds off the daily news from beginning to end while all those present listen attentively.

A lively discussion usually follows the reading of the paper, as most listeners join the forum and take turn in commenting on the world's events and affairs as they have just heard them read. The presence of only two privately-owned radio receiving sets in this village makes it rather difficult to diffuse the freshly announced news to the whole village which is always anxious to hear the latest in world events.

No where could the importance of education be more readily appreciated than in interviewing youngsters in this community who have completed their elementary education and those who did not. One cannot help but observe the striking gap in the degree of intelligence, logical reasoning and amount of discipline

between both youngsters though they may be on the same low economical level.

There have been over two dozen youngsters from this village who were sent to secondary schools in Birah, Bir Zeit and Jerusalem upon their completion of the seventh grade at the local school. One of these students has already received several university degrees in the United States, and two others hold similar degrees in different fields from Egypt.

It is evident that all parents who can afford to send their children to higher institutions of learning after their completion of the local school are never hesitant to do that, in spite of heavy sacrifices on their part such as selling a piece of land or doing without some necessities of life to provide their children's education. A commendable keen competition in this endeavor has been under way during the last few years.

Defects of the Educational System in Ein Yabroud

Besides the educational shortcomings which this village has in common with the rest of the country, the following defects are most evident:

1. Teachers training is only better-than-no-teachers-at-all level, as they completely lack training in the social sciences, or orientation in the treatment of children.

Their use of force with the children or ridicule is standard.

2. No agricultural education of any value is offered to the students not to mention the village. It was originally assumed by the government that the school would serve the twin purpose of (1) teaching agricultural education to the students, and (2) serving as an agricultural demonstration farm by means of gardens for the benefit of the community. Such things as grafting and budding, planting different varieties of trees, keeping bees, chickens, and cross-breeding livestock were to be employed. Instead, the school often seeks the aid of the empirical knowledge of the villagers in such matters as they come up since none of the three teachers in this school are trained in agriculture or even have completed their secondary education. The effect of this poor system assumes greater significance due to the absence of an Agricultural Extension Service such as exists in the United States, whereby the American farmer is kept abreast of the latest modern scientific development in his field of interest.
3. There is a lack of hygienic facilities in the school such as heat, light, running water, water closets and the lack of teaching comprehensive courses in hygiene. This

neglect of hygiene fundamentals fails to teach the youngsters the importance of cleanliness, and the destructive effect of disease. Illustrations by way of movies and the observation of practical experiments can be of invaluable aid in teaching them the importance of healthier living practices. Also, the meager physical training program of the curriculum is insufficient to serve the purpose for which it was intended.

4. The complete absence of social activities whether in the schools' curriculum or after school hours, and the absence of movies and games for the childrens' recreation makes school life monotonous and uninteresting.

5. There are no women teachers. The writer believes that women teachers who would teach co-educational classes through their elementary education at least can exert a greater influence in diminishing the popular prejudices of the community against co-education. Furthermore, well trained women are more apt to influence the students' home life with constructive suggestions to members of his family than a male instructor could. The inquisitiveness of such women in the affairs of the family can be readily overlooked by the villager, and therefore the opportunity to promote the social activities in the community are

greater, and given instructions are more likely to be obeyed and followed by all concerned.

6. The excessive interference by the teacher in the political affairs of this village is a detriment to the school. The mukhtar has on more than one occasion resented this, and petitioned the Department of Education to replace one of the teachers. This can be blamed on the individual teacher's lack of personal versatility and his lack of psychological and social training, though he may have intended to improve the lot of the school with his interference.

7. There is the lack of a school lunch program to help correct the nutritional diets of the children as the case is in the United States. This is beyond the realms of their present goals, but it is, nevertheless, a splendid idea to be utilized whenever circumstances permit.

8. School supplies are unnecessarily limited. More rooms are needed with modern facilities for the normal annual increase of students which is expected to quadruple by 1970 at the present rate of increase, as one of the three rooms of this school is used as the village first-aid station leaving only two rooms for study.

9. An increased diversification of courses in the curriculum is necessary to give the students a rounded education due to the fact that most of them do not have the opportunity to pursue their studies beyond this school.
10. Modern transportation facilities such as the American Rural School bus system has to transport children back and forth to school is lacking. The object of this plan is to encourage the attendance of children in smaller villages which have no schools within a three-and four-mile radius such as Dura, Ein-Seenya, Yabroud and other smaller communities as seen in Figure 2. Many children attend this school from these villages on foot regardless of the inconveniences of weather hazards, fatigue, and time consumed walking back and forth to school.
11. There is an absence of a mandatory law to force parents of school age children to send their children to school, but needless stringent regulations limit the ages of pupils in class.
12. Last but far from least is the evident lack of a responsible patriotic spirit instilled in the pupils on American lines in similar schools here, whereby patriotism is instilled on a national instead of local basis. This situation

was sadly exposed during the mass migration of Arab refugees from their homes which fell to the Jews after the departure of the Mandate Power in 1948. In replying to questions asked by the United Nations personnel, regarding their losses, all refugees were concerned about their personal possessions but none expressed regret for the collapse of his country and the defeat of his national honor. This is a clear indication of a distressingly low quality of leadership, which is the product of an inadequate school system devoid of national pride and responsibility. The preoccupation of such leadership with its selfish interests, is most striking to the eyes of a stranger.

## CHAPTER VI

## THE RURAL CHURCH AND RELIGION

### Islam and Its Influence in the Community

Islam is a religio-social institution in its prime with an approximate annual increase of 250,000 human souls through conversion and natural increase; this in spite of the fact that it has neither organized missions, funds, nor priesthood to stimulate its growth.[1] Unfortunately, it is barely known to many an American intellectual who thinks lightly of such words as Allah taking it to mean the devil, and Muhammad as some sort of a God or some other misconception. The truth of the matter is that the word Allah is merely the Arabic translation of the English word God, and Muhammad is simply a human being with no super-powers or allegations other than that he is beyond proof, suspicion or doubt, God's apostle and messenger.

Muhammad, an unlettered orphan was God's prophet, selected to convey God's word through the Koran to reform the disorderly and arrogant way of life of the Pre-Islamic Arabs who were a group of pagans and atheists, worshipping idols, the sun, the moon, the fire and a multitude of other objects and images. He was first startled and horrified when he received his revelations in 610 A.D. as other

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[1]Dr. Kheirallah, Islam, p. 1.

prophets before him did, but he was calmed by his wife Khadija who told him: "Fear not that God will ever fail you, but that you will establish Truth and Fidelity, and lead all concerned to the Truth."[2]

The very name of the religion "Islam" means "submission to the Almighty God." This religion had more than its share of merciless persecutions and abuse from the very Arabs whom it was meant to correct. Muhammad who came from a noble family, and who was known because of his honorable conduct as "Al-Amin" meaning The Trustworthy became the object of their ridicule, insults, torture, and hatred in his indefatigable effort to gain adherents. He was finally forced to make his famous flight known as Al-Hijrah. This was made from his native home town of Mecca to Medina in 622 A. D.

This religion which started with a handful of adherents has now well over five hundred million followers in all four corners of the earth. It is strongly on an ascending scale with more converts every year.

While it is beyond the scope of this writing to examine this religion and go into its ramifications and details, it is necessary to cover the foundations upon which it stands, and the various factors responsible for its propagation through all ages since its start, in as far as it concerns the rural church of this community and forms their sole code of laws which govern their daily lives as interpreted in the holy Koran.

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[2] Ibid., p. 25.

This religion was born at a time when slavery, the burying alive of infant daughters, loose sexual ties, injustice to women, imposition of high interest rates upon the needy, appropriation of the substance of the orphan and widow, drunkenness and use of intoxicants and sacrifices to the idols were rampant in the land. All these seemed sinful and wrong to Muhammad, even before the revelations appeared to him.

The good of his nation was nearest to his heart, yet he saw no solution for his people in the Jewish faith as it was then practiced by the Jews, for it was full of superstition and ceremonials, and it was they who were the most oppressive money-lenders at that time and Muhammad chided them for appropriating the homes of the debtors unjustly. How then could their religion improve his people? Christianity! The Christian priests that he saw in Syria wore diadems and bejeweled raiments, while the poor, who lacked the necessities of life contributed to this splendor. How could these drinkers of the wine reform the drunkeness of his people?

Muhammad saw the vanity of superficial life and realized how his people had strayed away from the right path. He saw that their life was devoid of spirituality, and that they had reached the depths of degradation.[3] His teachings were based on reverence to

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[3] Ibid., pp. 22-23.

the other two monotheistic religions, Christianity and Judaism, he directed his entreaties to the pagans and atheists who worshipped idols and other tangibles.

Islam piously believes in all the prophets of the Bible, honoring Jesus, The Virgin Mary, Moses, Abraham and all the others. When a common Muslim today mentions the very name of Jesus, The Virgin Mary or Moses, he always precedes the name with the words 'Our Lord' for male prophets and 'Our Lady' for The Virgin Mary, a thing which the writer is unaware of among the common man in the Western World.

This religion was founded on a truly democratic basis, whereby it considers all creatures regardless of race, creed, or color as equal before God. This is illustrated by the following historic episode at Medinah at the time of the rise of Islam:

When Muhammad in his flight from the Arabs of Mecca arrived at Medinah which was predominantly Jewish, the Jews expected to use him for their aggrandizement as his religion had acknowledged the prophets of the Bible. They expected him to give them dominance, but he taught them along with the Arab pagans that everyone was equal in the eyes of God. This was not in keeping with the Jewish belief which taught them that they were God's chosen people and so they schemed to undermine the new faith, as they came to the mosques to argue with the Muslims and revive old Arab feudal quarrels.

This scheming finally backfired on them most disastrously in subsequent historical events.[4]

Islam made the freedom of slaves mandatory for Muslims, thirteen centuries before their emancipation by Lincoln. The Prophet not only freed the only slave in his household named "Zaid" but adopted him and placed him as commander of the pumitive campaign against the Romans of Byzantium where he was killed leading the Muslims. Later on the Prophet appointed the twenty-year-old son of Zaid, Vsama, as the leader of the following expedition which inflicted the first defeat on the Romans and was the prelude to the conquest of Syria by the Arabs. This position of honor alloted to the son of a former slave, over an army which contained a number of tried generals and nobles of the proud Quereish clan, was meant to convey, not only the personal affection of the Prophet, but a lesson to the Muslims themselves. "That in Islam there is no distinction of caste, race, or color; that all are equal in the eyes of God."[5]

Islam outlawed the widespread practice of drinking intoxicants due to the well-known evil effects and results from such a venture, and prevented hog meat for human consumption probably due to its unsanitary effects at a time when no refrigeration existed. These two outlawed items are closely observed in this community.

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[4] Ibid, pp. 61-69.

[5] Ibid, p. 29.

It is appropriate to give the fine cardinal principles of Islam from which the religious and social ramifications begin as they touch this community.

1. The declaration of "La Illaha Ill-Allah" meaning "There is no God but one God." This is the cornerstone and may be considered as the equivalent to the Christian Act of Faith. The second part of this Act "Muhammad Rasul Allah" acknowledges the messengership of Muhammad.
2. Prayers - The performance of supplication which is preceded by the purification of the person by ablution, and the wearing of clean garments, which is a sanitary code brought far in advance of its age.
3. Charity Tax - This tax is known as "Zakat" and is an annual obligatory tax from a Muslim on all accumulated wealth. It approximates two and a half percent of his capital given to the poor and needy.
4. Fast - Known as "Saum" and falls during the lunar month of Ramadhan. This fast is ordained on all Muslims who are in good health, while the aged and the very young, the sick, the pregnant, the nursing mother and the traveler are excused from observing it. It is kept from early dawn until sunset during which a Muslim does not partake of any drink or food, nor does he smoke or chew. One of its

purposes is to bring the attention of the thoughtless to the plight of the poor and hungry and open his fount of sympathy year 'round.

5. The Pilgrimage - Known as "Hajj." It is a pre-Islamic era that was retained and remodeled by Islam, making it a democratic leveling process which brings men from every station of life and from every corner of the earth to meet as equals before God, and go back to their different communities as apostles of a practiced brotherhood of man. They go to tread the ground that the Prophet trod ages before and to emulate him by circumambulating the very small Ancient House known as the "Ka'ba," at the very spot where the prophets Abraham, Ismael and Muhammad worshipped.[6]

Making the pilgrimage is not mandatory to the sick or those who cannot afford it. Less than a dozen persons in this community have performed it to date, owing to the weak economical condition of the community as it is considered a luxury which people envy those who can afford it.

The influence of religion on the individual in Ein Yabroud is only secondary to that of school, yet it is stronger than its influence on the urbans. It is recognized only as the spiritual

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[6] Ibid, pp. 119-150.

guide of the community which is a rather healthy aspect, as it is a constant reminder of their duties towards their neighbors, community, God and themselves.

The observation of worshippers indicates that only the elders take the trouble to pray the five daily prayers required of the Orthodox Muslim; however, the smallest in the community attends the Friday noon prayer as a sermon is always delivered by the local Sheikh (usually reprimanding the worshippers for their various delinquencies towards the church and their non-attendance, their failure to help the poor, or any recent misconduct in the community that might come to his attention, similar to sermons of ministers here on Sunday under like circumstances).

The influence of the church is apparent in such things as mentioning God's name by the youngest well brought-up child who can talk to the oldest person in the community before the commencement of any worthy act such as eating, reading, writing, weighing an article (in order to be reminded of fairness), and many other common daily acts in order that God's name may bless their particular deed. The standard saying is "Bismi Ilahi El-Ruhman El-Raheem" meaning "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate."

It is thought that every adult in this community and even some children fast unnecessarily the month of Ramadhan. Those who fail to fast are careful not to be seen eating in public lest they

be the object of gossip in the village. All fasting adults assemble shortly before sunset at the village guest house; each bringing what food his family has prepared to break the fast at a certain signal after sundown, checking earlier in the day with neighbors to see what dishes they have prepared to prevent the duplication of food. The object behind this meeting in the village guest house is to feed strangers who happen to be in the community and who also assemble to break their fast, aside from having a variety of dishes available for all those present.

The charity tax for the poor and needy is usually paid out in kind and distributed mainly on the only two holidays in Islam; 'Id al-Sagheer' which comes first, immediately at the end of Ramadhan, and then 'Id al-Adha' which falls seventy days later. 'Id al-Adha' meaning the holiday of sacrifice, a day on which all Muslims all over the world lay off from work and offer sacrifice by slaughtering livestock to give the poor and commemorate the act of sacrifice, which Abraham fulfilled when he was told to slay an animal instead of his first-born son Ismael, which he had promised God unto himself. Ismael was destined to be Muhammad's paternal grandfather.

All relatives in this community remember their kinsfolk, particularly the females, and visit them from house to house, greeting them with a handshake, drinking coffee, sometimes giving them presents, and then move along to cover the entire territory.

The charity tax is religiously mandatory; yet few find anything to spare that they can give away.

To many people religion seems to be chiefly a caste into which they were born and which involves the beliefs of their fathers and forefathers. They follow little of its rituals and demands.

Dodd of the American University of Beirut points out in his book of "A Controlled Experiment on Rural Hygiene in Syria," that the literate men of the villages he visited in Syria were just as interested in reading the Bible as the Koran.[7] The same is true in most Arab areas in Palestine, including this community. The presence of the Arab Christian communities since time immemorial in this county has augmented the tacit mutual relationship between both factions. Members of the various Christian and Muslim communities in the county have been for ages inseparable in nationality, culture, blood ties, and everything that makes a homogeneous nation. The Arab Christians are descendents of the Arab tribe of Beni Ghassan and other such tribes which were in the fertile crescent before their Muslim brethern came from the desert.

It is of interest to notice that it has always been the policy of the imperialists in control to 'divide and rule' on lines similar to the unashamed policy followed by France which

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[7] S. C. Dodd, A Controlled Experiment on Rural Hygiene in Syria, (Beirut, American Press, 1934), p. 96.

exploited religious divisions in Syria before its expulsion from the country in World War II. They dismembered Syria into more than a half a dozen different states according to the existing religious sects such as the Muslim sects of Sunni, Alawis or Nusairiya, Shi'i, Druze, Kurds, and the Christian sects of Maronites and Orthodox. This was designed to create a sense of weakness on the part of the Arab Christians among the Muslim majority to make them dependent on French protection and less inclined to follow a nationalist line of their own in their country. France even went painstakingly into lengths to falsify Syrian history school books to tell the children that they were not ethnically Arabs.[8]

Arabs in this community have always been aware of what was done in neighboring Syria by the uncouth French, and they guard zealously against the appearance of the least sign of discord in their ranks due to any religious differences, as the United States officially and unofficially guards against discord among its citizens on any religious basis.

Problems of the Church

The countryside and its desolation, and the dependence of those who make their living from the soil on rain water to grow

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[8]George E. Kirk, A Short History of the Middle East, (Washington, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1949), pp. 163-164.

their crops for their very subsistence, is a potent incentive to make the hard-working farmers readily credulous in the existence of a Supreme Being whom they can entreat, ask for guidance and help in times of adversaries and misfortune. Their ancestral nomadic forebears who wandered earlier in the scorching unfriendly Sahara Desert, seeking oasis and a place to graze their herds were similarly pressed to entreat the guidance of this Supreme Being to help them materialize their goal. The word 'W'Allah' became synonymous thereafter on the tongues of the Arabs in their daily vocabulary, as an expression of entreaty, exclamation and emphasis, until they were rebuked by God in a 'Surah' psalm in the Koran for using his name in vain. His name is still on the tip of the tongues of the uneducated in this community, who use it more than any other word in their chatterings. This has been the object of a strenuous campaign of the local Religious Sheikh from the pulpit, but it goes unmitigated with the passage of time.

While the hardworking peasant gives his full-hearted moral support to the church, and works with farver to support his family, his sons who have occasion to visit the county seat, the capital (where East meets West), and other cities beyond their horizon return home only to be fastidious and dissatisfied with their lot in the village. A few of them eventually seek employment in these urban centers as unskilled laborers (as they are untrained for

anything else) only to be lost to their church, community, and country. Youngsters who could not leave the village, remained there to form the bulk of a dispirited, disgruntled group of young men who are unique in the annals of this village. These youngster's emotions are wrapped in restlessness, lack of self-confidence and weakness in heart and soul. They not only fail to abide by the teachings of the church, at least from its noble social aspects, let alone the religious rituals such as prayers and others, but take time to find faults with the machinery of the church, its principles, operations and whatever it stands for. These juveniles form one of the outstanding problems of the church in this community. Except for their religious teaching at home in their tender years, it would be difficult to keep them in harmony within the ranks of the church or the community for that matter. This again emphasizes why we have previously indicated the importance of school over the church or any other institution in Ein Yabroud. Simply because without education to help develop the intelligence, understanding and reasoning power of the youth, the virtues derived from religion such as conscience and spiritual guidance will virtually pass unnoticed.

A list of other problems of the church in categorical form is rather difficult, since the Muslim church stands unsupported by financial membership contributions, contrary to the church in the United States. The Moslem preacher performs his services as a contribution in

God's service with no renumeration other than his anticipated blessings.

Any adult in the possession of his full senses is eligible to lead the faithful in prayer. This virtually eliminates the pretentious necessity of having a trained priesthood for the job.

Rural mosques are not elaborate in their architectural designs as the adherents are not restricted to pray within their confines. They have the choice of praying alone or in groups in any purified locality they may desire.

To group the various problems of the church from a sociological point of view, in a stream-lined form, the following problems are most evident:

1. The preacher is unpaid for his services; therefore, preaching is a voluntary job which may be classified as a hobby or a civic duty. When the local Religious Sheikh asked the villagers in 1945 to help him plow his fields so that he could attend to the church more attentively, he was ridiculed for his unreasonable demand!! He boycotted the pulpit for a short while though attending the prayers, but force of habit brought him back shortly after the disturbance.

   There is also a village school teacher who has attended the Theological University in Egypt and who alternates with this Sheikh in deliverying the Friday

sermon and leading other prayers whenever he finds time; still another graduate of the Azhar who is employed in Jerusalem relieves both men whenever he visits the village.

In Islam, one must remind the believers of the exact time of prayer by word of mouth, corresponding to bell ringing in the Christian church. This is done by the village servant who sounds off a certain ritual that is usually heard throughout the whole village.

2. Young religious Sheikhs are poorly trained for their future non-paying careers, as they enter the Azhar University directly from elementary school on an auditing basis. Three youngsters from this community are already there. They may start preaching without ever completing their studies. However, this matters very little, for should they fumble and make a single mistake or mispronounce a word in reading the Koran during the prayer, they will be corrected by a thunderous congregation which loses no time to make the correction. Many attendants though illiterate memorize the Koran consisting of 522 pages, probably far better than the preacher.
3. The ancient mosque in this village was built in 800 A.D. with frequent minor repairs made by the collective action

of the village. It can hardly hold the entire congregation on a rainy day as the worshippers meet in the adjoining village guest house after the mosque has been occupied, and congregate on its paved roof which is vineyard shaded in summer. The village is sorely in need of a new mosque for the present adult population in the village and other worshippers who come from neighboring communities to attend the Friday sermon, let alone the anticipated increase of population during the next two decades.

Land owned by the mosque as a result of bestowal from villagers who die leaving no heirs is called "Waqf." This land is cultivated by someone according to the village council's wish; the produce is sold and the cash is spent on the mosque for such things as mats, rugs, light, paint, and other such incidentals.

4. There is no organization among the churches of the country or those of the county, as the case is in Parishes in the United States. This prevents the establishment of social programs for adults and Sunday School teachings for youngsters, a thing which uplifts the social as well as the spiritual status of the churchgoer.

Such a plan cannot be done in Ein Yabroud or other churches in the country on the present basis, due to the lack of proper finance as already seen, though Islam in itself is a social-religio institution made to govern the social and spiritual affairs of the individual.

5. The last but not least outstanding intangible problem of the church in this village, as well as in many others in the Arabic world, is the spread of much superstition and hearsay falsely attributed to Islam and the church. The excessive respect of Saints and Sheiks graves is an example, as we have seen in Chapter IV. The attribution of many fabrications and hearsays to the Prophet are alien to the religion. Irrelenancies of the kind are mainly fabricated and aired through the misinformed religious Sheiks, as those we find in the neighboring communities of Dura and Silwad, who take it upon themselves to judge on matters of religious laws, when they can hardly be considered literate.

Mustafa Kemal, founder of modern Turkey found it necessary to dispose of such men most ruthlessly in the process of reforming his country.

Schools again are the champions of truth and guidance against damage done by these phony individuals who are now, luckily, on the downgrade.

Generally speaking, the problems of the church are considered by the villagers as minor, due to the simplicity of the tangible requirements.

When any mention is made of the overcrowded conditions in the mosque, the mukhtar hastens to say that there will always be room to accommodate a few more persons. This comment is, of course, made due to the weak financial conditions in the village, as they must get along on what resources they have for the time being.

Functions of the Church

The original functions of the Muslim church were to reform the idol-worshipping pre-Islamic Arabs and enlighten all nations and individuals who were swept in its path. Its functions are covered in its ordinances and laws which are contained in the Koran. This Holy Book governs every act an individual may do, whether spiritual, such as prayer and fasting, or social involving such things as charity, heritage laws, marriage, divorce, etc. It promises the righteous who obey its principles and laws with the coveted award of heaven and those who disobey with eternal hell.

The function of the church has its taproots in the hearts of the believers, whereby its sheer theoretical potency restrains the indulgent and sinful in this community, in the absence of civic law enforcements. Its functions are still on the increase after

thirteen centuries of survival, and many of the civil laws and codes are borrowed from its teachings. Muhammad Abdu the late president of the Azhar Theological University in Egypt said: "The deep meanings in the Koran have yet to be translated by man."

One thing the church is usually certain to accomplish, is to propagate the beliefs of father to son, and unite fellow religionists in a common heritage under the same spiritual guidance. However, its ancient function of agitating fellow members to fight in a Jihad (war inspired on behalf of religion) has long been effete as wars have come to be national and political instruments to boot.

In the church's process of socialization, it broadens the individual's social horizon beyond the community, seeking to instill in him the spirit of Muslim fellowship of trust and stability, regardless of race, creed or color.

The Koran, which was collected piecemeal during the Prophet's mission in 144 surahs or chapters over a twenty-three year period, remains the foundation of the church and its functions.

## CHAPTER VII

## RURAL HEALTH SITUATION

### Health Service Received

Health is well depicted in Arabic as a crown worn by healthy creatures, and missed only by the sick and helpless. Its attached importance is well appreciated by the richest of peasants in the very performance of his five daily prayers which involve certain strenuous physical movements, and the poorest of peasants who could not earn his daily bread without it.

However, it is neglected to a degree far below the accepted minimum standard by both government and population. No available data are kept concerning sickness in this community, and mortality statistics cannot be considered as an indicator of the need for medical services.

The absence of government aid to assist the farmer, such as the vigilant attention of the United States Public Health Service, rural nursing service, and other constructive measures such as the National Health Act, The National Insurance Act, is quite evident. The meager activities of the Palestine Public Health Service in the country are confined to routine sanitation checkups.

Private medical organizations similar to the various health insurance plans here which contribute to the welfare of rural health

in the United States are unknown among the Arab communities in Palestine.

The functions of the Public Health Department in this community are confined to routine hygienic activities consisting of sending a burro-riding official to this village twice or thrice annually to ask owners of wells to pour gasoline in their wells to purify the water. The same official makes an annual trip to vaccinate the village for smallpox and sometimes for typhoid in case of an epidemic. This is the extent of government aid to rural health, other than allowing the very poor to be entered in the Government Hospital in Jerusalem in case of epidemics. School children receive no dental or medical attention, and it is possible that diseases of malnutrition among them are present.

Government expenditures on public health have always been the lowest in the budget, as seen in Table VI. The low percentages spent for such a purpose have much to do in curtailing many desired public health services that are badly needed if a healthier living is to be attained. Amounts spent during the last decade are not available, though they are believed to be less than expenditures made during the period 1926-36, as shown in Table VI. High government expenditures during this period on internal security may be considered responsible for the decline.

TABLE VI

GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE ON PUBLIC HEALTH
DURING 1926-1936

| Year | Total Government Expenditure | Department of Health Expenditure | Percentage* of Total Government Expenditure |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1926 | 2,070,479 | 89,384 | 4.3 |
| 1927 | 1,944,397 | 73,858 | 3.8 |
| 1928 | 3,381,993 | 98,581 | 2.9 |
| 1929 | 2,140,032 | 101,864 | 4.8 |
| 1930 | 2,536,505 | 105,481 | 4.2 |
| 1931 | 2,374,866 | 105,918 | 4.5 |
| 1932 | 2,516,394 | 111,052 | 4.4 |
| 1933 | 2,704,856 | 135,838 | 5.0 |
| 1934 | 3,230,010 | 166,311 | 5.1 |
| 1935 | 4,236,202 | 194,632 | 4.6 |
| 1936 | 6,099,927 | 204,356 | 3.3 |

*Palestine Royal Commission, Report, p. 232.

A lone doctor in the government dispensary at the county seat is the only appreciable government aid offered to the residents of the entire county of over 200,000 population. Six private practicioners in Ramallah, one of whom is an American, are always in demand. Two have recently died, and two left the country shortly after the 1948 disturbances.

The absence of a public service spirit in the medical profession in this country is most distressing, though most of the practitioners are graduates of the altruistic Medical College of the American University at Beirut. Material gain is the physician's goal. The successful recovery of a patient is secondary to the establishment of a good name for the practitioner with an end-view towards future business. A doctor visiting a patient in the village is something unheard of as he is expected to charge exorbitant fees, a thing which the average patient cannot afford; particularly since those who usually need the doctor's services the most are those who can afford him the least. Even patients in a critical condition are forced to visit the practitioner in his office at the county seat, if they are to avail themselves of his services at all.

The sight of an ambulance in this village is associated in the minds of the villagers with death, as the only ambulances that have ever come to this community have brought patients on their

death-beds from hospitals in Jerusalem, in order that they may die in their homes.

The only hospitals which the well-to-do residents in this community can go to in case of sickness, are the missionary hospitals in Jerusalem. These are second-rate hospitals with similarly rated doctors, particularly those of South-European countries. No wonder a visit to the hospital has become a dangerous venture among the villagers, except for the better Government Hospital in Jerusalem, which accommodates the very poor and which is staffed by Arab doctors. This hospital has produced better results than all other hospitals as far as the empirical experience of this community is concerned. It can be explained by the fact that the subsidy of the Arab doctor by the government is an asset to his morale as it insures him a fair return in his practice, instead of having to depend on uncertain financial returns from the public.

No hospitals as yet exist in this county, because of the lack of government support, and the inability of the residents to raise sufficient capital for the purpose; however, Ramallah City (the county seat) has already raised over $100,000 for the purpose and expects to commence building a municipal hospital as soon as circumstances permit.

The absence of trained midwives, nurses, and dispensary personnel is evident. A single untrained old midwife is the only medical aid available to the women of this community in time of birth. She employes the same sanitation techniques used in biblical times, using very fine sieved soil for talcum powder in treating the infants, and a host of other ancient practices. Yet, odd as it seems, the death of an infant due to her practices is a rare event, and most infant mortality is caused in later stages due to other causes not connected with the midwife.

Statistics for infant mortality in this county are not available, though the mean average for the Arab population in the country as a whole is 131 per 1000 live births, as seen in Table VII. The rate is believed to be far below this in this community. This is in comparison with an infant mortality average in the rural United States of 50.1 per thousand live births.[1]

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[1] Taylor, Rural Life in the United States, p. 159.

TABLE VII

POPULATION IN PALESTINE WITH BIRTH-RATE, DEATH-RATE AND INFANT MORTALITY IN 1943

| Type of People | Total (to nearest 1,000) | Birth-rate (per 1,000 to nearest 1) | Death-rate (per 1,000 to nearest 1) | Rate of Natural increase (per 1,000) | Infant* Mortality (per 1,000 live births) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Arabs | 1,029,000 | 48 | 20 | 28 | 131 |
| Jews | 503,000 | 24 | 8 | 16 | 54 |
| Others | 145,000 | 37 | 15 | 22 | 106 |

*E. B. Worthington, Middle East Science, p. 182.

It is believed that one of the main reasons for the high mortality of babies is probably due to their sudden exposure at the time they are weaned. The exposure is too abrupt for the process of developing the necessary immunities within the baby's body to keep pace with the intensity of the exposure, as they are usually weaned directly onto an adult diet. It is not infrequent to find a child nursing up to three or four years of age. One of the great lifesaving factors is the fact that every mother can nurse her baby amply, and that sunlight is abundant in the area.[2] Those who supplement the baby's diet with milk other than their own use goat's milk, which incidentally does not carry tuberculosis.[3]

Venereal disease is unknown in this community, and no unusual diseases that do not occur in the United States are traceable; however, occasional cases of trachoma of the eyes are discovered.

Rural Pattern of Health Care

Many people in this community are ignorant of proper sanitation practices. Those who know best usually hold the scarcity of water and the lack of modern conveniences responsible. Worst of all are those who have travelled in highly civilized countries and take the when-in-Rome-do-as-the-Romans-do attitude. Poverty is always

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[2] Dodd, A Controlled Experiment on Rural Hygiene in Syria, pp. 97-98.

[3] Ibid, p. 171.

the underlying basis of their incorrect hygienic practices. Drawing water through the convential plumbing system, having water closets, putting up screens for protection against flies, baking the bread in a bakery, eating with knife and fork on a table, and several other things are considered luxuries beyond their means. However, they would not be too slow to take advantage of these things if they were simply demonstrated to them as being within their means.

Their adamant fatalistic attitude towards disease is disdiscouraging, though 93 percent of the men adults who answered a questionnaire prepared by the writer in 1945 acknowledged the fact that disease is caused by microbes. Yet, it is doubtful if the volume of sickness among them, if statistics were kept, would exceed that of some rural areas in the United States. The crisp air, abundant sunshine, and the presence of antibioties in their bodies to resist disease are most likely responsible for their state of health.

In case of sickness, the doctor is resorted to only after home remedies have been tested and a few days of rest have proven futile. This tendency is understandable after what we have seen in the inconveniences involved in receiving medical services.

Dental care is limited to extractions, and few have the opportunity to have other work done on their teeth during their shopping trips to Ramallah and Jerusalem. Their simple daily diet, which almost always includes olive oil and bread, contributes much to the

soundness of their teeth and to the strength of their gums. The absence of frequent hot drinks, cold ice-cream and sweets in the children's diet, is a considerable factor in diminishing the amount of dental care needed.

The tendency to frequent doctors in the neighboring cities has been on the increase lately, in spite of the economical setback, as the people are becoming increasingly conscious of the benefits accruing from good health and prosperous living.

Nutrition

It is well to sound a note of warning regarding the standards of human nutrition before discussing the nutrition in this community. Those most expert on the subject are the first to agree that as yet we have no absolute standards regarding human nutrition. Though much study has been devoted to the subject in some parts of the world, we do not yet know how many calories are needed daily in different climates, nor how much first class protein or vitamins and minerals are needed by the human body under that particular climate. Certain standards have been laid down at the Hot Springs Conference which on many occasions have been widely quoted by people who do not understand how they were agreed upon or what they mean. At best these standards are compromises; at worst they may be seriously in error as applying to certain human groups. The fact that some people take standards worked out for one particular group of people in one

particular climate and talk and write about them as though they had universal application is apt to be misleading.[4] The lack of research in food nutrition in this country and the absence of laboratories for such purposes makes it hard to assess any standards of nutrition. This difficulty is coupled with long periods of religious feasting among the inhabitants, thus, nutritional surveys may be misleading unless made to cover long periods of time not less than twelve months.[5]

People in this community are somewhat ascetic in their nutritional habits, living mostly on what they can raise on the land, as the case is in most farming areas where such a diversified system of agriculture is practiced. Their diet is at its best, from the nutritional standpoint of view, during spring and summer, and at its worst during the winter months when hardly any fresh vegetables or fruits can be found unless purchased from nearby Ramallah or Jerusalem where anything can be found practically year 'round. The presence of fresh produce in either city during the cold months of the year is accredited to the irrigated plantations along the Jordan River at Jericho, which is several thousand feet below sea level.

Food preservation practices used in this community are primitive and limited to the drying of tomatoes, figs, grapes, cheese

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[4] E. B. Worthington, Middle East Science, p. 159.

[5] Ibid., p. 159.

(kushik), butter (semn), pomegranates, and some pickling. Wheat, lentils, olives and olive oil, potatoes, and sesame are also stored.

The absence of any worthwhile canning, quick freezing, or refrigeration are the main impediments to the storage of an abundant summer crop of fresh fruits and vegetables which are consumed fresh or sold locally at low prices to avoid spoilage.

Meat is available in the village almost daily, though enough prospective customers must be on hand in proportion to the estimated weight of the prospective slaughtered livestock, which is usually sheep or goats, before the village butcher takes the risk of slaughter, as there are no cold storage facilities in the village to accommodate any surplus that may not be sold. The frequency of meat consumption depends on the economical ability of the consumer, ranging from several times a week to once a month among the poorest. The mean average is once every ten days, with enough meat purchased to supply a familly with several meals.

Village weddings, Ramadhan festivals and the presence of guests of distinction always heralds the slaughter of extra livestock for the occasion to feed all those present (including, usually, a big number of the not-so-well-to-do in the community).

No visible signs of scurvy, rickets, or other diseases, due to nutritional deficiencies, are apparent in this community, though

infectious diseases may obscure any possible manifestations.

The winter diet is generally very monotonous, particularly among the not-so-well-to-do, though it does not pass without much grumbling and misgivings by the restless younger generation.

An appreciative change of diet has popularly taken place in this village since the late world war, with constant trends towards diversification, and an increase in high grade proteins in the form of meat, milk, and other food of high calory value. This began at a time when there was much demand for their produce, and a general rise in their levels of living was feasible; however, this temporary prosperity has suffered much during the disturbances of 1948, and has yet made no appreciable recovery.

Eating to satisfy their hunger is their sole epicurian philosophy, as far as nutrition is concerned, with little knowledge about proteins, minerals, and vitamins to supplement their physical requirements. However, much of what they consume in their daily diets, such as olive oil and whole-wheat bread (which are their mainstay), kushik and semn are unknowingly excellent substitutes for any high quality proteins such as meat, which they consume infrequently. Dried figs, tomatoes, stored pomegranates, raisins, lentils, along with poultry and eggs more than make up for much of their vitamin and mineral requirements.

One of their most noticeable difficulties in nutrition as the case is in most other communities in the country is their meager food reserves, which in a succession of years of low rainfall can be disastrous, such as happened in 1943 and 1944 in the Hadhramout. This is why one really disastrous year is better from the people's point of view than a series of poor years, because famine is then more obvious and leads to outside relief.[6]

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[6] Ibid., p. 160.

## CHAPTER VIII

## LEVELS AND STANDARDS OF LIVING

### Levels and Standards of Living in Rural Palestine

A definition of "level of living" is that which the people have, the opportunities available to them, and the goods and services they use and consume; while the value which they attach to these things, goods, services, opportunities and their desires towards them constitute their "standard of living." The brief difference between both phenomenon is that what people have is their level of living, and what they want is their standard of living; therefore, it becomes apparent that both are intimately interrelated.[1] According to this definition, the rural Arab population in Palestine has little in the way of tangible goods to show for its level of living, and still less for its standard of living, though its progress, as we have seen in the previous chapters, is undesirable.

It is a well-known fact that high levels and standards of living among nations today are based beside other elements on an inventory of the material wealth at their disposal; opportunity and lawfulness to create an incentive to progress; and peace to allow time for development and research; most of which have become effete in the holy land.

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[1] Taylor, op. cit., p. 295.

Centuries of cultivation, ever since the primitive forebears of the human race discovered the pick and plow, have depleted the fertility of the cultivated soil of this ancient land, until the average cereal yield is only now three hundredweight per acre with the Arabs, and eight hundredweight to the acre with the Jews who use every scientific innovation available to the modern scientist. This is far below the west-European average of 9.5 hundredweight to the acre, and 9.7 hundredweight per acre in the United States. Ancient wood cutting for fuel purposes has made the country devoid of forests; excessive grazing has laid the land open to the dangers of gullies and erosion until the top soil in many sectors has left to join the valleys and wadis.

Lack of water has contributed greatly to the limited productivity of the land and the extent of acreage cultivated. The farmer is dependent on the scanty rainfall which places the cultivator's very subsistence in a precarious position when it fails to come as expected. In addition to all this, a series of bloody revolts and rebellions (since the mandate was proclaimed after the first world war, and a Jewish National Home was first instituted by the British) has attended the scene, only to make things worse and undo any progress made during the short peaceful recessions. The political situation as a result has taken precedence over the economical and social problems confronting the

farmer, straining his already low levels and standards of living.

The presence of two sectors of agricultural economy in the country has always complicated the economical picture and made a comparison of both sectors imperative. These sectors are those of the Arab and Jew with malice and hatred being their common denominator; the result of which has produced two distinct levels and standards of living, two different sets of social institutions, two produce markets where the Arab sells his produce to the Arab townspeople at a low price while the Jew sells through cooperatives at a higher price to the urban Jew, and two different labor markets where the Arab receives less for his labor as the Jewish Agency (financed by world Jewry) prohibits the employment of Arab workers on its settlements.

The Arab cultivators' income per capita, and their levels of living are much lower than that of the Jewish settlers, as the Jews have purchased the relatively fertile coastal area except for a few barren strips, some of which they have successfully irrigated at a great capital outlay beyond the economical means of the Arab.

The agricultural income received by the cultivator in any country might well be a reasonable barometer of his level of living. However, we should be cautioned in studying such data regarding the Arab cultivators, most of whom think of their income only

in terms of cash received for products sold not including produce consumed at home by the family. Hence, a farmer appraises the value of food consumed only when it is purchased, as the case is with those who go shopping in Jerusalem and have to purchase their food for the day, a thing they discover to be relatively expensive in comparison to what they have been accustomed in the village where they think of what they consume in terms of cash only when a business transaction has been performed. We find this situation true with the lower income farmers in self-sufficing areas in the United States under similar circumstances, though they are forced here to think in terms of cash due to their higher levels and standards of living. Thus, in a study of data concerning the farmer, a great deal of its accuracy depends on the ability and experience of the statistician in the field in his estimate of the costs and receipts of the farmer, knowledge concerning his level of living, amount of produce, amount consumed, and its value at the local market before any figures are recorded.

The income of the agricultural population of the country (Table VIIIO was calculated in 1936 before the persistent rebellion of that year flared up. It was 4,376,000 pounds and 1,879,000 pounds for the Arab and Jewish rural populations respectively. These figures include incomes received for non-agricultural work, such as employment on government road-building projects. The income from these

non-agricultural activities was 1,000,000 pounds for the Arabs and 600,000 pounds for the Jews. This amount includes approximately 300,000 pounds received by the Bedein, making the total cash receipts for the Arab agriculturists only 4,076,000 pounds. The Arab cultivators were about 580,000 that year, and their average per capita income was therefore 7.3 pounds per annum which is the equivalent of approximately $30,00 at the exchange rate at that time.[2] The Jewish rural population during the same period was 55,300 and their average income per head was 34 pounds.[3]

An improvement in the income of the Arab cultivators during the late world war was evident in relation to that of the Jewish settlers. The 1939 value of agricultural production, less livestock produce, was 6,055,000 pounds. That of 1942 and 1943 was still better, though it dropped in 1944 to 5,888,000 pounds at 1939 prices but that was agriculturally a bad year. Thus, we see that the total income from agriculture was somewhat larger during the war years. Due to the inflation of money value, the actual value of agricultural production in 1944 was 28,237,000 pounds, and of this amount 19.5 million was earned by the Arab population and 8.7 million by the Jewish.[4]

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[2] One Palestinian pound = $4.04.

[3] Survey of Palestine, The Standard of Living of Palestinian Arabs', Chapter XVI, Section 5, as reproduced by D. Warriner in, Land and Poverty, p. 61.

[4] P. J. Loftus, The National Income of Palestine, 1944, (Palestine Government Press, 1945) as reproduced by D. Warriner in Land and Poverty.

TABLE VIII

ARAB AND JEWISH RURAL AND URBAN
POPULATIONS IN PALESTINE

| | 1922 | 1931 | 1941 | 1944 | 1946* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total Population | 752,048 | 1,033,314 | 1,585,500 | 1,764,522 | 1,912,133** |
| Rural Arab | 477,693 | 602,387 | .. | 733,870 | .. |
| Urban Arab | 190,565 | 256,321 | .. | 477,870 | .. |
| Rural Jew | 15,172 | 46,143 | .. | 138,220 | .. |
| Urban Jew | 68,618 | 128,463 | .. | 415,380 | .. |

*This table was derived by subtracting the rural settled population on page 55 of Land and Poverty by D. Warriner from the total population on page 54 of the same book.

**The urban population in this table includes the nomads of wom the exact number is not available.

If the income of the rural population is calculated on a per capita basis with an Arab rural population of 733,870 and Jewish rural population of 138,200 in that year, the average income per capita will amount to 27 pounds for the Arab population and 63 pounds for the Jewish.[5] Thus, the income of the Jewish settler, which was five times as much as that of the Arab farmer in 1936, was reduced to two-and-a-half times as much in 1944. This happened in spite of the fact that the Arab cultivator has no scientific guidance or advice, fertilizer, machinery, inter-bred bovine for dairy production, various chemicals for pest control, marketing cooperatives, higher education, better health services, external aid such as subsidies and easy credit facilities with low interest rates, all of which are amply available to the Jewish settler.

The rise in prices during the late war helped somewhat improve the financial condition of the Arab cultivator in that he was freed from much of his debts as the case was with the American farmer in the United States, who was unburdened from a good deal of his mortgages.

It was in 1930 that the average indebtedness of an Arab farm family was 27 pounds on which interest at an average rate of 30 percent was being paid, while the average income of a farm family was

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[5] D. Warriner, op. cit., p. 62.

between 25 to 30 pounds per annum. Thus it was virtually impossible for any farmer to repay more than a fraction of his debt, and a debt once incurred could never be cancelled, but had to be renewed at intervals at exorbitant rates of interest.[6]

It must also be remembered that the Arab farmer's cost of living skyrocketed with his income during the war, as the same yard of goods he was accustomed to purchase at prewar prices for the equivalent of twenty-five cents sold for $2.50 and $3.00 due to war conditions and the difficulty of receiving imports from overseas. Also, the prices of many other commodities he needed multiplied accordingly.

The 1948 disturbances, preceding and following the decision of the British Mandate to withdraw from the country, caused a great deal of destruction in rural property and loss of life, along with the interruption of cultivation, suspension of marketing, the increase of debts, and finally the forced evacuation of 900,000 Arabs, half of whom were farmers, from their homes and property as they fled in search of security to save their own lives, leaving behind everything they had accumulated or inherited from generations of ancestry. They also lost any levels and standards of living they had been able to attain during the mandate period as they came to

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[6] Ibid., p. 62.

lead the wretched lives of displaced refugees with little hope of returning to their property which was occupied by the new Jewish state.

Land Holdings

Arab land holdings in 1937, according to the Rural Property Tax categories, were 12,160,000 dunums[7] of which 6,037,000 dunums were classified as cultivable. Jewish holdings were 1,208,000 dunums of which 939,000 dunums were classified as cultivable, constituting 25 percent of the cultivable area of the whole country.[8] The total cultivated area was therefore 6,976,000 dunums, of which over a million dunums are cultivated at the fringe of the desert in South Palestine known as the Negeb or Beersheba district, and some six million dunums are cultivated in the rest of the country. The Negeb area with 12,577,000 dunums of desert, except for a little over a million dunums around the Beersheba district, was not surveyed by the Palestinian Government at that time, though it is included within the boundaries of Palestine, therefore making the total area of the country 27,009,000 dunums or 10,400 square miles.[9]

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[7]One acre = 4.3 dunums or one dunum = approximately 1/4 of an acre.

[8]Palestine Royal Commission, Report, p. 176.

[9]Ibid., Section 44, p. 173.

The Negeb, almost as large as the rest of the country, was occupied by the Jewish state early in 1949 in a surprise attack during a period of truce against the Egyptian garrison stationed in the area. Another million dunums were ceded to the Jewish state as a result of the Rhodes negotiations in 1949 in addition to which the twin cities of Ramleh and Lydda with their districts were mysteriously turned over to the new Jewish state without resistance. This is in excess of the occupation of the several districts in the plains of eastern and northern Palestine with scores of villages along with most of the ports and sea-outlets of the country.

An examination of the Arab land holdings of cultivable land reveals that the overwhelming majority of holdings are fragmentary. The growth of the agricultural population is reducing the average size of farms by the year and steadily increasing the number of landless laborers which was, according to the "Statement of Policy" issued by the British Government in 1930, 29.4 percent.[10] This percentage has certainly increased since.

The average size of land holdings among the Arab population is extremely small. A government survey of 690 holdings possessed

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[10] Ibid., Section 58, p. 176.

by the inhabitants of 5 villages in the Ramleh district, revealed that only 6 percent of the farms were made up of a single piece of land and the rest were divided into a number of fragments with an average of 9 pieces per holding. Most of these fragments were small, the modal (i.e., most frequent) size being between a quarter and a half of an acre. The average size of each holding amounted to 34 dunums of cultivated land or 8.3 acres.[11]

Co-ownership as a means of avoiding further subdivision of holdings has been employed. Therefore, the average number of co-owners increases with the size of the parcels. The worst recorded instance was that in which a parcel of one acre and another of 0.8 acres were each held jointly by no less than 48 persons. Thus it reflects the shortage of land and also the result of the Moslem law of inheritance. It causes the impediment of any possible program in agricultural methods and is naturally the source of endless conflict reflected in a famous village saying, 'rights in land and wrongs to women are the worst of village evils.'[12]

These small land holdings are the more serious in the absence of other means of income such as that obtained from industry and other non-agricultural work during slack periods on the farm. The

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[11] Palestine Government, Palestine General Monthly Bulletin of Current Statistics, October 1946, pp. 559-73 as reproduced by D. Warriner in Land and Poverty, p. 64.

[12] Palestine Government, Palestine General Monthly Bulletin of Current Statistics, December 1945, p. 759, as reproduced by D. Warriner in Land and Poverty, p. 64.

income derived from the land can hardly be expected to support a family, even at the low levels and standards of living in a turbulent country, such as Palestine where the cultivator hardly knows when to expect a strike or rebellion which might coincide with the harvest or marketing season and, therefore, ruin his prospects for any cash income for the whole year.

A comparison of Arab land holdings with that of the Jews is anything but fair to the Arab peasant, due to the fact that most Jewish holdings were purchased during the last decade or two and were modernly planned, while the Arab holdings are mostly inherited without much thought about planning or consolidating the various pieces of land constituting each holding. Paradoxical as it seems, the consolidation of the Arab cultivator's holdings is a disadvantage to himself under most circumstances as will be seen in discussing the levels and standards of living of Ein Yabroud village in the latter part of this chapter.

The Jewish settlement stands today as a world model for the communal type of farming with no capital spared for its perfection. Its average area is approximately a thousand acre piece of land, which is detailed to support an average population of 500 people, half of whom are employed in agriculture. All operations are carried out jointly with workers performing certain chores according

to schedules planned by their superiors. Their work is closely scrutinized and their time, including that of leisure, is systematically allotted according to the desire of the experts in charge.

The most cursory inspection shows that they are strikingly uniform in technical methods and equipment, and that their production is rigidly planned by experts from the Jewish Agency, and their marketing is done through cooperatives hardly matched anywhere in the world.[13]

## Future Trends of Levels and Standards of Living of Jewish Rural Palestine

Future levels and standards of living in rural Palestine can be reasonably expected to worsen for both Arab and Jew alike if the present economical, social, and political trends should continue much longer. However, Jewish subsidies, contributed by world Jewry, may play a role of delaying action from a would-be economical catastrophe, and therefore continue to nurse the artificial economy of the Jewish settlers, as long as this source of income is omnipresent.

No detailed analyses of the financial position of all Jewish settlements in the country have ever been published. However, some balance sheets are available for 17 settlements in the Haifa district

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[13] D. Warriner, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

which were submitted to the Palestinian Government during the war to justify the continuation of government subsidies. These figures showed that the average farm capital, excluding land, amounted to 50 pounds per acre on non-irrigated land. They showed further that the majority of these farms did not even cover capital expenditure or rent, and none were free from debt during the war period which was a period of agricultural prosperity for the farmer.[14]

The more or less European standard of living which the Jewish cultivator has managed to maintain is heavily subsidized with the all powerful funds contributed by world zionism. The investment per 'working place' on the Jewish settlement is estimated to be over 700 pounds (almost $3000.00 at pre-war values). When it is remembered that the average income per capita of the Arab cultivators was only 7 pounds (approximately $30.00) per annum before the war, it becomes clear that they can never hope to rival the equipment or methods of the Jewish settler without some aid. It is this high amount of investment per head which enables the Jewish settlements to produce more to the acre, a thing which is important to emphasize since too much importance is often attributed to their actual scale of operations of production.

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[14] Palestine Government, Survey of Palestine, Chapter IX, pp. 384-6 as reproduced by D. Warriner, in Land and Poverty, p. 70.

Although it is obvious that the large size of the units and the internal organization of the farms must achieve some economics of large-scale production, it is not these economics which enable the farms to survive. The settlements are lavishly equipped with the most modern machinery, including tractors, culti-packers, combines, etc. In spite of all this, the settlement carries a labor force much in excess of the labor requirements.[15]

It is apparent then, that the aim of the Jewish settlement with so much capital invested in it is thus to achieve intangible objectives, such as to live a communal form of life, and contact the soil, a thing which the Jews were denied in Europe for centuries when the ownership of land was a privilege they were unable to exercise. This inevitably made the ubiquitous Jew become a middleman. Since usury was forbidden to Christians by the church, he inevitably also became a money lender.[16]

Be the object of the settlement what it may, there is something very unreal about a socialism so heavily subsidized, which does not contribute directly to raise the levels of a surrounding sea of poverty.[17]

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[15] D. Warriner, Land and Poverty, p. 69.

[16] Palestine Royal Commission, Section 16, p. 6.

[17] D. Warriner, op. cit., p. 71.

A decline in the levels and standards of living of the Jewish settlers is not a remote possibility and may directly be attributed to one or all of the following:

1. The keenly enthusiatic new Jewish state is drawing more immigrants than it can economically support. It has a definite tendency to be overpopulated in the near future. A minimum average rate of 2000 immigrants per day has been entering the country since May 1948. A majority of these are self-styled refugees with little means at their disposal, and therefore must be supported by the state. They are crowding an already saturated labor market with limited possibilities for expansion due to the limited basic resources of the country.

   Industries which sporadically sprung up due to war shortages during the late war, such as the diamond cutting industry, have closed shop since their resumption in their original centers in Europe with whom it was difficult to compete. This has left many unemployed which will increase with additional immigration, resulting ultimately in a reduced standard of living.

2. The entire Jewish community in Palestine numbering less than 600,000 population in 1944 (Table VIII) is one huge

army subsidized from without. It had 100,000 front line troops during the 1948-49 disturbances making every sixth individual a soldier.

The United States of America placed only one out of every 12 citizens in uniform during the greatest struggle ever experienced by mankind. (This ratio is computed from a peak strength of 12,364,000 men and women in the armed forces out of a population of 143,414,000).[18]

General Summerville of the United States Army Supplies said during the war that it required 12 civilians to supply adequately one man in uniform. This means that the United States was in an all-out war effort. Yet, the Jewish efforts in the 1948-49 disturbances were doubly intensified at a ratio of 2 to 1 in comparison with that of the United States.

The sheer presence of Arabs in Palestine and other neighboring Arab countries (none of whom officially recognizes the new Jewish state) will always force the Jews to maintain full military strength, a thing they can endure as long as subsidies continue from without. Should

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18 New York World Telegram, World Almanac 1949, (New York, 1949, pp. 216-325.

a world depression set in, as in the nineteen-thirties, or a third world war should break out and this source of income be severed, restlessness will surely ensue and their standards of living will be threatened.

No less a power than Great Britain has felt the pinch of maintaining large military forces for an extended length of time, as it found itself on the verge of bankruptcy after taking part in World War II. Austerity for the people and a decline in the levels of their living has been the result.

3. The average wheat yield on Jewish farms, which is the mainstay of the Jewish population, amounted to eight hundred-weight per acre on non-irrigated land in spite of all the machinery and scientific devices at their disposal. This figure is below the European average of 9.5 hundred-weight to the acre, and is about the same as the average wheat yield in Eastern Europe. The fact that the most modern and intensive methods achieve only the same wheat yields as the Balkan peasant, with his primitive and extensive cultivation suggests that the scope of agricultural advance is limited. With irrigation (if water can be found) higher yields can be attained, at least above the East European average, though below

the West- European level. It is estimated that 12 hundredweight per acre can be the limit reached under such conditions, though at great costs. Dr. Volcani estimated the cost of irrigation during the cheaper pre-war years as high as 28 pounds per acre.[19] Obviously with this high capital expenditure and comparatively low yield, the Jewish farms cannot expect to compete in the world wheat market, and it is doubtful if sufficient grain can be produced from the available land to support their rising imported numbers.[20]

4. Any Jewish industry that might be instituted now or in the future (as the Jews presumably have an ample number of technically skilled personnel coming from Europe) may have a restricted market for their products which will reflect on their levels and standards of living. The reason is the boycott of their goods by the surrounding Arab world which would rather trade with the revived distant European markets due to reasons other than economical.

5. Security, harmony and stability are the essential cornerstones in the achievement of any degree of a standard of

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[19] The Fellah's Farm (Tel - Aviv, 1930) as reproduced by D. Warriner in Land and Poverty, p. 70.

[20] D. Warriner, op. cit., p. 70.

living. This is wanting with the Jews externally, as they find themselves in the midst of a hostile Arab world. Internally, they are an ultra-complex group of nationalities ranging from the western Jews coming from outposts in China and Siberia, and those Arabized coming from the neighboring Arab countries such as the Yemenites.

These people have different languages, disposition, temperament (according to the countries of their birth), and different levels and standards of living depending on their homelands. They can be welded together only under regimentation and by orders from above, principally in face of a common danger. Once the danger is subdued their individual qualities by which the world knows them are likely to reappear.

6. Any peaceful expansion of the cultivable area within the Jewish state is mainly limited to irrigation in the Negeb. No worthwhile sources of water have been discovered yet, after intensive search in the area. As for the rest of the country, the Government of Palestine in its evidence to the Reel Commission in 1936 submitted the opinion that the total cultivable land was 7,120,000 dunums.[21] This

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[21] Palestine Royal Commission Report, Cmd. 5479 (H.M.S.O., 1937), p. 235 as reproduced by D. Warriner in Land and Poverty, p. 56.

was only 144,000 dunums more than the area already cultivated.

Land held by the Jewish rural population which was 152,800 dunums in 1945, amounted to only 2½ acres per capita.[22] This must have certainly decreased greatly in view of an increased number of immigrants. Transforming desert acres into cultivable land through irrigation is imperative for any prospective intensified production if the minimum requirements of subsistence are to be maintained.

A Jordan Valley Authority much talked-of would be costly and hardly feasible. The Jordan River (Figure 1) is not the mightly river of popular imagination. It flows for most of its length at a much lower level than the land on either side of its banks, and its water which is now almost useless for agriculture can be used for irrigation only in the narrow strip of the valley itself, between the hills of Judea on the one side and the Trans-Jordan plateau on the other. To use Jordan water for irrigation would mean raising its level along most of its length by the construction of a high level canal along the side of the hills, parallel with its course. This would then deprive the Palestine Electrical Corporation of the water supplies now used to generate electrical power by the fall of the river

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[22] D. Warriner, op. cit., p. 69.

below the Lake of Galilee. Also, it will be difficult to construct such a canal due to the many wadis which intersect its course.

Future Trends of Levels and Standards of Living of Arab Rural Palestine

The scanty levels and standards of living of the rural Arab in Palestine have already been discussed. However, since the debacle of the 1948-49 disturbances they have been on the decline, becoming sheer instruments of subsistence. Regaining what meager levels and standards of living they possessed during the mandate period may well be their ultimate aim for several years to come.

The principal causes of any further economic decline may be attributed as a consequence to any or all the following points:

1. Arabs living in the coastal area have lost all of their property along with their citrus holdings which constitute 55 percent of all the citrus produce in the country (106,400 dunums in 1937 according to the Rural Property Tax categories).[24] This must have increased by 30 percent since that time, and have always been their cash crop and main source of income.
2. The loss of all worthy sea-outlets and ports such as Jaffa, Haifa and Acre to the new Jewish state has

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[24] Palestine Royal Commission, p. 176.

severed the country from direct contact with the outside world.

3. The huge number of displaced persons to which the new Jewish state refuses to sanction safety for their return to their homes, must burden the rest of the country's economy until some solution can be found.

4. An existing labor surplus due to the displacement and natural increase in the population, and the absence of worthwhile industries in the country has resulted in lower wages for labor and a subsequent decline in the levels and standards of living. Daily wages for agricultural labor dropped from the all time high of $1.50 to $2.50 during the war to .50 cents and less at the present time.

5. The disruption of public services, even at the scanty level existing before the termination of the mandate, in such things as education, health, public welfare, and others is partly due to the interruption of the main source of government revenue. The present administration is incorporated with Trans-Jordan, a desert kingdom existing mainly on subsidies from the British exchequer with little money left for government services other than those most urgent.

6. The poor market for agricultural consumption by the Arab urbanite is due to a weakening of his purchasing power under the circumstances.
7. Insecurity of the individual, his fear of investment, or venture in business activities, in fear of fresh disturbances flaring anew, therefore, forces him to live on a day to day basis not knowing what the morrow may bring.

Standards and Levels of Living in Ein Yabroud

Levels of living in this community are inversely proportional to the individual's income. It varies from one extreme to the other, ranging from the richest resident known locally as "Sahib Tel El Waraq", meaning the owner of a great deal of paper currency with an average income of 1500 pounds (equivalent to over $6000) to the poorest citizen with hardly any provisions at all except for the wages he may receive from his agricultural labor in the village. The former owns the largest holdings in the village constituting 20 percent of the cultivable area in the community while the latter is landless. This is why a statistical average fails to reveal such discrepancies in the wealth of individuals.

All citizens in Ein Yabroud owned some land up until two decades ago. That was the period during which the individual's level of living was comparatively raised and his needs and desires increased. Credit became his only source of help, and because usury is prohibited by religion--a thing to which the well-to-do in the village strictly adheres--the individual had to give the lender a piece of land as

collateral until he could repay his debt. When the borrower found himself ultimately in need of more credit, he was obliged to take a little more cash from his creditor and turn the collateral entrusted to his financier into a sale. Thus the holdings of the poor decreased or vanished and that of the well-to-do increased. This process has been on the increase lately, and likely to go unchecked unless proper credit facilities to the small land-holder can be arranged.

The mean average of the number of holdings per farm family in this community is 7 holdings, with 36 holdings held by the richest farm family and none by the poorest.

It is the division of the limited area of land among the heirs of the deceased which causes such a big number of holdings. The number of holdings increase with an increase in the number of heirs. The smallest in Ein Yabroud consists of a single olive tree and another of a lone fig tree with an area of land equal to the spread of the trees involved; what is worse, the former has two owners and the latter three. One to two acres per holding is a common holding among the villagers.

It might be assumed that residents with over a score of holdings may have some difficulty remembering the location of their holdings or their boundaries, but a few inches of land in setting boundaries between neighbors often calls for a quarrel requiring the interference of the village council as a referee in the dispute. No blood shed has occurred in this village due to boundary disputes though it is not

uncommon in some other villages in the county.

The farmers are aware of the disadvantages accruing from fragmentation and would prefer to consolidate their holdings if it were not for the fact that most holdings have different qualities of land ranging from silty clay loam to solid clay, each adapted to the cultivation of certain plants. Since it is necessary in a self-sufficing type of farming to diversify production as much as possible, a peasant in Ein Yabroud may have one holding in the northern end of the village from which he obtains his olives, a holding in the southern section from which he receives some grapes, another in the north-eastern and south-eastern sectors of the village whereby he cultivates small crops for himself and his animals, and still another holding adjacent to the immediate compounds of the village where he plants his vegetables since the soil is rich in organic matter due to the presence of his livestock.

Any peasant who does not own a small holding in all four directions of the village is usually lacking in some commodity consumed in the community. The ownership of such holdings has a special psychological attachment in the heart of the farmer who makes it his policy to inspect each holding several times a year other than the required service trips such as those of plowing, removing weeds, and harvesting. He looks at the land from a perspective of admiration and reverence, since it is his main source of subsistance. Observing the plants grow from day to day, and week to week out of a barren soil

and finally bloom, blossom, and ripen into fruit fills his heart with awe and tends to make him feel as a co-creator with God to whom he prays his five daily prayers in thankfulness to his merciful bounty.

Wheat is the most revered product on his list of commodities as it forms his stable diet. A strict search of the last wheat head in the fields after harvest is not uncommon among those who harvest the crop by hand with the aid of the scythe. Youngsters are taught to pick a piece of bread which they may drop on the floor, kiss it with a word or two of thanks to God's bounty, before disposing of it in a respectful manner so that it may be out of the way in order that no one may tread on it.

There are no telephones in this village, and messages within the village intended for the benefit of the entire community are conveyed by the village servant who is also its crier. He sounds off with a powerful voice heard over a mile radius. Such messages vary from lost and found items to the more important announcements concerning the dates of harvest of the various crops, tax collection, et cetera.

Motorized transportation is confined to the At Taiyiba Bus Line which stops to pick up shoppers on its way back and forth to Ramallah and Jerusalem (Figure II) which are two and twelve miles away respectively. This bus line consists of three buses making one daily round trip simultaneously and sometimes making the trip within a few minutes interval. They pass at sunrise and return in the afternoon according to the mood of the drivers concerned. Thus a shopping trip is an uncertain

adventure to the villager who must keep a vigilant eye on the road if he is not to miss the bus.

Transportation of small crops whether to the Beirah mill for milling purposes or to the market for sale are carried out primarily on animal back. The produce is placed in sacks and strapped on the animal's back if it is a staple product, or placed in boxes if a fruit. There is no motorized transportation for such purposes, nor are there any carts. Two individuals who owned two trucks in the village for a brief period in 1946 lost them while ladden with produce running over road mines laid on the highway near Jerusalem during the disturbances of that year.

As for baking bread, there is no bakery in the village, and each individual family attends to its own baking needs by the use of the taboon discussed in Chapter II.

Electricity has not been extended to this community nor to many others in the county. The ancient use of kerosene and a wick is still employed though the people have been expecting the government to extend the power lines in their direction for the last two decades.

A village carpenter, shoemaker, and barber receive a bushel of wheat each for their year 'round services whenever they are needed, except for the shoemaker who receives his pay in cash whenever he does any mending.

This village has no blacksmith though there is a Nuri (a nomad who makes his living from blacksmithing) who comes annually in the

fall months to serve their needs. This Nuri has long amused the villagers with his social viewpoints as he seriously informs them that his way of life is superior to theirs or the urbanites because they cannot move their property and possessions around as he does. Hence, he follows opportunity but they must wait for it until it presents itself; that is, if it should ever come at all . . .

There are two olive-oil mills in this community operated by human and animal power. They are operated during the olive harvest season, and offer a source of employment to those who do not have olive groves and find themselves in need of employment, as they are paid in cash or kind.

The religious minister (Imam) as discussed in Chapter VI is the unhappiest person in the service crew. He receives no compensation for his efforts, though a few disciples may remember him with a present on the holiday following the feasting month of Ramadhan known as "Id al-Sagheer".

Their school and health standards were discussed in their appropriate chapters in this study.

There is no uniformed law enforcement in this village. The only time the horse-back riding police visit the village is on call by word of mouth. This necessitates the construction of invincible homes for safety measures. External stone walls from two to four feet wide, outside steel doors, steel bars on windows, and metal shutters are standard. The poor who cannot afford metal doors use wooden doors

several inches thick to withstand any possible tampering.

Their social activities are erected on the distinguished Arab creed of inherited hospitality carried from their nomadic ancestors who lived in the Arabian Sahara desert. This creed calls for helping a stranger who may need food and quarters to rest or who may be in difficulty and need of help. It has been their cardinal principle to protect strangers requesting protection until they can dispose of their grievances by mediation or some other means. Should the person granted sanctuary be injured while in their custody, it becomes a serious matter involving the honor of the whole community. Fortunately, no such incidents have risen in this village other than a few cases involving female strangers from neighboring villages entreating the community to mediate on their behalf in some injustice done to them. Thus Ein Yabroud is reputed in the county as a sober and tranquil village never involved in any quarrels with other villages. However, the only quarrel in which it has ever been embroiled was in the nineteen twenties with the village of Silwad (Figure II) over water rights. Silwad village aggressively claimed its rights on 'Beir Abu Khashaba' the main source of water in this community which adjoins the territory of both villages. The dispute reached a high pitch before it was finally subdued and a reconciliation was concluded upon the mediation of another village.

Hospitality may well be considered one of the noblest virtues of civilized society that has ever been engendered in the evolution of

mankind. It is truly a crown of refinement on those who adhere to its physical and moral principles; yet it can unfortunately be a detriment to the economy of any people civilized as they may if exceedingly exercised. It is held accountable among the rural Arab for the depletion of a good many livestock slaughtered for guests when a smaller quantity of meat purchased from the village butcher may have sufficed, and the scanty economy of the host might have been spared. What is worse is that peasants in this community who can hardly afford to embark on such a venture, borrow funds to finance the expense involved not knowing when they will be able to repay their debt. This is done partially to satisfy their pride and show off their small wealth, thinking that it will aid their social prominence in the community; however, the opposite results are often achieved and the host is branded in the gossip of the village as a "sucker".

A village wedding usually signals a procession in which the whole village participates, after which they are all fed by the bridegroom who may not be able to afford it, and may have to sell some of his land to comply with tradition. This wedding dinner may require from ten to fifty sheep or more when other villages are invited for the event.

A villager who may have been away from the village for a few years must be traditionally invited by the first person who recognizes him on his arrival at the village regardless of that person's economical ability lest he be ridiculed as flinching a traditional duty.

Also, a guest visiting a family heralds the attendance of the whole clan which comes to entertain the guest and thus must be fed with him, necessitating the slaughter of livestock.

It is seen therefore that these people are clinging to ancient outdated customs and traditions which do not fit in the frame-work of today's life where the economical picture has changed. They are convinced of the wishom of their action and hence it is difficult to convince them to do otherwise. The poor are conscious of their poverty and therefore do not dare offer any suggestions lest they be thought unworthy of their ancient tradition of hospitality, a thing which they are too proud to face. The wealthy, on the other hand, are uninterested in reform as they find little occasion to undergo the same expense.

Generally speaking, these people follow wasteful social practices blamed on tradition on one hand yet they are conservative peasants on the other hand, making the best of things as they are. They may be "down" but seldom "out". Their low gross value of farm production means least in terms of their low levels of living as they consume the greatest proportion of their products, make fewest purchases, do most of their work themselves, and so on.[1]

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[1]Taylor, op. cit., pp. 452-458.

# CHAPTER IX

## RECREATION

### Role of Recreation in Ein Yabroud

The value and importance of play in people's lives is one of the major discoveries of this generation. We have found that the desire to play is not confined to children, that its value is not limited to childhood, and that natural and constructive play must be provided for any individual or community in order to insure a rich or even normal life. Because of our greater understanding of individual emotions and social structures, play is no longer considered merely amusement, nor is recreation thought to consist only of either amusement or play.

For an individual, action that is restrained or disciplined by ends other than the development of his personality must be described as work. That which is sufficiently dynamic to constitute freedom of action and development may be termed play, and such freedom is absolutely essential to the development of personality. Recreation includes the job of amusement and the constructive development of play, but it goes further in that it consciously re-creates what has been torn down or creates or builds something new in life.[1]

A high degree of organized recreational development in most communities is somewhat indicative of a high standard of living just

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[1] Ibid., p. 194.

as the money income is the mercury in a barometer of levels of living and vica versa.

According to this, the peasant-like life at Ein Yabroud offers little recreational activities on lines familiar to the urbanite which may require time and expenditures. However, it is misleading to deduct that they lead an empty, bleak life due to their desolation and absence of quick, modern transportation to take them to the urbanite centers for such purposes, when they are actually bustling with a simple way of recreation, amusement and entertainment tailored to suit their ends and means. A villager, shopping in metropolitan Jerusalem, is in a hurry to return to the compounds of his birthplace where he knows everybody and finds much to amuse him there. He is not interested in seeing a soccer game or watching streets milling with crowds, a thing he views unfavorably in comparison to his tranquil village.

Farmers receive their physical exercise (work) in the fields and go home with the satisfaction of having performed their duty towards their holdings which is truly a thing of joy to those who enjoy it. An after-work visit to the madafa (guest house) is imperative by force of habit. All men congregate there to swap their experiences of the day, anecdotes which they may have thought of and comments on any news received in the village through newspapers or the two radio sets owned by two parties in the village. They often chat, sipping coffee (paid for by the madafa funds) until it is late in the night and time to go home.

Their entertainment is not all confined to discussion, as many of them are excellent players of the flute or rababa (a violin like instrument). The music is usually accompanied by rhythmic prose concerning the achievements of some legendary hero as the famed 'Abu Zeid' and others similar to the cowboy with his banjo and the hillbilly with his guitar.

Debka,which is the national folk-dance (somewhat similar to square dancing) accompanied by the music of the naya (a flute-like instrument), is held at any time, although they are usually held for special events such as a marriage, the return of a fellow citizen from overseas, or for the benefit of guests of distinction.

Women are not outdone in their recreation. They have their own gatherings in which each girl may dance alone or with another girl in the ring, while the women forming the ring compose songs on the spur of the moment to meet the occasion. This is only interrupted with the applause of zaghareet. The girls dancing in the center perform feats that may match any performance of girl jitterbugers here. They may place an ibriq (a clay pitcher with a two inch radius bottom) on their heads to be assured of balance and symmetry as they whirl around delightfully in the circle. Huge torches are carried by some women to shed enthusiasm and light on the participants. The men do their dancing around a bon fire fed on thorns and brush when available. The dances begin usually at dusk and terminate by 10:00 p.m. to allow time for rest for the following day's work.

The madafa is the village's meeting place, where each may expose his intellectual ware for the benefit of all those present who may in turn make their own observations and comments, extending to every known field of knowledge which they can intelligently discuss.

The rural Arab is a natural born light-hearted individual. He is witty and is endowed with a keen sense of humor, usually looking at the sunny side of his problems and, therefore, finding much amusement in what may seem to be dull, desolate and routine to an occidental farmer.

Family men find more to do by staying home after their work is done, but unless they mix or at least make themselves seen as often as possible at the madafa, they may well expect to be dubbed as women prisoners as every action of the individual is controlled by the concerted force of public opinion.

A small gathering at the madafa usually means the presence of guests elsewhere in the village where the crowd follows, or it might mean the absence of worthwhile news and events. Bad weather is the least detriment to their gatherings as their fields become inaccessible for work and hence they can spare more time for their meetings.

After the return of the villagers from their gatherings, they usually relay what information they have absorbed to the members of their households as they prepare to go to bed. The members of the household, in turn, transform the news into gossip with whirl-wind speed, enlarging

the information many times its original size if it should have any appeal to their fancy.

A football field was set up in 1937 on the only uncultivated level piece of land in the center of the village. This was done on the insistence of a visiting "reforming committee" composed of urbanites. The land was used as a football field for one season before its owner decided to plant it into fruit trees as he could not benefit from having it converted into a football arena. The community had no bones to pick with him as it was his land; furthermore, they could not see the value of exercise gained from playing ball when everyone in the village who could walk gets more than his share of exercise while visiting his holdings which are several miles from the compounds of the village, or during his trips back and forth to work. Thus, we see that unless the farmer is convinced of the value of scientific recreation he would likely continue to ignore any urbanites coming to enlighten him on the subject. If he follows their recommendations, he does this only to accommodate them while they are guests of the village. Once they are gone, he is glad to forget all about them and their innovations.

# CHAPTER X

## FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### Findings and Conclusions

The findings and conclusions of this study are integrated in this chapter to present a concise picture of each chapter as discussed in its order throughout this investigation.

The ancestors of the present day inhabitants of Ein Yabroud (an ex-Roman post) came originally from Arabia proper after pausing in Trans-Jordan for an uncertain length of time. Their livelihood was secured as nomads travelling in the Arabian Sahara where they sought water and pasture for themselves and their livestock. They brought with them to Ein Yabroud the ascetic customs of the desert and its moral traditions as well as the empirical experiences they knew. This background together with what they learned from the remnants of the Roman cultivators resulted in a new way of life for themselves and their progeny.

This rural society is divided into three distinct periods which are the following:

1. The period of settlement, 675-800 A.D., during which four tribes totaling 169 people settled and became accustomed to cultivate the soil for a livelihood.

2. The period of prosperity, 800-1500 A.D., during which Arab dynasties and glories were at their height and this community prospered most.
3. The period of decline, 1516-1914 A.D., during which the Turk subjugated this community and the period was marked by unrest and retrogression in face of Turkish persecution.
4. The period of growth, 1914-1948 A. D., during which the population increased rapidly and there was an economical improvement under a British Mandate. This growth was interrupted by a chain of disturbances due to the innovation of a Jewish National Home introduced by the mandate power. In spite of any progress made during this period, its results were catastrophic.

The influence of foreign domination has not been beneficial to the people and the future is ambigious.

A patriarchal type of family exists on the Arab farm consisting usually of three generations in the same household. It is governed morally by the will of the clan which is popularly considered as the social unit.

The role of the farm wife and mother extends from her household work to that of working in the fields with little time left for her participation in community activities.

Marriage in this community is stressed as a socio-economical affair. The bridegroom must pay a dowry to the family of the bride.

This money is usually spent on her trousseau and must be forfeited by the bridegroom in case of divorce.

There is a great demand for all levels of study in Palestine and schools are inadequately provided in spite of their acknowledged value.

Some of the main defects of the rural school in this community consist of the following:

1. Lack of well-trained and well-paid teachers.
2. Absence of any worth while vocational agricultural training.
3. Lack of hygienic facilities in the school.
4. Absence of extra-curricular activities in the school program.
5. No school lunch program.
6. Unnecessary shortage of school supplies.

Islam is a religio-social institution and a way of life which dominates the lives of this community. Its five cardinal principles are the following:

1. The declaration that "there is no God but one God" and the knowledgement of Mohammad's messengership.
2. Performance of prayers.
3. Payment of charity tax.
4. Fasting the month of Ramadhan.
5. The pilgrimage to Mecca.

Some of the main problems facing the rural church in this village

are the following:

1. The Imam is unpaid for his effort.
2. Religious teachers are poorly trained.
3. A new mosque is needed as the present one was built in 800 A.D. and has been under constant repair ever since.

Health services received by this community from the government are confined to vaccination and water purification. There are no other services offered as the government expenditures on health are the lowest in the budget. People must rely on home remedies before consulting a doctor due to the distance and expense involved. Their diets are on the whole fairly good and unknowingly balanced in nutrients. They consume big quantities of fresh produce in season and their general health levels are good.

The rural economy of the country is divided into two sectors, Arabic and Jewish. The income per capita of the Jewish settlers was five times as much as the Arab agriculturist in 1936, and two-and-a-half times as much in 1944. Constant unrest and disturbances are tending to bring both sector's levels of living down.

The levels of living in Ein Yabroud are similar to those of a peasant-like life with a self-sufficing type of farming. Their levels of living are higher than what their cash income may indicate as they consume most of what they cultivate, and use their own labor.

Their deepest attitudes and loyalties to farming are not those of money-making, which characterizes commercial farming. They cherish

the ownership of farms and measure their worth in terms of the rural ways of life rather than in terms of monetary values.[1]

Hospitality is their creed, but it is excessively practiced by those who can afford it the least. The unnecessary slaughter of livestock for guests, weddings, and other occasions is depleting their stock.

Debka (folk dance), world and local news, gatherings and discussions supply much of the entertainment and recreation of the villagers.

## Recommendations

No recommendations to improve the farmer's lot in this community are worth while unless the recommendations have the requisites often overlooked by reformers. These requisites are: first, convincing the villager of the value of the recommendations involved and the benefits accruing from their adoption, and second, convincing him of the fact that they are within his social economical means.

Since he follows a self-sufficing type of farming with little cash to spare for the consequent recommendations, it is thought that credit cooperatives should be instituted (with outside financial aid) for the solution of one of his most urgent needs--that of credit. Consumer and marketing cooperatives can help him purchase his

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[1] Taylor, C., op. cit., p. 523.

necessities cheaper through the former, and to obtain better prices for his produce by means of the latter.

The following things are recommended if the finances can be obtained:

1. The construction of a bakery so that manure could be used for their fields instead of burning it in the taboon to generate heat for bread-baking.
2. The purchase of a transportation vehicle for the use of the newly instituted cooperatives to transport their produce to the market instead of employing the slow moving pack animals.
3. The spread of a campaign to dig a well for every home in the village. The object is to encourage the use of more water for better hygienic practices, thus eliminating the transportation of water in relatively small containers from the village spring, which is two miles from the immediate compounds of the village.
4. The construction of a small cannery to preserve much of the village's produce for better nutrition during the colder months of the year when vegetables and fruits are unavailable.
5. The construction of a hall for the village youngster's recreation, whereby indoor games, movies, et cetera, may be made available for their benefit. Also, a field should be provided for organized outdoor recreation.

6. The expansion of school facilities and the school curriculum in order to include vocational-agricultural training and extra-curricular activities. Also to make school attendance for all youngsters mandatory.
7. The thorough training of a paid religious teacher in theology to lead a misguided young generation divided between Western liberalism and Moslem conservatism.
8. The spread of high pressured campaigns against wasteful social practices involving hospitality, marriage and polygomy.
9. The introduction of adult education with a view towards constructive thought control, reduction of illiteracy, information on better nutrition, better crop rotations and farming methods. The program should also include the consolidation of holdings to produce higher levels and standards of living.

There is a host of other constructive recommendations to improve the social and economic conditions of this village, yet it is unwise to implement them at a time when the peasant is imprisoned within the confines of an agricultural system surrounded with limitations upon which he has limited control. The absence of governmental aid, demonstration farms as found in the Tennessee Valley area, dependable rainfall, gainful non-agricultural employment, and electrical power for light and other purposes are often discarded by those who criticize the hard working fellah.

The only hope for improving the conditions of the inhabitants of this village is to tackle their problems at their base. It cannot be recommended that they irrigate in the absence of water, nor could it be advised that they use machinery even though they may purchase it collectively (a thing beyond the means of the individual) without doing the following: consolidating their holdings, building up the fertility of the eroded soil, and creating a market for their produce. It is feasible to recommend that they discard some of the wasteful social practices, create cooperatives, and adopt the use of fertilizer to increase their production in view of an increasing population. Fertilizer should not be difficult to obtain as the Dead Sea, which is rich in potash and other mineral deposits of great value as plant nutrients is less than fifty miles away from this village.

The time when the villager could satisfy his simple needs and desires within the confines of his tranquil village is running out at a comparatively accelerated rate. He is now faced with the cold fact of displacement or extinction as has already happened in the coastal area of the country in face of an expanding Jewish state rich in ambition, money and arms. Unless he puts his house in order and meets the Jew on at least the remotest of equal footing in his levels and standards of living, he may well expect to share the fate which befell the Red Indian in North America.

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