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SOCIAL CHANGE IN JORDAN

By

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INTRODUCTION

Social change is the process by which human institutions and organizations undergo modifications. The principal sources of these changes are likely to be either; changes in the natural environment to which the social system is an accommodation; or new contacts with other societies and communities.

Changes in the natural environment are either independent of human action, or are effects of the action of man in his environment. Some examples of the first which lead to important social changes are the movements of the polar ice cap, the periodic drying up of areas in central Asia, and the changes in the spawning grounds of herring and other fish from time to time. Each of these changes in environment can have far reaching effects on the changes in human institutions and behavior. Earthquakes, tornadoes, floods and wind storms may also lead to social changes. Some examples of the second type of changes are certain practices in soil erosion which in turn impoverish certain areas and thus strand its population and cause economic changes in the whole group. In this way the culture of the group may have the effect of changing the

environment in such a way as to make changes in the culture inevitable. In the case of soil eroding practices, the final results have been changes in farm practices, migrations to new areas and occupations and government relief.

Group contact has a far reaching effect on social change. Contact can be due to war, trade, migration and so on. The process by which culture traits spread from one group to another is diffusion. History records many examples of diffusion; such as the spread of Christianity from the Near East to Europe and to the New World; and the spread of the Moslem religion from Mecca to West Africa and Indonesia.

This paper will be concerned with that part of social change in Jordan which is due to inter-group contact. This change is a part of a wider change in the Arab Near East and due to the Western agent. In fact, this social change has been reported in most Asiatic countries and some African regions and due to the same contacting agents.

In general, there are no systematic and scientific investigations on the study of social change in Jordan due to Western contact. There is scanty information reported by political scientists, historians and geographers on

the whole Arab Near East with a few treatises on social change.¹

The orientation of this paper is sociological. It will attempt to isolate those social factors which were responsible for this phenomena in Jordan. However, due to the interrelationship between sociology and anthropology, between society and culture, the writer will present a summary of some theoretical models, hypotheses and concepts used by both disciplines in this connection. Repetition and overlapping of ideas may occur, but they will be kept in the hope that the writer will abstract a theoretical model of his own and will make use of certain concepts presented by these authors.

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1. See: Lewis, Bernard, The Arabs in History, London, 1950, pp. 164-179; Thomas, Bertram, The Arabs, New York, 1937, pp. 252-275; Hourani, A., Syria and Lebanon, Oxford University Press, London, 1946, pp. 85-96; Haddad, George, Fifty Years of Modern Syria and Lebanon, Dar-al-Hayat Press, Beirut, Lebanon, 1950, pp. 153-206; Patai, R., Israel Between East and West, Philadelphia, 1953, pp. 27-56; Speiser, E., The United States and the Near East, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1952, pp. 140-160.

CHAPTER I

CONCEPTS, HYPOTHESES

and

THEORIES ON SOCIAL CHANGE

Robert Redfield tried to test the hypothesis, that there is a causal relationship between physical isolation and homogeneity of culture on the one hand, and disorganization, individualization, and secularization on the other. For testing this hypothesis he chose four communities in the Yucatan peninsula of Mexico.¹ Redfield sees the problem as one of relationships among variables. No one of these variables is the only cause of the other but, "it is assumed, subject to proof, that as certain of these vary, so do others,.." ²

The isolation and homogeneity of the communities are taken together by Redfield as the independent variable, since he assumes that a close correlation existed between the two so as to make them one, for practical purposes. The dependent variables are disorganization, individualization, and secularization of culture. His study shows that dependent variables are present to the highest degree

1. Redfield, Robert, The Folk Culture of Yucatan, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1941.

2. Ibid., p. 34.

in the community characterized by the lowest degree of isolation and homogeneity.

It seems from Redfield's findings that social change is dependent to some extent upon such factors as differences in degree of cultural isolation and cultural homogeneity. At one extreme of this polar typology stands the cultures termed as "folk societies," and on the other extreme of the polar are "urban societies."¹ In between are societies with cultural traits that approach either end of this polar continuum. Social change is examined in the dissimilarities between these various communities, rather than by their similarities in certain cultural traits. Thus, the rate of social change is expected to be least in these societies that most nearly approach the ideal-type folk society which are characterized as small, isolated, nonliterate, and homogeneous. The rate of social change will be greatest in communities which are mostly cosmopolitan, heterogenous, literate, and technologically developed.) Social change in the intermediate cultures will

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1. See: Becker, Howard, "Ionia and Athens," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1930; Durkheim, E., on Division of Labor, a translation by George Simpson of *De la division du travail social*, New York, Macmillan Co., 1933; Odum, H.W., "Understanding Society: The Principles of Dynamic Sociology," New York, The Macmillan Co., 1947, Chap. 14, "Folk Culture and Folk Society"; Redfield, "The Folk Society," *American J. Sociol.*, Vol. 52, No. 4, January, 1947, pp. 293-308; Sapir, E., "Culture, Genuine and Spurious," *Am. J. Sociol.*, Vol. 29, No. 4, Jan., 1924, pp. 401-429; Tonnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (1887), translated and edited by C. P. Loomis as *Fundamental concepts of Sociology*, New York, American Book Co., 1940; Martindale and Monachesi, Elements of Sociology, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1951, pp. 159-237.

be graded according to the variations of the two extremes of isolation and cultural homogeneity.

Oscar Lewis, in his restudy of Tepoztlan presents the following critique on Redfield's folk-urban conceptualization continuum:¹

1. The folk-urban conceptualization of social change focuses attention primarily on the city as the source of change, and neglects internal or external factors. So called folk societies have been influencing each other for hundreds of years and out of this interaction has come social change.
2. Cultural change may not be folk-urban progression but, rather increasing or decreasing heterogeneity of cultural elements.
3. Some of the criteria used in the definition of folk society are treated by Redfield as linked or interdependent variables and should better be treated as independent variables. Others have shown that societies both culturally well organized and homogeneous are at the same time highly secular, individualistic and commercialistic and are characterized by formal interpersonal relationships, (Sol Tax). Family disorganization is not the resultant of commercialism.

1. Lewis, Oscar, Life in A Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied, University of Illinois Press, 1951; "Tepoztlan Restudied," Rural Sociology, Vol. 18, June, 1953, No. 2, pp. 121-137.

4. The folk-urban typology is all inclusive. Thus, folk society as used by Redfield would group food-gathering, hunting, pastoral and agricultural people without distinction. Attitudes and values of folk societies may resemble some urban societies. And focusing only on the formal aspects of urban society reduces all urban societies to a common denominator and treats them as if they have the same culture.
5. The folk-urban framework of social change assumes uniform, simultaneous and unilateral changes in all institutions. It says nothing about the rate of change.
6. Underlying the folk-urban dichotomy is a system of value judgments which contains the Rousseauian concept of primitive peoples as noble savages, while civilization corrupts man. Redfield's writing implies that folk societies are good and urban societies are bad.

In commenting on the patterns of change, Lewis indicates that the rate of change varies in the Tepoztlan village; and that the persistence of the Indian language, along with Spanish is related to the class character of the society. It was mainly the merchants and artisans who needed and used the Spanish language in their dealings with the outside, while the peasants who traded among themselves and with the Mahuatl-speaking people, kept the Indian language.¹

1. Lewis, Oscar, Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied, University of Illinois Press, 1951, p. 445.

According to him there is no single formula which explains the cultural change in the village. At one historical period, change came to the village as direct, forced acculturation, and was determined by the Spanish conquerors. A second factor which determined the diffusion of Spanish traits during a conquest period was the inter-marriage of Spaniards with native women. A third factor which conditioned the nature of change is the class structure - the Indians or the lower classes were socially isolated from the upper classes.

And last, and a more general factor which facilitated diffusion was the basic similarities between the native and Spanish colonial culture. He says, "Both were stratified, feudal societies; both had a system of communal landholding; in both religious and social structure was closely interwoven; both had well-developed markets. In addition, they shared many more specific traits, such as the use of flowers with images....."¹ He indicates that the acceptance of one trait entails with it the acceptance of related traits.

He relates the rate of socio-cultural changes to historical periods. The changes during these periods are the result of outside influences - the Spanish culture. Each historical period varied in its effect upon the

1. Ibid., p. 446.

socio-cultural structure, from rapid to slow, from great changes to none. More recent periodical changes (1910-1930) are observed most in communications, literacy, education, consumption patterns, and values, and with no changes in economics, social organization and religion.

Dawson and Gettys commenting on the Redfield schema, indicate that certain aspects of culture affect the process of social interaction, so as to obstruct or to hamper changes in its products. They say, "The amount and quality, the direction and the rate of social change is determined in the absence of catastrophe or other major historic accidents by the character of the existing culture complex. This generalization holds equally for the Andaman Islands, the Belgian Congo and Yucatan, as it does for Western Europe, the United States, and Canada."¹

They give the example of such groups as the Kwakiut and the Zúñi Indian tribes who lived for many generations in comparative isolation, were little influenced by the impact of other cultures, and felt no need to change. These groups did not possess within the inner mechanism of their cultures the necessary cultural base to serve as a starting point for social change. This lack of cultural change, they call, "Cultural Inertia," and this, "inertia" is not invariably correlated with isolation or with the absence of

1. Dawson and Gettys, Introduction to Sociology, New York, (3rd. ed.), 1948, p. 583.

contacts between cultures.....there are many examples of two ore more cultures functioning side by side with little or no acculturation. This situation is usually due to the fact that the practioners of the different cultures belong to distinct social entities."¹

They conclude that when inertia to change is not directly attributed to isolation, it is due to the presence of some other independent cultural variables such as homogeneity. They give three characteristics of folk-society homogeneity which account for the condition:

1) the traits of the cultural pattern are bound together in such rigid, impermeable structure, that a change in one part will destroy the whole structure: 2) that this cultural configuration is the principal basis for the group unity and security, and that the individual has no personality or function outside of it: and 3) that even in this tightly knit homogeneous organization, change may occur, but only by the consent of the whole group and not by one individual.

Freedman and others indicate that the size of the cultural base of a given society is an important determinant for the nature of its change.² Innovation and change have common elements. They are both determined

1. Ibid., p. 584.

2. Freedman, Hawley and Landecker, Miner, Principles of Sociology, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1952.

by the nature of the existing society, and the larger the culture base the greater the possibility of social change.

They say, "one explanation of the rapid rate of social change today as compared with earlier times is that the culture base is larger today."¹ The cultural complexity also determines the degree of its contact with other cultures and visa versa.

Perry expounds the same theme of the cultural base theory as a factor for social change. When the cultural base of a given group is favorable to change, ingredients of this cultural kin are common language, common religion, and favorable attitudes. He concludes that similarity of the cultural complexity between two different groups is more likely to enhance the assimilation between the two. He gave the example of the Czechslóvakian immigrants who came to the United States. The first were quicker and more susceptible to assimilation than the second. This was due to the similarity between the Czech culture and the United States. The Czechs in Europe acquired a higher standard of living, there were skilled workers and professionals. These characteristics put them in good standing when they came to the United States.²

Kimbal Young indicates that the following factors effect the rate of diffusion and change;³ 1) transportation

1. Ibid., p. 323.

2. Perry, B., Race Relations, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1951, p. 241.

3. Young, K., Sociology, American Book Co., New York, 1949, pp. 560-577.

and communication availability; 2) resistance to cultural change, such as taboos, general cultural inertia; 3) prestige of the diffused culture; 4) migration; 5) the need for some new elements to meet critical situations.

He also indicates that the basic attitudes and values of the recipient group are important in determining the nature of social change, and to use his own words, "the cultural and psychological elements operating in diffusion are not unlike those which more or less determine invention. That is, the broad cultural base of prior skill and knowledge must be taken into account. So, too, the basic values and attitudes of potential recipients are important,"¹ and later he says, "the acceptance of innovations is qualified by the nature and extent of the changes, by the rate of which they are introduced, and by the degree of readiness of groups with respect to a given modification or addition to their culture. This last, in turn, will be affected by the pre-existing ideas, attitudes, and habits of individuals."²

Bronislaw Malinowski as early as 1929, had published numerous articles on culture change. His book, The Dynamics of Culture Change: And Inquiry into Race Relations in Africa, contains the main theories and

1. Ibid., p. 567.

2. Ibid., p. 567.

principles formulated by him on his studies on cultural change.¹

The greater part of his study was conducted in Africa. Thus, one has to bear that in mind before evaluating the validity of his principles on other cultural areas. His definition of culture change is, "Culture change is a process by which an existing order of society - its organization, beliefs and knowledge, tools and consumers' goods - is more or less rapidly transformed."² He states that the contact situation, which is a dynamic one, is a process by which the European residents are the main motive force of change. Because of this, the European intentions and interests are an important, essential factor in the study of African cultural change. (However this does not mean that the European agents of change, such as the trader, missionary, educator and administrator, should be regarded as an integral part of the tribal community.) One should view this contact as the result of an impact of a higher, active culture upon a simpler, more passive one. In the study of cultural contact there are two cultures to deal with, that of the "recipients", or the passive, and the "aggressors", or the European. And the typical phenomena of change are the adoption or rejection, the transformation of certain institutions and the growth of new ones.³

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1. The book is edited by Dr. Phyllis M. Kaberry, Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, 1945.
 2. Malinowski speaks about two possible causes for culture change: either factors and forces of spontaneous initiative and growth, i.e., internal causes; or by the contact of two different cultures, i.e., external causes.
 3. Malinowski, 1945, pp. 14-15.

He further emphasizes, that what really takes place is an interplay of specific contact forces: race prejudice, political and economic imperialism, the demand for segregation, the safeguarding of a European standard of living, and the African reaction to all this. Field work in this area on the problem of housing, he says, "would show that it is not a house or a bedstead which is adopted, nor yet a cultural complex, consisting of all these objects, but rather an integral institution of westernized family life..... What actually happens is the formation all over Africa of a new type of indigenous domesticity, the result of certain specified European influences which, however, in the act of being taken by the Africans, have been profoundly modified."¹ In conclusion, he states that the study of culture change must take into account three elements: the impact of a higher culture; the nature of the native life which it is contacting; and the change which is occurring due to the interaction between the two.

Melville J. Herskovits presents another approach to culture contact and change. He sees change as "Acculturation", which he defines as, "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous, first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups...."²

1. Ibid., p. 25.

2. Herskovits, M.J., Acculturation: A Study of Culture Contact, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1938, p. 10.

While Malinowski studied cultural contact between the European and African natives, Herskovits studied acculturation in the general sense and stresses the fact that acculturation occurs between any two groups of differing background, whether or not Western cultures have been involved. For Him, the optimum situation takes place between two native cultures. Two cultures in contact, he assumes, will inevitably borrow from each other. The process is a give and take, the result is a mixture and balance of both.

Herskovits' primary concern is with the mechanism of culture change. He poses the question, "When is a new trait accepted and when rejected?" He answered this question by saying that, "acceptance or rejection depends on the degree to which the innovation is aligned with pre-existing orientations."¹ The acceptance of what comes from the outside is never a total acceptance and usually reworking of it is the rule. He made it clear that such factors are selectivity and the situations play an important role in the acceptance or rejection of a new trait.

To him there are two types of cultural contact situations: the one where elements of one culture are forced on another group; and the other, where acceptance is voluntary. He also sites the situation where there is

1. Herskovits, M., "The Process of Cultural Change," R. Linton, (Ed.), The Science of Man in the World Crisis, New York, 1945, p. 154.

political and social equality between the two groups in contact with each other; or where there is political and social disequality. He concludes his discussion on the situation, saying, "Political and social dominance are undoubtedly factors in acceleration or retarding cultural interchange. Where superiority of one group is acknowledged, a desire for prestige may act as a powerful stimulant to further the spread of the customs of the dominant group and to inhibit the master taking over the traditions of those who are recognized as inferiors."¹

An important factor as Herskovits sees it, for the understanding of cultural change, is what he calls, "Focus in Culture." He defines this concept by "that area of activity or belief where the greatest awareness of form exists, the most discussion of values is heard, the widest difference in structure is to be discerned."² Cultural changes are more likely to start in these cultural foci. And these cultural foci are not constant, but they are subject to realignment over a period of years.

Among more far fetched theories of change are the deterministic theories of Karl Marx and Thorstein Veblen. These writers regard changes in human behavior and associations primarily due to singular, external, materialistic conditions. Marx stresses the economic

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1. Herskovits, M., Man and His Work, Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, p. 533.
 2. Ibid., pp. 542-545.

production as the determinant of economic relationship, which in turn determine ideologies. There is a set of relationships between technical development, mode of production, and institutions. To use Marx's words, "the sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society - the real foundation, on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness."¹

However, Marx related technical changes indirectly to social changes, when he says, "material forces of production are subject to change, and thus, a shift arises between the underlying economic factors and the economic relationships built upon them. For the order creates its "ideology" and its vested interest, and these overthrow the old order."²

Veblen's principle could be stated as follows: in human life the real agencies of habitation and mental discipline are those inherent in the kind of work by which men live and particularly in the kind of technique which that work involves. Habits are shaped by men's work, and they in turn mold the human thought. These various habits of men vary with their material environment and by innate propensities of human nature. Thus to him, "Man is what he does", and he changes when he shifts his doings."³

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1. Critique of Political Economy (N.I. Stone, Tr., New York, 1904), p. 11.
 2. Ibid., pp. 11-12.
 3. Veblen, Thorstein, The Instinct of Workmanship, New York, 1914, Chapter I.

James Watson evaluates a few theoretical socio-cultural change models presented by anthropologists and sociologists.¹ He divides these theories into two types; the "Developmental" one; and the "Causal-Correlation" one. Under the "developmental" type, he lists the evolutionary theories of Morgan, White, Childe, Spengler, Sorokin, and Toynbee. Here stress is mostly on theoretical and intuitive speculation and less on field work. Among the "Developmental" types, he includes Murdock's Kinship residence system - in which Murdock attributes all changes due to the change in kinship residence; and Barnett's linear order model - in which Barnett sees social change in this following order, form, function, and meaning; and Herskovits' formulation of "focal aspects" of culture as being least readily lost due to contact. He criticizes these "Developmental" types, when he says, "Developmental formulation lack any fundamental concern with causation."² They formulate a succession of behavioral or cultural events - thus savagery is followed by barbarism, and the latter by civilization.

He lists for the other type, Clyde Kluckholm's work on the relationship between deprivation and increase in witchcraft accusation among the Navaho.³ He tends to favor the "Causal-Correlation" studies, which are

1. Watson, James "Four Approaches to Culture Change", Social Forces, Vol. 32, No. 2, Dec. 1953, pp. 137-145.

2. Ibid., p. 139.

3. For further information, see Clyde Kluckholm, Navaho Witchcraft, Papers of the Peabody of American Archaeology and Ethnology, XXII, No. 2, (Cambridge, 1944).

concerned with causal interdependence and in co-variation among event, when he writes, "it is necessary to investigate facts "outside" of the order of data whose occurrence one is attempting to understand."¹

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The universal (tone of Karl Marx and Veblen theories are dogmatic, oversimplified, and lack the empirical verifications. For both assume that human action is primarily motivated by material considerations. In some religious societies of Eastern countries, human action is believed to be determined by the super-natural.) No doubt, Karl Marx and Veblen were influenced and were predisposed by their own socio-cultural milieu. (The nature of their own societies with their stress on industrialization and commercialism; and such writings as those of Adam Smith and Ricardo, no doubt, influenced their presentation greatly. In comparison, one may turn to the Eastern super-natural determinism of Christ, Mohammad, and Moses.) For they are also universal, dogmatic, oversimplified and lack empirical verification and are colored by their own religious socio-cultural milieu.

The writer tends to agree with James Watson's critique on the evolutionary theories of Child, Morgan, Sorokin, White and Murdock. They lack the fundamental

1. Watson, op.cit., p. 139.

concern with causation, and they have indicated that changes are only a series of behavioral and institutional successions. Like the deterministic theorist, they also lack empirical verifications.

As for the linear orderly developmental theories of W. Brown and J. Barnett, the writer feels that in his study there is no evidence to support their theories. For in Jordan, Western political institutions, after the introduction of technology and political ideologies, were accepted and developed prior to intensive social organizational changes. One explanation for that is a felt need for political innovation.

Young, Freedman, and Dawson seem to agree on the hypothesis that the cultural base of a given society prior to its contact with another society is a determinant for social change. Perry and Lewis agree that the similarities of the socio-cultural characteristics between two contacting groups affect the rate and nature of social change. Freedman and Dawson indicate that the broadness and complexity of the cultural base prior to the contact is a determinant factor for change. The writer finds certain clues from the consensus of these writers and tends to agree with them.

In summary, the writer will not fully accept one theoretical model or the other. Like Robert MoIver, he feels that the problem of social change is too complex and has multiple causes.¹ He will try to explain this change phenomenon as a process and try to isolate a few of its causal-relationships. In brief, the following concepts are chosen by the writer to help his study:

1. Redfield's framework, that social change is dependent upon such factors as differences in degree of cultural isolation and cultural homogeneity.
2. The conception of Dawson and Gettys, that social change and its nature is determined by the character of its existing cultural complex prior to the contact.
3. The hypothesis of Freedman and others, that the larger the cultural base, the greater the possibilities of social change.
4. Perry's "cultural kinship" idea that the similarities in cultural traits between two groups prior to their contact, affects the rate and the nature of social change.
5. Kimbal Young's conception, that the attitude of the groups prior to their contact is a factor affecting the rate and nature of social change.
6. Oscar Lewis's conception, that the basic similarities between two contacting groups is a factor in facilitating culture change, and that the rate of change is not uniform in all aspects of the socio-cultural structure.
7. Herskovits' notion of the "focus of culture" as an important point for the understanding of socio-cultural change.

1. MoIver, R., Social Causation, Ginn and Co., Boston, New York, 1942.

PROBLEM AND HYPOTHESES

This study is concerned with social change in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan due to certain influences, (Western contact). It is an attempt to single out those factors which contributed to this change. No doubt, part of the change is due to the timeless and inevitable external factors related to the natural environment, and in other parts, is due to its internal, demographic conditions such as the fluctuation of its population. (Jordan is located in a gate-way between the three main continents of Europe, Asia and Africa. Historically, the state of Jordan had been an area of inter-racial, inter-national and inter-religious group contacts. Thus, diffusion, acculturation, amalgamation and assimilation have been going on in the area since the time of the Babylonians, Amorians, Hebrews, Assyrians, Greeks, Persians, Romans, Arabs and Turks)

The writer is only concerned with one aspect of this social change. He is concerned, mainly with those changes occurring in Jordan due to Western contact in the late 18th century and early 19th century; and which have left observable modifications in the social system such as the secularization of education and the mechanization of communication. Further, the writer is aware of the fact,

that there is no zero point of socio-cultural stability and the absence of group contact beside those of the West in Jordan. However, for the purpose of his study, he will single out the Western agents who contacted Jordan in this historical period and who have left their effect upon the system.

(Jordan's social structure is roughly divided into three social units, town, village and tribe. These units are similar in some respects, since Jordan falls within one cultural area.¹ (Thus, the three units have similar cultural traits such as religiosity, vast differences in wealth and inequalities between the sexes, and the honor of the written word.)

This paper is not so much concerned with their similarities as it is concerned with their differences. It is due to these differences of the socio-cultural structure that upon the Western contact, the rate and the nature of social change is differentially distributed among the given units. For the purpose of this study the writer presents the following tentative hypotheses:

1. That social change in Jordan, due to Western contact is of unequal effect. It is strongest in the town and least in the tribe, and inbetween in the village.
2. That it is strongest in the town due to its larger cultural base, its similarities in socio-cultural traits with those in the West,

1. Patai, R., "The Middle East as a Cultural Area", Middle East Journal, Vol. VI, Winter, 1952.

and due to the presence of two highly receptive groups, the Moslem upper classes and the Christian Arabs, who were both dissatisfied with their existing conditions and who were seeking innovation.

3. That it is weakest in the tribe, due to its well integrated socio-cultural edifice.

METHODOLOGY

The writer will use historical documentations to support his hypotheses and will select from these, only the episodes and the incidents which will give light to and answer the following:

1. description of the socio-cultural traits of the town, village, and tribe and comparison of them with Western traits.
2. use of the "folk-urban" typology as a tool for comparative analysis; the town, village and tribe variable will be placed in this "folk-urban" continuum.
3. use of Herskovits' concept "focus of culture", as another tool of analysis; and show how the American missionary activities were accepted with enthusiasm and had a far reaching effect on the Jordanian social structure because of their interaction with the cultural foci.
4. isolation of the social forces which made the Moslem upper-class and the Christian Arabs more receptive to Western ideas, due to their political and social attitudes.

A brief chapter on the major social changes in Jordan will be presented mainly in qualitative form. It is pointed out that the study of social change is better described and

analyzed quantitatively.¹ However, the writer feels that qualitative data in his study is as satisfactory due to the following:

1. the absence of satisfactory censuses on population distribution and work activities, prior to the coming of the West, due to (a) tax evasion under the Turkish rule, (b) military conscription evasion, also under the Turkish rule, (c) religious values which make it unholy to count the human being, because all are equal brothers and a part of a larger universal whole.²

2. the writer thinks that qualitative data is adequate for describing a new phenomena which was not present in the past; thus, it is sufficient to say that now a segment of Jordanians own cars and radios, which they did not have before the Western contact.

Technique of Investigation:

1. The writer was born in Jerusalem and lived most of his life in Jordan, prior to his coming to the United States. It is legitimate to assume that part of (his data is due to his cultural participation.)

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1. Lewis, O., Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied, University of Illinois Press, Chicago, 1951; Lynds, Robert, Middletown in Transition, Harcourt, Brace and Co. N.Y., 1937.
 2. Schubart, Walter, Russia and Western Man, Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., New York, 1950.

2. Jordanian daily papers were analyzed for a period of six months. The purpose was to find the relationship between class structure and national, political and social wants.

3. United Nation Yearbooks (1950-1953) were studied.

4. Middle East Journals (1947-1953) and Middle East Affairs Journals (1950-1953) were scrutinized.

5. Sixteen Jordanian students, now attending Michigan State College, who registered in 1953, were interviewed to find out:

- (a) religious affinity;
- (b) social class component;
- (c) present field of study;
- (d) future aspirations.

CHAPTER II

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

Jordan, as it will be used in this paper consists of that part of the Arab Near Eastern countries which was known until 1948, as Trans-Jordan and the Arab part of Palestine as assigned by the United Nations in 1947. The Jordan river divides the land into two sections. On the eastern side lives what is left of the Palestinian Arabs and the western side lives the Trans-Jordanians plus the 400,000 Palestinian refugees and immigrants. The country is divided into several geographical regions. The eastern part of the river is of the plateau region which is a southern extension of the Lebanon mountain chain. There are no high mountains in this region, the highest point being Tel-Asur (3,333') in the hills of Summaria. Next to it is the Mount of Olives (2,710') near Jerusalem. The hill sides are largely bare and rocky. To the east of the hills is the Jordan valley which is the southern portion of the Rift valley, the northern parts of which are the valleys of the Orontes and Litani. The western part of the river consists of the eastern half of the Jordan valley from the Uarmuk gorge (Sheriyet-al-Munadira)

to the Dead Sea; the eastern half of the Dead Sea and of the desert valley; the Wadi Araba, down to Aqaba, the port of that name at the head of the Red Sea Gulf, a narrow triangle of cultivated land, with its base about fifty miles wide on the Syrian frontier area of desert. Thus, Jordan is bounded in the north by Israel and Syria in the west by Israel and the south by Israel, the Red Sea and Suadi Arabia and Iraq in the East.

(The climate is on the whole Mediterranean,) although one should allow for variations. There is a rainy season from October to May and a dry, rainless summer. Westerly winds which blow regularly have a moderating influence on the climate.

The people of Jordan number 1,300,000, of whom, one half million live on the eastern side, 600,000, on the western side and about 400,000, live in refugee camps.¹ Racially, they are a mixture of many stocks. The Arabian type of the desert (Semite) is predominant among the Bedouin. The peasants are a highly mixed group who are the descendents of the ancient Cannanites, Armeanians and Armeniods. The town people are generally a product of successive waves of conquerors and officials and of traders who came to the land. The predominant type resembles the southern European, but there are examples of the Nordic types and these are the decendents of the Crusaders.

1. Statistical Yearbook, 1953, United Nations.

In the Jordan valley, one might notice the negro strain, probably a remnant of those soldiers who fought under Ibrahim Basha, in the middle of the 19th century. In the Gaza strip, the population is largely of Egyptian origin, (Hamite).

There are about 100,000, Moslem tribesman, and the rest are divided among villagers and urbanites in the ratio of 7 to 3, of the Christian Arabs 80 per cent live in the cities and 20 per cent in the villages. As for the Moslems, 70 per cent live in villages and 30 per cent in cities.¹ Beside these two major religious groups - there are about 10,000, Chechons, and about 1,000, Circassians. These are descendents of those Moslem tribes who emigrated from their homes when they were conquered by the Russians - and were settled by the Turkish government around Amman.

JORDAN BEFORE WESTERN CONTACT

Before Western contact (19th century), Jordan was a part of the Turkish-Moslem Empire. It was neither a separate country or of one administrative unit. West of Jordan there were three Sanjaks or districts; two of these were in the Vilayet (province of Beirut); the Sanjak of Acre; the Sanjak of Nablus and the independent Sanjak of

1. Royal Institute of International Affairs, Great Britain and Palestine, 1915-1945, London, 1946.

Jerusalem. The Western part of the river was part of the Syrian Vilayet.

The administration of the Turkish empire functioned effectively in large towns. Top administrative work was controlled by Turks. The local leaders enjoyed a good deal of power in their communities. The Moslem judge had a control over his immediate Moslem-Arab community in its judicial and political sphere. However, these rulers were not fully satisfied with their existing status, which they considered one of subordination. They were seeking self-rule.

Social organization was divided into tribe, village and town. Each of these three units had distinct features. They had a few characteristics in common. The family was patriarchal, patrilineal, and patrilocal and it was a part of a larger kin-grouping which had priority over the individual. Religion permeated all phases of life and (political groupings were determined by the religious and family associations) Arabic was the spoken language. Society at large was better described as "sacred" like.

Kinship grouping was the basis for other groupings. Age and custom were highly respected. (Physical isolation was characteristic of the village and tribe. However, "sacredness" varied within the social structure, i.e., the tribe was more "sacred" in some aspects than the other

aspects than village and tribe.

This study is not so much concerned with the similarities in characteristics among the tribes, villages and towns as it is concerned with their dissimilarities. (It is due to these dissimilarities, that upon contact with the Western Agents, the rate of social change was not equally distributed.)

The following section of this paper will present data on the characteristics of the three dependent variables prior to Western contact.

THE TOWN¹

Since the eighth century A.D., Jordan has been a Holy country for the Christians, Jews and Moslems. It was mainly because of that, that some towns of Jordan prior to Western contact were heterogenous in character. They were composed of different religious, ethnic groups. Each religious group occupied a limited area. It had its own sentiment, defined needs, aspiration and leadership. It served, first the need of its religious members; next, complimented the needs of the other existing religious communities. Thus, the Moslem community served as an intermediary between the two other religions and the Turkish

1. The term is not a mere abstraction for all towns in Jordan. The writer here, is specifically describing the socio-cultural traits of Jerusalem. However, certain characteristics described here are also applicable to such towns as Nablus, Hebrun and Amman.

rulers, e.g., levied taxes. The Jewish community monopolized the alcohol and money lending trades, while the Christian community controlled the tourist trade.

Historically, these religious communities were called the "Dhimmis" and were introduced by the Moslems. Jews are called, "The People of the Book," or believers in God. The "Dhimmis" were sanctioned by the Moslem rulers to continue their religion within their own territory, provided they payed taxes to the rulers in return for which they were protected. During Turkish rule these "Dhimmis" came to be known by the "millet system." Under this system each religious community enjoyed a kind of political self-autonomy within the Turkish Empire. It had a local, administrative body which had the right to maintain a law-court of its own which supervised marriage, inheritance, and divorce among its co-religionists. The head of this system had direct access and responsibility to the Sultan in Turkey. Moreover, he had a great economic power by reason of the Mashaa land tenure system. Under this system the land was registered in the name of a few notables of the religious sect and the head of the "millet" held it in trust for the community.

Among the most important religious communities were the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Catholic Church. The Roman Catholic Church was headed by the Patriarch of

Jerusalem. He controlled all the secular clergy of the Latin Rite as well as the religious personnel engaged in parish work; and also advised the congregations of nuns and exerted limited authority over the monastic orders. This Patriarchate was established in 1847. Before this date, Catholic holy cities in the country were controlled by the Franciscan Order.

The Greek Catholic Church had an older historical attachment to the country and had more adherents. It was led by the Patriarch in Jerusalem. From the first century on, the Bishop of Jerusalem was the head of the Christian community in the country. In the Byzantine age, the Patriarch of Jerusalem was one of five supreme ecclesiastical authorities; two of them, the Patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople and the other three the Patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem. Beside the parish churches, the Greek Catholic Church had large properties which were concentrated chiefly around Jerusalem.

This Church included among its branches, different nationalities; each with its own head. All of them agreed on canonical theology. None of them, excepting the Russian Church, which became autonomous in 1589, had an independent religious establishment in the country. The Russian church also owned large properties, especially in Jerusalem.

Islam gave a rational definition of the status of Christians and Jews and called them, "The People of the Book." However, these two groups occupied a disfavorable position during the Turkish rule. The majority of the people were Moslems, so were the Turkish rulers. Religious tolerance between the Moslems and these two groups varied within each historical episode. Tolerance was greatest in the period of the early Arabic rule and diminished during the Turkish rule. Christians and Jews came to be called the "infidels". No doubt the voluntary, physical segregation, as defined by the "Dhimmi" system made them more conspicuous for discriminatory measures.

The town occupied a small area. Its houses were conglomerations of buildings, one stuck close to the other. In the center of each religious community stood the place of worship, with the adjoining religious courts, and the religious school (Kuttab). Stretching from this center and in various directions were the residential streets. Each street was usually occupied by a single kin group. The elite of each community lived closest to the place of worship.

Next to the dwelling section and farther from the center was the Suq, (commercial center.) The center of this Suq was the vegetable bazaar for the villagers. On either side of this bazaar and running in different directions,

were streets occupied by particular crafts or trades. Each craft had its own guild system. In this center too, was located the Khan (hotel, for the foreign merchants).

In between the residential area were the different "coffee shops", which were the only places of entertainment. It was here that the different social classes met to play cards, dominos and backgammon, and where they met to discuss the political and religious affairs of the community. It was also where various trade and commercial transactions were made. During the evening of "Ramadan", the religious Moslem fasting month, this place served as a theater. It was customary also to get news of the community here. And those who sought advice from more experienced, older people, found it here. Each religious community had its own "coffee houses."

The "Waqf" was another institution associated with the town. It represented a kind of religious and charitable trust. Its revenue was donated from a wealthy community member and was supervised by the Shara Court, (Moslem Court). This revenue was allocated for religious objects and for charitable maintenance of persons or institutions. Usually as the property was dedicated it came under state control, and was subject to great restrictions. "Waqf" property could be inherited according to the Moslem code. It continued unchanged after the death

of the original owner. Holdings often became small and subdivided among a great number of inheritors. However, in some cases, the "Waqf" came to be a kind of social security for notable families with rich ancestors.

The town was socially stratified; at the top were the few belonging to the ruling class and at the bottom, the masses. The ruling class was composed, first, of the various religious community leaders and second, of the very few Turkish administrators. In power and prestige, they were rated as follows: Turks, Moslem upper-class, Christian Arabs, Jews, and other religious nationals. The Moslem upper-classes claim to be the decedents of the few Arab conquerors whose home was once Mecca. They controlled the religious and administrative functions of their own community. In conjunction with this group, the very few Turkish administrators levied taxes and performed judicial functions. Both came to be informed in the Moslem jurisprudence and in the Turkish law. Thus, there was a kind of specialization within this group in law, administration and jurisprudence. They kept their class well closed, married within their own family, or within their own class, and in some cases, they inter-married with the Turkish rulers.

The lower classes of the town were the petty merchants, traders, craftsmen, "coffeeshop" owners, musicians,

entertainers, porters, and unskilled laborers, and beggars. In between was a small class of wealthy merchants and money lenders, who were mostly Christians and Jews.

The wide extent of the Turkish Empire necessitated extensive international trade. The merchants were Christians, Jews, and Moslems. Such ports as Beirut, Jaffa, Haifa, Aca, Sydon were active in land and maritime commerce. Eastward, traders went as far as China.¹ Goods were generally transported by relays; few caravans went the whole distance. Such items as tea, silk and spices were imported. Westerward trade reached Morocco, Spain, and other Southern Mediterranean cities. Merchants carried with them Eastern items such as dates, sugar, cotton, spices and silk.

Their commercial activity rested on home industries. Hand industry was established all over the main cities. Jerusalem came to be famous for its various tourist, jewelry and leather industry; Nablus for soap; Hebron, Sidon and Tyre for glass; Jaffa for tables, sofas and lamps; Damascus for vases, kitchen utensils, camel and goat-hair fabrics, spun-silk cloaks, copper lamps, needles, knives and swords.

Jordanian towns came to be famous for a wide variety of handicrafts and "cottage" trades. Of these, small scale working of metals has continued since earliest times.

1. According to Historical records there were connections as early as the eight century A.D. (See Philip Hitti, History of the Arabs, London, 1940).

Copper and bronze, and iron melting were developed from the scanty ore deposits of the north center of the Middle East. Highly tempered steel for weapons and harnesses, ornamental domestic utensils with elaborate chasing and inlay work, and gold and silver ornaments were the chief products of handicrafts in metal.

Another product of small scale craftsmanship were textiles of different sorts. Raw material such as cotton, flax, silk, and wool existed abundantly, as well as, camel and goat-hair which were available in steep regions. The people used cotton and silk for their clothing, and cloaks of finely woven camel-hair served as an outer garment for the Bedouin.

Another aspect of textile craftsmanship was needlework and embroidery. Embroidery, lace-making and drawn-thread work on silk, linen and cotton reached a good standard. This trade developed in association with the tourist traffic of Jordan; the product being sold chiefly to travelers and pilgrims. Lace from Nazareth and Beirut, linen work from Jerusalem and embroidery from Bethlehem provided a livelihood for their population.

Other widespread industries were the preparation of foodstuffs (olive-oil, food pastes, dried fruits, and wine), and soap-boiling. The latter was centered more in an area of olive growing trees like Nablus.

The craft industry was small and based on familial ownership mainly. It included small workshops, maintained by a single owner with the assistance of his family, or at most, five or six paid assistants. Shops of a similar trade were grouped together in a single street. Each town had different trade streets of the coppersmiths, the carpenters...etc.

Trading activities were protected and regulated by "Guild merchants". These organizations were composed of all the inhabitants of the same town, who engaged in selling merchandise. They were formed to protect and regulate trade and to preserve for its members a trade monopoly. Among its privileges, its members enjoyed exclusive rights to sell at retail price and the right to buy from the other merchant at cost price.

The craft-guilds were composed of a group of men with whom manufacturing was the main business of life. The articles they manufactured combined their artistic talent within the sphere of their religion. Some of these places of manufacture were located in the craftsman's dwelling house. They owned their own tools and only bought the raw materials from the market. The demand for their product was a stable one and most articles were called forth by the necessity of the local market. The trade was carried on with given families and thus, considerable manual skill was

attained. Regularity of production was important and so was the regularity of price, i.e., the just price: "for "It" is all from Allah, He gives and He takes." In some cases a customer, usually from the upper-class, brought the materials to the shop, and returned for the finished product, paying him for craft and labor. (The guilds are usually subject to the authority of the town administration, (centered in the courts).

The workman attained full membership in the guild after he had passed through the successive grades of apprenticeship and of journey man, and had reached the position of a master. The young man entered the trade as an apprentice and was bound to a master for a number of years. The parents of the apprentice usually signed a contract which guaranteed that clothing, food, and lodging should be provided by the master. Some of these workmen came from nearby villages. This was one process of population movement - the internal and slow movement from the village unit to the town. After the termination of his term of apprenticeship, he moved to the "journeyman" or full workman stage and continued with his master, but as a wage earner. Usually, at this stage, he saved enough money to establish his own shop.

The Kuttab was the only educational institution and was attached to the Mosque. Lower classes as well as upper

classes were educated in the "three r's"; religion, arithmetic and Arabic. Greater attention, however, was given to the upper class children. These, after graduating from the local town Kuttub were sent by their parents either to Cairo or to Constantinople for higher education. In Cairo, they joined the Al-Azhar and studied Fikh (Mohammedan law), Osoul, (principles of Mohammedan law), Tafsir (Exegesis), Hadith (traditions of the prophet), Tawhid (monotheistic divinity), Nahw (grammar), Bayan (rhetoric), Al-Mabtu'j (logic), Al-Hesab (arithmetic), Algebra and Astronomy. In Constantinople, they practiced civil administration as defined by Turkish law. They also served there as representatives for their local town communities and as ambassadors of good will.

In summary, the town was a heterogeneous community composed of various religious groups. It was the center of internal and external trade and was the seat of the Turkish administration. Its socio-cultural base was composed of the religious "myllet systems"; the multiple class social strata; the Waqf systems; the merchant and trade guild system; and the bureaucrats. It was spatially arranged in such a way that the further it was from the religious center, the lesser status it had. Physical and cultural contact with the outside world was not evenly distributed among all its components. Two groups had more access to it;

the Moslem upper-class due to their education abroad, their knowledge of the Turkish language, and their marriage with the Turks; and the Christian Arabs by virtue of their religious ties with the Italian, Greek and Russian churches.

THE VILLAGE¹

The Jordanian village consisted, first, of the village proper or the dwelling area, and second, for the cultivated land which was located at a distance. The village proper was a conglomeration of buildings concentrated in a small area. The religious building stood almost in the middle, followed by the harah, or a wide space where the fellahin assembled, either, to exchange goods, or to celebrate festivals. From this center stretched the dwelling streets in various directions better known as the harah. Each harah was usually occupied by one kin group. Outside the village proper was the farmer's cultivated land.

The fellah cultivated his land within various types of land holdings. The first was the mulk land system. Land in this type was held in full ownership. The owner cultivated his land and sold his products as he wished. The second kind was the miri. Originally the land in this system was held by the state, and many times it was

1. The term is not an abstraction of all villages in Jordan. Descriptions here are specifically those of Silevan village. However, certain characteristics are true of other villages in Jordan, such as El-Tur, Beit-Haninah, Beit-Sahur, Abu-Deis, and El-Azariah.

transferred to certain landlords. In some cases transfer was made as full ownership. The percentage of land holdings in this type varied among the various parts of the Arab village within the Turkish Empire.

The third type was the Matrukhi under which land was held for the benefit of the public. It was owned by the whole village and its income was distributed among the whole village and its income was distributed among the whole participants. More frequently the matrukhi was kept as grazing ground for the village as a whole.

The last type was the masha system which was to some extent similar to the matrukhi, since it was a kind of communal ownership by a single group. Allocation was made on the basis of one share per male in each family and a half share for the female. The families with more males had more shares than the ones with females.

The most widely spread type of tenancy was share-cropping (metayae). Under this system the landlord provided seed, and sometimes implements, and received one-half of the yield after the taxes were paid. The most common type was full land ownership.

Subsistence agriculture economy was predominant. The fellah cultivated his land and used its grain, vegetables, and fruit for himself, first; and the surplus he exchanged for manufactured goods in a nearby town. Foodstuff was the

main crop. Wheat and barley were grown in winter; and millet in summer. Fruits and vegetables were also an essential crop. Each land had its own orchard and gardens and the fellah tried to have a proportion of both. Olive trees occupied a good area of the planted fruit land, next to the vineyards. Among other fruits and vegetables were figs, tomatoes, cucumbers, onions, cherries, peaches, apples and apricots.

The male did the heavy work in the field and carried on the heavy selling and buying transactions. He was also responsible for the training of the male children in his own labor. The female took care of the housework and other light farm work, i.e., raising poultry.

(The village social organization was usually composed) of two or three hamullahs (clan). Each hamullah consisted of related blood members in the male line. The smallest unit of it was the neuclear family - husband, wife, and children, and sometimes the grandfather and his other unmarried children. Work was based on the neuclear family. In the heavy season of the field work, there was usually cooperation within the hamullah. In the neuclear family, decision making rested on the eldest male and the women were subservient to the men. Decision making on the hamullah level was based on such indices as; age, generosity, property, and wisdom.

Marriage was arranged by the parents and usually within the hamullah, dowry was paid to the parents, either in cash money or in land property. Its amount varied according to the beauty of the girl and her family power and prestige. Thus, a dowry came to be a symbol of prestige for both the husband and the wife. Divorce, although permitted by Islam, was neither encouraged nor honored. Islam also allowed polygamy - but most marriages were monogamous.

(Family loyalty was the basis of one's values, aspirations, and personality adjustments. To commit an offence against one's family was to commit an offence against the village and was to lose contact with one's social life.

Each village had its political leader, the mukhtar. He was appointed by the Turkish government through its administrators in the town. These qualifications were: the size of his family and property, his oral wisdom, and his generosity. He collected taxes from the fellahin for the town government. He represented the fellahin in their judicial affairs, (administered by the town bureaucrats) in such matters as divorce and property inheritance. He was assisted by an informal elected body of the elders. These were usually all the older members of the clan.

Each village has its own store. The store-keeper went to the nearby town and bought clothes, sugar, coffee, and other manufactured goods, and farm equipment. He exchanged them either for money or for the fellah surplus farm commodities. He came to be a wealthy man and a money lender, however, he had no authority or power unless he came from a qualified family. Trade in the village was not a full time specialty. The farmer during the slack season took care of household, carpentry and repair work.

Religion permeated the whole life of the fellah. It was not only confirmed to the formal service at the Mosque. (Islam is a religion, and a way of life). "Allah's" name was used by the farmer before any act or duty was performed. The Imam (the priest) was a member of the village community. He sometimes went to the nearby town and obtained elementary education in the Koran. Thus, he became the only literate man in the village and the link with the town. He usually was the channel of communication from the town to the village and visa-versa.

Recreation in the village was associated with the religious festivals, the Madafha (guest house), and the various marriage ceremonies. These festivals were sometimes occasions for people of near by villages to get together and celebrate. Another recreational activity was the "Sahra": when all the male villagers get together in the

Madafha, some played games, others listened to a story of ancient Arab heroes (Abu-Z eid), being told or read. Weddings were another source of entertainment, when all the villagers stopped their routine and participated in the affair.

Communications between villages and towns was on foot or by donkey. It varied according to the proximity of villages to each other and villages to towns. Not all villagers communicated with the town. The main channels of communication were through the Mukhtar, the store-keeper, and the Imam.

(In summary, the village was a self-sufficient, agricultural community. The family was the basic institution and channel through which the major organized activities were followed. One's loyalty was first to one's family and next to one's religion. The village was slightly dependent on the town in economic and judicial affairs. The farmer exchanged part of his vegetables and grains for metal work and clothes. However, not all villagers and villages interacted with the same frequency with the town. The Mukhtar was its chief link and through him the fellah paid his taxes and settled his judicial duties. With the exception of the priest, all the villagers were illiterate.)

THE TRIBE¹

The material possession of the tribesman was simple. His major possession was his camel, his tent and his cloths. His tent was usually made from camel or goat hair. He wore a long robe of thick material as a principle garment. On his head he puts the "Cafiah and Ikal", which was a band around the head tied and fixed to his head by a cord. He wore light sandels on his feet.

The unit among the Badu was the tribe. The tribe was divided into two main groups, the free men and the strangers. The free men are all social equals and headed by the Sheikh. The relationship between the freemen and the Sheikh was defined by tradition and custom. The rank of the Sheikh was hereditary in a definite house, usually, he was the most suitable man in mental and physical power. Age alone was not a qualification for leadership. During the raiding, a new Sheikh was elected with the quality of cunning, courage, shrewdness and physical ability. But in this case the old Sheikh maintained his power and was called Sheikh Al-Bad and the new called Sheikh Al-Harb. The old Sheikh usually established blood relation with the new one, through marriage.

1. The description here is that of the Ruwalla tribe.

The strangers in the tribe were the slaves, the blacksmith, the sorcerer (soothsayer), and the merchant. Each of these had its own institutions within which he operated, and had definite rules and obligations to the tribe. The sorcerer gave information about the coming of rain, about the birth among the humans and camels, about the success and failure of the raid, and about sickness. The slaves watered the camels; loaded and unloaded the supplies; lead the laden camels; and helped the women with unloading and loading and transportation and in pitching the tent. The merchant, usually a wandering one between different tribes, brought his goods and sold the Badu cloths, tobacco, drugs, coffee. The Badu bought these commodities on credit, paying 25 per cent interest in five months. The debt and interest must be paid at the time of the camel market, when the Badu went to the nearby town (city market) to sell his camels.

The blacksmith occupied an inferior position in the tribe, like the other two. He shod the horses, repaired rifles and daggers, and often made rifles, sabers and spears. He claimed that all blacksmith in the different wandering tribes were his kin, thus he had certain obligations to them, like marriage, and portection and allegiance. These strangers were held as inferiors to the freemen and only functioned within their separate

institutions. Few of their institutions overlapped with the tribal ones, i.e., in no case do the freemen intermarry with this group and visa-versa, and in no case do these "strangers" accompany the raiding party.

The family among the tribesmen was patriarchal, patrilineal, and patrilocal. Marriage was within the same tribe. Usually, the tribe was composed of related blood group in the male line. The division of labor was clearly defined. The male specialized in raiding and camel or sheep raising; the female in the household and pitching the tent, loading and unloading it. Marriages within the tribe were based on love and inclination. (The first cousin "ahl" of the girl had priority to her and can stop any marriage deal outside the "ahl").

Each wandering unit (tribe) had certain rights of pasture and occupation. The limits of each tribal territory were defined. The size and quality of this territory was related to the size and power of the wandering unit to the others. Thus, existed defined institutions, based on custom and tradition, between one unit and the other.

Among these institutions were the "Khuwa" by which a weaker tribe acknowledged the supremacy and protection of a stronger one provided it paid a special agreed amount of taxes. Another institution was the "Wajh" on the individual level, and it gave the right of protection for a freeman

outside his territory provided he approached the Sheikh of that territory and asked for his word of protection. A more complicated institution was the "blood feud" by which the report of the murder of any freeman became the obligation of the whole tribe (kin), and the guilt rested on the whole of the "ahl" murderer. Vengeance became the duty of his own "ahl" (kin). The avengers sought only the best suited and closest relative of the murderer. If the murderer could not be reached, the best suited target was the closest relative provided he was a male and passed the childhood and boyish stage, usually after the seventeenth year of age. However, this vengeance could be stopped by the arbitrary interference of the Sheikh of a third tribe. There was no monetary reward for this interference and if the interfering Sheikh was of esteem and power and reputation among the wandering tribe, his verdict was obeyed.

A more complicated institution was raiding. Customarily each tribe was in perpetual war with the other unless their relation was defined by the "Khawa" institution. Raid (war) gave the tribesmen opportunity to display their cunning, courage, fighting skill and to obtain economic reward (booty). As a rule, petty theft, or the fiction of it was the cause of the raid. However, the raid was ceremonialized. First the individual freemen accused each other of keeping a lost camel. Next, the Sheikh of both tribes interfered and

agreed to assume responsibility in finding the lost camel. Time and place of a raid was agreed upon. Only the chief of the tribe declared the raid. The expedition was headed by a commander who was characterized by prudence, bravery and good fighting ability. These qualities were not inherited and by this, they became a means for acquiring leadership. The old Sheikh built blood relationship with this tribesman. Usually the sorcerer accompanied the raid, also a specialized man in the art of finding the watering places. The commander of the expedition decided whether and how the booty was to be divided.

The interrelation within the unit was defined by tradition. Usually the Sheikh was the judge, who controlled order within his unit. However, serious differences were settled by a hereditary freeman judge, better known as "Arefa". His judicial stature was inherited and monopolized by a certain kin group. However, if one lacked intelligence the litigants turned to his uncle, or to his closest cousin. Furthermore, the Sheikh was not to interfere with the jurisdiction of the hereditary judge.

The status of the women was inferior to the men, as in the town and the village, and its explanation existed within the Islamic code. The most valued cultural items to the Bedouin were raiding and camel raising. These two were monopolized by the men.

In summary the close knit organization and the size of territory in relation to the people did not allow the tribesman to have close contact with the outside world. His way of life was well served, so his needs within his basic institutions, too. Family organization and raiding gave him economic and social prestige needs. His way of life did not allow him for production and to much surplus with which to buy much. He had limited contact with the outside world; and it was through three channels; the rotating city market, the wandering merchants and the blacksmith. Unlike the villager, he had less religious and administrative links with the town.

SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS

In summary, the town was heterogeneous in character. It was administered on the basis of three major religious groupings. Each religious group had its own physical territory, interest, and shared sentiments. The town was stratified by small upper-classes and the masses. It was spatially divided according to religion and according to kinship groupings. Social status was spatially arranged in such a way that the closer it was to the religious center, the higher the status. The rate of physical and cultural contact with the outside differentiated and was greatest

among the Moslem upper-class and the Christian Arabs. The first inter-married with the Turks, were educated abroad and spoke the Turkish language. The second had religious affiliations with the Latin, Greek, and Russian churches. Towns had trade and specializations. The Moslem judicial courts combined both religious and judicial functions, and included among its staff members, a judge, a lawyer, and a clerk. Trade was organized in guild institutions.

The village was a semi-closed, self-sufficient, agricultural community. At the bottom, the family institution was the basis for other activities. It was dependent on the town through the medium of its store-keeper; by which it exchanged the surplus farm products for manufactured goods. There existed some interaction within villages and this varied according to their proximity. The Mukhtar was the official political leader and was its main channel of communication with the town. Other channels of communication were its priest and store-keeper. Almost all villagers were illiterate.

The tribe was a close-knit organization; with integrated structural and functional edifice, in which most activities, rewards and honor were centered on the raiding institution. There were three foreign groups in the tribe; the wandering merchant, the slaves, and

blacksmiths. At the bottom, kinship groupings determined all other activities in the tribe and the "we" feeling came before the "I" feeling. It was less dependent on the town in its religious and administrative affairs and only contacted the town for exchange of surplus.)

The following chart summarized the socio-cultural characteristics similar to those found in the West.

Summary of Socio-cultural Characteristics
Similar to the West Among the
Tribe, Village, and Town

<u>Town</u>	<u>Village</u>	<u>Tribe</u>
Guild system	Presence of more than one religion	Meat specialization
Coffee-house		
Trade	Surplus in agricultural production	
City Market	Religious teacher	
Hotel	Dowry	
Bureaucracy	Private property ownership	
Professionals (judge, lawyer and clerks)		
Social classes (upper, lower)		
Presence of more than one language (Arabic, Greek, Italian, Russian)		

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1. For a brief description of the Western mediaeval socio-cultural trait characteristics, see Chapin, Stuart, Cultural Change: The Century Company, 1928, New York. pp. 174-197; Burns, E. M., Western Civilization, Norton Company, 1941, New York, pp. 311-379.

Town cont.

A written code
(Islamic Cannon)

Presence of more than
one ethnic group.

From the preceding chart, it is safe to indicate the the town has more socio-cultural traits similar to the West and the tribe has the least. In degree of physical and cultural contact, the town also ranks first and the tribe ranks last. Also the town is most heterogeneous, since it includes; more than one ethnic group; more than one language; trade and specialization; written code and social strata.

The hypothesis implies also that the rate of change is strongest among the Moslem upper-class and the Christian Arabs. From the given data, it is clear that the Moslem upper-classes had high frequency of physical and cultural interaction with the outside world. They intermarried with the Turks, they spoke the Turkish language, along with their own and they traveled abroad for higher education. The Christian Arabs had only cultural accessibility to foreign ideas through their religious allegiances with European churches such as the Greek, Latin and Russian.

STATE OF NEW YORK
IN SENATE
JANUARY 10, 1901.
REPORT
OF THE
COMMISSIONER OF THE LAND OFFICE
IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION
PASSED BY THE SENATE
MAY 1, 1899.

ALBANY:
J. B. LEECH, PRINTERS,
1899.
PUBLISHED BY THE
COMMISSIONER OF THE LAND OFFICE,
ALBANY, N. Y.

Moreover, the given hypothesis implies a high susceptibility of the Moslem upper-classes and the Christian Arabs due to depreviational attitudes. The Moslem upper-classes were dissatisfied with their political situation under the Turks which they considered as one of subordination. The Christian Arabs were dissatisfied with their social position. Both supressed latent hostilities and were ready for any innovations which could ease their grievances. The writer, in the following chapter of this paper will present a historical document to support his argument on Herskovits' idea of "Focus in Culture".¹

1. See p. 68 of this paper.

CHAPTER III

WESTERN CHANGE AGENTS

The Westerner came to Jordan as missionary, educator, trader, administrator and immigrant. He came with a different socio-cultural background. This difference can be seen in the light of the concept "secular"; in which the state is separate from the church; in which religion did not permeate all phases of life; in which sex differences are not so great; in which the division of labor is highly complex; in which education shows specialization; in which the government was of three separate powers, judicial, executive, and legislative; and in which the political parties were the basis for acquiring governmental power. No doubt the spirit of such organization is different than the one which existed in the Arab Near East, and in Jordan in particular. The spirit could be seen in the light of the concept, "middle class, protestant ethics";¹ in which success in this world is a

1. Warner, W. L., American Life, University of Chicago Press, 1953; Weber, Max, The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism, Charles Scribner & Sons, New York, 1930; Fromm, Erich, Escape from Freedom, Farrar & Rinehart Co., New York, 1941; Mead, M., And Keep Your Powder Dry, W. Morrow and Co., New York, 1942; Gorer, G., The American People, W. W. Norton, New York, 1948.

virtue; in which one's success is measure by one's material achievement; and in which the good citizen sacrifices part of his labor to the community and the state.)

Each one of these agents affected the Jordanian structure in one way or another. Sometimes, these effects are distinct, but for the most part, they are overlapping. These influences varied in degree and in rate of acceptance. Thus, the missionary was responsible for introducing the national awakening, i.e., pride in one's ethnicity and the pride in one's achievement as a good citizen, universal education, and the press. The administrator reorganized the administrative structure, separated the state from the church, and created more specialization in the government administration. The trader introduced new services, such as the railway, the highway, electricity, and the telephone and telegraph. The immigrants intensified and emphasized the items brought in by the other three agents.

THE TRADER

The Jordanian, or for that matter, the Arabs of the Near East, had been in contact with Western Europe since the time of the Islamic conquests in the 7th century. In Spain and Sicily, they had ruled Western European populations and had maintained diplomatic and commercial relations with other Western European states. They had received European

students in their universities. The Crusaders had brought the West to the Near East and the Near East had gone to the West.

From the beginning of the sixteenth century a new relation began emerging between the Arabs and the West. The West, after the renaissance, had made great technological advances. They abolished feudalism and freed trade, this happening in the Arab Near East. This led to European expansion in various directions.

European expansion, as early as the sixteenth century, began with the French negotiations under the Ottoman rulers in Constantinople for the purpose of giving the French traders certain rights and privileges in the Ottoman territories. These rights were given in the so called "Capitulations of 1535", granting the French traders the safety of their persons and property, freedom of worship, etc. French penetration developed rapidly. French traders took advantage of the opportunity and established trading posts and consular missions in both Syria and Egypt. Other capitulations were granted later to the English in 1580, and to the Dutch in 1612. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, European trade grew steadily and numerous colonies of traders settled in the ports and other towns of Syria under the protection of their consuls.

During the nineteenth century, European economic

activity entered upon a new phase. In this new phase, Europeans became not mainly concerned with trade, but with development and control. This control becoming manifest either directly by obtaining concessions or indirectly through loans to local governments of resources and services, most especially to communications. Since the day of Vasco Da Gama, the European had gone to India through the open sea, around the Cape of Good Hope, thus avoiding the Middle East. Throughout the nineteenth century, there had been a return to the ancient overland highways, but without success.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century British companies from India ran regular steamer service to both Basra and Suez. To make the route secure, British-Indian naval units charted the Arabian seas, put down Arabian piracy, and acquired strategic watch-points. A series of expeditions from Bombay against predatory tribes of the eastern and southeastern coasts of Arabia ended in the treaty of peace in 1820 with the Gulf Sheikhs giving the British political supremacy over the area. In 1839, the British captured Aden and occupied it. In the Mediterranean, a British steamship company began regular services to Egypt and Syria in 1836 and was followed by French, Austrian and Italian companies.

As I indicated in the first section of this paper,

transportation in Jordan was mainly by means of animals, either the donkey or camel. The European engineers in facilitating the functions of the traders, introduced steam boat service which linked Mesopotamia with Basra and the Persian Gulf. The East Indian Company and the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company in 1840, linked the overland route between Alexandria - Suez in Egypt, using it both for goods and passengers. In 1851, the Pasha of Egypt gave George Stephenson a contract to build the first Egyptian railway. By 1863, there was 245 miles of track, by 1882, over a thousand, by 1914, over 3,000. In 1869, the Suez Canal opened the Sea highway and it was built by French capital. For effect of the introduction of these various services, see the next section of this paper.

THE IMMIGRANT

Two kinds of immigrants brought change to Jordan -- the one who came from Europe and settled in the country, and the other who left his country, settled in America, and then came back. The first were the Jewish-European immigrants who came to Palestine early in the late nineteenth century and settled side by side with the Arabs. They came motivated by ethnocentricity and by a definite objective for building a national Jewish State. In the

beginning, these immigrants were few in number and came mostly from the eastern part of Europe. In Palestine they settled, either in separate quarters, but in Arab towns, or they built their own communal villages. These few were effected by the Arab structure rather than effecting it.¹ But later in the 1920's, they came in larger numbers and from the Western part of Europe. It is after this period that their effect came to be noticed on the Palestine-Arab structure.²

The second immigration was led by those who left the country. The majority of these immigrants went to the new world, either South America or the United States. They were mostly villagers who went to America to secure a better economic position. Another segment came from the Christian minority who left the country because of certain prejudices and looked for greater comfort in Christian America.³ Some of these immigrants returned and established economic institutions and other institutions as they had found them in the new world.⁴

THE ADMINISTRATOR

The Westerner came to Palestine as an administrator in 1919. The League of Nations assigned England as a mandatory

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1. Patai, Raphael, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 49, Oct. 1947, No. 4.
 2. Ibid., "On Culture Contact and Its Working Modern Palestine".
 3. Hourani, A., *Syria and Lebanon*, Oxford Press, London, 1946.
 4. Tannous, Afif, "The Village in the National Life of Lebanon," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 3, April 1949, No. 2: The founder of the Arab Bank in Jerusalem (first local bank) is Abdul Hamid Shuman from Beit-Hanina, a village located six miles from Jerusalem.

power over Palestine. On the Western side of the river, England was theoretically an advisor, but in reality functioned as administrator for the Amir Abdalla.¹

The government established by the British was of the "crown colony" type. According to this a British high commissioner is the representative of the King of England, in whose name he performs his functions. He is the commander-in-chief of the armed forces and has a good deal of executive, legislative and administrative powers, which are limited only by the terms of the mandate, orders in council and specific instructions received from the colonial office. He is assisted by an executive council consisting of the chief secretary, the attorney general and the treasurer as ex-officio members and other civil servants which the high commissioner may appoint. The high commissioner is expected to consult with his executive council, but he is not bound by their advice.

Under the British administration, a system of courts was established which included magistrates courts, land courts, district courts and the supreme court. The religious courts which existed before were allowed to function in cases of religious law, i.e., marriage, divorce, and inheritance. These religious courts retained their jurisdiction over the Moslem charitable institution.

1. The term Palestine is used interchangeably with Jordan, since part of it prior to 1947 was better known as Palestine.

Under British rule, Palestine was divided for administration into three major districts: northern, southern and the Jerusalem districts. The district commissioners as well as the departmental heads of the central administration at Jerusalem were British. In the junior services, Palestinians were the predominant element. The major part of the police force consisted of Arabs, but the officers were British.

The administration introduced new governmental departments. In 1920, an agricultural department was introduced, designed to improve the general condition of agriculture. Measures were enacted to limit losses due to winds, locust invasion, insect pests, and plant diseases. Experimental stations at Acre and Deisan, horticultural farms at Jerusalem and Jericho and stud farms at Acre. A number of forest nurseries and model plantations were established. Veterinary and quarantine services were instituted to control animal diseases.

The Palestinian government reorganized the postal, telephone and telegraph services into one department following the model of the British post office. The government improved the railway, built highways and gave technical assistance in the development of village roads.

The government set the base of the public school system under the supervision of the department of education.

Grade schools and high schools were established in all the towns for all the children. In many villages elementary schools were opened and scholarshins were given to enable the villagers to continue their high school education in the neighboring public schools.

The Palestine department of public health was established as a centralized service. The department included such functions as registration of medical practitioners, regristration of death and birth, quarantine, inspection of sanitary conditions, control of infectious diseases. The government also built a number of hospitals in several cities. A number of epidemic and casualty posts in Arab towns and villages, organized a number of infant welfare centers, and pre-natal and post-natal clinics in large cities.

Nurses training centers were established in connection with the government hospitals in the cities and a school for midwives was conducted at the maternity hospital in Jerusalem. A special school was organized to train school teachers in hygiene, to enable them to treat children affected with eye diseases, malaria or vermin and to aid in controlling infectious diseases. Owing to the considerable incidence of rabies among dogs and jackals throughout Palestine, anti-rabies measures, both therapeutic and preventative, were instituted at Government expense.

The Department also maintained a laboratory section whose work included the preparation of vaccines for the anti-rabies campaign and for the control of cattle disease.

This complexity in the division of labor, with the creation of more occupations, demanded a trained body of Jordanians who could adjust to it. This no doubt created a newly trained group and dislocated the old trained group.

THE MISSIONARY

American, English, German and French missionaries began their activities, which were mainly centered on establishing schools, as early as the mid-nineteenth century. For the purpose of this thesis, the writer will only concern himself with the American missionary activities, since it has a theoretical consideration for the phenomenon of social change. Herskovits' concept, "Focus in Culture", will be used by the writer for explaining the ease of receptivity with which the American innovations were met in Jordan.

Language and literature play a central interest position in Arab communities. The Arabs pride themselves on having a rich literature and long linguistic, historical development. Eloquence, oratory, and literary abilities are symbols of honor and prestige in most present Arab

societies. Community leadership, among its other qualifications was accompanied with literary ability and knowledge. These required traits were also honored and rewarded in most historical stages of the Arab societies. In pre-Islamic Arab times, it was customary for poets of all Arab communities to meet in a specific annual market, (Zug Okaz) and compete for honor in their poetic and verse talent. Thus, social recognition was associated with literary ability. Among other characteristics of Mohammed, the prophet, was his eloquence and poesy. Thus, we may conclude that oratory and literary knowledge are major foci of culture for the Jordanian Arabs.

In a previous part of this paper, the writer pointed out that Jordan in the late 18th century was a part of the Turkish, Moslem Empire, and that Arab communities were politically subordinated, and that the Christian segments were socially discriminated against. Further, the Turkish rulers forced the usage of their language as the official one in the Communities. Due to this the Arabic language deteriorated in usage and structure. This added to the grievances and discontent of the Arabs and increased their suppressed hostilities to the Turks.

The American Missionaries came to Syria in 1820. They were keen enough to observe the social and political deterioration of the Arabs under the Turkish rule. It is

reported by George Antonious, that their insight in observing these conditions and their sympathy for the Arabs, made their activities successful:

"In the second place came the American missionaries whose contribution was all the more productive as it was governed by ideas as well as by enthusiasm. They realized that what the country needed above all was a system of education consonant with its traditions, and they had the imagination to perceive that a nation's lost inheritance may not be recovered except through its literature."¹

The Americans built schools. To provide these schools with Arabic text books, they ordered an Arabic press. Some of them even learned the Arabic language. Within a few years they had printed enough books to supply the schools they had founded, and even other schools beside their own. These Arabic books spread very rapidly, and "the avidity with which these books were seized upon showed not only that they filled a want, but that minds were awakening to knowledge."²

These missionaries activities extended rapidly by opening schools in various parts of Syria. Their first schools were centered in Beirut, Jerusalem and Lebanon. By 1860, they had established thirty-three schools, attended by approximately one thousand pupils, of whom nearly one-fifth were girls. The climax of their educational work came in

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1. Antonious, George, The Arab Awakening, G. P. Putman's & Sons New York, 1946, p. 41.
 2. Ibid., p.42.

1866, when they founded the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut. The studies in this College were at first confined to courses in higher secondary education and of medicine and the language of instruction was Arabic. But as the time passed the range of its courses spread out until now, it has attained a university status. This institution came to play a strong role in the leading Arab countries.

Antonius summerizes their education activities, saying:

"the educational activities of the American missionaries in that early period had, among many virtues, one outstanding merit; they gave the pride of place to Arabic, and, once they had committed themselves to teaching in it, put their shoulders with vigour to the task of providing an adequate literature. In that, they were the pioneers; and because of that, the intellectual effervescence which marked the first stirring of the Arab revival owes most to their labours."¹

This literary revival gave a stimuli to literary, national awakening and later to political, national revival. Bustani and Yaziji, among the first Arab students educated in these schools, founded the first Arab daily, weekly journal in 1860.² This journal aimed at preaching concord between the different creeds and of union in the pursuit of knowledge. They advocated that knowledge leads to enlightenment and to the birth of ideals held in common. Three years later, Yaziji and Bustani founded a school which they called the National School which aimed for

1. Ibid., p. 43.

2. Both were of Christian Arab descent.

providing boys of all creeds with an education based on religious tolerance and patriotic ideals.

Bustani and Yaziji were the first to form the first Scientific association based on common interest. The name of this society was Society of Arts and Sciences. Among its members were two Americans, Eli Smith and Cornelius van Dyck. Antonius commented on the Society, saying:

"This was the first society of its kind ever established in Syria or in any other part of the Arab world. The idea of promoting knowledge by an organized, collective effort was foreign to the individualistic nature of the Arab whose method of approaching higher learning was akin to that of Plato's Greece, where a Master would hold his academic court and disciples flocked, sometimes from great distances, to sit at his feet. But it turned out to be a fruitful innovation. Other societies were formed after its patterns, which were to play an important part in the growth of the Arab national movement."¹

In 1857, the Syrian Scientific Society was established. Its membership included the leading Arab personalities of all creeds. On its board were the famous Druse Amir Muhammad Arslan, Husain Baihum, head of an influential Moslem family, and the Bustanis son. Membership was based on the following interest: -"the progress of the country as a national unit was now their incentive, a pride in the Arab inheritance, their bond. The foundation of the Society was the first

1. Ibid., 52.

outward manifestation of a collective national consciousness, and its importance in history is that it was the cradle of a new political movement."¹

Literary and scientific innovation led to the formation of political associations. The first organized effort in the Arab national movement started in the year 1875 - when five young men who had been educated at the Syrian Protestant College (American University) in Beirut, formed a secret society. They managed after sometime to include twenty-two members of different creeds and representing the enlightened elite of the country. The center of their activities were the main cities of Syria, Beirut, Damascus, Tripoli, Sidon, and Jerusalem. They met in secret. They appealed to the public with placards containing a violent denunciation of the evils of Turkish rule, and exhorted the Arab population to rise in rebellion and overthrow it. It also rebuked the Syrian for their lethargy under the tyranny of the Turks and for their habits of dissension. It stressed the importance of unity and incited the people to forget their religious differences and unite toward a common Arab ideal. One of their programmes read as follows:

- (1) the grant of independence to Syria in union with the Lebanese;

1. Ibid., 54.

- (2) the recognition of Arabic as an official language in the country;
- (3) the removal of the censorship and other restrictions on the freedom of expression and the diffusion of knowledge;
- (4) the employment of locally-recruited units on local military service only.

For the purpose of this paper the writer will cite two other political associations whose members came to be, after the first world war, political leaders in Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, and Transjordan.¹ One of these two societies was founded in Cairo in 1912, with the name of "The Ottoman Centralization Party." Its objectives were: to impress upon the Turkish rulers the need for decentralizing the administration of the empire; to mobilize the Arab opinion in support of decentralization. Its founders were men of experience and of leading families.²

The other political organization was Al-Fatat which was founded in Paris in 1911 by seven young Arab students, all of Moslem upper-class families. The objects of this society were to work for the independence of the Arab countries and their liberation from the Turkish rule.

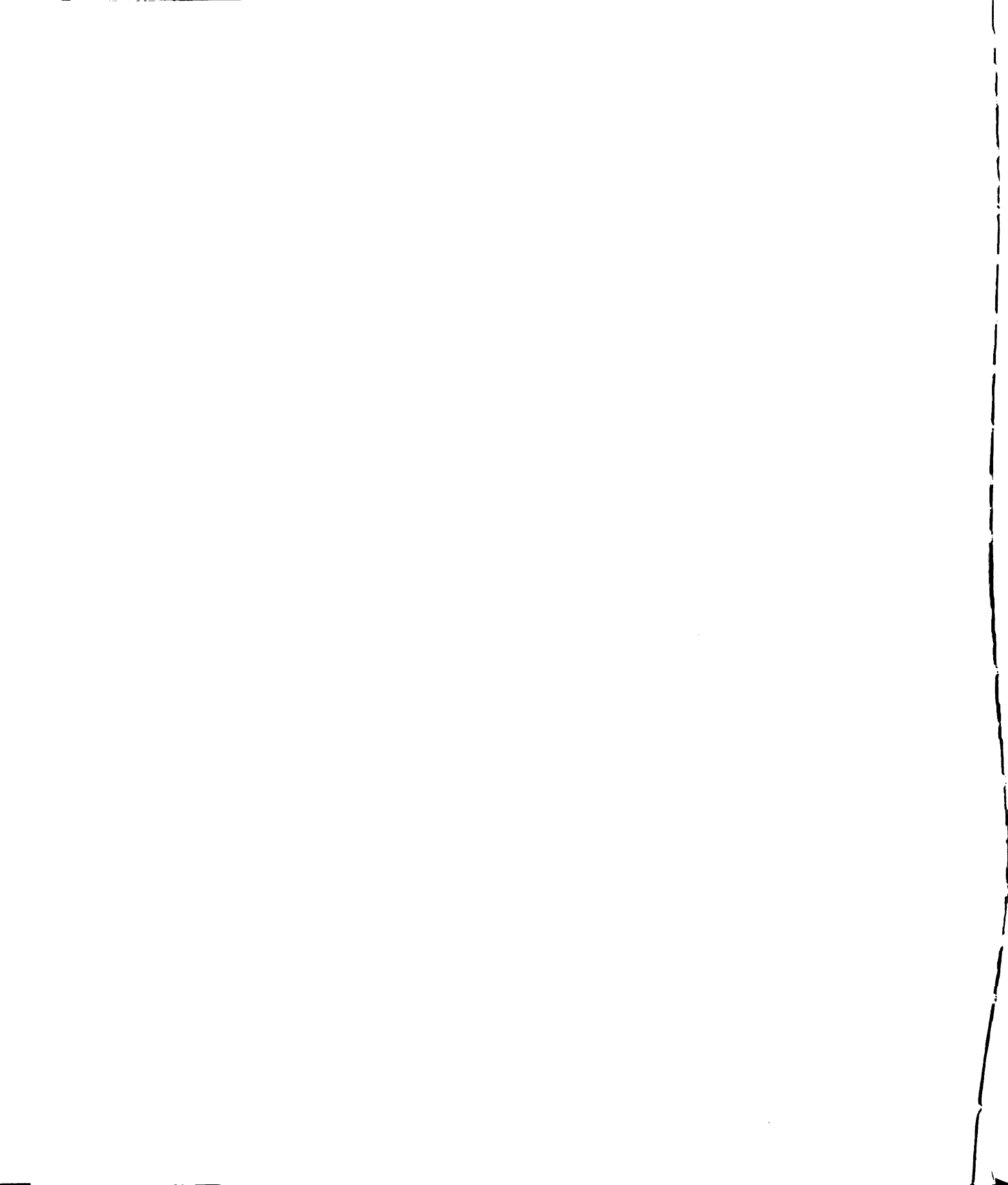
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1. Two of its members, Auni Abdul-Hadi (from Jenin) and Rafiq Tamimi (Mablus), during the British Mandate regime over Palestine founded the Istiglal political party. Auni Abdul-Hadi, at the present time is the Jordanian Ambassador in Egypt.
 2. Among them were: Rafiq Al-Azm (Moslem from Damascus); Rashid Rida (Moslem from Tripoli); Iskandar Ammun (Christian from Beirut); Salim Abdul-Hadi (Moslem from Jenin); Hafez Al-Sa'id (Moslem from Jaffa); and Ali Nashashibi (Moslem from Jerusalem).

CHAPTER IV

MAJOR SOCIAL CHANGES

The rate of social change is differentiated in the town, village and tribe, and within the town's social strata. In a previous part of this paper it has been pointed out that the introduction of an Arab press by the American missionaries - (due to a felt ideological need) - led to a literary and educational revival. In the towns, this led to the development of voluntary, political associations based on common, national ideals. It is in the political institutions that the focus of cultural interests are now being talked about and discussed. Political institutions have gone through strong changes. Those persons that are enhancing these institutions are being highly honored and rewarded, and in turn are coming to be the new leaders of the society.

(In the past Jordan's social groupings and activities were determined by the religious loyalties of the town and by village and tribal affinities. Thus, social structure included multi-religious ethnic groupings, each with its own territory and shared sentiment.) At the present time



(religious multi-associations are being replaced by one national loyalty.) Membership in the state is determined by common, abstract, national goals: enhancement of state power; defence against foreign encroachment; social and educational equality of all its members, its economic self-sufficiency; and the revival of the Arabic historical past. Agencies of control in this national state are: constitutional government, the army, the bureaucracy, and the political party system. These are all modeled after British political institutions.

(Other observable changes in Jordan are its town growth, mechanization of communications, secularization of education, and the growth in the varieties of occupations and professions. Many of these changes are most apparent in the town, less so in the village, and almost absent in the tribe.) The village is becoming more dependent on the town, educationally, administratively, economically, and culturally.

The writer, in the following section of the paper will present qualitative data and an analysis of a few social changes. The major portion of this data is qualitative, however, statistical, quantitative data will be presented when available.

TOWN GROWTH

The town has grown in size, structure, and population. At the present time a new town has been built surrounding the old one. It differs from it in style and in ecological distribution. Historically, this new town was introduced by the Western missionary educator and trader. These two built their schools and houses at a distance from the old town. The style of the buildings are European. These buildings are now being used as models and this area is becoming the new, elite residential section. (Now residence is based on common educational and professional background. Thus, spatially, the farther one lives from the old center, the higher one's status.)

In between this new residential area and the old city, new governmental bureaus and a new business center are being built. Among some of the governmental bureaus are the agricultural department, the post office, the courts building, the highway department, the health department and the educational department. Next, and closer to the old city is the new commercial and trade center. Noticeable here are the different shops, trade and professional advertising agencies, e.g., car agencies, Shell Gas, radio and electrical equipment, sporting equipment, theaters, restaurants, Insurance companies, banks, pharmaceuticals,¹

1. There are 105 pharmacists in Jordan, Statistical Year-book, United Nations.

criminal lawyers, land lawyers, pediatricians, ear-eye and nose specialists,¹ dentists,² and civil engineers, etc.

EDUCATIONAL GROWTH

Education is no longer tied with religion and is no longer a privilege limited to the upper-classes. Now, in theory, it is available for all. However, its access and availability are related to the historical circumstances of Western contacting agents. It is true that the Western missionaries built their schools mostly in towns, and very few of them in Christian villages. It is also true that the foreign administrator built more schools in towns where he resided (Jerusalem, Ammon). Historically, also, education was valued by the upper-class.

(Now, education is being sought by the farmer, urban masses, and merchants). (It is an essential tool of social recognition and social climbing.) The old traditional Moslem Arabic system of education can no longer function effectively in the new structure. Thus, the traditionally educated are no longer greatly honored. Honor and reward are associated with Western education. During the British administration, those with Western education were given governmental civil service positions. This phenomena is still continuing.

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1. There are 1,216 physicians in Jordan, Statistical Yearbook, United Nations.
 2. There are 62 dentists in Jordan, Statistical Yearbook, 1953, United Nations.

Also, during the British administration a few scholarships of higher education, mostly in English universities were awarded to the better students. It is interesting to point out that most of these awarded scholarships were given to fellahin students. (At present, a good number of the new intelligensia and the new bureaucrats are of this group.) This group no longer desires to return to their villages. Of the fifteen Jordanian students at Michigan State College, there are seven villagers, who are getting professional training, which will enable them to compete for positions in towns.

Education also is a tool of nationalistic enhancement. The government is fighting illiteracy. Night schools are being made available for the illiterate and old town's people. More schools are being built every day.¹ Education is associated with national aspiration and statehood strength, and as one editor puts it; "The future of our country lies on the shoulder of the educated Youth,".

Equality in education of both sexes was encouraged by the British administration. This led to employment of some women in secretarial work. This generalization is limited to some Christian Arabs and very few Moslem upper-class women. The teaching profession is the predominant occupation of women.² (Women occupation is still alien to the town

1. There are about 540 primary schools, 78 secondary schools, and 4 technical schools in Jordan, Statistical Yearbook, 1953, United Nations.

2. There are 574 women teachers among the 2,522 total number of teachers in Jordan, Statistical Yearbook, 1953, United Nations.

lower classes, villagers and tribesmen. There is little indication of much change in the family structure.

In brief, school organization at the present time, consists of the administration, (principal and his secretary,) and the teachers, (with various specialties) and the students. The curriculum at the grade level includes Arabic, two years of English, (or another foreign language,) arithmetic, local geography, European and local history, art, and elementary physics. High school includes four years of Arabic (grammar, literature, and composition,) Chemistry, Mathematics (algebra, trigonometry, and arithmetic,) local and world history, local and world geography, physics, botany and zoology.

There are at least three high schools and seven grade schools for each town; however, this number varies with the size of the town and the religious composition. Each village has its own grade school and some Christian villages have high schools. Both girls and boys are being educated. Co-education is not practiced. In each town, there is at least one girls' high school and more grade schools. And there are more girls schools in towns with a Christian majority (like the city of Rommalh,) than towns of equal size with a Moslem majority, (like Hebron).

GROWTH AND MECHANIZATION OF COMMUNICATION

1. Transportation:

Mechanized transportation is noticeable in Jordan. The old wheel-cart has given way to the motor-car. The donkey and camel has been replaced in many places by the bus, train and airplane. These new communication agents make shorter the distance between the village and the town. At the present time there is either bus or train service between all towns, and between most larger villages and towns. This has made it possible for greater mobility between the two and for internal migration from the village to the town.

At the present time there is a railway operating between Lebanon, Syria, which passes through Ammon, to Ma'an. This is the old Hejaz railway. There is a main trunk road joining Jerusalem, Jericho, Salt, Ammon, and Naghdad. Jordan has air connections with most of the countries of the Middle East and with Britain and India. The most important air port is at Ammon which is on the B.O.A.C. route from Britain to the Far East. There is an airplane base at Kallia on the Dead Sea, largely used by the Iraq Petroleum company. Air services are operated by British, Egyptain, Lebanese and American companies.

2. Mass Media - Broadcasting:

Broadcasting began in Jordan in 1930, under the supervision of the mandate government. The station was owned and operated by the government. It's programs were in English, Hebrew, and Arabic. In 1948, the Jordanian government took over.

At the present time all programs are in Arabic. They are important in spreading education, in entertaining, in expressing public opinion and in giving news and information. Usually all the members of the "new class" own radios. Fewer radios are owned by the people who still live in the old town. There are usually at least one or more radio sets in the village.

3. The Press:

The press in Jordan goes back to 1914, when the first Arabic paper was published in Jaffa. At the present time the center for newspaper publishing is Jerusalem. Among the dailies are: Falastine, Defah and El-Jihad and among the weeklies, the El-Sarih.¹

In brief, mechanized communications are strengthening the central, national government, and breaking the cultural gap between the three social units. However, this generalization is true only as a unifying factor between the town and village. Better transportation facilities

1. Statistical Yearbook, 1953, United Nations.

are narrowing the physical distance between the town and village. The higher rate of literacy and the availability of town publications (newspapers, magazines and books), are narrowing the cultural and aspirational scope between the two. Broadcasting systems are governmentally controlled and are used to enhance its programs and ideals.

GROWTH IN POPULATION

The population in Jordan, like that in the other Near Eastern Arab countries has been increasing rapidly. In the early twenties, the population was nearly three-quarter of a million, now it is almost a million six-hundred thousand. The density of population is great in the cities.¹

The cause of this high rate increase is the high crude birth rate. The infant death rate has fallen from around 200 per 1,000 live births in the nineteen-twenties to below 100 in 1944. The rate is still high and deaths under five years, still amount to more than half of the deaths among the Arab population.

GREATER DEPENDENCY OF THE VILLAGE ON THE TOWN

The village is now a part of the Jordanian nation. Factors which are relating it to this larger whole are:

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1. Royal Institute of International Affairs, The Middle East, a Political and Economic Survey, 1950: and Survey of International Affairs, 1925, Vol. I.

cultural, administrative, political and economical.

1. Cultural Factors:

The school is becoming an effective mechanism for nationalizing the village, by means of standardization of texts and teaching methods. The school personnel are recruited from various parts of the state, rather than from the village itself. These teachers have different backgrounds and expose the village children to the customs and sentiments of their respective regions. The school, also stimulates the Jordanian nationalism and is a powerful factor in developing the feeling of Jordan. The school teaches the geography and economy and the history of the Arab nation and Jordan in more detail.

Moreover, each year the secretary of education makes available one or more scholarships for students to continue their high school education in a nearby town. These new experiences away from the village are no doubt changing the habits, outlook and sentiments of the students. It is no wonder that some of them upon finishing their high school education in towns, stay in the towns and seek employment there. This is also true for those farmers who completed their academic education.

Most of the books which are used in the villages are text books approved by the national government. At the

present time there is a stress on the revival of the Arab, heroic, historical past as a major part of the villager's primary school education.

Other common items of the town read by the villagers are its newspapers. Today one finds the youth of the village reading the paper to older people. However, newspapers are only published in big towns and especially those having political leadership. This means that the sentiments of the nationals are having an access on the villager's mind. The national sentiment is also reaching the villager through the broadcasting system. However, not all villagers have radios, in fact only the very few have them, and most of these are Christian villagers. Partially, also, entertainment has become dependent on the town. Movie house attendance is a luxury and only a few villagers can afford it - those who live within the proximity of the town, or those who can afford bus transportation. However, this new entertainment is desired by the farmers.

2. Administrative Factors:

There is an increasing governmental administrative attachment on the village. Factors for this are tax collection, health services, agricultural services, national defense and justice. However, the villager tries to evade

paying taxes to the central government. He has not yet developed a positive attitude toward the ideology and responsibility of the national government. In the past, the central government was a foreign, oppressive rule.

The national government sends its health worker to the villages from time to time to administer inoculations against communicable diseases. The ministry of agriculture tries to extend its agricultural services to the villager. These two are also met with a negative and critical attitude.

3. Political Factors:

The guerrilla war against the British rulers and the recent war against Israel, has been an important factor in developing a sense of nationalism among the villagers. Many villagers fought together with the town's political and guerrilla leaders against both the British and the Zionist and thus have had occasion to travel widely with the fighting forces.

At the present time some of the intellectual farmers are becoming representatives in the lower house in the Jordanian parliament. This makes the villager more aware of the political maneuvers in the town. During the national election of the lower house members, campaigning of the various village representatives was conducted in their

respective villages.

4. Economic Factors:

The village economy is still not self-sufficient but, is becoming a more integral part of the national economy. This is further encouraged by the national state to increase its power. The villager still sells his wheat, barley, vegetables and fruits to nearby towns and in turn imports manufactured goods and some foods, like rice, sugar and tea. These trading relations involve contacts between the farmers and the nearby cities and since the construction of highways and the introduction of bus services between the village and the town, trade and economic contact has been increasing.

POLITICAL CHANGES

The national government of Jordan emerged as a consequence of the Western contact. Nationalism from its start developed as a literary and historical revival which led to political aspirations for self-rule. From its start, also, it has been associated with two main town groups, the Moslem upper-class and the Christian Arabs. It is an ethnic group movement which seeks the replacement of primary grouping and religious loyalty to an abstract state loyalty. It seeks changes in the life style and

life chances of its members, and aims to secure social equality, maintenance of economic self-sufficiency, and protection of its physical territory from any foreign group encroachment. Its program is secular in nature and Western in origin.. Thus, nationalism is stronger among these groups which are highly Westernized. It is a town phenomena. (Its main group components are the Westernized upper-class Moslems, the intellectuals, the professionals, and the new industrialists. /

The national governmental mechanisms are:
constitutional government, political parties, national industries and the army.

1. Constitutional Government:

The governmental status of Jordan is a constitutional monarchy. It is modeled, in general, after the British pattern. The parliament consists of a Senate (Iam), and a Chamber of Deputies (Nuab). The Seante has twenty members, all nominated by the King. Every five years, half of the Seantors retire and new nominations take place. The Chamber of Deputies is elected by universal suffrage on the basis of one deputy for each major town.

The general control of affairs of the State is exercised by the Council of Ministers, the members of which form the Cabinet. The Cabinet consists of eleven ministers: the

prime minister, minister of finance, education, health, agriculture, commerce, communication, interior, exterior, defence and justice. The Cabinet is responsible to the Parliament.

Legislative authority is vested in the King and the Parliament. Powers of appointment and dismissal are vested in the King. War and peace treaties cannot be made without the consent of Parliament; however, Parliament is now controlled by the Cabinet. The King has the power of dissolving Parliament.¹

The country is divided into the desert area and six administrative divisions (Liwas), each under a Governor. The settled areas are subdivided into districts under officers, with the Administrative Officer as Chairman. Municipal councils exist in the towns and major villages. They also have four different courts, modeled after the English court system, which are the Magistrates' courts, District courts, Land courts and a Supreme court. The Shari's courts have direction and jurisdiction only under the Islamic Law (marriage and divorce), and control over the Awqaf. (There is a Bedouin Control Board consisting of a member of the King's family, the Commander of the Arab Legion, and the Bedouin Sheikh, which controls the movement of the Bedouins and settles any tribal disputes in the desert area.

1. The real power with Parliament is within the Deputies, after the assassination of King Abdullah, little power is being exercised by his grandson.

2. The Army:

The Arab Legion, with about 15,000 men of all ranks, comprises a military unit (5,000 to 6,000 men), mechanized and equipped with light artillery, and a police and prison staff. It grew out of the Desert Patrol, organized by British officers and recruited from among the Bedouins to keep order in the desert.

3. Political Parties:

At the present time, there are six major political parties: the Revival Party, the Reform Party, the Istiglal Party, the Youth Party, the Communist Party and the National Defense Party. The National Defense Party, founded in 1934, aims at the welfare of farmers and workers and the encouragement of education. The Istiglal (Independent) Party, aims at the independence of Arab countries, and believes that these countries are an indivisible entity, in which Jordan should form an integral part of Syria. The Communist Party (better known by the name of the Arab League of National Liberation), regards the present state of Jordan as a tool of imperialism, equal to the Zionist leaders. It has connections with the Arab Trade Union Congress.

All these parties are really a one man party. Rational and defined programs are in the process of development. The party vigor is measured by its head. Membership in some of

these parties is largely based on family associations.

4. Modern Industries:

The development of modern industry is to some extent on a nationalistic bases. The Jordan state has embarked on a policy of industrialization with the objective of attaining self-sufficiency in certain manufactured goods. This has lead to the adontion of modern methods in order to allow newly developed industries to compete effectively in the home market against American, British, German and French goods. In Jordan, this expansion has been conducted under private enterprise, with certain concessions, usually a tariff wall against foreign imports, imposed by the state.

(Because of the limited resources, both in fuel and in raw materials, there seems to be no great possibility of big industrial development. For Jordan lacks iron ore and fuel and at the present time the major proportion of its machinery and capital goods come from abroad.

Jordanian modern industry has developed in textiles, in the processing of food stuffs, and cement manufacturing. In textiles, greatest attention has been laid on cotton. Good sized spinning and weaving plants are being operated. Processing of food stuffs is a traditional industry and existed prior to the coming of the West. However, of later development is the canning of fruit and olive oil.

These industries seem to have future potentialities. The production of cement is a new industry in Jordan.

The development of this new industry on a nationalistic bases is associated with an erection of tariff barriers. These measures are being conducted to protect and stimulate the emerging local manufacturing. At the present time, there is no urban proletariat. Among the few labor groups, low standards of living prevail.

Labor legislation restricting hours of work and the employment of women and children has been enacted. But, due to the laxity of the governmental control, it has become a dead letter. Children of ten or less are to be found at work, sometimes under hard conditions and the large surplus of unskilled labor due to the high birth rates and gradual extinction of handicraft industries, has meant that (collective bargaining of the laborer is low.) In fact, trade (unions have been treated with suspicion by the government and labor organization is in its early stages.) (There is little indication of an organized class conscious labor group, so far.¹)

In summary, the town is changing in structure and function. It's ecological distribution is redistributed according to the mechanized communication facilities, to the secular education, and to the importance of such occupations as the medical and legal professions. No longer

1. This statement is also true in modern Lebanon and Syria, See A. H. Hourani, Syria and Lebanon, Oxford, New Haven, 1946.

is residence determined primarily on kinship and religious associations. Now it is determined on educational and occupational similarities. These new indices of residential distribution became factors for social honor and prestige.

The village is becoming more dependent on the town in education, in livelihood, and in entertainment. Better communication facilities between the two are making it possible for a rapid internal migration from the farm to the town. However, this migration is selective and is determined by certain educational and occupational needs. Thus, it is heavily distributed among the intellectual farmers who can perform either clerical and bureaucratic work. Associated with this selective migration is the strong need for the intellectual farmer to acquire the symbols of the town's political and social sophistication. (In contrast with this spacial mobility, the village is left intact with its agricultural and social organization. The old farming methods and the old residential structure are still the same. At the present time these intellectual farmers are competing with the traditional Mukhtar for the village leadership.

At the present time there is little indication that the tribal structure and function is being modified. One expects in the future, with mechanized communication and the encroachment of the central government, that the tribe will

surrender its aloofness to the town.

Political institutions are going through rapid modifications. The old kinship and religious associations are being replaced by national loyalty which emphasizes secular education, literacy, economic self-sufficiency, social equality in life chances, and its protection from any foreign encroachment. The national government is a constitutional monarchy with its three branches, executive, legislative and judicial.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this study, the writer attempted to explain Social change in Jordan's social system due to its contact with the West. More specifically, he tried to explain the differential social change among the town, village and tribal social units.

Three tentative hypotheses guided his study:-

1. that social change in Jordan due to Western contact is strongest in the town, and weakest in the tribe, and inbetween in the village.
2. it is strongest in the town due to its socio-cultural trait similarities with the contacting West; and due to the presence of two highly susceptible groups - the Moslem upper-class and the Christian Arabs.
3. and it is weakest in the tribe due to its well integrated edifice.

The writer, first isolated the three variable socio-cultural characteristics and computed them with Western ones. It was found that towns in Jordan had social strata, trade, guild systems, a written code, schools, bureaucracy, money economy, specialization in trade and professions. The village had private property ownership, money economy, surplus farm trades. The tribe had only meat specialization.

It had a well integrated socio-cultural edifice based on one institution and it was well adapted to its desert environment.

Next, the writer tested the second hypothesis on the two highly receptive groups, the Moslem upper-class and the Christian Arabs. Herskovits' "focus of culture," helped explain this part. It was found that language and literature plays a cultural foci of interest, and that the missionary Western agent interacted with this focus of interest, when he introduced the first Arab press. This led to the formation of voluntary, literary association and to voluntary, political association. It was also found that Christian Arabs were the first active and receptive receivers to this innovation, due to their religious affinity with the West and due to their social discontentment under the Turks, and that the Moslem upper-classes were next, due to their political discontentment under the Turks.

In the last section, the Writer presented some qualitative data on the phenomena of social change. He showed that the town grew in size and is changing ecologically. Spacially, the town residence is based on common, professional and educational interests, rather than on religious and kinship associations. And the further the residence is from the center, the higher the status.

Also the village is becoming more dependent on the town for entertainment, education, administration and politics. There is little indication of social organization and agricultural, technical changes in the village. Internal migration from the village to the town is selective from the intellectual farmers who can adapt to the bureaucratic and professional town functions. This led to the emergence of a new intellectual farmer who lost the link with the village and who aspired for the town sophistication and national, political control.

It was shown that political changes are by far going through the strongest change, since they are linked with the community cultural focus of interest, and because of a felt need. These political changes include loyalty to the state, equality in life style and life chances of all its members, economic self-sufficiency, secular education and fighting of illiteracy, a constitutional government of the three branches, (executive, judicial and legislative) and the political party system. It was pointed out, that nationalism is a secular phenomena and it is strongest among the most Westernized. Thus, it is strongest among the Westernized Moslem upper-classes, new professionals, intelligencia, and the new industrialists. And that mass communication is narrowing the physical and cultural gap between the town and village, and it is strengthening the control of the central government.

Conclusion:

1. That similarities in the socio-cultural characteristics of two contacting groups is a determinant factor of social change.

2. That change in one institution causes changes in others. Technical changes led to organizational and ideological changes.

3. That the rate of change is a differential among the various social institutions, and that it is most in those institutions which are a cultural focus of interest and which serve a socio-psychological felt need.

4. That due to the differential rate of social change, the Hashemite Kingdom is in a transitional period of "cultural lag." Old institutions are functioning side by side with new ones.

5. That the trend of change is towards secularization. God's law is being replaced by man's law. And that life style and life chances are determined by mans effort on this earth.

6. Leadership at the present time is being associated with the emerging needs and functions in the structure. That the Westernized, who performing these needs will in the future, become the new elite. The old elite is dying out,

unless it adapts itself to the new needs of the structure.

7. That the intellectual farmers in the town are the ones who went through the greatest and the most radical changes of any of the groups relative to their respective, pre-Western contact cultures. And due to it, mental health disturbances among this group are the highest. However, further research on this aspect is needed.

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