

4-1-2006

# A Promising Start in an Arid Region: Assessment of the Anaqeed Al-Khair Cooperative's Impact

Jason Shenk  
*SIT Study Abroad*

Follow this and additional works at: [http://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp\\_collection](http://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection)

 Part of the [Economics Commons](#)

---

## Recommended Citation

Shenk, Jason, "A Promising Start in an Arid Region: Assessment of the Anaqeed Al-Khair Cooperative's Impact" (2006). *Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection*. Paper 357.  
[http://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp\\_collection/357](http://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/357)

This Unpublished Paper is brought to you for free and open access by the SIT Study Abroad at DigitalCollections@SIT. It has been accepted for inclusion in Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection by an authorized administrator of DigitalCollections@SIT. For more information, please contact [digitalcollections@sit.edu](mailto:digitalcollections@sit.edu).

A Promising Start in an Arid Region:  
Assessment of the Anaqeed Al-Khair Cooperative's Impact

Jason Shenk  
11 May 2006

Submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for

Independent Study Project  
Jordan: Modernization and Social Change  
SIT Study Abroad

Lindsey Fauss, Academic Director  
Raed Al-Tabini, Advisor  
Deputy President  
Badia Research & Development Centre

### **Abstract:**

In light of increased use of cooperatives by the Jordanian government and the sparseness of in-depth impact assessments, this study seeks to investigate the Anaqeed Al-Khair's impact on livelihoods in terms of income flows, vulnerability, and quality of life as well as analyzing the distribution of impacts based on degree of need, membership status, and gender. Working within the framework of the sustainable livelihoods approach, the study is based on qualitative research using participatory monitoring and evaluation guidelines. Findings include that cooperative projects are valuable for their impact on participants and demonstration of new viable livelihood strategies, but the benefits have not spread appreciably to more peripheral community members and the community at large. The sun-dried tomatoes initiative is a model project, and the role of seasonal women workers in promoting broader engagement despite challenging circumstances demands further investigation for potential wider application.

### **Acknowledgments:**

This project would not have been possible without the extensive assistance of the many people upon whom I have relied. First thanks to Raed Al-Tabini, my advisor, who first introduced me to the Northern Badia and Anaqeed Al-Khair for the research and provided valuable guidance throughout. Particular thanks to Ali Meshan, my generous host at Anaqeed Al-Khair, and to all the staff of the cooperative who welcomed me and ensured I was never short of tea.

Thanks are due as well to the SIT staff who supported us in our projects: Lindsey Fauss for her assistance with the tackling the project's scope and vital insights into the field of development, and Hassan Barari for imparting an in-depth understanding of the Jordanian context through our thematic seminars.

I am also indebted to previous researchers who gave insight into the social environment of the Badia, and the staff of the Badia Research and Development Center who facilitated my stay and the various facets of my research. Specific thanks to my colleague and translator Mustafa Shudiefat, whose dedication to clarifying the nuances of the interviews left me with valuable insights and him with less sleep.

And of course, final acknowledgment is due to those who shared their insights and perspectives with me for this research. The project is dedicated to the people of the Badia, in the hope that they and institutions may work together to strengthen their society and further realize the compassionate and supportive relationships of which I glimpsed the smallest part during my time with them.

## Table of Contents:

<b>Abstract:</b> .....	2
<b>Acknowledgements:</b> .....	3
<b>Table of Contents:</b> .....	4
<b>1. <u>Introduction:</u></b> .....	5
<b>1.1 Definition of terms:</b> .....	7
<b>2. <u>Literature Review:</u></b>	
<b>2.1 Development in Jordan:</b> .....	8
<b>2.2 The Northern Badia context:</b> .....	10
<b>2.3 Background on the Anaqeed Al-Khair Cooperative:</b> .....	12
<b>3. <u>Methods:</u></b>	
<b>3.1 Study site and sampling methodology:</b> .....	16
<b>3.2 Plans for obtaining data:</b> .....	18
<b>4. <u>Findings:</u></b> .....	22
<b>4.1 Variables of study:</b> .....	24
<b>I) Impact on income flows:</b> .....	24
<b>II) Distribution of impact based on membership status:</b> .....	27
<b>III) Distribution of impact according to need:</b> .....	32
<b>IV) Impact on community vulnerability:</b> .....	36
<b>V) Impact on quality of life:</b> .....	39
<b>4.2 Commentary on findings:</b> .....	43
<b>5. <u>Conclusion:</u></b>	
<b>5.1 Evaluation of hypothesis:</b> .....	45
<b>5.2 Implications:</b> .....	47
<b>5.3 Lessons Learned</b> .....	50
<b>Works Cited:</b> .....	51
<b>Appendix I: Original Survey</b> .....	54
<b>Appendix II: Selections from BRDC Report on Anaqeed Al-Khair</b> .....	56
<b>Appendix III: Map of Northern Badia Villages Cluster</b> .....	61
<b>Appendix IV: Survey Respondents</b> .....	62

## **1. Introduction:**

The government of Jordan has increasingly been devoting significant resources to cooperatives as a tool for development and poverty reduction.<sup>1</sup> Further research into the impact of these techniques will help development decision-makers and cooperative participants more effectively target specific challenges. In fact, the recent Jordan Human Development Report (JHDR) affirms the necessity of such research, making a recommendation to “Carry out impact assessments of employment and income generating programmes targeted at the poor and modify the approach based on lessons learnt.”<sup>2</sup> The application of this current research will be facilitated by the close ties cultivated with the Badia Research and Development Center, a key stakeholding organization in the cooperative and the most prominent policy voice of Badia issues in national development.

The report will be most useful as a case study about the impact of government-sponsored, donor-supported, collective community action, and will also provide insight to the ways that project activities impact various sub-groups within Badia communities. Although many themes of the research are expected to have broad application, this report is a case study whose analytical categories and lessons build heavily on local definitions gleaned from qualitative research, meaning that the specific results will not be as highly applicable outside Jordan's Badia region. The study is intended not as a comprehensive analysis of the target region (like the World Bank Household Income and Expenditure Survey), but rather a qualitative investigation into prominent themes about how the cooperative has impacted key stakeholders in the area.

---

<sup>1</sup> JHDR, pp 92-93.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p 97.

My choice of an economic impact assessment has its roots in the communal and religious values that align closely to the Anabaptist/Mennonite ethic of development outlined in the pioneering work *Development to a Different Drummer*.<sup>3</sup> The ethical and conceptual framework that I strive to use in my life (although not always the most in evidence) is the Mennonite Anabaptist ethic, which is applied to development as described by Yoder, Redekop, and Jantzi. I want to see local work both as beneficial there and in helping to envision, create, and change systems and structures at the broader level. This framework leads me to seek the voices of the poor for guidance, priorities which match well with the Sustainable Livelihoods approach (SLA) used in the JHDR. So while the language of SLA provides an analytical basis for my research, I'm conscious that my motives for writing come from another source. In addition, my personal interest in cooperative action and grassroots approaches to social challenges motivates me to find out more about the inner workings of one such organization via a case study.

Trends in the process of modernization surface throughout this study, from introducing vaccines for livestock management to local production for foreign markets. Of particular note is the way the cooperative – as an institution promoting certain kinds of social change – influences the local community. Much is written regarding the goals, vision, and even description of ongoing development projects. However, all such analysis seems pointless if these projects do not result in benefits in the lives of the supposed beneficiaries. In order to determine the true influence of these development projects provide a base for improvement, impact assessments like this one seek to present the

---

<sup>3</sup> Yoder, Richard A.; Redekop, Calvin W.; and Vernon E. Jantzi. *Development to a Different Drummer: Anabaptist/Mennonite Experiences and Perspectives*. Good Books: Intercourse, PA, 2004.

beneficiary-focused results that are in a disturbingly short supply in the development literature of Jordan.

Initial research into the context of the Anaqeed Al-Khair cooperative – and the background provided by the JDHR – gave rise to initial expectations about the outcome this study. Understanding limited income flows to be the most pressing challenge to the Badia,<sup>4</sup> I inferred that the most significant impact from the cooperative would likely be in that area. My perception of the cooperative as a poverty alleviation program, recognition that the poorest of the poor often lack the capabilities to participate fully in development projects,<sup>5</sup> and awareness of the phenomenon of "benefit capture" by local elites<sup>6</sup> all informed my predictions about the distribution of benefits within the community. Finally, reading about the project's planned size and creation of new income sources<sup>7</sup> led me to surmise that the cooperative has become a stabilizing force in the community. These theories led to my original hypothesis, that the cooperative has had the most positive impact on the income of original members – primarily from the “coping poor” – with scattered but notable improvements in income flows for more peripheral community members and an appreciable decrease in societal vulnerability to shocks and trends.

### **1.1 Definition of terms:**

In the pursuit of clarity, definitions are in order for a number of terms that will feature prominently throughout the paper. I use the word "benefit" to indicate any or all of the wide spectrum of positive factors that may accrue to an individual, family, sub-group

---

<sup>4</sup> In personal communication early in the research, Dr. Ra'ed Al-Tabini, Deputy President of the Jordan Badia Research & Development Centre, identified low levels of employment as the most pressing issue for the residents of Jordan's Northern Badia. I broadened the challenge to "income flows" and in the planning stages of the project used this as a primary indicator of impact.

<sup>5</sup> JDHR, p 50.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p 93.

<sup>7</sup> Al-Tabini, Ra'ed, et al. *Anaqeed Al-Khair Case Study: Badia Region of Jordan*. 2005 p 1.



or community. Examples of benefit include, but are not limited to: training, income, social connections, respect, and increased capacity. The term "impact" is similar to "benefit," but carries a more dynamic connotation and connection to a causative agent (usually the cooperative) and can encompass negative changes as well as positive. While discussed further in the introduction to the third variable (distribution of impact according to need), "targeted" indicates individuals or groups who should benefit from an initiative (usually the cooperative).

For the purposes of this paper my understanding of "vulnerable," uses the definition of the JDHR, which notes that, "This relates to poor people being easily affected by shocks and stresses, which disrupt their lives' continuity and place obstacles and risks in people's attempt to secure a stable life."<sup>8</sup> Similarly, basic definitions of "livelihood outcomes" and "livelihood strategies" are respectively: "What a person would like to achieve in his/her life" and "The range and combination of activities and choices that people make or undertake to achieve their livelihood goals."<sup>9</sup> Finally, the "core" of cooperative stakeholders indicates those individuals and groups within the village cluster who are most involved with the coordination and implementation of the project; this term is defined against the "periphery" those in the cluster who may be involved with the cooperative tangentially, periodically, or not at all.

## **2. Literature Review:**

### **2.1 Development in Jordan:**

A wide-ranging document building on the work of many stakeholders, the 2004 JDHR provides a solid starting point for analyzing the state of development in Jordan. In

---

<sup>8</sup> JDHR, Annex 1: Sustainable Livelihoods Terminology p. 138

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. For further discussion of how these concepts relate to this study, see the description of variables in this paper's Methods section, p 21.

setting the context for this assessment, the third chapter of the JDHR, “Focus on the poor,” is particularly valuable for the way it gives voice to development’s intended beneficiaries. Implementing its focus on the realities of the poor in its analytic lens, the JDHR “promotes sustainable livelihoods as the overall goal of development” via the Sustainable Livelihoods approach (SLA).<sup>10</sup> As described by the report, the SLA notes that poor people seek positive livelihood outcomes by engaging in various activities that build on a spectrum of assets. The uneven process of development in Jordan and the nation’s vulnerability to external shocks and trends mean that the SLA and qualitative methods are particularly valuable in providing multidimensional views of poverty.

While recognizing that not all intended beneficiaries of the cooperative would be classified as “poor,” the cooperative’s origin in the Rural Community Clusters Development Programme (RCCDP) – an initiative intended to contribute to poverty alleviation<sup>11</sup> – suggests the place that a poverty analysis can play in assessment of the project. The applicability of this poverty lens has been affirmed by the recurring theme from the interviews whereby many community members noted that Anaqeed Al-Khair should prioritize benefiting the poor (see variable III).

In addition to the overview of development issues in Jordan and the example of the sustainable livelihoods approach, the JHDR provides valuable figures for comparison at the governate level which allow this study to compare Anaqeed Al-Khair’s Mafraq Governate with the rest of the nation. Particular challenges for this region are indicated by the fact that the Mafraq ranks near the bottom of Jordan’s twelve governates on the human development index (HDI) and last in gender-related development index (GDI), leading the JHDR to note: “In governates such as Jerash and Mafraq where human development

---

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 70.

disparity interconnects with gender disparity, the situation for poor women is likely to be seriously disadvantaged.”<sup>12</sup>

## **2.2 The Northern Badia context:**

Analysis of development in the Northern Badia region benefits greatly from extensive research facilitated through the Badia Research and Development Center (BRDC) and its predecessor, the Jordan Badia Research and Development Program. Among the many studies that have explored the social environment of the Badia, Alan Rowe’s “Bedouin Livestock Management and Socioeconomics in the JBRDP Area”<sup>13</sup> provides a particularly extensive analysis of the Bedouin context and prevailing tribal structure of the region as well as an exhaustive bibliography.

Reports from the BRDC are well-grounded in regional research about the social and natural environment, providing valuable background for understanding the Badia context. One example of this research comes from a report on the BRDC’s desert project in which Raed Al-Tabini builds on earlier studies to describe the Badia region:

The Badia is the arid and semi-arid zone of the Middle East, which receives low rainfall and is occupied by Bedouin. It constitutes a large proportion of the countries in the region: around 80% of Jordan; 75% of Iraq; 90% of Saudi Arabia and 55% of Syria (Alwelaie 1985 and Sankari, 1993).<sup>14</sup>

Going on to explain particular challenges of the region, Al-Tabini notes that,

The Badia steppe is home to a substantial proportion of the region’s rural and poorest population. Water is the over-riding constraint, the low and highly variable rainfall is often inadequate for economic crop production.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>13</sup> Rowe, Alan G. “Report to the Jordan Badia Research and Development Project: Bedouin Livestock Management and Socioeconomics in the JBRDP Area.” 1998.

<sup>14</sup> Al-Tabini, Raed. Paper to the Desert Project. Jordan Badia Research and Development Center. Safawi: BRDC, 2002.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

Additional research features commentary of particular value to local practitioners, such as that provided by the development anthropology of Cynthia Brandenburg, who describes the necessity of pilot projects in the promotion of changes to lifestyle in the Badia: “The men, in particular, reiterated over and over again that any technological ‘advancements’ in either livestock or agricultural modes of production would need to be demonstrable before being adopted.”<sup>16</sup> The value of demonstrations has been affirmed by the experience of Anaheed Al-Khair; a recent project report notes that the larger community is monitoring and adopting ideas from project activities of the cooperative.<sup>17</sup>

A later health and education survey conducted by Brandenburg provides additional insight into relevant dynamics of service provision and project planning. Noting that teachers and health care workers often have been assigned from outside the Badia, the research reports that they can be disinterested in the welfare and context of those they serve. Drawing particularly on interviews regarding the uptake of health services, Brandenburg notes a tension arising from the perceptions of providers as possessors of “expert knowledge” and local people as ignorant and incapable of making choices for themselves.<sup>18</sup> The discounting of said ‘beneficiaries’ raises a serious obstacle to successful engagement with welfare and development initiatives.

Elsewhere in the study Brandenburg describes a trend in disregarding local people that comes into play even earlier in the process of provision. She writes that, historically, development projects have featured a top-down orientation where administrators consider seeking input from the supposed beneficiaries to be unnecessary and costly. Building on

---

<sup>16</sup> Brandenburg, Cynthia. Development Anthropology: a Primary Survey, Summer 1993 - Part I. Jordan Badia Research and Development Project. Safawi: JBRDP, 1993.

<sup>17</sup> “The North Cooperatives Community Based Project: Anaheed Al Khair & Dairy Project”

<sup>18</sup> Brandenburg, Cynthia. Health and Education Survey - Summer 1994, Preliminary Findings. Jordan Badia Research and Development Project. Safawi: JBRDP, 1995. pp 3, 8.

her consultation with the Badia Center, Brandenburg rejects this position and insists that, “A disregard for the importance of the individual’s contribution and participation in development programmes has proven to be the most costly mistake with failed project after project testifying to the need for joint co-operation and communication between development planners and local inhabitants.”<sup>19</sup>

### **2.3 Background on the Anaqeed Al-Khair Cooperative:**

In the context of such challenges to development, Issaf Hawamdeh chronicles the initiation of the Anaqeed Al-Khair cooperative.<sup>20</sup> Providing an outline of the project process from July through December 2002, Hawamdeh describes the cooperative’s ideals, concept base, and initial phases of implementation. In a sharp contrast to Brandenburg’s concerns about the prospects of development, Hawamdeh has great confidence in the “progressive approach” to development design. This change in tone is not without grounds, as many of the professionals and researchers who shape the process are natives of the Badia and targeted villages. Their origin within the local community, as Hawamdeh asserts, “Allows them to incorporate an insider’s perspective, as well as integrate a grounded reality of the community’s perspective into the process.”<sup>21</sup> The Anaqeed Al-Khair project has clearly learned from past experience and is approaching development in a way much more in tune with local priorities. And while there is much about the cooperative to praise, Hawamdeh’s overwhelmingly positive account seems slightly unbalanced.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p 1.

<sup>20</sup> Hawamdeh, Issaaf. "Bedu Community Participation in Creating Sustainable Futures: a Case Study of A'naqeed Al-Khair Sustainable Development Project, North-Eastern Badiyah, Jordan." Diss. York Univ., Toronto, Ontario, 2003.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> For example, alluding to the extent that BRDC staff had learned from past experience, Hawamdeh refers four times to the fact that the cooperative was established in “record time.” Other individuals involved with implementation of the project have noted that the establishment time had to be

In addition to analysis of development themes, literature from the BRDC and Anaheed itself helps to provide background information about the specifics of the project area. In a status report produced in April 2006 about the cooperatives they support, the BRDC describes their own move in 1998 from a research institution to one with a focus of policy implementation. Driven by the challenges of promoting research academically, including those noted by Brandenburg, the Badia Center turned to demonstration projects as "the best solution for gaining the attention and the trust of communities and government institutions."<sup>23</sup> This policy has found expression as a part of the Ministry of Planning's Rural Community Cluster Development Programme (RCCDP), by which the Anaheed Al-Khair Cooperative was established in 2002. With the support of the Jordan River Foundation (JRF), Mercy Corps, the BRDC, and the local community, the cooperative targeted for development 14 villages in the newly-delineated Northern Badia Villages Cluster.

While not reflecting the complexity of the region, its unemployment rate of 40% and average monthly income of 189JDs – compared to 337JDs in rural areas and 401JDs throughout Jordan<sup>24</sup> – make apparent the employment and poverty challenges in the cluster. In this context, the 2002 business and implementation plan for the cooperative outlined specific objectives<sup>25</sup> in order to bring about socio-economic impact with targeted

---

accelerated partially due to funding deadlines, and that taking longer may have been preferable. Here, as throughout the document, Hawamdeh explores little of the possible negative connotations or complexifying factors, leaving the reader desiring a more nuanced and critical analysis.

<sup>23</sup> Abu-Amoud, Ismaiel, et al. The North Cooperatives Community Based Project: Anaheed Al Khair & Dairy Project. Badia Research and Development Center. Safawi: BRDC, 2006. p 2.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p 3. While the report cites "total monthly income," I interpret this to mean *average* total monthly income. For the purposes of this analysis, the specific figure is less important than how it reflects that income in this cluster is significantly lower than elsewhere in Jordan.

<sup>25</sup> "Business and Implementation Plan for Northern Badia Intergrated Livelihood Farm." BRDC: 2002. According to this document, project objectives include: "(1) Generate income for the local community based on profitable agriculture; (2) Improve the Awassi sheep breed throughout the Badia; (3) Local community training of new means of farming and increasing the levels of communication amongst farmers and specialists; (4) Stimulate local economic activity; (5) Introduce new forms of

beneficiaries; cooperative members are targeted primarily, while indirect beneficiaries are to be the nearly 8000 permanent residents of the cluster – as well as markets from which supplies are purchased and institutions interested in investment.<sup>26</sup> The cooperative has pursued their goals via various projects (available with more detail in Appendix II) and at this point has "decided to concentrate on sheep, honey and sun dried tomatoes because of their positive income generation and potential for improvements in marketing."<sup>27</sup> From a founding membership of sixteen, the cooperative has grown to 153 members, fifty-six of whom are women.

Table 1: Northern Badia Cluster Villages – population and cooperative membership

Village	Population	Total Members	Male	Female
Khishaa	1081	2	0	2
Um AlQutayn	2389	32	28	4
AlMazola	129	0	0	0
AlMkaiftah	1966	25	11	14
Manshiatkino	121	0	0	0
Rawdat Al-Amir Ali	533	33	21	16
Meiassa	196	7	4	3
Al-Thalaj	69	2	2	0
UmHussien	173	2	2	0
Gassim	433	26	14	12
Al-Refiat	604	19	13	6
Ghadiernaqa	17	0	0	0
Arainba	69	0	0	0
Rifaiatshamalia	112	1	0	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>7829</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>55</b>

(BRDC population statistics, 2002; Anaqeed Al-Khair memberships statistics, 25 April 2006)

---

income generating projects within the target area (beekeeping, sun-dried tomatoes); (6) Encourage Bedouin community to move towards organic farming (sun-dried tomatoes, etc); (7) Preserve the handicrafts industry (Beit Sha'ar, wool products, etc).

The goal of this assessment is to determine the impact of the project on livelihood outcomes, and so does not attempt to comment on the status of more technical or cultural objectives (2, 6, and 7) except as they have demonstrated impact on livelihood outcomes of interviewees.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Abu-Amoud, The North Cooperatives Community Based Project. p 23.

Table 2: Cooperative members from 2002 to 2006

<b>Year</b>	<b>Beginning of the year</b>	<b>Withdrawals</b>	<b>Accepted</b>	<b>Total, End of the year</b>
2002	16	0	8	24
2003	24	0	28	52
2004	52	5	50	97
2005	97	35 *	20	82
2006	119		(34)	(153)

\* 35 members were fired from the cooperative because they stopped paying their monthly contribution

The General Assembly of the cooperative meets yearly to discuss the budget and hold elections for cooperative leadership. The elected Administrative Committee coordinates cooperative activities, works with supporting agencies, manages the project and appoints members to other committees as necessary. Although more extensive work opportunities existed in connection with initial project construction, Anaqeed Al-Khair currently has seven full-time employees and provides seasonal or temporary income to approximately twenty people per year.<sup>28</sup>

In learning about the specific situation of Anaqeed Al-Khair, I have benefited from the sections on current policies for poverty alleviation and "Community-owned co-op enterprise" in the JHDR. A useful aspect in the former addresses how cash assistance programs have often failed to provide proper incentives for work: "Once a household was in receipt of cash assistance there was little incentive for any household members to take on temporary, insecure or low-paid employment."<sup>29</sup> The latter section highlights common challenges specifically within Jordan's cooperative sector, heightening my awareness of trends that may be present in the functioning of Anaqeed Al-Khair. Specifically,

---

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., pp 5-20.

<sup>29</sup> JHDR, p 72.



There may be a conflict between achieving the social objectives of gender equity, employment creation, social integration for the disabled and equity between different tribes that were identified in one community, whilst at the same time operating a viable enterprise.<sup>30</sup>

The report goes on to note that particular components are necessary for functioning cooperatives, including democratic governance systems, inclusive decision-making to combat "benefit capture" by elites, and accountability to members and the broader community.<sup>31</sup> By building on the analysis of the JHDR, my research can demonstrate how Anaqeed Al-Khair interacts with dynamics at work within the cooperative sector at-large; I will therefore be exploring these themes in more depth in my findings.

While the JHDR has proved foundational to my understanding of development and cooperatives within Jordan, its style frequently avoids holding agencies accountable for inconsistencies and underplays the scope of the challenges to development objectives.<sup>32</sup> The report's tendency to characterize all current efforts as just on the brink of success frequently strains credulity when juxtaposed with the realities on the ground. Finding such a seemingly misrepresentative stance in the literature has impelled me to investigate and report as clearly as possible the actualities of people's experience, along with accountability for how these outcomes have come about.

---

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p 93.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p 93.

<sup>32</sup> An example of the report's style comes from a section seeking to suggest reasons for the disparity between official poverty figures and those given by the poor themselves. By writing, "... it may also be the case that "pockets of poverty" exist where the government is providing poverty alleviation services but the poor are unable to access or simply do not know about them" (53), the document implies that the government provides "poverty alleviation services" for all in need and that the obstacle lies in connecting provision to uptake – a joint challenge for the government and the poor.

The implication that the government is providing services for all in need seems to be a particular misrepresentation of the reality in the Northern Badia where unemployment is agreed to be the greatest challenge for the poor. The cooperative – the only government initiative in the area that seeks to address the issue – provides seven permanent jobs and approximately twenty people with temporary, seasonal, or supplemental work. In the face of an area with approximately 3000 unemployed, *accessing* available jobs does not seem a significant obstacle. In order to be transparent about realities on the ground, official documents should admit the scale of the challenge and the shortcomings of *provision*.

### **3. Methods:**

#### **3.1 Study site and sampling methodology:**

My choice to study the Anaqeed Al-Khair Cooperative was heavily influenced by my previous experience with the organization. I stayed for a week with Ali Meshan, the guard and a primary beekeeper at the cooperative and through rudimentary Arabic was just beginning to understand about parts of the cooperative as my stay was ending. I was anxious to return, and the site fit well with my desire to study a rural area away from the predominant research center of the country in Amman. Thus my colleague Dr. Mostafa Shudiefat and I conducted seventeen interviews from 15-20 April 2006 while I lived on the grounds of the cooperative with Ali Meshan. Interviews were conducted predominantly at the homes of interviewees, with a few taking place at Anaqeed Al-Khair locations as convenient.

Using a methodology of participatory modeling and evaluation,<sup>33</sup> I sought to conduct approximately fifteen personal interviews of approximately one hour each. I chose that method because I believe in the ethical and practical importance of listening to the voices of those impacted by policies and institutions. Furthermore, a qualitative method fit better with my short timeframe and limited experience with quantitative measurements.

In the interest of discerning the impact of the cooperative, I sought to interview intended beneficiaries – which meant people from the village cluster itself. Seeking to learn about the distribution and extent of impact across various categories, I planned to

---

<sup>33</sup> Sustainable Development Strategies: A Resource Book. Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris and United Nations Development Programme, New York. 2002. pp 309-330. This resource provided valuable guidance on monitoring and evaluation systems.

interview community-members with different perspectives on the work of the cooperative. After initial consultation with BRDC staff, I drew up plans to interview one or two BRDC staff and three or four from the categories of cooperative supervision (committee members and leadership), cooperative employees, peripherally involved stakeholders (ordinary members and temporary workers), and non-members. To the extent possible, I hoped that interviews in these categories would include people from a number of overlapping groups including women, the poorest of the poor, unemployed, biggest beneficiaries of the cooperative, and non-residents of Rawdat Al-Amir Ali.

The selection of individual interviewees was not random, but used the strategy of purposive sampling<sup>34</sup> and the connections of the BRDC and cooperative staff. Thus the identity of those I interviewed is significantly slanted toward those most likely to have benefited from the cooperative. I chose to interview a large number of those most involved with the cooperative because these would be the ones most likely to know the details about impact that would provide for the most nuanced qualitative analysis. Even at the conceptual level, this approach – as opposed to a random sample within the cluster – concedes sacrifice of first-hand accounts about distribution in the region. I found that in the field, my selection of interviewees became even more focused than I had planned on those closely involved with the cooperative. Upon reflection, it is not surprising that coordinating agencies (like the BRDC and the cooperative) are familiar with those closely attached to the institution in question and that interviews will tend to focus on those people.<sup>35</sup> Thus the benefits of the cooperative likely loom larger in the lens of this study

---

<sup>34</sup> For commentary on the process of purposive sampling, see JDHR p 29 and annex 4 on methodology.

<sup>35</sup> I ended up interviewing four long-term employees, seven current and former Administration Committee members, three non-members, and three members not associated with committees or full employment. I can see that this phenomenon of focusing on those closely involved is not isolated in my study; I discovered after completing my interviews that all I had interviewed all three people

than they would with random sampling methodology more representative of the average community member. More specific implications will be discussed below in the analysis of the fourth variable.

### **3.2 Plans for obtaining data:**

Drawing on guidelines for of qualitative evaluations,<sup>36</sup> I designed a survey that sought to cover a broad range of indicators in order to provide insight in the complexities of impact that the cooperative may have had on members of the community. In lieu of conducting a back-translation of the survey,<sup>37</sup> I depended on extensive discussion of the survey's details with my translator and colleague in the designing stages of the survey for ensuring that my questions composed in English were well represented in the Arabic version he translated. Shudiefat modified the questions to improve compatibility with interviewees and achieve our intended result both after the pre-testing of the survey I conducted in English and after the first four interviews in Arabic. We concluded that the survey modifications were slight enough that these pre-testing interviews could serve as valuable parts of the sample.

When meeting with interviewees, my colleague and I established that I was conducting a study on the impact of the cooperative and sought their assistance. Their consent to be interviewed construes the basis for their assent that their views be used in the research. Particularly for the purposes of an impact assessment, it is important that my interviewees come from various backgrounds within the cluster and are important as individuals. Thus, in my study I will use their names, attempting to give credit to their

---

included in the Jordan River Foundation's 2005 evaluation of the project (the former cooperative secretary, current Secretary of the Administration Committee, and past president of the cooperative).

<sup>36</sup> Guijt, Irene; Arevalo, Mae; and Saladores, Kiko. "Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation: Tracking Change Together." PLA Notes (1998), Issue 31, pp 28-36, IIED London.

<sup>37</sup> Russell, Bernard H. *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative & Quantitative Approaches*. New York: Alta Mira Press. p 275. This text outlines the rationale for and process involved in back-translation.

voices, insight, and individuality. (Basic information about each interviewee is available in Appendix III.) An exception arises from the case of one interviewee who was hesitant to go into detail about the cooperative; in accordance with assurances given him by my colleague, I will not use his name within the study.

While I had initially envisioned that my Jordanian counterpart would go through the interview translating question by question, we determined that it would be more relaxing for the interviewee if the bulk of the interview was conducted uninterrupted. Thus Shudiefat conducted the interviews in Arabic while taking detailed notes. After many of the interviews we had the opportunity for him to relay the basics to me and for me to ask follow-up questions on issues of particular interest. At a later and more convenient time went over the interviews together in detail, me complementing the rudimentary notes I took at the interview with the full responses in his records.

A few interviewees requested to fill out the survey themselves, and contingencies of the field including the limited number of days available and the distant location of some interview locations meant that I was not able to be present at four interviews, though I was thoroughly filled in later via his notes in the manner described above.

I originally intended for my survey to include questions by what the interviewees would provide information regarding their level of socioeconomic status.<sup>38</sup> Following Shudiefat's concerns that these would introduce survey bias, we decided to determine the interviewees' relative socioeconomic status based on his experience in the community – placements which were then checked by comparing observed family characteristics with

---

<sup>38</sup> These omitted questions were #7 – asking the each interviewee what socioeconomic level best described his or her family – and a late addition that inquired about how frequently the interviewee's family eats meat. After an initial consensus of responses that question #15 on school attendance is no longer an issue in the region, this question was omitted from later interviews and does not figure in this analysis.

corresponding levels established in earlier consultations with the poor.<sup>39</sup> The initial survey – not reflecting the noted changes made in the field – is available in Appendix I.

As suggested by my rationale for choosing an impact assessment, I entered the project with an attempt to conduct a study that focused on the details of impact to the poor. As such, I designed questions seven through ten to provide insight into impact on sub-groups of the poor. However, the test interview revealed that this mode of questioning did not include all of my interviewees, so in practice we switched to asking about impact on three general strata. This alteration resulted in a lack of clarity that produced answers both regarding normative statements on what the impact distribution should be as well as my intended answer about what the impact distribution is. Therefore, my data support for descriptions of impact across socioeconomic strata are less robust than they might have been, but I also now have data on who respondents think *should* be targeted – a valuable addition.

Thus, my written analysis of distribution across socioeconomic strata uses sub-variables of "impact on those targeted" and "impact distribution across socioeconomic levels." In an attempt to define bounds for my third independent variable (distribution of impact according to need) and clarify the first sub-variable, I have written an introduction to analysis of the variable. This introduction draws on interview data and attempts to contextualize the following analysis by providing insight on community perceptions regarding the questions, "Who are the poor?" and "Who should benefit from the cooperative?"

---

<sup>39</sup> Expressed and observed indicators (job status, connection to institutions, family size, able-bodied family members, etc) were used to confirm placements with the JHDR chart on poor people's perceptions of wealth and poverty (p 50). The characterizations of my colleague and me largely matched up with the chart's indicators. One exception arose where the chart shows cash assistance from the NAF to be a characteristic of the "poorest of the poor," whereas Shudiefat noted that distribution of assistance (as with two of our interviewees) is not always determined by the recipients' level of need.

While my initial research plan intended to focus specifically on the cooperative's impact on income flows, further interaction with the literature of qualitative analysis – and the interviews themselves – pushed me to broaden the scope of impacts under consideration. Thus the dependent variable of this study is not restricted to income flows, but rather seeks to investigate “the overall impact of the Anaqeed Al-Khair Cooperative on livelihood outcomes of community members.” Livelihood outcomes are understood as what a person would like to achieve in his/her life – such as more income, increased well-being, reduced vulnerability, etc.<sup>40</sup> The focus of three of my study's independent variables correspond roughly to the livelihood outcomes listed above, and the other two investigate specific distributions of impact: (I) impact on income flows, (II) distribution of impact based on membership status, (III) distribution of impact according to need, (IV) impact on community vulnerability, and (V) impact on quality of life. The variables – each with sub-variables to provide additional nuance – guided the construction of questions on my survey and will thus also serve to structure the report and analysis of findings.

#### **4. Findings:**

As an introduction to the discussion of findings, some background data on community impressions of development is instructive in order to attempt to isolate the impact and impressions of Anaqeed Al-Khair from those of "development" as a whole. The following introduction is derived from survey responses designed for this purpose.

---

<sup>40</sup> JHDR pp 138, 30.

## **Introduction to findings:**

### **Development is necessary, but until now it hasn't delivered significantly**

Many respondents say that development is necessary, but its impact has been small thus far and needs to be increased<sup>41</sup> or simply that other projects haven't helped.<sup>42</sup> While some respondents responded about small benefits, these respondents seemed less enthusiastic in their response about development in general than they were at other times in the interview.<sup>43</sup> In a comment clearly expressing the role and extent sought for development, one resident of Rawdat Al-Amir Ali affirmed that "Development is necessary, but until now it hasn't worked so that everyone can feel it."<sup>44</sup>

### **Some local residents see Anaqeed Al-Khair as a positive sign for development**

One respondent specifically connected his hesitance to join Anaqeed with negative experience with a cooperative in the past. This non-member expresses a cautious but positive attitude toward the project: "So far this co-op is good and successful. But cooperatives in the past have failed. I'm still waiting to see if I will join, maybe in one or two years."<sup>45</sup> As noted in the coming section about the cooperative's role in the future (see variable IV), many respondents express a reserved and conditional optimism about the potential for development – which seems to be a distinct shift from the attitudes to service provision highlighted a decade ago by Brandenburg and alluded to by Hawamdeh. Anaqeed Al-Khair's generally successful performance thus far seems to be making a positive impression on respondents' opinion of development.

---

<sup>41</sup> Interviews with: Al-Masaed, Khittam. 19 Apr. 2006; Sudi, Salaamah. 19 Apr. 2006; Al-Hejji, Jameelah. 19 Apr. 2006; Al-Masaed, Aesha Odeh. 17 Apr. 2006.

<sup>42</sup> Interviews with: Al-Dahdal, Khalaf. 19 Apr. 2006; Al-Masaed, Ikhlaf. 19 Apr. 2006.

<sup>43</sup> Interviews with: Nimier, Muhammad Khalaf (Abu Khalaf). 17 Apr. 2006; 19 Apr. 2006; Kassab, Eyadah. 18 Apr. 2006; Nimier, Faleh. 17 Apr. 2006.

<sup>44</sup> Interview with resident who wished to remain anonymous. 19 Apr. 2006.

<sup>45</sup> Interview with Khamees, Hussein. 20 Apr. 2006.



#### **4.1 Variables of Study:<sup>46</sup>**

##### **I) Impact on income flows:**

###### 1) Impact on personal sources

##### **Benefits clear for the few full-time employees**

While most interviewees did not report any change in their personal income, three had received supplemental income, and the four longer-term employees interviewed reported significant benefits from the income. Aesha Al-Masaed reported increased independence and capacity to support her own education – planning to enroll in university for the first time next semester. While employed at the cooperative Amal Al-Masaed achieved her bachelor's degree and has also been able to assist family members with their higher education. Abu Khalaf discussed how acquiring daily needs has become easier for him, and Ali Al-Meshan noted that employment has allowed given him the ability to marry and build a house.

###### 2) Impact on community sources

##### **Benefits to community at large sparse but becoming known**

Most respondents reported specific examples or a generalized positive impact on income flows within the community, but the change for the broader community was widely agreed to be minimal at best. Within positive responses, the merit of the coop in this area was in moving in the right direction. Resident of Rawdat Al-Amir Ali and BRDC employee Odeh Al-Meshan notes, "The multi-faceted programs take the first steps in a number of areas of necessary change: seeing industry, changes in mentality, income, and customs." Al-Meshan's statement builds on the understanding that achieving significant impact on community income flows requires progress in the areas he mentioned, including

---

<sup>46</sup> Variables are denoted by Roman numerals, subvariables by Arabic numerals.

encouraging residents to see – for example – that livestock can support industry and livelihood strategies beyond hand-milking.<sup>47</sup>

### **Demonstration projects foster a climate of learning**

Through demonstration projects, the coop has increased slightly the range of livelihood strategies considered viable in the community; many respondents note this spillover dynamic which can be described as "fostering an environment of learning."<sup>48</sup> The BRDC position on the usefulness of pilot projects seems to be confirmed by this situation – members have implemented new strategies in both cooperatives and private enterprise, initiatives which are cited as fostering learning among some people outside the cooperative as well.<sup>49</sup> In addition to progress in introducing a few new sources of income (i.e. beekeeping) the coop has helped some community members to see more profitable approaches to existing activities: two examples cited include demonstrating the potential for sun-drying tomatoes and applying medical insight to livestock raising (vaccinations, synchronized lambing, etc.).<sup>50</sup>

### **Seasonal work brings significant benefits to women**

Everyone who discussed how women benefit from the cooperative mentioned the impact of seasonal labor.<sup>51</sup> A number of projects have provided seasonal or part-time work in jobs traditionally done by women: sun-dried tomatoes, milking sheep, wool

---

<sup>47</sup> Interview with Al-Meshan, Odeh. 15 Apr. 2006.

<sup>48</sup> Interviews with Kassab; Al-Meshan, Ali. 17 Apr. 2006; Na'emy, Ahmad (Abu Musab). 19 Apr. 2006; Al-Masaed, Khittam; Al-Masaed, Amal. 19 Apr. 2006; Al-Meshan, Odeh; Nimier, Faleh; Sudi; Abu-Amoud, Ismaiel. 20 Apr. 2006. In an interesting dynamic within the spillover theme, the first five interviewees listed here cited themselves as examples for others in terms of benefiting from new projects or engaging productively with the cooperative. However, no respondents cited *other* community members as playing a role in their own learning or that of others.

<sup>49</sup> Interview with Al-Meshan, Ali. The full extent of this traceable "spillover" in new livelihood strategies is unclear but likely limited.

<sup>50</sup> Interview with Al-Masaed, Amal and later clarification from Shudiefat. In order to learn more about the impact of the cooperative based on gender, Shudiefat and I came to include an additional survey question, #19b, for female interviewees.

<sup>51</sup> Interviews with Al-Masaed, Amal; Al-Masaed, Khittam; Al-Masaed, Aesha Odeh; supplemented by communication with Shudiefat, 25 Apr. 2006.

production, and the weaving of beit sha'ar. The inclusion of these temporary jobs for women (in addition to full-time positions usually filled by men, such as truck driver and shepard) as vital components the cooperative was cited as both culturally suitable<sup>52</sup> – women are able to provide supplemental income for the family – and the grounds for a number of respondents to assert that women benefit from the cooperative more than men do.<sup>53</sup>

The high percentage of cooperative activities involving women is also cited as influencing membership, more than 35% of which is women.<sup>54</sup> These numbers contrast with a neighboring cooperative that does not include such seasonal work and out of forty-four members has only one woman.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, women coming from neighboring villages for seasonal work expand the beneficial impact of the cooperatives to their villages, and membership figures suggest a connection between women's membership and women's seasonal work.<sup>56</sup> These positive results are particularly notable given the challenges of gender-related development in the Mafraq governate.

### **Bee-keeping project demonstrates viability of new livelihood strategy**

In terms of specific new sources, bee-keeping seems particularly significant and has many attributes of an imitable success story. Building on 10 years of research, the BRDC

---

<sup>52</sup>Communication with Shudiefat.

<sup>53</sup>Interviews with Al-Masaed, Amal; Al-Masaed, Aesha Odeh.

<sup>54</sup>"Membership List, Anaqeed Al-Khair Cooperative." Chart. 2006.

<sup>55</sup> Abu-Amoud, Ismaiel, et al. The North Cooperatives Community Based Project: Anakeed Al Khair & Dairy Project. Badia Research and Development Center. Safawi: BRDC, 2006.

<sup>56</sup>The four cities (Ar-Reffayat, Gassim, Al-Mkaiftah, and Rawdat Al-Amir Ali) cited by Shudiefat as the locations from which women come for seasonal work have the four highest membership totals for women, even though these are not the villages that are largest or closest to the project location. A contributing factor may be that these jobs are filled on the basis of applicable experience and filled by both members and non-members. Direct causality is unclear between expanding women's membership and the home villages of seasonal women workers, but a strong correlation is implied.

introduced honey production to an initially skeptical community.<sup>57</sup> This project now makes use of specific Badia resources to produce high-end medicinal honey and distributes benefits to member families who maintain hives. The cooperative has been instrumental in piloting this initiative and training people in hive management and now individuals are beginning to start up honey production on their own even outside the coop project.<sup>58</sup> Abu Muattez and Ali Al-Meshan have benefited directly from work with bees, and one non-owner cited hive-owners as an example of the coop working well.<sup>59</sup>

While the bee-keeping project is proving a success, like most sources of income, the tangible benefits are very localized at this point. Though the program started by distributing hives to eight families in 2003, contingencies of honey production and relocating of hives within the region have led to the situation in 2006 where only two families have hives.<sup>60</sup>

So while cooperative projects are valuable for their initiative and impact on participants, the benefits have not spread appreciably to the community at large or impacted the ways of life or obtaining income for a significant percentage of the community.

## **II) Distribution of impacts based on membership status:**

### **1) Impact on members**

#### **Benefits – as specific interactions – reach most but not all members**

Definitions vary about what it means to benefit. Those who think of it more tangibly tend to see benefits to members in terms of specific interactions: through employed

---

<sup>57</sup> Honey production had previously not taken place within the cluster. Alluding the community's initial skepticism, several BRDC staff have cited a representative comment made early in the project in which a resident asked, "What do we want with these mosquitos?"

<sup>58</sup> Communication with Ali Al-Meshan and Al-Tabini. Two members of the cooperative are currently producing honey on their own, apart from the Anaqeed Al-Khair's production.

<sup>59</sup> Interview with Al-Dahdal.

<sup>60</sup> Communication with Al-Tabini.

members, training in project components like bees, management training that transfers to personal business, and specifically buying or selling from the cooperative – as sheep or cucumbers.<sup>61</sup> While the scope of these benefits is broad, they do not make an impact on all members.

### **Benefits – as intangibles – reach all members**

Those who understand benefiting in a broader way – learning about the process of projects, strengthening relationships with other members, and speaking one's mind via the General Assembly – are more likely to say that all members benefit.<sup>62</sup> Among the respondents, near unanimity exists with the statement that many or most of members benefit. As with any discussion of benefit in the interviews, many cited the fact that the project is still in the beginning. Expectations that all members will benefit were sometimes connected to the cooperative's plan to divide profits; this is seen as proof that members will benefit.<sup>63</sup>

### **How members benefit is related to when they joined**

While the only two respondents who did not appear to have benefited from being members were involved early on,<sup>64</sup> those members who have benefited the most appear to be people who were involved by 2003 – after this point, the initial hiring for permanent jobs seems to have been finished. In contrast, those members who joined since mid-2004 appear to have benefited moderately. With hiring policies that prioritize members, this data suggests that projects seeking to impact certain sub-groups within the population would increase their impact by recruiting heavily among your target population before beginning primary hiring. It seems likely that the degree of benefit is connected to the

---

<sup>61</sup> Interviews with Kassab; Al-Masaed, Amal.

<sup>62</sup> Interviews with Al-Hejji; Al-Masaed, Amal; Al-Masaed, Aesha Odeh.

<sup>63</sup> Interviews with Al-Hejji; Al-Masaed, Ikhlaif.

<sup>64</sup> Interviews with Al-Masaed, Odeh; and a former member of the cooperative.

length of time as a member, but some significant opportunities for benefit (contracting for construction, full employment) are less available for those who join later. My interviews suggest that those who have joined more recently are likely to be less involved as labor on project components, and more likely to cite training and networking as benefits that they have experienced personally.<sup>65</sup>

### **Involvement with Administration Committee confers distinct benefits**

Both newly-elected administrative committee member Khalaf Al-Dahdal and often-critical member Ikhlaif Al-Masaed suggested that administrative committee members were most likely benefit from managerial training and networking, while benefits to members not on committees were more likely to be from project component training or employment. These overarching statements about the distribution of various benefits within the cooperative membership are corroborated by reports from interviewees about the way they themselves have benefited (see Appendix III).

#### 2) Impact on non-members

### **Non-members living closest to project centers benefit from temporary work:**

Seasonal and non-permanent jobs were seen almost unanimously as benefiting a number of non-members. This benefit was most clearly noted in villages where project components are physically located: Rawdat Al-Amir Ali, where of the seven people interviewed five explicitly mentioned this benefit,<sup>66</sup> and Um Al-Quttayn, where two of three interviewees mentioned non-members in their town who had benefited from the

---

<sup>65</sup> Interviews with Nimier, Faleh; Al-Hejji; Al-Masaed, Khittam; Al-Dahdal.

<sup>66</sup> This percentage seems significant because the only two residents who did not mention the benefit of temporary or seasonal work to non-members were a respondent who did not even mention that he had previously been employed by the coop and a non-member who said he didn't know who benefited or didn't. Furthermore, one previous member from Rawdat who was critical elsewhere said that a good percentage of the community had benefited from temporary work. This benefit was also noted by both residents of Gassim, whose borders are nearly indistinguishable from those of Rawdat Al-Amir Ali.

construction of Anaqeed Al-Khair's affiliated environmental center in town. These responses, along with the statement from Abu-Amoud that day labor for the integrated farm comes from town [Rawdat Al-Amir Ali], suggest that the benefits of temporary work accrue and are noted most significantly in their immediate surroundings.

**Those living far from project centers may not note benefits of temporary work to non-members:**

Of the remaining seven interviewees (who lived not in Rawdat Al-Amir Ali, nearby Gassim, or Um Al-Quttayn), only two mentioned the benefit of temporary work to non-members. Among those who didn't mention this benefit were the current secretary of the Administration Committee, the Director of Local Community Development Division at BRDC, and a former president of the cooperative (who was also the contractor who employed many non-members in the construction of the cooperative buildings).<sup>67</sup>

While these last three would likely acknowledge the benefit if asked directly, the fact that they did not volunteer it in the way others did reveals that it is not as much on their mind. The results suggest that for people who do not live in a village with a project component, even close involvement with the project via administration does not ensure awareness of this impact. In contrast, residents of villages with components seem much more likely to note this benefit for non-members.

Such a dynamic may have implications for how administrators make decisions; administrators and decision-makers should be aware that temporary work has been a positive benefit for non-members in the past, and this way of benefiting the community could be accentuated. Such awareness could inform decision-making about the wool-making project, which is struggling financially but has benefited non-members in this

---

<sup>67</sup> Interviews with Kassab; Abu-Amoud; Na'emy.

way. Additionally, the data implies that non-members from component-located villages are significantly more likely to benefit from temporary work. Thus the benefit of temporary work is more localized than that of others, such as training or networking.

### **Subsidiary benefits exist for non-members**

Less-noted but still noteworthy benefits to non-members include having bought or sold products with the coop, and sheep trader Hussein Khamees mentioned the indirect benefits of vaccines from his own experience. Further cooperative impacts for non-members arise from VIP visits<sup>68</sup> and from the few workshops open to non-members, such as Royal Scientific Society training on grey-water and JRF on mother-and-child issues.<sup>69</sup>

### **With present course, benefits to non-members unlikely to increase**

Despite positive impacts thus far, benefits to non-members show much less potential for sustained growth in the future; non-members have benefited more often from now stable or decreasing opportunities such as temporary work and project construction. On the other hand, training, ownership of project components like bees, and shares of future profits are more likely to provide increased levels of benefit in the future. For benefits to non-members to increase, planning of components would likely have to include that specific goal – which seems unlikely at this time given that the current focus of the cooperative's energy on operational efficiency rather than long-term planning.<sup>70</sup>

## **Variable II conclusion:**

### **Some members see that coop shouldn't benefit non-members**

---

<sup>68</sup> Interviews with Sudi; Abu-Amoud; Al-Meshan, Ali. These respondents cited the instance when Queen Rania visited the cooperative and provided houses for a number of local residents (non-members of the cooperative).

<sup>69</sup> Interviews with Abu-Amoud; Al-Meshan, Amal.

<sup>70</sup> Communication with Abu-Amoud, 26 Apr. 2006.



Overriding the whole member/non-member discussion, a number of members state that the cooperative is not intended to benefit non-members – that the idea is that joining the coop should come before or concurrently with benefiting from it. In other words, those targeted by the coop are its members.<sup>71</sup> In describing the benefits as intended for members, their understanding of benefit may be primarily in terms of "receiving money directly" from employment or cooperative profit. Past cooperative president Abu Musab also alludes to a members-first focus for Anaqeed Al-Khair, citing internal cooperative law.

These statements do have grounding within the cooperative's founding documents: The business and implementation plan for the cooperative describes members as the primary beneficiaries, with other residents of the cluster as indirect beneficiaries,<sup>72</sup> and within the cooperative's mission seven of the nine objectives that address benefit are targeted specifically for members.<sup>73</sup> Thus the members-first dynamic is firmly represented in cooperative planning and the perspective of some members.

### **III) Impact across the socioeconomic spectrum:**

#### **Introduction to variable III:**

#### **Not everyone thinks the same way about who is targeted or should be helped:**

This section of survey questions was left open-ended so that interviewees would evaluate the impact of the coop based on their own understanding of its goals. While this approach helps to represent views prevalent in the community, it requires a further clarification of terms and relevant perspectives. In this discussion of benefits, more goal-

---

<sup>71</sup> Interviews with Al-Meshan, Odeh; Nimier, Faleh.

<sup>72</sup> "Business and Implementation Plan for Northern Badia Intergrated Livelihood Farm." 2002.

<sup>73</sup> "Internal Law for the Anaqeed Al-Khair Corporation Cooperative for the Sons of the Badia." 2004. Unpublished: Available on site. The two exceptions to the member-focus of benefits are an inoperative clause regarding student loans and another that aims to "Solve/improve unemployment and provide economic assistance for persons in need." [Verbally translated by Shudiefat from the written Arabic.]

based language such as "those targeted" is used interchangeably with the way the concept was discussed in interviews, as "those the coop should benefit."

### **Who are the poor?**

Defining characteristics of *fuqara*,<sup>74</sup> were not having a job, limited income, needing help, not being able to provide the things of life for family. Further common traits cited were families of men who went into livestock instead of the army and lost their livelihoods, not having suitable skills to work, having salary from government, or just two old people. The only person who cited a specific income figure or the poverty line was Odeh Al-Meshan, an employee of the BRDC. Given this information, a working community definition of the poorest seems to be those without work and low capacity to provide for themselves.

### **Who should benefit?**

Two general mindsets arise in conversations about Anaqeed Al-Khair's targeting – seeing cooperative members as the ones targeted, or targeting with a broader intended scope. The member-specific mindset came up in the context of cooperative profit or full employment and less frequently than the latter, which prevailed in general discussions and assumed that the broader community was also intended to benefit to some degree. In this section, "benefit" signifies the second meaning unless noted otherwise.

### **People at all levels of the community should benefit**

Addressing how benefit should be focused regarding socioeconomic levels in the community, member and some-time volunteer Khittam Al-Masaed expressed a sentiment characteristic of many, "All people should get benefit from coop, and the Badia is mostly

---

<sup>74</sup> Based on the community consultations conducted for the JHDR, *fuqara* generally corresponds to the "poorest of the poor" or object poor. See pages 50-53 for further discussion.

all poor." This view suggests that the distinctions within the Badia are not significant enough to merit an explicit focusing of benefit on one group. This understanding is supported by the comment of Aesha Odeh Al-Masaed, who stated that while some people in the region are poor they are not absolutely so and have their requirements met.

### **People talk about a priority for the poor**

Some respondents, including some who said the whole community should benefit, said the poor and unemployed should have priority for benefit from the projects.<sup>75</sup> This orientation was qualified by the provision that those without income should be prioritized to the extent that they have ability and experience to do the job,<sup>76</sup> with some going so far as to recommend training the poor if necessary.<sup>77</sup> Overall, abilities-based criteria were emphasized, with a slanting toward the poor – that they should either be preferred if baseline characteristics are met, or even trained to meet necessary standards.<sup>78</sup>

#### 1) Impact on targeted groups

### **People who benefit are targeted**

The vast majority of respondents indicated that either most or all of the beneficiaries are those targeted. One factor that likely played a role in this result is what seems to be an unwritten policy of the coop to give preference to helping the poor over others.<sup>79</sup> In one notable exception, a former member asserted that specific families benefit, but declined to go into detail when asked.<sup>80</sup> Given that the pool of those targeted is large, some see the way benefits are distributed within this pool as unbalanced. While this concern only came

---

<sup>75</sup> Interviews with Al-Meshan, Odeh; Felah; Al-Hejji; Sudi.

<sup>76</sup> Interviews with Nimier, Faleh; and a resident of Rawdat Al-Amir Ali.

<sup>77</sup> Interviews with Sudi; Felah, Ateeah 20 Apr. 2006.

<sup>78</sup> Interview with Sudi.

<sup>79</sup> Interviews with Kassab; Al-Meshan, Odeh. Given the community understanding that unemployment is a significant characteristic of the poor, even merely hiring someone without a job (as opposed to someone switching jobs) could be construed as giving priority to poor.

<sup>80</sup> Interview with a resident of Rawdat Al-Amir Ali.

up once, it seems noteworthy since this interviewee was remarkably candid, and this point serves as a slight qualification of the otherwise very positive results of beneficiaries coming from target groups.

### **Extent of benefit to targeted groups is limited**

In a sentiment echoed by several others, Odeh Al-Meshan described the potential of the coop within its context, observing that the cooperative is still young and there are fourteen settlements that it aims to impact. The cooperative is not able to satisfy all demands or needs – there are many challenges – and not everyone who needs a job can get one.<sup>81</sup> Clearly, with limited resources the cooperative cannot benefit all who would be targeted in the broader sense.

#### 2) Impact distribution across socioeconomic levels

### **Benefit to poor families centers around employment**

For the poor families who are benefited, primary benefits center those who have work and particularly those employed.<sup>82</sup> Abu Khalaf was one employee who cited himself as proof that poor families benefit, and a number of non-employees cited trends or specific examples of poor families who have benefited from work with the project.<sup>83</sup> In responses that build on the characteristics of the poor described above, a few respondents explained constraints on the number of poor who can benefit from the project, including lack of ability or skills to work, not enough money to pay dues, and health concerns.<sup>84</sup>

### **Moderate and rich benefit from less-tangible aspects**

---

<sup>81</sup> Interview with Al-Meshan, Odeh.

<sup>82</sup> While recognizing that some poor families have benefited via training and social improvements – one respondent stated as much specifically – the preponderance of benefit reported derives primarily from employment. Less tangible benefits may then come *as a result* of getting work, but for the poor these appear less likely to accrue distinct from employment.

<sup>83</sup> Interviews with Kassab; Sudi; and Al-Meshan, Odeh.

<sup>84</sup> Interviews with Kassab; Felah; Al-Masaed, Amal; Al-Masaed, Khittam.

From the apparent benefits achieved by interviewees, it seems that – other than when Abu Musab served as a contractor as the program's initiation – people of moderate and high status have not benefited from paid work at the coop. Al-Dahdal alluded to this dynamic when stating that people of moderate socioeconomic level look for other work in offices, not with sheep. These people likely have work and are just looking for a change in style.<sup>85</sup>

While some respondents either said there were no rich people in the region (or maybe five or six in the whole Badia) others gave characteristics of the way these benefited from the coop;<sup>86</sup> the distinction seems useful for this analysis. Benefits noted to the rich or high socioeconomic levels were "showing off in the administration," as a financial investment, or in order to work in cooperation with the rest of the community.<sup>87</sup> The benefits of the cooperative to the rich seem to rank higher on Maalov's hierarchy of needs<sup>88</sup> – highlighting how the predominant benefits people seek from the cooperative may vary across social strata.

#### **IV) Impact on vulnerability of community:**

- 1) Status of worst thing before and after Anaqeed Al-Khair

#### **Unemployment seen as the worst problem**

Respondents are nearly unanimous in describing unemployment as the most pressing need, and similar percentages agree that Anaqeed Al-Khair has influenced the problem in absolute terms. While many say that the difference can't be felt on the community level –

---

<sup>85</sup> Interview with Al-Dahdal.

<sup>86</sup> Intriguingly, only interviewees who described specific benefits to the moderate or rich were people who my colleague and I ended up classifying as "high moderate" or higher. One respondent (who we classified as moderately poor) explicitly declined to address this question, saying, "I don't comment on the rich and moderate because I don't know them."

<sup>87</sup> Interviews with Al-Hejji; Al-Meshan, Odeh.

<sup>88</sup> The commonly-cited theorist asserted that basic needs such as food, shelter, and security must be obtained before a person can truly pursue more advanced needs such as self-actualization.

that the cooperative is only working with marginal percentages of the problem<sup>89</sup> – further commentary includes that the cooperative is just getting started and alludes to the great significance of the fact that there's something on the ground and *moving* on the problem.<sup>90</sup> Additionally, the two BRDC employees cited progress being made on unemployment in ways other than hiring, ways such as changes in ways of thinking.<sup>91</sup> People from a number of sub-groups (a non-member, a committee member, and an employee) – cited the *inability* to work as a complexifying factor.<sup>92</sup> It's not simply that there are not enough jobs.

### **Subsidiary community problems raise concerns for the future**

Abu Muattez mentioned that some in the community lack the daily requirements for life.<sup>93</sup> This and other challenges are compounded by price increases and income flows that most expect to remain fixed in both level and quantity available; many do not see life improving in the future.<sup>94</sup> As Amal Al-Masaed asserted, "My situation now is not bad. But I'm not optimistic because prices are increasing – especially for oil and gas – and salaries are fixed."

### **Distinction between predictions for self and community**

Abu Khalaf was one a several interviewees who seemed more optimistic for his own future than for that of the community at large. As a guard at the cooperative's environmental center component in Um Al-Quttayn, he is optimistic that his future will improve because of his belief that the center will get better and expand. As for the prospects of community welfare improving, he says, "maybe."<sup>95</sup> The incidence of this

---

<sup>89</sup> Interviews with Sudi; Al-Masaed, Ikhlaif; and a resident of Rawdat Al-Amir Ali.

<sup>90</sup> Interview with Sudi; Al-Meshan, Odeh.

<sup>91</sup> Interviews with Abu-Amoud; Al-Meshan, Odeh.

<sup>92</sup> Interviews with Felah; Al-Amasaed, Amal; Kassab.

<sup>93</sup> Interview with Kassab.

<sup>94</sup> Interviews with Kassab; Nimier, Faleh; Abu-Amoud; Al-Masaed, Amal.

<sup>95</sup> Interview with Nimier, Muhammad Khalaf. This theme also arose in the interview with Al-Meshan, Ali.

disjunction may be partially tied to my choice of a purposive sampling methodology by which I talked primarily to those closely-affiliated with the cooperative and more likely to benefit there from.<sup>96</sup>

## 2 Impact of coop in strengthening futures

### **The cooperative has a role in supporting a better next ten years**

One example of the way Anaqeed Al-Khair can support a better future was given by employee Ali Al-Meshan, who noted that his experience with the cooperative makes him confident that he could find a new job if necessary.<sup>97</sup> Both dividing profit to members and successive complementary training workshops with indirect spillover to private business were mentioned as ways that the coop will likely contribute to decreasing vulnerability.<sup>98</sup> It's worth noting that these methods impact almost exclusively *individual* vulnerability, as opposed to that of the community.

### **Many perceptions of the future are contingent on the cooperative's expansion**

Within the interviews, *future* cooperative projects (as opposed to existing ones) were cited with surprising frequency as a likely source of benefit in the next ten years.<sup>99</sup> This phenomenon implies that current initiatives haven't themselves reduced vulnerability significantly. Rather, existing projects are signs to many people that more and bigger benefits can come or are coming. Much infrastructure has been purchased already for the cooperative and could facilitate further growth. However, the perception that future projects will be more beneficial than existing ones is troubling, given the fact that it seems

---

<sup>96</sup> See the methods section and footnote 34 for fuller discussion. However, this dynamic should not be over-emphasized in relation to the disjunct between predictions for personal and community futures – in my only truly random interview, non-member Hussein Khamees also was more confident about his own future than that of the community.

<sup>97</sup> Interview with Al-Meshan, Ali.

<sup>98</sup> Interview with Al-Dahdal.

<sup>99</sup> Interviews with Nimier, Muhammad Khalaf; Sudi; Al-Hejji; Na'emy; Khamees; and a resident of Rawdat Al-Amir Ali.

unlikely that the amount invested in Anaqeed Al-Khair already will be equaled or surpassed in the future.

Signs of hope for the future also included potential projects for the cooperative including further productive assets and offering loans to community members.<sup>100</sup> By referencing expansion, these respondents implicitly refer to Anaqeed Al-Khair's relationship with funding agencies, which some interviewees cite specifically as a source of confidence for the coming years.<sup>101</sup>

### **People note small progress, but call for more**

Perceptions of Jordan as a beneficiary of foreign investment contribute to high expectations for future investment to benefit the community.<sup>102</sup> As mentioned earlier, it's a common refrain that the cooperative is just beginning, and it seems like people are expecting the cooperative to bring about significantly more than incremental change. Indications about the combination of high expectations and the cooperative's limited capacity for broad impact raise questions about what would be the cost of drastically underperforming expectations.

### **Concerns for quality administration run through all variables**

Many expectations for the future of the cooperative hinge on the effectiveness of the Administration Committee, which is envisioned to include sticking to goals of cooperative, including competent members of the community, and a being coordinated by an excellent leader.<sup>103</sup> Tensions also exist regarding a lack of cooperation within the cooperative, with some citing these tensions as a main obstacle to common vision and

---

<sup>100</sup> Interviews with Kassab; Abu-Amoud; Al-Meshan, Aesha Odeh.

<sup>101</sup> Interviews with Al-Masaed, Khittam; Al-Meshan, Ali.

<sup>102</sup> Interviews with Al-Hejji; Sudi; Kassab.

<sup>103</sup> Interviews with Nimier, Faleh; Al-Masaed, Iklaiif; Khamees.



ability to make progress.<sup>104</sup> The condition of seeking competent committee members implies that they have not always been seen as such – which may be connected to the stretching of human resources addressed by JHDR. This dynamic is further revealed by the fact the current president is also the head of two additional co-ops in Mafraq where he lives<sup>105</sup> – limiting the time he's able to spend in the village cluster and at the coop.

## **V) Impact on quality of life:**

### 1) Impact on social networks

#### **Facilitating social networking is a vital component of the coop**

Overall, most respondents recognized that this aspect was a very valuable means for benefiting the community, with three centrally-involved respondents going as far to say these connections are the most beneficial component of the coop.<sup>106</sup> Specific benefits from connections were cited by Aesha Odeh Al-Masaed as being encouraged to attend university, and by Hussein Khamees as additional buyers for his sheep. Social connections could be roughly classified by their origins in either 1) VIP visits or 2) training, workshops, and relationships with outside agencies. The social benefits from the former include the demonstration of government commitment to the area and the latter being the establishment of beneficial relationships and the transfer of experience to the community. Better-off people were more likely to cite status-associated benefits from social networks,<sup>107</sup> where others cited more tangible effects. In a specific example, Khittam Al-Masaed cited social networks as hopefully being a way out of her unemployment.<sup>108</sup> The conversation on organizations also highlighted a point where BRDC employees described

---

<sup>104</sup> Interviews with Al-Masaed, Amal; Abu-Amoud.

<sup>105</sup> Interview with Al-Udamat, Abdullah (Abu Jihad). 18 Apr. 2006.

<sup>106</sup> Interviews with Al-Meshan, Odeh; Al-Masaed, Amal; Abu-Amoud.

<sup>107</sup> Interviews with Na'emy; Al-Meshan, Odeh.

<sup>108</sup> Interview with Al-Masaed, Khittam.

the coop as an intermediary between the community and outside stakeholders, facilitating financial support for the community and research.<sup>109</sup>

This very positive impact should be balanced by the account from one former member who did not benefit from networks and a non-member who heard about meetings and trainings but never attended.<sup>110</sup> Further consultation with more marginalized groups would be necessary to determine how best to extend the benefits of social networks to these groups who make up the majority of the village cluster.

## 2) Impact on having voice respected

### **Overall benefit in the degree members' voices are respected**

The majority of interviewees responded that the coop has increased the means for them to have a voice in the future of the community. Cooperative elections were cited as a place where the voices of members mattered, and in regard to suggestions (presumably made in the yearly assembly or in the context of committees) most respondents indicated that theirs are respected.

While sampling and interview dynamics may have contributed to this positive response, these answers show positive signs, especially given the fact that part of poverty is "an inability to influence decisions that affect livelihoods."<sup>111</sup> The two respondents who felt less included or respected come from lower socioeconomic strata, so this dynamic has not been eliminated completely, though the fact that some of the most positive comments came from people in that same strata indicates that progress has been made from what the JDHR has described as the general trend.

---

<sup>109</sup> Interviews with Al-Meshan, Odeh; Abu-Amoud.

<sup>110</sup> Interviews with Felah; and a resident of Rawdat Al-Amir Ali.

<sup>111</sup> JDHR p 50.

A particularly positive sign was that all four women respondents indicated that their voices were respected by the cooperative. Some-time volunteer Khittam Al-Masaed noted, "I have a voice and can tell the coop about my suggestions – and I have the ability to make a lot of suggestions." These individual cases are complemented by former secretary Amal Al-Masaed's description of the general cooperative environment regarding women's perspectives: "My economic change encouraged other ladies to participate in the co-op, because they feel the co-op respects women's needs and objectives."

### **Internal politics pose a challenge**

While elections play a vital role in empowering members, their dynamics – and those of committees – can lead to complications. One member mentioned recent problems with elections (likely alluding to events surrounding the recall election), stating that cooperative needs to get past this period and focus on the future.<sup>112</sup> Another commented that mixed feelings arise for him as a committee member because he cannot provide help to all those who now ask of him.<sup>113</sup> Further challenges in leadership transition were apparent in Abu Musab's response; despite the fact that he was cooperative president for 10 months – and an effective one, according to my colleague – he asserts that the cooperative doesn't need his input and does not respect any suggestions. Clearly, work remains to be done in clarifying common goals and working cooperatively.

### 3) Impact of training and workshops

#### **The value of training and education is widely affirmed**

Even two who had not benefited from training and education insisted that these aspects were more important than direct jobs, as each person can then start on their own project. They added, however, that those trained should benefit the community with their

---

<sup>112</sup> Interview with Al-Masaed, Amal.

<sup>113</sup> Interview with Al-Meshan, Odeh.

skills, not take them off elsewhere.<sup>114</sup> These responses imply that trainings should be designed as much as possible with a high degree of local application.

### **Predominant form of training varies for core and peripheral stakeholders**

While some of those involved in the core operations of the cooperative have benefited from vocational training like honey production, overall they seem more likely to have benefited from professional training in areas such as management, finances, and communication. To the extent that more peripheral cooperative members benefit from training, responses indicate that these benefits are likely to center on the manual skills for project components such as beit sha'ar making and livestock skills. While the data is less clear about the impact of training on non-members (likely because non-members are vastly less likely to benefit), it seems likely that these benefits would be concentrated in areas like use of grey water and healthcare – not necessarily related to project activities.<sup>115</sup>

## **4.2 Commentary on findings:**

### **Many factors allude to the fact that the coop is still working on internal issues**

Abu Musab expressed mixed feelings about the cooperative, and while he was positive about the cooperative projects themselves, he was less confident in its abilities to accept input. Two respondents also expressed concerns about the electoral process, with one alluding to recent tensions<sup>116</sup> and a former administration committee member even suggesting that the problems were profound enough to warrant moving to an appointed rather than elected committee.<sup>117</sup>

---

<sup>114</sup> Interviews with Felah; Khamees.

<sup>115</sup> Interviews with Abu-Amoud; Al-Masaed, Amal.

<sup>116</sup> Interview with Al-Masaed, Amal.

<sup>117</sup> Interview with Al-Hejji.

Internal challenges were detailed by BRDC supervisor Ismaiel Abu-Amoud, who stated that the previous twelve months had seen three turnovers of the Administration Committee, two through recalls and one through the scheduled yearly election.<sup>118</sup> He notes further that most of the committee's time is spent on small problems, many with unspoken roots in tribal competition, and that often a new Administration Committee will take issue with work that the previous committee and the BRDC had done together.<sup>119</sup>

While concerns about cooperative governance clearly have grounding in existing challenges and dynamics, issues of governance often take on a larger role in discourse about the cooperative than do other notable benefits. This phenomenon was demonstrated in a two instances when we as interviewers knew of ways that interviewees benefited, but instead of volunteering the information, the respondents answered questions that inquired into types of benefit by raising concerns about the Administration Committee.<sup>120</sup>

### **Limited human resources make it difficult to truly incorporate all community voices**

Given the experience of one former member who felt excluded from the decision-making process, it seems that more human resources would be required to make the project truly responsive to the concerns and input of all members of the community.<sup>121</sup>

Localizing the development effort via cooperatives will not benefit the poor and marginalized if it does not delegate human resources to enable their participation and evade "benefit capture" by elites.

---

<sup>118</sup> Conversation with Abu-Amoud, 26 Apr. 2006. Abu-Amoud is the Director of Local Community Development Division with the BRDC and Anaqeed is one of the projects his division supports.

<sup>119</sup> Interview with Abu-Amoud.

<sup>120</sup> Interviews with Na'emy; Al-Masaed, Ikhlaif.

<sup>121</sup> As noted above, clarification about the constraints and official processes of the cooperative could play an important role. Efforts in this direction would likely benefit from using a participatory or popular education model like the models pioneered by Paulo Friere; Brandenburg's research suggests that the "banking" model of education critiqued by Freire would be particularly unuseful in the context of development interactions in Jordan.

It seems that in the specific case of Anaqeed Al-Khair, the dynamic of "benefit capture" is not particularly prevalent. Rather, given limited resources, training is focused on the Administration Committee and central players in pursuit of efficient cooperative functioning. This research found less evidence of administrators being disinterested in local people than Brandenburg describes, but hierarchy still exists where some on periphery feel alienated from those in official positions.

### **Potential exists for peripheral members to become centrally involved**

The case of temporary women workers becoming members illustrates that peripheral engagement can be a path to full engagement. Encouraging temporary workers to become members is a great step (starting with people who know the cooperative), and could be expanded in this and future projects with benefit to the range of engaged parties by periodic workshops to listen to concerns and ideas of people involved impermanently

## **5. Conclusion:**

### **5.1 Evaluation of Hypothesis:**

Following the report on research variables, revisiting the hypothesis can help contextualize the findings. The interviews suggest that the category of core beneficiaries is broader than the founding members, also including employees and elected committee members. While those in "core" categories have experienced significant variation in the extent of personal impact, those who have benefited most tend to be from the socio-economic levels from "coping poor" to high moderate, with benefits to the former centering around employment and the latter more likely to be connected to managerial training and networking.

My initial prediction of "scattered but notable improvements in income flows for peripheral community members" seems a bit overstated. Although the kinds of impacts

experienced by peripheral beneficiaries has been shown to be much broader than income flows, the overall impact of benefits is less than I had imagined. The findings suggest the inference that peripheral community members benefit – in order of decreasing impact – from seasonal work, increased jobs skills and vocational training, healthcare trainings, having their voice respected, buying healthy sheep, strengthening social connections, indirect trickle-down income, and buying cucumbers. Some in this group noted expectations for cooperative expansion and the positive impact of VIPs demonstrating concern for the area, indicating their hope for future benefits. Overall, impacts to peripheral members seem to occur in roughly inverse proportion to the amount they benefit, and their impact seems significantly limited.

Within the category of peripheral community members, I would say there is by all indications a significant population of non-beneficiaries in the region which have been under-represented in my sample. While probably comprising a majority of the population, the lives of these people remain overwhelming uninfluenced by the cooperative; the only notable benefit being psychologically via potentially seeing the cooperative as a positive initiative for the community.

The speculation from my hypothesis of an "appreciable decrease in societal vulnerability to shocks and trends" now seems ambitious, as the support and new livelihood strategies introduced by the cooperative are making a difference to only a handful of people. However, this variable shows significant capacity to become stronger as these new strategies are being demonstrated – an irreplaceable first step toward the goal of larger utilization – and a number of people express that Anaqeed Al-Khair increases their hopes for the future. Such hopes often allude either explicitly or implicitly to the cooperative's physical and administrative infrastructure, as well as its demonstrated

capacity for running projects and facilitating linkages including training and connections to outside individuals and agencies.

## **5.2 Implications:**

Before entering into analysis of implications, we must recognize the connections of current challenges to larger societal trends. Noting that Jordan's history as a semi-rentier state has helped form many Jordanians' expectations about the state's large role in provision; that the long tendency within Jordan – from the highest levels on down – for decision-making to be based on influence rather than transparent entitlements has supported the prevalence of tribal politics; and that the often government-driven process of sedentarization has led Jordanians to require formal employment helps clarify the complexity surrounding the origins of today's challenges. As the Jordanian government has played a large role in bringing about the current situation, blaming the poor for the incidence of socio-economic problems is both inaccurate and inappropriate. Additionally, the government's efforts to combat these issues must be seen not as generosity, but as part of its duty as a state and causal actor.

With limited resources, stakeholders in the cooperative often face the twin priorities of (1) strengthening financial performance and operational efficiency and (2) expanding the socio-economic impact of the cooperative. At this point in the cooperative's growth, the latter is an important factor but the majority of time and logistical energy seems to be spent on the former. As the cooperative becomes stronger internally, calls from peripheral community members for increased benefit must be addressed. The process of making cooperative decisions must thus take into account not only the profit line, but also social objectives. So the cooperative might decide – particularly in light of the demonstrated benefits to livestock-owners, temporary workers, and the increased empowerment and



inclusion of women in the cooperative – that the wool-making project should continue despite currently unimpressive profits. It could be subsidized, balanced, by the livestock operations which have resulted in greater profits but less noted social benefits.

The successes of sun-dried tomatoes and beekeeping programs deserve to be explored in-depth. Differing from the individual success stories present in much development literature, these projects reflect the expanding of benefits throughout the local community. The sun-dried tomato and beekeeping initiatives serve not only as affirmation that some things are going right, but also offer lessons for future projects.

To this point those people within the village cluster who are poor and those who are non-members (groups with considerable overlap) share characteristics such as being less likely to have benefited from the cooperative, particularly in the areas of social capacity-building. Accordingly, important future steps include the extension of trainings and consultations to empower the neediest members of the community to participate in and benefit from the cooperative's growing success.

Thus far, the parties involved have shown admirable commitment to the process of capacity-building. One demonstration of this fact is the Badia Center's insistence that – despite the challenges involved – the Administrative Committee must be elected by members and not appointed by the BRDC. A long-term plan for continuing the process and expansion of capacity-building would be quite beneficial; the reliance on a local elite for managing the cooperative is inadequate for fully meeting its expressed socioeconomic objectives.

One cause for concern is raised by the frequency with which respondents mentioned how important it is that the cooperative expand and do a big project. From the Jordanian government's perspective, *Anaqeed Al-Khair* is a big project, coming as a component of

the major RCCDP initiative and costing nearly half a million JDs.<sup>122</sup> The fact that many community members hold the opinion that ‘this project is good but needs a big increase in scale’ makes clear the necessity of speaking frankly about what development can and cannot do. Projects like Anaqeed Al-Khair do not seem capable of making a sizable impact on the extensive number of people without steady work. Talking extravagantly about what projects will do sets them up to be seen as failures when in the end they can't make an impact big enough to substantially benefit everyone. The cost of such failure may make it even more difficult to solicit community engagement in the future. Building on earlier comments, it may be more accurate to call Anaqeed Al-Khair a 'pilot project' that begins the process of development than to imply that the cooperative is in itself ‘development.’ For both ethical and practical reasons, we must call things by their right name.

Final analysis builds on the recognition that the project lacks capacity to make a significant impact on the quantity of people without work. Anaqeed Al-Khair's provision of work to community members has been valuable, makes a significant impact on the lives of beneficiaries, and has real potential for expansion (particularly through expansion into further productive assets) that deserves to be explored. However, we must confess that Anaqeed Al-Khair will not quantitatively eliminate the problem of unemployment. Rather – in striving to live up to expressed aspirations of providing poverty alleviation services to all in need – the most promising approach is to make unemployment less problematic qualitatively. The cooperative has begun activities toward this end, selling produce to community members at reasonable prices, buying goat hair and manure from throughout the cluster, and demonstrating how an increasing number of activities can support

---

<sup>122</sup> JHDR, 93.

livelihoods. In expanding the range of strong and viable livelihood strategies, Anaqeed Al-Khair can fulfill its intended role as a pilot project – a testing ground and facilitator of livelihood alternatives. As it continues, the cooperative must settle on solutions that pursue not only internal financial success, but also strive for processes that empower those throughout the community, expand the core of beneficiaries, and increase the impact for those on the periphery.

### **5.3 Lessons Learned:**

1. Cooperative projects are valuable for their impact on participants and demonstration of new viable livelihood strategies. However, the benefits have not spread appreciably to the community at large or impacted the ways of life for a significant percentage of the community.

2. Seasonal and temporary work has provided notable benefits to peripheral community members, but these benefits are unlikely to increase in scope without strategic planning with inclusion of this specific goal.

2. Although the cooperative is still in beginning stages, it has made progress toward reducing vulnerability through component demonstrations and strengthening residents' connections to formal institutions.

3. Sun-dried tomatoes and beekeeping are model projects, and the way seasonal women workers in the former have extended project benefits and supported broader engagement reveals that peripheral members can become centrally involved. Its success despite challenging circumstances demands further investigation for potential wider application.

4. A tension exists between the cooperative's official benefit-members policy on one hand and the combination of the poverty-alleviation focus of the RCCDP and local calls for prioritizing benefits to the poor on the other. Along with high community expectations for future cooperative expansion wider community consultations have potential to promote fuller engagement and recognition of constraints.

5. Limitations on capacity to combat unemployment quantitatively suggest that further attention deserves to be given to qualitative approaches.

### **Works Cited:**

Abu-Amoud, Ismaiel, et al. The North Cooperatives Community Based Project:

Anakeed Al Khair & Dairy Project. Badia Research and Development  
Center. Safawi: BRDC, 2006.

Abu-Amoud, Ismaiel. Personal interview. 20 Apr. 2006.

Al-Dahdal, Khalaf. Personal interview. 19 Apr. 2006.

Al-Hejji, Jameelah. Personal interview. 19 Apr. 2006.

Al-Masaed, Aesha Odeh. Personal interview. 17 Apr. 2006.

Al-Masaed, Amal. Personal interview. 19 Apr. 2006.

Al-Masaed, Khittam. Personal interview. 19 Apr. 2006.

Al-Masaed, Ikhlaf. Personal interview. 19 Apr. 2006.

Al-Meshan, Ali. Personal interview. 17 Apr. 2006.

Al-Meshan, Odeh. Personal interview. 15 Apr. 2006.

Al-Udamat, Abdullah (Abu Jihad). Personal interview. 18 Apr. 2006.

Brandenburg, Cynthia. Development Anthropology: a Primary Survey, Summer  
1993 - Part I. Jordan Badia Research and Development Project. Safawi:  
JBRDP, 1993.

Brandenburg, Cynthia. Health and Education Survey - Summer 1994, Preliminary  
Findings. Jordan Badia Research and Development Project. Safawi: JBRDP,  
1995.

"Business and Implementation Plan for Northern Badia Integrated Livelihood  
Farm." BRDC: 2002.

Felah, Ateeah. Personal interview. 20 Apr. 2006.

Guijt, Irene; Arevalo, Mae; and Saladores, Kiko. "Participatory Monitoring and

- Evaluation: Tracking Change Together." PLA Notes (1998), Issue 31, pp 28-36, IIED London.
- Hawamdeh, Issaaf. "Bedu Community Participation in Creating Sustainable Futures: a Case Study of A'naqeed Al-Khair Sustainable Development Project, North-Eastern Badiyah, Jordan." Diss. York Univ., Toronto, Ontario, 2003.
- "Internal Law for the Anaqeed Al-Khair Corporation Cooperative for the Sons of the Badia." 2004. Unpublished: Available on site.
- Jordan River Foundation. "CEP [Community Empowerment Programme] in Badia Governate." JRF, 2005.
- Kassab, Eyadah (Abu Muattez). Personal interview. 18 Apr. 2006.
- Khamees, Hussein. Personal interview. 20 Apr. 2006.
- "Membership List, Anaqeed Al-Khair Cooperative." Chart. 2006. Unpublished: Available on site.
- Na'emy, Ahmad (Abu Musab). Personal interview. 19 Apr. 2006.
- Nimier, Faleh (Abu Ibrahim). Personal interview. 17 Apr. 2006.
- Nimier, Muhammad Khalaf (Abu Khalaf). Personal interview. 17 Apr. 2006.
- Rowe, Alan G. Bedouin Livestock Management and Socio-Economics in the JBRDP Area. Jordan Badia Research and Development Project. Safawi: JBRDP, 1998.
- Russell, Bernard H. *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative & Quantitative Approaches*. New York: Alta Mira Press. Ch 12.
- Sudi, Salaamah. Personal interview. 19 Apr. 2006.
- Sustainable Development Strategies: A Resource Book. Organization for Economic

Co-operation and Development, Paris and United Nations Development Programme, New York. 2002.

Al-Tabini, Raed. Paper to the Desert Project. Jordan Badia Research and Development Center. Safawi: BRDC, 2002.

Yoder, Richard A.; Redekop, Calvin W.; and Vernon E. Jantzi. Development to a Different Drummer: Anabaptist/Mennonite Experiences and Perspectives. Good Books: Intercourse, PA, 2004.

[Name withheld.] Personal interview. 19 Apr. 2006.

## Appendix I – Original Survey

### دراسة الاثر الاقتصادي لمشروع عنقيد الخير Independent Study Project Interview Questions

Name:	الاسم:
Age:	العمر:
Educational Level:	المستوى التعليمي:
Marital status:	الحالة الاجتماعية:
Number of your family:	عدد افراد الاسرة:
Current job:	المهنة الحالية:

#### Part One:

1: How did your family make money before the coop?  
كيف توفر الدخل لاسرتك؟

2: What has changed? (New sources?)  
ما الاشياء التي تغيرت من الناحية الاقتصادية بعد انشاء الجمعية و المشروع؟

3: How have the ways of making money changed in other families?  
كيف غيرت انماط الاقتصادية في العائلات الاخرى من الناحية الاقتصادية؟

4: Has the coop influenced those changes?  
هل ساهمت الجمعية في تغيير تلك الانماط الاقتصادية؟

#### Part Two:

5: Are there people who aren't benefiting who should be?  
هل تعتقد ان الاشخاص الذين استفدوا من المشروع هم الاشخاص المستهدفين؟

6: Who's the poorest family in the community? Why?  
باعتقادك من هم الاشخاص المستهدفين (الفقراء)؟ ولماذا؟

7: Some people talk about *fuqara*, *masturin*, and *maysurin* – Which is your family?

8-10: Do the *fuqara* benefit from the coop? The *masturin*? The *maysurin*?  
هل تعتقد ان العائلات الفقيرة استفادت من المشروع؟

#### Part Three:

11: Are people in your family members of the coop? When did they join?  
هل افراد اسرتك من اعضاء الجمعية؟ و متى انتسبو للجمعية؟

12: Has the coop benefited members? How?  
هل تعتقد ان اعضاء الجمعية استفادوا من المشروع؟ و كيف؟

13: Has the coop benefited non-members? How?  
هل تعتقد ان اشخاص غير الاعضاء في الجمعية استفادوا من المشروع؟ و كيف؟

14: When would be a worse time to be without a job, now or before the coop?  
Why?  
ما هو باعتقادك اسوأ الظروف التي مررت بها(قبل الوظيفة) (الوقت الحالي) (قبل انشاء المشروع)؟ و لماذا؟

15: Has your family been able to send children to school?  
هل هناك امكانية لارسال الاطفال الى المدرسة في بلدتكم؟

16: For your family, how do you think life in the next ten years will compare to now?  
Why?  
ما هي توقعاتك بالنسبة للوضع الاقتصادي للعائلة في السنوات المقبلة بالمقارنة مع الوضع الحالي؟ و لماذا؟

17: Do you think the coop can help you maintain or improve your life in the next ten years?  
هل تعتقد ان الجمعية قادرة و من خلال المشروع ان تحسن من المستوى الاقتصادي لسكان المنطقة في السنوات المقبلة؟

#### Part Four:

18: Have other projects helped you make ends meet?  
هل حققت المشاريع الاخرى في المنطقة احتياجات المجتمع برأيك؟

19: Has the coop helped you meet new people and organizations?  
هل تعتقد ان الجمعية ساهمت في تعرفك على اشخاص و منظمات جديدة؟

20: Has the coop helped you have a voice in the future of the community?  
هل تستطيع ان توصل صوتك و اقتراحاتك المستقبلية للجمعية؟

21: Has the coop changed how much you are respected?  
هل تحترم الجمعية اقتراحاتك و الاراء التي تبديها؟

22- Has the project provided you with new skill, training, etc? How?  
هل تعتقد انك من خلال المشروع اكتسبت مهارات جديدة؟ و كيف؟



## **Appendix II - Selections from BRDC Report on Anaheed Al-Khair**

### **The North Cooperatives Community Based Project Anaheed Al Khair & Dairy Project**

**Prepared by;  
Cooperative Project Component Team  
April, 2006**

#### **Background:**

At the end of 1998 the Jordan Badia Research and Development Programme (JBRDP), which later became known as the Badia Research and Development Center (BRDC), changed from a research focus to a policy of research implementation. Based on its early experience as a research agency working in the Badia, the BRDC prioritized community based projects. Given the bureaucratic process that had prevented the adoption of research findings, the distrust in research that is prevalent in many government institutions, and the aversion of local communities to further research topics – the need for pilot projects became clear.

In the absence of other alternatives, BRDC chose to shift to demonstration projects, which are believed to be the best solution for gaining the attention and the trust of communities and government institutions. Funding appeared to be the biggest obstacle for the BRDC's new methodology.

#### **A New Approach for Community Development:**

The BRDC recognizes that desertification and land degradation are largely caused by poor land management. In the interest of reaching and mobilizing people who work on land, there is growing recognition of the importance of grassroots groups and local communities. Furthermore, experience in the region has shown the BRDC that the bottom-up approach to conservation is appropriate for the people of the Badia. In contrast to the centralized model prevalent in the past which brought a plan to the people, this approach seeks to work with the community from the beginning.

#### **Anaheed Al Khair Project**

##### **Contact Details:**

Address: Al-Mafraq Governorate – Rawdat Al-Amir Ali Bin Al-Hussein Town, Northern Badia.

Tele Fax: 00962 2 6276290

##### **Site:**

The project is located at the Anaheed Al-Khair Multi-Purpose Cooperative in Dayr Al-Kahf Sub-district - Mafraq Governorate. The farm area is 42 dunums (4.2 ha).

Established: 7 August 2002

### Project History:

The Anaqeed Al-Khair project targeted 14 villages for development; these villages were assimilated into one cluster called the Northern Badia Villages Cluster. The Villages were grouped into 4 sub-clusters according to their geographical distribution. The cluster holds a population of 7,829 inhabitants with a total of 1,259 households. Also the livestock industry is of the main income sources for these communities since the total number of the livestock is 38735 head (Table1).

The population of the cluster is a youthful one with 55% of the population below twenty years of age, with a gender ratio of 49% female to 51% male. The work force is considered to be between the ages of fifteen to sixty – five years, and 80% are employed in the public sector, showing a high dependency on governmental support. In contrast, the private sector provides only 11% of work opportunities in the Badia, reflecting the low levels of investment in the area. The unemployment rate is calculated to be 40% and attributed to the lack of job opportunities and vocational training. The total monthly income is 189JDs compared to 337JD's in all rural areas and 401JD's throughout Jordan, thus reflecting a high poverty rate (Safawi BRDP Center statistics).

The Bedouin families of the northern Badia cluster share a common perspective on their way of life and cultural identity with the rest of the Bedouin in Jordan. They closely identify themselves with the Badia with respect to their environment, the camel as their traditional means of transportation, the *beit sha'ar* (Bedouin tent) as their dwelling, and individually as the sons of the Badia. The identification is not only important as an expression of self-identity but it is extended to express the individuality of their traditional lifestyle as nomads, even though it is shifting to a semi-nomadic and fully settled pastoral way of life (Abu-Jaber; Garaibeh; Hill,1987).

Table 1: Northern Badia Cluster villages

Number	Village	Families	Populations	Sheep	Goats
1	Khishaa	154	1081	469	128
2	Um AlQutayn	386	2389	1308	1010
3	AlMazola	19	129	686	30
4	AlMkaiftah	286	1966	22888	391
5	Manshiatkino	19	121	113	73
6	Rawdat Al-Amir Ali	120	533	3145	459
7	Meiassa	30	196	2358	413
8	Al-Thalaj	19	69	871	74
9	UmHussien	23	173	4580	2221
10	Gassim	78	433	4139	574
11	Al-Refiat	104	604	2704	1101
12	Ghadiernaqa	6	17	*	*
13	Arainba	10	69	*	*
14	Rifaiatshamalia	27	112	*	*
Total		1259	7829	32261	6474

BRDC, 2002

As a community-based initiative, Anaqeed Al-Khair cooperative brings an insider's perspective, knowledge, and comprehension to inform the decision-making of development and planning. The engagement of the local cooperative as a key stakeholder has been crucial in empowering the local community, researching areas of community development, discussing narratives of future aspirations, and defining the direction and shape of a sustainable social transformation.

The nature of collaboration between the local community and development planners reflects concern for the impact that development initiatives have on reshaping the socio-cultural, economic, and environmental future of the Bedouin community. The collaboration also provides insight for the cooperative to look for solutions which would mitigate the negative perceptions and attitudes of the community towards development efforts by 1) generating income, 2) sharing information and responsibilities, and 3) engaging community members in collective action.

Furthermore, collaboration between the community and development planners reflects the willingness of the government's official vision to incorporate multiple participants in the development design process and to support new forms of organizational structures (i.e. local cooperatives, NGOs, and research centers) in its new policies towards sustainable development programs. The project also reflects the capability of these organizations to employ effective development designers and implementers who can learn more and adapt effectively throughout the process as they collaborate together. Finally, such collaboration reflects the capacity and competence of each partner, particularly local community members, to play a future role in initiating, engaging, and adapting local ideas in the context of a design process.

The first phase of the project implementation required the initiation of a local cooperative – thus the Anaqeed Al-Khair Cooperative was established in July 2002. One of the project goals is to represent the local community inhabitants within the domain of the villages cluster, developing a community-based initiative that will assume the role of the principal stakeholder in the design and implementation process of the project.

In a record time of merely two weeks the cooperative was formed with sixteen leading members of the community: school teachers, sheikhs, retired volunteers, and many of the young educated generation. All are residents of the targeted village sub-clusters and serve important roles; as they are given responsibilities to recruit the local community to enter the process of a cooperative, these key persons are likely to be the most effective ones in helping the BRDC both to transmit the project proposal to the community members and to incorporate them in the design of the project.

### **Members' profile**

- **Staff:** The cooperative is run by seven staff who are all members of the cooperative:

Position	Sex	Contact name	Education
Accountant	F	Aesha El-Masaed	High School
Secretary	F	Amal El-Masaed	BA in Geography
Truck driver	M	Nazzal El-Masaed	Elementary
Guard	M	Ali El-Masaed	Elementary
Cleaner	F	Eshtayyah El-Masaed	Elementary
Shepherd	M	Amer El-Marei	Elementary
Worker	M	Khlaif El-Masaed	Elementary

Every year, the General Assembly of the cooperative meets to hold elections and discuss the budget. Two main committees elected there control and supervise the cooperative:

**1. Administration Committee (Table 2):**

Administration Committee consists of seven elected members. Their role is to manage the project, work with supporting agencies, and coordinate the activities of the cooperative.

**2. Monitoring Committee (Table 3):**

Monitoring Committee consists of three elected members. Their role is to monitor the decisions of administration committee in light of the criteria of the cooperative.

**Sheep selection and management:**

This project was based on selecting the best sheep in the Badia region. Best sheep were defined as those with high milk productivity and breeding abilities. Indicators in the Badia, based on BRDC research, illustrate that good management with typical sheep is a profitable project. In order to achieve greater twinning, higher flock lambing percentages, and improved flock health, the cooperative has utilized improved sheep feeding, a veterinary regime, selection and culling, and synchronization of ewe pregnancies. The 150 sheep purchased in May 2004 had increased to 250 by November 2005.

**Honey production:**

Since 2003, honey, produced from bees foraging on local desert plants, has been available for sale to the community or marketed in Amman. In general, honey brings 10 JD per kilo. However, the quality of the Badia honey is superior due to the medicinal plants that the bees pollinate.

Beehives are bought from the local market at a cost of 200 JD with all the related equipment. Supervision and training are maintained at the Anaqeed location. Labor cost is paid to families at 10% of net income.

**Sun-dried tomatoes:**

In the past year and a half, the cooperative has promoted organic production of a tomato variety with greater dry-matter content. A greater profit from dried tomatoes has convinced

two local farmers to adopt production. The next steps include certification of organic production, better packaging and possible implementation of a brand name.

**Forage production:**

In 2003 the Cooperative attempted to produce alfalfa but was not successful due to inadequate amounts of water for irrigation. The Cooperative then tried barley, but felt this too was an unsustainable practice.

**Improved sheep wool and goat hair processing:**

The cooperative tried to spin the wool locally instead of selling raw material to Turkey and, in turn, buying spun wool and goat hair. The hand spinning by local women proved to be too time consuming. The next steps include importation of a semi-mechanical spinning machine from Australia to improve efficiency and decrease labor costs.

**Wool manufacturing:**

**Goat hair processing: *Beit sha'ar* production (Bedouin tent)**

Other than one semi-factory in Mafraq, there is no competition in the creation of *beit sha'ar* in Jordan. The cost of a complete medium-sized *beit sha'ar* is about 1187 JD.

Despite the lack of competition in Jordan, a high level of competition exists in Syria. Syria supplies the Jordanian market with parts of *beit sha'ar*, generally used in private homes.

The existing factory in Mafraq tends to export its products to the Gulf countries, Israel and sometimes to the United States. The co-op now facing difficulties in marketing this kind of product, so there were no main activities conducted during the year 2005.

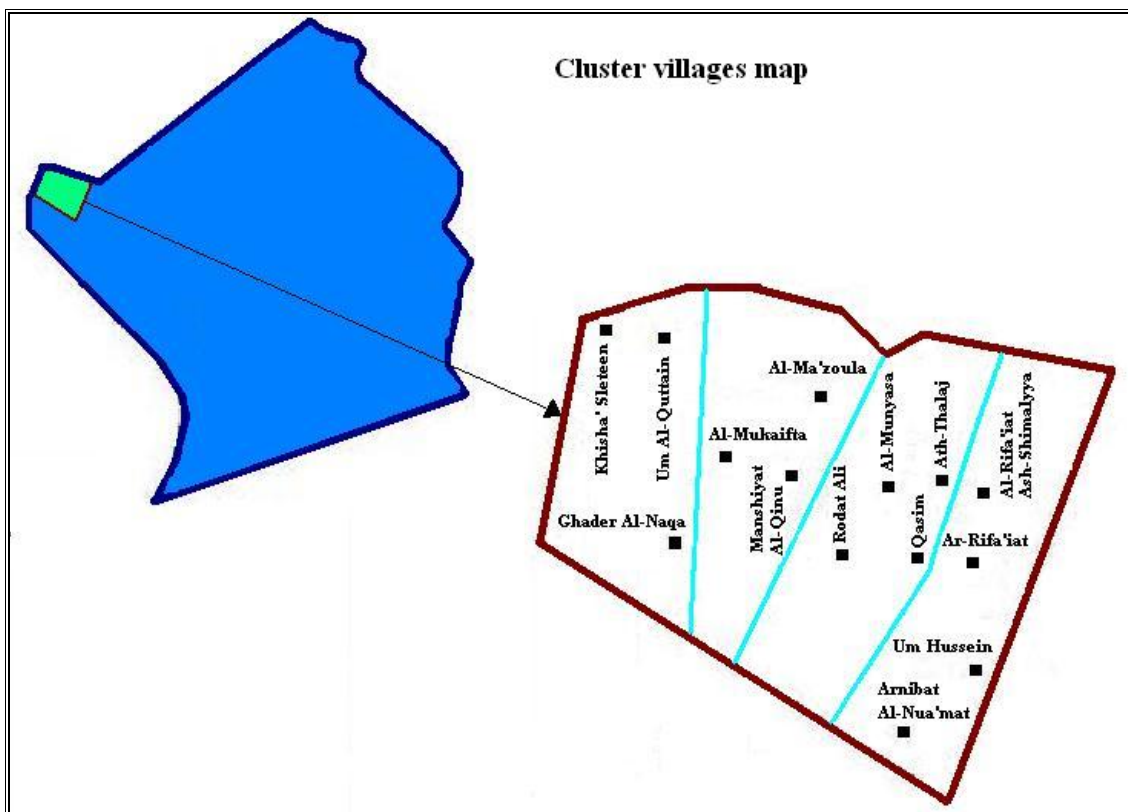
**Wool spinning project:**

It was suggested that women are the target group to work with the cooperative to produce wool lines to make carpets and other products. During the period of the project the co-op produced about 300 kg of these lines, and the Jordan River Foundation (JRF) was the main intermediary and has helped the co-op to market the production.

**Lessons learned:**

1. Experience has shown that the larger community is monitoring the project activities and then adopting the ideas by watching the experiences of the cooperative.
2. The cooperative members and the community can purchase higher quality lambs from the cooperative as breeding stock. The next steps include greater focus on diversification of lamb and goat dairy products in a newly constructed dairy processing facility.
3. Experiences to date suggest that an expansion of activities using the same community-driven methodology is possible, with great potential for replication in other areas of the Badia. The cooperative has decided to concentrate on sheep, honey and sun dried tomatoes because of their positive income generation and potential for improvements in marketing.
4. The next step is to undertake a more formal economic analysis of the results so that a statistically valid assessment can monitor economic feasibility over the coming years.

### Appendix III: Map of Northern Badia Villages Cluster



Map courtesy of BRDC Safawi Center. On the left, blue indicates the JBRDP's original mandate area – since expanded – in the northeast of Jordan, and the small green section indicates the area of the Northern Badia Villages Cluster. The close-up shows the location of cluster villages, along with their sub-division into four groupings.

### Appendix III: Survey Respondants

<u>Interviewee</u>	<u>City:</u>	<u>Joined Co-op:</u>	<u>Age:</u>	<u>Gender:</u>	<u>Family:</u>	<u>Primary Benefit from Co-op:</u>	<u>Connection to Co-op:</u>
Ahmad Na'emy (Abu Musab)	Ar-Refiyyat	(#1) 2002	50	M	14	Contractor, Networking, Training	President (Former)
Amal Al-Masaed	Dayr Al-Kayf	(#3) 2002	27	F	2	Job, Experience	Project employee (Former)
Abduallah Al-Udamat (Abu Jihad)	Mafraq	(#9) 2002	55	M	8	Training, Networking	President
Odeh Al-Meshan	Rawdat	(#11) 2002	39	M	7	None	Cmte Member; BRDC
Ali Al-Meshan	Rawdat	(#12) 2002	26	M	5	Job	Project employee
Eyada Kassab (Abu Muattez)	Al-Mkaiftah	(#17) 2002	40	M	9	Training, Networking, Bees	Cmte Member
Aesha Odeh Al-Masaed	Rawdat	(#18) 2003	29	F	9	Job	Project employee
Ikhlaif Al-Masaed	Rawdat	(#42) 2003	32	M	3	Former Employee, Training	Member
Salaamah Sudi (Abu Sayyah)	Rawdat	2003	35	M	11	Beit Sha'ar Training, Temp Job	Member
[name withheld]	Rawdat	2003	40	M	5	None	Member (Former)
Muhammad Khalaf Nimir (Abu Khalaf)	Um Al-Quttayn	(#61) 2004	50	M	2	Job	Project employee
Khittam Al-Masaed	Ar-Refiyyat	(#66) 2004	26	F	9	Training, Volunteer	Cmte Member (Former)
Jameelah Al-Hejji	Gassim	(#70) 2005	38	F	8	Training, Networking	Cmte Member (Former)
Khalaf Ad-Dahdal	Um Al-Quttayn	(#99) 2005	42	M	7	Networking	Cmte Member
Faleh Nimier (Abu Ibrahim)	Um Al-Quttayn	(#103) 2006	37	M	5	Training	Member
Ateeah Felah	Rawdat	x	52	M	4	None	Non-member
Hussein Khamees	Gassim	x	48	M	10	Sheep Trade	Non-member
Ismael Abu Amoud	Um Qais	x	36	M	4	Experience	BRDC