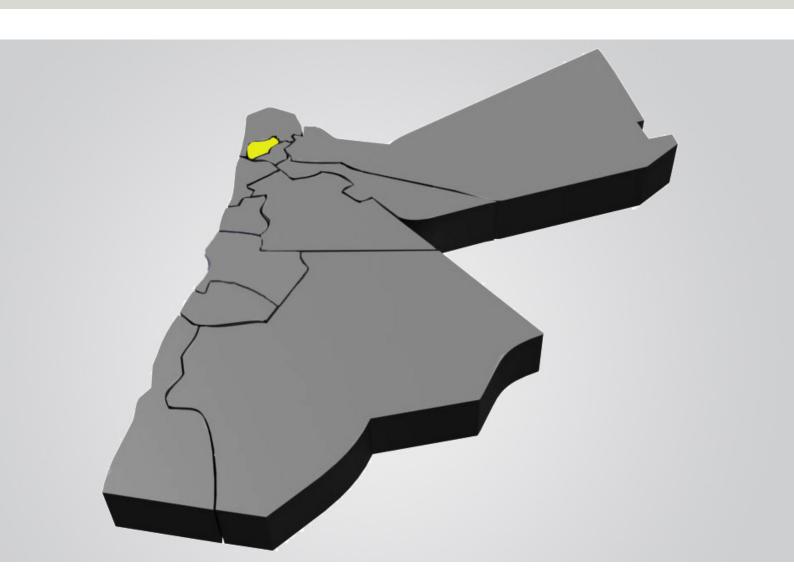








Determinants of Human Security and Hard Security in Ajloun



West Asia-North Africa Institute, April 2019





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Human Security or State-Centric Security Approaches in Ajloun

1. Introduction

Ajloun has been at the centre of the Jordanian media due to the unrest and incidents of violence that took place in Anjara, following the death of a young man and the injury of a number of public security officers.¹ The tribe to which the deceased belonged, held the security forces responsible for his death. The riot escalated into an attack on public security officers with the use of tear gas and automatic guns as well as the torching of public vehicles and part of the governor's residence.² Facts and stories about events that led to the escalation could differ, but all point to a thorny relationship between the security forces and citizens, which surfaced in the aftermath of the incident. Its dimensions pose many questions with regards to the grievances of the governorate's residents and their relationship with the security system, in addition to the human security in Ajloun (education, employment, political participation, social justice, and women's empowerment).

The West Asia-North Africa (WANA) Institute conducted field work in Ajloun from 15 August 2018 until 2 January 2019, as a part of the project "Towards More Effective Human Security Approaches in the Context of the Emerging Threat of Violent Extremism in Jordan, Lebanon, and Tunisia." The project studies the relation between the human security, state centric security, and Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) through surveying 18 governorates in these three countries. Ajloun has been chosen because it represents a solid research sample when compared to other governorates with regards to security tensions and protests. Furthermore, Ajloun is an agricultural, touristic governorate, and it is characterised with harmony amongst its population. The education level is relatively high despite the low annual income of the average family and the high rate of poverty when compared to the rest of the kingdom.³

The qualitative methodology of this study was based on two workshops, two FGDs and nine interviews with multilateral segments of society, such as government agencies, security force representatives, members of the local community, international organisations and CBOs. The research sample encompassed 81 participants, 46 of whom were females.

The viewpoints of the sample do not represent those of all citizens of Ajloun; nevertheless, they reflect the views of a sample in the governorate for reference. Moreover, these opinions offer insights on the recent security incident, as will be discussed in this summary.

¹ Amer Khatatbeh, "Ajloun: The death of a young man and injuries of 6 men, 4 of them are security men in the riots of Anjara district, "Al-Ghad Newspaper, 16 February 2019.

[%]D8%B4%D8%A7%D8%A8-%D9%88%D8%A5%D8%B5%D8%A7%D8%A8%D8%A9-6-

² See the official statement of the Public Security Directorate about the event: https://www.hala.jo/2019/02/16/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%85%D9%86-%D9%8A%D9%88%D8%B6%D8%AD-

[%]D8%AA%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B5%D9%8A%D9%84-%D9%85%D8%A7-%D8%AD%D8%B5%D9%84-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D8%B9%D8%AC%D9%84%D9%88%D9%86-%D8%B5%D9%88%D8%B1/

³ See the details of Ajloun Development Program of 2017-2019 issued by the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation.

2. HUMAN SECURITY AND STATE-CENTRIC SECURITY

Participants from Ajloun largely associated the concept of human security to food security and social justice. It is noteworthy that their definitions have also described human security as a comprehensive concept under which economic, health, food and educational security are achieved in order to guarantee stability, tranquillity, and psychological security to the individual. However, the association of food security with social justice is essential in comprehending the sense of marginalisation and injustice felt by Ajloun's citizens. They are two interrelated factors resulting from poor employment opportunities for people of the governorate. According to one participant "there is no security nor safety due to the lack of employment opportunities. Even if security exists lin its physical sensel, the value of such security vanishes due to the inability to provide a livelihood." The significance of social justice derives from the notion that people of Ajloun — as stated by participants from other governorates as well — are unable to access job opportunities that secure their desired livelihoods due to a lack of connections (wasta). It was striking that this notion in Ajloun extends to include the traditional government institutions such as the Civil Service Bureau and Security and Military Departments. Some made it clear that they require nepotism to "enrol in the army" as well as in other official bodies.⁶

Pertaining to the relation between human security and traditional security administered by the Security Forces, a female public staff member pointed out that human security is a part of the public security of individuals and communities. "The absence of human security leads to the lack of public security." This view is consistent with most of the viewpoints in Ajloun, but the local community considers SCS policies to be part of the definition of human security, rather than the other way round, because they provide security.8

2.1 CITIZENS AND SECURITY OFFICERS

This project defines the SCS policies as the security policies that have a traditional function of protecting the state and its borders in terms of the military and security aspects. These policies are divided into two parts: procedural and legislative. The procedural part has to do with security measures such as raids, arrests, use of force and arrangements inside prisons. On the other hand, the legislative part deals with laws and legislations that regulate the governing environment in order to implement procedural security policies such as the Anti-Terrorism Law and its amendments of 2014, 9 the Cybercrimes Act, 10 the authority of the administrative governor with regards to

⁴ The Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 1994 defined Human Security through seven basic pillars as follows: Economic, food, health, environmental, personal, social and political security. The essence of the definition of human security lied in freedom from need and freedom from fear. United Nations Development Program, 1994, Human Development Report 1994, p. 24-33, accessed via:

http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/255/hdr_1994_en_complete_nostats.pdf

Participant in the Focus Group, Ajloun, 18 April 2018.

⁶ Participant in the Focus Group, Ajloun, 18 April 2018.

⁷ Interview with a female employee of Ajloun Youth Directorate, Ajloun, 18 August 2018.

⁸ "Human Security and Violent Extremism" two workshops, Ajloun, 15 August 2018 - 16 August 2018.

⁹ See Law of 2006: http://www.moi.gov.jo/Pages/viewpage.aspx?pageID=157 and a copy of the amendments of 2014: https://www.scribd.com/document/221131688/%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%88%D9%86-

[%]D9%85%D8%B9%D8%AF%D9%84-%D9%84%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%88%D9%86-

[%]D9%85%D9%86%D8%B9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A5%D8%B1%D9%87%D8%A7%D8%A8-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D8%B1%D8%AF%D9%86#fullscreen&from embed

To See a copy of the amendments: http://www.lob.jo/View_LawContent.aspx?ID=865

administrative detentions,¹¹ and the military trials of civilians. This definition was adopted by and discussed in the study with the participants in Ajloun and in the other governorates.

It has been mentioned above that the findings of the study indicate a thorny relationship between the security system and citizens in Ajloun governorate. This relationship illustrates that scepticism and confrontation govern the relationship between the parties rather than trust and cooperation. The participants stated that despite the fact that this thorny security relationship has only recently surfaced following the security incident in Anjara, it is deeply rooted in the sense of dysfunction in implementing various human security programs in the area.¹² This dysfunction has resulted in a sense of disappointment in the state entities that have failed to provide health, education, and social services, and thus have failed to provide the security aspect.¹³ The participants explained that their notion of security is closely associated with these approaches.¹⁴

This relationship extends to include the feeling of rage and retaliation, which was observed amongst the participants due to some procedural security policies. This feeling fuels a desire to retaliate against the perpetrators. The reference here was specifically to security forces who used unjustified violence¹⁵ or who deal with citizens in an unjust manner, according to the points of view of the participants. For instance, the participants told a story of a security man who gripped a citizen out of his vehicle in front of his wife and children and forced him to go to the police station to find out later that the reason is an old debt of JOD20. Another participant described how he rushed to hospital to save his son who had been hit by a car. When he ran a red traffic light, a police officer fined him despite the emergency.

The legislative part of security policies is an additional aspect of this relation. The discussion primarily focused on the cybercrime law. The participants not only believed that such law is unable to stop the circulation of extremist content, but it is also criticised for introducing harsher penalties, which will ensure pushing individuals to radicalisation rather than reform. ¹⁶ One participant considered it unwise to "imprison people for seven years just for sharing images — under accusation of propagation — or because they "liked" a particular post [i.e. through Facebook website]. ¹⁷ The complexity of this aspect is increased by the urgent need to evaluate the mentoring and outreach programmes in the rehabilitation centres and to institutionalise these efforts, which are still shy in the Jordanian context. ¹⁸

¹¹ Samar Haddadin, "Inquiries about the increasing number of administrative detentions?" Al-Rai Newspaper, 12 September 2018, via the following link:

http://alrai.com/article/10451104/%D9%85%D8%AD%D9%84%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%AA/%D8%AA%D8%B3%D8%A7%

D8%A4%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%AD%D9%88%D9%84-%D8%AA%D8%B2%D8%A7%D9%8A%D8%AF-%D8%AD%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA-%D8%AA%D8%AA-%D8%AA%D8%A

¹² "Human Security and Violent Extremism" two workshops, Ajloun, 15 August 2018 - 16 August 2018, and a participant in the Focus Group, Ajloun, 18 August 2018.

¹³ Participant in the Focus Group, Ajloun, 18 April 2018.

¹⁴ Participant in the Focus Group, Ajloun, 18 April 2018.

¹⁵ Participant in the Focus Group, Ajloun, 18 April 2018.

¹⁶ Participant in the Focus Group, Ajloun, 18 April 2018.

¹⁷ Participant in the Focus Group, Ajloun, 18 April 2018.

¹⁸ Muhammad Abu Rumman and Musa Shteiwi, Sociology of Radicalisation and Terrorism in Jordan, Field and Analytical Study (Amman: Center for Strategic Studies, University of Jordan, 2018).

2.2 STATE-CENTRIC SECURITY AND RADICALISATION

Some participants were reserved with regards to the role of State-Centric Security in countering extremism in general, noting that SCS generates violence. ¹⁹ There have been mentions of harassment in prisons, ²⁰ erroneous practices during raids, in addition to, individuals within security forces who break the law and disrespect citizens. ²¹ In this context, some families reported being affected psychologically, which can lead to a desire to retaliate later. ²² A restaurant owner mentioned how members of the Preventive Security Forces came to his restaurant to arrest a group of young women. They believed the women were terrorists based on a false report, because they wore veils and were foreign Arab tourists in Ajloun. Although the matter was later resolved, the utilised method had a negative impact on tourism in Ajloun, given that Arab tourists come to Ajloun in summer to enjoy its climate. The restaurant owner added that such repulsive methods are quite repelling to tourists who would in turn abandon Ajloun as a tourist destination. He explained that this Arab family cancelled its stay in Ajloun right after the incident.

Residents acknowledged the importance of the rule of law and its implementation for all people. But they noted for example that when "security forces beat us ... we will act in a way that responds to the security violence." When the state neglects to bring actual corrupt criminals to justice or is selective in the implementation of law, radicalisation can be a response. One participant notes that certain security measures can increase radicalisation; moreover, the failure to bring corrupt people to justice makes things worse.

When asked about the optimal security approach to counter violent extremism in Jordan, participants thought that the preventive approach is more appropriate. ²⁶ In other words, the reinforcement of human security addresses and protects people from the causes of radicalisation such as unemployment and absence of social justice. This does not undermine the importance of balancing the two approaches, as some participants believed that "people respond to the punitive approach." Others, however, believed that the SCS preserves the reputation of the state and dignity of its citizens, and that heavy punishment is important and useful when utilised soundly.

3. SOCIAL JUSTICE

The argument presented above can also clarify the local priorities of human security programming as perceived by inhabitants of Ajloun. This goes in line with their perceptions on state-centric security policies. Education and employment were ranked highly by participants when asked about their priorities (49 per cent of participants mentioned education and employment, and 29% for social justice). The discussion highlighted the importance Ajloun residents attached to social justice as a basis for equality among citizens. This differences in these percentages can be explained

¹⁹ Interview with a female employee of Ajloun Youth Directorate, Ajloun, 18 August 2018.

²⁰ Participant in the Focus Group, Ajloun, 18 April 2018.

²¹ "Human Security and Violent Extremism" two workshops, Ajloun, 15 August 2018 - 16 August 2018.

²² Participant in the Focus Group, Ajloun, 18 April 2018.

²³ Participant in the Focus Group, Ajloun, 18 April 2018.

²⁴ Participant in the Focus Group, Ajloun, 18 April 2018.

²⁵ Participant in the Focus Group, Ajloun, 18 April 2018.

²⁶ Interview with retired school principal, Ajloun, 15 August 2018.

²⁷ "Human Security and Violent Extremism" two workshops, Ajloun, 15 August 2018 - 16 August 2018.

²⁸ "Human Security and Violent Extremism" two workshops, Ajloun, 15 August 2018 - 16 August 2018.

by looking at the high rates of unemployment and poverty in the governorate in parallel with the high rates of education. Therefore, priority shall be given to addressing the imbalance between education and employment as it is a direct and fundamental need, without neglecting the participants' perception that social justice is the melting pot in which these different dynamics interact.

People of Ajloun describe their governorate as "forgotten,"²⁹ and like the "Bermuda Triangle where no state services are available."³⁰ For instance, there is no sewage system in certain areas and the infrastructure like roads and the transportation network is poor. Some participants also mentioned the poor state of hospitals and the lack of efficiency in treating patients in the region.

This sense of marginalisation has been voiced through anger and resentment towards the people of the capital, as most participants imagined that all people in Amman live in luxury and wealth, without a difference in their material levels and social status. For example, one participant said that "there is no sewage system in Ajloun, although we have been paying for the sewage for 20 years. We only have cesspools. Hopefully a disaster here [in Ajloun due to the lack of sewage system] happens to Amman."³¹ The women of Ajloun also imagined women of Amman to be privileged, as they were convinced that they all hire domestic workers.³²

This sense of exclusion and social injustice is likely to negatively affect social cohesion in Jordan. The resentment towards the people of Amman was also present in other governorates because of the marginalisation of those governorates in the development plans of the state. This is seen to encourage the emergence of regional identities that would threaten the long-term belonging and loyalty to the state. One participant described this relationship by saying that "In order to be patriotic, we need to satisfy our hunger." Lack of loyalty and belonging to the collective national identity makes the individual more willing to belong to hostile groups to the state and more dependent on regional or sectarian sub-identities that undermine the national belonging to the state among citizens, making them more vulnerable to the rhetoric of radical groups.

When social justice was discussed, the issues of corruption, nepotism, favouritism and poor distribution of opportunities came up. Participants noted that opportunities are limited to a select group of people who would be promoted and land good jobs.³⁴ A female volunteer at Ajloun Youth Directorate said that nepotism will always be an option when there are no other means. This is paradoxical, because those who reject nepotism may resort to it in order to achieve justice in their viewpoints.³⁵ This leads to a habitual use and presence of nepotism in social life.

²⁹ Participant in the Focus Group, Ajloun, 18 April 2018.

³⁰ Participant in the Focus Group, Ajloun, 18 April 2018.

³¹ Participant in the Focus Group, Ajloun, 18 April 2018.

³² Participant in the Focus Group, Ajloun, 18 April 2018.

³³ Participant in the Focus Group, Ajloun, 18 April 2018.

³⁴ "Human Security and Violent Extremism" two workshops, Ajloun, 15 August 2018 - 16 August 2018.

³⁵ Interview with a member of Junaid Council, Ajloun, 16 August 2018.

4. EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

The participants saw education and employment as priorities in achieving human security, because they saw unemployment as the most critical threat to society. As mentioned above, participants rated education and employment as most important (49 per cent), followed by social justice (29 per cent), women's empowerment (12 per cent) and political participation (10 per cent).³⁶

While in 2016, unemployment in Ajloun amounted to 11.4 per cent,³⁷ the unemployment rate rose to 19.4 per cent in 2017.³⁸ As the number of graduates grows, pressure on employment opportunities increases, leading to widespread unemployment and migration of people out of the governorate. Hence, people of Ajloun feel marginalised and less fortunate. These concerns were amplified with the Syrian Refugee Crisis. The wage differences between Jordanians and Syrian refugees who have settled in the governorate, adds to people's grievances particularly that refugees receive material and in-kind assistance from international humanitarian organisations. Despite their needs, such assistance is often unavailable to Jordanians.³⁹

Nevertheless, participants stressed on education as the way for better employment opportunities. They expressed their dissatisfaction with the poor educational environment in Ajloun due to the poor curricula and methodology, and the lack of interest in inculcating moral values amongst students. They raised concerns about school violence and how it can later lead to the spread of crime or illegal activities. Furthermore, the participants discussed how poor education generates weak personalities and a sense of failure, causing a feeling of marginalisation and leading to the inability to find a job. This in turn can create a sense of resentment towards the society and its institutions.⁴⁰

Education in Ajloun is divided into two streams: academic and vocational. As is the case in the rest of the governorates, most students choose the academic stream rather than the vocational due to the prevailing social perception. This leads to the graduation of larger numbers of potential unemployed youth. According to the participants "some universities have introduced specialisations that satisfy the needs of the market" in an attempt to reduce unemployment rates amongst young people, yet they failed to provide clear examples. However, the efforts are insufficient in their opinion. Ajloun lacks investments, which affects unemployment. Participants believed that "unemployment is a radicalisation driver." Accordingly, a number of participants proposed to create jobs by attracting investors to improve the economic conditions and invest in the potentials of agriculture and tourism in particular.

Even though the participants are convinced that poverty and unemployment lead to radicalisation, it should be noted that they are not fundamental pillars of radicalisation. Radicalisation is a

http://dosweb.dos.gov.jo/DataBank/JordanInFigures/JORINFIGDetails2017.pdf

³⁶ "Human Security and Violent Extremism" two workshops, Ajloun, 15 August 2018 - 16 August 2018.

³⁷ "General Information about Ajloun Governorate", Ministry of the Interior website.

http://moi.gov.jo/Pages/viewpage.aspx?pageID=230 ³⁸ "Jordan in Figures", Department of Statistics, 2017.

³⁹ Participant in the Focus Group, Ajloun, 18 August 2018 and interview with a female volunteer at Ajloun Youth Directorate, Ajloun, 18 August 2018.

⁴⁰ "Human Security and Violent Extremism" two workshops, Ajloun, 15 August 2018 - 16 August 2018.

⁴¹ "Human Security and Violent Extremism" two workshops, Ajloun, 15 August 2018 - 16 August 2018.

⁴² Interview with a female employee of Ajloun Youth Directorate, Ajloun, 18 August 2018.

phenomenon prevalent in the middle class, which is often considered the working class. However, the sense of relative deprivation resulting from unemployment or disguised unemployment could lead to leads to radicalisation. The individual's feeling of injustice results from his deprivation of opportunities and material and moral privileges, which he believes he is eligible to receive. This leads to an increase of resentment towards the society and government. This scenario subsequently paves the way for joining armed extremist groups in order to obtain material privileges and social status and a sense of superiority, which they feel cannot be achieved otherwise in light of unemployment, marginalisation, and poverty.

5. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The participants in the research did not emphasise political participation. This is often due to a chasm in trust between the government and citizens. "Everyone sees the full reality, except for the governments that do not see the gaps in their work." ⁴³ Therefore, workshops participants connected the lack of trust of participants in the government and politicians stems from the latter's perceived disconnect from reality, corruption, and the phenomenon of inheritance of political positions limited for a certain social class. ⁴⁴ One former school principal noted that "our issue is that we fill political positions with the wrong [unqualified] people."

A number of participants believed that tribalism restricts political participation, because it may pave the way for the wrong person to access parliamentary positions through his/her wealth and social power. They noted that "neither the government nor citizens would benefit from such a person." In contrast, they noted that their presence weakens the political process and creates a gap between them and the citizens.

Furthermore, residents feared the idea of joining political parties because of the "strict policies of the state." One participant explained: "We are afraid that our children might take part in any political matter, as it is certain that they will not get a job and will be pursued." Accordingly, it is clear how participants viewed the relationship between the state-centric security and human security measures. Participants noted that political participation is important to achieve human security, at least in theory, to make the residents feel like they are involved in policy-making and priority-setting. Nevertheless, they are willing to give up on this if it assures them some economic security in case it is an either or situation. Participants related the need to choose between economic security and political participation to the SCS that may expose them to harassment and limit their opportunities because of their political choices and views. However, they should not have to choose between them, as economic security and political participation are both necessary aspects to achieve integrated human security.

A number of studies suggest that the lack of genuine political participation is a radicalisation driver, especially in light of the crisis of trust between citizens and governments. 48 Citizens seek to express

⁴³ Participant in the focus workshop, Ajloun, 2 December 2018.

⁴⁴ "Human Security and Violent Extremism" two workshops, Ajloun, 15 August 2018 - 16 August 2018.

⁴⁵ Interview with retired school principal, Ajloun, 15 August 2018.

⁴⁶ Interview with a restaurant owner, Ajloun, 18 August 2018.

⁴⁷ "Human Security and Violent Extremism" two workshops, Ajloun, 15 August 2018 - 16 August 2018.

⁴⁸ See, for example, Neven Bondokji, Kim Wilkinson, and Leen Aghabie, "Understanding Radicalisation: A Review of the Literature of Radicalisation Models and Drivers", West Asia and North Africa Institute, 2016, available via the following

their political views. But when marginalization, high rates of unemployment, and a sense of social injustice are combined, this can lead to violent extremism against the state to in search for armed forms of political expression.

6. Women's Empowerment

Women economic empowerment programmes operate in Ajloun. They provide assistance for women to create their own businesses. However, some participants believed that the issue of empowerment programmes is that they are short-term and do not access all regions. ⁴⁹ A number of organisations do not distribute financial support in a just manner and do not attempt to understand the market and its needs. This does not necessarily lead to good results. ⁵⁰ Participants therefore proposed increased support for income-generating projects, provision of loan facilities and an increased presence of organisations in Ajloun. On the other hand, despite women's empowerment programmes, businesses run by women are often home-based with no advertisement because of fear of taxation. Although there are financial facilities for women, according to one participant, 200 women are legally wanted because of overdue debts, ⁵¹ noting that this number might be inaccurate.

With regards to the social challenge, participants believed that difficult economic conditions have contributed to the women's economic participation. Men are forced to accept women's work to provide for a living. However, the challenges are greater for women's political participation. Tribalism controls the women' lives because of the culture of shame, customs, and traditions:⁵² "[as a woman] no one welcomed my nomination to Al-Junaid local Council when I was appointed," a member of the local council mentioned.⁵³

A study published by the United Nations Women highlighted the factors that lead women to radicalise. The first factor were the suffocating economic conditions. The second factor were the social and family issues faced by women, such as domestic violence and deprivation of their rights. Women's feelings of marginalisation and exclusion create a tendency towards radicalisation as a reaction or to realise greater liberty.⁵⁴

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

The participants suggested a number of recommendations, and despite their general recommendations, they focused on Ajloun's weaknesses. The two most significant recommendations of the participants were about employment and social justice as follows:

link:

http://wanainstitute.org/sites/default/files/publications/Publication_UnderstandingRadicalisation_ArabicEditionJuly2017-compressed_1.pdf Neven Bondokji and Erica Harper, "Sample Experience of Jordanian Fighters Abroad: Drawing of Roadmap", West Asia and North Africa Institute, 2017, available via the following link:
http://wanainstitute.org/sites/default/files/publications/Publication_JourneyMapping_Arabic_0.pdf

⁴⁹ "Human Security and Violent Extremism" two workshops, Ajloun, 15 August 2018 - 16 August 2018.

⁵⁰ Interview with vocational coordinator in Mercy Corps, Ajloun, 16 August 2018.

⁵¹ Participant in the Focus Group, Ajloun, 18 April 2018.

⁵² "Human Security and Violent Extremism" two workshops, Ajloun, 15 August 2018 - 16 August 2018.

⁵³ Interview with a member of Junaid Council, Ajloun, 16 August 2018.

⁵⁴ "Women and violent extremism in Jordan", United Nations Women's Commission, 2017. http://www.hayatcenter.org/uploads/2016/12/20161215114712ar.pdf

- Combating poverty and unemployment and providing employment opportunities for the youth through development projects in the governorate. The participants believed that the sectors concerned are the Ministry of Tourism, the Ministry of Environment, and the Investment Promotion Authority. These measures should be executed under the supervision of the House of Representatives. This recommendation aims at creating employment opportunities for young people by attracting investment and entrepreneurship and encouraging tourism. This will, in turn, provide job opportunities for people of the region, leading to a decrease in rates of unemployment and realising economic stability for the unemployed.
- The second recommendation made by the participants is more comprehensive and general, and encompasses the first recommendation. It aims at providing strategic plans for development in Ajloun, covering all needs, challenges and all data pertaining to the governorate. Based on these plans, the region's priorities and weaknesses should be identified to achieve stability for the individuals. This recommendation should be implemented by the Governorate Council under the supervision of the House of Representatives to ascertain the work progress and its compliance with the financial provisions.

