

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Translation of Arabic Letters and Symbols	XI
Introduction	1
Chapter One: The Conceptual Framework	9
1. The Image of the Middle East	9
1.1 Mosaic Model	9
1.2 Segmentary Model	11
2. Theoretical Approach to the Study	15
Chapter Two: The People of the ‘Sawad’ Highlands	23
1. The Historical Features of al-Kurah District	25
1.1 Prehistoric Period	25
1.2 Islamic period	27
1.3 Ottoman Era	29
2. The Twentieth Century Features	33
3. The Peasants of Bayt Idess	37
3.1 The Alliance of al-Mugdadi	44
4. The Peasants and Dispute-Settling Practices	49
Chapter Three: Tribal Identity as Practices and Representation	59
1. Generalized Practices and National Representation	59
2. Tribal Practices and Bureaucratic Shaykh	67
3. Tribalism and Democratic Institutions	71

3.1	Party politics and the Early Period (1921-1950)	71
3.2	Political Representation (from 1950)	75
Chapter Four: The Guest House as Traditional Tribal Political Institution		83
1.	The <i>madafah</i> as Village Institution	84
2.	The <i>dīwān</i> : A New Form of Guest House	92
2.1	Dīwān as Formal Political Instrument	92
2.2	Dīwān as an <i>‘ashīrā</i> Institution	97
3.	Activities in the <i>dīwān</i>	100
4.	Changing Space: The Symbol of Place in the Guest House	104
Chapter Five: The Change in the Traditional Institutions and its Impact on the Organization of Power		113
1.	The Establishment and Effect of the <i>dīwān</i>	114
2.	The Council of the <i>dīwān</i> and its Political Meaning	121
3.	Traditional <i>dīwān</i> towards Bureaucracy	127
4.	The Formal Institution and Process of Decision-Making	131
Chapter Six: Tribalism, Nationalism and Legitimacy of Power		139
1.	The Primary Perspectives of Jordanian Nationalism	139
2.	Tribalism towards Nationalism	147
3.	Particularity of the Topic of Jordanian Identity	153
4.	Jordanian Nationalism towards <i>‘Jordan First’</i>	158

Conclusion	165
Glossary	171
Appendix	179
1. Maps	181
1.1 The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan	181
1.2 <i>Baldas</i> of al-Kurah district	182
2. Photos	183
3. Pedigree of `ashîrâ al-Mugdadi (Bayt Idess, from 1943)	189
4. Documents concerning the organization of <i>dîwân</i> of the `ashîrâ al-Mugdadi	190
4.1. Document of the Opening Ceremony of the <i>Dîwân</i> of al-Mugdad ibn `Amrw	190
4.2 Document of the Internal Organization of the <i>Dîwân</i> of `Ashîrâ al-Mugdad ibn `Amrw	198
4.3 Declaration of membership in the <i>dîwân</i> [al-Mugdadi]	213
5. Bibliography	215