

THE TRIBE AND THE STATE, A STRUCTURE WITHIN ANOTHER: JORDANIAN SOCIETY AS A MODEL

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Abstract:

This study aimed, in a direct way, at investigating the deep relation between the tribe and the State in Jordan to identify the extent of conformity between Jordanian governments and the tribal formation through the background of the rise of the state, especially the interference between it and the Parliament in which it is clearly manifested. Following the way of historical descriptive studies and the depth of sociological analysis, the study examined the depth of that connection between two types of structures: the first is a traditional structure and the other is a modern one. This study tried to examine the constant political employment of the regime and conformity of interests between it and the tribal elites who aspire to be part of the effective political elites. In this way, the study tried to reach the conclusion that the state has not advanced to form a modern democratic structure. On the other hand, the tribe has not preserved its traditional entity which is built on solidarity in a way that tribal affiliation has become a bridge toward power in a semi-modern State. The tribe has been in conflict with the state and civil institutions in regard to their legislative roles.

The study concluded that the tribe, as a traditional structure, entered the parliament as a democratic entity. Therefore, in light of the election practices in society and the coalition of executive authority with economic and social influence powers, the Jordanian state, in its political structure, is still under the control of the relationships of the tribe and its symbols, the

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fact deepens tribal prospects and practices in society regardless of changing economic, political, national and international circumstances because the tribal thought looks only for the interests connected with the structure. The political regime reinforces this behavior as it supports its existence and continuity. The leaders of the tribes have entered the parliament after being once part of the government.

Key words: Tribe; Jordan; Jordanian Parliament; Tribe Alliance.

The process of forming communities in Arabic history, as Khaldoun Al-Naqeeb cited, lies under five types: the original, the ethnic, the religious, the professional and the regional. The tribe, for centuries, constituted an essential unity in the body of Arabic society. The extended deserts, with their rough and isolated style, had a great impact of enhancing the role of the tribe which embraced and safeguarded its individuals in that hard world. The tribal communities are of the most dangerous and influential ones in the Arabic society as a result of the strong loyalty toward guiding the crowds. Some people may guide it in a way outside its natural sociological frame (Al-Heess, 2011).

Most definitions of the tribe refer to the fact that it is a vast gathering in which the individuals are relatively related as being descendents of the same origin. They usually have the same dialect and live in one area. The tribe, in its traditional concept, is a social, economic and political unit whose members' relationships are based on kinships and marriage relation. It formed a social, economic and political organization with the aim of meeting all different life needs. It was formed, in the course of time, of the smallest unit, namely the family, until it reached different human organizations forming the State (Kottak, 1974: 147).

By the rise of the modern state as a geographic political entity, its individuals were transformed into members in this new existence. This led to the rise of the problem of conflict and integration between the tribe and the state, when the state imposed its political sovereignty by using several methods to support its authority and legality within its political geography,

taking into account the benefit of tribal existence and employing it to the advantage of the new political system by integrating the tribal elite in the different civil and military institutions of the state to ensure its loyalty to the new political regime.

Problem of the Study:

The study tried to examine the most prominent characteristics of the tribe structure in Jordan and its relationship with the Jordanian political regime through the history of its establishment. When the Jordanian Emirate was established, the tribe faced it with rejection and resistance through the uprisings which erupted in different areas of East Jordan. This urged the central authority to confront them by military force supported by colonial authority then. The state was able to subdue the tribe and defeat it. After that, it integrated it in its military and civil institutions to become part of the effective constituents in the structure of the Jordanian State. In this case, the tribe was re-produced and integrated in the state's institutions and the tribe's leadership and members have become connected with the central authority by holding managerial, political and military positions in governmental formations and representative and common councils. Parliamentary elections have been the stations in which the reproduction of the tribal group is still going on to ensure the existence of a strong ally to the political regime.

The main problem of the study is summarized in the investigation of the nature of the relationship between the tribe and the Jordanian State ever since its establishment, the way in which the tribe has been re-produced in the political governmental and parliamentary structures of the Jordanian State and its impact on its democratic behavior and change. The question raised here is: has the existence of the modern state weakened the existence of the tribe as a structure of the political practice of Jordanian Society and State? Does the tribe constitute the integral part of the political structure of the parliament at the expense of the institutions of civil society which is supposed to be the society of modern state, at the top of which are political parties? How and Why?

Study Methodology:

The study was based on the historical descriptive method through the literature about the Jordanian State and the emphasis on the real practices of parliamentary elections through which the tribe has played a basic role in the social structure of parliamentary councils.

Study Aims and Importance:

The importance of this study lies in revealing the conformity of rule mechanism and authority sharing between the head of the regime (ruling family) and the leaders of Jordanian tribes and the attempt to integrate them in the structure of government and parliament through real elections practices and loyal texts to exchange interests and political legality of authority based on the social legality of tribal elites by maintaining the political role of tribal traditions and social structure. The importance of the study lies in the fact that the modern structures of the State have not confined the political role of civil society organizations, at the top of which are political parties. The traditional structure of Jordanian local communities is reflected on the dominating structure of the state to become one of its prominent components through the alliance of the ruling family with great families and Bedouin tribes who played a major role in the history of forming the Jordanian state not long ago. The starting point was by gathering Jordanian tribes in the Great Arab Revolt and the role of colonial states in employing the traditional social structures in the Arab political regimes and re-production of ignorance.

Theoretical Frame: The Tribe And The State

Many studies have dealt with the tribe in regard to its concept, environmental, economic, social, political and cultural factors of its historical formation within the frame of specific circumstances and objective incidents, through which the structure of the tribe was formed in the communities before and after the State. The tribe, as a big social unit, was formed as a result of the development of social organizations from their early simple forms, starting from simple relatives structures until it reached its extension as a social cultural unit which included a certain group or human groups who claimed cultural and social peculiarity and settlement in and affiliation to a special region.

Anthropological researches stated that the early human social structure was the hard which consisted of ten to twenty individuals. After that, it developed to the second form, namely, the sib or clan, which was a social unit whose number was nearly one hundred. The clans united

and formed phratries and from them the tribes were formed (Izzat, 1962: 57-58). The human being moved through cultural development stages through thousands of years. This started from hunting, taming animals to the stage of grazing animals, followed by the stage of agriculture (10) to (20) thousand years ago. In this stage, human groups settled down and the features of building and social organizations started (Kottak, 1974: 174).

At each one of those cultural stages, social life was organized on the basis of the culture derived as being the organizing frame for the individuals' economic, social and political roles and positions. As a result of that, the social organization had to be shifted to a higher system, namely, the city and the state which consisted of human groups with multi economic, social and political dimensions who had to be governed by an order to control their plurality. Social necessity and economic needs, as stated by Ibn Khaldoon, were the reasons for establishing human communities, taking into account that man is sociable by his nature. Modernity is an aim for the Bedouin who seeks to attain it (Bin Khaldoon, 2009, pp. 135, 145).

Marxism found a link between the rise of the family, the degree of job development, production and the rise of the state. Due to the conflict between classes, the ancient society, based on tribal phratries, moved to a new type of society forming the state (Angles, 1981: 6).

Therefore, the social structure was built on the basis of the many and different human biological, psychological, economic, social and political life needs which developed in light of the growth of abilities and human life requirements which necessitated the building of relations on the basis of certain and different organizational criteria in form and content which ended up with the establishment of the state.

The concept of the State came as an expression of a political entity with its sovereignty and international recognition, as being the supreme structure and decision maker dominating society. In the course of time, the relationship between the State and the society was built up, a distinguishing feature of the modern world. In light of this relation, the influence between the state and the society appeared in a mutual way. The state in the modern Middle East appeared when the society consisted of tribal, local, religious and national entities, the fact which affected the modern state structure (Owen, 2004: 13-16).

The change processes in the Arab countries have been different from those in Europe because the Arab country has been imprisoned by the mutual influence and effect between

authority and social structure reproduced in the historical and modern political structure of the Arabic state “Michel Fuko” explains this relationship between society and the Eastern State in general through the concept of “the ruler and ruled people” in the Eastern tyrant thought by which this type of rule was instituted in the ancient Orient. This authority did not have but one ruler while in the West, the legality of the ruler stemmed from “the people” and “public welfare” in a way that if the ruler failed, he would be ousted, but disobeying him in the Arabic political order would be considered as the disobedience of the herd to the shepherd. The tribe’s Sheikh has the right to subdue the tribe as he expresses its sovereignty encouraged by the historical background which justifies the existence of the “tyrant” in the Arabic political authority (Al-Jabiri, 1990: 18, 42). This was also stated by Haleem Barakat. The Arabic political authority resorted to the tribal bonds to impose its domination and influence as the tribe is well known for its organization whose members are obedient to the decisions of the tribe’s Sheikh. The tribe dominated the State in the Middle East for a long time and played an important role in the establishment of the Islamic Empire. Even after the institution of the modern state, the tribe has not lost its role in the Middle East and has ensured its control of the state, in a way that the state itself has become the instrument of the tribe’s rule (Khoury, 1990: 2).

Sectarianism which may be considered as natural solidarity relationships, arising within a religious or tribal frame of a community has been employed in the conflict for authority and re-division of fortune on the basis of the tribal balance of power within the frame of political order. As a political and social phenomenon, it is a result of the modern state and Arabic policy because subduing the state for the interest of a social or religious community deprives it from being a public institution for all people.

This urges the different groups to strengthen the existing solidarity and co-operation relationships among them for achieving authority (Ghalyoon, 1990: 25-29).

For its efficiency, the social-political system of the tribe, loyalty to its sheikh have been employed. This has been the alternative to the commitment to the official constitutional, and legal rules by the current citizen in his state (Hajjy, 14/2/2009).

In this way, the Arabic tribal mentality and its tribal system have continued in its efficiency in our current time based on the Arabic tribal tradition which was embodied in social

and political practices where the parental dimension was the dominant part in the relationship between the ruler and ruled people.

Therefore, the decisive relationship between the tribe and the state in the current Arabic society with all its various divisionary consequences, namely, structures interlap. The structures of parental order in the Arabic society has not been changed or modernized for the last one hundred years, but they have been rooted and reinforced as different false forms and parental dominion continued. This applies to the state with the modernized parental system, whether conservative or progressive, under the umbrella of the parental authority and repression derived from Arabic ancient roots (Sharabi, 2009: 23-27). This submission has been derived from historical and social factors through which the individual has been raised during his social upbringing as being a member of his society, in a way that the process of social development and psychological social formation formed his understanding of himself and the others within the frame of Arabic parental society (Lichtman, 1982: 225).

In this society, social life is governed by rules or regulations, represented in “centers” occupied by individuals who perform “roles” drawn in the social order, according to specific norms, and within the sub-political context, the authority of repression or organized coercions prevails. Based on that, the work mechanism of existing tribal systems is determined according to economic interests and relations among individuals, relative relationships, traditions, values and connections which maintain the continuity of this social tribal system (Mahjoub, 1973: 13, 25).

As the parental family is controlled by the authority of the father or sheikh of the tribe, fanaticism or affiliation to predecessors appears in males, and this in its turn confirms the efficiency of political conformity of relative unit, supported by social penalties based on the standard rules of the tribal unit.

Based upon that, the obedience to the ruler (the father) is built on the social and political duality within the frame of existing relationship between the society and the state. As the traditional culture is prevalent in traditional social structure (family, clan, tribe), with its cultural system, namely, customs, traditions and norms which control the individual, the pre-state structure, the tribal society remains the effective structure that controls social and political behavior (Abu Zeid, 2003: 33).

In this way, the continuity of the old structure in “modern” Arab society shows a split between manifest structures and latent ones. The manifest structure seems “modern”, but deeply under the social surface is extremely traditional in a way that reflects itself on the super structure of the state. This may be apparent in the Jordanian political reality. On this basis, the tribe formed the social and political suppression which reproduced bedouinism, sectarianism, religious extremism to prevail in the Arab world, the fact that has made this “suppression” in current practice similar to that of the past (Al-Jabiri, ed.,: 373). Many studies dealt with this theoretical frame in Arab societies which investigated some Arabic experiences and discussed the nature of the relationship that occurred between the tribe and the state, the role it played in the social-political structure of political systems through the re-production of the political and social role of the tribe by adopting political elections practices in the society of the Arab State because the people responsible for re-producing this structure in its new form are technocrats who come from Bedouin origins and benefit from both the tribe and the state.

The Tribe in Arabic Real Life:

Following the end of colonial rule in the Arab region, the rule was governed by a family whose head was a King or a Prince or a Sheikh or a Sultan or an Imam. Each ruling family has been careful to keep the authority in their hands and contain the internal conflicts which they faced in the beginning of their reign. This ended up with control and integration of all sides of conflict in authority, structure and formation of the state.

In Morocco, the political history after independence shows that the king tried to rule as a constitutional ruler, disregard the national parties and sieze all the authorities in his hand. In Saudi Arabia, the royal family has spread its authority and domination as a result of its great number, tribal alliances and distribution of super civil and military positions to its members and tribal allies. The same happened in the case of other Gulf ruling families when they extended their authority benefiting from alliance with the other Bedouin tribal countries. On the other hand, a constitutional monarchy was established in Libya after independence during the reign of King Idrees Al-Sanoussi who gathered all authorities in his hand through a royal regime which combined Bedouin nobility, great families in the provinces and a group of loyal men. But the continuous internal conflicts among the members of his family and lack of control of the army

paved the way for a coup in 1969 and the transfer from monarchy to a republican regime (Owen, 2004: 77-91).

In Lebanon, it seems that the structural formation cannot be understood, but in light of its historical background as it leads to a comprehensive understanding of social development, namely, historical extension and the checking of the paths of basic changes and their consequences. Sectarianism has been an essential base of Lebanese Parliamentary structure ever since its establishment.

Based on that, parliamentary representation does not represent the Lebanese people according to the constitutional article which states that “the deputy represents the whole nation” (Al-Dibss 1, 1981: 115-116).

There are two basic factors for the continuity of the chief in the Lebanese parliament: property and sectarianism. Belonging to a wealthy family, and consequently controlling certain areas and being a head of a religious group are the two necessary conditions for political work. Political authority is divided among communities according to area, region or sect. They are groups of interrelated economic interests. Distribution of the Lebanese Parliament seats is not based on political legislations or mandate laws, but on the sectarian population structure of the Lebanese sectarian society, namely, it is the product of a “sectarian geography” (theory of historical geography), (Mediterranean theory, or local regions) (Al-Dibbs 2, 1981: 377-378).

Aadil AlShurbaji’s study, under the title “paternity and the tribe together with Islamic brotherhood”, concluded that the tribe in Yemen is represented in the state by the Sheikh who represents the political role. Al-Kubeissi, in his study under the title “the tribe and political Islam in Iraq” stated that Shiite Islamic parties in Iraq sought to politicize their identity, while, on the contrary, the Sunni Islamic party did not care about that issue, because the Iraqi State, before the invasion, mainly represented the Sunnah.

Balkeess Ahmad Abu Usba’ added that the tribal system, in most cases, disregards national loyalty because the concern of a lot of individuals is created to the interests of the tribe to which they belong to the area in which they live. In light of the inability of the central state to encounter, the policy of compromise was one of the causes of tribal influence and the increase of the influence of Sheikhs in the public political life of the state. The state, in its turn, does not

think at all of a putting an end to the position of the tribe or completely cutting off connection with it. (Al-Abbadi, 7/6/2005).

During the reign of Al-Imam in Yemen, the government, in order to ensure the loyalty of the tribal institution, recruited a great number of the tribes of Hashid and Bikeel in the army. In this way, the tribes' members were transferred from settling farmers to semi-professional soldiers whose task was restricted to the crackdown on peasants' uprisings. It can be concluded that the Imam was able to contain the tribal institution for serving his policy which aimed at dominating the Yemeni people in all its areas.

The Imam sought to establish a central state comprised of Shiite tribal alliances, upon which the subjugating processes of annexing and integration of a number of tribes and other opposing sides were performed (Al-Mass'oudi, 2006: 71, 137).

Most of the political regimes in the Arab region and specifically the Gulf ones sought to benefit from the tribal constituents for the post-bedouin period to support their political legality. Therefore, the authority recruited tribes' members in the military, in a way that earning one's living no longer becomes directly connected with the tribal solidarity, but with authority. The modern state in the Gulf and in the peninsula became in its reality and structures a tribal state (Al-Najjar, 2004: 81-83).

The Jordanian Tribe and State: Incorporation And Alliance:

The Bedouin phenomenon dates back to the establishment of the Jordanian State. The society is Bedouin in its structure and formation. The tribe is the social organizer. Based upon that, the state had to resort to the tribal frame to prove its legality by incorporating the tribal leadership in its political structure and taking care of the tribal balances, not only through distributing gains, but also through re-producing the tribe in the institutions of the state. The alliance between Britain and the leader of the Great Arab Revolt generated a "beneficiary relationship" between Jordanian tribal leaders and the Great Arab Revolt leaders represented in Sherif Hussein and his son, which later dictated the same beneficiary relationship with the Jordanian Emirate. The royal ruling family has always mentioned the stand of the tribes with them in their conflict with the Turks. So, the return for this alliance has always been paid for in the form of re-building the state's political structure on the base of East Jordanian tribes as a

main foundation of the regime and its political governmental and parliamentary formation (Mahareeq, 11/11/2006). Peeling with this demand of a right after the tribal institution had been in a conflict with political authority when it was encountered, repressed and subdued by British military force. When this was finished, the authority again dealt with the tribal leadership by recruiting tribal people in the military. Eversince that period, the stage of alliance between the King and the tribe began when the Sheikhs and their sons held military and civil posts in the state's institutions. This has maintained the Sheikhs' authority and continuity of harmony between the Bedouin and his traditions as long as they are in the context of the central authority's control (Moussa, 1990: 320-321). In this way, the Bedouin tribes constituted the key of supporting the monarchy for the Hashemites in Jordan and the Jordanian army structure consisted of its members who played a major role in the Kingdom's stability, as the Bedouins considered the King as the tribes' King or the Sheikh of Jordanian tribes' Sheikhs. The King has become as a symbol for the Jordanians. This continued through the frame of a beneficiary relationship between the regime and Bedouin tribes represented in financial support, infrastructure, civil and military positions (Jureidni, 1984: 37-39).

This relationship between the regime and the tribe continued through its tribal leaderships, on the basis of gains and mutual loyalty, in a way that confirmed the duality of loyalty to the tribe and the state, and then the continuity of the duality of identity in the local social awareness, as the East Jordanian tribal origins (Bedouin and rural) are the crossing way to national identity (Jordanian) (Layne, 1986: 97). Berner's study of Jordanian Bedouins stated that the Bedouin is loyal to his tribe and clinches to all the customs, traditions and values which support his affiliation, the most important of which is the respect of the elderly which urges people to obey them as they have wisdom and experience in life, and consequently, this loyalty is directed to what the Sheikh of the tribe likes (Bin 'Asskar, 2006:125).

All this formed the liability of maintaining the leading's position of the tribe's Sheikh and obtaining the superior social status. He adds a political status through which he can take care of the welfare of the members of his tribe who are completely loyal to the political regime and its authority. The chief or "tribe's Sheikh" plays the major role in imposing his will on his members to follow his vision (Bin Khaldoun, ed., 145).

That is how the relationship between the tribe and the Jordanian state was built. Its re-production occurs by real practice through parliamentary elections, intensified by legal texts because the election laws have specified parliamentary seats for the Bedouins on the basis of which they are divided: South, Middle and North. These seats are usually obtained by Sheikhs or their sons or civil and military retired people of the tribe who had high positions in the state. In this way, the political role of the tribe is strengthened to ensure the continuity of exchanging mutual interests and political and social legitimacy for both sides: the royal family (state symbol) and the tribe (the elites and social unit).

The Re-Production of The Tribe's Structure In Jordanian Parliamentary Elections:

The basic law of East Jordan, issued on 16 April, 1928, gave the authority of legislative power to the legislative council and the Prince which consisted of elected representatives according to the elections law which should imply fair representation of minorities (Bin Bakeer, 1992: 16).

Bedouin representation has been manifest in legislative councils since the first legislative council, as the tribes have been given the opportunity to show their presence and maintain their social status before the other tribes in their elections areas. Tribal representation in Jordanian parliamentary councils reflected the largest amount of social structure. Thirty-six families occupied the parliamentary seats in five legislative councils from 1928 to 1964, and different families occupied (183) seats out of (437) ones in ten parliamentary elections (Abo Jaber, 1989: 50).

Then the course of parliamentary councils in the Kingdom started after the independence on May 25, 1964, following the era of legislative councils in the Emirate of East Jordan during the years 1929-1947 when the first parliamentary council was elected on 20/10/1947.

Then the parliamentary life stopped in 1976 when the idea of forming advisory councils started (1974-1982). The revival of parliamentary life was in 1984 by conducting by-elections to fill in the vacant seats of the West Bank and East Bank deputies (Record Magazine, 1/7/2009).

The by-parliamentary elections in May, 1984 revealed that the success of deputies was a result of being elected by their relative units not because of being competent and individually distinguished. Priority was to the tribe on the basis of "blood relation" and that is why the

Sheikhs represented their tribes in the parliamentary elections. King Hussein supported this through a message sent to the prime minister, rejecting any insult to the tribe defending its values, customs and traditions in Jordan, referring to the fact that he belonged to the Hashemites from Qureish, the most distinctive of the Arab tribes in Mecca which was honoured by Prophet Muhammad (Peace May be upon Him) who belonged to it. Therefore, these elections came to reinforce the role of political tribal structure through the re-building of social identities via political practices and the King's support and encouragement, the head of the executive authority (Layne, 1986: 105). Based on parliamentary practice, the role of tribes with a big number of people is reinforced, in a way that this tribe alone or in combination with other tribes takes the decision of presenting their candidate in the tribal meeting or through internal elections to elect one candidate to ensure his success in the parliamentary elections. This led to the re-production of tribal solidarity of a political role represented in relation commitment by supporting the tribe's candidate through giving their votes to him in an exclusive way. This practice ensured the exchange of influence and legitimacy between the tribe and the state as the candidates try to convince their voters to vote for them in return for offering governmental facilities and taking care of their individual interests. As a result, the concept of "services deputy" has prevailed whose main parliamentary task is to satisfy the needs of his tribe. Moreover, the success of the tribe's candidate gives the tribe a higher social status compared with other tribes in the same parliamentary area.

The election practices, since the establishment of the emirate, through its development to a Kingdom, have been with a tribal impact and within the frame of achieving the regime's political aim of obtaining the consent of ruled people, and consequently, the two sides, tribal elite and governmental authority gaining social and political legitimacy and exchange of interests. The regime (throne) has drawn the tribal leaders into the superior and executive structure of the state. These have become mediators between the state and the infra-structure. The employment of the parliamentary council has been in two ways: the throne toward the people and the other from tribal leaders toward obtaining individual relations with the throne. The relatives' relations and loyalty of the individuals to primary groups have become stronger than loyalty to political and economic institutions. Simultaneously, individuals have been dominated by official authorities (Haddad, 1991: 28, 43).

In spite of economic and social changes in Jordanian society, tribal structure has continued in shaping elections attitudes and practices, even after returning to the parliamentary life in 1989. It has been strengthened and “educated elites” and governmental berocrats” have become a substitute of tribes’ Sheikhs, in a way that parliamentary representation moved from the stage of “traditional Sheikhs who represented their tribes” to the stage of “educated elites and berocrats representing their tribes”. Therefore, neither the state’s modern institutions, nor education has been an effective variable in changing elections practices. In contrast with the constitutional rule “the nation’s deputy”, has continued to be under the name “services’ deputy” or “tribe’s deputy”.

Field studies conducted by the centre of strategic studies (University of Jordan) about “social dimension in the parliamentary elections of Jordanian local communities”, of the thirteenth parliamentary council (1997) and the fourteenth one (2003), revealed that the tribe has continued as a social political institution that has controlled the votes of its members with all their social and economic characteristics who unanimously choose their tribe’s candidate or through internal elections. Otherwise, the candidate will not get his tribe’s support if he presents himself away from the tribe’s way of electing its candidate, which is considered against its elections traditions (Abdulazeez, 1997 and 2003).

The elections process outcomes of forming parliamentary councils have been tribal through all the election rounds from 1989 until 1910, the fact which paved the way for a political, legislative and executive structure of the Jordanian state that is in harmony with social-tribal dimension in Jordanian local communities. It has been necessary to adopt “the balances of ”areas and tribes” in the formation of governments to cope with the parliamentary structure which will give it its trust, in addition to granting deputies the necessary advantages and facilities to be distributed to the members of local communities, in a way that keeps the deputies as channels of communication and loyalty to the central authority, simultaneously maintaining deputies’ social-political position and influence and ensuring the re-production of the same way of elections in any further elections, the fact which hinders the possibility of any success of parties’ candidates.

As a result of the continuity of the tribal culture and address which is parallel with the governmental one which assures the tribe’s solidarity and unity through its support of its

candidate or deputy. This happens to the advantage of the government and its policies and ensures the popular loyalty to the regime's head. At the same level, this election solidarity maintains the tribal social position before the other competing tribes. In this way, the Jordanian parliamentary councils have constituted a tribal institution and not a national parliamentary institution that represents citizens, the fact which imposes a predetermined "arrangement" of the parliamentary council as a result of the common concept: services deputy.

The people who perform this task are official institutions and state seniors who have held the highest positions and political canthers in the state's institutions (the technocrats) and have always stated the necessity, importance and continuity of the tribe's political role and its reproduction in the political structure of the Jordanian state, in a way that confirms the adoption of the tribe as an election unit and a closed circle of its voters who are guided according to a tribal vision.

As a result of the incapability of the success of any candidate without tribal support, some powers and political parties wanted to benefit from tribal structure. On this basis Muslim Brotherhood have their impact on some members of the tribes to join their movement. Some Brotherhood leaders in rural areas who belong to tribes have become local leaders in their areas by offering services to citizens through the social network related to the Islamic movement which is spread in all the Kingdom's governorates (Al-Massri, 28/10/2009).

Summary:

The examiner of the history of the state in Jordan, barely finds a historical period during which the state has been away from tribal structure. It is well-known that the political regime itself has been based on a tribal constituent in spite of the religious claim. The structure of the modern state should be disregard the tribe, in a way that its individuals' awareness of their loyalty should be shifted to the feeling that they are part of the national social structure and the abandoning of tribalism toward "citizenship" awareness, on the basis of equality in rights and duties stated in the State's legislations. This assumption necessitates ending the role of the tribe and tribalism as it forms the peak of contradiction because the state has the political legality and the right of using power and its monopoly. On the other hand, the citizen is entitled to get his rights on the basis of citizenship and not on the basis of origin, relation, sectarianism or any other

affiliation. Consequently, this means the end of the tribe as a concept and practice, but the Jordanian real fact as it is in several Arab countries, is in contrast. With the rise of the state, it has been backed and supported by the tribe.

The answer which this study concluded, by tracing the building of the Jordanian state and specifically the social and practical formation in parliamentary elections, showed that tribalism (or bedouinism) as a structure in awareness and practice which is still in control of the nature of that social-political structure which is re-produced through the legal election texts and voters' practices, by the support of political governmental elite which consists of traditional tribal elites and Jordanian technocracy that have the positions of making governmental and legislative decision.

The common narrow concept of the tribe and tribalism which accepts the candidate from the tribe and not from the country, made the tribe's approval to obtain their votes a priority, and not thinking of election programs, the fact which made the state's political structure controlled by the tribal vision-which is considered by the modern state as a backward one. The tribe takes the legal roles of the state and civil society institutions which are supposed to be performed by them. The individual, in a lot of cases, asks for the help of his tribe to protect him from a real or imagined oppression of the state. The deputy is still the person who helps the voter to get a certain job and not the institution, in the same way as he gets his tribe's support if he wants to present himself as a candidate for the parliamentary elections.

Resorting to the tribe seems to be a phenomenon at the level of the state. The tribe still occupies its position in the state's political structure. It is the only effective power in elections. The tribal deputies, in alliance with the executive authority, are the most effective within the parliamentary institution. In this way, the tribe has been prominent and has imposed its symbols and address in order to be a part of the cultural address of the state and society. This, among other things, means the weak position of the state and what it symbolizes. This was indicated by Fuko in the production and reproduction of the address according to the institutions which claim and monopolize the truth to spread the tribal address at the expense of the address of democracy and modern state.

The tribe's role is maximized in political dimensions in light of the democratic stage. Belonging to the nation passes through belonging to the tribe in most cases. This situation makes

the members of the tribe feel that their first loyalty is to their tribe and they deserve more rights than others. This fact has been a concept in the identity of Jordanians who think of the tribe as superior than the country. This has caused a split between the citizen and the state to the advantage of the tribe.

The reproduction of the tribe has become a burden on the state which hinders the modernization of its administrative and political structure besides other aspects. This contradicts with civil society with its modern concept when social and political relations among individuals and the state on the basis of rules and legislations which govern their social existence and their political and economic behavior. Civil society institutions such as parties, trade unions and others which call for justice, equality, tolerance, plurality and the establishment of democratic societies, are based on complete citizenship away from sex, religion, sectarianism and tribe.

Even during the period of the demand for reforms, tribalism is provoked to encounter popular reform movements. This has been apparent through the activities of loyalty and belongingness to the regime's head, the King, calling reform movements as anti-king ones. This approach has been used within the parliamentary council through the coalition of tribally elected deputies with the executive authority, and their leading tribal movements in their areas which stand against the social and political movements and powers which ask for reforming the state.

The practices of incorporating the tribe to the advantage of the political regime still have their potential and efficiency of their re-production in the Jordanian state's political structure in a state of an exchange of benefit and social and political legitimacy of the ruling elite and new tribal elites consisting of Jordanian civil and military technocrats as a substitute for the traditional tribal elite in managing the state's institutions which seem modern in their appearance, but traditional in their approach and managerial and political structure.

The study reached the conclusion that the Jordanian State formed in its individuals' mentality a social contract built on two bases: the first is that the existence of Jordan as a political regime is connected with the existence of the political presence of the Hashemites. The other is that the continuity of the regime's existence is based on the continuity of tribal support. Consequently, the Jordanian mentality has been formed on the basis of these structures as being the basis of the existence of Jordanian identity, the fact through which the state has succeeded, but it has been a hostage for the structures of backwardness which were reflected on the citizen's

behavior, in a way that they still affect all the authorities, including the legal one. There is one law called the tribal law which judges some issues that modern states have abandoned.

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