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THE MEN OF INFLUENCE
AND THE EXERCISE OF INFLUENCE
IN NABATIEH, LEBANON

Linda L. Zecher

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Linda L. Zecher

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ABSTRACT

This research describes influence in Nabatieh, south Lebanon, with specific reference to the influential men, the sources and situations in which influence is exercised.

Influence has been distinguished in this research from power, leadership and authority. Only recently the structure and function of these concepts have begun to be studied on the community level by anthropologists, sociologists and political scientists. These studies, mostly in American communities, concentrate on community leaders who are defined as the makers of community decisions. In the non-western world the scope of analysis tends to be much wider since these researchers cover the study of opinion formation, giving advice and help, settling disputes, having followers and supporters, hospitality as well as making decisions and causing trouble.

The reputational approach was employed to identify the influential people in Nabatieh, measure their influence and examine the situations in which they exercise influence. Influence situations in Nabatieh center around an individual's ability to affect, modify or

complete the action of other people. The most important influence situation is the ability to intermediate on the behalf of individuals and the community in the resolution of problems. Hence, in most instances, not decisive and terminal. In settling disputes men of influence do not usually arbitrate or decide the dispute. Their role is rather that of mediator who brings together the two disputing parties, suggesting several possible alternatives to the disputants, and allows them to decide the outcome among themselves. Nevertheless, it was related that some men of influence, the top three men and their brothers, can cause trouble and make threats. However, threatening to apply sanctions either directly or indirectly (getting others to use their power) may result in the loss of followers and supporters. Thus, influence in Nabatieh is expected to be more persuasive than coercive. Because maintaining a position of influence is predicated upon agreeing with the pleasing people; men of influence tend to be as neutral as possible in their relations with others.

Furthermore, the weight of a man's influence depends upon the size of the group influenced and the source of his influence. The larger the group of people--individually or collectively--a man is able to help, the higher

is his influence rank. And, in this context, those who have inherited their influence--the members of traditionally influential families in south Lebanon who are accustomed to completing the action of others--are the most influential men in the town of Nabatieh.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The below listed Arabic letters have been transliterated in this study as follows:

ح	h
خ	kh
ج	th
س	s
س	d
ظ	z
ع	z
غ	gh
ق	q
ا	ā
ي	i
و	ū

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research is to study the concept of influence and the influential men in Nabatieh, a Shi'ite community in south Lebanon. It aims to know what influence means to Nabatiens, how influential people are distinguished from non-influential people and whether these men of influence exercise various degrees and kinds of influence.

In many respects Nabatieh is a unique community in south Lebanon. The town takes pride in being the economic, administrative, social and educational center of the district. Within the past ten years Nabatieh has grown rapidly in the direction of urbanization. The community clearly appears to be in the vanguard of westernization among the Shi'ite villages of south Lebanon. Yet, Nabatiens maintain and refuse to give up many of their traditions. Nabatieh is thus one of the few communities in Lebanon which combines in large terms the characteristics of the village and the urban center whose values are becoming widespread in many areas of Lebanese life.

The study of influence in Nabatieh, Lebanon is significant for several reasons. It is the first systematic study of influence in a Lebanese community. Other studies have been made on Lebanese villages, for example, Peters (1963) and Nader (1965), but influence was not the focus of their inquiries. Also, the description of the men of influence in Nabatieh may be useful for an understanding of some values in a non-western Shi'ite community.

Further, this research is a step in the direction of a comparative analysis of influence. Comparative research appears useful for a clearer and more universally applicable definition of the term. This thesis aims to provide information that will lead to a further analysis of influence on two levels, the understanding of the universal as well as the variable aspects of influence.

Other Studies of Influence and Leadership

Studies on leadership and influence show that the scope and base values of these concepts are variables (Fanelli 1956: 332-38). They change according to the

various social contexts in which they are studied. In some communities (Regional City, Pacific City, Bigtown, Bennington) making a community decision was the fundamental action that distinguished a leader from a non-leader. Having a mass-based group of followers was not a prerequisite for leadership attribution. In other communities, on the contrary, having a following or group of mass-based followers was essential to leadership attribution (cf. Keesing 1956; Stirling 1963). But in all the studies it appeared that the major characteristic of the leader was his decisiveness in social situations. Decision-making is central to the role of the community leader (Rossi 1957).

On the other hand, men of influence do not necessarily act with decisiveness (Merton 1957). Their roles seemed to be centered more around advice-giving and making suggestions (Khuri 1964). In brief, a distinction appeared to be emerging between the leader and the man of influence. On the basis of the studies reviewed, it seems that leadership and influence are functionally distinct social phenomena. Moreover, power which is always a potentiality tends to be actualized in the

leader rather than in the man of influence (Hunter 1953; Dahl 1961; Mills 1956; Merton, op.cit.).

Most studies on leadership and influence have been undertaken in the United States. Researchers in the fields of community leadership or power have agreed that these concepts mean the ability to make decisions on major issues or projects facing the community (Hunter, op.cit.: 62, 265; Polsby 1963: 3). In American communities sociologists and political scientists have been interested in learning to what extent public political leaders exercise power in the community. A number of sociologists have claimed that businessmen, the "Economic Dominants", are the community leaders (Hunter, op.cit.: 79).

As opposed to most political scientists, a number of sociologists have contended that the exercise of power is hidden. The community does not know who the real leaders are. Only leaders know who other leaders are.

Political scientists, frequently calling themselves "pluralists", have replied that the exercise of power is manifest. Leadership is vested in public office. There can be no one group of non-public leaders, they

claim. Power is attached to community issues. These issues can be "fleeting or persistent, provoking coalitions among interested groups and citizens, ranging in their duration from momentary to semi-permanent" (Polsby, op.cit., 115). It is the conviction of these scholars that leadership is predicated upon interest and observable participation in community affairs, not upon position in the community class structure.

On the basis of their different theoretical assumptions, each school of thought has espoused a particular method which, in view of the circumstances, they consider most valid and reliable (cf. Anton 1963).

The pluralists maintain that power must be studied through the investigation of issues--generally three major community projects. The stratification theorists, or those who hold that the exercise of power is latent, favor the reputational approach. They ask people assumed to be well-informed about community affairs to nominate community leaders, sometimes defined as "the ones who can get things done". Then they ask each reputed leader to identify other community leaders.

Power structure analysis in American communities is divided. Some researchers find a high correlation between leadership or power and class (Hunter, op.cit.;

Mills, op.cit.; Baltzell 1958; Lynd 1929 and 1937; Schulze 1958 and 1961). Others see the exercise of power more significantly correlated with positions of authority (Dahl, op.cit.; Polsby, op.cit.; Wolfinger 1960). But, in broad outline, both schools agree in their definition of leadership or power as the ability to make decisions on issues and projects confronting the community at large. And, as such these analysts have investigated the makers of authoritative choices within the community.

Several studies have been made of influence in American communities (Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955; Stewart 1947; Merton, op.cit.). They have focused more on the informal patterns of "opinion formation" stemming from personal relationships (one exception is Jennings 1964). Their interest--studying communications behavior--encompasses, at the same time that it exceeds, the subject matter of the previous writers. Influence in this context is more than decision-making. It entails any one or more of the following actions which affect the behavior of others: coercion, domination, manipulation, clarification, imitation, advice, exchange. The exercise of influence, as opposed to the exercise of power or authority, is always direct, from person to person.

Robert Merton's investigation of patterns of influence in Rovere is an outstanding example of a study which seeks to place in relief the role of the formal media, institutional structures and status in opinion formation or the exercise of influence. Merton maintains that opinion leaders are not identical with the socially prominent or the richest people or the civic leaders in the community. People are influenced by other people they know personally. Influential people, according to Merton, are found in all occupational groups (op.cit.:402).

The studies of power, leadership and influence in non-western communities have further clarified each of these concepts, pointing to distinctions and similarities between them. Most importantly, it appears that community leaders in the non-western world may perform many more functions than decision making. Also, these studies revealed that the behavior of leaders and influentials tends to be more regulated by practices, beliefs and superstitions than is so for their western counterparts. In some folk societies a relatively rigid set of mores distinguishes leaders from followers (Meek 1963: 165-184 et passim).

Power and influence appeared in the studies reviewed to be highly correlated with both status and authority. Leadership, power and influence were shown to be roughly

synonymous. The men who had power also were influential and had followers. The men who had influence generally enjoyed power.

In a Shi'ite community of south Lebanon, Emrys Peters related that power was a function of status (op.cit.: 190). Only those descending from the Prophet's family, the "Learned Families", exercised power in the village. Theoretically, the source of their power and status was religion. But, actually, they derived and maintained their power by restricting inter-class relationships and preserving their superiority through customs and rituals. At the time Peters was among them, the villagers lived in the midst of a modernizing society. Yet, the families of sayyids had successfully managed to impose their traditional superiority on the village.

In Samoa the Keesings observed that leadership is vested in chiefly titles (op.cit., 38). Leaders were defined operationally to be decision-makers, public opinion makers and mediators. They tended to come from an elite group recognized in the traditional manner eventhough the society was undergoing considerable changes (ibid., 254).

In Magburaka, Sierra Leone, Khuri, on a broader level of investigation, observed that "affecting changes in other people by persuasion or coercion" was the ability

of those who "had the customs". Unlike the commoners, those who "had the customs" were skilled in "settling disputes", giving advice and help. Their behavior, acquired by study and experience, gained and maintained followers and supporters from among the commoners.

In a study of two Turkish villages, Stirling observed that those who had power were those who gave gifts, ran a guest-house and were characterized by excessive spending (op.cit., 206). Similar to Khuri's observations, Stirling admits that power (Khuri said influence) means the ability to rally supporters and followers. In these relatively poor Anatolian villages, Stirling observed that power was predicated on wealth. The villagers were under no obligation to support any man or family. Stirling emphasized that the villagers were "roughly equal". That is, theoretically or ideally no man follows and no man leads. Similarly, political allegiance or followership is a matter of individual choice. In actuality, it may be deduced that only through the medium of non-political relations, through the device of the guest-house and hospitality, does a man create the wider obligations and dependence upon which he can then draw for personal political support.

The studies reviewed have placed in relief a number of factors involved in situations of leadership and

influence. Some studies in speaking of leadership emphasized class (wealth and economic position) as the base values (Mills, op.cit.; Hunter, op.cit.). Others have emphasized participation in community affairs (Schulze, op.cit.); and a few stalwart political scientists have rigidly maintained that the ballot box is the principal source of leadership (Dahl, op.cit.).

The American studies concentrated on the decision-making aspects of the community leader. They considered decision-making from the institutionalized and public point of view. Decision-making in inter-personal private relations was not investigated.

In the non-western studies status and authority were characteristic sources of leadership and influence. Leaders and influentials were generally distinguished from the people in their action as well as their personality. In most instances they were clearly set apart by traditions. Customs and rituals preserved their superiority, regulating the conduct of leaders and followers.

These studies of leadership and influence pointed to a conceptual distinction. Leadership and influence are distinct sociological phenomena with different base values and scopes although in some cultures they may approach equivalence: the same individuals acting as leaders and influentials.

It appears that some sort of power-influence-leadership continuum exists which follows the values of the social system. As societies move from traditional to rational or from simple technology to industrial ways of life, a change is noted in both the structure and function of these concepts. It should be emphasized that the continuum does not appear to follow non-western - western lines of development. On that side of the continuum characterized by simple technology there is a lack of specialization or distinction in the three concepts. The same or similar people act as authoritative leaders and community men of influence. The positions of leaders and influential men tend to be inherited, based on traditional claims to superiority. Moving to the industrial side of the continuum, specialization of function appears. One's position in the leadership or influence structure is no longer a matter of inheritance. Rather, it appears that leaders and influential men more frequently achieve their positions. And, in this context, class and achieved wealth may be important bases of leadership and influence. An essential characteristic of industrial cultures seems to be that bearing the name of an illustrious family is not sufficient cause for exercising power or influence. Claims to some

sort of metaphysical superiority--although esteemed in the mass media--are likely to be less important than such criteria as skill, education, personality, and wealth.

Such conceptual distinctions along the lines of a traditional/rational or simple technology/industrial continuum deserve more systematic treatment than has herein been essayed. Much empirical work has already been done in the field of power, influence and leadership. Much more needs to be done. However, it may be that future investigations will be greatly aided and made more meaningful if some interested theorists set themselves the task of systematizing the already existing data and establishing a tentative theoretical framework on the basis of which new data can be measured.

By posing several questions about the role and characteristics of the men of influence in Nabatieh, this thesis may represent a preliminary effort in this direction. Of principal consideration are the following. What is the source(s) and scope of the exercise of influence? Are they different from the sources and scopes of leadership? Is decision-making a characteristic action of the men of influence? Thus, is leadership and influence vested in the same people?

On the basis of the previous studies of influence and leadership in non-industrial communities, it would be expected, among other things, that in Nabatieh men of influence also act as leaders and in particular make decisions in the community. Secondly, it would be assumed that in Nabatieh lineage and wealth, predominantly rentier-type, are important sources of leadership and influence.

On the other hand, superficial observation might lead one to conclude that the community is more characteristic of the industrial/rational side of the continuum. And, insofar as the people of Nabatieh do distinguish between influence and leadership this conclusion may be even more tempting. However such expectations need to be clarified. For, as will be developed in the following pages, the community tends to be more securely located closer to the traditional side of the continuum.

CHAPTER 2
METHODOLOGY

Definition of the Problem and Terms Used

The study of men of influence and the exercise of influence in Nabatieh, a community in south Lebanon, is concerned with the following objectives:

- (1) To identify the men of influence and their social backgrounds;
- (2) To specify the situations in which influence is exercised.

The men of influence were identified by a selected panel of judges. Their social backgrounds refer to age, religion, kinship position, father's occupation, place of birth, place of residence, marital status, occupation(s), financial support, income, expenditures, housing conditions, educational preparation and familiarity and participation in local, national and international affairs. These were determined by a questionnaire administered to the identified influential men of Nabatieh.

To examine the situations in which influence is exercised, influence was distinguished from power, force, authority and community decision-making. Power is the potentiality to apply sanctions (Bierstadt 1950: 731). It is coercive. A sanction may be either deprivation of values already possessed or obstruction to the

attainment of values which could otherwise have been attained, had the punitive intervention not occurred (Goldhamer and Shils 1939: 174).

Force is manifest power. It is the actual application of sanctions. Authority is the institutionalized ability to apply sanctions, or institutionalized power. Authority is not an attribute of an individual. It attaches to statuses. Only when individuals are acting "officially" are they able to exercise authority (Barnard 1961: 636). Community decisions are

...choices among alternative lines of action directed at affecting community-wide institutions...made by an authoritative person or groups within the community and of which the goals are change or maintenance of community-wide institutions or facilities...(Rossi, op.cit.: 416-17).

This research seeks to study the ability--potential or actual--to modify, affect or complete the action of other people through persuasion. It is first of all a study of individuals. It may thus encompass the study of institutions and values but it is not limited to either the institutional or coercive aspects of power (cf. Khuri, op.cit., 35-6).

In Arabic the term for influence is nufūth. The study of influence and the men of influence in Nabatieh thus was approached using the terms nufūth and ashāb al nufūth.

In studying the root of nufūth, however, a new perspective is added to the definition of influence. Nufūth, deriving from nafatha, would be literally translated as that which penetrates completely and affects. On this definition of nufūth it is postulated that an influential man can, figuratively speaking, get inside another person and thus modify or affect the other. However, on the basis of the research in Nabatieh as well as the etymology of the term nafatha, it is hypothesized that influence is the ability to complete the action of another. Thus the usual definition of influence, the ability of one person to manipulate or change the behavior of another, has been expanded.

Research Procedure

To identify the men of influence and to distinguish the more influential from the less influential the reputational technique was used.

The reputational technique has been used by many sociologists in different social contexts. For example, Hollingshead (1949) used it to derive a control list of 20 families characteristic of the five reputed social classes in Elmtown against which a panel of 12 judges rated 535 families. The most widely known example of the use of this technique is Floyd Hunter's study of

Regional City. Hunter got lists of "big men" in Regional City from the managers of civic organizations. Then he asked 14 judges, selected from relatively high statuses--business and professional people--to select out of 175 names the "top leaders". The judges narrowed the lists down to 40 mutually-agreed-upon leaders representing the ten highest scoring nominees from each list (Hunter, op.cit., 61, 269).

In this research a list of potentially influential men was drawn up by interviews with eleven informants of various positional backgrounds--all relatively active in the community. Elected and appointed government officials on the local level, members of the cultural club, the shaykh, schoolteachers, doctors, shopkeepers, craftsmen, tobacco growers were solicited to nominate men of influence. All the names suggested by these informants were written down and the sources of their influence examined with the help of two schoolteachers from Nabatieh. People with similar roles and characteristics were added to the list. Each name was then written in English and Arabic on three-by-four cards. These cards were later rated and ranked by specially selected residents of the town according to the degree of influence each judge attributed to the names.

Twenty-four people were considered to rate and rank the cards before deciding upon the final panel of nine men and one woman, whose names and relevant background information appear in appendix I. The number of raters, frequently called judges or panel of experts, is generally determined by using five to seven percent of the subject group. In this research, similar to Miller's study of Pacific City (1958), ten people were used to rate and rank each reputed influential man whose name appeared on the cards.

The panel of experts was selected in the following manner. The researcher asked several residents of Nabatieh to suggest impartial, knowledgeable people who might be of help in arranging the list of men of influence. The President of the Municipality, the director of the secondary school, several schoolteachers, the vice president of the cultural club and active member in community social development, neighbors and employers as well as fellow workers of the people proposed as experts were all consulted for suggestions and information on the choice of the panel. To assure the impartiality of views and a cross section of opinions several further criteria were used by the researcher to determine the choice of the panel. All the judges have lived in Nabatieh for a long period of time. They also represent

different occupational and educational backgrounds. None of them is closely related to the suggested men of influence on the list. And, lastly, they represent a cross-section of all the quarters in the town of Nabatieh.

Each of the judges was approached individually and asked to select from the list of names those whom he or she considered men of influence in Nabatieh, according to the following instructions:

"You are provided with a bag containing a number of names, each of which is written on a separate card. These names have been suggested to the researcher by informants who reside in Nabatieh.

1. Select those names you consider to be ashab al nufuth (men of high influence).

If you know any person whose name is not included among the cards handed you and whom you consider a man of high influence, please indicate this by writing his name down on one of the blank cards provided at the bottom of the deck of cards.

2. Take a second look at the names you have just chosen and (a) group those who possess equal or similar amounts of influence in one pile; then (b) arrange the piles in order by putting the most influential person on top, the next most influential person under him and so on. (Instructions in Arabic are found in appendix II).

A weight of "1" was assigned on the back of the top-ranked cards, a weight of "2" on the back of the second ranked and "3" on the back of the third ranked, etc.

When all the judges had arranged the names on the list according to rank of influence, the total score awarded each name was computed by adding up the weights and dividing them by the number of judges. Those who received a score between 1 and 1.50 were placed in rank I, those between 1.51 and 2.50 were placed in rank II, between 2.51 and 3.50 in rank III.

The results were the following. Out of 29 reputed men of influence, seven were placed in rank I, twelve in rank II, and ten in rank III. (See appendix III for the names of the influential men according to their ranks.)

Since the writer is concerned with high influence, she only interviewed the two top categories of influence. The questionnaire administered to these men of influence appears in appendix IV. Subsequently, each reputed man of influence in the two top ranks was further visited in his home and place of work. He was also observed in various informal public gatherings and formal meetings in Nabatieh.

From May to September 1966, the researcher lived in Nabatieh. Earlier in the year frequent weekend visits were made. The researcher attended public lectures and celebrations, the civic and religious courts, an usbū'e, and ġashūrā'. Mornings were also spent in the offices of the municipality, police chief, qa'innaqām, district water

company. That is, the researcher tried to live in both worlds--the world of the ordinary people of Nabatieh and the world of the influential people of Nabatieh. Observing and listening to the men of influence, watching the actions of non-influential people towards the men of influence and their families and listening to informal discussions proved in the long run to be the most informative and accurate method for learning what influence means in Nabatieh--a subject that will be discussed in the following pages.

CHAPTER 3

THE TOWN OF NABATIEH

Nabatieh is the administrative, trading and cultural center of the gadā (district) of Nabatieh in south Lebanon.⁽¹⁾ The town has a population of around 15,000. The majority of the inhabitants are Shi'ite Muslims. About 700 people are Greek Catholics. The population is young. Almost half of the registered inhabitants are under 15 years of age. About 25% of the registered population have emigrated to Beirut, West Africa, Kuwait or South America. They are temporary emigrés who have left Nabatieh to make money so as to improve their status in Nabatieh. There is also a Palestinian refugee camp on the southern boundary of the town. Around 2,000 to 3,000 refugees live there.

As a county seat, Nabatieh has a qā'immaqām (administrator), a police chief, a civil court and a religious court. The qā'immaqām represents all the ministries of the national government with the exception of the Ministry of Justice. In theory, under his administration are all the civil servants such as are in charge of registration (birth, death, property), taxation, water, electricity, health and social affairs. Most of the qā'immaqām's

(1) There are 20 aqdiyat (districts) in Lebanon, six of which are located in the south.

daily activities concern signing building permits before passing them up to the muhāfaza for final approval, recommending public works projects for the district to the muhāfaza in Saida, and listening to the complaints of mukhtārs, municipal presidents and various citizens from the town of Nabatieh and the 43 villages that comprise the district of Nabatieh.

The police chief (zābet) has a staff of 27 men, 15 of whom work with him in the town of Nabatieh. The others work out of the posts located in two outlying villages. The police chief and his staff are responsible for maintaining the peace and security of the qadā. Both the police chief and qā'immaqām reside in Nabatieh.

The civil court, presided over by a judge appointed by the Ministry of Justice, meets twice a week. It handles such questions as involve promisory notes, seizures or evictions, mortgages; penal crimes, the punishment of which does not exceed three years of prison; and civil disputes involving money or property which amounts to less than L.L. 15,000, as well as cases concerning rents and partnerships. The court also has jurisdiction in such matters as involve the failure to register births and deaths and the validation of wills and rights of succession.

The religious court meets every Wednesday morning. It is presided over by a Shi'ite shaykh who has been appointed by the Ministry of Justice. Under the jurisdiction of the shari'a court are matters concerning divorce, marriage, engagements and mihir (bridewealth).

All the representatives of these three branches of the national government on the district level may be transferred by the national government at any time to another community. It is prohibited by law to have a qā'immaqām, police chief or judge who is native of Nabatieh.

As a town located in the center of south Lebanon, commerce has always been Nabatieh's major economic activity. Agriculture has never been the principal source of income for the town. Today, however, many families with one or two dunums of land are now planting tobacco since one dunum of finished tobacco may give them anywhere between L.L. 700 and L.L. 1,000 profit. However, as the town grows in size and importance, many of the townsmen with small plots of land prefer to construct apartments or shops. They borrow considerable sums of money from various sources and later to pay their debts mortgage the buildings. It was related by the judge of the civil court that the major problem confronting most

Nabatiens is the inability to meet their debts and mortgages.

There are nearly 400 shops, garages and cafés in Nabatieh. They are generally small window-less garage-type buildings selling a variety of items such as imported dishes, pots, pans, tea, flour, sugar, etc. There are also a number of artisans in Nabatieh. Principally they are shoemakers, metal workers and carpenters. There is one store selling imported furniture and another selling modern household appliances.

But, Nabatieh has gotten its reputation for being the trading center of the district because it is one of the five communities in the south of Lebanon that has a suq each week. The suq is an outdoor market at which the villagers barter their produce for material and second-hand clothes. Fresh vegetables from the villages are also laid out on the ground by the various producers in the market area. The villagers also take advantage of their weekly trip to the town to see one of the five doctors, the qā'immaqāmiyah, and various other government officials.

The last source of income for the people of Nabatieh is emigration. The principal direction is to French-speaking West Africa where they work in commerce. However,

more and more young men from Nabatieh are today trying hard to get work in the government offices of Beirut or south Lebanon. As job possibilities increase for working in Lebanon, preferably near their hometown, the high tide of emigration can be expected to recede.

There is no newspaper published in Nabatieh. The town depends on Beirut and foreign capitals for its news-- both printed and broadcast. The formal media are supplemented by meetings of the recently formed cultural club (nadi shekif), the Friday khutba at the jāmi' and the gatherings at the Hussaniya (a building affiliated with the jāmi' in Shi'ite communities) on religious holidays and days of sadness. There are also two movie houses in Nabatieh. The coffee houses also provide the opportunity for news dissemination. All these modes of transmitting information, with the exception of the cultural club, are the exclusive domains of the men of Nabatieh. But, it should not be implied that the women of Nabatieh do not know what is happening in Nabatieh and take no part in communicating local news. In comparison with the women of the surrounding villages, these townswomen have considerable free time. They do not work outside the houses and within the home they are generally helped by their daughters, mothers-in-law, or housegirls. Most

of the women take an active part in the ritual of visitation which has become an organized aspect of their social life. Each quarter has a particular day when all the women living in it stay home to receive the women from the other quarters. Almost every afternoon is spent by the townswomen in this way. Visits are directed first to members of the extended family and, if there is time left before the setting of the sun, to friends. Thus, due to the extensive and regular circulation of both men and women in Nabatieh, the lack of a newspaper locally published in no way means the media for communicating local news is inadequate.

It was frequently related and observed that Nabatieh is a small town. Everybody knows everybody else and news travels fast. Kinship affiliation, real or putative, unites the community. Almost every household is related to every other in Nabatieh through either marriage or descent. Endogamous marriage is not necessarily the preferred marriage although it still occurs. There are four major families in the town whose sizes range from 500 to 1300 members. The possibility of marriage between a member of the smaller kin-groups and a member of one of these four large families is significant.

There are four quarters in Nabatieh. Midan and Bayad extend respectively on the north and south side of the

Saida-Marjayoun road, the main street bisecting the town. The two quarters of Midan and Bayad have recently been developed principally by the emigrants. The architecture is basically modern. The homes, sometimes quite large, are characteristically box-like, flat-roofed construction of yellowish stone or concrete. Most homes in these quarters are preceded by flower-lined walks and local shrubs. In Bayad and Midan live the rapidly growing middle class families of government employees, including schoolteachers, and the families of the emigrants. The more prosperous merchants also are building homes in these quarters. In Midan are found two recently built luxury apartment buildings with central heating and elevators. Located in the middle of Midan quarter is the Christian quarter which is the exclusive residence of the Greek Catholic community. The last official quarter in Nabatieh is called Seray. It is the oldest quarter in the town. Here off the main road streets are narrow walks between old mud and stone houses. The poorer classes live in this section. Also, in Seray, near the main road, are found the suq, shops, coffee houses, garages, and in general most of Nabatieh's activity.

As a municipality Nabatieh has a President of the Municipality and a Municipal Council of twelve men. The

President is not elected directly by the people. Rather, he is selected by the men with whom he ran for municipal office. That is, the people elect a list of thirteen men who will be their municipal officers. The elected list chooses from among their number the President. The term of the municipal officials is four years. The present President has held office since 1952.

Every quarter of Nabatieh elects a mukhtār. Theoretically, he represents the qā'imnaqām in his quarter. It is not necessary that a mukhtār reside in the quarter to which he was elected. The mukhtārs sign certificates of birth and death, property sales, and they frequently act as witnesses in matters concerning the citizens of their quarter. The mukhtārs are also responsible for reporting any crimes or incidents that have occurred in their quarters to the police chief or qā'imnaqām.

Lastly, the district of Nabatieh is represented in the National Assembly by three deputies. At present two of the deputies come from the town of Nabatieh and one from the nearby village of Kafaruman.

Politically Nabatieh cannot be said to follow a party system. There is no party which the population supports for election to the National Assembly. Generally, the practice is to vote for three candidates that subscribe

to one of the two lists. It is possible to choose two candidates of one list and a third from the second list. But, more importantly, the formation of the two lists in Nabatieh is pretty much directed by three feudal families in the south. Unlike most of the other districts of the south, Nabatieh is divided into three blocs. Two of these families, who can represent the district in the Assembly, have the preponderant influence. Thus, if Zein and Osseyran are assured two-fifths each of the votes of the whole district, Assad's nominees receive only one-fifth. This places in relief the fact that in national elections the intervention of the outside force in support of one of the two families inside the district, Zein or Osseyran, can spell the victory of one and the defeat of the other. But since, Osseyran and Assad are opposed, this leaves the Zeins free to choose which side they wish to join in the formation of an electoral list. In the last election they opposed Osseyran and allowed Assad to suggest two candidates from the town of Nabatieh. It would not be too far off the mark therefore to say that the candidates on the list are either supported by an outside force: Assad, or they are opposed to him and supported by one of the two former feudal families capable of representing the district who oppose Assad. Hence, the apparently tripartite

division of the population frequently resolves itself into a fairly equal split: Zein/Assad versus Osseyran. However, should Zein and Osseyran join hands, in opposition to Assad, his strength would be diminished.

Hence, it is observed that a partition based on politics and the presence of three families of traditional leadership exists in Nabatieh. The supporters of one former feudal family stand in opposition to the supporters of another traditional leading family in South Lebanon. A feature of this divided system of influence is that although the existence of moities is a permanent aspect of the society, the composition of the blocs is subject to change. In part this may be due to the intervention of the outside third force. But also the people themselves may change from one bloc to another. In the town of Nabatieh individuals may even go from the winning to the losing side should they find that the latter is in a better position to help them. On a factional basis, losing an election does not disqualify a man from exercising influence in Nabatieh.

This essentially political division spills over into many non-political activities such as friendships, visitations, advice giving, dispute settlement. Members of the opposing factions frequently try to cause trouble for those who belong to the other faction.

Theoretically, households align behind the head of their extended family who decides, sometimes at a meeting, the votes of the family members. However, factional loyalties can split families. Members of many extended families no longer feel obliged to heed the decision of the head of the family--even in the matter of elections. They prefer to think for themselves and make their own decisions. Thus, it is possible for members of a family not to visit or socialize with each other because they have been divided politically.

Historical Setting

To give some perspective to the study of influence in the present period, a brief history of Nabatieh should be sketched since 1900. Until a few years ago, Nabatieh and all of south Lebanon had been isolated from the mainstream of civilization. A macadam road had been built at the end of the Ottoman Caliphate which connected Saïda, Nabatieh and Marjayoun. However, it was narrow and heavily rutted. Most travel in the region before World War II was on donkey, horse, cart or public coach.

Under the Ottomans Nabatieh was administered by a mudîr (director) who was responsible to the wali in Saïda. Besides the mudîr, the Ottoman administration appointed a police officer and a tax collector for the district of Nabatieh. During this period the population, then around

2,000, was stratified between the community's za'im (more or less under the influence of the district za'im),⁽¹⁾ three or four small landowners, tenant farmers and about twenty shopkeepers. Even at this time, it was related, commerce was an important source of income for a large percentage of the population. Nabatieh was particularly renown for its shoemakers. The people of Nabatieh, unlike the surrounding villages, turned to crafts and trade. Water and land were insufficient for profitable farming. The land did not provide enough work for all the population. Most of it was owned by one family and the remainder by three or four families.

If Nabatiens were their own masters in their shops, they were not their own masters in much of their economic, political and social life. A few tradesmen and artisans

(1) In the Shi'ite south of Lebanon a man inherits the title of za'im. He is the spokesman of a former feudal family which has maintained its traditional superior economic and political position in the district (cf. Hottinger in Binder, 1966: 85-6). Many peasant families still remain dependent upon them economically since they work or have rented the land of these former feudal families. Moreover these hereditary elite families have for at least 2 generations represented the Shi'ites of the south in the government. They are revered by the peasant families, the majority of the district population. They are respected by the townsmen of Nabatieh for their superior wealth, education and political experience. In brief, a za'im will be defined operationally as one who has inherited the right to command and represent the people who are attached to him.

became rich enough to be considered bourgeois. But their power was seconded by the feudal lord whose authority was legitimated by the Ottomans.

The inhabitants of Nabatieh, no matter what their station in life, should they not be of the al-Zein or al-Fadl family, were constrained in most of their actions. For example, they could not wear western dress without fear of inciting the wrath of the zu'ama (plural of za'im). Each evening they were obliged to gather in the diwān or at the home of one of the zu'ama. There they would entertain the beik (an honorific title frequently written in English as bey) with stories, songs and recitations. Also, the townsmen, like the villagers, were obligated to regularly give gifts--edible and portable--to the two beiks.

The level of education being low or negligible among the general population, the citizenry were dependent upon the beik and his family for advice in what to plant, buy or sell; whom to marry or divorce; how to meet the taxes or the rent; how to complete an affair with the government or to get a friend out of jail or military service. So accepted were the decisions of the beik and his family, who were the only ones to receive extensive and secular education, that most citizens left their problems at his doorstep for him to handle as he saw fit.

In the realm of jurisprudence, the beik served as judge-- there being no civil court at the time in Nabatieh. All disputes came to his attention and he would decide in his diwān who was right and who was wrong.

When the French took up the mandate at the end of World War I, they continued the Ottoman's practice of favoring the feudal landlords and the rigid stratification of the society. Thus, in the National Assembly created by the French in 1925, the two largest landowners in the district were appointed as the district's representatives.

With one or two exceptions the period of the French Mandate was uneventful for Nabatieh. One significant advance was bringing water to Nabatieh. Previously water was fetched by the women in a rain-filled well in the center of the town. Each week families would go out to the river at the edge of town where they would spend the night so as to do the laundry. Responsible for this important development was the district's za'im who sold many of his villages to meet the cost of such an extravagant undertaking. Even today the people of Nabatieh and the district feel indebted to this za'im and his ten sons who survive him for this valuable contribution to their lives.

The only other significant change that took place during the mandate period was the doubling of the

population to around 4,000 by 1932. According to Nabatieh's first doctor, this tremendous growth within ten years was due to the improved sanitary measures which reduced infant mortality in particular by nearly 40 percent.

Of especial significance for the present study, the period of the French Mandate was characterized by the dominating presence of the za'im over the heads of a largely illiterate and fearful population. Several efforts were made by Shi'ites living in Beirut to open schools in the south. It was related that their work was always thwarted and defeated by the opposition of the zu'ama.

When Lebanon became an independent nation some development began to occur in the Shi'ite south. During the forties a junior high school for boys was opened. The National Evangelical School, founded in the early thirties by a group of American Protestant missionaries, was enlarged to include students up to the brevet. In 1956 a small secondary school for boys was opened. The following year ground was broken for the school of the Maronite Sisters. Today there are some 700 pupils, preparing themselves for the brevet exam.

As the level of education improved in Nabatieh, the structure of influence began to change slightly.

The people of Nabatieh began to assert their independence of the za'im. Theoretically supported by the newly installed state and its laws the attitude of many Nabatiens, particularly the townsmen, towards the za'im changed. But, as the people were freed of their responsibilities to the za'im, so too were they given greater and greater responsibilities. As citizens of a newly-independent nation, they were asked to make many decisions and handle many problems--most of which were in new and unfamiliar fields of life.

In Nabatieh one thing stands out as a result of the improved level of education. Today Nabatiens boast of their individualism and independence. To strangers they declare that everyone is a man of influence and that no one is a man of influence. But in this case, as shall be shown, voiced opinions do not always guide action. The question of influence is a delicate one full of painful remembrances of a time they would like to forget.

CHAPTER 4

THE MEN OF INFLUENCE IN NABATIEH: A PROFILE

"The task of sociology begins only when it becomes necessary to explain interpretatively through what meaningful behavior the attempt was made to realize the desire for social power...why it has succeeded...and what understandable effects this desire had upon the meaningful behavior of other individuals" (Abel, 1929: 127 paraphrasing the "Verstehende Soziologie" of Max Weber).

In this chapter an attempt will be made not only to gain a more or less subjective understanding of influence but also to explore the causes and effects of an individual's influence. Firstly, the characteristics of the men who are the subject of this thesis will be described in a table and explanatory analysis. Secondly, an ideal-type man of influence has been constructed by perfecting the characteristics of the actual men of influence in Nabatieh.

The construction of the maximum-type or perfect man of influence allows the investigation of the motives and attitudes (the secrets as Nabatiens put it) of a man of influence. Moreover, the construct enables such concepts as the family, religion, marriage, traditionalism--purposely omitted from the preceding chapter--to be viewed from the perspective of the man of influence.

Table 1. Characteristics of the Men of Influence in Nabatieh

Names	A G E			O C C U P A T I O N							E D U C A T I O N				Head of Family	Home in Nabatieh and Beirut	Married Influential Family in Nabatieh	Active Member in Community Associations Events
	30-40	41-55	56-	Lawyer	Doctor	Land-Owner	Deputy	Local Official	School Teacher Civil Servant	Shaykh Priest	1ary	2ary	Univ.	Ph.D.				
1. A.L. Zein	x			x		x	x						x	x	x		x	
2. R. Chahine	x						x						x		x		x	
3. S. Osseyran	x			x		x	x								x			
4. G. Chahine	x						x									x		
5. A. Sabbah	x						x											
6. Shaykh Ja'fer		x								x		x					x	
7. A. Badr-dine			x		x		x							x	x			
8. Msgr. Sayegh			x							x		x						
9. A. Sabbagh		x						x			x						x	
10. B. Mirza			x		x	x									x		x	
11. L. Fayad			x						x			x					x	
12. A.A. Zein		x				x		x										
13. T. Chahine			x			x						x						
14. M. Zein	x					x		x							x			
15. H. Sabbah		x				x												
16. M. Sabbah		x			x	x								x			x	
17. A. Sabbah		x									x							
18. F. Chahine	x					x						x						
19. I. Jaber	x					x			x				x					
	8	6	5	2	3	10	6	3	2	2	2	8	4	5	3	5	6	5

Part I: Analysis of Table 1.

Several characteristics appear crucial to having a reputation for influence and in particular a high position of influence. Some of these have been clearly spelled out in the preceding table. Others are not so apparent and should be more fully clarified.

It appears that of all the traits that characterize the men of influence one is the most significant. It is apparent that the surest way to having a reputation for influence is via the office of deputy in the National Assembly. All top-five men of influence have been or are deputies and have well-planned intentions of representing Nabatieh again in the National Assembly. Being a lawyer, doctor or even high civil servant does not appear as significant as being the political representative of the district. There are a number of lawyers, doctors and high government officials from Nabatieh whose names do not appear on the list of the reputed men of influence.

Similarly, being a landowner, even if correlated with wealth does not appear significant by itself. It must be put to political use. Wealth is helpful insofar as an aspiring politician may buy the support of the za'im. The kind of wealth needed to buy a place on an electoral

list does not always come from the land--its sale or cultivation. Most of the wealthy men in Nabatieh have acquired their wealth in Africa or Mexico. Two of the three present deputies have been greatly aided in their political careers by the money of close emigrant kin who have returned to Nabatieh.

Again, the characteristic of age, which seems of some significance, must be placed in its proper perspective. It appears that the people of Nabatieh prefer being influenced more by the relatively young than by the old (cf. Gebara, 1964: 73). All top five men of influence are below 40 years of age. But, it is not exactly the people of Nabatieh who choose young deputies. It is rather the za'im of the region with the consent of the district's former feudal family who have chosen as candidates men who are apparently youthful, dynamic, educated, wealthy. The za'im tries to have an outstanding list of men running with him. But it is in his interest that his co-runners not be too strong personally or popularly. That is, the young men do not have the knowledge, the firmness of opinion, nor the wide circle of acquaintances with friends and foes, that the elders of the community have. The zu'ama thus choose young men who are not yet set in their ways, recently returned graduates

from foreign universities, who are neither well-known personally nor themselves sure of their beliefs and principles--perhaps still battling with the inner conflict of cross cultural ideas. The zu'ama choose young men who are leadable and not leaders. But most importantly, informants related that the zu'ama take the ones who can pay their way--L.L. 60,000 or more.

Running for election is a high gamble which only the large and wealthy extended families can play. No one household is in a position to pay such a price. It is from one's kin that the money comes. In this respect, marriage may play an important role in securing a position of influence. The wife may be the means (wasīla) of her husband's influence. The aspiring politician is careful to marry the rich man's daughter. In later years the father may be induced into contributing to his son-in-law's political success for the honor of his daughter as well as for his own family. For, the two families are now linked as one.

It is significant that influence in Nabatieh is in the hands of four families. Twelve of the men of influence belong to one of these families. Five of them are brothers to the top-five men of influence. Three men of influence are brothers-in-law to the top-five,

leading to the observation that each of the four major influential families in Nabatieh is linked by marriage to at least one of the other three. For example one branch of the Chahine family is linked securely to the Sabbah family. The Badrd-dine's are tied by marriage to the Zeins. It is noteworthy that three of these four families are (a) the largest in Nabatieh, (b) the wealthiest, and (c) the most united. The exceptional family, although neither large in number nor united, does appear wealthy and has important political connections gained principally through marriage.

The seven men who are not related to these families are the first doctor and educator in Nabatieh, the President of the Municipality, the Christian priest, the shaykh (related by a grandmother to the Assad family of Taybe) the recently-installed head of a large extended family group and a former deputy, member of one of the three traditional leading families in the south.

To conclude, several characteristics that were considered by the researcher previous to the field work to be important base values of influence: age, kinship position, active participation in community projects, and wealth were not found to be significant sources by themselves for having a high influence attribution.

Nabatieh's men of influence are not necessarily the eldest men of the community. But, insofar as they show an "ethical concern" in community affairs, they may be considered the ethically moral men of Nabatieh (Antoun, 1965: 8). They manifest this attachment by keeping open their homes in Nabatieh, visiting the town at least once a week if they live in Beirut, and promoting the ideals and interests of the community wherever they go. Marrying a hometown girl is not a necessary prerequisite for gaining a position of influence. It may not help at all. Men of influence seem to find more money and prestige outside the community which helps them build their political careers. However, at least one member of the family should cement the ties by marriage with at least one other influential family in the community. Hence, one young Zein was commanded by his father to marry a Badrd-dine. Another married a Chahine.

One last observation is that, on the basis of this table, participating actively in community events and associations does not appear to be an important base value of influence attribution. To some degree this is true. A number of young men who are active workers and participants in community projects and activities were not reputed to be men of influence. However, as the data in

the following chapter will make clear, being an active member in the community is helpful in perpetuating a high position of influence and gaining supporters. Not all the men of influence play an active role in community events. And, as will be noted in the concluding appraisal to this thesis, their influence is neither permanent nor as great as those who do.

Part II

Mohamad Ali--lawyer, deputy, landowner, father, faithful son of a large family, careful observer of religious practices and customs--is a man of influence in Nabatieh. Forty years old and dynamic, he is a man who appears immaculately sure of himself in society. He seems attuned to every social situation and at ease with people of all levels. Mohamad Ali holds up a face to society which sometimes appears decisive in thought and action.

But are these not generalizations which tell nothing of the values which have determined the action of the ideal man of influence constructed in this study? Some of these objective facts should be clarified by a more subjective understanding of the personality of Mohamad Ali. But before we can get inside of the ideal man of

influence, we should understand first his exterior appearance.

Mohamad Ali was born in 1925 in a region poor in things material but rich in traditions and beliefs. His father Abu Husain, signifying that Mohamad Ali is not the oldest son, was more fortunate than most in the Shi'ite south of Lebanon. He was the representative of a family numbering some 2,000 agnates. He was also one of the handful of landowners in the region.

From the beginning religion played an important, if not determining, role in the life of Mohamad Ali. Today, some 40 years later, Mohamad Ali claims that his name was chosen by the power of God, "al qudrat". A few days before his birth his mother in a dream saw the prophet Mohamad and his uncle Ali carrying a pigeon (signifying that a son was to be born). The appearance of Mohamad and Ali together in a dream is believed to add good fortune to all subjects in the dream. Mohamad Ali was thus from the beginning slated to be an important and extraordinary person.

In the atmosphere of a conservative Shi'ite household, Mohamad Ali began at the age of four to learn the Qur'an with the religious shaykh of Nabatieh. From an early age he was impressed with the indisputable

righteousness of religion--its traditions and derivative customs.

His primary education was obtained in Nabatieh at a school directed by the shaykh. Each morning he would be accompanied therewith by two of his father's zilem (peasants who had inherited their attachment to the house of Mohamad Ali). His father having early decided that Mohamad Ali should pursue an intellectual life, the boy was thus obliged to leave Nabatieh at the age of twelve to continue his secondary education in Beirut. Educating a son for a Shi'ite was, until recently, a luxury and a sacrifice since it imposed a son's separation from his family and his attendance at a secular or Christian school. Besides developing a spirit of independence and self-confidence once he left Nabatieh, his contact with a secular system of education obliged Mohamad Ali to enlarge his outlook and reorient his customary patterns of thinking.

In 1944, one of the few Shi'ites to have received the Bacc., Mohamad Ali returned to Nabatieh to wait out the end of the war in Europe. He was greeted by his family and thousands of neighboring villagers who had come to attend the three-day long hafli offered by his father. In 1946, carrying out his father's wish that

he become the family's first lawyer and a glory to his family, religion and region, Mohamad Ali departed for Paris where he studied law.

His education successfully terminated four years later, Mohamad Ali opens up a law office in Saida with money his father gained from the sale of some of their land. Realizing the danger implicit in selling the family land, Mohamad Ali worked hard to make his office a profitable venture. His success, however, resulted in his gaining considerable celebrity in the south. However, this celebrity although sought from the beginning by the family of Mohamad Ali was to have an unexpected and unpleasant repercussion on the family's financial position. Having heard of his powers of persuasion at the courts in Saida, the men of Nabatieh virtually invaded his father's household each morning asking him to speak to his son of some problem they were having with the government, a neighbor, or their wife. Thus, at the suggestion of his father, Mohamad Ali opens an office in Nabatieh. This obliges the family to sell more of their land. It does not take long for Mohamad Ali's law offices to turn into crowded philanthropic and service agencies. In any case, by selling their land, the house of Mohamad Ali does not lose their peasants and supporters. Rather,

it cements a relationship based upon a need as strong as the previous feudal dependence. Moreover, by selling the land to render more services, the house has rallied more supporters.

Just before his thirtieth year Mohamad Ali finds it necessary for various reasons to get married. Firstly, he believes that marriage is a necessary aspect of life which reinforces his family by insuring its continuity. Secondly, on a more trivial level, his mother has been preoccupied with the matter ever since his return to Nabatieh in 1944 when he spent two years close to her. Hence, with the aid of his mother he marries the only daughter of a wealthy emigrant who is the brother to the head of Nabatieh's second largest family. This marriage results in his physical detachment from the house of his father. But more importantly his marriage unites two large families, thus assuring victory for the newly-created bloc in local political issues. Also, his marriage will mean new and greater relationships and responsibilities which will in turn provide heightened opportunities for proving his personal influence and concomitantly the glory of his family.

Again looking at Mohamad Ali from the outside, one notes a ladder of preference in his social relationships:

- (1) members of his and his wife's family.
- (2) the religious shaykh.
- (3) men of influence.
- (4) mukhtārs, shopkeepers and teachers.
- (5) the common people.

1. His friendships are with the members of the two united extended families, even if they are not of the same educational or professional level as he. Visiting is reciprocal but characterized by a casualness in its occurrence. It is not necessary that a member repay a visit before Mohamad Ali would again visit him. Discussions between family members tend to be frank and open. There is no secrecy between them on matters of marriage or money. When rendering services, preference is always given to a member of the family. A family member's problem would rarely be put off until another hour or day. Family problems are handled immediately. Likewise, when Mohamad Ali needs advice, he most frequently consults members of his own family before asking advice from outside. Lastly, the preference for the family is manifest by the fact that family meetings are preferred to all others--even political gatherings in Beirut. But most indicative of his attachment or submergence in the family unit is the fact that whenever he is not at his home, one will be told that he is with another member of the family and/or visiting the shaykh.

2. Mohamad Ali's religious devotion is only superseded by his feelings for his family. He expresses this devotion by presenting al-walā' (devotion) to the shaykh. This homage is most apparent in the form of paying continual visits to the shaykh and his family. These relations are not reciprocal. The shaykh only visited him once: when he performed the kitāb. His relations with the shaykh, although sincere, are not as open or free as those Mohamad Ali has with the members of his family. Being of different families, some matters must be kept secret. Usually Mohamad Ali consults the shaykh on purely religious questions but sometimes also on political matters. Also, his relations may be directed by two reasons: religious belief and maslaha (vested interest). To some extent Mohamad Ali is attached less to the personality of the shaykh than he is to the position of the shaykh which makes him a source and distributor of influence.

3. Mohamad Ali visits the men of influence and their families. Here again preference is given to the most influential--even should they be momentarily out of favor with the shaykh. This shows that Mohamad Ali is more attached to the shaykh's position than personality. Finding it necessary to visit such an influential,

Mohamad Ali would take care to first speak with the shaykh. A day or so beforehand he would ask the shaykh's opinion about seeing a particular person about a particular project. In this way, the shaykh would not hear about the visit from others and thus be pre-disposed to taking a bad impression of Mohamad Ali. Mohamad Ali thus refrains from deceiving the shaykh or acting with two faces before him. The visits with the other men of influence are always reciprocal. Should this not be so, Mohamad Ali would seek to know why a man of influence failed to return a visit. Should he learn that the other man of influence was offended by an action of Mohamad Ali or that some misunderstanding exists between them, Mohamad Ali would visit him a second time in an effort to clear up the problem. If he learns that the man does not like Mohamad Ali or his family, the latter would cut off all relations until the former initiated conciliatory action in the form of a visit. Mohamad Ali would never consult a man of influence on a personal matter. Consultations between men of influence concern the formulation and execution of community projects or positions they should take on political issues.

4. Mohamad Ali visits and has social relations with mukhtārs, shopkeepers and teachers--if he has spare time.

Rarely does he meet with these people at their homes. Occasionally he asks their opinion on what Nabatieh needs.

5. He is always ready to receive the people at his home or office. He sometimes asks their opinions on what Nabatieh needs.

Mohamad Ali's action appears to be guided by several principles.

1. The concept of the continuity of the family is the point of departure for the action of Mohamad Ali. In this capacity he strikes out to defeat the emergence of political organizations since they threaten the position of large families in the influence structure of Nabatieh. Interestingly, in this matter, realizing that he needs help outside of his family, Mohamad Ali does not go to the men of influence of other families but to the shaykh. Confident in the personality and position of the shaykh he tries to gain the shaykh's agreement during their meetings by interjecting and expressing his ideas. The shaykh could forbid such organizations from forming or continuing by issuing a fetwā. That is, he could ban them on purely religious grounds.

2. Mohamad Ali's action is guided by the idea of sacrifice. His strong religious beliefs and the family

push Mohamad Ali to the idea of sacrifice. He is ready to give his time, money and energy to others without seeming to have helped them because he was interested in his own personal gain. That is, he shows real concern and dismay when he hears their problems. He supports members of the family in need, he aids others who ask for money, advice or his intervention in following up formalities with the government. With his family it can generally be said that he works with his heart. To paraphrase a proverb, he prefers to give the piece of bread in his mouth (to one of his family) than to eat it himself. With the shaykh Mohamad Ali is careful to show that he works for the preservation and glory of religion. He helps him in all religious projects and charitable works, making it a point to serve the shaykh before he has a chance to ask. With his family and the shaykh he makes repeated sacrifices frequently without being asked directly. With others of the community he is ready to help them when they ask.

3. His action is characterized by the habit of giving the initiative to others. He tries to get the opinion of others before giving his own. He refrains from interrupting the speech of others until they have finished. This is most clearly apparent at the family

meetings where he allows the elders, the more wise and experienced to speak before him. But this characteristic is equally manifest on all social levels. With the shaykh, the deputies, the other men of influence, even with the people of the street, he gives them the first word. He speaks only when asked.

4. Mohamad Ali tries to be with the majority or with the one standing (mfa al wāqif). In family meetings, for example, if a vote is to be taken on a matter, he will usually side with the majority. If he is in complete disagreement, he will try to get out of the situation by leaving the room or saying nothing. There is a saying in Arabic which warns that a strong current will make a man bend down, unless he joins it. Generally, Mohamad Ali joins the strong currents.

5. From the above it may be deduced that his ideas are flexible and he is able to act according to the manner or ability of other people with whom he comes in contact. For example, taking the two extreme levels of preference, should a peasant invite him to eat something, an egg perhaps, which he does not like or is allergic to, he will eat it. He may say, however, "You will make my eyes red and my feet swollen this day, dear brother." Hopefully, the peasant will suggest

another dish. If not, he will eat the egg and praise the peasant for having the most delicious eggs in the region. Or again, should his wife tell him in the evening that she would like to go to the cinema, he will obligingly satisfy her wants even if he is exhausted. His wife soon learns that in commanding or merely asking whether he would like to do something, she will get what she wants but she will also disturb her husband. She learns first to ask whether he is tired or what his plans are for the evening.

6. His action is characterized by an effort to fard-al wujūd (impose his existence on society). He profits from conferences and personal visits to expose the ideas of his family and propose community projects, also previously agreed upon by his family during one of the periodic meetings. In particular, it is always noted that when a project, even one suggested by another but acceptable to the family, requires monetary backing, it is Mohamad Ali who starts off the project by being the first to give a contribution. Hence, in five years his family sold nearly half of its land, but Mohamad Ali has contributed substantially to the construction of a hospital and third mosque in Nabatieh. The technical school being built also carries the name of his family.

It is true that Mohamad Ali likes peace and tranquility. He feels a certain calm in acting the way he does. But this would not be a total explanation for his action.

There is a proverb which says "one's desires orient one's action" (innamā al 'aḥmālu binniyāt). Another saying relates that a person only takes his good works with him (al insān ma biakhud ma ū illa 'aḥmālu). That is, two interpretations may be possible to his action. He acts as he does out of a belief that if he does not profit from this life, surely he will profit in the next. Or, he truly wants to act as the generous, friendly, neutral, flexible person he appears. Actually, neither explanation is quite complete.

It was noted that his attachment to his family is of primary importance in directing his action. This led to the second observation that he is not accustomed to make decisions by himself. This inability to be decisive would signify that he is not free. He is attached psychologically and metaphysically. This trait is particularly apparent during family meetings.

Mohamad Ali believes that the family is the supreme norm directing the action of an individual. The family exists as a unit sui generis, irrespective of the members

composing it. It is an institution and as such it has a power over its members. Hence, Mohamad Ali feels that the family has a legitimate right to control his action. His behavior should be in harmony with the idea of the family's continuity or preservation, on the abstract as well as physical level. Not only does the family give its individual members material support but it also provides them with a psychological reinforcement. In believing in the right or power of the family, Mohamad Ali preserves his position within that family. It is said that he who feels his responsibility toward the family unit the most will be the one who is chosen as the "mouth" or the name of the family.

Thus, to some degree, most members of the family actively participate in rendering services and helping other members. They consciously compete to outdo one another. But, as shall be shown below, premeditated and competitive rendering of services to the family out of desires for personal gain will not give a man influence. It is the one who naturally sacrifices his individuality, his existence, who is chosen.

The belief in the legitimate power of the family must be transformed into a feeling of duty or obligation towards the family. It is in this essential transformation

that the importance of religious training becomes meaningful for the men seeking influence in Nabatieh. The man of influence is expected to be of good heart, learned in the tenets and traditions of religion. It is because he has been so impressed by the principles of his religion, that the man of influence views his social action from the point of moral obligation. He naturally opens his heart to all men in need. Particularly on the family level, and to some extent in society in general, Mohamad Ali's willingness to help others takes the form of an obligation. He is majbūr bi 'ayltu. And because it is a feeling of obligation known by the giver as well as the receiver, he will receive no monetary compensation or expression of gratitude.

It is a somewhat dismal conclusion to the action of Mohamad Ali. This feeling of obligation on the part of all parties forces Mohamad Ali to sacrifice more and more of his time, energy and money. It is only through constant and extensive, one might say surplus, giving that his good faith is recognized and he is elected as the family's mouthpiece and, later, as the ideal man of influence in Nabatieh.

CHAPTER 5

THE SCOPE AND BASE VALUES OF INFLUENCE: INSTANCES OF INFLUENCE SITUATIONS

The people of Nabatieh, as noted in a preceding chapter, demonstrate a sense of individualism and the desire for democracy in their social relationships. These egalitarian sentiments are reflected in the dyadic relations into which they might enter. The townsmen seem to resent the idea of being influenced. Such concepts as influence and following recall the experience of the past when a domineering za'im suppressed individual freedom and initiative in the region.

Today's men of influence (ashāb al nufūth ^{أصحاب النفوذ}) should not make others feel that they are being influenced. It is noteworthy that there are no leaders in Nabatieh. It was observed that no man, other than municipal president, is able to make community decisions--and he is even limited by law. In Nabatieh, people moreover affirmed that those who lead the community and can command do not live in the town of Nabatieh. Only one man in the south was considered a leader. He is Kamel Assad.

At times the desire to make influence relationships appear egalitarian to the people of Nabatieh seems preposterous to the outsider. The men of influence,

especially the top-ranked, frequently address peasants and others of inferior station as "my brother", "our teacher".

Influence relationships en apparence are characterized by the equality of all parties to the relationships. But in actuality the men of influence have learned to cover up the differences in status existing between the subordinate and superordinate.

The men of influence in Nabatieh learn to practice al musāyara (المسايرة). They learn or know by intuition how to make others feel important. They cater to the spirit of individualism.

Literally al musāyara, deriving from sāyara, means to go with the current or traffic. In operational terms, it may be defined as trying to please everyone, appearing to agree with the reasonableness of the claim or opinion of one whose support is sought. To practice al musāyara is to be skilled in the art of postponing to another day the making of a decision. The men of influence are adept at politiking.

Men of influence practice al musāyara for a variety of reasons. But essentially they do so to be liked and listened to, to gain the confidence of others, to attract attention, in brief, to gain supporters. That is, his

reasons are usually egocentric. The ability to practice al musāyara is thus a source of influence as well as a characteristic instance of the exercise of influence.

There are two means of practicing al musāyara: direct and indirect. The direct method would be exemplified in face-to-face communication. The second would be characterized by the absence of the man of influence. For example, a man of influence (X), who is known for causing trouble to people he does not like, disputes with Y. Everyone expects that X will send his zilem to beat up Y. But as time passes no one hears that Y was treated badly. That is, X did not send his zilem. After six months, X and Y are reconciliated. By not sending his zilem to cause trouble for Y, X practiced al musāyara towards Y, and probably for one or more of the above-mentioned reasons.

In general, it was observed that men of influence yusāyirūn almost everyone with whom they may have relations. The form of al musāyara changes, however, according to the party towards whom the action is directed. Usually with the common man it appears as an effort to think along lines that interest them. Men of influence ask the common folk (free-hold peasants, shopkeepers and laborers) what they need. Should the reply

be money, the man of influence reaches into his pocket and gives what he can. Or, should it be schooling for a son or nephew, the man of influence promises or calls directly a director who can place the child in his school. That is, a man of influence directs the subject of conversation to the other. Sensing the principal interests of the speaker, he pleases him by showing an interest in the concerns and fancies of the other. He appears to approve and support the inclinations of others. He is politiking for their votes.

With government officials and businessmen, a man of influence tries to gain what he wants by practicing al musāyara. For example, he sends Christian civil servants and employers colored eggs at Easter. Others he sends costly material, candy, baqlawa or souvenirs from a recent trip abroad. Or, more directly, by telephone or personal visit, he may remind an official, particularly one of the same religion, of their religious obligation towards humanity.

With other men of influence, a man of influence practices al musāyara since he knows that they have relations and friendships with various government officials that he personally does not know. Hence, in the future he may call upon a friendly man of influence to render

a favor for him by contacting an official who can arrange some requested service. Hence, with government officials, businessmen, and other men of influence, al musāyara is characterized by reciprocity. Government officials and businessmen usually receive compensation in the form of gifts which offset any services they may later render. With other men of influence, al musāyara is based on reciprocal respect since it is realized that the help of other influentials is needed to exercise their influence.

With leaders the kind of musāyara men of influence practice differs from the above. They regularly present their respect for leaders so that they can have the support, the benediction, of the leader. Moreover, men of influence can not "play on the cord" with leaders as they can with other men of influence. Leaders, having more extensive and organized channels of information, are in a position to know whether the respect and loyalty offered by an influential is true or superficial. It is thus observed that towards leaders, men of influence are less free in their relations than they are in those with other men of influence or the common folk.

To illustrate the meaning of al musāyara and its importance for maintaining a position of influence in Nabatieh, two cases may be cited.

1. The fathers of two boys, aged 16 and 17, visited the office of a top-ranking man of influence in Nabatieh. Their sons had failed the certificate examination and they wanted the deputy to fix it with the principal of the complementary school so that the boys could pass on to the next grade. The deputy listened to their request. He did not express approval or disagreement. He called the principal by phone and asked him to come to his office. When the principal arrived, the deputy presented the problem. The principal said it was ridiculous. The boys were not capable of doing the work required in the complementary school. It was impossible to pass the boys out of the primary school. The principal left. The deputy called the fathers over to his desk. Calmly he suggested that the fathers consider putting their sons to work. And in this respect he said he was willing to help them. The fathers agreed that this was a good idea. They left the office smiling.

In the above example the deputy practiced two kinds of al musāyara. Insofar as he had previously cultivated a friendship with the principal, he was able to remain neutral and silent towards the fathers. The principal was willing to come to the office of the deputy when telephoned. The principal did the talking.

The deputy was relieved of the difficulty of intervening in a delicate situation. Another person was willing to tell the fathers that their sons were not prepared to leave the primary school although they had spent some eleven years in the first six years of school. The deputy practiced al musāyara indirectly to both parties: the principal and the fathers. Towards the fathers it was apparent by his refusal to intervene in a matter that was decidedly embarrassing and unfavorable towards them. Again, towards the principal, although showing respect, the deputy stayed neutral, expressing neither approbation nor disapproval. However, towards the principal, al musāyara took a different form than towards the fathers. It was not as immediately apparent, being a more or less continuous relationship initiated in the past and based perhaps on gifts and reciprocity of services.

2. Ali X was elected deputy in 1951. On Sundays his supporters and various other members of the community would come to his home in Nabatieh to ask him to render them services. If he did not feel that a demand was just or legal, he would criticize them in front of the others and outrightly refuse to help. He shamed many of his supporters in this way. After a few months the people got angry and said that he "followed the law too

strictly." They started to talk against him on the street, saying that he was too serious. Others complained that he did not know how to be courteous. With other men of influence he acted in the same hostile manner when not convinced of the justice of their claims. He vexed the region's leader and publicly lost the latter's support. After some time, Ali X resigned from the Parliament. When he ran a second time, he could not rally sufficient support from either the people or their men of influence and leader.

Ali X contrasts sharply with the other men of influence in Nabatieh. The top ranked influentials patiently listen to all the people who come to them and never get angry at their supporters. The lower ranked influential men do not listen to all the people who come to them. But, they rarely criticize the ones to whom they do listen.

Lastly, it should be noted that the participation of men of influence in various social situations is a kind of al musāyara. Their attendance at funerals, usbūʿas, marriages, mouhadaras, ʿashūrā' is a form of al musāyara towards a family, a group of individuals or the community at large.

The Resolution of Problems - Hall al mashakel (حل المشاكل).

The ability to listen and think on each person's level of interest and comprehension, a most important form of al musāyara, appears to develop in others a certain degree of confidence towards a man of influence. People begin to confide in him their problems. It appears that they have confidence not only that he will guard their secrets but that his opinion is exact and reasonable. They find that when a man of influence does speak, his thoughts are logical, knowledgeable, experienced--based upon the fact that he has perhaps listened frequently to similar or the same problems.

Yet, it would be inaccurate to say that all people seek the help of men of influence because they have confidence in the logic of his thought and his ability to keep secret their problems. Firstly, as will later be noted in advice giving, Nabatiens do not usually reveal their secret or intimate problems to the men of influence. Secondly, Nabatiens seek help from certain men of influence because these men have a reputation for resolving problems.

Men of influence gain a reputation for resolving other people's problems and in turn resolve more problems primarily due to several characteristics of the

people of Nabatieh. Gossip, exaggeration, imitation and jealousy on the part of the people in general can work in the favor, or disfavor, of a man of influence and keep him busy resolving other people's problems. When the people are satisfied by a service rendered them by a man of influence, they brag about it in the suq and homes of others they visit. Usually they distort the service rendered, maximizing the good points and keeping silent on the not so favorable. In this way, they show themselves off in front of the community. Also, they appear to have been esteemed by a man of influence. That is, they recount the service in such a light so that others understand the receiver is considered a friend of the man of influence. People start talking about the fact that X man of influence rendered Y service to Z shopkeeper, etc. The result is that people start asking themselves why X can not do the same or better for them. A simple incident overheard by the researcher may illustrate how this process works.

A certain man of influence got a job for a villager as a messenger in Beirut. The employer gave the messenger a suit and brief case to wear while working. Several weeks later the messenger visited his village on a Sunday,

wearing the suit and carrying the brief case. He proudly paraded around the village on arriving. The people noticed him and approached him to find out how it came about that he was so well dressed. He boasted that his good friend X had gotten him a job with very important responsibilities and he was making L.L. 500 per month. On the following Monday a distant relative of the messenger came to X's office in Beirut. He announced that he wanted a job just like X had given his cousin. He declared that if his uneducated cousin could make L.L. 500 a month and already have L.L. 2,000 in the bank he deserved the same. X became somewhat disturbed and called the messenger by telephone. Fearing that perhaps the messenger had stolen money from his employer, he asked him how it was possible to have L.L. 2,000 in the bank. The messenger said he did not have such a sum in the bank. He eventually related to X that he had gone to his village the day before and did exaggerate a little about his salary. X hung up the phone and told the cousin that it would be impossible to get a job exactly like the one he had gotten for the other villager. But, if the cousin was willing, he could get him a good job which did not pay so much but had possibilities. In the meantime he suggested that the cousin

go back to the village and not spread any more rumors about himself or his cousin who was most definitely not making L.L. 500 per month.

People go to a man of influence with their problems. Men of influence do not go to the people to hear their problems. At the home or office of a man of influence, people of Nabatieh inform him of their latest problems. A man of influence listens, nods his head during the presentation to signify that he is with the man speaking.

It was observed and related that there are very few occasions in which the post-independence men of influence, unlike the pre-independence za'im, can act alone. Today's man of influence rarely resolves a problem directly, that is without making a wāsta or being wasit (for the moment defined as being an intermediary). Most of the problems people present before men of influence are not ended once they are presented to the men of influence. That is, advice giving is not as quantitatively important in influence relations as resolving a constituent's problem through making a wāsta. There are two reasons for this. One reason already implied is that people do not usually confide intimate secrets to the outgroup or non-kin. Secondly,

most of the problems people have involve their relations with an outgroup such as the government, a school or an employer. The resolution of the problem thus necessitates mediating between the individual with the problem and the party capable of resolving the problem.

It was thus observed that the men of influence in Nabatieh do not usually make the decisions which resolve the problems brought to their attention. In most instances they do not have the capacity or authority to make these decisions. It is their role to be concerned with the problems of the individuals living in their community and to help them by channeling these problems in the direction that will provide a favorable and expedient solution.

The men of influence are able to contact the people who are authorized to resolve all the various problems that come to their attention each day. It is said that a man of influence "ʿandū ilāqāt", has relations with the high and the low (placed) or more forcefully ʿandū mudākhalāt ("The political capital of most traditional men of influence", says Khalaf 1966). The men of influence bimidū sabīlūn, stretch their fingers. They appear to enjoy getting involved in the troublesome affairs that others cannot resolve.

Advice Giving (إعطاء النصح)

Usually it is the villager or uneducated Nabatien who comes to ask the advice of a man of influence. It was observed above that most people in Nabatieh either consider their opinion just as good as any influential man's in most matters or they are reluctant to confide intimate personal or family problems to non-kinsmen.

The advice that the men of influence give generally concern a variety of subjects. Basically, they might be classified as follows:

- (1) politics--national and local. (For what mukhtār or municipal list shall we vote? What do you think about the general political situation?)
- (2) money. (What should I do with my money? Put it in a bank, buy land or build an apartment house?)
- (3) religion. (Do you want us to attend Ṣāshūrā? Do you wish us to visit the shaykh? What do you think of the shaykh? What do you think of the Christians in Nabatieh? Should we visit them?)
- (4) traditions. (Should I send my daughter to school? If so, is it preferable that she learn to sew or should she study like her brothers?)

(5) education. (What school is the best? Should my son start the French or English system?).

By and large the advice men of influence give is in response to a question considered banal or general enough to be made public. Frequently people come to ask an influential man's advice not because they want his advice but because they are curious. They want to meet him personally. They want to know about his personality, his ideas and how he acts with other people. They seek to see him at close range and live for a moment in the atmosphere of an influential. Sometimes people come to ask a man of influence his advice because they want to see how popular he is. They want to see how many and who visit him. Another reason people come to ask his advice is to see whether he offers food and drink to his guests. But, in particular, it was observed that the people of Nabatieh like to visit a man of influence, particularly one with many visitors because it gives them the chance to show themselves off and to speak before the others.

On the Sunday mornings in the homes of the top-ranking men of influence a variety of conversations and short speeches may be heard among the men reclining over a cup of coffee and perhaps a narjile. Some orate loudly

about the political situation of the country. Others recite verses of the Qur'an to show off their learning and religiosity. Others try to amuse the group by putting forth some banal problem of the household on which the man of influence may be asked to advise.

In summary, it was observed that pure advice giving is not a strong characteristic of the exercise of influence in Nabatieh. For serious problems the individual usually consults the members of his family before going outside the kin group. If unable to be resolved in the home, a man seeking advice on how to clear up a problem, or act in a particular circumstance, is next likely to go to the head of the extended family (if one exists). Otherwise, he seeks advice from one who is knowledgeable in the problem area. In questions of religion, people generally go to the shaykh; education, an educator, etc. But, in all cases, people seeking advice stay as close to the family as possible. The men of influence are usually the last ones the people of Nabatieh ask for advice--unless of course they are related.

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Following Up Other People's Business - Mulāhaqat
al muʿāmalāt (ملاحقة المعاملات).

Advice giving frequently leads to mulāhaqat
al muʿāmalāt. That is, in many instances, people are

not only asking a man of influence to suggest a course of action but to actually intercede on their behalf in that action. The very nature of the problems brought to the attention of men of influence are conducive to this outcome.

The affairs that men of influence take care of, like the advice they give, may be of a private or of a public nature. Two examples will illustrate how advice giving on these two levels leads to an influential's actually interceding in the resolution of the problem.

A father comes to ask an influential man's advice on whether his son should quit a job in which his employer had maltreated him. The man of influence suggests that perhaps the maltreatment was unintentional and that the son should stay on the job to see whether relations would be ameliorated. Two weeks later the father returns saying that his son is still being maltreated. The influential man suggests that the son come to see him. Discussions with the son reveal that the employer is treating him unjustly but that the son is reluctant to quit his job. The son asks the influential man if he might speak with the employer on his behalf. The man of influence promises to do all he can to ameliorate the situation. In the coming days the man of influence asks

around his acquaintances who knows the employer. He finally finds someone who is a friend of the employer. The man of influence thus asks his friend to get in touch with his friend the employer and speak on behalf of the son who is being overworked.

On the public level, a mukhtār from a nearby village asks a man of influence how he can help the shaykh in his village get the money to buy a microphone for the village mosque. The influential man asks how much the microphone will cost. The mukhtār says L.L.200. The influential reaches into his pocket and gives him the money.

Matters on the public level are rarely so simply resolved as in the latter case. Usually they require that the man of influence form a delegation to visit several government departments and ministries to get the necessary approval and allocation for a community project. These will be dealt with later. At the moment attention will be directed to the pursuit of personal problems.

Getting jobs, facilitating the bestowal of building or tobacco permits, arranging a better price for a cultivator's tobacco, fixing a fine or prison sentence for a minor infraction are examples of mulāhaqat

al gadāyā or al muʿāmalāt situations in which wāsta is necessary.

Most of the problems people have today in Nabatieh concern their responsibilities towards the government or services that the government can provide. The ordinary man of Nabatieh does not feel able to go to the responsible government official. As one Lebanese public administrator put it, the average Lebanese goes to the top if he needs any government action. Principally this stems from the heritage of a high degree of centralization in Lebanese administration (Bashir 1966: 24). That is, because there is a tendency to bypass local officials and lower-level civil servants in seeking a more rapid solution to an affair, the average Nabatien is afraid to pursue some personal problem by himself. He realizes that he would never be admitted to the office of a high-level official. Thus, he sends someone who will be admitted and listened to. Sometimes, however, a Nabatien may have a problem that can be resolved by a local official. On this level, the more educated usually take the initiative and go directly to the responsible office. But, even on the local level an average Lebanese may find it difficult to gain entrance. In the end, they may send a man of

influence to speak to the district officer so that they can get a permit to build another room in their house.

It was related that one Nabatien went five or six times (some said ten times) to the office of the qā'immaqām. Each time the secretary refused to show him into the office of the qā'immaqām. Finally, the man went to Anwar X, a high-ranking influential. Anwar went himself to the office of the qā'immaqām and asked the secretary to give the man a permit or let him see the qā'immaqām. The secretary said he was too busy. Anwar grabbed the secretary and hit him. The qā'immaqām came out of his office and made a report to the muhāfiz in which he threatened to resign if action was not taken at least against the man who wanted the permit. Anwar went to the muhāfiz and warned that he would make a strike in Nabatieh if a process was started against the man who wanted a permit. The muhāfiz tore up the report.

Whether the above story is an exaggeration or not, it places in relief the fact that men of influence can actually, or are believed to be able to, do things which ordinary people can not do. This stems from the fact that men of influence have relations particularly with government officials (ʔandū mudākhalāt) whom they may also have bribed with gifts and money. Similarly

influential men have the ability to speak and open a question or discussion. And lastly men of influence have a popular and/or official support (zilem and/or government position) which gives them greater freedom of action.

The fact of coming to a man of influence to ask him to intervene or intermediate in an affair expresses the term: wāsta, which one finds at the base of most activities that take place in Lebanon. This wāsta can mean: (1) the man of influence is going to pursue the matter personally (wasIt); or (2) he is going to get someone else to pursue the matter, i.e. he intermediates another wasIt..

Implicit in the concept of wāsta is the idea of sacrifice of time and of money. The wasIt is obliged to see that a problem is solved. The pursuit of the matter may be done by writing out a white card of introduction, sending a letter or expressing over the phone the whole problem, particularly if it concerns the poor and uneducated. With the problems of the educated, the men of influence usually arrange an interview or meeting, leaving it to the educated to explain their problems. But, in any case, whether intervening on behalf of an illiterate or licencié, the man of influence is obliged to sacrifice from his pocket and his time.

The sacrifices that a man of influence makes in acting as wasit are usually invisible. The men of influence do not, or at least try not to, birabbhū jmili. That is, they do not point out to others that they have rendered them some service. However, the men of influence usually do manage to convey the fact that a sacrifice has been made for them. This can be done when an individual returns to express his appreciation for a service rendered. A man of influence is likely to tell him that there is no need for thanks. The important thing is that the person is happy in his job, for example. Even if they did have to spend a considerable amount of time and money to get the job, it was worth it. The essential thing is that the man is working. The other way of indirectly making people aware of the sacrifice is to mention off-handedly to his zilem that he rendered a particular service to X which took about four hours of telephone calls, etc. The zilem will be sure to speak about the episode in the suq and cafés. Thus, whether or not the men of influence directly practice tirbih jmili, it is observed that it is in their interest to remind individuals and the community of their good works.

Influence relationships are characterized by reciprocity of services and confidence. That is, the men of

influence expect to be repaid at some future date for the services rendered. The compensation they seek is principally of a political nature. They seek to gain votes. Or, they may repay a man for his support. Hence, men of influence do not always intervene on behalf of anyone who may come to them. For example, they are less likely to help someone if they know he voted against him in the last election. And, as will be noted later, men of influence in refusing to help someone can even work against that person and cause him trouble.

Before turning to the next section, a few cases will be cited to illustrate how and in what areas the men of influence in Nabatieh resolve problems by making a wāsta.

1. A policeman gave a mukhtār a ticket for parking his car in a restricted area of Nabatieh. The mukhtār protested that his was not the only car parked in the area. The policeman, he said, should give the other car a ticket also. The policeman replied that for the moment his only concern was giving the mukhtār a ticket. The mukhtār punched him and in turn was arrested. Later in the day the mukhtār was taken to the prison in Saida to await trial at the military court. About four days later the mukhtār was released from prison without a

trial. He was saved from up to four years of prison by the brothers of one of Nabatieh's deputies. One of these brothers, working in Nabatieh, heard about the affair. As the mukhtār was a supporter of his brother, he got in touch with one of his other brothers who at the time was the commander of the gendarmes in Beirut. This brother intervened on behalf of the mukhtār by contacting the police chief in Saida. Hence, the mukhtār was saved. Among other things the above incident underscores the importance of having family members well placed throughout Lebanon's political machinery. The family that saved the mukhtār is perhaps the epitome of such an ideal set up since there are 10 brothers living in various parts of Lebanon, all of whom seem to be strategically placed for rendering services.

Within the domains of marriage, divorce and the family, the shaykh is frequently called upon to resolve a problem. Sometimes he resorts to wāsta to achieve a solution. The following case bears this out. However, it also serves to show that in many problems the shaykh, like other men of influence, is not the only person responsible for achieving a solution. In some instances, numerous contacts are made before a solution can be achieved. It should also be noted that in matters of

such an intimate nature, it is usually only the shaykh out of all the men of influence who may be sought to intervene.

2. A man married a woman by whom he had a daughter while they were in Africa. After one year of marriage the wife wrote her father in Lebanon that her husband was beating her and refusing to divorce her. According to the shaykh, should a woman divorce her husband, she can receive no alimony. The husband, on the other hand, is obliged to give her the money promised in the case of divorce on the day of their marriage. The father of the unhappy wife spoke with the husband's father so that he would write his son to divorce his wife or, if he loved her, to treat her more properly. Nothing occurred from this effort. The father of the woman then went to the shaykh in Nabatieh who telephoned the ambassador of the African country in which the couple lived. It was related that the ambassador exercised some pressure on the husband through various channels of his national government as well as members of the Lebanese delegation. However, at the same time, the head of the husband's family wrote the husband. Thus, who really convinced the husband to divorce his wife is difficult to determine. Most probably it was the combined pressure of father,

shaykh, ambassadors, head of the family. Yet, despite all this intervention on the behalf of the wife, the young man promised to divorce her only on condition that he would not have to pay her or the child alimony.

In the last case to be cited, it will be noted that calling upon a man of influence to intervene in a matter with a government official may sometimes be more expensive than actually resolving the problem personally. Fortunately, for the men of influence the example of the judge cited below does not appear typical of much of Lebanese administration.

3. A man got a ticket for blowing his car horn in the center of Nabatieh. Normally the penalty for disturbing the peace is L.L. 5. Perhaps unaware of this and afraid of the authorities, the offender went to a deputy who had received a licence in law to ask him to represent him in court. To send a representative he needed to get a notarized petition which with all the various stamps costs L.L. 8. In court the judge asked the lawyer-deputy representing the offender if he was not ashamed of his action. He requested the influential to leave the court and called in the offender. He fined the offender L.L. 5 and then reprimanded him for not having the courage to personally appear before

the court instead of hiding behind his deputy. In this case, the judge reminded the individual that the influential was not helping him out but causing him trouble. A footnote to this episode is that this young and dynamic judge was removed from the bench at Saida and Nabatieh and placed in a minor court in Beirut. It would seem, thus, that "the fix" or wāsta is not on the way out in Lebanese administration. But, rather that those officials who oppose its use do not stay long on the job.

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Following Up Community Projects - Mulāḥaḡat al Mashārīḡ

(مدحمة المشاريع).

The men of influence in drawing their influence from the community and exercising their influence in the community have a responsibility towards their community. It was related that a man could not be influential if he did not feel with his fellow citizens and if he did not show his fidelity to Nabatieh and its development.

A man of influence does not usually resolve a community problem. He participates in its resolution. Most community problems take the form of community welfare and development projects. The men of influence are obliged to participate in the formulation and execution of these projects. Being the most educated and presentable, they are the mouthpieces or the representatives of the community. They express the sentiments of

the people and the needs of the community. The moment a man of influence delays in acting for the community or places himself outside of the community, the people turn away from him and seek another to represent them. That is, the feeling of trust and respect is reciprocal. If he takes his responsibilities as an honor and tries to execute community projects, the people are willing to respect him.

To this day one hears people thanking Yusef al Zein because he brought drinking and irrigation water to the neighborhood of Nabatieh. Even though they pay for the water, they feel indebted to him and his family for the service he rendered them back in 1925.

One is also reminded of the fact that the men made a public demonstration in support of the shaykh who seized a piece of land from a Saidonian so that he could build a community mosque. Bare-chested, the men proclaimed the righteousness of the shaykh's action even though he refused to pay the owner for the land seized. They were so convinced of his right to claim the land that they beat their chests with fists and ropes.

Similarly, the people will not forget another man who went before the President of the Republic, a personal friend, to get the money to pay for the land the shaykh seized.

The list of individuals who have stood up and worked for the interest of the community is not long. Perhaps for this reason the people do not easily forget the names but find it easier to forget the means employed to reach the ends.

Thus, one man is greatly admired because he had the courage to grab a civil servant in the Ministry of Public Works who refused to listen to him about a project which would redevelop the poor section of Nabatieh.

Usually, however, the men of influence in their efforts to appear as the heroes and champions of Nabatieh act more quietly and diplomatically than the above examples would imply.

It was noted that most the projects are formulated by the municipal council which meets regularly under the leadership of the municipal president. The ideas for the projects generally come from the people. Municipal employees each day receive complaints and requests. These they place before the municipal president who may place them on the agenda of the council or, if minor and more of a private than public nature, resolve them without taking the approval of the council.

It is the responsibility, if not the authority, par excellence of the municipal council and particularly

its president to be interested and act in questions concerning municipal welfare. Recently, the council has come to enjoy by law a vast jurisdictional authority over local affairs (Bashir, op.cit.: 24, citing law of municipalities, 19 May 1963, Articles 60-2).

Frequently, however, it was observed that the council president seeks the aid of elements outside of the council. This is due to the fact that, though municipal responsibilities have been greatly increased, the municipality is not free to act alone without the approval of high administrative authorities, particularly the muhāfiz. Thus the municipality can formulate problems and projects but it can not decide these projects and assure their execution. Authorization must be gained from higher up. To impress the national executives in Saida or Beirut the municipal president may call upon the support of one or more of the community's notables who may have the time and interest to accompany him. He may also call upon a few wealthy and presentable emigrants as well as any citizens particularly knowledgeable or experienced in the problem being posed, i.e. doctor, educator, engineer--the specialists.

Usually in ordinary and local matters the President of the Municipality goes to the muhāfiz of south

Lebanon sometimes without having sought the council's ratification to the proposal. However, he would only do this in minor matters or when the council was unable to meet. That is, because almost every family in Nabatieh is represented on the council, no president who wishes to continue in office would hazard the chance of losing their support. Consequently, the president usually consults at least the heads of the four major families in Nabatieh or their municipal representatives before initiating any action or project with the muhāfiz or the national government.

In matters concerning florescent street lighting, sewage, garbage trucks and removal, street cleaning, the president of the municipality has gone to the muhāfiz for allocation and allotment after having gained the approval of the council.

Thus, it is observed that the national government is at the basis of mulāhaqat al muʿāmalāt al baladiyah. Local men of influence do not have the ability to resolve local problems. The resolution of community projects is a function of authority--the various executive agencies of the national government.

The men of influence mediate between community needs and government approval and allocation. They frequently

appear in local matters of a more important or higher level than can be resolved by the muhāfiz. In questions of vital importance to the welfare of Nabatieh, for example the autostrade that was to bypass Nabatieh and go through a nearby village, the general practice is to organize a wafid (delegation) of three or four men of influence and the president of the municipality. On matters that are considered especially urgent or important at least one deputy is included in the wafid. He is usually the one who speaks before the Prime Minister or the President of the Republic. In addition, one finds the men of influence acting individually to promote a community project. Each according to his circle of acquaintances in the various ministries seeks to make a wāsta with a minister or an approving signature. In the use of this method the sacrifices of each individual are more apparent and generally more significant. He gives more of his time and energy and money but he also receives more recognition and influence. The incident recounted above of the deputy who seized the public works official by the collar was an example of a wāsta attempt--which incidentally succeeded. The ministry listened to the request and is considering the matter. But, it may be necessary to grab many more civil servants

and particularly government ministers before the project to redevelop the poor section of town will receive an allocation. Then to turn the allocation into useable cash will provide a number of opportunities for interested people to try their hands at wāsta.

In making a wāsta with a civil servant in a government ministry, deputies appear to have an advantage by law over the other men of influence. They have the right to demand a response from the ministry if after 40 days the ministry does not reply to his request. If still the ministry fails to respond, the deputy can present the case before the parliament and demand a vote of confidence on the government.

It was noted that besides local officials no more than 20 men participate in the real work of formulating, presenting and following up the execution of community projects individually and as a group. The core of this working group around whom the others rotate for finalization of ideas and suggested action are the three deputies, two of whom may be considered helpers to the third who is the head of the electoral list as well as of the district's traditional leading family. In every important and urgent matter the advice and help of this young za'im or of his brothers is sought.

Any number of interested citizens may attend a meeting to discuss a particular community project or community development in general. But generally other people are put au courant or invited by the municipal president or deputies. In this way the possibility of disagreement is minimized and the work is expedited. It is only by means of the municipal council that varying points of view may be expressed. As mentioned earlier, it is at this level that one sees the influence of the heads of the families in Nabatieh since each member represents a family group. If the council knows that a meeting will take place with the deputies, there is a possibility that the unanimity of opinion may be more difficult to obtain. But, it seems that in most issues of vital community interest family heads as well as individual men of influence generally forget their personal misunderstandings to see to the execution of a project favorable to the community.

Thus, in summary, it is noted that representing the needs and problems of the community before the national executive, particularly ministers and the chief of state, through wāsta or wafid is a form of exercising influence as well as an esteemed basis for building up a reputation for having influence. However, it is not sufficient by itself either as a source

or manifestation of the exercise of influence by the men of influence in Nabatieh. For example, it seems pertinent to cite the case of the man who, despite the fact that he paid L.L. 65,000 for the construction of the ma'thani and generously makes contributions to the shaykh for the poor, is still considered by the people of Nabatieh to be stingy because he has isolated himself from society and does not help individuals. Moreover, a number of people participate in the formulation and presentation of community projects before the national government who are not considered to be men of influence in Nabatieh: wealthy emigrants; professional men such as teachers, lawyers, doctors; well-to-do shopkeepers; heads of families. Other people who are considered influential do not always or regularly appear in a wafid or have a reputation for representing the community before the government. Yet, the members of the community consider them capable and willing to represent Nabatieh, if they had the time or were favorable towards the deputies. Hence, it is observed that participation in community projects is somewhat limited by local political and national administrative structures. It appears that playing an important role in representing the community's interests before the national executives is correlated

with being a deputy, a high-ranking government official or a relative or close friend of the members of the central group.

This section has highlighted the fact that influence is embedded in elaborate and extensive personal relations. The man of influence appears to be forever a friend in need (Merton, op.cit.: 74-5).

In a highly personalized community living in a depersonalizing society, the man of influence serves the social function of humanizing and personalizing the impersonal assistance of the "Great Society".

Finding jobs, scholarships, getting building permissions, fixing up minor scrapes with the law, looking after the sick and poor, all the big and little crises that Nabatiens face which they are unable or unwilling to solve alone, sooner or later come to the attention of one or more of their friends who are influential, who know the various ways through the maze of the great impersonal society.

The multitude of organizations available in American communities of equal size for providing such assistance do not exist in Nabatieh. Welfare agencies, legal aid clinics, settlement houses, public relief departments, guidance and vocational placement centers are lacking in

Nabatieh. Men of influence fill these gaps in the social structure.

Most problems facing Nabatieh--private and public--involve government departments or ministries for their resolution. Some Nabatiens are afraid to go alone in the cold, complex and strange impersonal atmosphere of the bureaucracy. If they do not know the bureaucrat, they assume they will have difficulty in getting what they want. Others, particularly in quest of government appropriations, do not have the time or patience to go four or five times to Beirut. Thus, they go to someone they know personally and have confidence in because he is known in the Great Society of bureaucrats and entrepreneurs.

There is no loss of self respect or humiliation in asking a favor from a friend. Friends exchange favors. And, by and large, the resolution of most problems entails an exchange of favors--getting a little more than is legal or getting it a little faster than usual.

Desirous of showing his superiority, of winning followers, the man of influence in Nabatieh seeks to be the friend in need who will render a favor when asked. Today, men of influence give services rather

than goods to the community. They mediate between the source and the receiver (cf. Hottinger, op.cit.: 86). But, to the ones who can resolve problems they sometimes lavishly bestow gifts and money.

The men of influence have an interest in participating in the sacrifice of their time and money. It is an interest guided by rational calculation--fully aware of the reciprocal nature of the contract inaugurated by the pledge of time, money and energy.

It was observed that although the men of influence tend to spend more time making sacrifices for the individual members of the community, they can not overlook making sacrifices for the community in general. The men of influence find themselves morally tied to the community and its surrounding villages. If they can give something to Nabatieh, they are assured a permanent base of influence. But, past experiences have shown that the participation of men of influence as well as regional leaders in the execution of community projects is only an attempt, sometimes only a show. Most of the time it is the Government and its willingness which is behind the execution of community projects. Thus, the men of influence, whether achieved or hereditary, who wish to continue their influence over individuals,

devote much attention to these individuals by making regular sacrifices as already noted. Influence, it is repeated, is embedded in interpersonal relations between individuals. Exchanges and contracts in influence situations in Nabatieh are personal and individual.

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Arbitration and Mediation - Hakam (حَكَم) wa Wasātah (وساطة).

The men of influence in Nabatieh settle various kinds of disputes. These disputes may be of a political, religious, economic or qabadāy nature.

There are two methods of settling disputes: hakam (arbitration) and wasātah (mediation). It should be noted at the outset that the presence of the two courts of law and the gendarmes has modified the role of men of influence in dispute settlement. Serious disputes generally come to the immediate attention of the authorities. In serious questions such as murder, the abduction of a sister, wounding or insulting another in public, the men of influence supplement the legitimate authorities for adjudication. That is, the role of the influential man in Nabatieh as hakam has been greatly diminished since national independence. However, they are frequently called upon to reconcile the parties to disputes since arbitration does not always result in

the settlement of the discord; or, it is impossible to find an arbitrator.

Hakam supposes firstly the agreement of two disputing parties that a man of influence act as the hakam. Secondly, hakam is premised upon the neutrality of the man of influence towards the two parties. Thirdly, hakam implies that a decision--neutral and logical--will be given at the end.

Usually men of influence act as hakam for disputants who are followers, employees, members of his family or neighbors. That is, the man of influence who acts as hakam has sufficient authority and/or confidence over the disputants to make a decision. Thus, the use of hakam is relatively limited as a device for settling disputes in Nabatieh.

Wasātah, although it takes more time than hakam, is the preferred method for settling disputes in Nabatieh. Several reasons may be seen why this is so.

- (1) It is not as costly a procedure as going before a court.
- (2) It is a method which is private and friendly. Strangers do not intervene.
- (3) It is faster than the courts.
- (4) The parties may have no claim before the law.
- (5) The parties do not want a decision.

Thus, it is observed that in wasātah the men of influence do not make a decision. They try to bring the disputants together. The motive for seeking wasātah is to make the other party amenable to the working out of a resolution that will be fair to both parties. And, in this context, it is found that the intercession of the men of influence is no longer based on authority but on friendship and acquaintance.

It is usual that a man is chosen as wasī who knows well both parties and enjoys their confidence, as well as having the ability to speak well and lead a discussion.

There are several ways of choosing the one who will perform the wasātah.

- (1) One of the two or more disputants chooses someone who is friendly with the other disputants.
- (2) Both parties decide on a mediator.
- (3) A third party chooses the mediator (family, friends).
- (4) A man of influence volunteers to act as mediator by calling the disputants before him together or individually (depending upon the gravity of the dispute) and proposing a reconciliation.

Although the preferred practice for settling disputes is to have the disputants decide their own resolution

after the suggestions of various possible decisions or outcomes by a man of influence, a few disputes were related to the researcher in which a man of influence actually was asked to make the decision that would resolve the dispute. In all cases the men called upon were either professional lawyers or judges qualified to deliver authoritative decisions. In all the cases the disputants were supporters of the hakam or of the same political bloc.

1. In a nearby village a refrigerator broke down. The man of the house went to the suq and asked someone to fix it. A man claimed that he fixed refrigerators and went back with the householder to repair the refrigerator. When he had looked over the refrigerator, he told the owner that he would have to buy some parts costing around L.L. 200. The owner gave him the money. The repairman never returned. After two weeks, the owner went looking for him with a razor blade. He found him in the center of the village and was about to cut him to pieces. However, by-standers managed to separate the two. The repairman threatened to take the matter to court. The owner went to one of the district's deputies and asked him to speak with the repairman. The deputy had the repairman brought before him at which time he

convinced the thief to give back the L.L. 200 and forget the court process.

2. It was related that about ten years ago a widow willed that after her death all her property (a house) be sold and the profit go to only one of her two daughters. (She had no sons and, being Shi'ite, daughters have a right to inherit all the property of their father.) That is, the widow tried to make void by a will the right of succession which would divide the property equally between the two female heirs. For two years the daughters disputed over the inheritance. Finally the deprived one went to the brother of Nabatieh's shaykh, also a shaykh as well as civil judge. He was able to convince the other sister to give one-quarter of the profit to the other sister. However, it took many months before this one-quarter was handed over to the other sister--although this is the arrangement stipulated by Islamic law.

3. A goat kicked a stone down a hill and damaged a car. The car owner went to a deputy so that he could get the money to repair the car from the goat owner. The deputy called the two disputants before him and decided that the goat owner was responsible for 50 percent of the damages and the goat for the other 50 percent. Hence, the car owner should receive one half of what he asked. Both parties were satisfied.

From the above cases it may be noted that those who settle disputes through hakam, as well as wasātah, are generally familiar with civil and religious law. They are thus in a position to remind the disputants what the outcome would be in a court of law as well as the time and money that would have to be spent in seeking the just solution. They also speak with conviction based on knowledge and experience. Similarly they can convince others of the logic and rectitude of a particular solution or solutions without injuring either of the parties. Particularly, in the last case, it is shown that having a sense of humor and ability to put disputants at ease are also valuable assets for the man of influence who is called upon to settle a dispute.

Men of influence do not like to settle disputes. Particularly they hesitate before acting as hakam. Primarily they fear losing supporters. Also, actively participating in dispute settlement requires a great sacrifice of time, energy and frequently money. Not everyone can successfully settle a dispute. It requires a personality which is self-confident and imposing at the same time that it is flexible and attentive to others. But being able to successfully resolve or reconcile disputes gives a man a reputation which cements his influence.

In actuality, the men of influence only infrequently settle disputes, particularly if comparison is made with the other services they render. Only when members of the family, friends, neighbors and even courts have failed, do people come to the homes of men of influence to ask them to settle a dispute. Similarly, the number of personal disputes has greatly diminished over the years. Disputes over land have been minimized by cadastral surveys, property registration and numerous laws. Disputes over inheritance are rare, partially due to the greater certainty surrounding the ownership of property and also due to the increase in the educational level of the townsmen. Similarly, no disputes were related to have occurred between man and wife which were handled by a man of influence.

Also, men of influence do not move in the "street" where most disputes currently take place. They do not resolve disputes in the market place. It was related that these disputes are resolved by by-standers, friends or the gendarmes. However, in the serious disputes between gabadāy, particularly those who are his followers, the men of influence may be asked to intervene.

Men of influence rarely resolve or reconcile cross-moitie disputes. Generally the problem is either referred

to the civil or religious court or reconciled by a mutual friend of the two disputing parties. Should disputants of different political blocs go before a strong man of influence of one bloc, the opposing bloc disputant is rarely satisfied.

About five years ago a man sold government land to another man. Today the buyer, realizing that he can not own the land, decided that he wanted his money back as well as indemnities for time and money spent in improving the land. He was convinced by the seller to go before the latter's political leader Abdel L, although he personally was a supporter of his opponent Samih. Abdel L suggested that his supporter pay back the money he had received for the sale (L.L. 700) and give L.L. 500 for indemnities. The buyer was not satisfied. The next day the two disputants appeared in court. The judge delivered the same decision. It is supposed that the buyer will now be obliged to be satisfied.

Problems between members of different moities were observed and related to rarely become completely settled. They are likely to erupt repeatedly until one of the two parties joins the moitie of the other.

Two neighbors have been disputing for years over the line dividing their property. One plants a tree

and the other protests that the tree has been planted on his side. One builds a wall and the other tears it down claiming that it has been constructed on his side. In this way the two neighbors have come to blows several times. About a year ago they went to court. However, they refused to abide by the court's decision and once again they began to fight. A member of one of the two families succeeded at the time in quieting the two men down. However, neighbors felt that they will without doubt start fighting again until one decides to vote for the same list as the other.

Top-ranking men of influence and their brothers sometimes are called upon to reconcile disputes between fathers and sons. Usually it appears that it is the father himself who asks the influential to speak with his son. It was related by one who is frequently called upon in such problems that particularly in the villages when young boys get a certificate either they run away from home, forgetting family obligations, or staying at home they disrespect and disobey their fathers. The miserable fathers thus come to those who have inherited their influence. They complain of being beaten, insulted, forgotten by their sons. It was related, however, by one of these influentials that

in most instances he was unable to permanently resolve the problem. The sons tell him that it is impossible to do otherwise with a man who walks behind animals and knows nothing. They thus continue beating their fathers.

It is not usual, however, for men of influence to intervene in family problems. These matters are usually kept secret within the confines of the kin-group. If unable to be resolved within the family, the men of influence may be called upon because it is believed they have a word that is heard (kilme masmu). But, here again the practice is to go to someone who is related perhaps only distantly.

In conclusion, it should also be noted that men of influence do not always intervene when asked to resolve or reconcile a dispute. They may stay neutral to protect their own interests or those of the party or parties they represent. For example, it was related that the shaykh refused to intervene in the resolution of a matter of inheritance. A man had willed that his inheritance be divided between one son and the zakat (alms due). The deprived sons and daughters requested the shaykh to ask their father to change the will so as to divide the inheritance between all the children. The shaykh failed to help them, since to do so would reduce the amount given in fulfillment of the zakat.

Some men of influence employ lawyers to represent their followers in court. The services of these lawyers are frequently gratuitous. It seems that in some cases in Nabatieh men of influence prefer referring their followers and other disputants to a court and paying the expense of lawyer and trial. Perhaps in this way they preserve their personal reputations at the same time that they appear to make the sacrifice necessary to gain and maintain supporters.

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Having Followers and Supporters

A fundamental precondition to having influence in Nabatieh is having followers and supporters. Informants and men of influence related that no man could be considered influential without having them.

Basically, there are four types of followers men of influence in Nabatieh may have: permanent and unconditional village-based; permanent and conditional town-based; temporary and conditional town-based; temporary and conditional influence-based. In broad outline, the different types of influence may be traced according to which type of follower predominates in the client group and is the source of his influence.

Influential men in Nabatieh may have men who depend upon them for their livelihoods. These followers and

their families may live in or near the house of the man they follow. This type of client group may number up to ten families per influential house and be of recent or traditional attachment.

Men of influence in Nabatieh create and perpetuate the obligations that bind people to them in other ways. They render services, settle disputes, give advice. People feel obligated to support one who has helped them--to return the service. Similarly men of influence sometimes have bought their influence from other men of influence.

It was observed that the hereditary politicians have a more permanent and unconditional group of followers than do the achieved politicians in the town of Nabatieh. These followers are called ʿatbāʿ and ʿansār. Their attachment is one based on custom and tradition. Men of influence do not achieve ʿatbāʿ and ʿansār. They inherit them. Prior to Lebanon's independence the three feudal families in south Lebanon had serfs who worked their land. These peasants were obligated under penalty of physical punishment to carry out the commands and promote the interests of their zaʿīm. These former serfs constitute the category of followers called ʿatbāʿ and ʿansār. Even though

today they have been freed economically and politically, they are accustomed to look up to their former feudal za'im. They are attached to traditions and one of the fundamental traditions is that Assad, Zein or Osseyran represent them. Thus, in elections they automatically vote with the house of their former feudal landlord and in times of difficulty they naturally turn to his house for help.

Judges and informants related that Ātbā' and 'ansār do not exist in the town of Nabatieh. The traditional seat of influence does not lie in the town of Nabatieh. Ātbā' and 'ansār support a former feudal family irrespective of its current representative. These feudal families as noted earlier do not live in the town but in the electoral district of Nabatieh. Traditional followers attach to a family name and it is not necessary that this name do anymore than theoretically represent them in the National Parliament. They continue their support even if this family fails to render requested services. The townsmen, on the other hand, do not have this tradition of being dependent upon and attached to a particular family. They are more free to choose whom they wish to support. They thus tend to look for outstanding personalities who can do the most for them individually

in time of need. That is, the townsmen expect concrete services in return for their support. Hence, the majority of the community's citizens are superficially and conditionally attached to the zu'ama--as they are towards all men of influence.

Nevertheless, a few townsmen are relatively permanent and unconditional followers. They are called zilem. Not all men of influence have zilem. Although all men of influence have people who support them at some particular time (mu'aiyidīn), that is on a situational even if only superficial basis, only the top men of influence have people who are sometimes physically attached to them, following and standing up for them in social events.

Zilem are seen most clearly in action during holidays, festivals and various other social occasions--private and public. The day before the falleh they march in the streets besides and behind the men they follow. When a top ranking man of influence or his brother is to attend a social function, his zilem and the people they have rounded up a few hours before by force or monetary persuasion prepare a triumphal way for him. Thus, when he enters the place of the meeting, everyone present may stand up, even his enemies, and cheer him with yells, whistles, drums and tamborines.

It was related that at the funeral of Yusef el Zein, a za'im, the zilem of another za'im, Ahmad el Assad, applauded and cheered their leader when he entered. The son of the deceased za'im became so enraged that he tried to shoot the other leader on the spot. He was however restrained by the other members of his family to remind the guests by microphone that they were at a funeral and not a party.

Briefly, it was stipulated that all men of influence must have people who can "carry their word to the people." Men of influence should have others who will publicly stand up for them in situations that test their influence. It was related that btikhla al sāha li akhsāmū (تخلوا لخصامه), the place becomes empty for his opponents, when there is no one who can defend his views and personality. In the absence of supporters, a man of influence will lose his influence. His opponents are certain to take advantage of the situation by speaking against him or on their own behalf. Men of influence should be represented at all times in social events, the coffee houses, and as frequently as possible in the sociable homes of the town where men are likely to meet.

Men of influence--whether hereditary or achieved politicians--are mindful of their public image. It is

in their interest to be skilled in manipulating the minds of other men and to surround themselves with those who are (cf. Lasswell 1964: 21 passim). In Nabatieh there are no newspapers or publications which can be manipulated by a man of influence and his supporters. The means for maintaining a position of influence are direct and interpersonal.

To a large extent the task of forming favorable opinions about a man of influence falls upon a few selected followers. Most of the top ranking men of influence are not in daily contact with the people of Nabatieh. They employ zilem either on a permanent or temporary basis to help run their local propaganda machine. Similarly, men of influence, particularly the achieved politicians, rely principally on their hired zilem for information on community events. The inherited also call upon members of their family and political friends for news on issues helpful in weakening the position of opponents and maintaining their own influential position.

Looking at the zilem of the top men of influence it becomes apparent that there are two kinds of zilem, depending on whether the influential man has inherited (zu'ama) or bought (local politician) his influence.

Broadly, it may be said that those who are attached to members of the former feudal families, hereditary politicians, are more attached and less free than those who are attached to the achieved politicians. The attachment of the zilem to a za'īm, like the attachment of 'ansār and ātba', is one based on tradition and habit. Their fathers and grandfathers, etc. have been attached to the house of Zein, Assad, or Osseyran. They have inherited their attachment. The zilem of the zu'ama are not attached to an individual but to a family. Hence, it is family attached to family. For, when a zilem is attached to a za'īm, it usually means that his whole family including brothers, wives, children are also attached to the za'īm and his household.

The zilem of a za'īm usually live with or near his house. They and their families work around the house or houses of the za'īm's family. They do not always receive monetary payment. Usually they and their family eat in or from the za'īm's kitchen and dress in clothes received from the family of the za'īm. The zilem of a za'īm are generally illiterate.

The zilem of the achieved politician on the other hand are literate and frequently chosen by him to help maintain his public image. They interpret his opinions

and endeavor to glorify his works and character. The zilem of the zu'ama are not always capable of doing this. That is, unlike the zilem of the hereditary politicians, the zilem of the other politicians are received in the various homes of Nabatieh and are able to speak on behalf and in the name of their political boss. But the attachment of the zilem of the achieved influentials is less constant than that of the zilem of the zu'ama. Should the achieved politician lose an election, for example, they may shift to a winner who may pay them better and offer greater prestige.

Zilem should not be confused with body guards (murafiqin). The top men of influence have a small group of men who follow them wherever they go. The hereditary politicians surround themselves at all times with up to three or four whereas the other politicians usually have only one. It is possible for a murafiq to be zalemi. But not all zilem are qualified to be murafiqin. Usually those zilem who are the strongest and best able to discriminate between what should be kept secret and what can be made public are chosen to be a politician's body guard.

The men of influence in Nabatieh who come from the community itself have achieved influence without

having ʿatbāʿ, ʿansār, or zilem. They may have had what are called muʿāyidīn. Almost always they have had muʿazarīn. Deriving from the root meaning "to support or be with," the term muʿāyidīn was related to be of recent usage in the region. Previously, it was not used to refer to followers. In the minds of the townsmen it connotes a more democratic relationship between influenced and influencer--an attachment which is characterized by reciprocity and a certain degree of freedom or independence on the part of both parties.

If most Nabatiens consider themselves muʿāyidīn, it is apparent that the position of most men of influence is somewhat insecure. As a consequence, to a great extent the men who are influential in Nabatieh are permanently in competition to gain popular support. The political support of the townsmen is never permanent. All the men of influence--hereditary and achieved--take an interest in rendering services to solicit popular support. Those seeking to preserve their high positions of influence are careful to perpetuate the obligations created by these services.

To be a top-ranking man of influence in Nabatieh means to be elected deputy. Unlike the former feudal families, the town's politicians do not have a traditional

and large non-kin client group who are attached to them. To be a top-ranking man of influence in Nabatieh they need the support of these hereditary politicians. Thus, it is more important to an aspiring local politician to have mu'azarīn than it is to have mu'āyidīn. His victory is surer and easier if the followers of the hereditary politician vote for him than if he tries to rally by his own efforts and money fellow townsmen or other villagers. It is doubtful that by himself he could rally a sufficient number to win an election in the district. Thus, aspiring politicians seek to gain the support of one of the hereditary politicians. They thus borrow, at a price, the name of a za'īm as well as the votes of his 'ansār, 'atbā' and other popular-based supporters throughout the district. That is, in the present context, it is possible for a man to gain influence simply on the basis of having one influential supporter (mu'āzara) and not a popular base of 'atbā', 'ansār, zilem or mu'āyidīn. Similarly, it is frequently sufficient to have the support of other men of influence to realize such aims as the acceptance and execution of a community project.

Hence, in summary, it is observed that having followers and supporters is a source and manifestation

of the exercise of influence in Nabatieh. All men of influence have followers or supporters. Most men of influence are supported for reasons of economic or material gain. It is only the hereditary politicians who have the advantage of client groups which are attached to their families for reasons based more on tradition and custom than on material compensation. There are no charismatic men of influence in Nabatieh. A man is followed or supported either out of rational self interest or traditional habit.

But more importantly it is thus observed that followers need not be mass or popular-based. For the majority of the men of influence, having the support of other men of influence seems to be a more important precondition to their influence. Once an influential position has been bought, the men of influence sometimes seek to gain a popular base of support to cement their status in case outside support is cut off. And, in this context, one notes the careful preoccupation of a number of local politicians in the activities outlined in the preceding sections: rendering services, etc.

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Going With The People and Having a Preferred Position -

Ikhtilāt m^{sh} al nāss wa-al 'afdaliya (اختلاط مع الناس والأفضلية).

The man of influence is a man who mixes with the people (rijāl al mujtama'). He goes among the people

(ikhtilat ma' al nāss). He is not isolated. His presence is a necessity which renews the confidence of others in him and perpetuates his influence. He rarely misses attending public ceremonies and conferences held in Nabatieh. An insightful man of influence takes care to visit other men of influence, particularly paying regular visits to the shaykh of Nabatieh. He visits other members of the community especially at times of marriage and death.

Visiting is a customary practice among all the people of Nabatieh. The men of influence must visit other people if they wish to gain their support. It is only in being close to the people that a man of influence can exercise his influence. It is only when he is with the people that he can biyifrid shakhsitu, impose his personality. But, more importantly, visiting is a principal feature of the society. Not to visit and take part in various private and public ceremonies and gatherings is to insult them and to relinquish one's ties with the community.

A popular topic of conversation in Nabatieh after marriage and children is who visits or visited whom and who does not or did not visit whom. Everybody knows who visits whom in Nabatieh. Returning

visits is a moral obligation, the violation of which will result in an offender's being ostracized by the community.

The presence of many visitors at a person's home is generally interpreted by the community to mean that he has influence. Similarly, the presence of a man of influence at the home of an ordinary person is highly regarded by the other members of the community, usually conveying esteem to the host--even if of short duration should the visits not be continued.

It was related by the son of a man of influence from the south that regular visiting particularly during holidays, etc., is sometimes tantamount to gaining influence and supporters. The young man informed that his father went to visit a certain head of a large family to ask his support for another man during the coming elections. The head of the family responded that this would be difficult since the other man's opponent had visited them several times during the past four years. On the other hand, neither the young man's father nor the candidate for whom he was trying to rally supporters had come to visit him when his eldest son was sick and when one of his daughters got married. The informant concluded by saying that

people wait for and count the number of visits men of influence pay them. For some people, this is a major criterion in deciding whether or not they can be "with him".

Influential men in visiting non-influential members of the community or in attending public gatherings are usually accorded a central place or one in front of the others in the group. Men of influence have the preference in social situations. And, a man of influence himself bihafez ʔala markazu, acts in such a way as to protect his superior position.

At a public gathering particularly an usbūʔ, a man of influence is either led or himself takes the initiative in going to the first row or to the seats that face the other participants. In funerals he walks in front of the cortège and with the family of the deceased. At dinners and banquets an influential man sits at the head of the table and no one sits opposite him. Should more than one influential person be present they sit together in the center of one side of the table. Again people do not sit opposite them. In the private homes of those he visits to express congratulations or condolences a man of influence takes a place in the center (el sadr) of the living room which is

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directly opposite the entrance. Thus, everyone can see him as they enter.

When a man of influence enters an assembly, others stand up and salute him. Discussions are stopped for the moment and all eyes turn towards him. He goes directly to his seat, sits down and from there he recognizes other men of influence by perhaps rising and nodding a greeting in their direction. Once in his seat, people may recommence their conversations--although frequently at a lower pitch. From his seat the man of influence receives people. They approach him, greet him with a sign of the hand and sit down beside him if they wish to have a word with him. When a man of influence begins to talk to someone it was noted that other groups tend to keep quiet and to move towards him. They are interested in hearing what he says. He talks about things that interest them--a new project for the community, the sum allocated by the government to another project or simply politics in Beirut.

A man of influence has the ability to speak well and act in a manner fitting the circumstances of the reunion. He talks about things people like to hear and he talks in a way that is pleasing to the ear. That is, he does not break words. He is baligh, they

say in Arabic. He has a good command of Qur'anic Arabic which is to say his discourse is picturesque and smooth. But more when he speaks, he refers only to essentials. He does not weary his listeners with repetitions and exaggerations. He speaks to the point. He is sincere and frank at the same time that he is diplomatic.

Similarly, a man of influence, in respecting himself and his position respects others. He does not insult. He does not talk of affairs unseemly in the circumstances. At funerals and usbūl he does not joke, laugh or smile. Even when approached by others about a personal problem, he quietly refrains from continuing the discussion, suggesting that the individual come to his home or office on the following day. The man of influence protects his tongue and his tongue protects him.

As underscored in the above paragraphs, visiting is reciprocal. If the men of influence visit extensively, they also receive. Perhaps it could better be said that because they receive so many at their homes, they are obliged to participate in extensive visiting.

The men of influence are generous. In an earlier section it was emphasized that an essential characteristic of a man of influence is his willingness and

ability to sacrifice his time, money material goods and energy to help others.

One aspect of this generosity which has not yet been described is having a reputation for having bayt maftūh, or being hospitable.

The son of one influential man and nephew of another described his family's rise to influence in these terms.

"We have a small family--only four houses. We built up our reputation and our influence on the basis of our education, integrity of character and particularly because we were generous."

Gift-giving is no longer a characteristic influence situation in Nabatieh. Many men of influence no longer consider giving gifts to the common people a necessary source of influence. They find that the support of the masses is rallied by resolving the personal problems Nabatiens have with the authorities. Secondly, the men of influence no longer have the resources necessary for the extensive generosity (khidmi al ʿāmi) that existed up to ten or fifteen years ago when men of influence regularly offered food gifts to as many members of the community as wanted.

The young man quoted above continued to say:

"Our father, it is his nature, would give to everyone. When we had much

land planted, he would invite all whom he saw to bring their jara to the land and get olives, wheat, fruits, anything. Today, he cannot do this, of course, as he used to..."

If the men of influence still have land under cultivation they need to sell the produce. Being a man of influence is an expensive occupation--even without some of the customary services previously expected of men of influence. Most of the men of influence have sold all, if not most, of their farm land to help a family member win a seat in the parliament.

Nevertheless, although indiscriminate and community-wide gift-giving is no longer essential, it can help a man win and maintain influence.

In the 1953 elections Toufiq decided to support his son-in-law's father, Yusef al-Zein who was running against Moh. al Fadel, the son of Nabatieh's largest landowner. It was a hot race. There was only one seat at the time for the whole district. The people of the town wanted their son Moh. to be elected. Zein came from a nearby village.

One day Zein was planning to pass through Nabatieh. Toufiq was returning from an election tour in the villages. He heard that crowds were gathering in the suq to make trouble for Zein. Toufiq went down to the suq and walked through the crowds. Some of the men were drunk. Most of them were anxious to make trouble for anyone who did not support al Fadl. Toufiq defied them. He said nothing. He just walked between them. They greeted him "Ya Sayyid." Nothing happened to him.

Later in the day another supporter of Yusef al Zein, shaykh Ahmad, was seen out in the

open. The crowds attacked him and beat him up. Some people asked how this could be done to the shaykh who, although of a minor religious status, was a respectable member of the community and nothing was done to Toufiq. It was related that the mob replied that no harm could be done to Toufiq because tomorrow when the election would be over, the people would have need of him. Moreover, they said he is only opposed to us on the outside. Every day of his life he has been with us. He is generous and helps us whenever we need help without our even having to ask. The shaykh has never done anything for us.

Today's men of influence, however, want more than the kind of devotion illustrated above. The loyalty they seek to gain cannot be won by giving food gifts. Also, as noted earlier these are no longer society's greatest needs. To win the attachment of the townsmen is somewhat more complicated than it was fifteen years ago.

Yet, having a reputation for generosity is still a desirable, in fact, basic characteristic of the men of influence. However, the forms in which generosity is demonstrated have changed, not the characteristic itself.

Hospitality, or more specifically, ʔandū bayt maftūh, has always been a characteristic expected of the men of influence. To have an open house is a tradition among men of influence in south Lebanon.

The meaning of landū bayt maftūh has greatly changed since Lebanon's independence. Formerly it meant that all people living in the villages of the za'im would eat at his table. The traditional arrangement was predicated upon the za'im's receiving food gifts each morning as well as having extensive land and livestock of his own. The traditional bayt maftūh is rarely found today in south Lebanon. The followers of today's men of influence are no longer under the same obligation to provide gifts. Among most men of influence in Nabatieh, "to have an open house" means to have an open door and a cup of coffee ready for the visitor.

Two influential families in Nabatieh, however, could be considered to have bayt maftūh in a manner closely resembling the traditional practice. One household has recently acquired its influence whereas the other is one of the three traditional leading houses in the south of Lebanon. The eldest son of the achieved influential boasted that people called his home bayt al ummeh (house of the people).

In the house which has acquired its influence it was noted that each Sunday up to ten men might sit at the table with the head of the household and his

brother-in-law. The guests came early in the morning to ask the brother-in-law to help them resolve some problems. At this time the head of the household would ask them to stay on for dinner. Other guests sometimes would be invited earlier during the week by the head of the house if he saw them walking past the home or in the suq.

It was also noted that the supporters of this household would bring with them food gifts. One week they received three sheep and a goat. Another week they were given a five pound box of baqlawa, several huge bags of figs and nuts. In comparison with the gifts received by the men of influence in the past, these contributions are little more than of token value. Yet, it appears significant that in this household as well as in the traditional house of influence in the district the practice is still continued of giving gifts to one to whom one supports. In no other houses in Nabatieh was such extensive gift-giving observed. Similarly, in no other houses was the practice of bayt maftūh maintained in a manner approximating the traditional custom.

Just as there is a reluctance on the part of Nabatiens to be called 'atbāʿ, so too is there a

reluctance to participate in the traditional customs recalling the relationships between âtba' and za'im. The people of Nabatieh refrain from eating at the home of a man of influence unless they are related to him. Only the poorer classes or villagers are usually found at their dinner table.

Commensality connotes solidarity and friendship. The recipient of drink and food feels under an obligation to respect his host and to some degree to support him in time of need. The people of Nabatieh hesitate becoming so closely aligned with a particular man of influence. They know that some day they may have need of another man of influence and that their reputation for having eaten frequently at the table of another influential man may impair their receiving aid readily from another.

Having coffee at the home of an influential family once every two months or less does not involve a person in any deep-seated loyalty towards the host. However, being hospitable is of central importance in building up a political following although it is not sufficient by itself.

Making Threats and Causing Trouble - Tahdid wa Tassbīb
Mashākel (تحديد وتببب المشاكل).

When al musāyara fails, men of influence bihiz al Pasā (wave the stick). To be considered influential one should be able to threaten effectively (yuhadid), that is, be able to actually cause trouble (yusebbib mashākel).

Informants and judges related that the ability to cause trouble is an essential characteristic of men of influence. A man of influence must be able to enforce his superior position (yifrud haybtu). If he cannot or does not threaten to harm an opponent, he will lose his haybi.

When his threats fail to make people afraid, a man of influence will lose their respect, their support and his position as an influential.

Moh., the son of a once influential personality, petit za'īm, in Nabatieh wanted to buy land from a man at a very low price. The owner, unwilling to sell at such a low price, was threatened by Moh. Unchanged by the threats, Moh. sent his zilem to beat up the owner. When they arrived at the latter's home they found him waiting at the door with family and friends. The zilem retreated. When the townsmen heard about the incident, they laughed at Moh. The people stopped fearing Moh. and his family at this point. It was evident that his followers no longer respected him enough to enforce his threats in the face of

opposition. Moh. was weak in the eyes of the townsmen. His influence like his wealth, for some time declining, now eclipsed. No longer a strong man economically, he was unable to make the transformation to political influence.

However, if people seemingly respect forceful people for fear of reprisal, they also disdain them. That is, if making effective threats is essential to having influence, this ability should not be exaggerated. Consistently forceful action will turn people against a man of influence. It must be levied with generosity and kindness.

The men of influence bi'id l-il ʔashrā (count to ten) before they wave the stick. It was noted earlier in the chapter on Nabatieh that news travels fast. When a man threatens or harms another man, every family is certain to know about it. Excessive cruelty will also lose him his respect. Resentment mounts against him. His supporters begin to oppose him and at the first auspicious moment they will turn against him.

Secondly, the action of men of influence is greatly circumscribed by the authority of the state. The men of influence are afraid to use physical means to enforce compliance. They can be arrested, heavily fined or suffer the embarrassment of a court trial.

Men of influence, however, still use their zilem to beat up opponents or disobedients. Yet, it appears that a considerable decrease has occurred in the use of this direct tactic for influencing people. Nevertheless, no valid indices exist for knowing the exact extent to which influential men no longer physically punish. Many townsmen informed that physical retaliation occurred but rarely. However, several outside sources related a number of incidents in which physical harm was inflicted upon someone who did not comply with the wishes of a man of influence.

Most men of influence threaten to harm those who oppose their efforts by indirect or impersonal methods. They threaten to have a man or a member of his family fired from his job. Or, they threaten to see to it that he gets a lower price for his tobacco or loses a permit to build or plant. That is, they can indirectly apply sanctions by using their influence on people in the government.

Several months ago Moh. X, the brother of one of the two most influential men in Nabatieh needed money. He sold one of his houses along with all the furniture inside of it to a young man of Nabatieh. A few weeks after the sale, the buyer emigrated to Africa, placing the house in the trusteeship of his wife's brother.

After four or five months the former owner decided to repossess the furniture. He sent five or six "men of the street" with a truck to clean out the house and take the furniture to Beirut where it would be sold. "By chance", the trustee drove past the house at the time the men were loading up the furniture. He asked them what they were doing and they told him Moh. had ordered them to take the furniture to Beirut. The trustee telephoned the police who stopped the truck at one of the villages near Saida. The police took the furniture.

The trustee planned to make a process against Moh. Realizing this, Abdel A, a member of Moh's family, was sent to speak with his wife's brother in Beirut. This brother-in-law in turn contacted the nephew of the trustee's grandmother with whom he was friendly and associated in business. This friend was told that Moh's family was very powerful and could hurt the trustee. They planned, he implicated, to dismiss the trustee from his job in Saida.

The trustee's cousin realized that Moh's family had sent his friend as wasit because they were afraid of the publicity that would result from a court trial. He also realized that Moh's family could not have the trustee fired since the latter's father was one of the mukhtars in Nabatieh. Moh's family needed the mukhtar who was an important "electoral key" during elections. If he was angry, Moh's brother who was a deputy could lose votes during the coming election.

The cousin said that he would consider the matter. He decided not to pressure the trustee into forgetting the court process. As it stands now the case is awaiting trial in Saida.

The men of influence can fadd al mashākel just as well as they can tassbīb mashākel. They can split a family by merely giving a member who is not the head, the opportunity to fill several job openings. The family will cease looking towards the head as the strong man or family leader. It may happen that for one year they will not visit him, preferring to visit the one who may be able to get them jobs and render services because he has a relationship with one of the key influentials.

In this context men of influence are reputed to cause trouble so that they may manifest their ability to resolve problems. They use others who are not known to be attached to them to create or augment these difficulties. They are not always very careful, however, in their choice of trouble-makers (zilem). The force behind the trouble-makers is usually discovered since zilem like to brag about their exploits.

In any case, men of influence like others to have problems and disputes. This is not because they are mean and cruel but because it is in the resolution of these that they get the reputation for having influence. They prove that they can manipulate people at their will.

Men of influence can make trouble by creating disputes which they thus bring before the court. For a respectable or educated man, it is a dishonor to appear before a judge accused of a crime. They prefer, many times, to acquiesce or arrange an agreeable solution in secret or privately.

On a less forceful level, men of influence and their families can cause a man trouble simply by not intervening on his behalf. It has been noted that men of influence usually help only their followers or those whose support they wish to gain. Those who have opposed them in the past, they are less likely to help--even if other supporters intervene on behalf of opponents. The nephew of one man of influence is on the Examining Board of the National Electric Company. He can arrange for applicants who fail to take a retest or he can oppose their being retested.

One Sunday morning a man came to apologize to the influential uncle of this young man. He expressed his wishes that the uncle would forgive the action of his wife's brother H. It was later related that H had taken an exam to be a doorman and failed. To arrange it so that he would pass, he called another politician, one of the two high-ranking men of influence in Nabatieh. The Personnel Director thus called in the influential's nephew, B, who is on the Examining Board. He asked B why H had failed. The nephew, who related the

incident, recalled that he replied simply that H had failed. "H can take the exam again," B continued, "if he wants. But the statement granting the retest should note that it was being done on the request of a politician." The Personnel Director refused. Thus H's brother-in-law had come to ask the man of influence to speak with his nephew so that the latter would forget that an opposing politician's aid had been solicited. The brother-in-law asked simply that the nephew try to be neutral and allow a retrial. The nephew stated that he could not be neutral. He said: "I know what my duty is. His brother-in-law failed the exam. What can I do?"

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

To have influence in Nabatieh is to be able to penetrate so as to modify or complete the action of other people. It is first of all a characteristic of individuals rather than of institutions. For example, the qā'immaqām and police chief have authority in Nabatieh but are reputed to exercise no influence in the community. Yet, as shall be shown, representing certain institutions whose roots are native to the community or district may be an asset in influence attribution. But, in all cases, it appears that the mixture of personality and institutional status determine one's position in the hierarchy of influence in Nabatieh. The religious shaykh may have both authority and influence. The stronger his personality, the higher his influence rank will be. The head of a large extended family is likely to have some influence but little or no authority even in his restricted kin group. The members of former feudal families in most instances have influence in Nabatieh. The most dynamic and personable are reputed to, and actually do, exercise the most influence in Nabatieh.

In this concluding section the several types of influence found to exist in Nabatieh will be described. But, first a review will be made of the situations and characteristic action of the influential men in Nabatieh. Then, by comparing the reputed men of influence with the reputed and observed influence situations, a hierarchy of types of influence will be deduced. This will lead to a description and appraisal of the fundamental pillars of the present structure of influence.

The situations in which a man's influence is manifested are numerous and various. They comprise: actually resolving community and individual problems by making a wāsta, following up other people's affairs as if they were one's own but without necessarily resolving them, settling disputes particularly by means of reconciliation, giving advice, having followers and supporter, having an open house and many visitors, participating in social events--public and private, having a central or preferred position in social groups, actually or threatening to cause trouble.

In all these situations it was noted that the action of the men of influence is conciliatory, suggestive. Decision-making was not observed to be a characteristic influence situation in Nabatieh. The behavior of the

men of influence was not observed to be decisive. The people of Nabatieh say that the men of influence know how to practice al musāyara with everyone and at all times. That is, they know how, and actually prefer, to appear agreeable with as many parties as possible. The men of influence do not normally take a stand against something.

The men of influence in Nabatieh rarely themselves are capable of resolving a problem. Most of the problems today concern official matters which only the government can resolve. The men of influence perform the role of intermediaries between the people of Nabatieh and the national executives. A man of influence is reputed to be able to convince the latter to take immediate and favorable action on almost any request brought to his attention. Men of influence rarely refuse to help, even if they know they are incapable. To refuse to give help, to admit that they are unable to resolve the problem, is to lose the confidence and support of others. The people will think he is indifferent to their problems, no longer interested in them. Or, they may lose their respect for him, saying he is either lazy or weak: he is not known by the right people. To have influence in Nabatieh is to appear to be serving and helping others.

That is, in some instances one may not actually help or serve the interests of others but he must always seem to be thinking first of the other and lastly of the self. Many of the reputed men of influence are totally unprepared and unqualified to act in this respect.

Several methods were used to determine the men of influence and how influence is exercised in Nabatieh: the reputational technique, interviews, participant observation. In all cases the people of Nabatieh distinguished those with influence from those without influence. The reputational technique alone would have been an inadequate and invalid measure of influence. It was discovered that having a reputation for influence does not mean that an individual actually exercises influence in Nabatieh. Comparison, by means of observation and interviews, of the reputed men of influence with the basic activities and attributes of influence revealed that a number of the men on the list exercised little or no influence in the stipulated forms. They neither participated in dispute settlement, advice giving, problem solving or community activities. They could cause no trouble and neither did they try. They had no followers or supporters. In brief, if they had

the ability to penetrate to affect or complete the action of others it was not manifested to the researcher. Moreover, a few of these men could be called community isolates--unrelated to either the community through participation in social events or to other men of influence through kinship ties or visitations.

According to the base values of influence in Nabatieh, it is possible to distinguish between six groups of influential men within the top two categories ranked by the judges. They are listed in the ascending order of their importance as follows:

1. notables.
2. representatives of large extended family groups.
3. amateur politicians and their siblings.
4. professional politicians and their siblings.
5. the religious shaykh.
6. the former feudal families.

Each type has a different base or bases for his influence. Each operates in different spheres of influence. The degree to which each can exercise influence on his respective client group varies. Some have a relatively restricted client group. Others have a more or less community-wide group of people they can influence.

The notables of the community are men who draw their influence from various esteemed professions which they have occupied for many years: medicine, education, government. Each of these men has rendered many services over the years to the community in the sphere of his specialization. Most of the notables are quite old--in their seventies and even eighties. Briefly, it was observed that in this category that which is called influence is only the expression of esteem or respect towards these men. They are more often than not isolated from the community and no longer care to participate in community activities. They are only called upon to give advice or help in the field of their professions. Sometimes they are included in a wafid to government ministries, giving more often than not a silent respectability to the delegation. Many of them do not have the time or the personality to be active community influentials.

The second category includes the representatives of the large extended family groups in Nabatieh. The influence of this class of men is narrow, limited to the family. They may be called upon, however, within this limited sphere to resolve disputes between family members, give help--material or advisory--to other

family members, follow up a family member's problem with the authorities. They are usually the most educated, dynamic, personable, experienced members of the family. They rarely exercise influence in the community unless they receive the support of the last category of influentials. In this respect the representatives of the large family groups may also be members of the third category of men of influence.

The third category of men who are reputed to have influence in Nabatieh may be called amateur politicians. They could be so named because they exercise sporadic and temporary influence in the community lasting principally during their four-year term of office in the National Assembly. They have influence over and above a family-based client group. Their supporters come from several families. But their influence is dependent upon receiving the support of those who have inherited their influence, those who are the economically-dispensable aristocrats of the south. They are temporary men of influence who have borrowed the support of one or more of the three traditional leading families in south Lebanon. These politicians, usually highly educated and personable, do not have a popular or family base to their influence. They are

chosen by Kamel Assad with the assent of the Zein family to run along with the latter for Nabatieh's three seats to the National Parliament. If they win the election and regularly render considerable services during their term of office, they may move up into the fourth category of influence, those who have achieved a popular-based group of supporters in addition to the support of the three leading Shi'ite families in the south.

One of the distinctions between the amateur and professional politicians is that the latter has acquired by much toil and trouble a group of supporters who have confidence in him as a person. But, both amateur and professional politicians enjoy the support of at least one za'im in south Lebanon and perhaps other external forces. However, the professional politician would continue to have influence in Nabatieh should this outside support be cut off. Thus, the distinction between the amateur and professional politicians is one premised upon the outlook of the individual and his personality. The professional constantly demonstrates concern for the community and its citizens. He gains their respect and confidence by always appearing faithful to the best interests of Nabatieh and her people. He enjoys a

reputation for being objective in his relations with other people which is to say that he travels the middle road and rarely takes a stand that would prejudice or injure one party to the betterment of another.

The professional politicians, moreover, have consolidated their positions of influence by making many friendships with important government officials. They frequently visit these people and give gifts at appropriate moments. The professional politician may also occupy or have occupied positions of authority in addition to serving as deputy. Such positions enable him wider freedom of activity and a respectable as well as legitimate introduction to many other government offices. The professional politician, in contrast to all the previous categories of influence, is solicitous to participate in as many influence situations as possible. He maintains his influence through such participation. In contrast to the others, his own dynamic personality is a source of his influence. It is not a class or status-based influence. Similarly, the influence of the professional politicians is community-wide. It is not restricted to small, specialized sections of the community or fields of knowledge. Moreover, along with the shaykh, the professional politicians are the

only community-wide men of influence who come from the community itself.

The religious shaykh of Nabatieh is in a position to be a man of considerable influence in the community if he has a strong personality and is politically sensitive. The shaykh is the marja' of the Shi'ite south, the one to whom the people return. His advice is asked in matters concerning marriage, divorce, inheritance, diet, social conduct. If he is learned in religion, he can exercise an influence in many spheres of social life. Theoretically, this is an influence limited by religion. He is but an interpreter of religious tradition and laws. However, when he speaks forcefully and knowledgeably and interests himself in social and political matters of the community, the shaykh comes to exercise considerable influence in these spheres. He can take advantage of the regular visits and homage paid him by Shi'ite politicians and men of influence to impress his opinion or demands upon them. He can create a popular following devoted to his person as well as the position he represents. Supported by the masses he is thus armed with the ability to make meaningful threats before government officials or others who stand opposed to his wishes. He has an entrance into important government offices

when he has rallied the Shi'ites behind him. He may be able to command certain officials to execute a community project. He may be able to command the people to make a strike if the government does not fulfill the request. In this capacity he approaches leadership and may be called a religious leader. To the people of Nabatieh his commands are usually not couched in forceful terms. He suggests or merely states in metaphysical terms certain possible outcomes. He himself does not usually threaten. He uses metaphysical sanctions to influence the people. For example, certain people in Nabatieh were very opposed to continuing the performance of fāshūrā' and the bloody march that follows the enactment of the death of Husain. The late shaykh Muhamad al Taqy spoke out in a khutba one Friday that he had dreamt that the Prophet came to strangle him if he allowed the abolition of fāshūrā'. Thus, in a somewhat more conciliatory manner, playing upon the popular fears and beliefs stemming from religion and tradition, the shaykh penetrates the people of Nabatieh and affects their action as he wills. The position of shaykh is sufficient to make the holder a man of influence in Nabatieh. It is his job to give advice on matters related to religion, which in Islam are quite extensive.

But, whether he will have community-influence and a word that is heard in questions not explicitly related to religious tradition, is dependent upon the personality of the shaykh. Extensive education in religious law and tradition is a valuable asset to a shaykh because it gives him the ability to speak with confidence and certainty in basic religious matters. But to have community influence he must know how to manipulate all the metaphysical symbols and sanctions at his disposal. He thus rallies people who support him as a person as well as the representative of an institution. He correlates religion and politics. If he does this, he is assured a top-ranking position in the structure of influence.

At the apex of influence in Nabatieh rest the feudal families of Nabatieh who were more or less open to liberal ideas and social relationships. Those families who were in the vanguard of the Shi'ites from the point of view of education and profession--early gaining a firm hold on important government positions--cemented their positions of influence in Nabatieh. They were able to buffet and go along with the changing social and political currents. They achieved the transformation of feudalism from a status to a contractual

arrangement and from an economic to a purely political basis. The former feudal families have sold most of their villages and land. Their serfs became economically independent as free-hold or tenant farmers. These families thus had to seek means to preserve the attachment of their own former serfs, gain the attachment of other peasants in the district, as well as of the townsmen of Nabatieh.

Those former ruling families which did not let their action be guided by beliefs in their inherent superiority, who were thus sociable, outgoing, tolerant and helpful towards others, preserved their important political status. The other feudal families who were not so flexible lost everything: land, money, respect. Those families, which in their endeavor to be with the people, obligingly kept open their homes and listened to all problems, continued that which others could not, suggested that which was useful and necessary, achieved the transformation of feudalism from an economic to a purely political basis. That is, in the real sense of the term these families are no longer feudal. Yet, they are still the aristocrats of the south in terms of class and status. They still own more land than any other families. They enjoy the highest standard

of living: receiving money from the sale or lease of their vast estates. They are "economically dispensable" and thus constitute a class of men who, according to Max Weber, are the most qualified to live the life of the politician. Theoretically, these former feudal families are in the best position to make politics their vocation (cf. Max Weber 1956: 659).

The aristocratic families live outside of the town of Nabatieh. Yet, in actuality they not only touch the people of the town but they manage more or less, depending on the degree of their receptivity to western liberal ideas and practices, to live with the people of Nabatieh. A direct relationship exists between the aristocratic families and the community. An ordinary person can go directly without fear to the sibilings of the former zu'ama who have been receptive to liberal ideas and have maintained their influence. The aristocrats patiently listen to all who visit them. And, in many cases they flatter and pamper even their poorest visitors. Secondly, members of these aristocratic families are found everywhere. At least one member attends any public gathering, be it an official ceremony, a festival, marriage or funeral. Lastly, each member of these elite families believes he is responsible, it is

his duty, to suggest and help the community meet its needs and problems.

Moreover, it should not be overlooked that there is a habit of looking up to a Zein or an Osseyran which can not be easily forgotten in less than a life time. They have what Max Weber called the authority of "the eternal yesterday" (ibid.: 654). The former feudal families of the south have been accorded a concession or privilege in the exercise of influence in Nabatieh. If they have been willing and able to continue to play a primary role in politics, given the changing terms of reference, they have been accorded the respect and confidence of the people. Insofar as they have received with pleasure the changing conditions of social life, showing flexibility and mercy as well as the ability to act, their central positions have been cemented. In addition the people of Nabatieh respect and have confidence in those who are united among themselves, that is with their kinsmen, and thus face the community as a unit--strong and certain. The members of the two elite families in the district of Nabatieh act in unison with their kinsmen. Decisions are taken in council. The action of the individual member is attached and limited, one may say subsumed, by the

family. Kinship solidarity and exchange are without fail, the principal values guiding their action.

The people of Nabatieh need these former feudal families for personal reasons as well as to fill the gap created by a disequilibriated society. Nabatiens--both individuals and family groups--are too jealous of one another to let another member of their community exercise any influence for a long enough period of time to be of any use to the community. They thus prefer to high rank and actually continue the influence of those Shi'ites outside the town who have traditionally exercised influence in the region. Thus, in actual fact, the members of the traditional leading families do have a lion's share in the structure and process of influence in Nabatieh. Despite the degradation of the feudal families in the total picture of influence as well as in the social structure in general, one finds them still of superior and pivotal significance. They are the elite of Nabatieh--the town and the district--politically, economically, socially.

Nabatieh is a status-oriented society. The most influential types are members of the two elite families and the religious shaykh. They constitute the upper stratum of community influence. The lower stratum of

influence, composed of notables, family representatives and amateur politicians, as well as the middle stratum composed of professional politicians need the support of these two status-based categories to gain entrance into the upper echelons of community influence. Without the support of the elite families their influence remains specialized and restricted to individuals, not to the community in general.

It has thus been observed that the structure of influence in Nabatieh is supported by two pillars: religion in the person of the shaykh and a renovated form of feudalism in the form of two aristocratic or elite families. However, it must be mentioned that a third pillar also gives considerable support. These are forces exterior to Nabatieh: the regional za'im; political parties such as the Arab Nationalist, Ba'ath, Syrian Nationalist Party, Communist; various government and military officials. These last factors can not be analyzed here since they are beyond the frame of reference of the present study. It can only be noted that there exist forces external to the community which are reported to play an effective role in determining the composition of the structure of influence found at any one time in Nabatieh.

The influence of the shaykh and the elite families in the district is by nature basically different from the influence of the notables, family representatives, amateur and professional politicians. The influence of the upper structure is continuous, immediate, direct. They have a heritage of being influential in the district and the town. The shaykh and the members of the elite families attract confidence from all sections of the population more readily than do the other four categories. Together these two types: religious or feudal based, constitute the upper stratum of the influence structure in Nabatieh. The research in Nabatieh confirms the opinion of Georges Naccache that "to the people...power is first of all Someone. It is a Name..." (Gebara 1964:48).

The lower and middle strata generally lack more than one of the following: money, time, personality, and/or name. They must build a reputation from nothing. The influence they achieve is more or less temporary, discontinuous, restricted. It is slow in achievement and not direct as among those who represent a heritage of influence: former zu'ama and the shaykh. The lesser categories do not have influence on the community as a whole. Even the influence they have upon restricted sections of the population demanded much effort, money

and services. To have community wide influence, such as is exercised by the professional politicians or the middle structure, planning and organization are required to successfully dispense with their time, money and services. To reach the people of Nabatieh and influence them, much more time and money is required of these four categories which have not inherited the tradition of being influential than they are prepared to spend. Moreover, even if they are prepared financially and psychologically to be philanthropic, they need the support of the traditional ruling families to be launched on the road to community influence. And, in this respect the help of the shaykh may be useful. The shaykh may intermediate on their behalf before these families and persuade them to support politically one of his favorites.

The structure of influence then may be described as concave in form and composed of three levels. The average Nabatieh seeking influence starts at the bottom. He may move into the middle stratum and there begin to exercise community influence. However, the top stratum is inaccessible to him.

The bottom three layers, the lower stratum, are quite extensive in terms of numbers but limited in terms

of influence. Entrance to the bottom echelons is somewhat easy based upon possessing high university degrees, being a doctor, lawyer or government official who frequently renders services free of charge, and having a dynamic personality. From the bottom layers, one moves up into the middle stratum where influence is community-wide and less restricted or specialized. The top stratum is unattainable since it is inherited.

It may be that in the future this new type of community-wide men of influence, the professional politicians, will become strong enough to rival the omnipotence of the former feudal families in the upper stratum of the structure of community influence. As class differences develop, becoming more distinct or crystallized, the outstanding members of the emerging upper middle class will probably become more and more important in the over-all structure of community influence. But, it is not expected that they will be able to supplant those who have a heritage of influence. The people of Nabatieh, like the present structure of influence, are limited and bound by tradition and custom. It is difficult to forget the forces of eternal yesterday. The people are accustomed to being led by the Zeins, the Osseyrans and the Assads. Moreover, they have a habitual orientation to conforming to the mores sanctified by time. Time is the palliative, the redeemer, the sacred. That which was done in the past will probably be done in the future unless proven repeatedly in the most obvious and blatant manner to be against the interests of individual and group.

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APPENDIX I

PANEL OF JUDGES

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Quarter</u>
Abdel Hady Sidaoui	49	Shopkeeper-tobacco cultivator	Christian
Ahnad Fayad	30	school-teacher	Bayad
Hassib Chahine	45	lawyer-landowner	Christian
Ali Ghandour	35	doctor	Nabatieh al-Foqqā
Rodi Moussa Rodi	47	shopkeeper	Bayad
Musbah Hajjali	31	school-teacher	Seray
Abdel Karim Wahbi	42	school-teacher	Seray
Samira Chahine	30	_____	Midan
Lutfi Khayat	33	post-office clerk	Seray
Hilme Chmissaney	32	shopkeeper	Bayad

APPENDIX II

INSTRUCTIONS TO JUDGES ON RATING AND RANKING THE MEN OF INFLUENCE

- (١) معك الان رزمة تحتوى على عدد من الاسماء ، كتب كل منها على ورقة منفصلة .
 - وقد اقترحت تلك الاسماء للباحثة من قبل جهات اعلامية في بلدة النبطية .
 - (ا) اختر من بين هؤلاء اسماء من تعتقد انهم من اصحاب النفوذ .
 - (ب) اذا كنت على احاطة بغير هذه الاسماء ممن تعتقد انهم اصحاب نفوذ ، اذكر ان سمحت تلك الاسماء ، كل منها على ورقة من اوراق الرزمة البيضاء - اى الاوراق الخالية من الكتابة - (لا يذكر اكثر من اسم واحد على الورقة الواحدة) .
- (٢) الق نظرة ثانية على جميع الاسماء التي اخترتها نهائيا :
 - (ا) ضع الاسماء التي هي في مستوى متواز للنفوذ ، كل منها في فئة محددة . كما انه باستطاعتك تحديد العدد الى تيسر لدرجات النفوذ المختلفة .
 - (ب) بعد هذا التوزيع ، الق ان سمحت نظرة على اسماء الدرجة الاولى ثم اجمع تلك الاسماء ورتبها حسب اهمية ونفوذ كل منها بوضع اسم من هو الاكثر نفوذا في الطليعة ، يليه اسم من هو اقل نفوذا ... وهكذا بالتدريج .
 - (ج) الق نظرة على اسماء الدرجة الثانية . اتبع ، ان سمحت ، الطريقة ذاتها التي اتبعتها مع اسماء الدرجة الاولى من حيث الترتيب ، كما انه ترتب اسماء الدرجات الباقية على غرار الاولى والثانية .
 - (د) عند الانتهاء ، ضع شريطا معططا (مغيط) على كل من تلك الفئات لعزلها عن البقية ، واعطها رقما (١ ، ٢ ، ٣ ، ٤ ، ٥) - اى تعطى الفئة الاولى الرقم واحد والفئة الثانية الرقم ٢ ، الخ ... -

APPENDIX III

THE MEN OF INFLUENCE AND THEIR RANKS

<u>Rank I</u>	<u>Rank II</u>	<u>Rank III</u>
Abdel Latif al Zein	Ahmad Sabbagh	Mu'iyn Jaber
Rafiq Chahine	Msgr. Sayegh	Fawzi Hajjalli
Samih Osseyran	Bahjet Mirza	Ali Fakhr-dine
Ghaleb Ghahine	Abdel Latif Fayad	Mustafa Hajjalli
Anwar Sabbah	Toufiq Chahine	Mukhtar Hamadeh
Shaykh Jafar al Sadiq	Abdel Aziz al Zein	Ali Kalot
Ali Badr-dine	Mohammed al Zein	Fariha Hajjalli
	Husain Ali Sabbah	Bedawi Kohail
	Mohammed Sabbah	Hassan Bitar
	'Adel Sabbah	Hassan Badr-dine
	Fahmi Chahine	
	'Imad Jaber	

APPENDIX IV

QUESTIONNAIRE¹

I. Social Background

1. Name:
2. Age:
3. Sex
4. Religion:
5. Kinship position:
6. Father's occupation:
7. Birthplace:
8. Place of residence:
9. Years of residence:
10. Marital Status:
11. Number of living children:
12. Former occupation(s):
(Chronological order if possible)

¹Drawn from questionnaires developed by Khuri, op.cit., and Lerner (1956).

13. Do you support relatives other than your immediate family? If yes, whom? Do you prefer to do it?
Yes _____ I cannot help it _____

- - -

Economic Conditions

1. Sources of income:

(a) Source: _____	(b) Estimated Amt./Yr. _____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

2. Do you own a car? If yes, (a) Type _____ Model _____

3. What modern household appliances do you have? _____

4. Housing conditions: poor _____
modest _____
well off _____
rich _____

Education

1. How much formal education did you have?
2. How much education did your spouse have?

3. Which of the following languages: English, French, Arabic, Other, do you?

- (a) speak _____
- (b) read _____
- (c) write _____
- (d) under-stand _____

Familiarity and Participation in Local, National and International Affairs

1. Which of (a) Nabatieh's (b) Lebanon's (c) Middle East's or (d) other country's affairs interest you?

- Mostly _____
- Slightly _____
- Indifferent _____

2. Which of these affairs do you actually follow?

- Closely _____
- Incidentally _____
- Do not bother _____

3. Which news do you read? (a) Nabatieh's (b) Lebanon's (c) Middle East's (d) world's

- Every day _____
- Several days a week _____
- Once a week _____
- Less than once a week _____

4. Do you (a) read (b) subscribe to a newspaper? Which one(s)?

5. Do you (a) own____(b) listen to a radio____or TV____

Which programs do you listen to?

<u>Title of Program</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Station</u>	<u>How often listen</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

6. Do you usually plan ahead of time what you listen to on the radio or TV or do you usually just listen at random?

7. Have you ever held a public office?
If yes, what and when:

8. Are you a member of a club or association:
If yes, which one(s):

9. Suppose you were made head of the Government. What are some of the things you would do?

10. Suppose you were made President of the Municipality. What are some of the things you would do?

11. What are the most important decisions you have made as of last year?

II. Interaction among the Men of Influence

1. List the names of persons you consider to be your closest friends.

2. List the names of persons you visit most frequently.
3. Do you know Mr. X? (Take each person included in the study group and insert his number in the category to which he belongs below.)

Know him socially _____
Know him slightly _____
Heard of him _____
Do not know him _____

4. Do you consult Mr. X? (Take each person included in the study group and do the same as you have just done in (3) above.)

Consult regularly _____
Consult occasionally _____
Never _____

For what reasons do you consult Mr. X?

5. Does Mr. X consult you? (Do same as in (3) and (4) above.)

Frequently _____
Sometimes _____
Never _____

What does he ask you about?

Do you give him advice? Always _____ Sometimes _____ Never _____

6. Specify other contacts with the members of the study group.

Typed By:

Muniba Atiyeh