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The Al-Murrah Tribe in Qatar: Political Impact

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THE AL-MURRAH TRIBE IN QATAR: POLITICAL IMPACT

by

Ali A. Hadi Alshawi

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Faculty of The Graduate College
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This work is dedicated
to my parents.
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Ali A. Hadi Alshawi
THE AL-MURRAH TRIBE IN QATAR: POLITICAL IMPACT

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Western Michigan University, 1994

Tribes and tribalism play significant roles in the Arabian Gulf. The focus of this study is on the Al-Murrah tribe, one of the largest tribes in East Saudi Arabia and Qatar. This study will provide an analysis of the Al-Murrah political structure and their relationship with the Gulf states.

This study gathered information using three methods. This researcher visited about 30 majlis (sitting rooms for men) and listening to over 900 tribesmen respond to issues provided by the researcher. Historical and official documents were investigated and personal observation and experience were also used.

Al-Murrah have strong kinship ties which leads them to have strong social unity. Leaders are selected from large powerful lineage clans based on inheritance, knowledge/wisdom, bravery, and hospitality. Decision making is done with consultation between the leadership and decision makers within the tribe. Conflict is resolved by tribal justice and government law. Al-Murrah have a strong relationship with the Qatar government because they are the largest and most powerful tribe. Tribalism increases and declines depending upon the political conditions in the Gulf.
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Arabian Tribe Political Structure

Tribes and tribalism play a most important role in the Arabian Gulf States. In each country there are many different tribes, different in number and power. As a result there is competition for social and political status. Tribes have a strong identity with each other based on their kinship. Moreover, they have socio-political similarity and by winning territories create "fanaticism" (strong relationship) and strong unity.

In different stages of Arabian Gulf tribal history, some Arab tribes transformed into states and some participated in helping other tribes to form their own states. All of the Arabian Gulf states' governors, "Sheikhs" or kings, are descendants of different ancient tribes. The Saudi royal family, Al-Khalifa, the governors of Bahrain and Al-Sabah, the governors of Kuwait from ancient times until the present, are part of tribes. Al-Thani, the governor "Sheikh" of Qatar is from the ancient and famous Bni Timim tribe. These tribes were the strongest in the early part of this century, motivating them to build their own states. Moreover, these tribes were assisted in building these states by supporters from other tribesmen. For example, Al-Murrah supported the
Saudi royal family and Al-thani in Qatar in forming their states. As a result, the Gulf states still have strong tribal structures.

Qatar, as the subject of this study, has a strong tribal structure. There are tribes such as Al-Murrah, Al-Hawjer, Bni Timim, Al-Munasir, Al-Dwasir, and Qahtan. Furthermore, there are different families who are descendants of tribes such as Al-Naim, Abou Kuwara, Al-Muhanda, Al-Murakhi, Al-Ansari, Al-Kubisi, Al-Madhid, Al-Kuban, Al-Suletti, and Al-Mulki, etc. The tribes strongly contend for social and political status. For example, the Al-Murrah and Al-Hawjer tribes compete against each other for higher status.

The state governors can relate to the importance of the tribes so they play the role of stabilizer by insuring the tribes' support and loyalty by endowing favors and opportunity for social, political and economic gain. In this way, the tribes are satisfied with the government and the government is better able to control the tribe.

Tribalism began to change during the middle of the twentieth century. During the 1950s through the 1970s, the Qatar government was strongly motivated to be a modern state. The state was not concerned about the decline of the traditional society, including the tribes, so the government also was not much concerned about tribalism. In addition, some of the tribespeople were looking for the urban lifestyle, thus, weakening tribal unity.

Moreover, tribalism will increase or decline depending upon the political situation in the Gulf. During the period of the 1980s until the present, tribalism intensified again in the states. There are several reasons that tribalism increased in
strength. The first Gulf crisis between Iraq and Iran and the second crisis between the
Gulf states and Iraq caused an increase in tribalism. The states were concerned for
security. They were also confident that the tribes could protect the government from
outside threat and dangers. For this reason the tribalism is encouraged in the states.
In times of peace the government is less concerned with the tribes which leads to the
decline of tribalism.

Provided in this study is a description and investigation of tribalism of Qatar.
This study focuses upon the Al-Murrah tribe, the largest tribe in Qatar, examining the
political structure of the Al-Murrah tribe and the state. This study consists of five
chapters. The first chapter details the purpose and significance of the study,
geographical description of Qatar, and key terms related to the tribalism and the Al-
Murrah tribe. Chapter two is a review of the literature. Chapter three outlines the
methodology used in the study. Chapter four presents the findings and chapter five
offers a conclusion and recommendations.

The Purpose of the Study

Researchers have attempted to handle problems of Bedouin tribal life without
realizing the need for a reliable theoretical framework that could guide these efforts.
The fact that changes in the society order is possible show the necessity of examining
the concomitant results in terms of the future of social solidarity such as with the
Bedouin tribes. The kinship system reflects all kinds of human activities such as
institutional and organizational structure of human behavior. It is the purpose of this
study to use both macro and micro analytical perspectives in examining the integration of Bedouin tribal life with Qatar and Saudi life. While analyzing the Bedouin tribe institutional structures, it is also important to examine theoretical assumptions and explanations in light of the complementary influences between personality traits, social values, and social consequences and factors.

This study is about one of the most important tribes in Qatar and East Saudi Arabia--the Al-Murrah tribe. The focus of the study is on the political structure of the tribe, the relationship between their leadership and the government in the various Gulf states, and the changes affecting the tribe during the twentieth century.

There are many questions that are raised. These questions include:

1. What is the political structure of the Al-Murrah tribe?
2. What role do the leaders play in the decision making process?
3. What is the relationship between the tribal leadership and their tribesmen?
4. What type of leadership do the Al-Murrah have?
5. What conflict occurs within the Al-Murrah tribe and with other tribes?
6. What role do their leaders play in social control?
7. What is the relationship between the leadership of the Al-Murrah and the government of the Gulf states?
Significance of the Study

The study of Bedouin tribal life is critical to understanding the entire Arabian society and culture. The Bedouin tribal community is an integral part of Arabian society. This study is of interest because of the importance tribes have on political processes in the states of the Arabian Gulf. There are no political parties in those countries, but there are tribes that play an important role in the state. In the past, the leadership of the tribe and the tribesmen were proud of their political history with the modern state. For example, the Al-Murrah feel they have participated in building the new modern states more so than have the other tribes. As a result, they feel they have the right to have more advantages than the others. This initiated a conflict with other tribes. On the other hand, the ruling families in the Gulf are proud to be related to the tribe that is believed to be the strongest in the Arabian Gulf.

Qatar

The present population of Qatar is estimated at 371,863 according to the 1986 census (Qatar Yearbook, 1988, p.20). The peninsula of the state of Qatar is situated half way along the west coast of the Arabian Gulf east of the Arabian peninsula. It extends northward covering a total area of 11,437 square kilometers (Qatar Yearbook, 1988, p.19-20).

The people of Qatar are descendants of ancient Arabian lines. The geographical location and proximity to the Arabian peninsula and the close historical
and cultural ties and common heritage have been influential. Most of the Qatar population was formed by Arab tribes migrating from the neighboring areas, particularly, Najd, Alhsa, Bahrain and Oman (Qatar Yearbook, 1988). In addition, there are Arabian families and tribes who are from the east coast of the Arabian Gulf (also called the Persian Gulf) who, because of political and economic factors, migrated from the west coast. After the economic and political changes in Qatar, they have returned to the east coast. They were nicknamed “Al-Hwala” -- the people who transfer from the west coast to the east coast and then they return (Al-Kazem Amina, 1991, p.96).

The economic activities of Qatar can be divided into two periods: before and after the discovery of oil. Before the discovery of oil, the Qatars engaged in traditional economic activities. There were two occupations: fishing with the pearl trade and the pasturing of animals. Qatars had a division of labor between the urban/dwellers (Hadr) and the tribe peoples (Bedouin).

Urban/dwellers “Hadr” were the fishers with pearl trade. Because of their experience in the seas, their activities related to the sea. The people would go to the seas for 3-4 months from late May to late July. That was called “Al-Gous” diving for pearls. The urban/dwellers were well known for the pearl trade between the Gulf and India and gained many economic advantages (Al-Kazem Amena, 1991, p.95-96).

In contrast, the tribespeople, “Bedouin,” were well known for pasturing. These were the people who herded camels, sheep or goats. Because of the nature of
pasturing, tribespeople needed to move from season to season depending upon the rainfall and the amount of grass available for the animals.

Despite each group’s well known and very different professions, the Bedouins and urban/dwellers both practiced a bit of the other’s profession. The Bedouins fished for pearls and some urban families had sheep and goats. When the fishing season was finished, they would herd the animals. Some Bedouins joined the urbans in the “Al-Gous” journey seeking economic gain.

After the discovery of oil in 1949, Qatars abandoned the traditional activities. Bedouins and Urbans worked for the oil companies and the government increasing their economic and social status. The Qatar state became independent in 1972. Since then it has rapidly developed economically and socially.

Political Background: Rise of the Al-Thani Family

The Al-Thani family is descended from the Bni Timim tribe, an old and famous Arabian tribe from the late seventh century. Al-Thani immigrated in the early sixteenth century from the middle of the Arabian peninsula, Najd, to the Qatar peninsula. Before their arrival in Qatar they stayed in the Jabrin village, located southwest of Al-Hasa City. They moved to the Al-Iskak village that is the closest place to Qatar in the western direction. All those villages in Jabrini and Al-Iskak are located within the Al-Murrah tribe territories. This began the relationship between the Al-Murrah and the Al-Thani.
The Al-Thani had settled in Qatar but the situation was unstable. The different tribes had continuous conflict, each tribe struggling for dominance over the others. Tribes such as the Al-Khalifa who govern Bahrain and the Al-Mosalem confronted the Al-Thani. But the Al-Thani with their supporters was able to triumph over their enemies because they were the strongest and most powerful tribe in the region. (Al-Munsor, 1975, p.59-77).

Since then, the Al-Thani became the governors of the Qatar state. Sheikh (prince) Jasim Bin Thani was the first to build the new official state in 1878. He wanted to protect his state so he made political contracts, first with the Sudan government then with the Turkish government. Then he deviated from them to the British government.

Historians have found Qatar effected by two political powers; the Turkish and the British. Qatar was less affected by the Turkish government because the state and the people rejected them. On the other hand, the British played a significant role in Qatar's political history.

Sheikh Abdullah Bin Jasim Al-Thani signed a protected contract with the British government in 1916. From 1916-1971 Qatar was protected by the British (Yousif Obidan, 1984, p.20-23). According to Dr. Hussin Al-Baherne, Qatar, like the Arabian Gulf states, had a special relationship with the British. Qatar had local autonomy governed by traditional tribal society but the British dominated Qatar foreign affairs, requiring the British to protect Qatar.
In 1949, Sheikh Abdulah Bin Jasim Al-Thani transferred government rule to his son, Ali, who also transferred rule to his son, Ahmed, in 1960. Al-Sheikh Ahmed stayed as the head of the government until 1972 when Sheikh Khelifa Bin Hamed Al-Thani became the governor of Qatar and has continued until the present (Hussin Al-Baharna, 1973, pp 37-52).

Key Terms

**Tribe and Bedouin**

There is a relationship between these two concepts but unfortunately, there is also a misconception that was mentioned in the early European and some Arabic literature. This study will attempt to define these concepts and clarify the misconception.

A tribe is a pastoral or horticultural group of people whose members share common ancestors, culture or linguistic characteristics and are bound by reciprocal rights and obligations (Jary & Lary, 1991, p.528). Two essential distinct conceptions of a tribe are held currently among anthropologists.

Perhaps the closest to popular English language, the primitive society described the precolonial population of different parts of the world. In this classification usage, the population of a country or a continent is divided into “tribes” meaning cultural-linguistic groups (Tapper, 1990, p.50).
The second concept of a tribe is of a particular type of society, usually in an evolutionary scheme in which “tribes” with their neolithic production techniques and egalitarian, clan-based, political organization develops in certain conditions from bands of hunters evolve into more complex chiefdoms and states. A basic characteristic of such tribes is the pervasiveness of kinship and descent as principles of social and political organization (Tapper, 1990, p.50).

British social anthropologist E. Pritchard’s (1948), classic analysis is of the Nuer of the Sudan as a collection of tribes, that is, a political group, defined by territory and by accepted mechanism for settlement of disputes.

According to Saleh Al-Fawal (1983), a tribe is people who come from the same ancestors and share the same language and culture. They also have strong kinship yet the tribe can be divided into lineages that also can be divided into clans. They also share territory.

Bedouin is used to define a group of people that changes its area of residence periodically, according to the seasons of the year. “Al-Baduwh” in Arabic means constant moving, to not settle down in a permanent place during a whole year. Some of these people are forced to change their residence from time to time because they are looking for good grazing and better weather for their animals (Abdullah Al-Abbadi, 1981, p.13-14).

From this definition we can characterize the Arabic Bedouin in the following ways: (a) they live in a tent made from sheep hair, (b) most of their economic
resources come from raising camels or sheep, and (c) they move about the desert from
time to time and season to season depending upon grazing conditions and rainfall.

The misconception still prevailing in the Arabian Gulf is that if a person is a
member of a tribe such as Al-Murrah, Al-Ajman, Al-Hawajer, etc., he or she will be
identified as a Bedouin, and if a person is called a Bedouin, he or she is believed to
be part of an Arabian tribe.

Although most of the tribes in the Arabian Gulf have settled in the cities for
the past three decades, they are still recognized as tribal, meaning many of the
townspeople are Bedouin. Arabian Gulf people can be divided into three major
ecological groupings. The Bedouin, the villagers and the towns people. Thus, the
people who live in villages and towns are recognized as urban (Hadr) and the people
who live in the desert are recognized as Bedouin because of the characteristics
mentioned earlier.

Al-Murrah

The Al-Murrah, the subject of this study, is one of the largest of the Arabian
tribes in the Arabian peninsula with a population of about 36,000. Al-Murrah is
descended from Yamm Saba Bin Manaee Bin Malik Bin Jeshim Bin Hashid Bin Jobran
Bin Noof Bin Hamdan who descended from Gahthan.

The Al-Murrah divide themselves as lineage (Fakhd) and clans that play a
significant role in their socioeconomic and political organization.
Al-Murrah Territories

Al-Murrah has the largest territory of any of the Arabian tribes. The Al-Murrah has exploited vast areas of the southern and eastern Arabian peninsula, called the dirat Al-Murrah, located within the regional boundaries of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Qatar. Al-Murrah’s boundaries spreads from Al-Ahsa to Al-Kharge City in the west. It also spreads south across the central part in the empty quarter, the Ruba Alkhali. It runs from Al-Hsa to the Qatar peninsula. Al-Murrah territories cover approximately 250,000 square miles (see Appendix A).

Al-Murrah territories are divided into subdivisions, depending upon the lineage and clans. Each lineage or clan has their own village and/or wells that are located within the subdivided territory. Each lineage or clan has the right to reject or to share their territory or wells with others. In general the Al-Murrah tribesmen are equal within their territories (Cole, 1975, p.28-30).

Each Bedouin tribe has its own “dirah” (territory) in which the members of the tribe can freely move and graze their animals. Each tribal territory is not strictly bordered, but is a customary territory. This means that each tribal sheik and all members of the tribe know the approximate limits of their dirah. Each tribe’s territory is known by the other tribes and any infringement is met by force. Occasionally, due to failure of the pasture, a tribe may seek permission to pasture in another tribe’s territory. Usually, such permission is granted (Abdullah Al-Abbadi, 1987, p.177).
Al-Murrah used to share with the other tribes in their territory. Thus, in the spring and the winter Al-Murrah moved to the north to Al-Ajman, Al-Haweyir Mutter territory or to the west to the Al-Dwasar and Gohttan tribe territory. Al-Murrah would give permission to the other tribes to share in their territories' resources. Most conflict between the tribes resulted from disagreements between the tribes in sharing pastures or water.

The current tribal territories are losing their significance due to the rise of a strong central government that is interested in creating a modern society. A strong central government makes the older intertribal arguments over territorial resources and rights practically impossible. Because the tribes lost their former attractiveness, tribal allegiance has been undermined by the weakened political and economic functions of the tribe and the newly growing sense of national consciousness and solidarity (Abdullah Al-Abbadi, 1981, p.78).

The Al-Murrah tribe spread within the Arabian Gulf states with the emergence of the Arabian Gulf in global importance and exploitation of the oil. Al-Murrah became part of the new form of the Arabian Gulf states' society. Therefore, Al-Murrah can be found in the eastern Saudi Arabian region of Al-Hsa, Biqiq, Damamm-Jobil. They can also be found in Kuwait, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, but most of the Al-Murrah tribe lives in Qatar.

Qatar has become the center for the Al-Murrah tribe. Because Qatar is the closest country to the Al-Murrah territory, some Al-Murrah tribesmen have lived in the region known as Qatar since the seventeenth century. Later in the middle of the
twentieth century Qatar became the most attractive place for the Al-Murrah tribe. The tribe prefers to live in Qatar because Qatar is closest to the Al-Murrah territories and there are more opportunities for economic gain. In addition, they have a strong relationship with the governor (Sheikh) Al-Thani. Al-Murrah spread into different cities of Qatar such as Al-Murrah City, Al-Mouder, Al-Rayyan, Al-Wakra, Al-Shahanih, Al-Sylia, Al-Karan and Dakhan. Because of the density of the Al-Murrah tribe in Qatar, most of the Al-Murrah tribesmen are recognized by the other Arabian gulf people as Qataris.
CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Tribes, as the subject of this study, have been studied by many different scholars. Historians, sociologists, anthropologists and politicians have studied the tribe from different perspectives. For the literature to be useful for the problems to be investigated in this study, it is divided into a series. The first part of the series will profile the earlier studies about the tribes in North Africa. The second part will focus on the most important studies about tribes in the Arabian peninsula, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf states and Yemen. The last part will focus on studies of the Al-Murrah tribe. Most of the studies examine the socioeconomic and political structure of the tribes, the thrust of this study.

Studies of the Tribes of North Africa

Since the fourteenth century, Ibn Khaldun was the first scholar who studied the Bedouin tribes. In his introduction, Moquddima, divided the society into two sections. The urban (Hadr) and the Bedouin (Badou). Each group was shaped by the environment that effected their tribal characteristics. Ibn Khaldun in his analyses of the political approach believed that asabya had “strong blood relationship” created by their kinship. Each tribe tried to protect that asabya’s strong kinship stability of the
old tribesmen and the tribal leadership. Others protected the tribe from outside dangers.

Ibn Khaldun believed the Bedouin tribe, with strong asabya, was looking for domination over all the other tribes resulting in friction between the tribes. As the tribes became stronger and more dominant they created kingdoms. After the tribes began to live in towns the tribesmen became Hadr (urban) and that affected their kinship asabya. This move caused a weakness in their kinship allowing stronger tribes to dominate and creating new kingdoms. Ibn Khaldun’s study reflects the period that he saw in North Africa, and led to the creation of a cyclical theory about the politics of the tribe.

The study of Nilotic people of the Al-Nuer tribe in the Sudan by E. G. Pritchard in 1948 found ecology to be a very important factor in the political structure of the tribe. Then there were approximately 200,000 tribesmen. Pritchard recorded that as an African tribe, they have specific types of livelihood and a specific political structure. The political structure in the Al-Nuer tribe was a pyramidal form allowing the smallest unit in the tribe to become part of the largest unit. The region and names also characterized the tribe and gave them strong kinship and loyalty toward each other. Pritchard in his study concluded the A-Nuer political structure was based on three principles: (1) regional system, (2) size and (3) conflict.

There was a regional system that divided the tribe into three degrees and the third degrees divided the villages. Each unit had its own political structure. In addition, the regional tribe structure has similarities to clan structure in that it has a
strong genealogy relationship between the people and each regional political unit. Each unit within the Al-Nuer tribe can accept a member from another unit into the tribe. The size of each group characterized the relationship between the people. In other words, when the regional group became large, their relationship and the interaction between them became stronger.

The third principle of the political structure of the Al-Nuer tribe is conflict. Despite the unity created by neighborhoods, marriages and other relationships, competition for resources led to conflicts.

Lisa Anderson and Hasan Salaheddin have studied the tribe in Libya. Anderson (1986), said that Libya had a strong tribal structure that affected the political system during the twentieth century. Libya was ruled by King Idris from 1951 until 1969. Muammer Al-Qaddafi came to power through a military coup in 1969.

Tribal affiliation not only remained strong but also presented a genuine challenge to acceptance of the state as the primary vehicle for economic distribution and conflict resolution. Tribal imperatives were interpreted in different terms under the monarch, who emphasized the cohesion and exclusiveness of kinship, and the revolutionary regime that also embraced the more general principles of egalitarian participation and abhorrence of economic specialization. However, both regimes turned to the idiom and reality of the tribes to win support and maintain authority.

Hasan Salaheddin (1973), studied the political elite of the Libyan monarchy. He distinguished between the tribe and the family as vehicles for recruitment into the
political elite. Both were important during the monarchy. The tribal element was an
integral part of the political leadership during the period between 1952 and 1962.
Many Libyans believed that several families controlled the country and decided the
destiny of its people through this period. Among those who hated this view was Idris’
successor as the Libyan head of state, Muammer Al-Qaddafi. In the heat of his
campaign for his socialist union, Qaddafi stressed the end of family rule and family
influence in Libyan politics.

Arabian Peninsula, (Gulf States and Yemen)

William Lancaster (1981), described the political power and authority among
the Al-Rawla tribe. In his book, The Rawla Bedouin Today, he points out that among
the Rawla, no individual, single group or family has political power. Power is
restricted to the working of public opinion. Even with that, public opinion has no
formal coercive power. Cooperation can be withdrawn. Always, it is an individual’s
choice influenced by family consideration. No one is expelled from the tribe.
Members can leave of their own accord. All men are autonomous and equal. There
is no mechanism whereby these principles can be overridden. The power to control
is best done by exerting influence through reputation.

The difference between Sheikh and tribesman is not so much in their
reputations as in the range in their reputations. The Emir and the sheikhs are
mediators for the tribe with other tribes and with the national government.
Robert Montagne (1984), discussed the material aspect of Bedouin tribal life as he presented the significance of the environment in Bedouin tribal life. In his analysis Montagne started with the tent as a basic unit, then discusses the family and the many groups within the tribe. He identified the tribal organization including the roles played by the Sheikh (leader) of the tribe. He discussed the ascent and decline of the tribal group and the significance of Bedouin tribal nobility.

Al-Tahir (1954), and Al-Jamil (1962), two Iraq scholars, presented a description of Bedouin tribal life in Iraq. Al-Tahir also presented the settlement projects encouraged by the Arab governments. The aim of these projects were to settle the Bedouin tribe in different regions of the land. Al-Tahir saw the objection to the tribal leader as the real reason behind the policy of settlement in Iraq.

The Banishiher Gabila tribe of western Saudi Arabia was studied by Al-Oshban Abdulaziz in 1987. He described the political leadership in Bni Shiher as the emergence of leadership through hereditary position. The Sheikh’s most senior or capable son becomes a strong candidate once the father has died or is incapable of performing his ruling tasks. Wealth, the environment, politics, and economic factors also restricted of the growth of centralized political leadership among the Bani Shiher. The main duty of the Sheikh Al-Qabila was to represent the group during conferences with other groups or councils or in resolution of intergroup conflict.

Alliances, conflict and different practices for resolving disputes among the Bani Shiher reflect the unified reality of Gabila. Close kin relationships are important
and significant but they are interlaced with other equally important relationships based on factors other than kinship.

Saeed F. Al-Ghamdi studied the tribal structure in Saudi Arabia in 1981, particularly the Kabeer tribe. He showed in his study the political structure of the Bani Kabeer tribe. Like the other Arabian tribes, early in the century there was strife among this tribe and occasionally, within the units of the tribe. Consequently, tribesmen have the power to balance within their tribe and other tribes, allowing tribal leadership to rise.

Bani Kabeer had a chief (Sheikh) with political power, social control and religious authority. As a result, the Chief of Bani Kabeer has the authority to order war against another tribe. He also has power to enforce tribal law and has the right to order punishment against tribe members who disobey the laws. The chief of the tribe has supporters within the tribe who have power and knowledge about tribal customs and laws. Their place is to discuss tribal issues and make decisions.

After the emergence of the Saudi state, the political structure of Bani Kabeer changed. The political leader in the cities replaced the tribal leadership in dealing with the tribesmen and enforcing social control. Yet, the tribal leader still has his social power and is respected by his people. He plays a connecting role between the government and his people.

Sandra Mackevy (1987), discussed the Bedouin tribes in Saudi Arabia in her book, The Saudis Inside the Desert Kingdom. She describes the influences of the tribes on the Saudi state and she emphasized that King Abdulaziz strove to integrate
the Kingdom’s tribes into a political structure. The king’s early religious message was, in reality, a vehicle to unite Saudi Arabia into a single state rather than a collection of independent entities.

In all matters of power and politics, Bedouin tribal values were intensely personal. They recognized neither settled administrations nor national borders. Units were tamed by Abdulaziz through a combination of religious control, marriage, bribery and punishment. The house of Saud never controlled the tribes through nationalism or loyalty, only through reward. The importance of each tribe is derived from the combination of its size, military power, geographic location, forms of livelihood and character orientation of leadership. Abdulaziz used the tribal leader as the major channel of communication and favor passing between the government and the people.

A conceptual approach to the study of continuity and change in Bedouin tribal society was conducted by Mizna I. Al-Ammary (1973). That study showed that the Bedouins are a minority in every society in the region except in Saudi Arabia. In Saudi Arabia the Bedouins make up a large part of the population. The importance of the study of the Bedouin’s tribal system and social system stems from the fact that most of the Arab values are derived from the values of these tribes. Despite ongoing changes among the Arab countries (including Qatar and Saudi Arabia), the values of Bedouin tribal life are inherent and dominate Arab life. Al-Ammary used analytical documentation drawn from the examination of scattered primary and secondary source materials to understand the Bedouins and the importance of Bedouin unification with
Saudi Arabia. Al-Ammary’s analysis of Bedouin tribal cultural life suggests the need for an integrated theory of Bedouin society that could guide research.

A study conducted by Abdul Rahman H. Said (1979), on Saudi Arabia was titled The Transition From a Tribal Society to a Nation. This study examined the social, economic and political forces leading from the Saudi Arabia transition from a tribal society to a nation-state society. In the study, Said examined the socioeconomic basis of both models in the Saudi Arabian context. Said looked at the process of transition from a tribe to a nation-state, a phenomenon of universal application. Many third world countries have been so adversely affected by internal strife and turmoil. It is possible to identify a set of conditions that are sufficient or needed for the successful completion of the transitional process. Saudi Arabia’s claim to uniqueness is shown through its statehood that derives its ideological legitimacy from an Islamic religion and from being one of the first contemporary nation-states whose ideals and ethos originate from one of the most ancient tribal structures known.

Said used historical and official documents to research the problem of trying to incorporate Bedouin tribes into the organization of the Saudi Arabian community. The social organization of the Bedouin must start with a clear delineation of the groups that make up this society. From economic and ecological stand points, it is important to identify a spectrum of cluster patterns that extend from life in a totally pastoral system with extreme variations in economic conditions. In the assimilation of Bedouin tribes into the Arab community, significant aspects of Bedouin life such as water and pasture availability must be considered and used as determining factors.
in relocating tribes. The transitional process of incorporating Bedouin tribes into the Arab community has occurred among a people united in language, religion and ethnic background.

The process of integrating these two social systems has been possible through resource mobilization. This perspective calls attention to the manner in which a social movement is able through a link with authority or not, to achieve a desired goal. Resource mobilization was added in the early stages of movement as well.

*The Possibility of Change in Bedouin Tribal Society* is a study of current development in Saudi Arabia conducted by Mohammed Ahmed Asad (1981). He showed the Bedouin tribal society within Saudi Arabia as an Arab population who lives in the desert and adjusts their lives to the environmental conditions. This study examines the importance of bringing Bedouin tribes under more control through the central government to work toward achieving more political stability and better living conditions.

Asad points out that one of the limitations that complicate this project is there is no theory set up to change the Bedouin situation within Saudi Arabia. Therefore, an integrating theory that could help to guide research and develop programs is required. Asad points out that the theory should not ignore the nature of the Bedouin, a complex web of interaction. And, it is important to consider all possible levels of analysis including the individual, the group and the whole of society. Asad integrates theories from other researchers to analyze Bedouin tribal life. The theories that can aid the Bedouin must also consider characteristics that include disciplines of
sociology, psychology, anthropology and economics. Asad further points out that when viewing the Bedouin social structure, change appears far away. Development is a path along which all countries travel. Each country must know how much time its plan needs and be able to progress at its own speed to achieve its goals. Development, therefore, can be seen as a process of leadership by objectives and the securing of social goals through the sophisticated tools of planning.

The government of Saudi Arabia has developed three 5-year development plans since 1970 to combine features of the four development models. One important influence King Faisal attempted was to unite the Bedouin tribes through Islam.

Tribes and states formation in Saudi Arabia was studied by Joseph Kostiner in 1990. It was a comprehensive and fruitful study that yielded an important perspective on tribalism. According to Kostiner, tribal society and their values exerted an intricate influence on Saudi state formation during the twentieth century. As a military and political power, tribes were a formidable instrument in the expansion of Saudi territory. Still, they failed to maintain a loosely structured chieftaincy by a centralizing, development-oriented regime. The impact of the new government was felt most strongly at the political and military level. Tribal modes of behavior and values prevailed in society alongside new state institutions and bureaucratic procedures; in fact, they co-mingled.

Foud Khuri (1980), studied the tribe and state in Bahrain. He studied the transformation of social and political authority in Bahrain to a Arabian Gulf state. Khuri pointed out the importance of Bahrain’s location as an island in the Arabian
Gulf in the main sea highway linking the east and west. Bahrain plays a central role in sea trade between India and the Arabian Gulf. Khuri presented the historical background of Bahrain. He mentions the struggle between the tribes to control the important territory in the Gulf. Al-Knalifa, who still governs Bahrain, came to prominence in 1766. There were conflicts with different tribes who live on the western and eastern coasts of the Arabian Gulf, rivals struggled to be part of the growth in the trade with the East. Al-Khalifa formed alliances with other Arabian tribes who then gave their support to the new ruler (Sheikh) of Bahrain. Until the 1950s, Bahrain had a tribal structure that had traditional authority. Al-Khalifa’s authority was diffusely shared with many tribes each according to its capacity.

The rise of bureaucracy, the oil explosion, the socioeconomic transformation and the spread of underground political parties all influenced the new political frontier that creating the association between tribe and state. Tribes as authority systems were destroyed, but remained as symbols and are expected to remain for a long time to come.

G. C. Sweet (1965), studied the tribes in the north Arabian peninsula. In her study she tried to analyze the stable kinship-social unit among the Al-Ruwalah, Shammar and Mutayer Bedouin tribes. The tribal section, or division (Fakhd), governs in north Arabia. She shows the solidarity of the Bedouin tribe and the function of the tribal section. Fakhd is an economic as well as a political force.

Yemen, as one of the regions within the Arabian peninsula, has a strong tribal structure as Paul Dresch (1989), described in his study Imans and Tribes in Yemen.
He emphasized the significant role that the tribe played in the rule by first Imans in 896 until the last overthrow in 1962. Imans had political and religious status and were protected by the tribe. In contrast, after the emergence of the modern state in Yemen, the tribe's role increased politically affecting the political stability in Yemen tribes. For example, Hashid and Bakil are recognized as strong powers, allowing them to participate in the political policies of the Yemen state.

Studies of the Al-Murrah Tribe

The Al-Murrah, subject of this study, were studied by different scholars, both nonarab and Arab. John Philby (1972), was one of the scholars who presented a history of the modern Arabic peninsula. He covered the history of the Whahhobi movement in central Arabia, noting its strengths and weaknesses. Philby maintains that the Al-Murrah tribe is a wild and proud people who have the reputation of being especially loyal to the government of the Arabian Gulf.

According to Dequin (1976), the Al-Murrah tribe that claimed first right to settle in the Harad area because it lies within their territory dirah is not ready to settle down to sedentary life based on irrigation agriculture.

Among the more recent authors, H. Dickson was an influential English political agent in Kuwait. In his book, Kuwait and Her Neighbors (1949), he described the life of the Kuwait people and northeast Saudi Arabian tribes. Dickson described the organization of the Bedouin tribes and their desert camps. In his book, Arab of the Desert: A Glimpse into Bedouin Life (1951), he described in detail the
Al-Murrah lifestyle in the desert, particularly their migration from the south of the Al-Hsa oasis to the north looking for grasslands, rain, and better land for their camels. He mentioned the Al-Murrah as one of the Arabian tribes that settled in the Gulf states.


Cole collected data about the Al-Murrah tribe from 1968 to 1970. In his study Cole also used analysis of Fakhd as the basic unit of society. Through his research, Cole offers a great contribution to understanding the Bedouin tribal life. He describes the Al-Murrah’s life as simple and hospitable. He explains that the Al-Murrah have a very uncomplicated economy, using camels, goats and other tangible objects as economic resources. However, he emphasized that they were not independent in their economy since they receive their important resources from the oasis of Arabian cities. The Al-Murrah tribe did engage in economical exchange with the market people in the cities. Cole went on to explain that modernization and changes that occurred because of the discovery of oil were felt by the Al-Murrah as well as the rest of the Arabian peninsula. In his study, Cole mentions that the Al-Murrah tribe is divided
into seven clans. Each clan includes four to six lineages. The term Al-Murrah used for this unit is "gabila" meaning tribe. Cole points out that, just as in every other society, the Al-Murrah tribe has political structure and each clan provides leaders for the entire tribe. However, there is one official leader for the whole tribe.

Cole concludes his study by mentioning that the Al-Murrah have a strong identity and kinship. The Al-Murrah like the desert life and their camels. Cole points out the transformation within the Al-Murrah tribe because of the discovery of oil. The Al-Murrah have a positive attitude toward modernization.

Wayne Eastep (1984), presented a depiction of Al-Murrah tribes. Eastep lived six weeks among the Al-Murrah. During that time he grew to enjoy their lifestyle. He mentions that Al-Murrah are very hospitable and genial toward their guests, making them feel part of the tribe. Eastep mentioned the Al-Murrah as a tribe are proud and independent people. They have self-confidence in a way that Eastep believes is truly aristocratic.

There is a clear division of labor among the Al-Murrah. Women do the cooking and set up camp. Men tend to the shopping and other activities away from camp. In spite of that, women play a central role in Bedouin life.

Mohammed Nakhla (1980), pointed out the political history of Al-Hsa. Nakhla mentions that the Al-Murrah as a powerful and courageous tribe confronted the Turkish occupation of Al-Hsa. The Al-Murrah conquered the Turkish soldiers in different battles. These feats effected the Turkish policy toward Al-Hsa.
Abdallah Hasan Al-Abbadi (1981), studied the Al-Murrah as a part of his socio-historical study about the nomadic settlement in Saudi Arabia. He studied the settlement within the Al-Murrah tribal territory. According to Al-Abbadi the Al-Murrah people are very well known for their devotion to Bedouin tradition and for their love of the nomadic life. Al-Murrah is not a wealthy tribe when compared to some northern tribes such as Anazah, but it is loyal to the Al-Saud ruling family. Within Qatar most of the Al-Murrah are loyal to the Al-Thani family, more so than to any of the other Gulf states prince families.

Said Bin Miss Fer (1970), pointed out in his study of the Al-Murrah tribe that genealogy and geographical location of the Al-Murrah makes them the strongest of the Arabian tribes. They also have the largest territory in the Arabian peninsula.

According to Said Bin Miss Fer, the Al-Murrah participated in the development of the Saudi Arabian state. The Al-Murrah protected King Abdul Aziz and his family when they left Riyadh. They also became political supporters of Abdul Aziz in helping him rebuild his state.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

In this study of tribalism, I examined the Al-Murrah political structure. This study is a descriptive study that provides a valuable contribution to the previous tribal studies. The sensitivity of the situation in the Arabian Gulf made collecting information about the tribe difficult. Consequently, I used semi-structured conversations with key informants, historical and official documents, and observation to ground this study. I returned to Qatar from July 1 to August 30, 1994. However, I have a much longer personal experience, I spent most of my life among the Al-Murrah as I am one of the Al-Murrah tribe. This study also includes information from my personal experience.

Key Informants

Most socio-anthropological studies done in traditional and tribal societies have used key informants as a method. Socio-anthropologists Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, and Pritchard believed using informants was a good technique to collect unwritten information. (Radcliffe-Brown, 1958. p.136.)

According to Faroq Ismail and Ahmed Abou Zaid, “the informant approach is as useful a method in the tribal society as in the Arabian tribe” (1976, p.241). For
this study I used all my field study period traveling between the tribesman. I visited thirty majlis where the tribesmen sit and talk with each other. A majlis is a special room in a home where men gather to visit and talk among themselves. Each house has a majlis. In each single majlis I sat, listened to, and talked with about thirty men of different status, age, and education levels. I presented a topic that related to my study and then sat and listened to their opinions. Some of those topics were their relationships with each other, their alliance to the tribal leadership, and the role of the leader among them. I asked the older people about issues they knew about that the newer generation did not, such as, how the leadership emerged. I asked them to talk about the conflict between the Al-Murrah and with the other tribes and how conflicts were resolved. I asked about the identity of decision makers, and how they make decisions. I also asked the older people to provide valuable data about Al-Murrah's political participation with the Gulf state in the middle of the twentieth century.

In addition, I visited the Al-Murrah leadership who provided valuable data about their role within the Al-Murrah. They explained how they make decisions, and their relationships with the tribesmen.

Historical and Official Documents

I used historical and official documents to research the Al-Murrah tribe. Specifically, I used documents about the structure of the tribe during the early twentieth century. These historical data were collected to clarify the relationship
between the Al-Murrah leadership and the leadership of the Gulf states, and how the Al-Murrah participated in building the states. Also, relevant data were found in British documents from the period in which the region was under British control, as well as literature written by social scientists.

Observation

Observation is a method of data collection in which the researcher or his collaborators record information as they witness events occurring in the study system (Nanlin, p.205). In particular, according to Abdulbasit (1982), participant observation is a useful method to collect data within the tribal society.

In this study I used participant observation with the Al-Murrah tribe. I visited the tribal leadership majlis when they introduced the tribal people. I observed the interaction between the leaders and the people. This observation method provided abundant data about the relationship between the leadership and the tribesmen and the interaction between them. With both the key informant and observation methods, I kept extensive written notes. While I was in the presence of the people of the tribe, I listened and then wrote notes later when I was alone.
CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE AL-MURRAH TRIBE

Introduction

Tribes and tribalism play significant roles in the Gulf state. Tribes have social and political structures leading them to react differently to situations. As a social unit, the tribe consists of a large group with culture and social integration with strong kinship ties. Tribal unity is increased because each tribe has its own territory. Moreover, the tribes' people provide leaders who are socio-political stars within the tribes. When we look at the Gulf political history, we will find some of the Arabian tribes that formed their own state. Some of those tribes are Al-Sousd, the King of Saudi, Al-Sabah, the Kuwait ruler (Sheik); and Akhalifa, the Bahrain ruler all identify with the Iniza tribe. Al-Thani, the Sheik of Qatar is closest to the Bni-Timim tribe. Furthermore, while the rulers (Sheiks) composed their state, they were also supported by other tribes such as Al-Murrah, Al-Ajman, Al-Hawjer and Qhahtan. These Gulf states have such strong tribal structures that we can call them tribal states.

This study is about the largest tribe in Qatar and Saudi Arabia, the Al-Murrah. The Al-Murrah tribe plays a significant socio-political role in Qatar. To show this, I summarize the Al-Murrah political structure which consists of the leadership as a whole and how the leaders originate within the tribe, the type of leadership they
provide, and roles the leaders play. I describe the leaders and how decisions are made among the tribe, the relationship between the leader and the tribesmen, including conflict among the tribes and with other tribes. I further define the role of leaders and how they influence conflict resolution. Overall, I will describe the relationship between the Al-Murrah and leadership of the Gulf states in light of political participation. Finally, I will describe tribalism in the Gulf today and what can be expected in the future.

Strong Kinship as a Basis of Arabian Political Tribes

Al-Asabysa is strong kinship, a word meaning fanaticism or strong loyalty. It is a result of the strong kinship of the fanatical (asabysa) motives, actions, and behaviors that appear among the Arabian bedouin tribes (Mustaf-Hussin, 1984, p.69).

According to Ibn Khaldun, the Arabian tribes have the asabysa characteristic because they have strong kinship ties and are blood related. Ibn Khaldun emphasized that confederation and loyalty as well as kinship creates the asabysa. Asabysa is obvious and strong among the family relatives and other tribes who are blood related (1988, p.89).

The state’s power is established upon the strength of asabysa. Thus, as much as there is strong asabysa, there will be a strong state (Al-Jabri, Mohammed, 1982, p.322).

Al-Murrah is one of the Arabian tribes that has strong asabysa. In comparing it with other tribes, the Al-Murrah have stronger kinship and stronger relationships
among the tribe’s people on the individual and family level. The Al-Murrah sympathize and help each other any time and any place. In the past, at peace or at war, the Al-Murrah as a unit created stability for tribe members.

Asabya among the Al-Murrah has different sources: kinship, marriage, and location. First, kinship creates a strong asabya among the Al-Murrah. The tribe’s people believe they came from one descendent before the tribe divided into seven or more different clans and subclans. Each one has asabya. They believe that Al-Murrah has different asabya among themselves creating one asabya in a stronger unit. So, there is a level of asabya that begins with family members, goes to cousins to subclans to the clan uniting the whole tribe. A clarifying example of how asabya works is “I and my brother against our cousin, but I and my brother with our cousin against the stranger.”

Up until the 1980s, marriages and blood relationship increased the asabya among the Al-Murrah. The Al-Murrah used to marry cousin to cousin, thereby, intensifying the blood relationship among the tribe. Marriage between different clans created strong relationships between the families and clans. In addition, marriage alliances with other tribes increased the asabya circle. As a result sons and daughters have strong bonds with their aunts creating strong asabya, not only toward their own tribe, but also for the aunt’s tribe. For example, some of the Al-Murrah have marriage alliances with the Al-Ajman, the Al-Hawajer, and the Al-Dauser, and other tribes. Marriage and blood relationship are important sources of asabya.
Location is another significant factor creating asabya among the Al-Murrah. As all Arabian tribes had their own regions, Al-Murrah too, had territory. The tribe’s people lived close to each other. The group of the Al-Murrah who lived in the desert migrated together looking for the rain and grasslands. Presently, while most of the tribe’s people live in cities and towns, they still live in the same area. The Al-Murrah who live in Saudi Arabia can be found in Al-Hsa, Biqiq, Dammam, or in their territories and villages. In Kuwait, they live in Al-Sabahya or Green or Sabah Al-Salam area. Today, Qatar is the center of Al-Murrah.

Al-Murrah live in cities that hold their name. Some of those cities are Al-Moudur, and Al-Ryyan. The Al-Murrah can easily keep in contact with each other maintaining their vital and strong kin relationships.

Al-Murrah allow their neighbors, or anyone who lives among them, to join their asabya. Because of this, the Al-Murrah believe they must protect their neighbors from any dangers. For example, if an enemy attacks their neighbor, they will stand with the neighbor against the enemy as though he were one of the Al-Murrah tribe. The Al-Murrah protect anyone who lives with them because they believe their neighbor or a refugee who lives with them must be treated as one of the tribe.

According to Bin Khaidun, modernization and the urban lifestyle will effect the asabya. For example, when the Bedouin tribe people became urban, they abandoned the coarse life in the desert and began to live in “soft” lifestyle. This change in lifestyle made for weak asabya because each smaller family unit has less contact with the other tribe members and now are now more concerned with their
needs over the needs of the tribe as a whole. Thus, the Al-Murrah who became urban dwellers have weaker asabya than before.

I believe the asabya is not stable, but it is diminishing. Asabya can increase and decline depending upon the situation and time. When there is political stability among the tribe, asabya is weak because the tribespeople feel secure. In contrast, asabya increases and is stronger during times of economic, social or political difficulty.

After the discovery of oil in the region, wealth increased, lifestyles became “softer” (more luxurious) and asabya weakened. After the Gulf War, the tribes’ asabya returned stronger. Each tribe felt it was dangerous not to unite and protect the tribe as a unit.

Tribal Leadership

Tribes in the Arabian peninsula experience continuous conflict between different tribes or even among the clans within one tribe. In the past, disagreements about the water wells, grasslands, land boundaries or acts of revenge have created conflict. The tribes survival depended on their power and ability to protect themselves. As a result of continuous conflict and fear, the tribes would disassemble, the tribespeople recognized the need for leadership to prevent instability among the tribes. Consequently, the status of tribal leader rose within each of the Arabian tribes (Al-Ghamdi, 1990, p.38)
The Al-Murrah tribe has several leaders who have political or social influence. In the next section, I explain how these leaders emerged from within the tribes.

The Emergence of Leadership

The Al-Murrah tribe has several criterion that contributed to the emergence of tribal leadership: inheritance, power, bravery, knowledge, wisdom, and hospitality. All these factors contribute to the emergence of a leader but one factor alone is not enough to create a leader. Several, if not all, factors must be there to ensure a successful tribal leader. The leader should be the direct descendant of the leader, a son or grandson or nephew. The leader of that tribe should be a recognized family member of the tribe and he should be from a powerful clan in the tribe.

Bravery is a significant factor of leadership. Because of the constant conflict between the tribes, there are warriors who have fought in the tribe’s wars. The warriors offer war leadership. In the Al-Murrah, warriors are called “aqid.” They are looked to for leadership. Because of their bravery and wisdom, the warriors have the tribe’s respect and enjoy higher status among the tribe’s people.

Knowledge and wisdom of the emerging leader are significant factors. He should know and understand the tribal values, customs, and traditional laws. The tribe needs a leader who can appraise the tribe’s well-being and resolve problems. He must be wise and skillful to talk with other leaders and be able to resolve conflicts with negotiation.
Hospitality is a very important component that helps create a leader. Because of poverty, it was difficult for tribesman to give gifts to each other even if they were hospitable. Thus, a tribesman who is hospitable and generous toward his neighbors has the respect of his tribe and will have many followers.

Many of the factors that lead to the selection of a leader in the past are not used today. Presently, the leaders with political power are recognized by the Al-Murrah and other tribes. Inheritance is the prominent factor leading to leadership among specific families. Leadership power is passed down from father to son or to nephew. There may be recent changes emerging by which new leaders are created. Education, political power or military might are factors that influence the selection of a new leader.

The Role of the Tribal Leader

Al-Murrah tribal leaders have the highest status in the tribe. This status allows for significant roles. As in the past, leaders have responsibilities and duties they must fulfill to benefit the tribe. Al-Murrah leaders represent their people in the relationships with other tribes or the government. This is especially clear in Saudi Arabia because of the strong tribal structure. The leaders must negotiate all issues, especially in resolving conflicts or arguments. The leader does not do this alone. He is joined by a decision-maker, a judge, who is wise and knowledgeable in traditional law. In addition, leaders negotiate with the government regarding any issue that could affect the tribe.
Al-Murrah leaders have formal and military roles, particularly in Al-Murrah territories. There are different villages and each leader lives within a village. These villages are located in his clan territory. There is an official office that is furnished by the Saudi government for the leader. This office is called “emara” meaning “the place for the leader (amir) or prince.” Emara is for the Ministry of the Interior, the office for the all tribes affairs. Emara also have a security role. Conflict or crime within the tribes or Al-Murrah territory is resolved by the Emara. They act as a police department. Tribal leaders also try to resolve problems with other ministries. For example, in Saudi Arabia anyone who has a request for any ministry must first have his/her tribal leader sign the papers. To obtain a passport he must go to his/her clan leaders or to the Al-Murrah leader to obtain their signature next to their stamp. In this way the Al-Murrah people look to their leadership.

The Al-Murrah tribal leaders also have a military role. Particularly in Saudi Arabia, the tribe has a national guard. The Saudi royal family has several national guardsmen from different tribes for local security, although it is made up mostly of soldiers from the Al-Murrah tribe. The commander of the national guard is a leader of the Al-Murrah tribe. The national guard is sanctioned by the government, therefore, the Al-Murrah who serve in the national guard protect the oil industry. They also help the army in case of a military emergency. Today’s Al-Murrah leader is not only a traditional leader but must also play a military role in the national guard.

The tribe leader has no religious function and no sacred quality is attached to the position. Status is not validated by religious sanctions and individuals occupying
higher status positions are not protected anymore so than any other tribesman based on religious norms (Efrnea, 1970, p.133). The Al-Murrah does not have a religious leader with followers. Any one of the Al-Murrah people with strong Islamic values and religious knowledge will have the respect of the rest of the tribe. The leader’s status does not depend on a religious role.

The traditional leaders of tribal groups tend to play important roles as mediators. In particular, the mediators negotiate between tribes and with the state or government (Cole, 1982, p.84). Al-Murrah leaders play the mediator role for their people. The leader goes to the Ministries manager or official to resolve problems. The leader also resolves the tribe’s conflicts with the police department. For example, if any of the tribe’s people are to be punished, the leader will try to intervene by resolving the problem or ask the Prince of the state to excuse that person from punishment or reduce punishment.

Clearly, in Saudi Arabia the tribal leaders play significant and different roles as representatives of their tribes with other tribes and with the government. They have roles within the military, security, and as mediators. Those roles are not so obvious in Qatar.

In Qatar the government is not concerned about the tribal leaders because there are so few of them. The Al-Murrah people in Qatar deal with their affairs directly without any need to go first to the tribal leaders. Most of their leaders are not in close proximity to them. However, in cases of conflict, the Al-Murrah people will go to their leaders for assistance in resolving problems.
Type of Leadership

There are four linages within the Al-Murrah tribe that provide its traditional leadership. The leader is selected by consensus and is usually addressed Al-Amir, or less commonly, as Shaykh (Cole, 1982, p.82). Linages that provided the four leaders are (1) the Al-Fahida clan produced the Bin Shoriem family, (2) the Al-Ghafran clan produced the Abou Lila family, (3) the Al-Adhba produced the Al-Nigadan and Al-Henzab families, and (4) the Al-Jaber clan produced the Al-Mouradaf family. These leaders are well known and are established traditionally and officially by their people and the Arabian Gulf government. Changes in leadership depend on each leader’s characteristics and the political climate with the states. For example, early in this century, the leaders were equal in power. Each leader was concerned about the well-being of his clan’s people. Since the Gulf states have emerged, the status of the different leaders began to change. Some leaders hold higher positions than others. Al-Shoriem became the official tribal leader or the first leader among the Al-Murrah for several reasons. First, they provided protection for the king of Saudi Arabia, Abdul Azize. When Al-Sauad was forced to leave the capitol, he lived with Al-Shoriem of the Al-Fouhide linage. After a time, he returned as a king of Saudi Arabia. He established a strong relationship with Al-Shoriem and supported their position within the tribe. In addition, the Al-Shoriem are located near the Al-Hsa oasis. They also have a marriage alliance with the Al-Jalwi family who are a branch of the Al-Saud. Moreover, the national guard under the control of the Al-Shoriem
family makes him more prominent than any other leader. Although he is the most prominent, all four leaders are equally respected by the people.

There is also situational leadership. A leader can emerge from a situation of stress when presumably concerted actions are so urgent that the collective group looks to an individual with great knowledge as a leader (Peters, 1990, p.116). The Al-Murrah has a war situation leader and a social leader. The war leader is called “Aqid.” The social situation leader arises because of his knowledge of the traditional laws and customs of the tribe and his ability to negotiate with other tribes during disagreements. So, the Al-Murrah has leaders who are leaders depending upon the situation.

Since the 1970s, new leaders and a new elite have arisen from the Al-Murrah as a result of higher education, political power or military might. In Qatar there are several Al-Murrah tribesmen who have degrees in higher education from American, European or Arabian universities. These individuals enjoy higher positions in different ministries or they work in the political system. There are three who are ambassadors for Qatar in different countries. Several of the Al-Murrah tribesmen hold high positions within the army or the police department. Some tribe’s people have great wealth, allowing them to help the tribesmen who need support. Those tribe members who have high positions in the state of Qatar are not really leaders but do play significant roles as mediators between the tribesman and the state’s organized ministries. The education, economic position, the political and military position creates a new type of leadership and elite among the Al-Murrah in Qatar.
The Al-Murrah leadership does not make decisions as individuals but in consultation with a decision maker, a judge, from among the tribe. There are several different individuals from different clans of the Al-Murrah who hold high positions within the tribe because of their knowledge and wisdom. They have expert knowledge in different areas. Some have expert knowledge in traditional law, others in customs. Consequently, these individuals are consulted to resolve problems and make decisions. These people are respected as decision makers and supported by the leaders. If there is a conflict among the tribe, the leader must ask for a meeting with different decision makers who are experts in traditional law. These decision makers should be from different clans. The decision makers act as judges in the issues between the opponents, the leader and decision maker sits with the opponents and works out a resolution. The opponents must accept the order of the decision maker.

If conflict occurs with another tribe, the leader alone cannot make the order to go to war. They must consult with "bravers," men who are wise and very knowledgeable about abilities and have conflict experience. These "bravers" are the decision makers in conflict situations. If the leaders need to negotiate peace, he asks for support from the decision makers. Although the tribal leaders do not make decisions to attack other tribes because the tribes are under the Gulf state's control, they do resolve the tribe's arguments and conflicts. They also provide consultations for individual tribe members. The Al-Murrah does not order any decision without
first consulting a decision maker. In contrast, decision makers, as situational leaders, can make orders without consulting a tribal leader.

The decision making among the tribesmen is provided by consultation between the leader and the decision makers. The tribesmen have to accept decisions about conflicts between the tribesmen but other decisions are not compulsory. The decision maker does not have the authority to enforce his decision on the tribe's people. Each person has the freedom to choose to take or disregard a decision regarding their life. This is particularly so today as the tribes are part of the Gulf state society who are under government law.

The Relationship Between the Leader and the Tribesmen

The relationship between the leader (Amir) and the tribesman is a respectful and trusting relationship. The leader is a tribesman who is selected as a leader because the rest of the tribe has confidence in him. There are no big differences between the leader and the rest of the tribe. As a result, the leader cannot individually make a decision for a member of the tribe. To make a decision that will resolve a problem, the decision maker and the leader together must resolve the problem using traditional law.

The leader of the Al-Murrah must have the respect of the most of the tribe. They must trust his judgment and respect his opinions to listen to his advice. In contrast, the leader must also respect the people he leads. In particular, he must have respect for those individuals within the clans or tribes that have high positions. The
leader also provides support to all the tribesmen when they come to him and request support in any of their affairs.

Each family among the Al-Murrah has autonomy. Each person has duties and responsibilities he must do in his daily life without the leaders' interference. The tribesmen among the Al-Murrah have privacy and freedom. The leader of Al-Murrah guides his people, he does not dominate them. For example, if there are foreign visitors to the tribe, they are welcome to go to any tribesman’s house and he will be received with hospitality. This is different from it is for the tribes on the north end of the Arabian peninsula. There the leader only is allowed to welcome foreign visitors.

There are several factors that affect the relationship between the leader and the rest of the tribe. Some of these factors are the times, age and economic status, education level and the location. In the early twentieth century, the relationship between the leadership and the tribe's people was stronger than it is today. Then the tribe was one unit. Different leaders provided stability and security for the tribe's people. The leaders also depended upon the tribe members to provide support and protection for them. There was a strong relationship between the leaders and the tribe’s people.

Age is another factor that provides differences in the relationship between the leaders and the tribe members. Those who are older or middle aged have a stronger relationship with the leader than do the youth. The differences in the backgrounds and experiences cause the older people to show more respect to the leadership and
have more contact with the leadership than do the younger people. The youth who grow up in Qatar, Kuwait, or Saudi Arabia do not pay much attention to the leadership. Some cannot recognize or identify the leaders of the Al-Murrah tribe.

The economic factor is one that affects the relationship between the leaders and the tribesmen. During the 1980s some tribesmen became very wealthy. Those wealthy members who helped support the tribe financially, were considered hospitable, also were looked up to for their good character values. This increased their good reputation in the tribe. They were treated with great respect and began to feel as if they were on the same level as the leaders, thus, raising their status within the tribe, and therefore, they feel equal with the leadership. This is not a source of conflict between the tribesmen and the leaders.

Education is a significant factor that affects these relationships. Educated tribesmen with advanced degrees from universities in American, Europe or an Arabian country have high positions within the government ministries or companies in the Arabian Gulf. Those individuals who have a doctorate degree and have political status in the Gulf government believe there is no reason to have tribal leadership because they are a part of the citizenship of the Gulf or part of the larger society than the tribe and legitimate leadership should come from the government.

Location is a component that affects the relationship between the leaders and their people. The Al-Murrah who live in eastern Saudi Arabia are geographically closer to the leader and have a closer relationship. Because they need the leader’s support for affairs related to the government, they must go to him for authorization,
signatures or official papers in dealing with the government. Thus, they are in continuous connection with the leader. In addition, the people in Saudi Arabia are invited to ceremonies or parties when the leaders have visitors. This also contributes to the stronger relationship between the Al-Murrah people and leaders.

In contrast, the Al-Murrah people in Qatar or Kuwait have a much weaker relationship with the tribal leaders. Most of the tribe’s people grew up far from the leader’s center, consequently, they don’t pay much attention to the leaders of the tribe, nor do they rely on the leader for support. They also believe the Al-Murrah who live in Saudi Arabia are Saudi and those who live in Qatar are Qatari. Those who live in Qatar do not need the leader in Saudi Arabia.

Conflict and the Role of Leadership in Social Control

Conflict among the tribes, conflict between the clans, and conflict with other tribes is a characteristic of the Arabian tribes. There are several causes of the conflicts. One primary cause for conflict between the clans is disagreement over territory boundaries or ownership of the wells. Each clan among the Al-Murrah has their own sub-territory and wells. Although the Al-Murrah have collective ownership of the wells and the grasslands, if someone from a different clan wants to use the land or well, they must obtain permission from the owners of that territory or well. There used to be much disagreement among the people leading to conflict. The conflict would start out very simple and develop in complexity.
Revenge causes much of the conflict between the people in the tribes. It begins with a disagreement that escalates into an attack. The defeated person will try to wait for a good opportunity and strike back in revenge. Sometimes, the attack is serious enough that people are killed. That calls for another act of revenge and the conflict then continues for years. The circle of revenge will increase from the individuals to include his brother, his cousin and eventually the other relatives among the clan. A conflict that begins between two people will develop into two groups, each side striving to win, making the conflict more complicated. Revenge can still be found among the Al-Murrah. The leadership and the decision makers must resolve the conflict using tribal justice.

The leadership and decision makers play significant roles in social control among the tribe. They must intervene between the two sides of the conflict and resolve the disagreement. The leaders and decision makers call a meeting where both sides explain the problem, provide evidence, bring witnesses to testify and others who act as observers to offer support to resolve the conflict. The witnesses should be from different clans, they should hold good positions within the clan and have the respect of the rest of the tribe to help to resolve the problem. The leaders, decision makers and witnesses sit in the “majlis” (men’s sitting room) and listen to each member of the groups in conflict. After all have been heard, they pronounce a resolution dependent upon the tribal law and justice. The opponents must accept the judgment. If the judgment is rejected, that person will be punished with deportation from the tribe until the conflict is resolved. To be deported means that the person must reside
with another tribe. The observers are the mediators between the opponents and the leaders and decision makers. The observers have the confidence of the opponents and try to convince the opponents to accept the resolutions. Furthermore, because the observers are present, the punishments will be milder or even canceled. For example, if an opponent asks for a large amount of money, he will be respectful in the faces of the observers, and accept counsel on the right to that amount of money. In contrast, the leaders and decision makers may ask the observers to council the opponent not to attack again.

Conflict between Al-Murrah and other tribes happens from time to time. The Al-Murrah used to have conflicts with Bni Hajer, Al-Ajman, Al-Manasir, and Al-Dwasir tribes because these tribes' territories are close to Al-Murrah territorial boundaries, so there were disagreements about grasslands and water resources. Tribes in the Arabian peninsula used to interact with each other which causes continuous conflict. Revenge also caused conflict between the Al-Murrah and other tribes.

Leaders and decision makers from both opponent tribes used to intervene to resolve conflicts between their people. The leaders of the opponents met with each other to try to resolve the problem in the best interest of each tribe with justice and state law. Thus, conflict between the tribes could be resolved much the same way conflicts within the tribes were resolved.

In contrast to the conflict among Al-Murrah tribe or with other tribes, there are also confederations. For example, there are two clans among the Al-Murrah that have strong kinship such as Al-Adhba and Al-Fahida, that formed a confederation against
the Al-Qafran clan. The Al-Murrah used to have a confederation with the Al-Qahtan, Bni Hajer and Al-Ajman tribes. Although they may have conflicts with each other, they have a confederation to protect each other from other tribes. Their confederation agreement shows their good relationship. If a tribe is attacked from an outside tribe, the confederated tribes join the attacked tribe to give support (Nahil, 1984, p.182). The Al-Ajman used to ask the Al-Murrah to support them in different conflict situations. In addition, tribes in the confederation had marriage relationships increasing their blood kinship bonds.

The refugee system is another result of conflict resolution among the Arabian tribes. An individual or a family can seek refuge within another clan or tribe as protection against attack. If a member of another tribe comes to the Al-Murrah seeking refuge, he will be protected for one year and two months. This length of time is provided for protection. If during this period, the refugee is attacked, the other members of the tribe or clan react as if they were attacked. At the end of one year the refugee has two months to look for another clan or tribe to join.

Presently, both conflict among Al-Murrah tribes or with other tribes are treated a little differently. Conflict among Al-Murrah clan can be conflict with status in the state. The Al-Adhba clan is in competition with the Al-Bahih or Al-Qafran for political status in Qatar. The Al-Murrah has a cultural conflict that arises between the old and young generations. The older people of the Al-Murrah emphasize tribal traditional law and the role of the leaders. The youth prefer the state law and
legislation. The Al-Murrah and the Al-Hawjer have a strong political competition. Each tribe wants the highest political status in Qatar.

In spite of the emergence of police departments and the court system in the Gulf states, the Al-Murrah still prefer to resolve conflict by the traditional justice system. However, they do not reject the state laws that were established by the Islamic legislation. The police department and the tribesmen concerned try to resolve conflict using state law and tribal justice. That is the best solution that ends the conflict. In the event this does not work, the government will intervene and force compliance.

The Al-Murrah and the Gulf States

The Al-Murrah tribe has an old and strong relationship with the Gulf states, in particular, Saudi Arabia and Qatar. Because of their location, the Al-Murrah territories are close to the political centers of those states. The Al-Murrah have two different concepts of the state and government. They define the state "dowla" as a modern bureaucracy with organized ministers and workers. On the other hand, they define the governors as princes, and royal family members (Cole, 1975, p.109). The Al-Murrah believe they have strong loyalty to Al-Sauad and Al-Thani. Moreover, the Al-Murrah believes they have the support of those families to establish their states.
The Al-Murrah Leadership and the Leader of the Gulf States

The Al-Murrah has had a close relationship with the Al-Jiluwi branch of the Al-Saud tribe who has provided the rules of Al-Hasa. Al-Murrah alliance with government members “Hukuma” include marriages with women from families of Amir status who marry men who are members of the government “Hukuma” and thus symbolize and cement political affiliation between the tribe and the governor “Prince” or “Shaykh” families. The Al-Shoriem (Al-Murrah leader) has a marriage alliance with the Al-Jiluwi branch of the Al-Saud and with the Al-Thani, the ruler of the state of Qatar. Al-Muradhaf has marriage alliance with another branch of Al-Saud, Al-Nagadan and Al-Hinzab have a marriage alliance with Al-Thani. The Al-Shoriem and Al-Nagadan have marriage alliances with Al-Kalifa, the ruler of Bahrain state. These marriages take on the status of the father’s family but their relationship with their mother’s tribe is carefully maintained and cultivated for generations after particular marriages (Cole, 1975, p.109). Thus Al-Thani or Al-Saud’s new generations have ties with Al-Murrah. They are proud of their tribe and try to provide different benefits to the Al-Murrah tribesmen. The government members try to increase marriage relationships to strengthen the tribe’s loyalty. For example, the wife of the Prince of Bahrain is the daughter of Al-Murrah leader, Bin Shorem. Because they are related, he believes the Al-Murrah will be more loyal to the Qatar government and will be more supportive of him in his disagreements with Al-Thani, the ruler of Qatar. However, he cannot disrupt the Al-Murrah relationship with Al-Thani because the Al-
Murrah believes Qatar is their home and they have a strong relationship with Al-Thani.

Al-Murrah Political Participation

The Al-Murrah is one of the most active tribes to participate politically with Saudi Arabia and Qatar governments. The Al-Murrah played a significant role in supporting the establishment of the third kingdom in Saudi. That became obvious when Al-Murrah welcomed King Abdul Aziz who left the capitol after his enemy attacked. Abdul Aziz lived with Al-Shoriem, one of the Al-Murrah leaders. He was also protected by the tribesmen. Because of this, most of the Al-Murrah believes they have participated in establishing the Saudi state because of their protection of King Abdul Azize.

Al-Murrah tribesmen participated in different battles against the Turks who occupied Al-Hasa (Mohammed, 1980, p.2-4). Thus, Al-Shoriem, as the tribe's leader, and the tribesmen allied themselves with Al-Saud and played an important role in the conquest of Al-Hasa in 1911 with the Turks (Cole, 1975, p.99).

The major organization created by Abdul Azize which caused changes among the Bedouin was the Al-Khwan, the Muslim Brotherhood. The Khwan brothers included most of the Bedouins of central Arabia. Their major achievements lay in the spread of fundamentalist Islam and Abdul Azize's political ideology between the Bedouin and the creation of a standing army of "Mujahidin," holy warriors ready to fight under the banner of the Al-Saud (Cole, 1975, p.121). Many Al-Murrah
participated in the military activities of the Al-Khwan armies but only a few of them became actively involved in the movement on a full time basis (Cole, 1975, p.121).

Al-Murrah participation today in Saudi Arabia can be found in the national guard. The commander of the national guard is the leader of the Al-Murrah, Bin Shoriem. Most of the national guard soldiers are from the Al-Murrah tribe. They act as supporters to Al-Saud by protecting him from danger of attack from other tribes or armies. In addition, the Al-Murrah leaders in Saudi Arabia act as counselors for the government regarding their tribe's affairs.

The Al-Murrah participated in the emergence of Saudi Arabia but today the relationship between Al-Murrah and Al-Saudi can be found between the leadership and members of the government. In contrast, Al-Murrah tribesmen have a working relationship with the government members in the capitol but for different reasons. The Al-Murrah is located far from the political center and most Al-Murrah educated youth prefer to work in Qatar.

Al-Murrah is the largest tribe in Qatar. Thus, they have participated in the Qatar emergence. Since Al-Thani arose in Qatar, the Al-Murrah supported them in different battles against attackers who struggled for control of the new states. The Al-“Zabara” was the most famous battle in Qatar history, occurring late in the nineteenth century. The battle happened between Al-Thani and Al-Khalifa, the rulers of Bahrain. The tribes divided. Some of them stood with Al-Khalifa and some with Al-Thani. The Al-Murrah supported the Al-Thani until they were victorious.
The Al-Murrah also participated in the second most famous battle (also occurring late in the nineteenth century), the “Al-Wajba”. This battle was against the Turkish who came to occupy Qatar. Al-Murrah along with other tribes, participated beside the Sheikh Jassim Al-Thani the most famous leader among the Al-Thani family. He was the ruler of Qatar then. The Al-Thani was victorious in that battle, allowing them to establish the modern state.

The Al-Murrah also supported Sheikh Kalifa Al-Thani in his efforts to become the ruler of Qatar instead of Sheikh Ahmed Bin Ali who had a contract with the British government, making Qatar British controlled. Al-Sheikh Khalifa was not satisfied with that contract and decided to become the ruler of Qatar. Most of Qatar supported him in his efforts, including Al-Murrah, most of whom were in the army. This battle allowed them to have significant participation in the creation of the modern and autonomous state.

Because of the density of the Al-Murrah in Qatar, they are active participants in most of the government and bureaucratic organizations. Thus, the Al-Murrah can be found in the army, in the police department, and in the oil industry. Very few work for the government participating in making political decisions.

Most of the Al-Murrah youth become involved in political issues. The Gulf crisis increased the political interest of the youth of the Al-Murrah. They have realized different political systems exist in the Gulf that had been hidden by the rulers for many years.
Education also increased the political awareness among the Al-Murrah youth. Those young people with advanced university degrees from western countries, particularly the United States, have more democratic values and want more participation, not just for Al-Murrah but for all Qataris. I believe that if an election were held in Qatar, Al-Murrah would have many political representatives because they are the largest tribe in Qatar.

According to Al-Salem Faisal (1981), despite the sympathy of the tribesmen for each other, the people in the Gulf have a greater loyalty to the state than to the tribe. Thus, I believe Al-Murrah, as part of the Qatar society, is looking for state benefits and for equal opportunities for all citizens of Qatar.

Tribalism in the Gulf Today and in the Future

The Gulf states have strong tribal structures. Because of this, those states are known as “tribalism states.” The tribe structured status has been changing over time. So, I have examined the Saudi and Qatar states because they do have strong tribal structure. In Saudi Arabia, the state still has the tribal structure and government members try to increase tribalism for security reasons.

In the state of Qatar, there are different tribes but the Al-Murrah and Bin Hajer are the largest tribes. Qatar, like other Gulf states, has tried to destroy tribalism since the 1970s. The government believes that tribalism hinders modernization. The state is not concerned about the tribesmen, instead focuses on the concerns of modernization and urban people with modern values. Tribesmen have strong
motivation to become urbanized and live in the cities. However, this weakens the tribe.

After the Gulf crisis in 1990, tribalism began to rise again. Because of the crisis, the government began to cultivate loyalty, becoming closer to the tribes' people. On the other hand, there is competition between the tribes for the government's attention and the advantages that holds for their tribe. Each tribe tries to show their loyalty to the state. For example, after the allied victory against Iraq, with Kuwait winning its freedom, the Qatar army returned to each tribe in Qatar to congratulate the government members through the newspaper. Each tribe had a big celebration and government members celebrated with each tribe. I believe the future of tribalism depends on the crises that the Gulf states must face. If there is conflict or political instability, then the states will increase the tribalism to balance the tribes. The states will increase the power of the tribes against any new political movements started by the new generation. Tribesmen, themselves, will try to be strong and able to protect themselves from the danger of attack from other tribes. In contrast, if there is no crisis, the tribesmen will integrate with the rest of society, weakening tribalism.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Tribes and tribalism play significant roles in the Gulf states. As a social unit, the tribe consists of a large kinship group with a common culture and social integration. The tribes' provide leadership who are socio-political stars among the tribes. Some of those tribal leaders are Al-Soused, the King of Saudi, Al-Sabah, the Kuwait rule (Sheik), Akhalifa and the Bahrain ruler, are referred to as the Iniza tribe. Al-Thani, the Sheik of Qatar is the closest to Bni-Timim tribe. These Gulf states have such strong tribal structures that we can characterize them as Tribalism State.

Al-Asabya is a word meaning strong loyalty or fanaticism. According to Ibn Khaldun, the Arabian tribes have the fanaticism (asabya) Al-asabya that is obvious and strong among the family. Asabya strength creates the state’s power and Al-Murrah is one of the Arabian tribes that has strong asabya. According to Ibn Khaldun, the modernization and urban lifestyle will affect the asabya. Asabya can increase and decline depending upon the situation and time. The asabya is a political phenomena of the Arabian tribes that allows the tribe’s people to have strong kinship ties and be under specific leadership.

The Al-Murrah tribe has several criterion that have contributed to the emergence of the tribal leadership: inheritance, power, bravery, knowledge and
wisdom. Tribal leaders also play a military role. The national guard, sanctioned by the government, is made up of soldiers mainly from the Al-Murrah tribe. Tribal leaders have roles within the military, security, and serve as mediators.

The times, age and economic status, education level and location are several factors that affect the relationship between the leader and the rest of the tribe. Some of these factors are: Conflict among the tribes will develop into two groups, each side striving to win, making the conflict more complicated. Revenge is still practiced among the Al-Murrah. In contrast to the conflict among Al-Murrah (or with other tribes), two or more clans or two or more tribes unite forming confederations. The refugee system is another result of conflict resolution among the Arabian tribes.

The Al-Murrah has two different definitions of the state and government. They define the state “dowla” as a modern bureaucracy with organized ministers and workers. It also define the governors as prince, royal family members. The government tries to increase marriage relationships as that will strengthen the tribe’s loyalty. The Al-Murrah is one of the most politically active tribes in the governments of Saudi Arabia and Qatar. They also played a significant role in supporting the establishment of the third kingdom in Saudi. Al-Murrah is the largest tribe in Qatar, thus, they have participated in the emergence of Qatar. Because of the density of the Al-Murrah in Qatar, they are active participants in most government and bureaucratic organizations. Therefore, the Al-Murrah can be found in the army and in the political oil economy—but very few work as politicians participating in making political decisions.
After the Gulf crisis, tribalism began to rise again. Because of the crisis, the government began to cultivate the tribe's loyalty. The future of tribalism depends on what crises the Gulf states must face. If there is conflict or political instability, then the states will increase tribalism balancing the power of the tribes. The states will also increase and use the power of the tribes against any new political movements started by the new generation. The tribesmen, themselves, will try to be strong and better able to protect themselves from the danger of attack from other tribes.

Recommendations

I conclude this study with ten recommendations that I hope will be considered by the states and the tribespeople:

1. I encourage social science researchers to offer empirical studies about the tribes of Qatar, in particular, studies on the attitude of the tribespeople toward the socio-political aspects of their relationships. Another study should be on work values and attitude toward education.

2. The state should avoid creating asabya or strong tribalism within the different groups. If there are several asabya and different tribal units that will create conflict among the people of one nation. The state should consider that all the people depend upon their citizenship and qualification should not depend upon their native heritage.
3. The state should avoid building cities or towns that hold different tribal names. This naming will create differentiation between the people and further create increased conflict among the tribes.

4. The state should strive to deal equitably with all tribes and families. This will create a strong societal unit with strong patriotism.

5. The state should consider the tribespeople's socio-political satisfaction. This will increase tribal loyalty toward the state government.

6. I recommend that the state create a new leadership role among Al-Murrah at Qatar; a social-political mediator between the tribespeople and the government.

7. The state police department should consider resolving tribal conflict by using Islamic legislation and tribal traditional justice. Conflict will not so readily arise by using these conflict resolution methods.

8. I recommend that the Al-Murrah people keep their strong kinship unity as well as being a part of the Qatar society. The benefit of strong kinship is a strong and conservative societal unit.

9. Because the Al-Murrah is the largest tribe in Qatar and has strong loyalty to Al-Thani, the ruler of Qatar, they also have strong patriotism toward Qatar. The state can profit from the tribespeople and gain their support and protection from danger, in the present and for the future.
10. The tribespeople have to work for the common good of all the society members and the government, as opposed to working for the good of the individual or the smaller units such as family, tribes or clans.
Appendix A

Some of the Arabian Tribes in the Arabian Peninsula: Focusing on the Territories of the Al-Murrah Tribe
Some of the Arabian Tribes in the Arabian Peninsula

Focusing on the Territories of the Al-Murrah Tribe

- Al-Murrah Territories
- Other Tribes' Territories

**Cities**

**Tribes**

Map showing the territories of Al-Murrah and other tribes in the Arabian Peninsula.
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