

THE UNIVERSTIY OF HULL

**Continuity and Change Among the 'Utaiba
Tribe In the Al-Duwadmi Province of Saudi Arabia
A Socio-Anthropological Study**

**Being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of Hull**

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Abstract

This study explores the nature and extent of social change within Saudi Arabia since 1970, focusing on the 'Utaiba tribe living in Al-Duwadmi province. The research examines continuity and change in *al'Urf* (traditional customary law), the economic system, family structure and function, and social solidarity. Differences in attitudes, values and behaviour between younger and older generations are also investigated.

A structural functional approach is adopted, which describes systems in terms of structures, mechanism, processes and functions. Particular attention is given to mechanisms of exchange by which social relationships are established and maintained.

Participant observation, a questionnaire survey, and in-depth interviews were conducted in 316 households in Al-Duwadmi: city and 8 of the surrounding' villages, 4 agrarian and 4 semi-nomadic.

The findings reveal many changes of lifestyle, though core values remain unchanged. Some *al'Urf* (traditional laws) continue to be observed, with modification, though there has been an erosion of the authority of tribal leaders, especially over the younger people. Social solidarity remains strong, the motive for exchange being religious as well as instrumental.

The 'Utaiba have benefited from the wider occupational opportunities brought by settlement and development, though they still cling to camel breeding as a source of status and symbol of identity. Various traditional crafts are declining under competition from mass-produced products, but education is making wider opportunities available to them. Increased reliance on hired foreign workers brings new cultural influences.

Despite changes in fashions and customs related to marriage and new forms of leisure, especially for the young, family solidarity and influence are essentially unchanged. Marriages are still mainly endogamous and residence patrilocal.

Overall economic and technological development have changed many aspects of 'Utaiba life, but have not challenged their Islamic values, social solidarity or sense of Beduw (Bedouin) identity.

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Glossary

<i>'Aayla</i>	Extended family
<i>'Ulama</i>	Theologians, experts in Muslim religious sciences
<i>'Amarah</i>	Sub-tribe
<i>'Azeemh</i>	Party
<i>Aib</i>	Shameful
<i>Al Seed</i>	Hunting
<i>Al Sha'aer</i>	Poetry
<i>al'Urf</i>	Traditional Customary Laws
<i>al-Dakhil</i>	Sanctuary, a man seeking protection
<i>al-Deah</i>	Blood payment
<i>al-Farqah</i>	Fund contributed equally among tribesmen
<i>al-Fazah</i>	Emergency help between tribesmen
<i>al-hajir</i>	Restriction on marriage for a girl until she had obtained the permission of her male cousin
Al-Hijaz	The west of Saudi Arabia
<i>al-Khareef</i>	Autumn
<i>al-Khowah</i>	Accompanying
<i>al-Rab'a</i>	Spring
<i>al-Saif</i>	Summer
<i>Al-Sharha</i>	Occasional gifts or money
<i>al-Shariy'ah</i>	The Islamic Law
<i>al-Shata</i>	Winter
<i>al-Shmalah</i>	Use to cover the udders of a camel being kept for milk
<i>al-Thaar</i>	Blood reprisal
<i>al-Wajahah</i>	Mediation
<i>Balot</i>	Cards
<i>Batin</i>	Clan
<i>Bayt Alsha'ar</i>	House of hair (black tent)
<i>Bayt Alshabee</i>	House of stone or mud
Beduw	Bedouin
<i>Bent 'am</i>	The Daughter of the father's brother = male cousin
<i>Dauoff</i>	Guests
<i>Dirah</i>	Territory
<i>Eid</i>	Religious feast and holidays
<i>Fakhath</i>	Sub-clan
<i>Fatwa</i>	Official ruling on religious and legal questions, pronounced by the judge

<i>Fojj</i>	Brigades
<i>Ghazu</i>	Raid
<i>Hadith</i>	Sayings attributed to the prophet Muhammad
<i>Hajj</i>	Pilgrimage
<i>Hamulah</i>	Lineage
<i>Haosh</i>	Courtyard
<i>Helf</i>	Agreement between tribes
<i>Hijar</i>	Beduw settlements
<i>Hima</i>	A system for protection of land from grazing
<i>Ibn ‘am</i>	The son of the father’s brother = male cousin
<i>Katatib</i>	Schools teaching Islamic studies, reading and writing
<i>Khawi</i>	Company with the princes or tribal leaders
<i>Khutbah</i>	Negotiation for marriage
<i>Mahakamah</i>	Islamic court
<i>Maher</i>	Marriage gift
<i>Mahram</i>	A close relative within the family
<i>Majlis</i>	Seating area for guests
<i>Markaz</i>	Centre
<i>Mlkaah</i>	Contract of marriage
<i>Najd</i>	The centre of Saudi Arabia
<i>Nazalah</i>	A housewarming party
<i>Q’aawod</i>	Young camel
<i>Qabilah</i>	Tribe
<i>Qasedah</i>	Poem
<i>Qasser Alaafrah</i>	The Wedding Hall
<i>Ra’ae</i>	A herder of livestock
<i>Rekpy</i>	Special camel for riding
<i>Suwalif</i>	Stories
<i>Thowi</i>	Sub-lineage
<i>Usrah</i>	Family
<i>Wasm</i>	Tribal brand mark
<i>Zawaj</i>	Marriage

Chapter One

Context of the Study

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Chapter One

Context of the Study

1.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to establish the context in which the researcher's theoretical and empirical works were carried out. It is divided into three main sections. The first of these sets out the goals of the study, its aims and objectives, the research questions to be addressed, and the significance of the study. There follows a section that presents background information on Saudi Arabia in general, including its geography and population, and the vital role of the Islamic religion in defining Saudi culture. The third section is designed to provide background information to the tribe under the study, which is a Beduw tribe, by defining what is meant by Beduw and explaining the tribal organisation of the Beduw and their association with particular territories.

1.2. Purpose of the Study

1.2.1 Aims and Objectives

The study seeks to explore the nature of continuity or social change among tribes within Saudi Arabia since 1970, focusing on the 'Utaiba tribe who are living in Al-Duwadmi province (see map, p.102). This region has been selected for five reasons:

1. It has a mixed population, including villagers and Beduw. In other words, there are two kinds of social organisation in the tribe, agrarian and semi-nomadic.
2. The majority of the region's populations are from the 'Utaiba tribe, which is the biggest tribe in Saudi Arabia (see table 3.1 and fig 3.2 and see tribe history).

3. That region of the study is not far from Riyadh, the capital city of Saudi Arabia. For that reason, most of the people are working in Riyadh, while continuing to live in their villages or hamlets in Al-Duwadmi area. The question therefore arises, how modernisation has affected their normal living-patterns.
4. Social services in Al-Duwadmi region (such as REDF, SACB¹ and schools ...etc) are expected to have brought changes to its people.
5. The researcher has personal and professional links with the area, which facilitated the conduct of the study.

The study will obtain information about various dimensions of social institutions life in the region , before and after 1970, in order to fulfil the following objectives:

- A. To identify continuity or change in the role of *al'Urf* (traditional customary law) as a means of social solidarity, and to identify continuity and change in roles of the tribal leaders, in order to assess the advantages and disadvantages of such continuity and change.
- B. To ascertain whether there have been any continuity and change in family structure and function, for example the spread of the nuclear family, change in attitude towards marriage inside the tribe, endogamy;
- C. To determine to what extent the Beduw community has been settled;
- D. To determine what continuity and change have taken place in the economic system, for example, continuity and change in the value of camel-breeding or agricultural land, change in attitudes towards traditional and cash crops, the status of commerce and salaried occupations;
- E. To determine whether there are significant differences between the older and younger generation, in attitudes, values and behaviour.

¹ REDF The Real Estate Development Fund for building modern houses (see chapter three).
SACB The Saudi Agricultural Credit Bank for farming purposes.

1.2.2 Research Questions

In order to distinguish the continuity and change within this society, groups of questions were formulated to direct this study to reach its aims. These questions were:

1.2.2.1 Questions Related to Social Control System

1. What is the continuity or change in the social control system such as the authority and the role of the Emirs or sheikhs among the tribe, clan, sub-clan or lineage, and how do they provide help to their tribesmen?
2. What continuity or change has taken place in *al'Urf* (traditional customary law) as a means of social solidarity among the Beduw tribes? In other words, are these kinds of *al'Urf* still practised by the tribal people? These kinds of *al'Urf* are the following:
 - *al-Wajahah* (mediation)
 - *al-Khowah* (accompanying)
 - *al-Fazah* (emergency, help between tribesmen)
 - *al-Deah* or *al-Rafdah* (blood payment)
 - *al-Fargah* (fund collected among tribesmen)
 - *al-Dakhil* (sanctuary a man seeking protection).
 - *al-Thaar* (blood reprisal)

1.2.2.2 Questions Related to Family System

1. What continuity or change among the family functions, has there been, for example, in education, and in the roles of family members and their relationships?

2. What is the continuity or change in family lifestyle? For example, when sons marry, do they live together or separately? If within the family, is it a patrilocal extended family?
3. What is the continuity or change in family duties? What kinds of help do people receive from, or give to, their relatives? How is authority exercised within the family and what consultation exists between its members? What is the form of relationship or degree of cohesiveness between members of the family or tribe, and do people usually visit their relatives?

1.2.2.3 Questions Related to Marriage System

1. What is the continuity or change in the marriage system? In other words was marriage among the 'Utaiba tribe restricted to *al-hajir* (traditional customary law) for a girl until she had obtained the permission of *ibn 'am* (her male cousin)? What characteristics do tribesmen look for in a wife? What are the reasons behind choosing a wife from the tribe?
2. What is the continuity or change in the *Maher* (marriage gift)? Is it expensive? And who decides it? Does the groom receive any assistance in paying the *Maher*? And how and where are marriage parties usually held?

1.2.2.4 Questions Related to Economic System

1. What is the continuity or change in the style of the houses?
2. What is the continuity or change in economic structures and income sources? (For example, the kind of jobs, the roles of the sexes?) Has there been a change in the social value of livestock?

1.2.2.5 Questions Related to Entertainment and Medicine

1. What is the extent of continuity or change in the forms of entertainment? For example, how do people spend their leisure time?
2. What medical treatment did (do) people seek for themselves and their livestock?

1.2.3 Significance of the Study

The proposed study derives its significance from its originality, contribution to knowledge, and practical value as a source of information from which policy implications may be drawn. Most of the settled population of Arabia were related to various kinship groups and were considered members of particular tribes. Settled and nomadic tribesmen maintained close relations, which might persist for many generations. Sometimes people from different tribe occupied separate areas within the same oasis. However, tribesmen among all tribes in Arabian peninsula had played an important role in various aspects of social, economic and politics life etc... in the Arabian peninsula. Social interactions and relations within the Beduw tribes should not be considered in isolation from Arabian societies: such an approach would distort the true picture. The nomadic, the semi-nomads and the settled people of Arabia were a united and interconnected social organism. The interrelations between different groups of the Arabian population, as well as many specific features of Arabian life, are of particular interest in determining the characteristics both of a Beduw tribe and the society as a whole (Vassiliev, 1998, p63-45). And in the knowledge of the researcher this would be the first research of its kind about continuity and change within this particular tribe in the Arabian Peninsula.

There has so far been little research into the nature of social changes brought by the oil boom of the 1970s and the Beduw settlement policy (see chapter three of the literature review). This study will provide valuable insight into the impact of social-economic development since 1970, and by clarifying the present situation of this tribe, it may provide some indicators as to the prospects for other tribes.

The understanding it will provide about current trends in social institutions, family structure, economy and social control system will be of interest to planners and policy makers in diverse fields such as development planning, social security, social welfare, labour law, industry, energy, housing, service provision, education and environment.

1.3 Background to Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

1.3.1 Introduction

Because this study investigates a particular tribe, which forms part of the social structure of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, it is appropriate here to present briefly the general background to the country of the study, setting it in its geographical and social context. It begins by outlining some key features of the geography and population of Saudi Arabia, and explains the country's administrative divisions. The next section discusses the key principles of the Islamic faith as the foundation of Saudi law and social organisation.

1.3.2 Geography and Population

The kingdom of Saudi Arabia occupies a unique position in south-west Asia between 35 degrees, 15 minutes latitude North and 35 degrees, 51 minutes longitude East, and covers an area of 2,200,518 sq. km or about 68.5% of the Arabian peninsula (Al-Nafie, 1995, p503). It is bordered by Iraq and Jordan to the north; South Yemen and North Yemen and part of the Sultanate of Oman to the south; the Sultanate of Oman, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, and the Arabian Gulf to the east, and the Red Sea to the west. The political importance of Saudi Arabia's geographical position is quickly apparent; it is strategically located between Africa and mainland Asia, lies close to the Suez Canal, and has frontiers on both the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Huge oil deposits give it a vital economic importance as well (Al-Farsy, 1994, p2-12).

The soils of Saudi Arabia are fertile and suitable for agriculture wherever sufficient water is available but tend to become infertile without adequate fertilisation. Many regions become alkaline from standing water but remain productive for date culture. Vegetation during most of the year is sparse, drab, stunted desert growth. Only during the wet season does the desert, often, nearly become green (Lipsky, 1959, p.19).

In Saudi Arabia there is a variety in the landscape and considerable life in the desert. During the spring season one can see blooming attractive plants such as the desert Camomile, Scarlet Pimpernel, Heliotrope and wild Iris. Throughout the desert, foxes, lizards, porcupines, hedgehogs, and other small animals burrow in the sand. Saudi Arabia has no lakes and almost no rivers. Only on rare occasions, for short periods, do the valleys have running water. Water exists under Najd in large artesian lakes and is being made available through wells and springs in increasing amounts.

1.3.2.1 Climate

The climate in Saudi Arabia is controlled by the subtropical high-pressure system. The annual average rainfall is about four inches. Most of Saudi Arabia is hot and dry. Maximum summer temperatures in the desert average about 112 degrees Fahrenheit. The air cools rapidly towards evening. Climatic conditions vary in the different regions. The study region (Al-Duwadmi) located in the centre of K.S.A has definite seasons with a wide range of temperatures. From April to November, temperatures may reach 120 degrees, while temperatures from December to February run from cool to cold, with lows in the 30s (Al-Sharif, 1984).

1.3.3 Administrative Divisions

Saudi Arabia is divided into six geographical regions, the central, the eastern, the western, the northern, the south-western, and the Rub Al-khali (Empty Quarter), while administratively it is further divided into fourteen Emirates, or administrative divisions. Each Emirate in turn is subdivided into sub-Emirates (figure 1.2 p.34). Most of the population is concentrated in large cities such as Riyadh, Jeddah, Mecca, Medina, Dammam and Dahrhan.

According to the 1992 census, the total population of Saudi is 16,929,29 of whom 12,34,825 are Saudi nationals. The age distribution of the population according to statistics from the Ministry of Finance and National Economy is as shown in Table 1-1.

Table 1.1 The age distribution of Saudi Arabia population

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
0-4	8.95%	8.63%	17.58%
5-9	7.49%	7.24%	14.73%
10-14	6.36%	6.16%	12.52%
15-19	4.91%	4.67%	9.58%
20-24	4.38%	3.75%	8.14%
25-29	4.34%	3.05%	7.39%
30-34	4.50%	2.49%	6.98%
35-39	3.97%	2.12%	6.08%
40-44	2.84%	1.79%	4.63%
45-49	2.00%	1.46%	3.46%
50-54	1.49%	1.18%	2.67%
55-59	1.11%	0.95%	2.07%
60-64	0.80%	0.74%	1.54%
65-69	0.57%	0.57%	1.14%
70-74	0.35%	0.38%	0.74%
75-79	0.21%	0.25%	0.46%
80 +	0.12%	0.16%	0.28%
Total	54.40%	45.60%	100.00%

Statistics Ministry of Finance and National Economy, National Census.1990, p.30

The central region, or Najd (Najd means high land), is the site of the Kingdom's capital, Riyadh, which is the political and economic centre of Arabia. Riyadh is growing very rapidly, with a current population of over 3 million people. About 300 Km to the Northwest of Riyadh is Al-Duwadmi province, (see figure 3.3 p.101) which is the region in which this research was conducted. The western region (Al-Hijaz) is the coastal territory between the Gulf of Aqaba in Jordan and Medina, Islam's holiest city after Makkah. These cities attract about two million pilgrims each year for Hajj. In addition to these cities, there is also Jeddah, the economic capital of the region and one of the major seaports of the country on the Red Sea. Beside that, there are the cities of Taif and Yanbu. Taif is about 1,800 metres above sea level, and Yanbu, in the north of this region, is on the coast of the Red Sea, and is the site of one of the two major petrochemical complexes being developed by the Kingdom. The eastern region is the site of the gigantic oil fields. Dammam, which is situated on the coast of the Arabian Gulf, is the capital of this region. Besides Dammam, there are Al-Khobar, Dhaharan, and Al-Jubail, the other petrochemical

complex on the Gulf- and the Hufuf Oasis and its dependants. In the south of this region, there is the Empty Quarter, virtually uninhabited. The only economic activity in the eastern part of this desert is the oil industry. The Northern region is largely covered by sand dunes. Therefore, the prevalent economic activity in this region is nomadic pastoralism. Agriculture is the main industry in this region, and also there are a few oases, such as Tabuk, Hail and Al-Jawf, which support more settled farming and some commercial activities. The South-western region, or Asir, is a mountainous region, much of which lies 2,000 metres above sea level. The people in this area work in pastoralism and agriculture. Abha is the capital and shares the role of the regional market place with its twin city Khamis-Mushait, 30 kilometres to the north-east of Abha. Jizzan is the region's port on the Red Sea, and Najran is near the Yemeni border. New regulations were issued in 1994 to reorganise the internal division of the country. This policy divided the country into the same fourteen Emirates and each Emirate was divided into provinces, counties, and centres. The reshaping of the internal division is still in progress (Al-Humaidi, 1994, p.27-28).

1.3.4 Religion

Muslims believe in one, unique, incomparable Allah, whose final message to man was revealed to the prophet Muhammad and recorded in the Qur'ān. The Qur'ān is God's word revealed by the angel Gabriel to the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). Islam was not founded; it existed before all time. In the early 7th century AD, the prophet Muhammad received a call from Allah while engaged in solitary contemplation at the mountain of Thor in the cave of *Hijra*. Preaching against prevailing beliefs and practices he earned the hostility of important personalities and was forced to flee with his closest followers to Medina. The flight (*Hijrah*) in A.D. 622 marks the first year of the Muslim calendar. In

the theocratic order established during Muhammad's lifetime he was judge, lawgiver, and social arbiter. His inspired utterances were regarded as from God and were compiled into the Muslim holy book, the Qur'ān; his non-inspirational statements and the example of his personal conduct provided the basis for a code of behaviour, which, with local variations and sectarian differences, was to apply throughout Islam. Building upon the precepts of Muhammad, devout Muslims held - and still hold - that religion, law, commerce, and social policies are always together (Lipsky, 1959, p35-36).

Islam is the dominant force in Saudi society. It permeates the socio-economic structure (which was created according to *al-Shariy'ah* (Islamic law), the legal system and all aspects of everyday life. Islam's impact on Saudi society is perhaps felt more intensely than elsewhere in the Islamic world because Saudi Arabia is the birthplace of Islam and has remained isolated from the rival ideological and cultural trends. Saudi Arabia was never under the influence of a dominant foreign culture (Vassiliev, 1998,p.480).

The people within the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia have remained almost exclusively Muslim in religion. Islam is the state religion and the majority of the populations are Sunna. Of these, a majority, particularly in Najd, are Wahaabi Sunna, followers of the purist doctrine of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Al-Wahhab (Lipsky, 1959, p35).

The history of the creation of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1932 can be traced back to the union in 1744 between the religious reformer ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab and Muhammad ibn Saud. Sheikh ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab sought to eliminate *Bud'ah* (synthesis and innovation) which were not in line with the original doctrine of Islam. Ibn Ghannam has left a detailed description of the Arabians' beliefs. At that time (when Wahhabism emerged) most people were wallowing in evil. They worshipped saints and pious people and had abandoned monotheism and faith, he reports. People came to the saints or their

graves and asked them to perform a good deed or to save them from misfortune. They addressed their appeals to the living and the dead. Many people believed that such objects as stones and trees might benefit or harm them. *Shaitan* (the devil) played with their minds. In their unbelief, they outdid the people of the *Jahiliya* {the pre-Islamic era}; there were many such cases in the Najd oases (Ibn Ghannam, 1949,p2-13). Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab called for reform, to change social life from *Jahiliya* (ignorance) and return to the reality of Islam.

A feature of social organisation at that time was the existence of different kinds of *al’Urf* (traditional customary law or tribal manners). Some of these *al’Urf* had advantages and some had disadvantages. One of these *al’Urf* which had negative impacts, was the Beduw practice of *Ghazu* (raid). Participation in the *Ghazu* was in theory voluntary, but in practice, the Beduw, especially the young men, could not decline an invitation. A man who evaded taking part in a raid would be branded a coward, one who did not deserve the respect of his relatives and tribesmen. A poor Beduw could improve his situation or even become well off after one successful *Ghazu*. Another negative *al’Urf* was *al-Tharr* (vengeance) whereby the victim’s closest relative would be responsible for avenging a killing. If his enemy died before he could take revenge, he would feel no satisfaction and shift his revenge to the killer’s closest relative (Vassiliev, 1998, p.42-46). Also of interest was *al-Hajir*, whereby the Beduw would not allow a girl to marry until she had obtained the permission of her *Ibn’am* (her male cousin). If he wished to marry her himself, his was the prior claim. On the other hand there were positive kinds of *al’Urf*, such as *al-Deah* or *al-Rafdah* (blood money) or *al-Wajahah* (mediation)...etc. In this research we will see which of these *al’Urf* (traditional customary laws) have continued or changed and, if they have been given up, why, (for more details, see chapter six).

The family of Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab, also known as Al al-Sheikh, was famous for its knowledge of the Islamic religion. Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab’s grandfather was the judge of al-

'*Aoyeaynah* town. He gave *Fatwa* (official rulings on religious or legal questions, pronounced by the judge) for all the people of the area. Most of his descendents became '*Ulama* (sing-'*Alim* theologians, experts in Muslim religious sciences). The alliance between this family and Al Saud made them work together to create a new Islamic country. Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab succeeded in convincing a group of followers to return to basic Islam and follow it. After Muhammad Ibn Saud died in 1765, Wahhabism remained very strong. This was an important stage in Saudi history, which brought change to social life in the central region of the Arabian peninsula.

A further period of significant change in Saudi Arabia occurred in 1901 when king 'Abd al-'Aziz attempted to regain control of Arabia with the support of the Beduw tribes and captured Riyadh. On 15 January 1902 'Abd al-'Aziz became its governor. In 1904 he succeeded, with the help of Beduw tribes such as the 'Utaiba, Qahtan and Mutair and the native people of Qasim, in winning several battles, giving him control of central Arabia, and in 1913, the new Islamic state of Saudi Arabia was established. The conversion of Muhammad ibn Saud to Wahhabism led to the development of this philosophy as a strong political, as well as religious, force in Arabia. Under the leadership of Muhammad ibn Saud (early eighteenth century), 'Abd al-'Aziz (early nineteenth century), 'Abdullah ibn Saud (nineteenth century), and finally 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn 'Abd al-Rahman Al Saud (twentieth century) the political climate in this sector of Arabia changed from one of anarchy and inter-tribal conflict to that of a united Islamic country (Al-Mahawi, 1990, p96). *al-Shariy'ah* (Islamic laws) and regulations in Saudi Arabia are inspired by the *Qur'an* and *Hadith* (sayings attributed to the Prophet Muhammad).

For the fifth of the world's population who are Muslims, Islam is both a religion and a complete way of life. As the historic heartland of Islam, Saudi Arabia plays the pre-

eminent role within the Islamic world. Both Islam's holiest cities, Makkah and Madina, lie on the Kingdom's western side and the Kingdom is proud of its responsibilities as guardian of the two holy places. For Saudis, Islam provides the framework of life and society. It is a simple, personal religion of peace, mercy and forgiveness (Lipsky, 1959, p36).

1.3.4.1 Tenets of Islam

The fundamental article of Islam is the testimony (*al-shahadah*) “ There is no God but God (Allah) and Muhammad is his prophet. ” Other dogmas involve belief in a general resurrection, in the final judgement of all mankind, and the preordainment of every man's acts during life and of his ultimate fate. From the Qur'ān, as well as from the Traditions of the Prophet, Muslims derive their Law, morality and have worship. So it is on the Qur'ān that Muslims derived *al-Shariy'ah* (Islamic law), language, educational, art, social institutions, political and economic spheres of activity

The Five Pillars

The principal instructions of Islam are called the five pillars of Islam. Islam means “submission”, implying man's duty to submit himself to worship and obey the one True God of Abraham. In Islam, the spiritual and temporal worlds are not separated. Rules for man's spiritual and temporal behaviour are clearly laid down in the Qur'ān and the Hadith (the Traditions of the prophet in which his life and sayings are recorded). Certain fundamental obligations are imposed on the believer. These are called “the five pillars” (*arkan*) of Islam:

Firstly, the profession of faith, “ the creed ”. As Muslims, they worship one God. Allah, which is the ultimate supreme power. Muslims do not associate any things or human beings with Allah. Because Allah is the creator, he has neither the nature nor the character of human beings. Everyone is equal before Allah. There are no saints or priests between Allah and His slaves. The belief emphasises the oneness of Allah and considers the prophets as human beings whom Allah sent with his message to the human race. Muslims believe in all the Prophets and Messengers from Ibrahim (peace be upon him) to Muhammed (peace be upon him), who is the last messenger of Allah. “*La ilaha illa liah, Muhammad Rasulu liah*”; this declaration of faith, called the *shahadah*, must be repeated at least once, aloud, correctly, and with full understanding of its significance and fervent belief in its truth.

Secondly, *Salat* (prayer) is the name of the obligatory prayers, which are performed five times a day. Prayer is a direct link between the worshipper and Allah. For anyone who has visited a Muslim country the two opening phrases, *Allahu Akber, and Ashhadu an lailaha illa liah Muhammad rasulu liah* will linger in the mind. Prayers are said at dawn, noon, mid-afternoon, sunset and nightfall. They determine the rhythm of the day, at home and at work. Although it is preferable for men to pray together in a mosque, women usually pray in the privacy of the home. A Muslim may perform his five daily prayers wherever he happens to be at prayer time, alone or in company. On Fridays, Eed (celebration), and to pray for rain, large numbers of Muslims attend the mosque for communal prayer. After hearing the *Katbah* (sermon) they return to their work, though these days many Saudis observe Friday as a day of rest.

Thirdly, *Zakat* (Charity, operationised as a levy of 2.5% of one’s wealth, One of most important principles of Islam is that all things belong to Allah. Wealth is therefore held in trust by human beings. The creation of wealth is encouraged, but setting aside a proportion for those in need purifies our possession. *Zakat*, or almsgiving, has developed from a

voluntary act of charity towards the needy, to an obligatory property tax. *Zakat* takes different forms, such as *zakat Al-Fater* at the end of the month of Ramadan, *Zakat* property, *Zakat* money, and so on.

Fourthly, fasting during Ramadan, the ninth month of the Muslim calendar. During this, all Muslims are required to fast and abstain from all bodily pleasures from sunrise till sunset. Ramadan commemorates the month during which the Qur'ān was first revealed and Muhammad's followers were victorious over the Makkah at the battle of Badr. The close of Ramadan is marked by a festival, the *Eid al-Fitr*, or festival of the breaking of the Fast. Eid is marked by a special prayer performed by the whole community and joyous family celebrations. Depending on the family's standing, the head of the household will often hold a *Majlis* for neighbours and friends. The visitors then return to their neighbourhoods to enjoy the celebration with their families.

Fifthly, the pilgrimage to Makkah (the *Hajj*) is regarded as the ideal culmination of every Muslim's religious experience and if humanly possible, is to be achieved at least once in a lifetime. The *Hajj* begins in the twelfth month, called *Dhul-Hijjah*, of the Islamic year. Pilgrims enter the holy precinct of Makkah wearing a special, seamless garment, known as *ihram*. This strips away all distinctions of class and culture. The close of the *Hajj* is marked by a festival, *Eid al-Adha*, or festival of Sacrifice.

In addition to the five pillars there are ordinances relating to the entire range of human activity. Regarding marriage, for example, the authorizing passage reads: 'Marry such women of your choice, two, three, or four; but if you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly (with them), then only one that your right hands possess. That is nearer to prevent you from doing injustice.' (Qur'ān 4-3). Marriage should have Islamic approval. Some kinds of marriage, for example exchange marriage, have been given up. According tribal Beduw *al'Urf* marriage among the 'Utaiba tribe was restricted (*al-*

Hajir) for a girl until she obtained the permission of *Ibn 'am* (her male cousin). From the study, we will find out if this kind of *al'Urf* continued or it has been given up.

Marriage is celebrated as a fully public occasion, with help from all relatives to illustrate the social solidarity, which is the aim and demand of Islam (see chapter six).

Islam also plays a major part in other life events. For example, the slaughter of a sheep and inviting relatives, neighbours and friends to feast on it to celebrate the birth of a child. Regarding parents, the authorizing passage reads; 'your lord has decreed that you worship none but Him. And that you be dutiful to your parents. If one of them or both of them attain old age in your life, say not a word of disrespect, nor shout at them but address them in terms of honour. And lower unto them the wing of submission and humility through mercy, and say 'My Lord! Bestow on them your mercy as they did bring me up when I was small' (Qur'ān 17.23-24).

Society in the Islamic view is theocratic; the goal of all Muslims is God's rule on earth. Social philosophy is based on the belief that all aspects of life (spiritual, social, political, and economic) form a unity that must be filled with Islamic values (Al-Juwayer, 1984,p.16).

al-Shariy'ah (Islamic law), derives from four sources: the Qur'ān, the *Sunna* (literally, 'tradition', the body of *Hadiths* and accounts of the Prophet Muhammad's deeds and sayings), *Ijm'a* (consensus opinion of the most authoritative experts in Islamic religious sciences) and *Qiyas* (judgement by analogy, one of the main methods adopted in Islamic theology). While giving latitude to local law and custom, it embraces the whole range of personal and social life. It tells the believer how to live righteously and the community at large how to conduct its affairs, spiritual and temporal. Of several schools of law, four-the Hanafi, the Hanbali, the Shafii, and the Maliki- have been preserved as equally orthodox among the Sunnites. They differ not in principles but in the degree of emphasis laid on the four recognised sources of law.

1.3.4.2. The role of the ‘*Ulama* (Religious Leaders)

As mentioned earlier, the role of the ‘*Ulama* in Saudi Arabia has a long history and great significance. The first alliance was both political and religious in nature and clearly emphasized the true notion of the state in Islam; that is, that the state and religion are inseparable. Saudi Arabia is governed by *al-Shariy’ah* (Islamic law). It is therefore inevitable that the ‘*Ulama* should play a key role within the country. They play an influential part in the following fields of government:

- 1- The judicial system of Saudi Arabia
- 2- The implementation of the rules of the Islamic *al-Shariy’ah*
- 3- Religious guidance group with affiliates all over the kingdom
- 4- Religious education, that is, Islamic legal education and theology at all levels in Saudi Arabia
- 5- Religious jurisprudence
- 6- Preaching and guidance throughout the nation
- 7- Supervision of girls’ education
- 8- Religious supervision of all Mosques in the kingdom
- 9- Preaching of Islam abroad
- 10- Continuous scientific and Islamic research
- 11- Notaries public
- 12- The handling of legal cases in courts according to Islamic law (Al-Farsy, 1994, p.42).

1.4. The Beduw Tribal Definitions and Territories

1.4.1 Definition of Beduw

In the Arabian Peninsula the word tribe and the word Beduw are very close in meaning, such that they cannot be discussed in isolation from each other. So before discussing the definition of the term “tribe”, it may be appropriate to consider what Beduw means. The term Beduw is an Arabic term, which means “the people of the desert”. According to Al-

Mahawi, Arab historians, British officers and foreign travellers have used this term to refer to the people who inhabit the desert of Arabia. The Qur'ānic term for nomads is *A'arab* but the common term used by Arabs is Beduw (Al-Mahawi, 1990, p.26).

Ibn Khaldun, the Arab sociologist and historian of the 14th century, gives a different definition. In his Introduction to "The Muqaddimh" he used the term to refer to the desert dwellers and to distinguish between the desert and the city inhabitants. He described the latter as follows:

They build castles and mansions, provide them with running water, build their towers higher and higher, and compete in furnishing them (most elaborately). They differ in the quality of the clothes, the beds, the vessels, and the utensils they employ for their purposes. Here, now, (we have) sedentary people. "Sedentary people" means the inhabitants of cities and villages, some of whom adopt crafts as their way of making a living, while others adopt commerce. Others adopt animal husbandry, the use of sheep, cattle, goats, bees, and silkworms, for breeding and for their products. Those who live by agriculture or animal husbandry cannot avoid the call of the desert, because it alone offers the wide fields, acres, pastures for animals, and other things that the settled areas do not offer (Ibn Khaldun, 1986, p 249-250).

In addition, Ibn Khaldun distinguished between two categories of Beduw:

Those who make their living from animals requiring pasturage, such as sheep and cattle, usually travel around in order to find pasture and water for their animals, since it is better for them to move around in the land. They are called "shawiyah", that is, men who live on sheep and cattle. Those who make their living by raising camels move around more. They wander deeper into the desert, because the hilly pastures with their plants and shrubs do not furnish enough subsistence for camels. They must feed on the desert shrubs and drink the desert water (Ibn Khaldun, 1986, p.251)

Sahlins (1968) highlighted that:

Nomadic pastoralists are fully specialised herders; entirely devoted to the care of their numerous animals and the mobile life this entails. Their mobility and their specialised reliance on animals are mutually contingent: the herds must be moved from pasture to pasture, to waterhole and the movement thus enjoined on people precludes attention to crops. Pastoralists engage in minimal amounts of agriculture, “true” pastoral nomads in none at all. In certain severe environments and areas marginal to main centres of pastorals, the people may depend heavily on a single animal species-the camel in northern Arabia, reindeer in Siberia, cattle in Southern Africa. The full pastoralism of Central Asia, however, encompasses a complex of animals-as of horses, cattle, camels, sheep, and goats (Sahlins,1968, p.34).

According to what European and Arabian sociologists have said about the Beduw or nomads, in this research, the two terms will be used as synonymous terms. However, for the purposes of this research, the word Beduw does not refer only to those who lead a nomadic, pastoral life in the desert, but is used in the contemporary Saudi sense as a denominator for all Saudi citizens who trace their descent from one of the generally recognised tribal lineages (they believe that kinship or blood relationship is the basis of community in social and political life) and who share the tribal outlook, regardless of whether they still dwell in tents or have become part of the sedentary population. Most of the Beduw at present live in cities or villages or *Hijar*, in modern houses, and some of them are semi-nomadic. While there are few true nomads, even those who are settled still practise Beduw activities such as breeding camels and sheep. Al-Haratani, in his study during the summer of 1995, at Al-Taysiysh, the customary *Dirah* (territory) of the Harb tribe, noted that this region is often visited by Beduw of the ‘Utaiba tribe (those who continue to practise camel and sheep breeding) and other Beduw from other tribe such as the Mutair and Dawassir tribes during the winter and spring. Harb camps were encountered only in the hot summer season (Al-Haratani, 1997, p. 84).

1.4.2 Definition of Tribe

It is not easy to define the term “ tribe ” because of the ambiguity that surrounds it. There have been many attempts at clarifying this term. The Academic American Encyclopaedia offers a valuable definition stressing the importance of kinship in tribalism:

In anthropology, the term tribe has been used to indicate a group of people sharing common values, general customs, language, and usually contiguous territory. The term commonly refers to groups within which kin relations are important, but it can be extended to groups numbering several million people. The importance of kinship is reflected in the tradition---common in tribal societies---that every member is descended from a real or supposed common ancestor. Tribes may be genetically heterogeneous, however, because of absorption of people of other cultural or genetic backgrounds through adoption, marriage, conquest, or political alliance. (The Academic American Encyclopaedia, 1995, p.295).

Elkin (1945) suggested that:

A tribe is a group of people related by actual or implied genealogy, who occupy and own a definite area of territory and hunt and gather food over it according to rules which control the behaviour of the smaller group and families within the tribe. (Elkin, 1945, p.24).

Al-Haddad and Al-Mahawi argued that, although Elkin’s definition is valid in his study, it is not necessarily the case that a tribe owns a definite area of land. Particular tribes in Arabia present the best means of illustrating this. In Saudi Arabia some tribes never owned land but lived on another tribal group’s territory, as was the case of the ‘Awazim who lived in the ‘Ajman tribal territory and the Rashida who lived in the Mutair tribal territory (see Al-Haddad, 1981, p.44 and Al-Mahawi, 1990, p28).

Although there clearly are disagreements about the definition of tribe, anthropologists tend to agree on criteria by which a tribe may be described: common territory, tradition of

common culture, common name, and origin. These attributes, though, may not always coexist at the same time. It is often the social characteristics such as those described below by Elkin, which anthropologists agree upon:

A tribe is a group of people who (1) inhabit and own a usually definite area of country; (2) use a language or dialect peculiar to themselves; (3) know themselves by a distinct name; though sometimes it is difficult to learn what this; and indeed; it may not exist; (4) possess customs and laws which often vary in some degree from those of neighbouring tribes; and (5) have their own rites and beliefs which frequently differ from those practised and held respectively by the peoples around (Elkin, 1945, p.25).

Eickelman gave another definition, as follows:

The first thing to emphasise is that tribal identity, like other bases of social identity including kinship relationships and even citizenship, is something which natives (and sometimes ethnographers) create and “make”.

There are four principal forms in which people “make” tribal identity in the Middle East. These are: (1) the elaboration and use of explicit ‘native’ ethnopolitical ideologies by the people themselves to explain their socio-political organisation; (2) concepts used by state authorities for administrative purposes; (3) implicit practical notions held by people which are not elaborated into formal ideologies, and (4) anthropological concepts. It should be emphasised that although these various notions of tribe are separable for analytical purposes, in practice they are by no means mutually exclusive and frequently overlap each other (Eickelman 1981, p.87- 88).

Various definitions have been given by anthropologists. Some believed that the tribe is a cultural and political unit (Fried, 1975), whilst others recognize it as a society, which has its own language, culture, identity, beliefs and religion (Oliver, 1955 and Elkin, 1945). Moreover, there are a few that consider that definitions as such should be wide (Murdock 1965: Middleton 1958: Salzman 1979). However Salzman emphasises that:

Tribes of pastoral nomads differ greatly, in overall political, vengeance group, and herding group organisation, in areas and amount of collective action, in territorial control, movement pattern, and adaptation, and so on. It is unlikely that a general descriptive model could do justice to such a variety (Salzman, 1979, p.123).

Much disagreement exists in anthropological literature about the tribe, and most research presents contradictory evidence. Individual features used as criteria may not coincide with one another or with the political boundaries associated with a tribe. For example, tribalism in Saudi Arabia is not necessarily related to pastoralism or nomadism and was frequently part of the life of settled villagers and traders. Most nomads were tribal, but currently many more tribal people are becoming settlers than nomads and are involved in the government and private sector under the Saudi Arabian government's umbrella (Alruwais, 1998, p.21).

In contemporary Saudi Arabia, however, the term tribe in its economic, political and traditional forms has, to a large extent, disappeared. In fact, the political and economic function of the tribe has been replaced by the founding of the Saudi state, and by the development of the national economy of the region respectively (Al-Jifri, 1989 p.43). Nowadays, tribe remains in the Beduw consciousness as a reference to their culture (as an indication of their kinship identities within the wider society), and as an attachment to their history. The term, however, is still necessarily used a guideline and to bestow a noble identity on those who consider themselves tribesmen. Many people of the 'Anazah, Mutair, 'Ajman and 'Utaiba tribes and others tribes do that, although they honour their identity because people call them Beduw.

1.4.3 Tribal *Dirah* (Territories)

In the Arabian peninsula, each tribe has traditionally demanded all use of pasture in a particular *Dirah* (territory). Across this *Dirah*, people of the tribe wandered with their livestock, depending on the seasons. In this section the researcher will discuss this issue briefly, to recognise if people still have their *Dirah* (territory), how they move inside or outside it, how other people share with them, and whether this continues or is changing.

The majority of Saudi societies are tribally organised. Tribalism, however, has never signified an exclusively nomadic way of life (Cole, 1973, p.113). Early examples of sedentary tribal communities can be seen in the carefully recorded early history of Islam. The Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) came from Makkah, a town inhabited by a particularly powerful tribe, the *Quraish*, who combined commerce and trading with herding activities and some cultivation.

Al-Jifri mentioned that each *Dirah* contained the tribal wells and pastures, which were owned collectively by the tribesmen, by virtue of both natural resources having been dug or grazed by the ancestors of this tribe. The size of the *Dirah* depended on the tribe's size and its defence ability. For example, the camel breeding Beduw in the earliest times seized the wider territories, so they looked for adequate water and grazing resources in proximity (Al-Jifri, 1989,p56-57).

However, tribes' territories were not very well defined, for these reasons: firstly, the area involved was usually very large (thousands of square kilometres) so it was challenging to define. Second, drought in Najd has frequently driven people to different areas. Thirdly, the uncertainty of rainfall forced tribes to change pastures every year, Fourthly, there was no state power in the desert to enforce these boundaries (Ebrahim, 1981,p 57; Webster, 1987, p.41; Al-Dajany, 1993,p.72-78).



Overall, the camel-breeding Beduw such as the 'Anaza, the 'Utaiba, the Shammar, the 'Ajman, the Mutair, the Harb, and the Murrah, tribes dominated the largest area. Operation of pastures might be open to all, shared, disputed, or negotiable between tribes, often depending on the condition of rains and the convenient grazing, the relative strength of tribes competing for the same resources, and the status of alliances of protection and trade with nearby sedentary powers at the time. Usually when the *Dirah* was watered by rain and had favourable grazing land, the tribe would not let any other tribespeople enter their pastures in the same territory without permission of the leader (sheikh). In such cases they needed to enter into an agreement with the other tribe about pastures. In addition, nomads needed access to nearby trading settlements from which to obtain their supplies in exchange for animal products. Each Beduw tribe in the province occupied an area that was ideally large and varied enough to support its members, and which included sufficient water and grazing resources to meet their needs.

Through regulating the seasonal migration and taking part in the distribution of pastures, the tribal nobility acquired preferential rights to dispose of the land, though their rule was restricted by *al'Urf* (tribal custom). The reserved pastures *Hima* for the tribesmen's livestock had existed since ancient time (Vassiliev, 1998, p. 44). Until the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century, most of the area was located under the *Hima* system.

Hima is a system for protection of land from grazing, particularly those lands on which rain has recently fallen. It is a full regulation established between and by the tribes living in the region, and aims to protect and conserve the pastures and plants from random exploitation, especially during growth periods. It prohibits grazing in protected lands, except in special circumstances, such as a drought. This system was applied between the tribes in Saudi Arabia.

After the establishment of Saudi Arabia in 1932, and due to the problems between the tribes resulting from application of the *Hima* system, the government of Saudi Arabia abandoned this system in 1953 (Al-Welaie 1996).

In the Arabian peninsula, distribution of tribes (Figure 1.1 p.33) dates mainly from large-scale migrations of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which affected many parts of the peninsula. Sometimes it is difficult to establish precise dates or causes for these movements or migrations in the absence of contemporary records, while oral tradition provides diverse and sometimes contradictory interpretations. It is nevertheless possible to make some generalisations about the direction and possible causes of population movements (Webster, 1987, p.41). For example, the causes of the 'Utaiba movement from Al-Hijaz (in the west of Saudi Arabia) to Najd (in the centre), were grazing, drought and poverty; when their *Helf* (agreement) with other tribes broke down, they came into conflict with the Qahtan tribe and others before the unification of Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, are discussed in chapter four.

The Beduw of the Arabia peninsula encompass many tribes (Figure 1.1). The transfer to a sedentary life began with the old *Hijar* built during the time of the founder of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia (King 'Abd al-'Aziz). Since then, the Beduw tribes have settled on their territories fairly regularly. The major tribes in the Arabian peninsula, in alphabetical order, are as follows:

The 'Ajman tribe's territory extends from southeast Kuwait to the northeast province of Saudi Arabia. They are camel, horse, sheep and goat herders. Most of the 'Ajman tribesmen started to settle in their *Hijar* (hamlets and villages such as Al Sarraar , the first settlement, in the centre of the 'Ajman *Hijar*, and Kuhafa , Mulija and Juda,..etc)

due to the religious political movement (the Wahhabi and Ikhwan). The 'Ajman tribe is divided into a number of different matrilineal descent groups. The lineages within the tribe usually consist of fifty to sixty households. A clan contains four to six lineages and there are ten clans in the 'Ajman tribe (Al-Haddad 1981).

The 'Aneza is a Beduw tribe whose tribal territory extends over the north province of Saudi Arabia, and part of Syria and Jordan; some of them have moved to Kuwait. They are camel, horse, sheep and goat herders. The tribe generally comprises several main sections (sub-tribes), each under leaders, which are further divided into a number of secondary part clans. Each clan is divided into sub-clan, and the sub-clan is divided into lineages then to many families. In the 'Aneza tribe, as for many other Beduw tribes in Saudi Arabia, a spontaneous change occurred in their lifestyle had which affected other aspects of their lives such as living arrangements, work patterns and leisure time activities.

The 'Utaiba tribe inhabits the western province (Al-Hijaz) and central province (Najd) of Saudi Arabia and some of them have moved to settle in Kuwait. They are camel, horse, sheep and goat herders. Currently, most of them continue to live in their territory and in many cities of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf area (for further information on this tribe, see chapters two, six and seven).

The Harb tribe is spread across the west of Saudi Arabia, and their territory extends between Makkah and Madinah. Some of them moved to settle in Kuwait. They are camel, horse, sheep and goat herders. The Harb tribe was subdued by the religious political movement (the Wahhabi and Ikhwan). The Harb tribe is divided into a number of different matrilineal descent groups. The lineages within the tribe usually consist of

many households. A clan contains many lineages and this links to many clans in the Harb tribe. The tribe have since settled down and adopted agriculture.

The Murrah territory extends from Najran north eastwards in an arc across the western and central areas of the Rub' al-Khali, the southern edge of which marks their own southernmost boundary (Cole, 1975,28). This area covers about 250,000 square miles. Life in the area of the Rub' al-Khali is difficult due to the ecological conditions, so although it is called the Murrah territory, it is shared with other tribes of the Arabian peninsula. Currently the Murrah tribe inhabits the east province of Saudi Arabia, and Qatar and the United Arab Emirates. They are camel, horse, sheep and goat herders. The Murrah tribal system is divided into different groups. The smallest is the Beduw, which is composed of five generations (grandfathers) or less. Above this is the *Fakhath* (lineage) composed of five Beduw, than at a higher level is the '*Ashira* (clan) composed of more than three lineages. Above the clan is the tribe ((Al-Mahawi, 1990. p.53).

The Mutair tribe's territory is to the north of the 'Ajman territory, in the northeast of Saudi Arabia. Currently their *Hijar* in their territory include Artawiya, Al Sayyerah, Qareyah, Al Rafeeah and Al Safah..etc. Some of the Murair tribe migrated to settle permanently in Kuwait. The tribe is divided into three main sub-tribes, the Al Dushan, the Al'llwa and the Al Buraih. Like other Beduw tribes in Saudi Arabia, tribesmen of the Mutair were induced to settle, and many tribesmen found employment in the government, as oil workers and in the army.

The Shammar inhabit the northern province of Saudi Arabia, and their territory runs through Saudi Arabia, the southern province of Iraq and south-east Syria. Many of them also live in Jordan and some have settled in Kuwait. They used to control Hail (the

northern province of Saudi Arabia), which was their homeland before they were defeated by Ibn Saud (King 'Abd al'Aziz) in 1921. The tribe is divided into three sub-tribes: the Al Abdal, the Al Salem and the Al Sinjara. Currently, many of the tribesmen have settled in Hijaz around Hail, such as Al Sayyerh, Al- Ajfar, Sharry, Baqaa and Hail city itself.

However, the tribal territories no longer exist and tribal struggles for control over them have practically vanished under the influence of central authorities, especially after the independence of the Arab countries, and because national boundaries do not coincide with the traditional territories, tribes are scattered across several countries.

In general the Beduw of these tribes share certain characteristics: Firstly, all these tribes are camel, horse and sheep herding Beduw. Secondly, all of them are *Sunni* Muslim following the *Hanbali* school of *Shariy'ah* (Islamic law). Thirdly, each tribe is divided into sub-tribes then into many clans and sub-clans and so on, and each segment is descended from a common male ancestor. Fourthly, they are considered *sharif* (noble) tribes. Fifthly, all these Beduw tribes in Saudi Arabia are affected by many factors of change, such as settlement, education, technology and economic development, especially since the discovery of oil (see chapter three).

In 1953 the Saudi state proclaimed all tribes' *Dirah* (Territories) collective property for all people (this was regarding the Beduw movement for pasture, but not for settlement). Nevertheless, the various tribes have tended to settle in their traditional territory. For example the 'Ajman tribe established themselves in the central part of the Eastern province, where they established many villages and hamlets, the likewise, the 'Utaiba established many settlements in their territory (for more details see chapter three).

In this respect, Saudi Arabia is different from other countries. For example, the concept of a tribe's, clan's or lineage leader's property does not exist in Kuwait; the government does not even recognize tribal property. In Saudi Arabia, the head of tribe, clan or lineage is still the owner of its land, with the permission of the government, but he is obligated to give portions of land to his tribesmen in accordance with regulations. All tribesmen who live in the settlements recognize the leader's basic ownership of land, and the land is given to them through him only (Al-Haddad 1981, p212).

The migrations of the Beduw depend on the four main seasons of the year: *al-Saif* (summer), *al-Khareef* (autumn), *al-Shata* (winter) and *al-Rabe'a* (spring). The rainy season (*al-Wasm*) starts around fifty-four days after the appearance of *al-Suhail* star, which usually comes 11th August to 3rd of October. Then *al-Wasm* season as it known by the Beduw, starts on 16th of October to 24th of November.

The Beduw recognize *al-Saif*, the early summer, because it is connected to *al-Thuraiya* (the Pleiades), and usually starts on 12th of May. Then came *al-Tweyb'a*² on 20th of June, *al-Joza* on 3rd of July, *al-Marzem* on 29th of July and *al-Kulabian* on 11th of August.

The Beduw move from well to well in *al-Saif* (summer), because the weather is hot and they need a lot of water for their livestock, while the rise of *al-Suhail* is the signal of the end of the *al-Saif*, when the climate becomes colder. At this time, the Beduw start to migrate far away from the wells, because, for example, camels can go for three to four weeks without drinking water.

For pasturing, the lands have been newly occupied by various tribes such as 'Utaiba, Mutair, 'Ajman, Aneza, Shammar and Murrah. Many areas have a special ecology. For

² Suhail, Tweyb'a, al-Joza, al-Marzem and al-Kulabian, are common names fore various stars.

example, in the Nufud Assir, Nufud Alginfthah, Nufud Alsaфра and Nufd Dahna, there is a belt of sand dunes extending in an area from north-west to south-east. Tribal people cannot live in these areas, particularly in the *al-Saif* (Summer). However, many people from different tribes come to these areas in the winter and even more so in spring. Al-Dajany observed that in the winter, many Beduw people from different tribes came to Al-Summan region because of its special grazing; for example, *Al-hamdh* a small tree preferred by camels (Al-Dajany, 1993, p. 72-77).

The significance of the Dahna as an uninhabitable place and hence a barrier has been much exaggerated by Western writers. Sandy terrain in central Arabia (locally *nufud*, *'uruq*, *ta'ous*, *ramlah*) usually supports a richer cover of vegetation than nearby gravel plains, and so these areas are much frequented by the Beduw in winter. Many *Dirah* are noted for landmarks such as major mountains or greater valley systems, which contain wells. For instance the 'Ajman tribe inhabit a valley which is recognised locally as *Wadi Al-'Ajman* and the Dwasir tribe inhabit a valley which is marked on maps and locally as *Wadi Al-Dwasir*. The limiting factor is water, for wells are few. Caravan traffic between Najd and Hasa or Najd and Al-Hijaz follows fixed routes between the large wells. Wells commanding the routes across the Dahna, Rumah, Ma'aqala, were also rallying points for armies and their names occur frequently in the annals of Ibn Bishr. All of these places are now the sites of *Hijar* (Qaraah) settlements (Webster, 1987, p. 57).

Figure 1.1. The Major tribes of Central Arabia

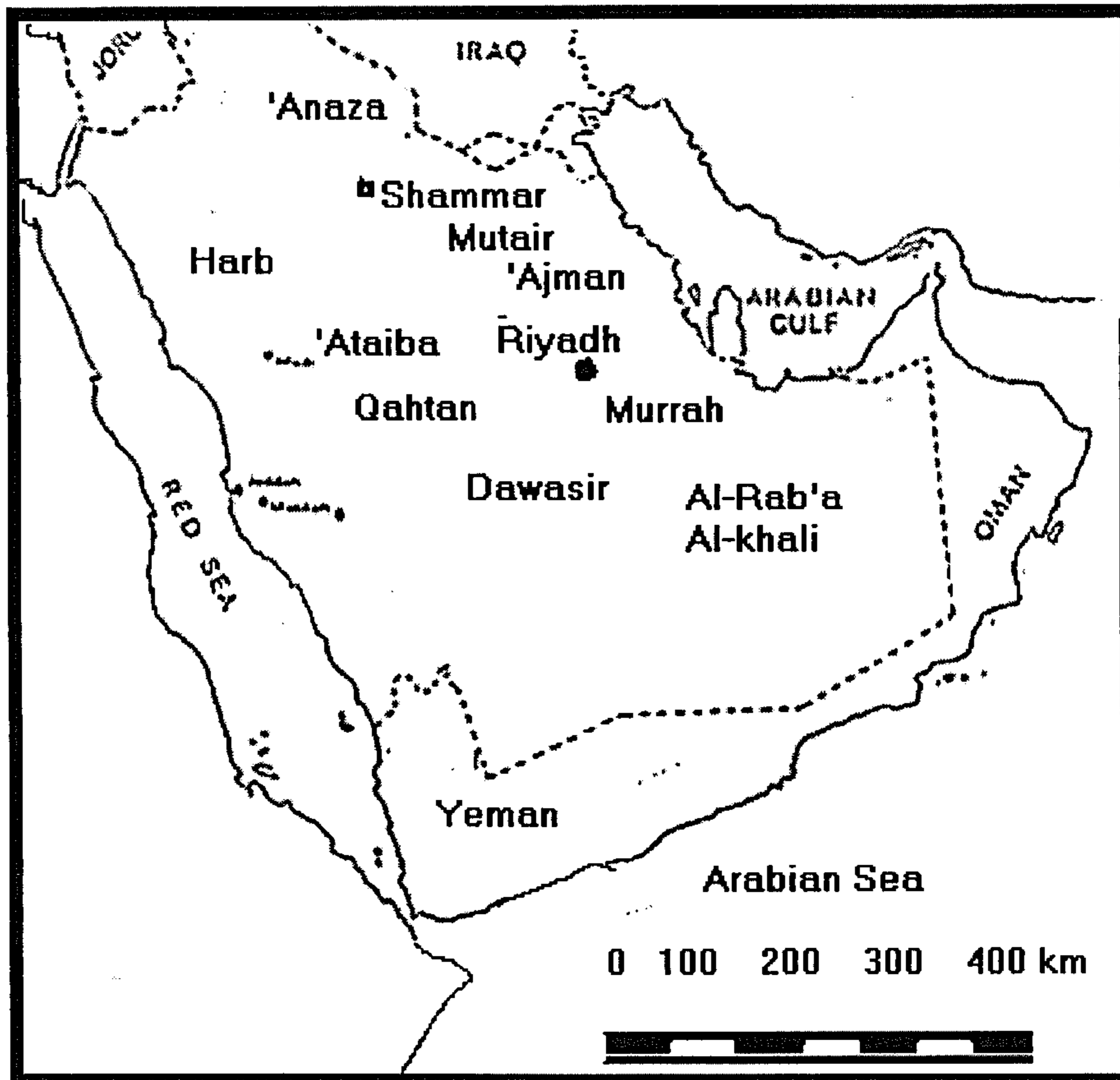
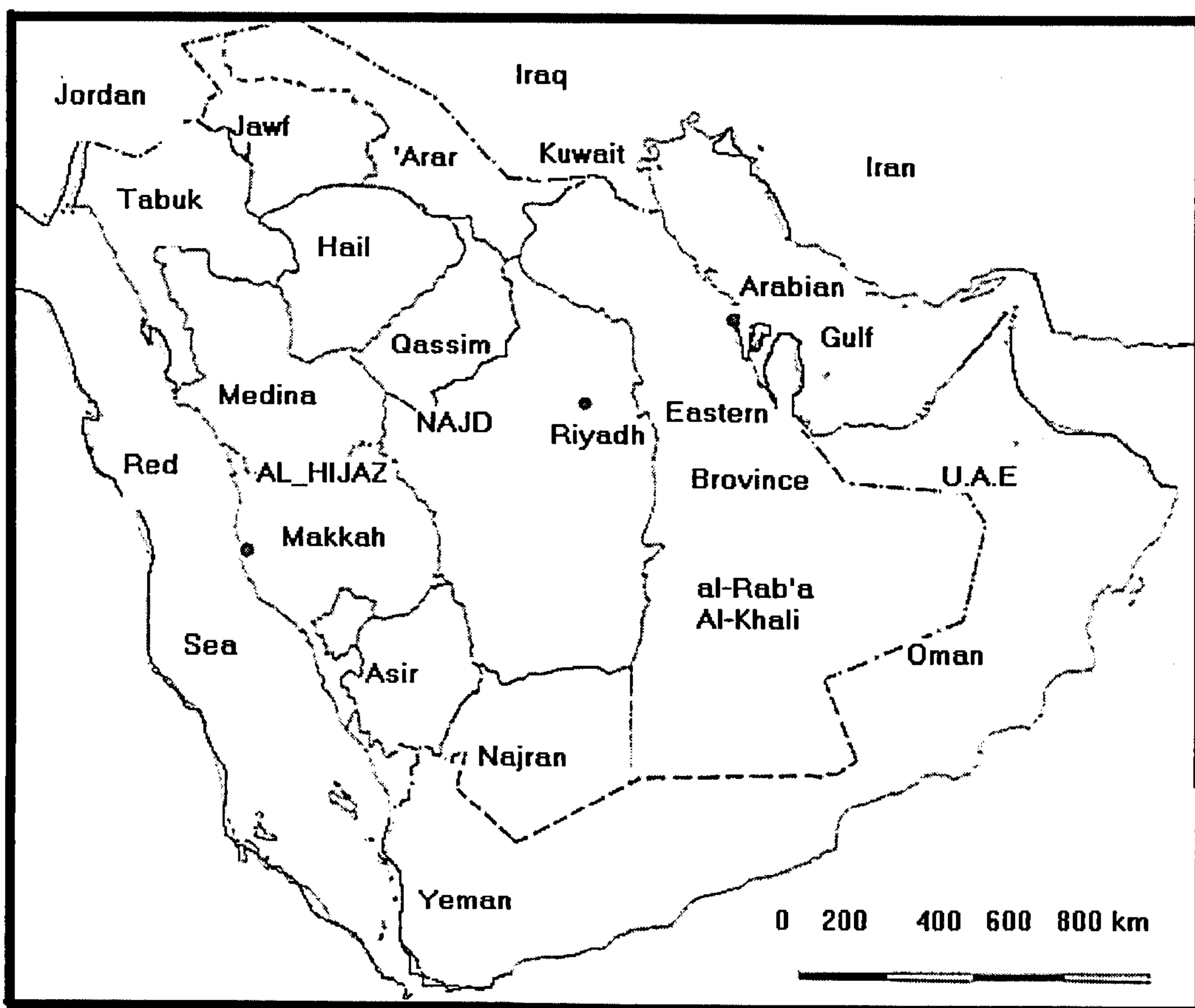


Figure 1.2. Saudi Arabia Administrative Divisions



1.5. Conclusion

The chapter has paved the way for the discussion in the remainder of this study, by establishing its context and explaining certain fundamental concepts. The study seeks to explore continuity and change in the life of the ‘Utaiba tribe, in the Duwadmi province of Saudi Arabia, in respect of *al’Urf* (the social control system), marriage, family structure and function, settlement and economic activity.

Saudi Arabia, where the study was carried out, occupies the bulk of the Arabian peninsula. What was, originally, a loose confederation of frequently warring tribes, has been united under the banner of Islam to form a cohesive modern state, with accompanying social developments. Islam, however, remains the driving force of law, social life and economy. .

The community being studied is one of a number of Beduw tribes, which are important in the social structure of Saudi Arabia. The Beduw were originally nomadic pastoralists, but have increasingly founded fixed settlements on their traditional territories. They have a complex social organisation, each tribe being divided and sub-divided into sub-tribe, clans, and lineage, based on patrilineal descent (see chapter three).

With this background in place, we will turn in chapter three to a more detailed consideration of the origins and history of the tribe on which this study is focused, the ‘Utaiba. First, however, literature will be presented on the theories which form the conceptual framework for this study, and previous accounts of Beduw and social change on which it builds

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Chapter Two **Literature Review**

2.1. Introduction

This chapter is divided into two main sections. The first of these sections will present the theoretical approach of the study. The second will review previous studies relevant to its themes.

Various studies have been conducted concerning Beduw life, as well as continuity and social change among different societies. In this chapter, the researcher will outline some of the previous studies conducted in different communities, in order to provide the theoretical context for the present study. Reviewing the literature helped in forming a structure for the research and identifying the general conclusions drawn from previous studies that could be further investigated in this study. It was also useful to be aware of the various procedures and methodologies used in other studies, in order to determine the appropriate research techniques to be employed in this study. The second section of this chapter is divided into the following sections:

2.3.1 Studies or books related to Beduw tribes outside Saudi Arabia.

2.3.2 Studies related to social change among the Beduw tribes in Saudi Arabia.

2.3.3 Studies related to social change among the Beduw in general in Saudi Arabia.

2.3.4 Studies related to social change among the villages in Saudi Arabia.

2.3.5 Books related to the Beduw and tribes in Saudi Arabia.

2.2. Theoretical Approach (Aims)

Theories of social change now call for the interpretation of change in all human societies without regard to the differences that exist amongst societies, and the particularities that distinguish one society from another. Studies about under-developed countries, and developing countries conducted by non-native researchers, are evidence of the persistent need to account for the dissimilarities and particularities in societies. Thus, the social institutions that are prevalent in those societies are conflicting institutions that influence each other, and it is impossible to separate these institutions from each other. As Ahmad Abu Zied mentioned, the causes of change in social life are numerous, and change itself may have more than one form. It might have the form of change in social behaviour observed by the individuals living in a particular society. This phenomenon is a matter of disagreement among sociologists and anthropologists who have tackled the subject of cultural and social change (Abu Zied, 1965, P.252).

Although the researcher is concerned with changes in social structure and relationships among the 'Utaiba tribe, his approach in this study is explicitly structural functional. This approach describes systems in terms of structure, mechanisms, processes and functions, and explains why a particular structure satisfies a given functional need at a given time. In structural functional analysis, "structures that are observed perform functions on or for the structure of a larger system. It is through and by the continuity of the functioning that continuity is preserved" (Radcliffe-Brown, 1965).

In Radcliffe-Brown's conception (1952), structure was primarily social structure or the network of social relations and institutions, which constituted the enduring framework of society. Function, on the other hand, was the way in which these social relations and institutions contributed to the stable and harmonious functioning of a society conceived of as a self-perpetuating whole (Seymour-Smith, 1986. p.269).

Because structural functionalism explains the factors that bind social units together, it can, by implication, also be used to explore the forces of change, by showing what happens when the conditions for stability are not met. Structural functionalism theory has previously been used in this way (Cancian, 1973, p. 85-98).

Social structure is a concept extensively used in anthropology, but without a universally accepted definition. In general it is employed to refer to those features of social organization including social institutions, roles, and statuses, which ensure the continuity of patterns of behaviour and group relationships over time. 'Social structure' thus refers to the mechanisms that ensure social continuity or conservation, or social reproduction in Marxist terms (Seymour-Smith, 1986. p.262).

The concept of social structure includes two basic integral principles. The first principle is continuity and duration, which involves groups and social relationships that form social structure. The big groups maintain for many generations their general framework, the system of their internal divisions, and the type of their relationships with each other. These are considered structural units in the views of sociologists and anthropologists.

The second principle is the fixed relationships that are necessarily governed by coherent groups into which the society is divided. These take several different forms of sub-groups and systems, which play a significant part in social life. In other words, they have a specific social function. Examples include relationships amongst relatives, and political and economic relationships (Abu Zied, 1965, P.65-66).

It can be said that the constituents of structure are individuals in society, and the social relationships between them. From this perspective, tribal society can be viewed as having its own distinguished structure and characteristics, features that distinguish it from other civilised societies, whether urban or rural. If we look at the social life of a

tribal society, we can have an idea about its nature and structure and system of life and identify the continuity and change that have occurred there (see chapter three, the 'Utaiba tribe organization).

Thus, the units of a tribe (sub-tribes or clans) are characterised by the sense of belonging. Any individual among the Beduw cannot feel secure and prove himself except within the boundaries of his tribe, as the tribe protects him and guarantees him security. Thus, the co-operation amongst the members of a tribe creates loyalty, which is significant to the tribal structure, to the achievement of:

Firstly, coherence amongst the members of the tribal society, as individuals and groups become strongly related to each other, irrespective of their demographic distribution or location. Thus, the tribe is divided into several sub-units (clans) that are related to each other by virtue of their blood relationship, although their geographic locations might differ.

Secondly, adherence to *al-'Urf* (traditional customary law), or social codes of conduct that are imposed by a society, whether these are standards, values, or types of behaviour that should be followed. Thirdly, the ability of a group (unit or clan) to adapt and its ability to settle internal or foreign disputes through the integration of the members of the tribe.

In fact, this feeling of loyalty binds the individuals of a tribe to the tribal conventions that help them to adapt and develop such a feeling of belonging. Thus, those individuals think that the implementation of these tribal conventions symbolises and raises their social status amongst the individuals of the tribe or amongst other tribes. This will also indicate that they are of one tribal origin. All of these feelings are implied in the definition of the tribe.

If we look at the framework of tribal structure, the relationships amongst the individuals, the beliefs those individuals adhere to and the standards of behaviour they

observe, in addition to the division of labour amongst them, we find that there should be an element that enables them to ensure the safety of this structure and its sub-units. Thus, tribal society has itself created the means of regulating its structure, as other societies have done, in order to achieve its objectives. Social structure is not self-sufficient on its own, either in the social or economic aspects. It should include adequate means to enable people to face up to the cost and needs of living, in addition to the influences of some of the tribe's individuals. Thus, if the individual acquires social behaviour that is offered by the group, he will learn how to behave in given situations. Above all he will learn about punishment and reward and that there are specific rules to handle all eventualities in society.

There is also a general consensus that the people of the tribal clan monitor the behaviour of their individuals in order to maintain the unity of the clan. For this purpose, the Beduw among the tribes resort to *al-'Urf*. *al-'Urf* and judging play a significant role in the achievement of social harmony in order to achieve a kind of social control and impose moral values, regulations and codes of conduct (which will be explained later on).

The establishment and maintenance of social relationships depends on exchange, whether of words, money, gifts, favours and so on. Anthropologists are interested in mechanisms and patterns of exchange as these lie at the heart of social and cultural organizations, being used to establish friendship ties and power relations. Malinowski (1961), for example, showed how ceremonial exchange among the Kula people of the Western Pacific ensured that each man within the network was assured some friendly allies in potentially dangerous “foreign” districts, as well as friends in the immediate vicinity. Such exchanges are not purely economic; they create ties of mutual obligation and involve concepts of honour and belonging (Blau, 1989, p.89-90).

Among the contributions of Parsons to functional theory is the attempt to combine utilitarian and idealistic trends. He outlined two trends in the basic concepts of functional theory. For instance, benefit to him means that the individual behaves in a reasonable way in the practices of life in order to achieve material and moral gains. Thus, when the motives and objectives of individuals meet, individuals will be able to reap the benefit or the interest they are after. Such mutual systemic relationships are not haphazard, or mere coincidence; in fact, the individual contemplates the action he is about to take rationally, and strikes a balance between the outcomes of the relationship, whether positive, i.e. rendering benefit to the individual, or negative. Thus, in most social relationships, the individual does not contribute spontaneously, but the motive is the objective, or the final outcome of his interaction (Parsons, 1977).

Parsons also thinks that the subgroup has the function of cancelling out the turbulence in society while preserving its identity. Such a function means that in each society the members should have the motives, spontaneity and mutual co-operation to be able to perform their roles as required of them in line with the values of their society, so as to be able to maintain the identity of their society. Thus, the individuals should have a particular code of conduct in order to be able to control any turbulence in their society, including the conflicts, which arise amongst individuals in their interaction in daily life, and in fact work towards ensuring that such a negative situation is eliminated.

Thus, tribal *al-'Urf* maintains the strong solidarity and coherence amongst the members of the tribe. This is clearly shown in *al-Wajahah* (mediation or intervention) or in *al-Deah* (blood money), as these are instances of practices established to curb tension and clashes, and in a way prevent *al-Thar* (revenge).

In this study we will discuss and explain the significant functions, which these tribal *al-'Urf* and others play in curbing tension and conflict amongst the members of the tribe.

Voluntary exchange (bartering) is an act that individuals do in return for a reward from others, as there is generally a reward for such voluntary work. Often individuals engage in such activity in response to social pressures, which means the values that dictate the behaviour of individuals (Blau, 1989, p.91-92). In tribal *al-'Urf* (traditional customary law), for example in *al-Deah* (paying blood money) if an individual was in need of help, others would help him. Moreover, if a person who provided help in this way should subsequently find himself in need of help, the recipient of his previous assistance would be obligated by *al-'Urf* to return the favour. Should he seek to evade this obligation, *al-'Urf* would force his compliance. To refuse would be to isolate oneself from the strength and security of the tribe. The failure of the person to pay back in return for what he has already obtained, whether in the present or in the future, leads him to lose the trust of others and other people would shy away from dealing with him, particularly in such bartering activities. Above all, the person in question would lose his social status, because he would be regarded as not fulfilling his duties towards his society. This is because the processes of exchange that occur amongst individuals in a society and between the individuals and the society as a whole become part of the common conventions that prevail in society (Blau, 1989, p.108).

The structure of social relationships grows and develops in a small group in the course of social interaction among its members. Since there is no direct social interaction among most members of a large community, some other mechanism must mediate the structure of social relations among them. Value consensus provides this mediating mechanism. The cultural values and norms that prevail in society are the matrix that forms the social relations among groups and individuals. These values and norms become institutionalized and perpetuated from one generation to the next, although not without modification, and they shape the course of social life in the society and the social patterns that emerge in particular groups (Blau, 1989, p.253). The value of

something is measured in comparison with that of another thing. The value of something is distinguished by the sacrifice that a person makes in order to obtain it. The more valuable such a sacrifice, the more it is considered of high ranking. People will not do any work unless they feel that doing it will be beneficial for them. So, if we want a specific person to act in a particular way, we should make that behaviour beneficial for that person, so as to motivate him to do it (Bredemeier, 1978, p424-430).

Such a method of approaching work corresponds with social values, such as generosity and *al-Fazah* (emergency help between tribesmen). Thus, the Beduw pays *al-Deah* (blood payment) or accepts *al-Wajahah* (mediation) in order to get the same in return in the future. Moreover, we find the concept of *al-Dakhil* and the guest in Arab societies as forms of exchange, which the settlers of the desert observe in order to be rewarded in the future by the same treatment being extended to them when they need it.

Social solidarity amongst a group comes from two factors. The main one is the outcome of heredity, i.e. familial relationships. The other factor is the product of acquired relationships, such as friendship and so forth. These forms of solidarity necessitate much commitment to mutual social exchange (bartering). Hence, it can be said that in each society there is a form of exchange that is set on the basis of the rules that govern a particular society, and that such rules and standards control the behaviour of individuals (Befu, 1980, p.196-199).

Thus, we find that the social structure of a tribe is a set of mutual codes that are strongly related to each other, such as tribal *al-'Urf* (social control system), or the economic or familial systems. What is of interest in this study is to find out to what extent change has happened to these systems; whether or not they are still in practice or have been altered. It might be expected that traditional systems of conduct in the tribe in question will have undergone modification, particularly in the study region, where cross-cultural contact is more intense and concentrated.

The use of these theories does not necessarily conflict with an Islamic perspective. The following are examples of Islamic *Hadith* that are consistent with the theoretical perspectives presented above and which were taken into account by the researcher in observing and understanding the behaviour of the people.

On the authority of AbuMusa al-Ash'ari (may Allah be pleased with him), who said: The prophet (peace be upon him) said, "A faithful believer, to a faithful believer is like the bricks of a wall enforcing each other". While (saying that) the prophet (Peace be upon Him) clasped his hands, by interlacing his fingers, Bukhari and Muslim, (An-Nawawi, d. 222, Vol. 1, p. 153).

Islamic brotherhood is mercy and tenderness between the believers. This goes beyond a simple love for one another but it means that each brother feels in his heart what his brother is going through, as the following *Hadith* makes clear.

On the authority of N'uman ibn Bashir (may Allah be pleased with him), who said: The prophet (Peace be upon Him) said, " The Muslims in their mutual love, kindness and compassion, are like the human body where, when one of its parts is in agony the entire body feels the pain both in sleeplessness and fever" Bukhari and Muslim (An-Nawawi, d.224, Vol. 1, p. 153).

In Islam it is recognized that social exchange patterns that take place, not only in the case of Saudi Arabia, are bound by some kind of obligation. This occurs not only among the tribal people, but also among the Muslim community as a whole.

On the authority of Salim Bin Abdullh Bin Umar (may Allah be pleased with them) related from his father, Abdullah who heard it from his father Umar (may Allah be pleased with him) the Prophet (Peace be upon Him) used bestow upon him some presents, and he submit: “Sir give it to someone who is more needy than myself”. The prophet (Peace be upon Him) would say; “Take it when it comes to you from this account and without your asking or aspiring for it and include it into your assets. Thereafter you may use it or give it away in charity. Do not aspire to acquire something through means”. Salim says that his father Abdullah Bin Umar would not ask anyone for anything nor refuse anything that was given to him. *Mutafag ‘aleyah* (An-Nawawi, d. 538, Vol. 1, p. 314).

Thus, for Muslims, social exchanges like the giving of gifts are motivated not only by the desire for reward in this world, but by the desire to fulfil the commands of Allah. The following *Hadith* provides a basis for various forms of mutual assistance.

On the authority of Abu Hurairah (may Allah be pleased with him), the Prophet (Peace be upon Him) said: “A person who grants respite to a debtor who is in straitened circumstances, or remits his claim against him, will be given shelter by Allah under the shadow of his throne, on the Day of Judgement, when there will be no other shelter”. Tirmizi ((An-Nawawi, d. 1373, Vol. 1, p. 654).

2.3. Studies Related to the Research

2.3.1 Studies or books related to the Beduw and tribes outside Saudi Arabia.

Cunnison (1966) in the 1950s studied the Humr, a division of the Baggara Arabs of northern Sudan. Although the study was primarily political in form, it touched on a number of issues relevant to the present study. In order to lay the foundation of an understanding of how leaders emerge from the milieu of camp, lineage and family, for example, he discusses at some length men's economic responsibilities. These, in turn, are obviously linked to marriage and family; Cunnison describes marriage customs, such as the preference for marriage between close agnates, and the collection and disposition of bride wealth. Cunnison's main concern, however, is with changes in the political field, whereby tribes were brought under some degree of government control, warring and cattle-raiding ended, and new and relatively stabilized positions of power come to co-exist alongside the traditional segmentary lineage system.

It emerges clearly from Cunnison's discussion that, although the Humr were officially Muslims, many of their practices in such areas as flexibility of living arrangements, women's ownership of the tent and its contents, and inheritance, reflect Humr customs rather than Islamic Law. Thus, although the Humr were Arab nomads, their way of life was in some respects very different from that of the Beduw of Saudi Arabia. It should also be noted that Cunnison's study book place before Sudanese independence and represents a phase of social change and political development much earlier than that of the present study. Radical change lay largely in the future, and the aims of the study were to record a way of life before it changed, and to record the values that development strategies might need to take account of, rather than to identify change itself.

Barth (1961) studied the nomads of south Persia, specifically the Basseri tribe of the Khamseh confederacy. He investigated them from the ecological perspective, the Basseri tribe organization and how they adapted to the environment.

Peters (1967), who studied the Beduw tribes of Cyrenaica, examined the relationship between the physical environment and the Beduw social structure. He showed how segments or groups of genealogies exhibit territorial divisions.

Asad (1970) studied the Kababish Arab tribe in the Sudan, during the 1960s. This study, a combination of fieldwork and documentary research, was concerned primarily with the mechanisms and dynamics of relations, whether at the familial or tribal level, and other aspects of life are only discussed insofar as they illustrate and explain these relations. Thus, consideration is given to the pastoral ecology of the tribe, because at the time of writing, the Kababish were still practising nomadic pastoralism and ownership and control of animals, particularly camels and sheep was a main source of power within the family. Marriage and family life are discussed in terms of the power relations between male and female, older and younger, making clear that possession of rights is not merely matter of moral norms, but also of power relations within a particular organisational framework. Relationships at the family and kin-group level are explained in terms of generalised and balanced reciprocity, and the traditional customary laws of vengeance and blood-money are taken to illustrate the Kababish's social solidarity; manifested in their sense of identity with and duty towards their close kin and agnatic relations.

In this respect, Asad's study shares common focuses of interest with the present work. On the other hand, Asad's study is distinguished by his concern with the structure of Kababish politics, whereby a specific set of historical circumstances gave rise to a

distinctive elite (the Awlad Fadlaallah known as *ahl as-sulta* “the people of the authority”) with a monopoly of power and authority, and his use of Marxist and Weberian theory to analyse this power. Moreover, unlike the present study, Asad was not really concerned with the phenomenon of social change; and indeed the state of Sudan’s socio-economic development in the 1960s may not have been such as to give rise to significant social change among the nomads.

Chatty (1986), in her study on the Ruwala Beduw tribe of the Syrian, investigated how modernisation affected the Beduw for example, the result of using trucks which have replaced camels. She considers that the truck has played an important role in changing the Ruwala’s migration, economy and mobility. She also examined the roles of the sexes.

Abu-lughod (1988) studied a single residential community of the Awlad ‘Ali in Egypt, with whom she lived over a period of nineteen months, from October 1978 to May 1980. As a woman of half Arab (though not Beduw), half Western descent, who had been brought up in the United States, she gained access to the community by being placed in the care of its leading family, as an “adopted daughter”. Because she was, consequently, subject to behavioural restrictions, her research was based solely on participant observation, or more precisely, a process of socialization into the studied community.

It focuses predominately on interpersonal relationships, as expressed through and informed by a genre of oral lyric poetry used as a vehicle for personal expression and confidential communication; and through the ideology of honour in everyday behaviour. The study touches briefly on limited aspects of social change, reflected in settlement, the move from tents to modern houses, the use of motor vehicles and the enjoyment of a range of consumer goods. It also provides interesting insights into social exchange,

manifested in numerous shared and reciprocal activities, such as mourning rituals. Family relationships and obligations are extensively considered. Social control is discussed primarily in terms of the concepts of honour and *hasham* (shame, modesty, propriety) as understood through detailed anecdotes and through the poetry.

Whilst all of these topics are of interest and relevance to the present research, there are other subjects of concern, which are not addressed by Abu-Lughod, notably *al-'Urf* (customary law) and the economic system of the community. Nor does she present any quantitative data or evidence of differences in ideas and behaviours between generations.

Leybourne (1998) in her article emphasised that the nomadic Beduw based in the semi-arid and arid areas of Syria have managed to adjust their production systems to change. They keep on pasture livestock, both as a lifestyle and as a major source of income, despite the many external factors that have affected their traditional ways of life. These people who practise breeding livestock in Syria have shown a remarkable adaptability to changing conditions in their production systems, arising from the new technology in agriculture and transportation. The traditional camel herding tribes such as the Aneza and the Shammar also quickly converted to sheep herding when it became more profitable, despite the earlier stigma attached to it; camel-herding Beduw tribes had always been considered more 'noble'. However, it is in their adaptability towards their migratory cycles that the pastoralists have shown the greatest dynamism. For example the Beduw had become fairly sedentary when barley was cultivated until the end of spring and after that time they would graze natural pasture near the villages or further in the steppe. Finally, the researcher found that the trend towards settlement is apparent in the construction dates of the newer buildings. In 1988 there was an expansion in the number of buildings in villages. However, in 1990, once again, the survey population

became more mobile, spending very little time in their villages, because natural steppe pasture was unable to sustain the sheep, and supplementary feeds were offered. The cost of feed is the major factor pushing the Beduw to revert to a more nomadic existence.

2.3.2 Studies related to social change among the tribes in Saudi Arabia.

Cole (1975) focused on the socio-economic structure of the Al-Murrah Beduw tribe in eastern of Saudi Arabia. The researcher examined the change taking place in Saudi Arabia and how Al-Murrah managed to adapt themselves to that in their political and economic situation. However, he did not consider social structure continuity or *al-'Urf* (traditional customary law), so this study does not provide a complete picture of the Al-Murrah Beduw situation.

Al-Haddad (1981) investigated the effect of detribalisation and sedentarization on the socio-economic structure of the tribes of the Arabian peninsula by means of a case study of the 'Ajman tribe of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. He focused on the effects of transformation from nomadism to sedentarization, comparing the life of tribesmen who live in Saudi Arabia and those who live in Kuwait. He noted that the 'Ajman have always been tribalized, whether in Kuwait or in Alwadi (in eastern Saudi Arabia), but they are tribalized in two different ways. In Saudi, they are controlled in every activity by an organized system of tribal relations. In Kuwait, tribal attachment works within the political structure. Tribal members have indicated their faithful support to tribalism through their political activities in the country's national assembly. In other words, among the 'Ajman tribe, cohesion was very obvious.

Lancaster (1981) conducted a study on the Rwala Beduw tribe. The researcher noted that in the past, marriages were used to spread reputation and ensure personal access to those who were the main mediators of other tribes. This demanded, for the Sha'alan, a plethora of marriages, partly to keep open channels of communication and partly to counterbalance opposing "*ibn 'am*" within the family. The full extent of these marriages is no longer remembered, but Emir Sattam (died 1901) is known to have married twelve times, and Nawaf married at least six times, although he was never Emir and died aged forty-one. Also, Lancaster showed how the Rwala developed and diversified their economy in order to remain independent from the central government. The economy was based on camels, most food, and all transport. The differences between a slave and a free man were that the slave had no honour of his own except among other slaves. He only reflected the honour of his owner and it was said that it was because he had no personal honour that he was unable to marry a free Beduw girl.

Ingham (1986), in his study of the traditions of the Al-Dhafir the Beduw of northern Arabia showed that the economic life of Al-Dhafir was based partly on herding and partly on the employment of younger educated men in the Saudi government. These were often in the army or the border police, or in the armies of the Gulf States. Many of them had herds of sheep which were grazed either by members of their own family or by herdsmen of other tribes. Within their villages, much of the social life revolved around the *majlis* of the sheikh (tribe leader), where tribesmen came most days and where any visitors to the village would come. Their villages maintained considerable contact with Iraq and Kuwait; the border was at the time nominally open to all nomads, to encourage nomads who occupied better pastures to bring their livestock for sale in Saudi Arabia. The researcher noted that people of this tribe in these villages or elsewhere in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait or Iraq regarded themselves as Beduw as opposed to

settled folk. This distinction depends on tribal affiliation. Beduw identity correlates also with a particular manner of clothes, styles, marriage customs and loyalty to a tribal leader. People of the tribe usually came on Fridays to visit relatives and their traditional tribal territory and the home of their tribal leader, although this latter now operates within a system of loyalty to the Saudi government. The sheikh is elected by the tribe, but his election is ratified by the Saudi government, so the leader of the tribe is also an official of the government.

Webster's (1987) study of Beduw settlements in eastern Arabia, was conducted among Al-Murrah Beduw settlements in Jiban, which is a district in the South of the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia. Participant observation in two small villages in Eastern Saudi Arabia, Niabk and Sikak, of the Al-Murrah tribe and among related nomads, was the basis for a case study of the early stages of the sedentarisation process. The study sought to demonstrate that the form of settlement represents not simply the collapse of a traditional way of life, but a process of adaptation to new realities. The main finding of the study was that the majority of Al- Murrah households, in Nibak and Sikak, are camel herders. In addition, the study considered the distribution a plot of land for farming or building.

It was also found that a few herders specialise in breeding thoroughbred racing camels, and some breed livestock for sale, because the cash value of camels is very high.

Nahedh (1989) conducted a study of the sedentarization of rural and Beduw communities in Al-Sser region in Saudi Arabia, and the development of the rural sector. The most important elements of the recent village economy, she argued, are agriculture and semi-nomadism. Farming, which is practised by nearly 40% of the population, is mostly for domestic consumption, with only 25% of the crops marketed. The crops

grown are wheat, dates and berseem. The occupations claimed by Beduw, however, did not preclude rural work experience such as agriculture. Most, if not all of them, had previously been engaged in pastoralism, or unskilled work.

Naturally, most of the farmers in Al-Burud (Villager) identified themselves as farmers. There were, however, some interesting differences between Beduw farmers in the area, and those farmers who said they came from a long line of *Falalih* “peasant” (plural of *Falah*). The livestock breeders were of Beduw origin and they came from lineages or clans within the tribe that concentrated on animals. Agricultural household economy was found to be even more advantageous to the Beduw than previously. The economic and social rewards of a farming sedentary livelihood exceeded those of a pastoral one for an individual Beduw and his family. In addition to the high agricultural income from wheat cultivation, there were possibilities for additional employment, as well as access to educational and health facilities, and other modern amenities. The author did not consider the *al-'Urf* (traditional customary law), nor did he consider continuity among the people in family and marriage systems

Al-Seflan (1990) conducted a study of the Ghamid and Zahran tribes. The main focus of this dissertation was the examination of the role of tribal leaders in their communities in Saudi Arabia. Al-Seflan discussed the relationships between tribe, sub-tribe, clan, kinship and family. Leaders still give orders to their people and solve conflicts and disputes, but they must always consider the legal limitations of their power. The main finding of the study was that tribal leaders were involved in several types of activities in order to represent their people to the government, and the writer mentions that tribal leaders were a great help to both local and central government as well as to their communities. Finally, despite the advantages of leaders' participation and responsibility, there are disadvantages. For example, sometimes they may be

uninformed about their people's needs and therefore be unable to help the authorities accurately assess local needs. Despite the focus on leadership roles, Al-Seflan did not cover *al-'Urf*. Also, he was not concerned with continuity and change among the tribe in family, economic and marriage systems.

Al-Mahawi (1990) conducted a study of sedentarisation and social change among the Al-Shefe line of Al Murrah Beduw in the eastern province of Saudi Arabia. This thesis is based on fieldwork carried out between 1987 to 1988. Al-Mahawi used participant observation and she spent a period in the desert during migration and settlement with the Al Murrah Beduw. The aim of her study was to examine the consequences of the state's settlement policy and sedentarisation programmes upon the Al Murrah, with special regard to the position of women, gender roles and the relations between tribe and state. In discussing the Al Murrah people's attitudes towards settlement, she emphasised that most of the old women thought that life in the desert was better than life in the city. In contrast, young people had the opposite idea; they loved the idea of desert life, but in practice preferred their life in villages; so they liked the desert lifestyle, but not all the time (Al-Mahawi, 1990).

Al-Otaibi (1996), in his article discussed a specific system of social solidarity still practised by the tribes of the Centre of the Arabian Peninsula. He emphasised social solidarity to mean the system of *al-Farqah and al-Refdah* (assistance between tribesmen by payment of sums of money to help in case of accidents or crises), common in the Arabian Peninsula. He noted that the systems of *al-Farqah and al-Rafdah* are still adopted in the centre of the Arabian Peninsula, evidently amongst the Beduw tribes, but commented also on the existence of a new form of fund called *Sanadeeg Al'aelah*.

Perhaps Al-Otaibi's study was more helpful for this work than others because he examined the change in this particular system.

However, he did not cover other *al-'Urf* such as *al-Wajahah* (mediation), *al-Khowah* (accompanying), *al-Dakhil* (sanctuary, a man seeking protection), *al-Hajir* (whereby a girl could not marry until she had obtained the permission of her male cousin), *al-Tharr* (blood reprisal) and so on. Also, in his article does not include continuity and change in other systems such as family, economic, marriage, social institutions and so on.

Al-Haratani's (1997) study concerns the impacts of modernization on nomads and their use of rangeland resources in the At-Taysiyah region of Saudi Arabia. The study was conducted by adopting an integrated approach to assess the impact of modernisation and government intervention on the nomads and on the health of rangelands in At-Taisiyah, northwest Saudi Arabia. This region belongs to the Wuhub (a sub-clan of the Harb tribe). The study identified the general characteristics of the current pastoral system and the transformations that have taken place. The writer claims that the nature of Beduw mobility has changed. Whereas traditional camps moved long distances, present short distance mobility has been exceedingly increased; and the rest of the sample was classified as 'semi-nomadic'. That is because at the present time, every Beduw camp has at least one pickup truck; the wealthier have an average of 1.7 pickups, while the poorer have 1.3 vehicles. The impact of modernisation is also seen in a change in flock composition and a more market oriented pastoral strategy. The focus on camels has been reduced in most camps; the trend is increasingly to keep sheep, which are raised for the urban markets. Al-Haratani stated that the study population might practise herding as a complementary or recreational activity rather than an economic one. As a consequence, the demographic structure of the nomad camps has shifted toward an older generation, with a growing absence of young people. The study did not deal with

al-'Urf (traditional customary law), nor did it consider continuity and change among the tribe in family, economic and marriage systems.

Alruwais (1998) in his study, "The tent and its contents: a study of the traditional arts of weaving by the 'Utaiba tribe in Saudi Arabia", examines the origin, techniques, character and significance of tribal weavings. A major objective of the researcher was to discern the relationship between the weavers' development of tradition and the factors of technique, medium and perceived meaning. This study gives useful details about weaving among the tribe, especially about women's handicrafts. It is not concerned with *al-'Urf*, nor did not consider continuity and change among the tribe in family, economic and marriage systems.

2.3.3 Studies related to social change among the Beduw in Saudi Arabia.

In this section the researcher will examine case studies that are related to the Beduw life in general and not concerned with one particular tribe.

Katakura Motoko (1977) conducted a study based on a field survey of a Beduw settlement (villages) community in Wadi Fatima, western Saudi Arabia, in 1970. The researcher classified the residents of Wadi Fatima into three categories: nomadic Beduw, semi-nomadic Beduw and settled Beduw. She noted that the new pattern of economy within the society had had an impact on the farm structure and on the inhabitants as well. They even felt a bit *'Aib* (ashamed) of farming work, but they resorted to this kind of work to escape from the harsh life of the desert and enjoy the benefits of a sedentary life. In discussing social strife, Katakura emphasised that

disputing groups often took their problem to the *majlis al-garya* (village council, sometimes called *kibar al-garya*, or respected people of the village). The three members of this council in Bushur were all rather elderly, experienced, widely respected, and comparatively well off. Such councils operated rather spontaneously and loosely, she commented, yet the economic and social complications of the society appeared to be taken care and responsibility of by the independent decisions of these three persons. Moreover, she noted co-operation between the Emir or *kibar al-garya* (village council) and Islamic court (*Mahakama*), especially when there was a serious case, such as a murder:

The murderer was found guilty and was judged by the court and sentenced to eight years in the Jeddah prison. After the eight years, however, the village council of 'Ain Shams went to the son of the murdered farmer (who was only nine years old when his father was killed) and asked him whether he would accept blood money, the sum considered in Saudi Arabia to be the price or worth of a life, or whether he was intent on seeking revenge for his father's death. Finally the council and the court (*Mahakama*) were able to persuade the son to accept the money and thus averted a social crisis, which might have had wide ramifications (Katakura, 1977, P 156).

The researcher did not know, when she noted this function, that this is one kind of *al-'Urf*, called *al-Wajahah*. *al-Wajahah* is the intercession of the leader of the tribe or clan or its Emir and its elderly members to the bereaved family, asking them to accept a ransom, "*al-Deah*," (blood money) in return for relinquishing their right to kill the killer, as the court has decided owing to the crime being committed. If those renowned people are successful in their intercession, then the money allocated for that is paid, and the killer is set free. Although giving an example of this tribal convention is a significant issue, Katakura did not discuss the social solidarity amongst the members of the tribe, nor did she describe other kinds of *al-'Urf* that strongly contribute to the system of social control.

Al-Orini (1984) presented a mainly historical study about the impact of *al-Da'awa al-Wahhabiah* (the Wahhabi movement) on the social life of the Beduw in Najd, before 1818 (1233.H), at the end of the First Saudi State. The researcher in his study discusses *al-hajir* as a traditional customary law among the Beduw. A girl was said to be kept in “*al-hajir*” if her cousin (*Ibn'am*) wanted to get married to her; she could not marry anyone else without his permission. Al-Orini states that this tribal convention was very unfair to women, and caused many problems in the tribal society. However, he noted that *al-hajir* was very common and practised until recently (Al-Orini, 1984, p243, 244). The researcher did not address the social and economic structure of the tribes; therefore, he considered *al-Hajir* from the religious perspective.

Al-Ageili (1986), in his study about the settlement of the nomadic tribes in the northern province of Saudi Arabia, analysed the economic development of the country of Saudi Arabia to show effects on the Beduw way of life. Thus, this study examined the settlements in the north province to see if they were successful or likely to decline in the future.

The researcher noted that the intervention of the central authority to make the Beduw adopt the Islamic law had demolished the Beduw traditional law (*al-'Urf*), because since the unification of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the Beduw have been controlled by the central government. However, the researcher looked at *al-'Urf* from only one aspect as if there were only one kind of *al-'Urf*, whereas in fact it includes various practices, not all against *al-Shariy'ah* (Islamic law). Thus, some practices have continued, while others have changed or been abandoned.

Al-Jifri (1989) conducted a study of the changing socio-economic conditions among the Beduw in Saudi Arabia. He noted that the coming of oil and consequent economic development had changed what might be named the traditional Beduw economy but had not changed to a large degree many traditional social features. The Beduw still had few or no industrial skills to offer, and little formal education. They were, certainly, attracted by the wages, but the majority of them worked as unskilled labourers in the oil camps.

All the facilities technology made available to the Beduw, for example, cars, agricultural machinery, media (such as televisions, radios, satellites), comfortable houses, gas, telephone, electricity, medicine, education and many other goods and services had in Al-Jifri's view made them more and more dependent on technological production and driven them further away from Beduwism.

Al-Gamidi (1989) conducted a study of role change among rural families of the Ghamid and Zahran tribes in Al-Baha region, which is a district in the South of the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia. The main focus of this study was the examination of the role of men and women, and the author noted a change in rural families, in that they had started to employ housemaids and drivers from abroad.

2.3.4 Studies related to social change among the villages in Saudi Arabia.

The following studies do not describe specifically Beduw life, but relate to communities in rural areas in the country.

Al-Seef (1990) conducted a study of social change in the family structure and relationship system, in Oneezah society. He found that endogamous marriage was still preferred, but a new trend towards to exogamous marriage was discernible as a result of

social change. Secondly, his study revealed that after marriage, people preferred to live separately from their families. In other words neo-local settlement was replaced by bilocal. Finally, the study revealed that in consequence, relationships between members of the survey population had weakened.

Al-Hemyari (1990) conducted a study of the Koded village, focusing on culture and relations within the family. The major purposes of this study were to find out the change in family culture roles, caused by contact with a different culture. Al-Hemyari used participant observation and questionnaires in order to collect his data. The main finding of the study was that there had been a change, in that more than half of Koded society worked as employees, while only 20% worked as farmers. When a man married, he moved away from his family. Thus, the extended family had disappeared.

Asseri (1991) conducted a study of familism, and the urbanization of rural villagers in the southwestern region of Saudi Arabia. The aim of this study was to explore change in familial behaviours among the people of Alain, a small remote rural village in the mountains of southwestern Saudi Arabia.

The main finding of the study was that the urbanization procedure had affected wider kin relationships in the village of Alain, but had no serious impact upon the immediate family. The younger generation showed fewer tendencies toward familism as perform cultured residents. Such generational differences, Asseri concluded, illustrate that continuity of familism may weaken in the future, as rural areas become more urbanized.

AlOmari (1993) conducted a study of housing, family and community in Hwylan, a small village in Al Qassim region. He noted that despite Hwylan's closeness to the city of Buraidah, it appears that social change in family and community life has not

developed as markedly as Ibn Saeed (1989) and Alnowaiser (1983) had found in the cities of Riyadh and Buraidah. In other words, although there certainly has been change, there is continuity also. He reported that the impact of religion and traditional life is more immediate in small communities and they seem to constitute a stronger pressure to conform in his small community than in larger ones. The main finding of the study is that striking changes in prosperity and in house and domestic technology have not been accompanied by fundamental changes in the value system of the community. The local culture remains strong and largely resistant to outside influences, despite the relations between the village of the study and the city.

El-Eryani (1994) conducted a study of development and change in the social structure in rural Saudi Arabia, through a field study in the rural community of Beleryan. The major purpose of the study was to discover the impact of development in social change. This study was conducted among the El-Eryani society (in the west of Saudi Arabia). The main finding of the study was that the main occupation in the area of study was agriculture. Furthermore, the study revealed that nearly half of the sample had married from outside their family. People of the society continued to practise traditional handicrafts such as making some agricultural tools (55.6%), and making traditional trinkets (44.4%).

Eben Saleh (1998), in his article about transformation of the traditional settlements of south-west Saudi Arabia, noted that within the society of his study the agricultural community saw a chance to improve their standard of living by taking advantage of the wealth, job opportunities and facilities available through urbanisation. Most of the young generation migrated and became new urban inhabitants. They became office

workers and labourers, bringing home a regular salary and wished to use their money to improve their homes. People wanted the kind of homes they saw in the films, magazines and on television, complete with beautiful furnishings and all the benefits of twentieth century technology. However, what remained constant throughout this transformation was the religion and traditions of the society.

2.3.5 Books related to the Beduw and tribes in Saudi Arabia.

There are some books written by travellers or visitors to the Arabian peninsula especially about the history of Arabia and its economy. For example, *The Arabs of the Desert*, written by Harold R Dickson (1949); *The heart of Arabia* (1922) and *Saudi Arabia* (1955) and *The empty quarter* (1933), written by Philby H. St .J.; *Middle East, An Anthropological Approach*, written by Dale F. Eickelman (1981); *The Cohesion of Saudi Arabia*, written by Christine Moss Helms (1981); *The History of Saudi Arabia*, written by Alexei Vassiliev (1998).

Others include *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Beduws*, written by Alois Musil, (1928); *The Beduws and Wahabys Collected During his Travels in the East*, written by John Lewis, Burckhardt (1831); *Saudi Arabia its people, its society its culture*, written by George A. Lipsky (1959); *State, Society and Economy in Saudi Arabia* edited by T. Niblock (1982).

A valuable reference on the history of the tribes in Saudi Arabia is *The Symbol of Glory in the History of Najd* “ *'Anwan Al-Majid fi Tarekh Najd*” written by Ibn Bishr Uthman (1982).

2.4. Summary

This chapter has reviewed previous studies of a similar type to the present one, in order to gain insights into the data collection methods used, as well as the conclusions that have been drawn about tribal society and social change so far.

Because of the small number of studies specifically related to Saudi Beduw societies, however, the form of the review has been extended to related studies of nomadic groups outside Saudi Arabia, and to rural societies in Saudi Arabia.

Several of the studies involved participant observation in a particular tribe or village, and present a rich picture of several aspects of tribal life.

Not all of them examine social change, however; some were conducted some 20 or 30 years ago (in a few cases, even earlier) when social change had perhaps not manifested itself to any great extent, while others were less concerned with change than to analyse a particular issue, such as tribal structure, or leadership roles, at a particular time.

Studies that have looked at social change have generally observed changes in patterns of work and standard of living, and to some extent in marriage and family life (for example, a move away from neolocal residence). They seem, however, to be in agreement that religious values and some cultural norms remain relatively intact.

An area that has been largely neglected in studies so far is that of social control, particularly *al-'Urf* (traditional customary law). Two or three studies have touched on it, but in a rather misleading way, focusing on just one or two practices as if they constituted the whole of customary law.

On the basis of this review, there is clearly scope for a more detailed and precise understanding of social control, and for a broader and more up to date consideration of continuity and change across a number of social systems. This study seeks to provide it. In the coming Chapters, the researcher will discuss the history of the tribe and its settlements (chapter three), and following that, he will present some of the factors of social change (chapter four), in order to provide the theoretical background against which change in tribal structure may be explained.

Chapter Three
The ‘Utaiba Tribe,s History and Settlement

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Chapter Three

The ‘Utaiba Tribe’s History and Settlement

3.1. Introduction

This chapter will begin by discussing the ‘Utaiba’s history and settlement pattern. In addition, the researcher will try to answer the questions, what was the origin of this tribe, how did it grow to be a huge tribe, and how did the tribe come to move from its original home, called Al-Hijaz (in the west of Saudi Arabia) to Najd (in the centre of Saudi Arabia), and to dominate the region? It highlights key figures in the history of the tribe, the tribesmen’s important role in Saudi Arabia’s unification, and the Saudi policy in dealing with the leaders of the tribe. Moreover, the researcher will explain the organization of the ‘Utaiba tribe (the division into sub-tribes and clans). An explanation will then be given of the process of settlement, which has affected the ‘Utaiba, as it has other Beduw tribes. An influential factor in this respect has been the succession of development plans implemented by the Saudi government, the main points of which are outlined. The sixth section of the chapter will describe the location and characteristics of the study area. Tables will be used to support the text.

3.2. Tribal Origins

The number of tribes in the Arabian Peninsula is about 100. They differ markedly in size, power, settlement, territory, and degree of nomadism and perceived social status (Al-Shamekh, 1975, p87). Each Beduw tribe has its own origin. Al-Sharef mentioned that the ‘Utaiba is well known and the largest tribe, which is divided into sub-tribes and

many clans and families. It extends from the Al-Sarawat Mountains near the Red Sea in the west of Saudi Arabia to Najd in the centre of Saudi Arabia (Al-Sharef, 1981, p 71).

Al-Kamal described the 'Utaiba tribe as the largest tribe in the Arabian Peninsula, which is dispersed like a huge tree, with its roots in Al-Hijaz and its branches covering the whole of Najd. He notes that the majority of this tribe is from Hawazen (Al-Kamal, 1996, p86.87. 88).

The history of the 'Utaiba can be traced back to the mother tribe of the 'Utaiba, which is the Hawazen tribe. The Hawazen tribe comes from the lineage of Hawazen Ibn Mansor Ibn Akramah Ibn Hesh Ibn Qees Ibn Aeelan Ibn Mateer Ibn Nazar Ibn Maeden Ibn Adnan (*Al-'Adnanea*). This tribe was spread across the whole of Al-Hijaz, but as the tribe grew and their traditional range-lands became over-crowded, they moved in search of more space and pasture. Consequently, many people from the tribe left Al-Hijaz and went to Najd or abroad to Jordan and Africa. One reason why the tribe grew to become a huge nation is that, in the past, according to *al-'Urf* (traditional tribal law), some clans or kinsfolk or groups, which had no power, chose to enter into *Helf* (an agreement), by which they lived as clients of the more powerful 'Utaiba tribe, forming a federation. In Al-Hijaz the 'Utaiba were called Bani Saad (Al-Osaemi, 1997,p6-12). The number of the 'Utaiba *Batoon* (clans) was 145. Alsharef Albrakaty, in 1790, when he was king of Al-Hijaz, estimated them to number about 500,000 people, in Al-Hijaz alone (Al-Marshadi, 1993,p.55). By now, the tribe is certainly more than twice that size.

In the early nineteenth century (1817) the 'Utaiba moved to Najd, which at that time was dominated by the Qahtan tribe. Ibn Hadi, the chief of the Qahtan, ruled Najd, and tried to prevent any other tribe from entering it. The chief of the 'Utaiba tribe at that time was Tarki Ibn Humaid. Al-Badrani mentioned that, in 1819, rain fell in Najd,

bringing a change in the way of life, from a traditional one depending on seasonal migration from the permanent water points in the summer season to the grazing areas in the winter and spring season. In the spring, Najd had various types of grazing, especially as pasture was plentiful and the camels could wander freely (Al-Badrani, 1996,p105-106).

In this period Tarki Ibn Humaid went to Ibn Hadi to negotiate and obtained permission to enter Najd. The tribes entered into *Helf* (an agreement) to live with each other peacefully. However, after two years, one of the ‘Utaiba people took a horse from the Qahtan tribe. When the chief of the ‘Utaiba found out about it he ordered his people to return the horse (*Altoom*) to the Qahtan tribe. After that, the Qahtan attacked the ‘Utaiba and took a camel (*Qauod Zalbn*), which they refused to return. These events escalated to a state of conflict between the ‘Utaiba and Qahtan, which lasted for some five years and the Qahtan’s chief asked Ibn Humaid to take his tribe back to Al-Hijaz. However, he refused and chose war (Abu ‘Abdulrhman, 1982,p123). Before the battle, the ‘Utaiba’s chief sent a *Qasedah* (poem) to the Qahtan’s chief which said:

*Adeet set mahaar wa alsabei Altoom
wa Qauod Zalbn ale baqa ma hassalh
Jassah andi men alkeel hathlwom
math albarad men mazneten mastahelah*

“I gave you 6 horses, including *Altom* which my tribesmen took from your people, However, you did not return the camel *Zalbn* which your tribesmen took from my people. I will reward you for that with battle, and you will see my horesmen come to you very fast, like hail coming down from the sky” (Al-Osaemi, 1997, p.73-88)

In 1854 another battle occurred between the ‘Utaiba and Qahtan. This was the battle of *Yoom Snaf Al-Trad* near Al-Sa’ara village. In this battle the Qahtan were finally

defeated. Then the ‘Utaiba tribe dominated in Najd and forced the Qahtan tribe to move to *Hssat Qahtan*, an area to the south of Najd. There, they joined forces with the Muter tribe and mounted a raid on the ‘Utaiba in *Al-Harmelah* in 1894. Thinking that the ‘Utaiba tribe would have been weakened by its prolonged battle with the Qahtan, another tribe, the Harb, sought to exploit the situation in order to take Najd for themselves. They attacked the ‘Utaiba at *Al-Reshaweah*, in 1911, but failed to dislodge them (Al-Marshadi, 1993,p.62-63-64). After the victory in battle Defallah Ibn Humaid made this point:

Ya Najd ma nizalanak be Slum
Wla ant borht jdudana bi le gidayim
Ya Najd axadna fik haggin wa marasum
Wa sifa janbik agb ramy al ‘amayim

“ O Najd, we did not come to your pastures by tribal agreement. Nor do we possess you as our inherited patrimony. O Najd, by force we imposed our rule on you, and we established our peace over you after victory in battle” (Kurpershoek, 1995, p.61).

In 1914 Tarki Ibn Humaid the first leader of the ‘Utaiba in Najd died when his camel fell while he was riding him. This was near ‘*Arwa Hajar* (village). After Ibn Hadi, the chief of the Qahtan tribe, had been thrown back to the south and east by Ibn Humaid, the chief of the ‘Utaiba, the geographical distribution of the tribes in central Najd remained more or less the same as it is today (Kurpershoek, 1995, p.63). In addition the ‘Utaiba started to settle in Najd from this period, and remained settled there to the present.

The next leader of the ‘Utaiba tribe was Sultan Ibn Bijad Ibn Humaid, who was one of the two leaders of the Ikhwan movement, which arose in Najd around 1910, and declined in the early 1930s. Moreover, at this time, the Wahhabi movement was also active. Sheikh Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab highlighted the tribes’ degeneracy into a multitude

of superstitious practices, cults of tree and stone worship, and tribal and customary law. For the most part, between the Beduw and sedentary population, respectively, these ways had prevailed and had eroded the influence and primacy of *al-Shariy'ah* (Islamic law). Tribe raided tribe, village made war on village, and some Beduw robbed travellers and intimidated pilgrims on their way to Makkah. So Sheikh Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab called for a return to the practice of true Islam based on the Qur'an and the *Sunna* as interpreted by the strict *Hanbali Mathhab* (school) (Habib, 1970,p2-3).

Ibn Saud sought a solution to the ongoing tribal warfare which was destabilizing Najd, involving the 'Utaiba, Mutair, Harb, Shammer, 'Anaza, Qahtan, 'Ajman...etc. He therefore decided to set up *Hijar* (settlements). So the first *Hijar* was established in Al-Artawiya 1913 near the Al-Artawiya wells to the north of Riyadh. The Emir of this *Hijar* was Faisal Al-Dawish, the chief of the Mutair tribe. The second *Hijar* was Ghatghat. It was founded in 1913, approximately fifty miles south-west of Riyadh. Its Emir was Sultan Ibn Bijad Ibn Humaid, the leader of the *Barga*, a sub-tribe of the 'Utaiba ('Abd al-'Aziz, 1993, p95-96). For more details see the Beduw Hijra (Settlement) in sections four and six.

According to Al-Rihani, the first historical reference to the Hijar of the Ikhwan is found in a letter from Prince 'Abdullah, the son of King Husain to Ibn Saud, which read: " If you wish well for the Muslims then send back those whom you ordered to sell their flocks and for whom you built homes" (Al-Rihani, 1988,p.261-262).

When 'Abd al-'Aziz started to build his kingdom, some 'Utaiba tribesmen joined the Ikhwan movement. The most important of these was Sultan Ibn Bijad Ibn Humaid, the leader of the 'Utaiba. Other tribal chiefs who joined the Ikhwan included Faisal Al-

Dawish (chief of the Mutair tribe) and Ibn Hithlain (chief of the 'Ajman tribe). In fact, Ibn Bijad was the most important chief in the 'Utaiba tribe because his grandfather was Tarki Ibn Humaid, the leader of 'Utaiba tribe in 1854 who had expelled the Qahtan and Mutair tribes from Najd.

However, during this time, there were battles between Ibn Saud and some sub-tribes of the 'Utaiba. Al-Orini mentioned that some 'Utaiba *Batton* (clans) followed Ibn Saud, and they joined Al- Saud's army. The most important one was Sheikh Mohammed Ibn Humaid Ibn Rubay'an, the leader of the *Ruoq*, a sub-tribe of the 'Utaiba (Al-Orini, 1984,p373).

During that time Sharif Husain was preventing people from making the pilgrimage to Makkah. As a result, on 5 June 1924, 'Abd al-Rahman, Ibn Saud's father, presided over a conference of '*Ulama*, tribal chiefs, and Ikhwan, plus tribal notables. After noting that he had received a large number of letters from the Ikhwan expressing their desire to make the *Hajj* (pilgrimage) to Makkah and complaining that Husain had prohibited their exercise of this inalienable right, 'Abd al-Rahman, pointing to his son, opened the floor to a discussion of their complaints. Ibn Bijad, the fanatical 'Utaiba leader, spoke for the Ikhwan. He noted that after three and a half years, their patience had been exhausted. They were prepared to go to Makkah to make the pilgrimage, either peacefully or by force if necessary. Other Ikhwan spoke up, also, supporting Ibn Bijad. Then the Riyadh conference decided to invade the Hijaz (Al-Hmeil, 1994, 186-187-188-189).

In 1924 about 3000 warriors of the Ikhwan forces were already located at Turabh and Khurma, the closest bases to the Hijaz, and its leaders, Khalid Ibn Luwai and Sultan Ibn Bijad were ordered to move in the direction of Ta'if. The overall command of these

Ikhwan forces was given to Khalid Ibn Luwai (al-Zirikili, 1985,p330); it was composed of fifteen *Liwa or Fojj* (brigades) as follows:

Brigade Commander	Tribe	Hijra
Khalid Ibn Luwai	Bugom	Khurma
Sultan Ibn Bijad	‘Utaiba	Al-Ghut Ghut
‘Aqab Ibn Moahya	‘Utaiba	Sajir
Jahjah Ibn Humaid	‘Utaiba	‘Arwa
Nafil Ibn Tuwayq	‘Utaiba	‘Ausayla
Qa’adan Ibn Dwish	Muter	Al-Artawiyah
‘Abd Al-mohsin Ibn Husay		Al-‘Ammar
Fayhan Ibn Samil		Ranya
Th’ar Ibn Al-Zmi’a	‘Utaiba	‘Arja
Hizam Ibn ‘Umar	Qahtan	Al-Rayn Al-Ulya
Hathal Ibn Suaydan	Qahtan	Al-Rayn Al-Sifla
Mu’ayd Ibn ‘Abud		Al-Nasf
Hizam Al-Mumaydani		Sabha
Majid Ibn Fahed	‘Utaiba	Halban
Hathal Ibn Fahed	‘Utaiba	Al-Rawedha

Al-Othameen noted that in August 1924, the Ikhwan were composed of fifteen *Liwa or Fojj* (brigades). They were composed of different tribes, but most of them came from al Ghatghat Hajar (Ibn Bijad the leader of the ‘Utaiba tribe). It can be seen that the ‘Utaiba and the other tribesmen played an important role in removing Al-Sharif from Al-Hijaz. Half (seven) of the *Liwa or Fojj* (brigades) were formed wholly of the ‘Utaiba tribesmen. King Abd al-ziz’s plan was attack, quick movement and secrecy (Al-Othameen, 1995, p.237-238). All these *Liwa or Fojj* participated in the battle of Taif, and attacked al-Sharif’s forces, which were superior in number, training, and equipment. When the Ikhwan attacked Taif, the gates of the city were opened up by the citizens, and the Ikhwan marched in peacefully. However, Al-Zirikili claimed that there was a bloody massacre of the town’s male population. The news of the battle was brought down by

frightened escapees who recounted their terror at the Ikhwan, and the Beduw that joined in the fight (Al-Zirikili, 1985,p331).

When he sent the Ikhwan to attack Taif, Ibn Saud had fully expected protests from the British government, who controlled the area. When no such protest occurred, Ibn Saud took it as a sign of tacit British approval for his campaign.

After Taif fell, so in effect did Makkah, Madinah and Jeddah. If the Ikhwan committed atrocities in Taif, they also presented Ibn Saud with the Hijaz, for slightly more than a month later Makkah fell to the Ikhwan without a shot in 15 October 1924. Then the Ikhwan dressed as pilgrims in the white linen loincloth (*Ihram*). They were not allowed to loot or plunder; since there was no resistance, there were no need to shoot or kill.

King Abd al-'Aziz entered Makkah on October 1924 dressed as a pilgrim to claim a prize that was already won. He had marched across the entire peninsula, accompanied by two of his brothers, Mohammed and 'Abdullah, and a group of '*Ulama* (religious scholars), from towns and Hajar. After that, Medinah and Jeddah surrendered after a year's siege. By this time, Ibn Saud had reached the sea, and the saga of the Ikhwan in Hijaz really ends here.

However, Ibn Bijad, the Sheik of the 'Utaiba and Faisal Al-Dawish went back to Najd. They felt that it was their power, which had enabled Ibn Saud to rule. Without them, he could not have gained control over the Arabian Peninsula. They had become a legend among the Ikhwan, the nomadic tribes and the sedentary. In early 1926 al-Dawish (the chief of the Muter tribe), Ibn Hithlain (the chief of the 'Ajman tribe) and Ibn Bijad (the chief of the 'Utaiba tribe) met in al Ghatghat *Hajar* and prepared a list of claims to be put to Ibn Saud. These became the basis of the charge sheet adopted at a general

meeting of the Mutair, 'Ajman and 'Utaiba leaders of the Ikhwan in November-December 1926 in al-Artawiya. Vassiliev noted that they lashed out against Ibn Saud for various reasons, such as:

1. His son Saud's visit to Egypt as a result of the Mahmal¹ incident.
2. His son Faisal's visit to London in August 1926 for negotiations with the British, seen as an act of collaboration with an infidel power.
3. Importing the telegraph, the telephone and cars to the land of Islam.
4. The imposition of custom duties on the Muslims of Najd- a protest against the growing system of centralized taxes.
5. Allowing the infidel Muslim tribes of Iraq to graze their flocks in the land of Arabia
6. The prohibition on trading with Kuwait. If Kuwait's people were infidels, Ibn Saud should wage *jihad* (war) against them; if they were Muslims, he should not obstruct trade with them.
7. Tolerating the schismatics (the Shia) in al-Hasa and al-Qatif cities. Ibn Saud should either convert them to Islam or massacre them (Vassiliev, 1998,p.273).

Thinking that the Ikhwan's discontent might turn into open revolt, Ibn Saud suddenly left Hijaz and returned to Riyadh in January 1927. Later that month, Ibn Saud met some 3,000 Ikhwan in the capital. It was then that Al-Dawish and Ibn Bijad and other rebel Ikhwan presented their charge sheet at a meeting. There was as yet no open revolution and Ibn Saud sought a negotiation. He agreed to decrease taxes, but refused to forbid the radio and cars. He even persuaded the meeting to proclaim him the king of the Hijaz and Najd and its dependencies. At the meeting held in Riyadh in February 1927, the '*Ulama*, nervous of the Ikhwan's demands, issued a *Fatwa*² that was to become famous. The fact that it was signed by fifteen '*Ulama* proved that the situation was extremely complex. The *Fatwa* covered several issues. The '*Ulama* pretended to take a neutral attitude to the telegraph, and they recommended that the Imam (the king) should exile the *Shia* from

¹ Mahmal: richly decorated ritual palanquin, sent by rulers of some Muslim states with the pilgrim caravans to Makkah.

² Fatwa: official ruling on religious and legal questions, pronounced by a *mufti* (scholar of Islamic law) or other religious authority at the request of a *qadhi* (a scholar of Islamic law).

the country because the Wahhabis considered the *Shia* to be non-Muslims. The '*Ulama* claimed that only the Imam (the king) might proclaim Jihad (a Muslim holy war for the faith) (Vassiliev, 1998,p.273-274).

After this time, the Ikhwan made raids in Najd and on the borders, which were guarded by the British. The British Government's permission to pursue the raiders across the border into Najd was prompted by the failure of Ibn Saud to produce any peace on the border by stopping the raids (Habib, 1970,228). By January 1929, Ibn Bijad had declared his intention of embarking upon a holy war against Iraq, a blatant challenge to Ibn Saud and to those who supported him at the Riyadh conference. He moved with his supporters in the direction of Iraq where he joined up with elements of Al-Duwish's Muter Ikhwan and Hithlain's 'Ajman who were engaged in sporadic raiding against the Muntafiq shepherd tribes in the borders (between Saudi Arabia and Iraq).

Meanwhile, the Ikhwan carried out raids on Qafelat Ibn Shareedah (camel traders) on their way from Burayda to Damascus. They killed the people and took their goods (Keshk, 1982,p 662). Ibn Saud knew about what the element of the Ikhwan represented by Ibn Bijad (chief of the 'Utaiba) and Al-Duwish (chief of the Muter) had done. He consulted the '*Ulama* about the situation. In early March 1929 Ibn Saud opened the campaign. Faisal al-Dawish and Ibn Bijad gathered their troops in a flat region called Sibila, located between the Ikhwan capital at Artawiya and the old sedentary town of Zilfi in the Qasim area. At the Sibila a period of negotiations followed. Faisal al-Dawish even visited Ibn Saud's camp and then returned to the Ikhwan (Ibn Hizlul, 1961,p.192-193). Ibn Saud sent a venerable sheikh, 'Abdullah Al-'Anqari, a famous '*Ulama* from Najd to the Ikhwan camp to try to convince the Ikhwan to submit to arbitration based on shari'a. This attempt failed (Vassiliev, 1998, p.277).

Prior to the battle, Ibn Saud had won over the 'Utaiba who followed Sheikh Ibn Rubay'an, (the leader of the *Roug* – a sub tribe- of the 'Utaiba), a decisive victory which weighed the scales in his favour. If Ibn Rubay'an had joined his fellow 'Utaiba Sheikh Ibn Bijad, the final results of Sibila most certainly would have been different. Ibn Rubay'an joined forces with Ibn Saud against the Ikhwan's rebellion in 1929 and fought alongside him in the battle of Sibila (Habib, 1970,P263).

The battle at Sibila took place early next morning of 31 March 1929. The Ikhwan lost the battle and Faisal al-Dawish received a severe abdominal wound. He fled to his Hijar al-Artawiya and sent a group of his relatives to Ibn Saud to plead for his life. Ibn Saud promised that their lives would be spared, but that they would have to submit to the judgement of the *al-Shariy'ah* (Islamic law).

Meanwhile, the British were keeping the area under surveillance, in order to prevent escaped Ikhwan rebels fleeing into Iraq and Jordan, which were under British administration. In January 1930, Naif Ibn Hthlain surrendered to the RAF. Then on 10 January, Al-Duwish and Ibn Lami, the other two prominent Ikhwan leaders surrendered. The British had previously agreed to hand the rebels over to Ibn Saud, on condition that he treated them humanely. Ibn Saud provided the British with written guarantees for the lives of the prisoners, who were flown to *Khabari Wadhha* and taken to the king, who spared their lives as promised, but imprisoned them in Riyadh, where they eventually died (Vassiliev, 1998,p.278-281).

As for Ibn Bijad, the Sheikh of the 'Utaiba, according to Al-Manee, Ibn Saud called him to a meeting in *Shaqra*, but the meeting was a trap and when Ibn Bijad arrived with only 50 of his followers, he was captured and imprisoned (Al-Manee,1982 p175).

Philby and Ibn Hizlul, however, state that Ibn Bijad returned to al-Ghatghat soon after the battle of Sibila. The king sent him a letter, urging him to surrender together with the

tribal sheikhs who had participated in the revolt. Ibn Bijad obeyed, surrendered voluntarily and was jailed in 1930, in al-Hasa together with the other leaders of the uprising, and remained there until his death, five years later (Philby, 1955.p309 and Hizlul, 1961,p.193-194).

King ‘Abd al-‘Aziz sent ahead messengers to the chiefs of the ‘Utaiba tribe asking them to come with other tribal notables to the town of Al-Duwadmi for a meeting. King ‘Abd al-‘Aziz arrived at Al-Duwadmi on 9 July 1929. There, in a huge tent pitched for the occasion, he met with about 2,000 ‘Utaiba tribesmen, led by their chiefs: ‘Umar Ibn ‘Abdull Rahman Ibn Rubay’an, Sheikh of the Rouq; Jahja Ibn Bijad Ibn Humaid, brother of Sultan Ibn Bijad who was in jail after his defeat at Sibila, the Sheikh of the Maqtah; Munahi Al-Haydhil, the Sheikh of the Dajeen; Sultan Aba-’ala, Sheikh of the Osammh; Khalid Ibn Jami, Sheikh of the Rusan; and other chiefs of the ‘Utaiba tribe. At the meeting, the ‘Utaiba tribesmen were distributed among the most sensitive territory of Ibn Saud’s realm between the extreme eastern part of the Hijaz, and the western part of Najd (Habib, 1982,p273).

The Ikhwan were, in effect, the forerunners of the National Guard, and to this day constitute its irregular units, called *Fouj* or *Liwās* (brigades). At the present time, the ‘Utaiba tribe have eight brigades, which are located in their villages, come under the immediate command of the local Emir, and are organised into tribal units. They answer emergency calls only, bringing with them, as of old, their own rifles.

The ‘Utaiba leaders have continued to be a significant political and religious force in the country, establishing for themselves a privileged position with the trust of the ruling regime. Not only did they form the nucleus of the National Guard, as indicated above,

but they were given positions of responsibility in recognition of their firm commitment to Islam and their allegiance to the king. In recognition of their contribution to the creation of the Saudi state, they still receive government pensions. Thus, even today, there are members of the 'Utaiba who enjoy a uniquely privileged position, because of the tribe's pre-eminent role in Saudi history. There are also other links with the past. Leadership of the various clans and sub-tribes is hereditary, passing from father to son. Moreover, each clan still remains based in its original village.

After the discovery of oil, many of the 'Utaiba tribesmen found employment in the government, or in companies as oil workers or drivers. Also, some of them have invested their money in agricultural businesses, and at the same time, they continue to pasture their herds.

3.3 The 'Utaiba Tribe's Organization

A brief discussion of the *Qabilah* (tribal) social organization is necessary; both in general terms, and more particularly the organization of the 'Utaiba tribe. There are various different approaches to the representation of the tribal social structure. These differences reflect not only the historians' and anthropologists' own viewpoints, but also how the organization is represented by the members of the tribe itself (Nahedh, 1989,p144). The word *Qabilah* (tribe) is used by them to differentiate themselves from each other and from other Beduw tribes. The *Qabilah* generally comprises several main sections; each under a leader and these sections are divided into sub-tribes and so on.

The Arabs ' representation of *Qabilah* social organization and segmentation is through the medium of the Arabic terminology for the various parts of the human body. This reflects the image of descent from a common ancestor, and also a feeling of organic cohesion. As indicated below, Arabs represent these divisions by analogy with the human body. Furthermore they use the terminology for the various levels of segmentation as follows:

1. *Qabilah* (tribe): This term literally meaning *qabilat allras* (the front of the head face), is usually translated "tribe" and refers to the mother tribe or the macro level of social organisation.
2. '*Amarah* (sub-tribe): this term literally means the upper part of the human torso (chest and neck). This may be represented by the term sub-tribe
3. *Batin* (clan): Literally meaning the abdomen, this may be represented by the term clan, a term always used by tribal members to describe their own social organisation.
4. *Fakhath* (sub-clan): Literally meaning thigh, this may be represented by the term sub-clan. The numbers of *Fakhath* in any *Batin* vary in different social organizations.

5. *Hamulah* (lineage): These lineages derive their origin from a male ancestor, who lived about five generations ago. This level of social identification is the most significant for the tribal members within their own group.
6. *Thowi* or *Bayt* (sub-lineage): A group of related kin; sometimes represented by the term minimal lineage, which is a section of the lineage.
7. *'Aayla* (extended family) The individual household, which consists usually of an extended patriarchal family (elderly mother and father, their sons and their sons' wives and children).
8. *Usrah* (family): The most basic unit of the tribe's social organization.

The relationship between these social units can be seen in Figure 3.1.

This diagram represents the common system of classification in use among the Arab Beduw tribes. They consider the system as a hierarchy in which the larger unit comes first, followed by the other units. The tribe (*Qabilah*) was the largest unit in the hierarchy. Over time, the tribe is broken up into two or more sub tribes (*'Amarah*). Each embraced the descendants of one of the great ancestor's sons, and took its name from him. These sub tribes were themselves divided into clans (*Batin*), then each clan was sub-divided into sub-clans (*Fakhath*). Then, each sub-clan was sub-divided into lineages and the lineages were divided into groups of extended families (*Thowi or Bayt*). Then each group was divided into *Aayla* (extended families), and each *Aayla* divided into (*Usrah*) families.

This structure is not utilised in full to represent particular tribal structures by the tribal members themselves or by outsiders. Cole described the social organisation of Al-Murah tribe as composed of seven clans with each forming four to six lineages (Cole, 1975,p24). Descriptions of the 'Utaiba's social structure vary, in terms of the terminology used, the actual segmentation, and also the names of the segments.

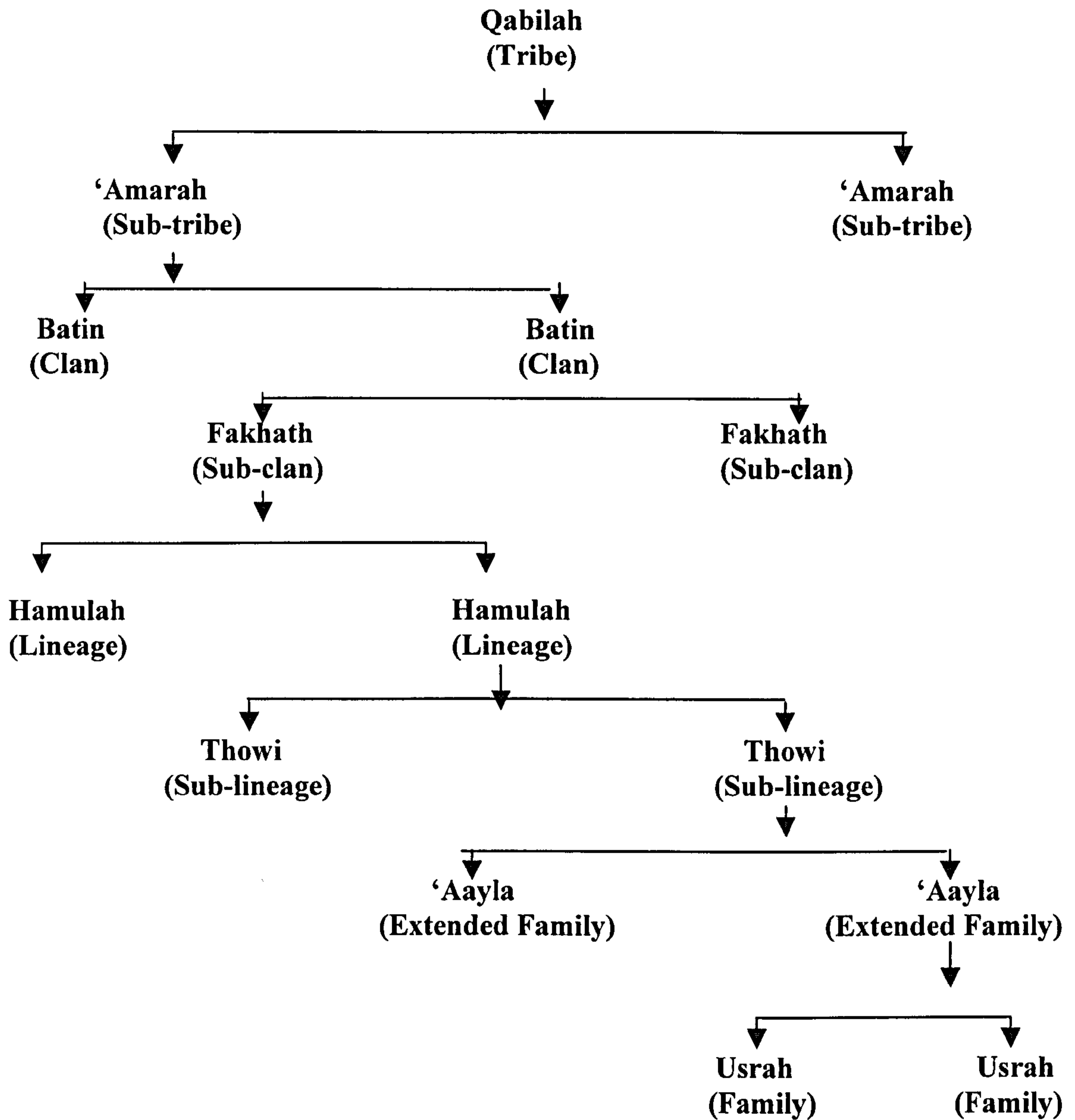


Figure 3. 1 Classification of The Tribal Structure

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1. <i>Qabilah</i> | Tribe |
| 2. <i>'Amarah</i> | Sub Tribe |
| 3. <i>Batin</i> | Clan |
| 4. <i>Fakhath</i> | Sub-Clan |
| 5. <i>Hamulah</i> | Lineage |
| 6. <i>Thowi</i> | Sub-Lineage |
| 7. <i>'Aayla</i> | Extended Family |
| 8. <i>Usrah</i> | Family |

Al-Jaser, the most distinguished of Saudi historians describes the 'Utaiba as having two sub-tribes, *Barga* and *Roug*, each in turn divided into a large number of clans, then into sub clans (Al-Jaser, 1980, p253).

Al-Jaser does not use any specific terminology, but others do. Al-Sharef, for example, describes the 'Utaiba in Hijaz as having five Batins (clans), as follows: (1) Bnw Saad (2) Taffah (3) Shamli (4) Barga (5) 'Aeall Mansour. Each of these is divided into nine or ten Fakhath (sub-clans) (Al-Sharef, 1981,p72-79). In the case of the 'Utaiba in Najd, which includes the area of the study, the 'Utaiba are divided into two sub-tribes, the Barga and the Roug, each of which is divided into several clans, then into sub-clans..etc.

Figure 3.2 represents the social organisation of the 'Utaiba as identified by the local tribal members. Extensive interviews with several elderly members of the 'Utaiba tribe revealed more complex levels of segmentation, and a tendency to utilise all of the levels of the social organisation of tribes. This is due to the large size of the 'Utaiba tribe. For instance, Nahedh in her study noted that one Fakhath (the Al-Hanatish of Sajir) numbers around 18,000 persons (Nahedh, 1989, p.44).

The differences between each level of organization lie in the size of the unit and the distance from the common ancestor. Another difference is that the small units define the relationships on the small scale for example, between one household and another, while the large units have the task of explaining interdependence relationships with other large units, for example, tribe and clan. Within the 'Utaiba, the extended family usually included the man, his wife or wives, and groups of sons and daughters and their sons' wives. While the 'Utaiba were nomadic, the extended family lived in a group of tents (a term that is used also to refer to the household). Even at the present time, they still live in a group in their own villages (see Table 3.1p.103). In addition, all the people in this unit are related to the senior male in the family, by ties of descent and affinity. A series

of extended families make up the *Fakhath* (clan). It is composed of all people who were descended from a common ancestor about five generations before. Thus, it is a group of hereditary kinsmen tracing descent from one ancestor, sharing an area name and sometimes owning a unit of land or village. Within the lineage, each individual can trace patrilineal connections to the common ancestor and to all other individuals in the group. The *Hamulah* (lineage) is, in fact, a large family, which might include twenty or more paternal cousins. They used to travel and work co-operatively, and at the present time they still live together in their own village or area. Finally, the family is the smallest unit within the tribe, and this family consists of a husband and his wife and their children and sons and their wives.

Figure 3. 2 Locally Perceived Levels of the Social Organization

‘Utaiba (Mother Tribe)			
YAAL MANSOUR	BARGA TAFEEH	TALHAH	ROUG MOZAHM
1- Al-Osamah (F)	1- Al-Nofaah** (F)	1- Al-Thaeybah (F)	1- Al-Othyan (F)
2- Al-Qathamah (F)	2- Al-Mouqath (F)	2- Al-Awazeem (F)	2- Al-Mahadl (F)
3- Al-Daajeen* (F)	3- Al-Rousan (F)	3- Al-Karashemah (F)	3- AL-Gobeyat (F)
4- Al-Daqalibah (F)	4- Al-Thabatah (F)	4- Al-Hofah (F)	4- Al-Mrashdah (F)
5- Al-Shayabeen (F)	5- Al-Wqdan (F)	5- Al-Dlabehah (F)	5- Thwi Alli (F)
		6- Al-Samarh (F)	6- Al-Thabatah (F)
		7- Al-Hanatish*** (F)	7- Al-Sayaheen (F)
		8- Al-Hamamed (F)	8- Al-Damaseen (F)
		9- Al-Garbeeah (F)	9- Al-Jadaan (F)
		10- Al-Magayebh (F)	11- Al-Frahedah (F)
		11- Al-Hozman (F)	12- Al-Morgeeah (F)
		12- Al-Kadabeen (F)	13- Al-Magaeerah (F)
		13- Thawi Zareeg (F)	14- Al-Gassasmh (F)
		14- Al-Asaeedah (F)	15- Al-Gananeem (F)
			16- Al-Salash (F)
			17- Al-Karares (F)
			18- Al-Habardeeah (F)
			19- Al-Jadaan (F)

(F) These *Fakhaths* (Clans) include several divisions, for example:

*This *Fakhath* (Clan) is divided into five *Hamulah* (Lineages), as follows, (1) Al-Swalem, (2) Al-Hedaf, (3) Al-Mayaleah, (4) Al-Mlabesah, (5) Al-Kouoteah

** This *Fakhath* is divided into seven *Hamulah* Each *Hamulah* is divided into more than nine *Thowi* (groups of extended families)

***Al-Hanatish numbers around 18,000 persons.

3.4. The Beduw *Hijar* (Settlements) in Saudi Arabia

This section explains the process by which the formerly nomadic Beduw became sedentarized. Three stages are identified. In the first, the unification period, settlements were founded for religious reasons and encouraged for political reasons.

After the discovery of oil the Saudi government started projects to settle the Beduw, despite the difficulties these projects faced, for example scarce and irregular rainfall. Gradually, the Beduw began to settle spontaneously, to take advantage of the socio-economic benefits that became available. These phases are described below.

3.4.1 First Stage Settlement

As mentioned earlier, before the unification of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1931, its region was inhabited by hundreds of nomadic tribes. Several of these tribes were powerful and occupied large areas. The powerful tribes were also involved in struggles with each other to overwhelm other regions (See the 'Utaiba tribe history section 3.2).

During the first quarter of the twentieth century, the Ikhwan were encouraged to form settlements, called *Hijras*. The word *Hijar* is derived from the name of *Hijrah* (migration) of the prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) from Makkah to Al-madinah, taken as the starting-point of the calendar. It also represents migration from the life of ignorance in the desert to a settled life where the people could learn their faith (Abu 'Aleea, 1986.p.141). According to Qatan, the *hijras* were established for purely religious reasons. The inhabitants were called Muhajir (migrants), those who renounced the old ways of polytheism and lived in the correct manner of Islam (Qatan, 1979, p.157).

The first settlement was established in al-Artawiya in 1912, about 300 kilometres to the Northwest of Riyadh. The following year, 1914, the 'Utaiba tribe settled in al-Ghatghat, and the Harb tribe settled at Dukhah (Al-Shamikh, 1975, P.104). According to Vassiliev

the exact date of the foundation of al-Artawiya, the first *Hijra*, is unknown, but it seems to have emerged by early 1913. *Umm al-Qura*, the semi-official Saudi newspaper, reported the first *Hijra* was founded in January 1913. The first Ikhwan settlers lived near a group of wells in a wadi with good pastureland and numerous trees. The valley was situated in the territory of the Mutair tribe, on the caravan route between Al-Qasim and Kuwait. Some Mutair voluntarily sold some of their camels and the equipment that was necessary to maintain the Beduw way of life. Many wells were dug in their area; the traditional bonds of mutual assistance within kin and tribes became the basis of the Ikhwan's solidarity (Vassiliev, 1998,p.227).

After al-Artawiya, the second *Hijra* was al-Gatghat, founded by the 'Utaiba tribe. Other *Hijras* followed, established by other tribes in different parts of Saudi Arabia. By 1920 there were 52, by 1923, 72, and by 1929, there 120 *Hijras*. Others estimated the number of Ikhwan *Hijras* 500 (Ibn Hithlin, 1964, p.43), and at 222 (Habib, 1970, p.111). The Ikhwan *Hijras* according to the number of tribe settlements in 1929 were: Harb tribe, twenty-two; Shammar tribe, sixteen; 'Ajman tribe, fourteen; 'Utaiba tribe, fifteen³; Mutair tribe, twelve; Qahtan tribe, eight; 'Anaza tribe seven; Bani Hajir tribe, four; Dawasir tribe, four; Murra tribe, four; Hitaim tribe, three; Subai tribe, three; Suhul tribe, three; 'Awazim tribe two; Bani Khalid tribe, two; and Zafir tribe, one (all these *Hijras* were in the territories of the tribes concerned). In order to encourage the process of sedentarization, Ibn Saud gave the Ikhwan money, seed, agricultural equipment and materials to build mosques, schools and settlements, and sent *Mutawwas* (religious instructors) to educate them (Vassiliev, 1998, p.228).

King 'Abd al-'Aziz had several reasons for settling the Beduw. The first reason was religious; he believed that settlement inside the Islamic institutions and infrastructure

would gradually weaken the tribal system, so he desired to join them with the rest of the population in order to defeat their tribal solidarity.

The second reason was one of security; the powerful tribes were involved in struggles with each other to overwhelm other areas, *Ghazo* (raids) or conflicts about pastures or water wells, *al-Thaar* (revenge) and tribal cohesion threatened the peace of the country.

Thirdly, through this *Hijar* (settlement) programme, Ibn Saud was able to give the Beduw *al-Sharha* (money) - a form of financial help given to tribal chiefs or leaders or important tribesmen, who would make special visits to Ibn Saud as *Imam* (king). (Many of the 'Utaiba tribesmen have received this *al-Sharha* since that time until the present).

He also gave them *Al a'idah*, a monetary gift given annually to every person in the *Hijar* who registered his name in the King's register, which was usually reserved for those in the *Hijar* called to battle. The newly-settled tribesmen were also provided with *Al-barwah* or a gift in the form of rice, Arab coffee, dates..etc (Habib, 1970,p78-79).

Finally, Ibn Saud's desire was to change the Beduw from an independent unit to an integral part of the whole country. He wished for them to turn their attention to their home country and give their loyalty to it instead of warring among themselves and being loyal only to their tribes. This was achieved when most of Saudi Arabian Beduw tribes participated in the reserve National Guard, for which people were selected entirely from tribal Beduw origins (Al-Mahawi, 1990, p 103-105). Thus, the relationship between the tribes and the government started with the cooperation in the establishment of Saudi Arabia, and was strengthened through service in the National Guard.

³ These settlements which are belonging to 'Utaiba tribe in Al-Duwadmi region have been increased from fifteen in 1913 to seventy settlements *Hijras* at the present time (see Table 3.1).

After King 'Abd Al-'Aziz destroyed the rebellious Ikhwan army, he finally had a loyal Beduw army, which became the National Guard. This army was divided into units, each unit under the *Fojj's Emir* or *lawa's Emir* (Brigadier general of a district unit) who came from the chief family of his tribe. Within his *Fojj* (unit) the leader could employ his tribesmen and other tribespeople. Like other tribes, the 'Utaiba tribe had many *Fojj's Emir* who still continue their role in the National Guard such as *Fojj's Ibn Faheed*, the leader of Al- Shayabeen clan, *Fojj's Ibn Rebea'an* the leader of Al-Rba'aen clan and *Fojj's Aba Al-a'ala*, the leader of Al-aosamah clan. Usually, when the leader of the *Fojj* died, the National Guard usually employed his son or his brother, depending on the circumstances.

In summary this stage of settlement arose in Saudi Arabia with religious reformers, and the Ikhwan. It was not very successful, in that the majority of Beduw tribes did not react, while a minority of them responded to religious pressures. Thus the *Hjiras* (Ikhwan settlements) were stopped in 1930, and no further planned or induced settlements were established in Saudi Arabia until 1958, the second stage of settlement. However, in the period 1930 to 1958, many other settlements were established in Saudi Arabia, especially in the eastern province, following the discovery of oil, and the establishment of oil companies.

3.4.2 Second Stage Settlement

This stage of settlement came in 1958, when the first government settlement project was carried out in *Wadi Al-Sirhan*, followed by schemes. The main schemes were as follows:

3.4.2.1 *Wadi* (Valley) Al-Sarhan Scheme

This is a group of very shallow *Wadis*, situated on the north-western borders, and used as pasture by the Beduw tribes such as 'Anazah and Shammer tribes. Like the other regions inhabited by Beduw tribes, this area is affected by droughts. Under a relief project started by the government in 1959, food, clothing and cash were distributed to 363,200 people in the *Wadi*. In 1961, however, the relief campaign was terminated and an agricultural settlement project started. The scheme included land grants, provision of water pumps and technical guidance (Ebrahim, 1981). However, the *Wadi* Al-Sarhan settlement scheme was pronounced as a failure after three years. The Beduw settlers mostly abandoned their farms and returned to their way of life, and some of the Beduw left the project for urban centres, the military, or oil companies (Nahedh, 1989,p.128).

3.4.2.2 *Wadi* (Valley) Al-Sahba Scheme

The *Wadi* is located at the edge of the al-Rubi al-Khali (empty quarter) in the South-eastern province of Saudi Arabia. The Scheme aimed to reclaim a very large area of land, which was distributed to the Beduw; water was supplied by forty artesian wells.

3.4.2.3 *Haudh* (Basin) Tabuk Scheme

This Scheme is situated in the North-west of Saudi Arabia. It aimed to settle Beduw in the area and, like the other projects, relieve those affected by a terrible drought that occurred in the region, which had resulted in large numbers of the Beduw tribes' livestock perishing (Al-Khreaajy, 1980). However, this project failed to achieve its objectives for several reasons (to be discussed later).

3.4.2.4 Wadi (Valley) Haradh Scheme (King Faisal settlement)

This Beduw scheme was located in the eastern region of Saudi Arabia, in *Haradh* valley, and was started in 1964. The area of this project was 40 square km. Ebrahim noted that the objectives of this project included achievement of self-sufficiency in agriculture, to develop the natural and human resources, and to settle a portion of the Beduw tribes (Ebrahim, 1981). Al-Khreaajy noted that it aimed to integrate the Beduw tribes into society, while at the same time, preserving their self-identity and sub-culture (Al-Khreaajy, 1980). In 1978, the *Haradh* Agricultural Company was founded as a private sector organisation to improve the scheme. The government owned twenty five percent of the company's shares. Although this scheme was profitable agriculturally, it failed to settle the Beduw.

3.4.3 The reason for the failure of these schemes

These schemes depended completely on agricultural transfer, which was not acceptable to the Beduw as an alternative to their livestock breeding. The Beduw in the past looked on agriculture as a form of handicraft, and the traditional attitude toward handicrafts was disdainful. Craftsmen were even more despised in Beduw tribes in Arabian society than 'lower' tribes. To be an artisan was considered the worst occupation for an Arab. The word *Suna* was an insult. Craftsmen who were foreigners or freedmen did not enter their organization (Vassiliev, 1998,p.57). Because of the Beduw association of agriculture with handicrafts, a report by a Saudi Arabian delegation in Jordan in 1965 described some Beduw of Saudi Arabia as entering agriculture only when they were forced to do so by economic necessity. Their lack of experience and expertise, however, disposed them to return to pastoralism as soon as they were able so (Ministry of planning, 1965,p.16). The scheme's planners did not train or show the Beduw how to farm, or to fix the water pumps, so they could not cultivate their farms. Moreover, from the researcher's

observation, even in the present time, the Beduw do not work their farms by themselves, but depend on foreign workers. Another reason for failure of the projects was unsuitable locations, with inadequate water and poor soil. Moreover, all these regions where the schemes were carried out were far away from communications and transportation; there were no asphalt roads, but only rocky dirt tracks. Finally the Beduw wanted to be free and they feared that if they settled they would be restricted to the areas of the schemes areas.

3.4.4 Third Stage: Spontaneous Settlement

The Beduw who refused the planned settlement schemes began to settle down in groups (lineage or sub-clan or clan) spontaneously, after a degree of development had reached their territories.

It is in the nature of the Beduw that they will not be forced to do something. As Al-Ageili asserts:

Traditionally, the Beduw tribal people always rejected any attempts to impose on them a way of life that other people deemed suitable, but that the Beduw found unacceptable, So planned settlement projects clashed with the Beduw's customs and traditions, and hence the planned settlement projects were doomed to failure. The planners should bear in mind that any attempt at settlement without proper Beduw participation from the outset is unlikely to achieve any kind of success. (Al-Ageili, 1986, P.418).

Accordingly the Beduw responded negatively to any attempt to settle them, regarding it as a restriction on their movement (loss of their and their camels' freedom) and a weakening of their tribal solidarity. However, most of the settlements which were established spontaneously by the Beduw still exist, and recently none of them have failed or been abandoned.

When the Beduw settled, they did so out of a desire to get advantages from the government, as other settlements were doing. For example the Beduw established their own spontaneous settlements after the construction of asphalt roads, and after the increase of services in the settlements, because they wanted to improve their standard of living. Such spontaneous settlement occurred in urban and agricultural areas and oases. It developed due to the improvement in living standards and social and economic factors. When the Beduw settled voluntarily, whether in urban or rural areas, they kept their livestock and took second jobs as lorry drivers or joined the military or became *Khawi* (companions) of the Emirs from the royal families of Saudi Arabia. Some lineages from the same tribe applied to the government for land loans. This land was usually within their territory, and if there were not water wells already, the government arranged and financed their digging. (Al-Mahawi, 1990, p.123).

As mentioned in this section, the Beduw tribes' settlement in Saudi Arabia happened in stages. Firstly, the government tried to settle the Beduw tribes through the Ikhwan movement. Secondly, government projects were initiated to settle Beduw tribes to control the stronger tribes and change them into farmers. In the third stages the Beduw tribes began to settle spontaneously. Undoubtedly, there are many factors, which must act simultaneously to achieve the required development (the researcher will discuss them in the next chapter). These factors are likely to have influenced various aspects of Beduw life. First, however, it would be appropriate to outline the circumstances which gave rise to these change factors.

3.5. Development Plans and Policies:

The government was enabled by exploitation of income from oil to modernise and develop the country. This development brought changes to urban and rural society in general, including the Beduw. The government started to pay increased attention to many sectors such as education, agriculture, health, technology, the economy and transportation. All these factors have played an important role in changes occurring throughout Saudi Arabia. So before discussing these factors, it may be helpful to summarize the main features of the development plans, through which these changes were brought about.

Saudi Arabia depended on very limited resources before the discovery of oil in 1938. Most of the people were Beduw from many tribes (see chapter one) who relied on breeding different kind of livestock such as camels and sheep or traditional agriculture for living. With such a simple economy and very low income there was no such thing as “planning for development.” In 1948 after the explanation of oil for commercial purposes through export, the Kingdom’s national income was about \$85 million, which constituted 60% of the country’s income. From this time the Kingdom was inspired to invest her new wealth in development projects, which impelled the government to plan and organise the process of economic and social development. Unfortunately, for that early period, there are no precise data to give a clear picture of the development (Al-Kahtani, 1996 p21-22).

In 1970 the oil boom had started; its production and price were high and conditions were favourable to embark on the introduction of national development plans. A general outline of the main features of these plans is given below.

3.5.1 The First Development Plan 1970-1975

The first GDP, inaugurated in 1970, laid out an extremely ambitious programme. Under the assurance that crude oil exports would provide the needed financial resources, the planners' resolve was encouraged by the jump in oil revenues resulting from successive OPEC price increases in 1973 and 1974. The general objectives of the development plan were expressed as follows:

“The general objectives of economic and social development policy for Saudi Arabia are to maintain its religious and moral values, and to raise the living standard and welfare of its people, while providing for material security and maintaining economic and social stability.” (First Development Plan, 1970, p: 27).

Importance was placed on the establishing of a physical infrastructure and manpower planning. The diversification of the national economy was one of the primary goals of the development plan. The specific objectives of the plan were: (a) to increase the rate of growth of the gross domestic product; (b) to expand the economy and decrease the country's dependence on oil by rising the contribution of other productive sectors to the national product; (c) to arrange the foundation for sustained economic growth; (d) to develop human resources so as to enable different elements of society to contribute more effectively to growth of the economy and participate more fully in the process of development (El Mallakh, 1982).

3.5.2 The Second Development Plan 1975-1980

During the Second plan, government expenditure increased nearly nine-fold to reach SR 700 billion (against SR 80 billion in the first plan). The general goals for the plan were as follows: (a) to maintain the religious and moral values of Islam; (b) to assure the defence and internal security of the Kingdom; (c) to maintain a high rate of economic

growth by developing economic resources, maximising earnings from oil over the long-term and conserving non-renewable resources; (d) to reduce economic dependence on the export of crude oil; (e) to develop human resources by education and training, and raise standards of health; (f) to increase the well being of all groups within society and foster social stability under circumstances of rapid social change; (g) to develop the physical infrastructure to support achievement of the above goals (The Second Development Plan, 1975, p: 3).

3.5.3 The Third Development Plan 1980-1985

The third development plan was characterized by a shift in emphasis from infrastructure to widening and strengthening the productive base of the economy in order to reduce its heavy dependence on oil. A second main feature of the plan was the development of human resource rather than infrastructure investment. The plan aimed to increase citizens' participation in social welfare and development, and provide a better quality of life for Saudi citizens by improving housing, health and the education services and the preservation of national fixed capital and better management (Third Development Plan, 1980,p 33-37).

As far as economic development is concerned, the main objectives of the Third Plan were diversification of the country's income, administrative efficiency, effective societal and entrepreneurial participation in the economy, and a substantial increase of Saudis in the productive workforce in order ultimately to replace expatriates. However, these were not satisfactorily accomplished, despite the spending of \$ 333.1 billion in total over the period of the Third Development Plan (1980-1985) (Al-Damer, 1995, p140).

3.5.4 The Fourth Development Plan 1985-1990

The fourth plan objectives were formulated to ensure continuity with the strategy of the third plan. Total government expenditure during the fourth plan, including non-civilian items, was set at SR 1,000 billion at current prices. One of its objectives was the protection of Islamic values, duly observing, disseminating and confirming Allah's *Shariy'ah* and to guard the faith and the nation; and to uphold the security and social stability of the realm. It also aimed to continue structural changes in the Kingdom's economy through continuous transformation to produce a diversified economic base, with due emphasis on industry and agriculture, and to improve mineral resources, encouraging discovery and utilisation thereof. It was planned to develop productive citizen-workers by providing them with the skills, which would ensure their livelihood, and rewarding them on the basis of their work. Attention was focused on the need to reduce reliance on the production and export of crude oil as the main source of national income. Emphasis was placed on qualitative development through improving and further developing the performance of the utilities and facilities already established during the three previous development plan periods. In addition, economic and social integration between Arab Gulf Co-operation Council Countries was sought. (Fourth Development Plan, 1985, P: 41)

3.5.5 The Fifth Development Plan 1990-1995

The fifth plan was based on the assumption of stable world oil prices and signs of recovery of the national economy. This plan was no different from the previous plans in its general objectives.

“The fifth development plan will emphasise general goals of the fourth development plan.”(Fifth Development Plan, 1991,p.87)

The general objectives and strategy of the plan were as follows: first to encourage the private sector to participate more in the national economic and social development. Second to provide equality among the kingdom’s different urban centres (Fifth Development Plan, 1991,p.88)

3.5.6 The Sixth Development Plan 1995 – 2000

The general objectives of the sixth development plan include continued efforts to provide education, training and productive employment for Saudi people to reduce dependence on expatriates; diversification of the economy away from dependence on oil; and continued qualitative improvement of existing utilities and facilities.

The plan is founded on a number of “ basic strategic principles”, each of which encompasses several objectives, of which a few examples may be cited here. The second basic strategic principle of improvement in government services, for example, includes reducing the production cost of public utilities (which may enable them to be made more widely available), increased use of modern technologies, and encouraging investment in large-scale agricultural projects. The sixth basic principle, manpower development,

includes compulsory primary education, development of educational systems, curricula and programmes in accordance with development requirements, and increased attention to technical and vocational training. Among the means suggested for achieving the seventh principle, replacement of expatriate manpower, is increased participation of women in the workforce. The eighth principle, social development and welfare, includes enhanced mother and child health care, literacy programmes, youth welfare programmes, and compulsory military service. All of these measures are likely to bring further changes in the opportunities available to the people of the community under study, with concomitant changes in family life and economic prosperity (a more comprehensive account of the plan can be found in Al-Farsy, 1994).

These development plans brought planned change to the whole country. Since 1970 many achievements and improvement have been made, in the material and organisational aspects. Housing, health, and educational services were provided, and a large part of the infrastructure was completed.

3.6. The 'Utaiba Tribe Settlement at Present

3.6.1 Study Region

The 'Utaiba tribe are a Beduw tribe who inhabit the central province Najd. Their territory extends from Al-Washem to the Western province Taif, in Qasim, Alsumman and AlDahna. They rely on their herds of camels, sheep and goats for their subsistence. These animals are considered the backbone of their economy. A spontaneous change occurred in their lifestyle especially when the truck replaced the camel, as beast of burden. This shift affected other aspects of their lives such as living arrangements, work patterns and leisure time activities. Two types of physical residences are found: *Bayt AlSha'ar* (house of hair) or *Kamah* (tent), and *Bayt Alshabe* (house of stone). Many of the 'Utaiba lead a semi-Beduw lifestyle, moving with their trucks and tankers to different areas throughout the year, taking their livestock for pasture, according to a regular cycle, and eventually returning to their settlement, the point at which they started.

The area of Al-Duwadmi lies west of Al-washim region (the city of Shagra and the surrounding areas), north of the town of Al-gweeah, and south of Al-Qasim region. It might be thought of as being nearly in the centre of Najd, or the central region of Saudi Arabia (see figures 3.3 and 3.4).

Al-Duwadmi region is characterised by a large number of mainly small villages and hamlets, ranging in size from a few households in the smallest hamlets up to several hundred people in the larger villages. Al-Duwadmi is the largest city in the region of study with around 39,842 inhabitants, of whom about 17,435 were settled and 22,407 nomadic or being relocated in the year 1974 (Al-Takes, 1992, p. 53) (we will see in chapter five what the position of these societies is at present). At present, Al-Duwadmi

has more than 168 villages and hamlets (*Hijars*) situated in it. About 93% of these villages belong to the ‘Utaiba people (see Table 3.1).

Its position along and between the major highways connecting the centre of Saudi Arabia and the west and northern regions to the capital of Saudi Arabia has been very beneficial due to the spread of a reasonable level of modern amenities and services.

Most of the villages and Beduw settlements benefited greatly during the 1970s and 1980s from the state initiated push for the development of the rural and agricultural sector. Development of these villages and *Hijar* had been encouraged through the new incentives created in the 1975-development plan for an enlarged and more productive agricultural sector. This was especially true of the villages and *Hijar* that included the larger areas of arable land within their traditional boundaries.

Although the majority of the ‘Utaiba people have modern houses, they do not live in the settlement itself, partly because they prefer to live on their farms or in the desert, looking after their camels, or outside the village or hamlet in their *Asterahah* (this is a huge courtyard on which are centred various facilities for males and females such as a small modern house (villa), tents, trees, animals, playground, satellite-dish, swimming pool, and so on.)

In Al-Duwadmi there is a cluster of roads and modern houses, unlike older and more traditional villages and settlements, where the mosque is the focal point from which all other functions radiate. In the middle of Al-Duwadmi, a few older, traditional mud houses are located. One of these is a *Qassar* (traditional house) called King ‘Abd al-‘Azz house, which was built in 1930 (Al-Janeedl, 1984,p32-38). Its inhabitants call al-Duwadmi the capital of Al-Duwadmi region.

Figure 3.3. The Study Region

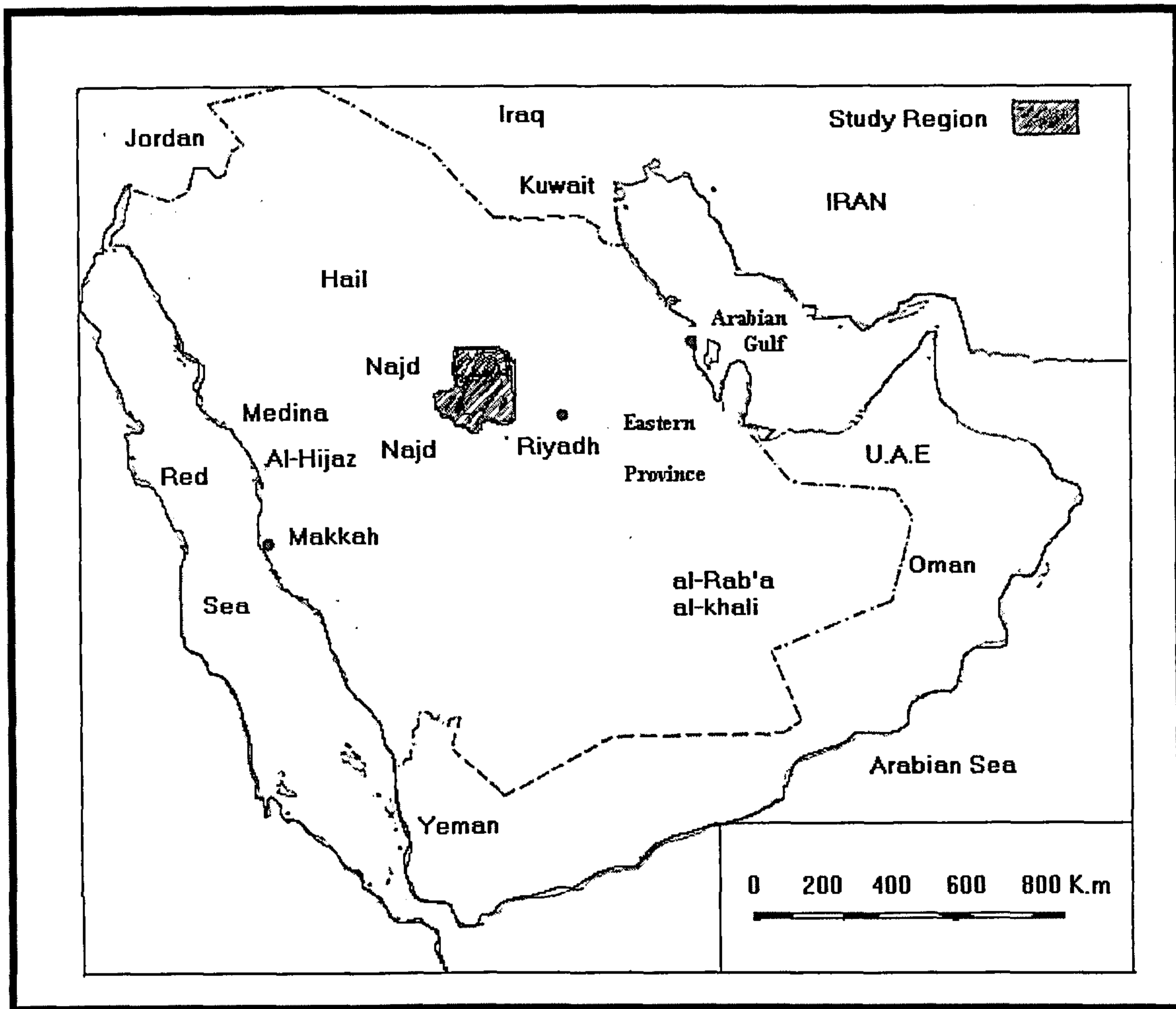


Figure 3.4. Al-Duwadmi Region (the Study Area)

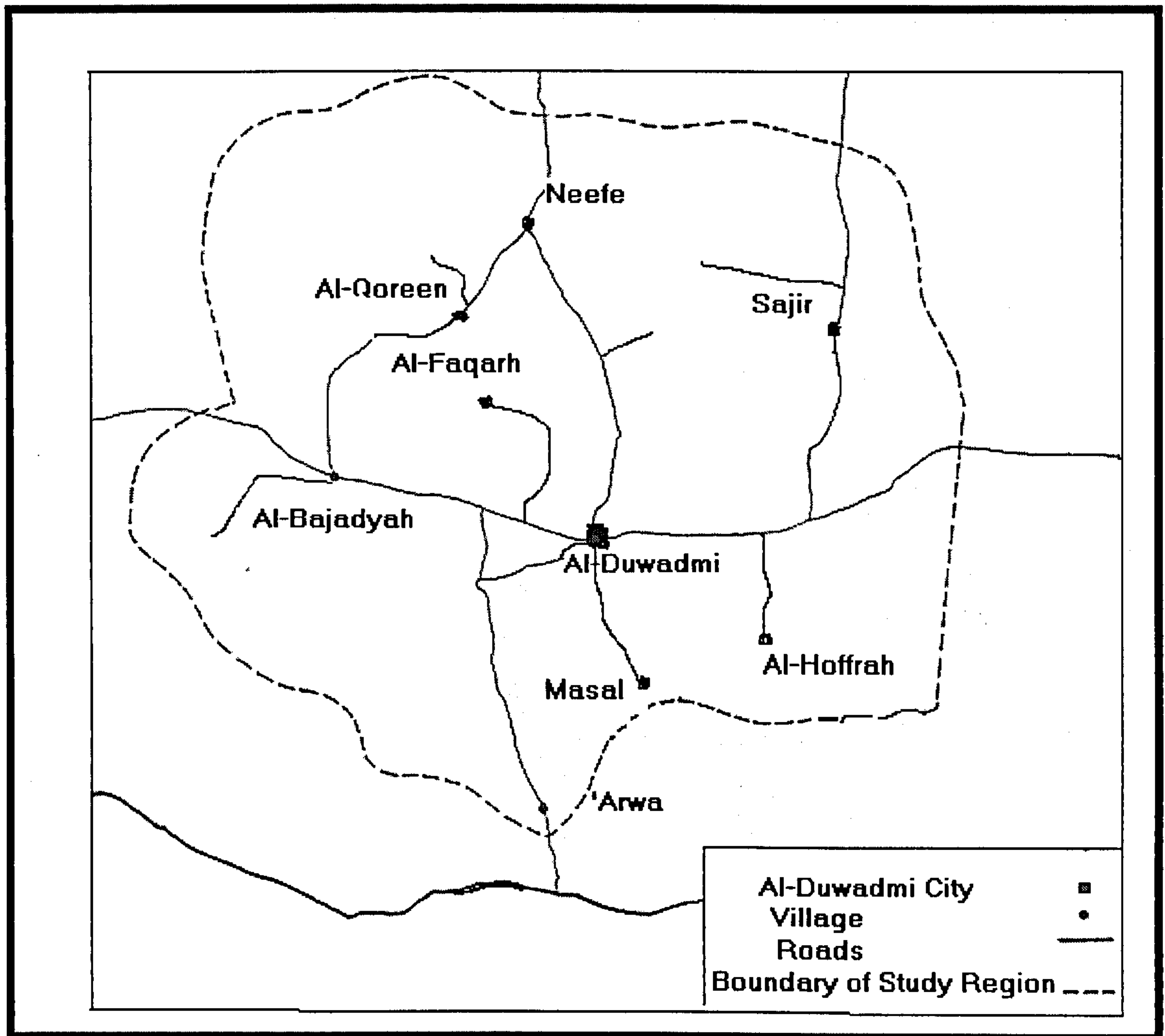


Table 3. 1 List of tribal settlements in Al-Duwadmi region

	H IJRAS**	INHABITANT***	TRIBE		H IJRAS	INHABITANT	TRIBE
1	ABU-JLAL	DAMASEN	'Utaiba	48	ALRASHWEA	THABATAH	'Utaiba
2	ABU-KASHBA	NOFAAH	'Utaiba	49	RGALH	HOFAH	'Utaiba
3	ABU-RKEB	DAMASEN	'Utaiba	50	ARAFEE	MAGEERAH	'Utaiba
4	ABU-ARENA	NOFAAH	'Utaiba	51	ARAFEE	BANI ZEED	BANIZEED
5	ABU-ASHRAH	DLABEHAH*	'Utaiba	52	ARAFEE	DLABEHAH*	'Utaiba
6	ARTWEHLET	GOBEAT	'Utaiba	53	ALRAFEH	MAGEERAH	'Utaiba
7	ARTWERQAS	RQAS	'Utaiba	54	ALROGEBAH	GOBEAT	'Utaiba
8	ARTWEHMED	HMMED	'Utaiba	55	ALROMETHI	OTAN	'Utaiba
9	ARTWEMUTRA	SUOB	MUTER	56	ALRESHAH	OTAN	'Utaiba
10	AFGERA	ROSAN	'Utaiba	57	ZOUFARANH	GOBEAT	'Utaiba
11	ALATHLH	MUTRAN	MUTER	58	SAJIR	HANATISH	'Utaiba
12	AMALQATA	HOZMAN	'Utaiba	59	SARAORAH	OBEAT	'Utaiba
13	AMABEED	OTAN	'Utaiba	60	ALSAKRAN	BNI TMEM	BNITMIM
14	AMZAMOU	DLABEHAH*	'Utaiba	61	SLAM	GOBEAT	'Utaiba
15	AMSAEHAH	THAALBH	'Utaiba	62	SLESAAN	SLASAH	'Utaiba
16	AMSLEEM	KARBEEH	'Utaiba	63	ALSLESYAH	SLASAH	'Utaiba
17	AMTLAHAH	DLABEHAH*	'Utaiba	64	SAHALH	DLABEHAH*	'Utaiba
18	AMTLEEHAH	HASHMAN	'Utaiba	65	ASHABRMEH	BANI ZEED	BANIZED
19	AMATHAKEEL	ROSAN	'Utaiba	66	SHBERMEAH	NOFAAH	'Utaiba
20	OTHELAN	MUTRAN	MUTER	67	SHARRARH	NOFAAH	'Utaiba
21	OTHELAN	MUUQTAH	'Utaiba	68	ALSHAARA	BANI ZEED	BANIZED
22	OTHAH	BRAREEG	'Utaiba	69	ASHAFLHEH	MUTRAN	MUTER
23	AL-BAJADEEH	NOFAAH	'Utaiba	70	ALSHAEBH	ROSAN	'Utaiba
24	BAHAR	NOFAAH	'Utaiba	71	ALSLEHAH	DLABEHAH*	'Utaiba
25	BDAEBOJLAL	DAMASEN	'Utaiba	72	SABAHA	DLABEHAH*	'Utaiba
26	BDAEHOMAN	DAAJEEN	'Utaiba	73	ALSADAA	NAHED	HURB
27	BDAEDLBHH	DLABEHAH*	'Utaiba	74	SAFAGAH	BANI ZEED	BANIZED
28	AL-BROOD	NAHED	HURB	75	SAQARH	NOFAAH	'Utaiba
29	ALTHAMALH	DLABEHAH*	'Utaiba	76	ALDAHAWEE	DAAJEEN	'Utaiba
30	JAFEEN	DWEERJ	HURB	77	ALTARFEAH	BANI ZEED	BANIZED
31	JAFNA	OTAN	'Utaiba	78	ALTARFAH	DLABEHAH*	'Utaiba
32	JHEMAH	NOFAAH	'Utaiba	79	TEENYAN	NAHED	'Utaiba
33	HUDEJAH	HANATISH	'Utaiba	80	ALTHEAREAH	DLABEHAH*	'Utaiba
34	HUDEJAH	MARSHDAH	'Utaiba	81	ALTHLMAWI	HOZMAN	'Utaiba
35	ALHOFNAH	NOFAAH	'Utaiba	82	ALTHREAH	QWAREI	'Utaiba
36	ALHOFERAH	DAAJEEN	'Utaiba	83	ALAZMEEAH	AWAZEEM	'Utaiba
37	HMROR	BANI ZEED	BANIZED	84	ALAMREAH	HOZMAN	'Utaiba
38	ALHANABEJ	MARSHDAH	'Utaiba	85	ABADAH	DLABEHAH*	'Utaiba
39	ALHEED	HANATISH	'Utaiba	86	ALABAAL	HANATISH	'Utaiba
40	ALKALDEAH	HOZMAN	'Utaiba	87	ABLLA	DLABEHAH*	'Utaiba
41	ALKOBAH	SHAHALH	'Utaiba	88	ARJA	HAMAMED	'Utaiba
42	KOREMAN	HANATISH	'Utaiba	89	ARWA	MOUGATH	'Utaiba
43	KOOF	THABATH	'Utaiba	90	AOREEDAH	DAAJEEN	'Utaiba
44	ALKOFEFEAH	HOFAH	'Utaiba	91	AREFEJAN	DAMASEN	'Utaiba
45	ADOMETHI	MUTRAN	MUTER	92	ASELAH	HOFAH	'Utaiba
46	AL-DUWADMI	MIXED	MIXED	93	ASELAH	NOFAAH	'Utaiba
47	ALRAJEHEAH	HOZMAN	'Utaiba	94	ASELAHNEER	MOHEA	'Utaiba

Table 3.1 List of tribal settlements in Al-Duwadmi region

	H IJRAS**	INHABITANT***	TRIBE		H IJRAS	INHABITANT	TRIBE
95	ASHERTMKMER	DLABEHAH*	'Utaiba	132	KAHLAH	HOZMAN	'Utaiba
96	ASHERAN	MUTRAN	MUTER	133	LAHEE	OTAN	'Utaiba
97	ASAM	DLABEHAH*	'Utaiba	134	LWEFEYAH	OTAN	'Utaiba
98	ASMAA	THAWIHLAL	'Utaiba	135	MASAL	DAAJEEN	'Utaiba
99	ALATAWI	ATAWI	'Utaiba	136	MUHMMDEI	ROSAN	'Utaiba
100	ALAGRABEYAH	QWAZEEN	'Utaiba	137	MUHAWI	GOBEYAT	'Utaiba
101	ALUQLAH	GAWERI	'Utaiba	138	MUDARAA	WAZEEM	'Utaiba
102	ALOGESHAH	THAWIMFREJ	'Utaiba	139	MSAWI	GOBEYAT	'Utaiba
103	ALALOAH	TAKEES	BANIZED	140	MASTAJEDH	NOFAAH	'Utaiba
104	ALALWH	NOFAAH	'Utaiba	141	MSHASH	GOBEYAT	'Utaiba
105	ANNZ	HANATISH	'Utaiba	142	MSHRFAH	DLABEHAH*	'Utaiba
106	AWADH	HOZMAN	'Utaiba	143	MSHRFAH	HOFAH	'Utaiba
107	AEENBRAJAH	HOZMAN	'Utaiba	144	MASHRFAH	RASHEEDH	RASHEDI
108	AEENSWEENA	RASHEEDH	RASHEDI	145	MASHREEF	ATWEEM	ATWEEM
109	AEENGANOUR	RASHEEDH	RASHEDI	146	MSHAWAH	MUTRAN	MUTER
110	QATHA	OTAN	'Utaiba	147	MUSEEDAH	ROSAN	'Utaiba
111	GASSAL	OTAN	'Utaiba	148	MASLWOM	NOFAAH	'Utaiba
112	FRDAH	MOUQATH	'Utaiba	149	MSEBEEHH	DWASER	DWASER
113	ALFQARAH	MAGEERAH	'Utaiba	150	MTRABAH	MGAEERAH	'Utaiba
114	ALFEEDAH	HABRDYAH	'Utaiba	151	MATREBAH	DLABEHAH*	'Utaiba
115	ALFEEDAH	NWAFEEL	NWAFEL	152	MOGEEB	ASAEEDAH	'Utaiba
116	FEDATJFNA	OTAN	'Utaiba	153	MOGERAA	DAAJEEN	'Utaiba
117	FEDATHLEET	GOBEYAT	'Utaiba	154	MLGA	MUTRAN	MUTER
118	FEDATKAF	THABTAH	'Utaiba	155	MOLEENEAH	OSAMAH	'Utaiba
119	FEDATSURORH	HOZMAN	'Utaiba	156	MONEFAH	OTAN	'Utaiba
120	FEDATSLAM	OTAN	'Utaiba	157	JAHAM	DLABEHAH*	'Utaiba
121	FEDATQWZEEN	NOFAAH	'Utaiba	158	MHEDAH	HERSHAN	RASHEDI
122	FEDATMOFAS	DAAJEEN	'Utaiba	159	ALNBWAN	MGAEERAH	'Utaiba
123	ALQAEEAH	HOFAH	'Utaiba	160	NAJAK	DLABEHAH*	'Utaiba
124	ALGARNAH	HABRDYAH	'Utaiba	161	NEFEE	THABATAH	'Utaiba
125	ALQRARH	HABRDYAH	'Utaiba	162	ALNAGAAH	GOBEYAT	'Utaiba
126	ALQUREEN	DLABEHAH*	'Utaiba	163	ALWADEE	THAWIKAYB	RASHEDI
127	ALGRENEN	GOBEAT	'Utaiba	164	ALWASEDA	DLABEHAH*	'Utaiba
128	QASERAKSHAN	MUTRAN	MUTER	165	ALWTAH	DAAJEEN	'Utaiba
129	ALQAARH	DLABEHAH*	'Utaiba	166	ABNTWELI	WAZEEM	'Utaiba
130	QWEEAN	THABTAH	'Utaiba	167	ALHMJAH	DLABEHAH*	'Utaiba
131	KABSHAN	MRASHDAH	'Utaiba	168	WADKA	BWAHEEL	BAHEELI

* **AL-DLABEHAH*** this is a sub-clan of 'Utaiba tribe. They have 23 Hamlets in Al-Duwadmi region, most of them located near each other.

** **HIJRAS**, Some of them are villages, for example **SAJIR**, **ALGREEN**, **MASAL**, though most are hamlets, and there is one city, **AL-DUWADMI** (Al-Takees, 1992,p55-65).

*** **INHABITANT**: Each village represents a cluster of inhabitants of the same family / clan group. The names in this column, therefore, indicate the family / clan that inhabits each village.

3.6.2 Administrative Functions

Al-Duwadmi city is the centre of all the government agencies, as well as of most of the commercial activities. It has the following administrative functions:

Markaz Mohafathat Al-Duwadmi (the Emirate of the province of Al-Duwadmi). This Emirate controls 85 *Markaz* (centres), and is the administrative headquarters for these settlements or villages (see Table 3.2). The Emirate's centre is Al-Duwadmi city. It is administered by the governor (Emir) and his staff, reporting directly to the regional Governor of Riyadh.

Alshartah (The Police Station), which serves a larger area than Al-Duwadmi itself, extending over all the villages and settlements in the region. The police keep order in the area, provide public security, and assist the Emir in various matters. The police stations in the whole area are connected administratively to the Emirate, which means a measure of power is concentrated in the hands of the local administrators.

Altaleem (education services) for Al-Duwadmi region. As in other parts of the Arabian peninsula, education was originally limited to religious teachings, for example, reading the holy Qur'ān and stories about the prophet, and learning the Arabic alphabet. This was done in *katatib*, classes being held by volunteer teachers.

Education has, however, attracted a good deal of attention through the implementation of the successive five-year development plans. Al-Duwadmi's share in 1990 was 152 boys' schools and 192 girls' schools, covering primary, intermediate and secondary stages (see Tables 3.3 and 3.4). Primary schools were the most widespread, but there were 11 secondary schools for girls and 13 for boys. In the field of girls' education, some achievements have been accomplished. For example the number of schoolgirls at all levels increased from 6,623 in 1983 to 16,215 in 1990.

Table 3. 2 Markaz (Centres Under Control of Al-Duwadmi Emirate)

	Markaz	C		Markaz	C		Markaz	C		Markaz	C
1.	Sajir	A	23	Adometh	A	45	Ashafiheh	B	68	Aeensweena	B
2.	Nefee	A	24	Al-Bajadeeh	A	46	Mushrefah	B	69	ArtaweRqas	B
3.	Arwa	A	25	Alshaara	B	47	Mneah	B	70	Asmaa	B
4.	Al-Jmsh	A	26	Assir	B	48	Althireah	B	71	Am zamou	B
5.	Markaz	A	27	Artawe	B	49	Alkaldeah	B	72	Jafeen	B
6.	Masal	A	28	Alsakran	B	50	Koreman	B	73	Alkofefeah	B
7.	Arafaee	A	29	Alqureen	B	51	Asheran	B	74	Othelan	B
8.	Arja	A	30	Al-Brood	B	52	Mastajedh	B	75	Ashrtmkmer	B
9.	Alhoferah	A	31	Al-Athlaah	B	53	Matawe	B	76	Albraah	B
10.	Koof	A	32	Afgera	B	54	Alnbwan	B	77	Alalwah	B
11.	Museedah	A	33	Alrashwea	B	55	Fedatmofas	B	78	Althlmawi	B
12.	Artwehilet	A	34	Aen Alganuor	B	56	Alwadee	B	80	Aburkab	B
13.	Algararh	A	35	Mogeraa	B	57	Aoreedah	B	81	Alwtah	B
14.	Abujlal	A	36	Aluqlah	B	58	Awadah	B	82	Aseelah	B
15.	Kabshan	A	37	Alabaal	B	60	Asaam	B	83	Mashreef	B
16.	Aseelah	A	38	Alheed	B	61	Annz	B	84	altsreer	B
17.	Shbermeh	A	39	Arefejan	B	62	Amradamah	B	85	shararh	B
18.	Othah	A	40	Aratwe	B	63	Jafna	B			
19.	Monefah	A	41	Bdaeye	B	64	Hudejah	B			
20.	Artawejaded	A	42	Alfqarah	B	65	Saraorah	B			
21.	Jaham	A	43	Alhofnah	B	66	Najak	B			
22.	Amsleem	A	44	Aleea	B	67	Mogeeb	B			

Markaz (centre name) C (Category)
 These Markazs Have Two Categories A & B.

Table 3. 3 Development of Student Enrolment, 1983-1990.

Years	Boys		Girls	
	Schools	Students	Schools	Students
1983	103	7463	116	6623
1988	113	10457	184	13474
1990	152	15769	192	16215

Table 3. 4 Education Provision in AL-Duwadmi, 1989-1990

Years	Boys				Girls			
	1989		1990		1989		1990	
	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students
1	77	8160	99	11318	143	11457	143	11991
2	28	1872	42	3266	30	2330	31	2714
3	07	799	11	1185	12	888	13	1181
4	00	00	00	00	05	348	05	329
	112	10831	152	15769	190	15023	192	16215

1-Primary 2-Elementary 3-Secondary 4- Teacher Training Institutions

Alsahah (Health service). In the past, Al-Duwadmi like other regions in Saudi Arabia in general had no health care facilities. People at that time depended on traditional medicine, for example herbal remedies, cauterisation and religious medicine conducted by the sheikh⁴ who recited verses from the Qur'ān over the sick person.

Progress has been achieved in the health services in Saudi Arabia during the last decade, the first primary health centre to serve Al-Duwadmi being established in the region in 1967. Now, Al-Duwadmi region has 51 health centres. In 1990, the number of hospital beds across all the villages reached 270. However, people with serious illnesses have to go to hospitals and specialist clinics in larger cities such as Al-Duwadmi or Riyadh. The Saudi government policy is based on providing free health services.

Almhkamah (district court). In the past, the majority of cases were judged by *al-'Urf* (traditional or local customary law) which is derived from Islamic law (see chapter seven). The first primary district court to serve Al-Duwadmi was established in the region in 1936. Now, there are 25 district courts in this region to serve all the hamlets and villages. The judges in these district courts are responsible for the administration of *al-Shariy'ah* Law and provision of legal services for all Saudi citizens and immigrants. They report to the Ministry of Justice in Riyadh.

Aldfa'a Almadani (The Civil Defence Centre). There are five centres serving Al-Duwadmi region, distributed in various villages. These centres deal with fires, and are responsible to the Ministry of Interior in Riyadh.

⁴A Sheikh is a person who knows the Qur'ān. Usually he is the *Ammam* (a person who leads the prayers) of the Mosque.

Albank Alzaraaee (the Saudi Agriculture Credit Bank). Most of Al-Duwadmi region is agricultural. Because of its rich water resources, and fertile land. Alhoferah, Aldahawee, Althandwah, Sajir, Asser, Algrnah and Naffe are all agricultural centres.

In the past there were a few farms composed of small separated fields. These farms depended on infrequent rainfall. Other farmers had to dig wells by hand, and even they did not always find water. Various methods were used to get water from wells. Some people used *Dalo* (a small bucket) to draw water from wells (see chapter six), and other farmers used *Sawani*, the old method of irrigation whereby water was drawn by camels harnessed to pulleys. This method was used until about twenty-five years ago when camel power was replaced by pumps (Alomari, 1993, p148).

A huge change took place in Al-Duwadmi region, when the Saudi Agricultural Credit Bank (SACB) was established in 1960 with a branch in Al-Duwadmi and two sub-branches, one in the village of Sajir and the second in the village of Neffe. SACB grant short, intermediate and long-term interest-free loans to finance investment and operations in various agricultural projects. This makes it possible for farmers to obtain new technology and equipment, such as tractors, ploughing machines, pumps, chemical fertilizers and seedlings etc. In the quantitative study, it will be seen how SACB has affected Beduw people such as the 'Utaiba tribe.

Albank Alaagari (the Real Estate Development Fund). The REDF grants loans to people to build modern houses, in line with the government policy of improving housing conditions across the whole country. Lancaster describes this change as follows:

In 1978 the pace increased. The Saudi government, more in an attempt to share the national wealth with the relatively impoverished Beduw than to induce them to settle, handed out grants of up to 300,000 Saudi Riyals (47,000 Pounds) to each head of household to enable them to build houses. As a result the desert around Turayf, Ar-Ar, Sakaka and Jauf is dotted with imposing villas in varying stages of completion (Lancaster, 1981,p109).

The REDF was established in 1974. The availability of a loan from REDF to each Saudi national to build a house has had a great impact on settlements. In the case of the 'Utaiba tribe, for example, whereas in the past the majority of them were nomadic, most of them have now built their own houses through loans from the REDF. This is an important factor in the increasing number of modern houses in Al-Duwadmi region.

Al-Baladyah (The Municipality) This was established in 1965 in Al-Duwadmi city, and administers all the affairs of all the villages, settlements and hamlets in the area. The Municipality functions relate to town planning, electrical power, roads, sanitation and the issuing of permits for all matters relating to construction and commercial activities. At present, in some villages or hamlets, its primary functions are providing streetlights, keeping the public areas clean, and developing ideas for town planning. The Municipality is attached to the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs in Riyadh.

3.6.3 Infrastructure

In Al Duwadmi, changes have occurred in recent years in the provision of infrastructure.

For example:

Transportation:

Before 1924, people of this area, like the people in other parts of the peninsula, had no cars, and relied on camels, horses and donkeys both within the area and in travelling to and from neighbouring countries (Alomari, 1993,p159). At present, Al Duwadmi region has a large road network, with major roads linking its villages and Al-Duwadmi city, Moreover, there are links between the west of the Kingdom and the centre of Saudi Arabia. Al-Duwadmi is also well placed between major urban markets like Riyadh, Qasim and Jeddah.

Communications:

In the past there were no formal communication services in the region. People had to communicate face-to face or could employ a messenger called a *Marsol* or *Taresh*, to carry their news by a *Maktuob* (letter) or deliver a verbal message. If the message was urgent, people might send the message by a fast camel or horse. Makhled Alqathami said:

yrakeeb hamraan taboj ashaeb allal
tahwei kama yhwee fareed aldamei
ameleten fee masheaha trmei rmalei
ameleten men gateat almatamei

“I have chosen the best and quickest way to send my news- a man, riding a golden camel, which will run without stopping and cover the distance quickly” (Al-Oseami, 1997, p663).

However, as the tribes and towns were unified, King Ibn Saud wanted to stabilise the country and assure its security. In 1926 he sent a contingent of young men to the United Kingdom for training in communications (Alomari, 1993,p159). In 1930, the first post office was established and in 1935, the first telegraph station was established in Al Duwadmi city, along with others in different areas in the kingdom (Al-Takees, 1992,p144). Many people rejected this new technology, but after the ‘*Ulama* ruled that it did not conflict with their Islamic customs, they accepted it and came to realise the advantages of information exchange between areas.

At present, most of the villages and hamlets in the region have communication services. Moreover, in Al Duwadmi region, there are two Saudi Arabian television channels and some people have satellite television.

Water Supplies

As mentioned before, people in the past depended on well water or rainfall, and used traditional technology. However, most villages and hamlets now have a government water supply and huge water storage and distribution stations have already been built, to supply water at a low price. This can be expected to make an enormous difference to living conditions and means of livelihood.

3.7. Conclusion

As this chapter has shown, the 'Utaiba originated in Al-Hijaz in the centre of Saudi Arabia, but moved to Najd in the early nineteenth century in search of water and more fertile rangelands to support their growing number. They are a large and powerful tribe who, historically, played a significant role in the unification of the kingdom. There are many today that still enjoy special privileges and positions of influence because of their descent from those Ikhwan who became loyal supporters of Ibn Saud.

The organization of the 'Utaiba, like that of any Arab tribe, is complex, the tribe being divided into two main sub-tribes and, thence, into clans and sub-clans, lineage, extended family groups and finally, nuclear families.

The 'Utaiba, like other Beduw, have undergone a gradual settlement process, from the early Ikhwan settlements founded for religious reasons, through a period of (largely unsuccessful) planned settlement schemes, to the recent stage of spontaneous settlement to reap the benefits of socio-economic development under a series of five-year plans.

Much of the region of study consists of numerous scattered villages and hamlets, though there is a city, Al-Duwadmi, which is the administrative centre of the region. Through

local officials and institutions reporting to the central administration in Riyadh, the people of the area are provided with education, health care, law courts and municipal services. There are road links connecting the various settlements of the region, as well as connecting the region to the centre of Saudi Arabia. Postal and telephone communications are provided and the region is served by two Saudi television channels, as well as having access to other channels by satellite. Other notable developments in the region in recent years have been the availability of loans for domestic and agricultural purposes, and the provision of water supply, reducing dependence on seasonal rainfall or traditional wells. The provision of improved infrastructure and facilities might be expected to have a significant impact on lifestyles in the region. The nature and extent of such impact will be explored in later chapters.

Chapter Four
Factors That Have Affected Saudi Society and
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Chapter Four

Factors That Have Affected Saudi Society and Influenced Changes

4.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to shed some light on the factors that have been identified as stimulating change within societies, and the applicability of these factors to the Saudi case as noted in previous literature. This will provide a framework for examining change in the present study, as well as a basis of comparison, so that any changes found in the present study can be seen in relation to changes in other periods and other societies.

The chapter is divided into two main sections. The first, more general section, outlines some theories regarding internal and external factors that may give rise to social change, and shows how these have been explored in a variety of studies in societies other than Saudi Arabia. The second section examines groups of factors – Technology, Education, Religion,etc- and presents existing research evidence on their occurrence in Saudi Arabia.

4.2. General Perspectives on Factors of Change

This section examines the general factors that lead to change in communities or tribal societies, since there are factors that can be considered as a reference domain that can be utilised in the analysis of the findings of this study. A number of efforts have been made to interpret social change and recognise the factors that lead to such change, whether such factors were internal, external or both. Some studies have asserted that the most significant

factors that lead to change in society emerge from the society itself, such as factors related to increase in population and immigration. However, such internal factors do not negate the existence of other important external factors, which are considered auxiliary factors that may encourage or impede change. In fact, examination of factors that lead to change in society shows that such change cannot be attributed to one factor alone, whether it is internal or external. Various factors contribute, whether directly or indirectly, and some will be more apparent than others. Some researchers place more significance on one factor than on others due to the direct influence of such a factor in the change of society.

Redfield (1962) discussing his study of a Mexican village, Chan Kom, published under the title "A village that chose progress", attributes the aspects of change to two main groups of factors:

Firstly, the external factors: These are represented in cultural influences and their consequences in long-term change, which in the society studied, were in turn reflected in following the instructions of the state. This enabled the villages in question to adopt many cultural forms, such as establishing schools, a post office, or a mechanical mill; such factors changed their lifestyle from the one they were used to. Additionally, the roads and the cultural centres, which were established, helped in supplying people of the village with the means of education and entertainment.

Secondly, internal factors: These played an important part in inducing change, as they made the inhabitant more willing to improve their livelihood and style of life.

Thus, although Redfield highlights the significance of external factors in explaining societal change, this does not mean that he ignores the impact of internal factors in this change. In fact, he places the same significance on both, recognizing that the locals also have a positive influence on change and development.

Yang Kun (1959), in his study of a Chinese village, asserted that the people in the village accepted change and in fact they were influenced by it collectively. They considered change as part of national development. Moreover, recognition of the mutual relationships between the village and the local society was very important for understanding the traditional type of life and at the same time for shedding light on the changes that were taking place. The change identified by Yang came predominantly from a significant external factor, represented in the implementation of the policy of land reform and the measures that accompany such reform. These were long-range changes, upon which the system of collectivisation, i.e., the establishment of Cooperative Farms to replace Family Farms was established. The family had been the sole possessor of the means of production. It was on this basis that the family played an important role in the public and private life of the individual. However, the system of collective labour, which usurped the land from the family and made it an essential part of production, had tremendous impact on social and economic factors. Nevertheless, Yang stressed the impact of the adjacent town, Canton, the capital of the province Kwangtung, which was going through a period of economic development, which ultimately resulted in the use of the mechanical means of production. Yang also described the means that facilitated that transfer and the contact with the village, and showed the significance of the mutual interaction between the village and the wider society, of which the village is part.

Al-Suwadi (1986) studied a group of the Touareg, the Al-Haggar Beduw in Algeria, some of whom had settled at Tamanrasset oasis and some in the Sahara.

The study shows that there has been ecological change in the society, which in turn has brought huge change in the society's economy. These changes were the result of oil companies, agriculture projects, and the distribution of farmland. Other factors included

roads, transportation and an increase of migration to Tamnrasset, the capital city of Al-Haggar region. The researcher noted that when the Beduw migrate to a settlement they go directly to their relatives who are living there, in order to get their help to find a job. According to their customs and social values, they stay with them as guests until they find jobs.

Despite that change, the Beduw still continue to practise camel breeding, because, firstly, the camels have social value, and secondly, they are economically important to the Beduw. The other continuity is that if there are problems or conflicts between relatives, they will go to elderly and religious persons to try to solve their problem, because according to their customs it is shameful to go directly to the police. But if the problem or conflict is with a foreign person, then they go to the police station. Finally, continuity is clear in the wearing of *al-Letham* (a veil worn by males). The Touareg Beduw continue to wear *al-Ltham* because it has social value among the Touareg, and keeping *al-Letham* is symbolic of social status among them.

Abass (1981) gives an account of the changing social and political structure of the Hassaniya and Hissinat, two Sudanese Arabic speaking tribes inhabiting the northern part of the White Nile province in the Sudan. He explores the ecological and economic factors, which affected the changing pattern of socio-political relations of two interlocking structures, the lineage and the polity that accompanied the inauguration of the Jabel Awliya Dam development scheme in 1937. In doing so, he consciously seeks to give priority to ecological and economic factors as determinants of individual loyalties and interests to redress what he sees as a tendency to overemphasize the normative or ideological representations that are cast in the idiom of common genealogies and agnatic kinship.

He tries to relate and to account for socio-political change at all levels of analysis in terms of “grass-roots” changes in economy and ecology which inevitably direct the individual’s interest in a manner different from what it was before. Thus, a main pre-occupation of this analysis is to show that the lineage is a corporate and differentiated structure, incompatible with centralized or dominant political power, with its basis in the environmental context, ecological and economic, which made cooperation necessary and wider group loyalties indispensable.

He notes how the Dam and the agricultural schemes changed those factors underlying the traditional fluctuating pattern of agricultural production by making them, through technology, more controllable.

He also notes how post-Dam conditions have broken down the lineage into various smaller units, occupying different sides of a wide river, deriving their livelihood from different schemes and in some cases, having different modes of livelihood.

Ammar (1954) in his study of the Egyptian village, Silwa, indicated the significance of the mutual relationships in the village and the Egyptian national society, in line with the developments Egyptian society had gone through. These include cultural influences that made it inevitable to communicate with the West; additionally, there were other religious and parliamentarian reform movements, and the spread of education and industry. These factors have ultimately influenced the village of Silwa, and led to change. Ammar also showed the direct impact of the neighbouring city, as villagers were keen to imitate the type of life they witnessed in the city.

A study by **Ghaith** (1967) in Al-Qitoun village in Egypt, suggested that increase in the population was the major factor that resulted in the first segment of change, as the

imbalance between the size of the population and the area of the land led to a lower standard of living, and ultimately migration. Thus, the economic factor, which represents the relationship between the inhabitants and the land, should be considered as an internal matter and a motive for change. The second segment encompassed externally driven changes that took place as a result of the increase in the relationship between one village and other villages, cities, or governments (Ghaith, 1967, p.111-113).

Asmaeyl (1984), in another Egyptian study, regarded change as attributable to external factors, represented in State enterprises, but he thought some internal factors should be considered and not disregarded, as they have played a part in initiating change. Firstly, the natural environment, for instance, cannot be disregarded, as an element that leads to change. The continuous clash between the traditional man and his hard environment led to migrations, particularly seasonal ones, at times of drought, in search of means of subsistence, water, grass etc. Such migrations brought communication with other cultures of other people and dealings with other people (give and take). Later on, when the migrants returned to their original land, they brought some characteristics of other cultures that they acquired through contact. As waves of migrations continued, the process was repeated. With the passing of time, such waves of repeated migrations led to the formation of strong relationships with the inhabitants of other regions, and in some instances, these communication activities led to affinity. Thus, it can be said that the natural environment was a factor in change as seasonal migrants retained many of the cultural characteristics that prevailed in the lands which received the Beduw.

Secondly, there was a significant internal factor that led to change. This factor was social readiness or acceptance. Change is often seen as a response on the part of the Beduw to intentional development plans. However, that response is primarily attributable to the fact

that the majority of these changes have helped the people to a great extent to overcome environmental problems. This could be seen as the most important motive that induced people to accept many of the changes. However, this does not mean that there were not difficulties in the way of change, such as tribal fanaticism, ignorance, and wariness or distrust of the new situation, which could lead to resistance to change. The elderly, in particular, are known to resist change; they do not want anything new. Asmaeyl noted that they wanted to conserve their tradition, as they preferred living in tents and mud houses, since these are convenient to the desert life, where they were completely open and free. They saw modern buildings as a restriction on the freedom of the individual, especially as they cannot be adjusted to cope with changes in the weather, or wind direction. Asmaeyl regarded such resistance as more apparent in the Beduw. As an example, he cited their strong opposition to birth control, which they view as going against the Creator. It also runs counter to tribal tradition, where women are accorded status according to the number of children they bear (Asmaeyl, 1984, p. 85-87).

The above studies in **Mexico, China, Algeria, Sudan and Egypt** in some cases stressed the influence of external factors and regarded them the most important stimulus for social change, while others considered internal factors as instigators of change. Factors identified include political ideology, environment, economic and religion.

From the background to Saudi Arabia given in chapters one and three, it will already be evident that similar have existed there, e.g. the union in 1744 between the religious reformer Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab and Mohammed Ibn Saud, tribal migrations and territories, Saudi unification in 1932, the Stages of settlement, and government developments plans. The following section, however, will look more closely at specific change factors in the Saudi context.

4.3. Factors that have affected Saudi Society and influenced Changes

Saudi society, as a significant part of international society, is influenced by it and influences it in turn. Saudi society has become increasingly open to the international and world communities. Thus, many changes and developments in the lives of the Saudi people had to happen with regard to social relationships or with regard to family, place and the behaviour of individuals. We can trace some of these changes as follows:

With regard to social relations amongst individuals themselves and families there has been a trend to greater individualism and desire for independence, whether with regard to the style of life or the economic aspect. In this regard, particularly amongst women, a tendency towards paying attention to clothes and make-up, to assert their rights in choosing their husbands and to go out to work is discernible (Al-Juwayer, 1999, p.20), although some studies assert that Saudi males still favour their wives being housewives and themselves as the breadwinners, i.e., the first job that a woman should do is to take care of her house and children (Saad, 1989).

With regard to individual behaviour, what happened was that the Saudi society was open to the outside world, whether through travel and tourism to various different countries or through the employment of foreign nationals in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Meanwhile, the economic aspect has increased commerce, investment and income levels (Al-Juwayer, 1999, p.20).

Below, the researcher will discuss these principal factors, in relation to change occurring among the Beduw tribes in Saudi Arabia.

4.3.1 The Economic Factor: 'Oil'

There is a consensus amongst researchers who are interested in the study of societal change that the economic factor is one of the main factors in speeding that change. The economic theory interprets such a process of change on the basis of the economic structure of the society; that is, the impact of the material aspect in the social field. To a large extent, economic factors influence the shaping of social life; their impact is clear in the formation of groups and in the political and moral livelihood of a society, as well as in its culture in general (Al-Douqis, 1987, p.137).

Anyone who traces the stages of change in the Saudi society finds that these can be divided into two significant points: firstly, the stage prior to the discovery of oil, i.e., the stage of the establishment of the third Saudi State, by King Abd al-Aziz Ibn Abd al-Rahman Al-Faisal, the stage of settlement of the Beduw tribes and their adaptation to the new way of life; and secondly, the post-oil phase.

4.3.1.1 Firstly, the stage prior to the discovery of oil

Before the discovery of oil, the population of the country suffered from extreme poverty and was relatively isolated, especially the region of Najd (central Saudi Arabia). Cash was not easily available. The main source of national revenue was *Zakat*, which was usually paid in kind; the economy of Saudi Arabia was based primarily on pilgrimage taxation, the export of camels and horses, and the sale of dates.

Inhabitants initially depended on a pastoral economy and subsistence agriculture. The Beduw's main sources of income were livestock, and from *al-khowah* (tribute) and from

Ghazu (raids). In fact, these two kinds of *al'Urf* (traditional customary law) were before the unification of the country (in this research we will see if these kinds of *al'Urf* have continued or changed and, if they have been given up, why; for more detail, see chapters one and six), while villagers earned their living from subsistence agriculture. However, the discovery of oil changed the economy of the country and affected people's ways of life; we will see later how this change occurred among one particular tribe.

4.3.1.2 Secondly, the post-oil-era

The discovery of oil and its exploitation brought changes in both urban and rural society, but had a greater impact on the city life than on that of the Beduw. It brought changes to the lifestyle of the 'Utaiba tribe, who were suffering from poverty in Najd, so took the opportunity to find jobs. Many of them went to the eastern province to join Aramco (the oil company), as workers, drivers, and guards, and settled there until they retired. In 1940, Aramco started the first school and provided training for their Saudi employees.

Although such settlements should be seen as a first step in moving to the cities, in fact many Beduw make the change in one leap, going directly into a shack on the outskirts of Riyadh, Dhahran, Dammam or Jeddah. Their fellow tribesmen will help find them a home and a job, or they will take to taxi or lorry driving, which seem to be the preferred occupations because of the independence and mobility which they offer (Kay, 1982, p.173).

The Beduw tribes interact with, and respond to all social economic challenges that occur in their societies. This is seen observed in the Beduw living around the oil fields. They have adapted to the existing situation, even to the extent of becoming skilled workers in the oil industry (Al-Kahtani, 1996,p.149).

In 1956, an increase in the income of the country began to be evident. Foreign trade improved and as well as food supplies, construction materials were imported for building asphalt roads and other facilities. In the period between 1964 and 1972, the revenues from oil were increased six times to an estimated 2,744.6 million dollars in 1972. This gave a tremendous jump in the country's budget. By 1973 the oil revenues were estimated at 4,430 million dollars, rising to 22,573.5 million dollars in 1974 (Al-Ageili, 1986, p.65). The sudden influx of income from oil enabled the government to modernise the country, and it began to focus on several areas such as health, education, agriculture, urban planning and industry, under a series of 5-year development plans. For example, the government made large investments to build low-priced residential units, and established the Real Estate Development Fund (REDF) to extend easy loans to citizens to construct modern housing (see chapter three).

Thus, the discovery of oil changed the means of production, as the society was transferred from one that depended on the economics of daily life, such as cultivation, hunting, simple farming and limited trade, to a modern trading and industrialising society (Al-Khalifah, 1999, p.28).

In general, we can see the discovery and production of oil (see table 4.1) and the search for metals in the Arabian Peninsula as among the most significant factors that influenced the social and economic aspects of the tribal type of life, particularly amongst the tribes of the Arabian Peninsula, as they introduced the Beduw to the many benefits of economic prosperity

Modern labour has influenced the materialistic concept of life amongst the Beduw of the Arabian Peninsula and has brought a money economy to replace the system of bartering that previously prevailed in the region. Moreover, the discovery of oil has led to an

unprecedented phenomenon, that is, the waves of migration from the desert to the main centres of work, i.e. cities. This helped to establish a new generation of the Beduw who have become employed in administration in the oil sector.

Table 4. 1 Saudi Crude Oil Production and Reserves

Million Barrels					
Year	Reserves at the beginning of the year	Production	Gross increase in reserves	Reserves at year end	Production as % world production
1970	136,700	1,387	3,387	138,700	8.3%
1975	141,040	2,583	6,123	144,580	13.3%
1980	168,390	3,624	2,694	167,460	16.6%
1985	169,000	1,182	1,365	169,183	5.7%
1990	260,053	2,337	2,733**	260,449	9.0%

Note** Covers Saudi-Aramco only

Source: Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources and OPEC

In general, the process of diversifying the economy and other sectors of national life has brought changes to the position and the role of the tribes in Saudi society. However, Saudi people have in general retained a lot of their traditional values and customs, habits and have continued to be largely conservative (Al-Gamdi, 1994, p. 66).

4.3.2 Technology factor

The technological aspect is strongly associated with the cultural aspect in society. Studies of cultural change have stressed the significance of cultural contact amongst nations, particularly through media, whether visual or audio, such as radio, television, video and recently the Internet; in addition to modern means of transportation: air, marine and land. Through these means, cultures became closer to each other and mixed with each other. This mingling amongst cultures has had its positive and negative impact. Television in

particular has had a strong effect on familial and social relationships, even on the time of sleep, on internal relationships within the family unit, and on academic qualification, among others. (Al-Za'aer, 1987 p.206-216)

The Gulf states are considered major consumers of Western and Eastern technology, represented in the most modern machines, electronic devices and means of communication; These states have become linked to most international communities and come in contact with up-to-date technology, and new facilities have been introduced into all aspects of life, leading to rapid change. As a result, the Gulf workforces have started to engage in new professions related to the use of advanced technology, aided by foreign and Arab workforces (Al-Harawi, 1993, p92-93). So technology has left some clear impacts on the social, economic and cultural aspects of Saudi life (Al-Khreaajy, 1983, p165).

Communication has played a significant role in changing the style of life: thus the car has replaced the camel as the main means of transportation known to the tribes of the Arabian Peninsula. Also the establishment of the network of roads and the availability of cars have played an important role in increased mobility, and shortened the distance among the Beduw, making links between the Beduw and their relatives who are living in other societies, such as cities in the Arabian Gulf states. The Beduw can now travel to visit friends and relatives, or go to markets in cities at any time. Chatty wrote about such change among the 'Aneza tribe of Syria:

The shift from camel to truck was a key factor in not only creating new cooperative work patterns with the household, but also in increasing periods of leisure time. Among married and unmarried men leisure time is used to pursue new economic activities, more mobility, and visiting friends and distant kinsmen in Beirut (Chatty, 1978,p.412).

The car has played a crucial role in the Beduw's economic activities. It is increasingly becoming a regular feature of pastoral life in the Arabian peninsula (Cole, 1975, p.44). Cars are used instead of camels for transportation and for moving livestock to the market for sale. The Beduw do not need to migrate as a body from one place to another searching for pasture. Rather, with the use of cars, one or two men can take their livestock and move it a great distance in relatively short periods of time. The truck has reduced the marched migration between winter and summer pasture, which was once of several weeks' duration, to as little as a day's duration (Chatty, 1986).

Similarly, instead of the herd going around to look for drinking water, the livestock's owner uses his truck to carry water to the livestock. The herd no longer need to come back to the *Hijra* (settlement) for water; instead most of the time they continue in the desert near the grazing (Al-Haddad, 1981, p.239-240).

Communication was one of the weak points in relation to the Beduw society; thus the central authority of the state could control them and limit their transportation from one place to another. Since the authorities controlled the means of communication, Beduw could not practise their former activities with regard to crossing the desert and *Ghazu* (raid) between tribes (see chapter one).

The development of transportation, especially the road network, together with other social and public services, have also affected Beduw society. The construction of asphalt roads throughout the region passing through the traditional territory of the Beduw tribes has led to the establishment of many Beduw settlements along them. This factor modified the Beduw style of life as about 90% of the Beduw families now own a motor vehicle, truck or water-tanker (Al-Ageili, 1986,p.411).

Another way in which technology affected the Beduw societies, was through the introduction of modern agricultural processes. As mentioned earlier, the government has given priority to agriculture projects (see chapter three). Through the agriculture bank the government adopted a vast subsidising programme for providing interest-free loan and aids for agriculture projects. The government offers aid in the form of 50% of the cost of importing agricultural machinery, seeds, fertilisers and fodder. Agriculture in the country has been so rapidly developed, with production value second to petroleum (Al-Kahtani, 1996,p.35). The progress is shown in table 4.2.

Table 4. 2 Agricultural Development During 1970-1990

Description	1970	1990
Arable land (hectares)	150,000	2,300,000
Wheat Production (tonnes)	3,000	1,7000,000
Milk	5.0% consumer need	Self-sufficiency
Poultry	10.0% of Market Demand	Egg Exports and no need of chicken

Source: Ministry of Planning, 1991.

However, technology was not the only reason for change in the Arabian Peninsula. There was also great improvement in education and "moral culture", as will be seen.

4.3.3 Education Factor

As mentioned earlier, the early history of education in Saudi Arabia is the story of a few religious studies; these traditional study circles called *Katatib* (schools teaching Islamic studies, reading and writing), attended by a small proportion of the population, to gain knowledge of the Qur'ān and *Hadith* (see chapter three). However, at this stage those who could to write and read were few. As Ibn Saeed noted, in addition to *Katatibs*, there was

the folk knowledge of astronomy, which was necessary to follow the movement of the stars and progress of the seasons in order to know about pasture land and cultivation time. The most famous astronomer in Saudi Arabia was Rashid Al-Kallawi (Ibn Saeed, 1989, p. 58).

As mentioned earlier, the Beduw movement depended on the seasons of the year. They connected the ending of *al-Saif* (summer) to the rise of the star called *al-Suhail's*. During *al-Saif* time, the Beduw moved around their wells, but when *al-Suhail* appeared they started moving far away from the wells, because the weather started to get colder (for more detail see chapter one).

In addition to the above branches of knowledge or education, poetry was important, as AlOmari noted:

Poetry was also well known among the inhabitants since pre-Islamic time. However, it was not necessary for a poet to learn writing or reading. Poetry was an oral tradition passed through memorization from one generation to another. In some cases, poets had recourse to scribes from among a few people who could write, to document their poetry (AlOmari, 1993, p.79).

Thus, although many people of the Beduw could not write and read, they were expert in poetry, and it played an important role in many aspects of their lives. Several genres, such as didactic poetry, verse, elegiac poetry, love or erotic poetry, lyric, narrative and heroic poetry existed. Examples are known of people sending messages in poetic form, especially during the time of battles between tribes in Saudi Arabia. This occurred between the 'Utaiba and Qahtan tribe leaders in Najd (see the account of the tribe's history in chapter three. Section 3.2).

Formal education started in 1954. Before and at this time, the illiteracy rate was high throughout the whole country. From that time, the government started to pay greater attention to education, throughout the many regions in Saudi Arabia.

Lackner emphasized that an important factor in the process of spontaneous change, has been the opening of opportunities for the Beduw, which require a degree of education:

The Bedouin thus realizes that the only future for the younger generation lies in education, which will enable the children to gain access to some the wealth that is available in the Kingdom. Education will also help the young ensure a living their parents in old age (Lackner, 1978, p177)

From the beginning the Saudi government encouraged the Beduw to enroll in education, by paying them grants though early attempts were impeded by the Beduw movements, which prevented them from enrolling their children in school. Cole, in his study of the Murrah tribe noted that only three young men from the tribe were enrolled in secondary school (Cole, 1975).

The government arranged a summer campaign against illiteracy amongst the Beduw tribesmen every year. In addition, education was one of the important reasons behind Beduw settlement. The first application that Beduw make to the government when they settle is to open a school in their hamlet or village. As a result of education, youths leave the tribe's camps to seek employment in urban centres or get jobs in the nearby towns. Education strengthens the link between the Beduw and their settlements, because educated youths would not think of going to the nomadic way of life. By the 1980s, Beduw attitudes towards education had changed and at least 80% of the Beduw children were enrolled in school classes (Al-Ageili, 1986, p. 412-413).

Development of education in Saudi Arabia, has been very rapid. For example in 1970 there was only one college for educating girls and 17 female students, while in 1990 there were 15 colleges for girls and 1353 female students (Al-Hogail, 1994). Table 4.3 below gives an example of the development in educational provision.

**Table 4. 3 Schools, Colleges, Students and Teachers
During The Period 1983/84 – 1993/4**

Statement	Sex	1983-84	1993-94	% Growth
Schools and Colleges	<i>Male</i>	8460	10928	29.2%
	<i>Female</i>	6619	10725	62.0%
	<i>Total</i>	15079	21653	43.6%
Students	<i>Male</i>	1269177	2078629	63.8%
	<i>Female</i>	886583	1864506	110.3%
	<i>Total</i>	2155760	3943135	82.9%
Teachers	<i>Male</i>	82556	146314	77.2%
	<i>Female</i>	54669	147146	169.2%
	<i>Total</i>	137225	293460	113.9%

Source: The Ministry of Education, (1996), p.31

However, although education is very important in the Beduw life change, this factor is not the only one that has brought change among the tribal people in Saudi Arabia. There was also demographic development, as will be seen.

4.3.4 The Demographic Factor

By the demographic factor, is meant the factors related to inhabitants, that is their sex, population, the percentage of distribution per square kilometre, settlement, migration and marauding. These are amongst the factors that strongly influenced change in the society in the Arabian peninsula. The shortage of indigenous workers in the Arabian peninsula has

led to a large number of foreign employees coming into the Arabian Gulf. This phenomenon has had its impact on change in these societies (Al-Za'aer, 1987, p48).

As mentioned earlier, the Saudi population is 16,948,388; the number of Saudis is 12,310,053 representing 72,6% of the total population, and the number of non-Saudis is 4,638,335 representing 27,4% of total population (Ministry of Planning, 1996).

The demographic structure of the Saudi Arabia is characteristic of a developing country. The Saudi is a youthful population. Those under 15 years of age make up 49.23% of the population (United Nations, 1997, No, 9)

It should be noted that Saudi Arabia and other states where oil was discovered were characterised by a low level of density of inhabitants, living in deserts and arid lands, moreover, the inhabitants followed the Beduw type of life (those who lived in the desert in 1932 accounted for 60% of the population, compared with only 3% in 1990) (Al-Shethry, 1993,p.76); they were fanatical about their traditions and conventions, and had been isolated from the world outside their domain. Thus, those states had to employ workers from the neighbouring countries to do the technical jobs necessary, in the hope that those people would educate the locals to enable them do those jobs in the future. However, after the enormous increase of oil revenues and the ambitious development plans which were set in those states, the locals were still unwilling to meet the demand for labour; thus dependence on manpower from abroad has dramatically increased (Baqader, 1999). In other words there was no alternative for the government but to import foreign workers from different countries, in order to implement its the development projects. At the local level, when the Beduw obtained cars, they could not repair them. So they found themselves having to bring workers to repair their cars (Al-Remehi, 1984, P.162).

So in addition to the increase in the population of the country, the other factor of change is the increased overseas migration to the country. These immigrant workers have brought with them their life culture, which is different from the Saudi culture, so they affect and are affected by the Saudi society.

We can divide the workforce in terms of religion; into Muslims and non-Muslims, and in terms of language, into Arabic and non-Arabic speakers. Arabic speaking Muslim employees were more able to acclimatise to the cultural patterns that were prevalent in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The non-Muslim workers suffered from their inability to acclimatise to the different culture, particularly in the initial stages of arrival to the Kingdom, because these cultural forms were so strange to them; thus they were in a difficult situation and even faced some legal problems (Al-Juwayer, 1999, P.24).

During the 1970s a great number of expatriate workers were employed to work in both private and public divisions in Saudi Arabia. Even if the government gave priority to highly skilled workers to supply the shortfall in medical and technological sectors, the private sector had much less need of such professionals, particularly in the village regions. Alomari noted that the majority of the expatriates were working in agriculture, construction or shops, although these jobs do not need high qualifications.

However, in the Beduw settlements (villages) the social interaction between them and the foreign workers was very limited As Alomari states:

Their social interaction with the inhabitants of Hwylan was very limited. They formed small sub-groups, surrounded by a strongly religious and traditional society. They had very little or no effect on the values and customs of their host community. While they observed Saudi customs when appropriate, it seems unlikely that Saudi society had any deep or lasting effect on them (Alomari, 1993, 302).

However, although the demographic factor is very important in the Beduw life change, it is not the only factor that has brought change among the tribal people in Saudi Arabia. There was also the religious factor, as will be seen.

4.3.5 Religious Factor

As mentioned earlier, Saudi society has deep religious values which guide its basic culture. Saudi society was born from the religious and social reformer movement that was led by Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab and Muhammad Ibn Saud. Moreover, religion played important role in the establishment and unification of Saudi Arabia during the Ikhwan movement, and through the development plans (see chapters one and three).

Education in Saudi Arabia takes a different form from other Islamic countries; it is bound by a deliberate Islamic policy and has been distinguished by comprehensiveness and diffusion, within a short period of time. Its purpose is to understand Islam in a proper and thorough manner; to implement and disseminate the faith; to provide students with Islamic values, teachings and ideals; to distribute knowledge and skills; to encourage the society in all aspects; and to prepare the individual for a helpful role in society (Al-Zaid, 1982). Since the Islamic religion is the most important factor in Saudi Arabia culture, religious considerations determine the nature of education, as they do all activities and policies of both government and people. It is well known that the religion and customs of the Saudi people do not allow unrelated males and females to mix (Al-Sadan, 1997, p.35). In order to preserve sexual morality and at the same time to give full opportunities for women to work, the Saudi government established separate schools, universities, banks supermarkets and leisure centres. In addition women have their own companies and businesses (Al-Mahawi, 1990, p.107).

The Islamic religion permeates all aspects of life in Saudi society. Religion is the principal driving force. The whole society is based on Islam, which is the source of social stability and a force for cohesion among Beduw, village-dwellers and those who come from the city, binding them together as one nation. It is because government decisions and plans for socio-economic development are rooted in Islamic principles that they find acceptance among the people.

A factor which has contributed to the decline of group spirit or tribal spirit in Saudi society is the government's efforts to develop the spirit of Islam and nationality among Saudi citizens, regardless of their ethnic or family origin, through the mass media, through the education system and by giving equal chance to citizens to work in all sectors (Al-Ghamdi, 1994, p.65).

The impact of religion as a social institution is clearly manifested in many events of daily life. For example, all activity, from market-trading to T.V broadcasting, stops at the times appointed for prayers, and all Muslims observe the holy days of Ramadan and the Hajj.

Islamic values pervade customs and conventions in relation to dress, food and drink, and marriage. Many people are named after prophets and religious scholars. In summary, no aspect of life, public or private, can be separated from the basic religions structure, and it is impossible to understand social conventions properly, without an understanding of the values and purposes of Islam (Al-Khalifh, 1999,p.28-29).

Family structure and familial norms in Saudi society derive legitimacy from the religion of Islam. Al-Juwayer (1984) indicated, " In Saudi Arabia the family and religion are part of one institution. Much of the social economic, and political life is still organised in terms of the family or tribe" (Al-Juwayer, 1984,p64).

The strong bond among the family members is based on descent, which is traced through the paternal line. Islamic values and customs stress family solidarity, organization, association, social and economic obligations of every individual towards their families and relatives. Thus, a person's loyalty and duty to his family are greater than any other social obligation (Al-Gamdi, 1994, p.67).

Al-Juwayer, on the subject of family rights and obligations in Islam, emphasizes that:

It was traditional in Islam for young people to be married with their parents' permission. Divorce is considered only as a final option and the woman's role as mother is very high status in Islam. In terms of rights and obligations regulation men and women in Saudi Arabia and other Moslem societies, the Qur'ān states "men will maintain the family". Men are the maintainers of women because "Allah made some of them (men) exceed others and by reason of what they spend of their wealth. Accordingly, we find that in an Islamic culture, the Muslim wife is responsible for the care of the home and for the welfare of the family. She is also expected to obey the judgement of her husband, due to this divinely dictated status as the person responsible for running the family. Polygamy is an accepted practice in Islamic. While monogamy is the norm in Islam, men are permitted to have more than one wife if the man concerned is able to fulfil all of his obligations to each wife (Al-Juwayer, 1984, p46-48-64).

Indeed, the religious structure is the basis for the legitimisation of authority in Saudi Arabia, and the reason for people's acceptance of the social system (see chapter one and three). From what has been said above, there can be no doubt that the Islamic religion has played an important role in shaping Saudi society, which must be realised, not only to understand the phenomena of stability, equilibrium, development and integration, but also to recognize and understand the kinds of change and conflict occurring within the society. The significance of religion is not only as a theoretical construct and ideology, but as the foundation of society and the force that gives legitimacy to policy, education, economic activity, marriage and family life, entertainment and so on (Al-Khalifh, 1999, p.27-31).

4.4. Summary

Several principal factors: economic, technological, educational, demographic and religious, have played an important role in bringing changes to Saudi Society. There has been no single factor responsible for change among the tribal people in Saudi Arabia. Rather, this change is a result of both internal and external factors. This is not to say that everything has changed; the extent of such change, and of continuity, will be shown later.

Cultural influences represented by State enterprises (the legitimate presence of the State, Islamic doctrine, the establishment of local rule, and development enterprises) are considered the most important factors that result in change. Such change did not appear in all aspects of society in one unit. In the coming chapters the researcher will try to reveal the fixed and variable elements that took place in relation to the *al-'Urf* (traditional customary law) as an aspect of social control, and in economic, familial and marital aspects, and so on.

CHAPTER FIVE
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

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Chapter Five

Research Design and Methodology

5.1 Introduction

The main purpose of this chapter is to provide an outline of the research methods employed in the fieldwork and identify the processes used to collect the study data.

The sample survey technique was used to collect the data for this study. The information about the tribe was gathered from a sample of the people within the 'Utaiba tribe in Al-Duwadmi region, a part of the central province of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

5.2 Research Design:

Success in reaching the goals of research depends on detailed planning. There are some considerations, which are a necessary preliminary to fieldwork. It is necessary to establish an appropriate research design before beginning the study itself.

In this respect Peil et al. mentioned that:

Designing a research project involves organising the collection and analysis of data to fulfil the purpose of the research, to provide the information, which is sought (Peil et al., 1982,P10).

In terms of research design, Hall and Hall mentioned that the way a researcher conducts the fieldwork would not be decided simply on technical grounds but on the basis of what he feels is the best way of providing explanation and understanding of the social situation with which he is confronted (Hall and Hall, 1996,p.50).

In this study the researcher adopted the descriptive survey, which is widely used and demands high standards of precision. Usually, such surveys are concerned with a large population. In order to state the relationship between a sample and its parent population we must be able to describe them in terms of characteristics, which are common to them both (Oppenheim, 1992, p38-39).

The study also uses the social history method (historical method). History based on oral evidence is an important part of social research today. In this study, the researcher examines from a historical perspective specific topics such as family, marriage, as well as using more general life-history approaches. Hall and Hall state that:

Survey research is a 'snap-shot' of a moment in time, whereas oral history allows the informant to talk about changes in their life and the way attitudes have altered (Hall and Hall, 1996,p.50).

The research is also comparative, in that, implicitly or explicitly, the researcher made comparisons between past and present experiences in the same society, showing how change has gradually altered ideas or behaviour over an extended period.

It became clear from the early stages of this research that the survey technique would be most appropriate for collecting well-defined qualitative and quantitative data as a basis for evaluating continuity and change among the 'Utaiba tribe.

Hall and Hall recommended that different methods could be used together within combined research strategies in various ways. For instance, qualitative studies can be used to set the scene for a quantitative survey, or to explore in more depth issues thrown up by such a survey. Combined methods which give each type of study equal weight are more rare, though Brannen comments that her study

Drew attention to an advantage of the multi-method approach, namely its ability to confront contradictions and highlight the fragmented and multi-faceted nature of human consciousness. This benefit is one, which supersedes the commonly claimed advantage of increasing data validity (Brannen, 1992, p31).

The research combines elements of the historical, descriptive, comparative and social survey approaches. Information about the period prior to 1970 was obtained by means of in-depth interviews with older people in the selected community. Information about the present-day, such as structure and values, was obtained by participant observation, as well as by the questionnaire interview method. By comparing the information obtained about past and present it was possible to gain some insight into how social change has affected the community in question. This use of multiple methods in research is called triangulation.

Triangulation:

The term “triangulation” is used by surveyors to measure the distance between two objects and survey the landscape by viewing the points from different angles (Neuman, 1994). He, then, gave an example to illustrate triangulation as:

You take a 10-question multiple-choice test on your mental health and are told that you are “mentally ill.” Would you not prefer to have your behaviour observed by two trained independent observers for a week and have a four-hour interview with a psychiatrist before you are sent to a mental hospital? If the test results, independent observers, and psychiatrists all agreed, would you be more likely to accept their assessment? Would the three types of assessment give you greater confidence in the diagnosis than taking two more multiple-choice tests (Neuman, 1994 p 141).

Cohen and Manion defined triangulation in social sciences as “ the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behaviour.” (Cohen and Manion , 1994, p 233). In fact, triangulation is not only about using more than one method of data collection; there are other types in addition to methodological triangulation. Cohen and Manion summarized these other types as being: time triangulation, which considers factors of change and process by utilizing cross-sectional and longitudinal designs; space triangulation, which makes use of cross-cultural techniques; combined levels of triangulation where more than one level of analysis is used; theoretical triangulation where one viewpoint is utilized by drawing upon alternative theories in preference, and investigator triangulation, which engages more than observer (Cohen and Manion, 1994).

Gall, among other methodologists, advised that triangulation enhances validity and reliability. They argue that the key concept of triangulation is to vary in some way the approach to generate the findings that a researcher is seeking to corroborate (Gall, 1996).

All these methods used were restricted to a great extent by the limitations of the survey. In order to recognise the continuity and change among this tribe, a group of questions were formulated to guide this study to reach its goals (see chapter one).

5.3 Research Setting & Population

The population determined for study is the targeted group of interest to the researcher, and for whom the results of the study are to be generalized. Kalton states the population of the study to be:

“The totality of the elements under study, where the “ elements” are the units of analysis. The elements may be persons, but they could alternatively be households, farms, schools, or any other unit. The population definition needs to be precisely and carefully specified according to the survey objectives, because the results will depend on the definition adopted (Kalton, p 6).

In a wide meaning, the population for this study would be the people of the ‘Utaiba tribe. As it would not be feasible to survey the whole tribe, the study was conducted among the people of this tribe who are living in Al-Duwadmi region, which is in the centre of Saudi Arabia. Al-Duwadmi is a roughly circular region, which covers a huge area, totaling 364,492 square kilometres (Al-takees, 1992, p 51). The regional capital is Al-Duwadmi city; in addition to this city, there are numerous villages and hamlets.

5.4 Choice of Methods

In most research, the choice of methodology arises from the natural outgrowth of the research itself. The progress of the research thus dictates the technique used at the different stages of the research. In this case, the researcher started exploring the issues that of concern in this study while he was doing his Master’s degree, and continued to maintain very close link with the community of the research, of which he is himself a member. Peil noted that

An outsider can never be as full a member of a society as someone who has grown up in it (Peil, 1982, p159).

The researcher determined what information he needed and decided what methods he was going to use to collect the required data. This did not restrict him to particular methods. According to the nature of the study the researcher chose to use three methods in this research: participant observation, a questionnaire survey and in-depth interviews. These three aspects of the research are discussed in detail in the sections which follow.

5.4.1 Participant Observation:

As this study is an anthropological study, it was considered appropriate to use participant observation, being the classic method of scientific study. Peil stated:

Much can be learned by observing what people actually do and how they do it. As a research method for social scientists, observation involves more than just looking at what is going on. Because our subjects can talk and therefore explain their behaviour, observation includes listening and asking questions, and often participating in activities of the group to get first hand experience of what daily life involves (Peil, 1982,p 158).

As a native, the researcher was able to gain access to the people of the 'Utaiba tribe in the area of the study. In order to understand the continuity and change within the tribe, it was appropriate to observe their life from within. The researcher used this technique because it is useful way of testing research questions developed through observation. The first step is to get a picture of the total territory that is relevant to the observer's goals. This method often gains insights and develops interpersonal relationships that are virtually impossible to achieve through any other method (Borg and Gall, 1983, p 490). Kluckhohn (1940) outlined the advantage of participant observation as extending the range, relevance and reliability of the data obtained. The range of information available to a participant observer is greater than what can be seen by someone who remains a foreigner, marginal to the community. Observation over a period of time makes it possible to build up a rich fund of information on the complex relationships on which society life is based. And because this method depends on what people are doing, the research is more likely to be relevant to the needs and interests of society members than a survey completely devised from outside. The observer examines social life and style of life as defined by the people of the society rather than in terms of abstract concepts, which have no meaning in the local context. This relevance increases the reliability of

the data (Peil, 1982, p159-160). This was also an appropriate way of finding out about sensitive issues (e.g. those related to politics and the justice system) which people would not have been prepared to comment on in a questionnaire or interview, for fear that their opinions might bring them into trouble with the authorities.

It is very difficult to say when this participation and observation started. It began a long time before the start of the research. However, there was some definite information that was collected specifically through direct observation; for example, the style of the life in the villages or hamlets, value and customs, and social interaction, and continuity and change in housing conditions in the area of the study. Moreover, the researcher had attended many occasions within the tribe such as marriages, *Aqeaqah* (a party to celebrate the arrival of a new baby), and *Nazalah* (a housewarming party). In addition, the researcher participated in the life of the tribe, including helping when someone had to pay *al-Deah*, “ blood money ”, and so become familiar with them. Also, the researcher always attended their *Majales* (these *Majlis*¹ are sometimes used for entertainment), participated in them and listened to the *Salfah* (Plural *Suwalif*, conversation. Thus, three factors played substantial roles in the researchers integration within the ‘Utaiba community; first, their common identity as Muslims, second their nobility of origin, and third the researcher’s being a member of this tribe. Accordingly, the researcher shared their values and customs, spoke in their accent, wore traditional dress, prayed and fasted with them and attended their special occasions.

¹ *Majlis* is a special gathering place for men. Most of the ‘Utaiba people have a *Majlis* in their homes. Sometimes, this *Majlis* is a big tent or a big black tent *Bayt AlSha’ar* .The *Majlis* is a reception room sparsely decorated with a threadbare carpet, cheap cushions along the blue-painted walls, with arm rests, *Morka*, positioned at regular intervals. Usually the *Majlis* is open for guests at any time, especially the *Majlis* of the leaders or important people *Majlis*. Visitors come directly to the *Majlis* (plural, *Majales*). Sometimes, at these gatherings, poems are recited and stories (*Suwalif*.) told. For details see chapter six and figure 6.3.9.

The researcher, before this study and during the fieldwork, spent periods in the desert during the movement the settlement of these people. The ‘Utaiba welcomed him as a son, giving him a lot of help, introducing him to many of the tribe’s clans or lineages, and guiding him through their society. This study would not have been possible without the cooperation and friendship of the ‘Utaiba tribe.

5.4.2 The Questionnaire Survey

Many researchers such as Oppenheim (1998), De Vaus (1996), Kalton (1985), Peil (1982) and others have discussed the advantages and disadvantages of using questionnaires. In this case the researcher carried out the questionnaire survey in the form of a face to face interview for more than one reason. Firstly, this study was conducted among the Beduw populations, who live in a rural area in a developing country; thus many are illiterate or have only a low level of education. Secondly, the researcher used the interview to make sure the respondents clearly understood the questions, in order to increase the quality of the data obtained. Thirdly, because of the problem of lack of addresses in the study area, it was impossible to use mail questionnaires. Fourthly, the researcher used this technique to ensure a high rate of response to the questionnaire, within the limited time available.

5.4.2.1 Sampling Procedure

To guarantee absolute accuracy in the research outcome the whole population in the area of study should be surveyed, but this is often not possible, because of the large size of the population. For that reason, researchers resort to selecting a number of subjects from a defined population, as representative of that population. As Miller explains, a

sample is a smaller representation of a larger whole. Sampling enables more detailed scientific work to be carried out, making the maximum use of the limited time available. Social scientists use sampling in their research because typically they do not have the time and money to study all the cases in the population of interest to them (Miller, 1991, p60).

It is usually necessary to include only part of a population in a research project. A sample is taken, a set of elements which ideally is representative of population (Peil, 1982, p 27).

The difficulty of appropriate sample size was discussed with the supervisor in the University of Hull, and with staff in the Department of Sociology in the Faculty of Social Science of Imam Mohammed Bin Saud University. The researcher found that there are no definite rules determining the sample size of study; it depends to a great extent upon the nature of the society and the study. Peil pointed that, if a group is really homogeneous, a large sample is unnecessary, but researchers should beware of assuming identity. If the group being studied is very heterogeneous, a small sample makes it impossible to establish statistical differences or get a true picture of the patterns of variability. However, it may be useful for exploratory purposes, to find out how much variability exists (Peil, 1982,p40).

According to De Vaus, the principles to be borne in mind in sample selection are as follows:

The required sample size depends on two key factors: the degree of accuracy we require for the sample and the extent to which there is variation in the population in regard to the key characteristics of the study (de Vaus, 1996,p70).

In deciding the study sample size and procedures for selecting the respondents, a difficulty was faced as to how to draw the sample, because at the time of the survey

official statistics were not available about the region's population and its characteristics. The procedures adopted are explained in the following sub-sections.

5.4.2.2 Sample Frame

In this study, it was not the researcher's intention to cover all the people of the 'Utaiba tribe living in Al-Duwadmi region. The first step in selection is to find a sample frame.

May stated that:

What is vital for a probability sample is that a complete as possible list of the population exists. This 'list' is called a sample frame and from this a sample is randomly selected (May, 1997,p186).

The difficulty of lack of information is more serious in the Saudi case than it is in most developing countries. There is a limited amount of literature on Saudi Arabia, and most of it deals with its oil policy, politics and its history (Alshammasi, 1986 p72). The researcher found the atmosphere in Saudi Arabia very difficult for research. It is not easy to find a suitable sampling frame in a developing country. As Ward pointed out:

In many developing countries the target population cannot be correctly or comprehensively delineated because survey investigators are compelled to use inappropriate and incomplete lists such as out-of-date population census records, telephone directories, electoral registers, electricity or water subscribers, etc. as the basic sampling frames for their inquiries. These lists predetermine the nature of the stratification procedures possible (Ward, 1993,p126).

Such was the case in this study. At first, census records were not available. Therefore, the initial sampling frame was the Electricity Company records and the Telephone directory. This proved a satisfactory means of getting population information for the city of Al-Duwadmi, but not for the surrounding villages and hamlets, as some of these

villages were not connected to these services. After many difficult attempts the researcher eventually obtained the last census² of the population in the study area, though even this was not complete and did not provide detailed information, so that selecting the sample was a time-consuming and laborious task, as explained below.

5.4.2.3 Drawing the Sample

There are many types of sample but all fall into one of two main categories: probability samples, which are often called random samples, or non-probability samples. Probability samples are so called because it is possible to express the material probability of sample characteristics being reproduced in the population. A significant principle is that each person in the population of interest has an equal chance being part of the sample (May, 1997, p85-87). The other main type of sampling is non-probability sampling, in which some people have a greater probability of being included in the sample, though the probability inclusion for each member is unknown. De Vaus indicated that probability samples are preferable for surveys because they are more likely to produce samples representative of a large population, which in turn helps the researcher to generalize his or her findings beyond the specific sample studied. However, in non-probability sampling this is not the case.

While random sampling can achieve, within limits, the generalisability of findings to the population from which the sample was derived, there may still be problems of establishing the generality of data to other populations. Bryman highlighted a common solution to this problem when he said that:

² Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Ministry of Planning, Central Department of Statistics, Demographic Yearbook , 1416 A.H.—1996 A.D.

National sample surveys are quite rare and more often than not researchers draw from particular regions or cities. These more localized populations may be selected on the basis of convenience (e.g. proximity to the researcher) or on the basis of strategic considerations (Bryman, 1988, p35).

The type of probability sampling used in this research was multistage cluster sampling. This kind of sampling is used when the population is large and widely dispersed over a large area, which makes choosing the sample expensive in time and travel. This technique of obtaining a final sample depends upon drawing several different samples such as clusters or areas for concentration rather than using a simple or stratified random sample of the whole population. The idea is to begin from more-inclusive to less-inclusive sampling until reaching the population elements that constitute the final desired sample (Kidder and Judd, 1987, p89-91).

From this point of view the multistage cluster sampling of the research started by dividing Al-Duwadmi region into two parts according to the social life of the 'Utaiba people, the agrarian societies and nomadic societies. Since homogeneity is high among each society, it was decided to sample, in addition to the city itself, just eight of the surrounding villages, some agrarian (Al-Duwadmi, Sajir, Neffe and Al-Hoferah) and some semi-nomadic (Al-Bajadyah, Al-Faqarh, Masal, Al-Qoreen, and 'Arwa). Peil states that:

If a group is truly homogenous, a large sample is unnecessary, one or two people can provide as much information as 500 (Peil, 1982,p40).

Since there are about 85 *Markas* (centres under control of Al-Duwadmi Emirate), see chapter three p 105-106, the nine centres selected for survey would constitute about 10 per cent of the *Markas* in the region.

In selecting the villages, in an effort to make the sample representative of all villages in the area, taking into account the size of population and geographical distribution in the region of the study, the researcher decided to stratify the settlements by size and distance from Al-Duwadmi city.

Here, however, a problem faced the researcher, due to the unreliability of the only available sampling frames (see above). The researcher classified the villages as large or small on the basis of the available population list, and selected at random, two villages from each of four categories, large, close to the city; large, far from the city; small, close to the city; and small, far from the city (see table 5.1 and 5.2). However, on visiting the villages, he found that in some cases, their actual population did not accord with the date he had been given.

Some hamlets and villages proved unsuitable due to their low population. For example some consisted of just one or two farms, a well, two or three houses, and a small Mosque. Foreign labourers worked the farms, while the families of this hamlet lived in other places, such as cities like Riyadh, and only visited the village during holidays. The researcher had to make several attempts in order to obtain the desired number of villages for survey. Eventually, the following settlements were selected.

Table 5. 1 The population of the selected settlements

CITY CATEGORY	CITY	C	DISTANCE IN Km
SMALL	AL-DUWADMI	1	0

Table 5. 2 The population of each of the selected settlements

CITY CATEGORY	NAME VILLAGE	F	DISTANCE IN Km
Large, Close	AL-BAJADYAH	1	SHORT
	AL-FAQARH	1	(Less than 55 Km)
Large, Far	NEFFE	1	LONG
	SAJIR	1	(55 Km and over)
Small, Close	MASAL	1	SHORT
	AL-QOREEN	1	(Less than 55 Km)
Small, Far	'ARWA	1	LONG
	AL-HOFERAH	1	(55 Km and over)

Of the villages selected, Sajir, Neffe and Al-hoferah are agrarian communities, while the remainders are semi-nomadic. The population of each of the selected settlements is shown in Table 5.3.

According to the size of each centre, a different number of households were selected in each, constituting about 5% of the population. The sample was chosen randomly from 'Utaiba households in five parts of each settlement; the centre, east, west, north and south. The advantage of random sampling in this study is that each household has an equal probability of being chosen. In this regard, Borg and Gall define a random sample as:

A process of selection from a population that provides every sample of a given size an equal probability of being selected (Borg and Gall, 1983, p244-245).

In the case of Al-Duwadmi city, some difficulty was experienced in distinguishing between 'Utaiba and other people. In the villages, where populations are smaller and the percentage of 'Utaiba in the population is higher, this problem did not arise.

In total, 316 households were sampled from the nine locations (Al-Duwadmi city and eight of the surrounding villages). One or more member of each household (not necessarily the head of the household) completed the survey instrument, giving a mixture of male and female respondents of various ages. Table 5.4 shows the distribution of the sample in each community.

Table 5.3 Population of settlements visited for the survey

Name of Village	POPULATION		
	Saudis	Non-Saudis	Total
AL-Duwadmi	30,096	8,389	38,485
Sajir	9,968	4,526	14,494
AL-Bajadyah	7,341	1,639	8,980
Neffe	4,844	970	5,814
'Arwa	1,320	850	2,170
AL-Faqarh	1,244	116	1,360
AL-Hoferah	819	189	1,008
Masal	783	789	1,572
AL-Qoreen	703	505	1,208

Table 5.4 Distribution of the sample by settlement in the study region

Name of Village	Saudis	Household	%	*Total Number of Samples
AL-Duwadmi	30,096	2,309	5%	115
Sajir	9,968	1,101	5%	55
AL-Bajadyah	7,341	1,054	5%	53
Nefee	4,844	871	5%	44
'Arwa	1,320	240	5%	13
AL-Faqarh	1,244	250	5%	13
AL-Hoferah	819	149	5%	8
Masal	783	148	5%	8
AL-Qoreen	703	128	5%	7
Ttotl	57,118	6,250	5%	316

5.4.2.4 Questionnaire Design

Before undertaking the fieldwork, the researcher sought to benefit from the knowledge of other social researchers, particularly with reference to the design of research instruments, selecting of sample and identification of difficulties which might be faced in the data collection. For this purpose, the researcher presented his study and the methods he planned to use to post-graduate students during workshops held by his Department in the Graduate Research Institute (GRI) at Hull University, and received a number of valuable suggestions and comments.

Before designing the questionnaire, the researcher tried to find any previous quantitative study about tribes in Saudi Arabia, but unfortunately he could not; all the previous researches, which he found, were qualitative studies such as those of Al Mahawi (1990), Webster (1987), Cole (1975) and Lancaster (1981), and others (see chapter two).

Then the researcher looked at other studies related to his topic, such as rural area studies, village studies, and development studies in Saudi Arabia, which had used quantitative methods, such as those of Nahedh (1989), Al-Gamidi (1989), Al Humaidi (1994), El-Eryani (1994), Al Kahtani (1996), Al-Haratani (1997) and others (for more details see chapter two).

After that the researcher started to design the questionnaire to find the answers to the research questions and to recognize social change among the tribe. The questionnaire was divided into four sections as follows:

Section one: sought information about the characteristics of the respondents and their background, such as age, place of birth, social situation, education level, job title and income. Section two contained questions about economic life. Section three covered the family system variables. Section four contained questions about social control variables (see appendix one).

The use of a questionnaire to be filled in by the respondents themselves was rejected because it was anticipated that the sample would include some illiterate respondents. The instrument was therefore designed to be administered as a face –to-face interview. Its advantages include the ability of the interviewer to explain any questions that the respondent does not understand, and to make sure that all questions are answered by the respondent him or herself, not by someone else.

5.4.2.5 Translation and Validation of the Questionnaire:

We need to know how much value we should attach to our findings. Are they an accurate representation of what actually exists? Before applying any research instrument it is necessary to ensure that it is a valid and reliable tool. In other words, are our findings valid?

The extent to which a test, questionnaire or other operationalisation is really measuring what the researcher intends to measure (Hall and Hall, 1996, p.43).

The researcher sought opinions as to the validity of the questionnaire, as follows:

First, the researcher started by translating the questionnaire and the interview schedule from English into Arabic. Experts in Imam Mohammed bin Saud University in Riyadh reviewed this translation, to make sure that the Arabic version was equivalent to the original version of the questionnaire and interview schedule. The researcher was advised to avoid especially sensitive questions related to the family environment. Finally, the researcher modified the instruments, and submitted the Arabic versions to some staff members in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in the Faculty of Social Science at Imam Mohammed bin Saud University, who were asked both to proof-read the questionnaire and to comment on whether it would be completely understood by those who would be interviewed.

5.4.2.6 Pilot study:

The questionnaire schedule was piloted, in the location and among the target population of the main study. Conducting a pilot study is a vital step for several reasons such as it permits a preliminary testing of the questions of research or hypotheses, it might lead to

changing some of them, or dropping some and developing new ones. It often provides the researcher with ideas, approaches, and clues. It permits a thorough check of the planned statistical and analytical procedures to see how the researcher is going to deal with main data. It greatly reduces the number of errors before the main study. The researcher explores how to save his effort, time and money. It provides feedback from research subjects and provides additional knowledge that will improve both the questioning and the sampling procedures. It helps the researchers in try out a number of alternative measures (Alseed, 1995, 239-240). In this respect, Hall and Hall point out that:

This is the stage where you try out the questionnaire on a small number of people from the same population as the one you wish to survey. The aim is to reveal any further unanticipated problems with the questionnaire before you commit your time and effort to the fieldwork proper (Hall and Hall, 1996, p.126).

The pilot study, carried out by the researcher himself and his wife, was also intended to contribute some new ideas about the research questions. It could test the way in which the questionnaire and interview schedule would be conducted and how appropriate they would be.

The pilot study was carried out in January 1998, before the actual process of data collection started. Therefore, after the construction and checking of the validity of the questionnaire and its translation to Arabic the researcher distributed 24 questionnaires among 24 members of the 'Utaiba tribe in the area of the study. Twelve of them lived in an agrarian community and 12 in a nomadic community. Those 24 persons were selected randomly from two villages in each community. The respondents were divided

equally between males and females, the latter being approached through the researcher's wife and his sister in-law (she is a teacher in secondary school for girls in Al-Duwadmi city). The researcher interviewed all male respondents and the females were interviewed by one of the female assistants.

In the case of illiterate respondents, the researcher and his assistant wrote answers. Literate respondents completed the questionnaire themselves, though the researcher (or, in the case of female respondents, his assistants) remained on hand to answer questions and make sure the respondents understood what they were being asked to do. The pilot study showed that there would be no major problems of understanding of the questionnaire on the part of the respondents, although as a result of some comments and questions raised, the researcher made slight modifications to some items of the questionnaire. For example, some amendments to wording were made and some questions were also added to the questionnaire, and people of the society helped the researcher to phrase the formal Arabic words into the local dialect.

5.4.2.7 Reliability:

An issue, which is of concern in any survey research is that of reliability. Reliability is commonly defined as the extent to which a measure yields the same results on repeated occasions (De Vaus, 1996), and consequently measured by techniques designed to assess consistency, such as the split-half, test-retest, or calculation of Cronbach's alpha. This definition of reliability, and these methods of measuring it, were not, however, thought to be valid in the present study. To begin with, since the study is concerned, not with respondents' academic knowledge or attitudes, but with their experiences, which are constantly changing, and because the whole point of the study is to explore social

change, it is not expected that the survey would yield consistent results over time. For this reason, it would not be appropriate to use, for example, a test-retest procedure, even if it were practical to do so. It would be very difficult to find the same sample on two successive occasions, and even if the same people could be located, it would not be possible to guarantee that the conditions under a re-test where applied, were the same as those prevailing at the time of original test.

In ethnographic research of this kind, the issue of reliability is concerned, not so much with the internal consistency of the instrument, or the replicability of results, as with the extent to which it is likely respondents were telling the truth as they perceived it at the time of the study, and that their answers are correctly interpreted by researcher. In these circumstances, the researcher sought to maximize reliability by building close relationships with the surveyed community, gaining the interest and trust of respondents. Moreover, a check on reliability was provided by the researcher's use of methodological triangulation, whereby several complementary data collection methods were adopted, yielding sets of quantitative and qualitative information, which could be compared and cross-referenced. Participant observation in particular, provided insights, which could be brought to bear on the interpretation of questionnaire replies, and afforded a means of checking the consistency between what respondent said, and what they did. Such an approach is in line with the recommendation of Warwick and Lininger (1975, 18) that:

A design, which combines participant observation or other qualitative methods with a sample survey, provides opportunities for cross-checking and for a much more complete picture of the situation being studied.

5.4.2.8 Questionnaire Administration

On the basis of the experience of the pilot study, the researcher decided to use face to face interview to administer the questionnaire with people of the 'Utaiba tribe in the region. The questionnaire booklet was accompanied by a covering letter encouraging people to help and telling them that information would be used for the purposes of the study only, so it was safe for them to tell the truth. Moreover, the researcher carried a letter of authorization from the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in Faculty of Social Science at Imam Mohammed bin Saud University.

The researcher's reasons for administering the questionnaire face-to-face are discussed in the beginning of this chapter. The time taken for each interview varied according to the situation, but averaged half an hour. Some problems were faced because of people's lack of familiarity with such research methods and their not realizing the importance of the research. These are discussed later, in section 5.5.

5.4.2.9 Methods of Analysis

As a first step, data obtained by the questionnaire were given numerical values according to the researcher's coding notes, to facilitate the processing of information by computer. The Statistical Package of Social Sciences (SPSS) was utilised in the analysis. The researcher used the following statistical techniques to analyse the data and to achieve the objectives of the study.

Descriptive technique: Frequency distribution and percentages one used to show the characteristics of the sample, such as age, income, job title, economic activities of the tribe people, their occupation, and their answers to questions on the family system and social control system etc.

Measurement of association: The researcher used cross-tabulation between variables to find out if there were any relationships between them. To measure the strength of the relationship, chi-square statistical tests were used as well.

In terms of information from the qualitative study, data were collected through in-depth interview and participant observation, and from the researcher's background knowledge and experience of about the tribe's life, before and during the process of interpretation and analysis of the study's findings.

5.4.3 The In-depth Study (Life Style in the Past)

Finally, the researcher used in-depth interview to collect qualitative data about life before 1970. The main reason for using this method was because in general, the data relevant to this issue related to old people and most of them were illiterate.

The purpose of the in-depth interview is to collect perceptions and ideas and to improve the conceptualization of the research problem. Interviewers must be well briefed so that they fully understand the objectives of the research. Since there are no fixed questions, each depth interview will be equipped with a list of general topics or areas around which the interview should be conducted. The job of the depth interviewer is thus not that of data collection, but idea collection. Depth interviewers must, as the saying goes, listen with the third ear (Oppenheim, 1998 p67).

The interviews were conducted using an interview schedule (Appendix 3) which was designed to obtain as detailed qualitative information as possible to cover the main issues and aims of the study. However, communities in rural and Beduw areas of Saudi Arabia, like their counterparts in other developing countries, are unfamiliar with this kind of research, and some of them do not realize its importance. Moreover, some

subjects were sensitive, fearful and nervous of being interviewed, as soon as they were informed about the topic of the research. From the researcher's experience with Beduw societies, and especially with the 'Utaiba tribe, he observed that people will accept a researcher eventually if he knows how to approach them and gradually gains their confidence. Another issue is where in-depth interviews should take place, and how to get a long enough period without interruptions and distractions. Oppenheim indicated that:

Everything should be done to create a comfortable unhurried and relaxed setting for a private, confidential talk; anything that might upset or make them feel pressed or intimidated should be avoided (Oppenheim, 1998, p69).

The pilot study helped to establish the best time to interview people. According to the local customs and values, and when the researcher visited any of the 'Utaiba people, as soon as they found out that he is Otaibi ('Otaibi' is the adjective from 'Utaiba) they were eager to extend hospitality to him. In such cases, sometimes it was convenient, but at other times, there were difficulties, see section 5.5.

So, what is the best time to meet the interviewee? and where? As we mentioned above, from the pilot study the researcher was able to answer these questions. Various ways of meeting interviewees proved fruitful; some examples are given here. Good opportunities for meeting people were the times of the *Majlis*. In the morning the *Majlis* carpet was spread out on the porch of the house and in the *Asr*, the late afternoon, in the shade under the western wall of the compound. After dark the *Majlis* moved to the middle of the gravel-strewn courtyard. Or in the winter, people sat around the fire in the big tent, or in a special room in the courtyard. In this *Majlis*, people commonly talk about the past.

Another convenient time was after prayer. The researcher prayed with the local people in the mosque, especially in *Hijars* (hamlets) or villages. Particularly after the *Fajer* prayer (in the morning at sunrise) and after the *Aser* prayer (in the late afternoon), when people saw the researcher as a stranger in their midst, they invited him for Arab coffee because this is their custom; such hospitality is perceived as a social duty. The researcher found it very beneficial for him to accept their invitation and sit with them. The researcher knew that on such occasions, they would ask him from where he came and what he wanted, etc. Moreover, when they recognized that the researcher is a member of their tribe they were very glad and invited him to stay with them for a couple of days, which provided an opportunity to collect information.

Another convenient time and place, was when a special evening called *Al-Samr*, was held, on which people gathered at a poet's house (in the *Majlis*), or at the house of leader of a tribe or clan, or some other important person. The researcher attended these meetings and found them a useful opportunity to converse with respondents.

Before the researcher went there, he had learned by heart the contents of the interview schedule. The interviews were always informal, being conducted in the Arabic language, with the 'Utaiba accent. The researcher usually introduced himself or the host introduced him sometimes, and he briefly explained to the interviewees the purpose of the interview. Sometimes the researcher indicated why he needed the information and mentioned its possible benefits to the country, or to any institution of particular relevance to the interviewee. Usually, mutual trust prevailed and the interview proceeded without hindrance.

These occasions took the form of informal gatherings, It was not appropriate to record the responses as doing so would have upset the respondents and disturbed the flow of conversation. Instead, the researcher took notes when necessary, and immediately after

the interview he wrote up the notes. The informal manner in which the researcher conducted the interview fitted into the life of the people of the study area, which helped to gain their trust and cooperation.

In the interview the researcher moved naturally from topic to topic, maintaining the fiction of an interesting conversation. The interview might start with any of the topics on the interview schedule and proceed in any order. It was often not possible to cover all the topics in a single interview. For example, when the researcher met a respondent after a marriage party, he started talking to the researcher about how marriage at present is expensive and how things have changed in this respect. In this way, the researcher had a convenient opportunity to ask the respondent to talk about marriage in general, or his own marriage in the past. The researcher found him very delighted to talk about this issue and they continued to talk about aspects of marriage.

In this part (in-depth interview) of the fieldwork, as mentioned earlier from the pilot study, the researcher at first used a random sample of 5 respondents and did in-depth interviews with them. He found that some informants could not explain their ideas clearly, and did not like to interact with other people. Others were not active, or had poor memories, and if the researcher wanted to continue they were not happy and refused to arrange another meeting.

In the light of these difficulties the researcher changed his technique for the main study, selecting informants by what is known as snowball sampling. As Hall and Hall explain:

A snowball sample is often useful in exploratory research, when it is impossible to identify beforehand all those who might fall into your category of interest. Instead, you start with one or two informants, and get them to refer you on to others whom they think you should talk to as well (Hall and Hall, 1996,p113-114).

The researcher chose this technique after testing it in the pilot study and finding it helpful. Another reason for choosing this method is that there were some people who were well-known for their fondness for talking about the past, and people often went to them, when they wanted to find out the truth. Some of these people were poets. If they were asked about the family life-style in the tribe in the past, they would explain it clearly and had a good memory and they quoted evidence from poetry. Moreover, they were skillful in telling stories about the tribe's history and Beduw social institutions, traditions, values and customs.

Most importantly, if the interviewee responded positively, the researcher would either continue the in-depth discussion, at the time, or arrange another time for a further meeting to continue the interview. Finally, when the researcher finished interviewing someone, he would ask to refer him to others, whom they thought would be useful contacts. Also, he would ask him for the names and addresses. By this means, the researcher was able to select a sample of twenty-six informants for in-depth interview, to get information about the tribe in the past.

5.5 Field Difficulties

The researcher faced difficulties in his fieldwork, which necessitated some flexibility of approach. This is by no means unusual. Such experiences have been reported by many other researchers, such as Cole (1973), Lancaster (1981), Webster (1987), Asseri (1991), Al-Mahawi (1990), Al-Kahtani Masoud (1996) and others.

Each research has its own nature, in the present case, the difficulties were as follows:

Firstly, as we mentioned earlier (see chapter one) Saudi people derived their customs

and values from *al-Shariy'ah* (Islamic law). To follow the *al-Shariy'ah* and customs a male cannot meet women separately. Special arrangements therefore had to be made for interviews. If the researcher wanted to speak to a woman, it was necessary to be accompanied by a *Mahram*³. Also, photographs could not be taken of women without getting permission. Some women, especially the young women, could not meet the researcher at all, because of local customs and therefore, it was necessary to ask a female relative, which is a teacher⁴, to interview them, on his behalf. It was explained to her how to administer the questionnaire and care was taken to point out the questions that might be asked of her and the right way for them to be answered. Some women refused to participate in answering the questionnaire, as they felt they should not give their opinions in public, no matter who was asking the question.

Secondly, some of the older people in the area were illiterate, mentally ill or deaf, and some, even though able to comprehend, had difficulty understanding the interviewer's adjustment to the local dialect, so the researcher had to select the questionnaires which were suitable for analysis.

Thirdly, as we mentioned earlier, most of the villages and hamlets belong to the researcher's tribe (the 'Utaiba), and he had many relatives in the area, and a strong relationship with these communities. This made it difficult, at times, to collect data, as there were many invitations to stay for lunch or dinner, in accordance with tradition, and it would have been impolite to refuse these invitations. If the researcher refused, the interviewees would insist, saying that a meal had already been prepared; when the issue

³A *Mahram* a close relative, who should be present during the interview. A woman should be accompanied by her father, brother, husband ...etc. The researcher should take his wife, sister or mother.

⁴ The researcher's niece.

of hospitality was brought up, it generated invitations for a meal. For example, if a guest comes to the area, his host holds a feast to welcome him, and invites his relatives and neighbours. Traditionally they should, themselves, than invite the guest, and so they compile a timetable of invitations for him while he is staying in their region.

Fourthly, as is common in developing countries, people in Saudi Arabia are not familiar with research and do not realise the importance of research to their lives.

Moreover, there were emotional problems, because the study deals with the tribe and the changes that have occurred, so some research questions brought emotional responses. Some of the respondents cried during the interview as they told of being lonely and how they wished that the social system or relationships of the past continued to exist today. The researcher then had to calm the interviewees in order to complete the interview. In addition, some people were anxious to help the researcher and they caused problems of a different kind, for example, trying to listen to interviewees' responses and compare their answers with those of others, or volunteering to assist the respondents when they felt that they did not answer a question in the appropriate way. In this case the researcher had to explain, tactfully but firmly, that the research was confidential. The researcher discovered some of these difficulties in the pilot study, so was able to prepare solutions to them before distributing the questionnaires and conducting the interviews. Fortunately, the researcher has many relatives in Al-Duwadmi region, some of whom knew about the research, and this facilitated getting the co-operation of respondents.

5.6 Concluding remarks

The discussion in this chapter has explained the approach adopted to gather information for this study. It was shown that three complementary methods- participant observation, questionnaire survey and in-depth personal interview- were used to obtain complementary data, combining the benefits of the quantitative and qualitative approaches, and providing opportunities for cross-reference. The study adopted the multi-stage sampling process to choose the villages of the study than used the random sample. 316 households were surveyed, encompassing Al-Duwadmi city and a number of its satellite villages and hamlets, some agrarian and some semi-nomadic. The survey responses were complemented by the rich insight obtained through living in the survey community, attending the local mosques, participating in the *Majlis* and social events, and conversing informally with the local people. In this way it was sought to build up a complete picture of the community under study, and to maximize reliability. The following chapter details the results obtained from analysis of data and attempts to answer the research questions.

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CHAPTER SIX
ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY AND ANALYSIS OF
QUESTIONNAIRE DATA

Introduction:

This chapter presents the information derived from the anthropological study and questionnaire data. The chapter is divided into seven sections. The first of these presents background data about the respondents. The other six deal with aspect of life among the ‘Utaiba tribe; social control, the economy, marriage, family life, entertainment and medicine. Each of these six sections is divided into two parts. The first part presents qualitative data about life before 1970 obtained through interview (see chapter five), and in the second part, the information about modern life obtained from the questionnaire conducted within the tribe (quantitative study), is presented together with the researcher’s observations.

6.1. Background Information

During the fieldwork in Al Duwadmi region, among the ‘Utaiba tribe, the researcher met various people, of both genders and wide age range.

Table 6.1. 1 Distribution of the sample by sex

	Freq	Percent
Men	274	86.7
Women	42	13.3
Total	316	100.0

Table 6.1.1 shows the gender distribution of the sample. It can be seen that women constitute only a small proportion of the sample, reflecting the cultural restrictions on access to female members of the tribe. Other researchers on Saudi Arabia have reported similar difficulties in gaining access to female respondents (see chapter five, section 5.5 p. 164). Such difficulties tend to be stronger in Beduw societies than in urban societies since education levels are relatively low. Traditional values tend to be strongly upheld and a woman cannot give information to an outsider without the permission of her husband or parents.

Table 6.1. 2 Distribution of the sample according to their age

Age	Freq.	Percent
1- From 15-20 years	36	11.4
2- From 21-30 years	83	26.3
3- From 31-40 years	71	22.5
4- From 41-50 years	57	18.0
5- From 51-60 years	51	16.1
6- 61years and above	18	5.7
Total	316	100.0

Table 6-1-2 shows the distribution of the sample according to age. Figures given in this table shows that the respondents ranged in age from 15 to over 61 years. The age group 21 – 30 years old represented the highest percentage (26.3%) of the sample. Respondents of the groups 15 – 20, 21 – 30 and 31 – 40 years old, that is the young adult group together represented 60.2% of the whole sample, whereas the middle aged groups, 41 – 60 years old made up 34.1% of the sample. Only 5.7% of the sample were elderly, i.e. 61 years and above. This is a slightly higher proportion than in the population as a whole according to the National Census, where this figure is 2.62% of the population (General Census Agency, 1992). For more details see Table 1.1 in chapter one.

Table 6.1. 3 Respondents' place of birth by age

Place of birth	Age				Total
	15-30	31-40	41-50	51+	
City	Freq. 54 % 45.4%	11 15.5%			65 20.6%
Village	Freq. 37 % 31.1%	17 23.9%	3 5.3%	2 2.9%	59 18.7%
Hijar	Freq. 28 % 23.5%	16 22.5%	9 15.8%	10 14.5%	63 19.9%
Near to a well	Freq. %	27 38.0%	45 78.9%	57 82.6%	129 40.8%

Note: $X^2 = 189.037$ df = 9 P < 0.000 N= 316

Table 6-1-3 reveals that the majority of respondents (59.20%) were born in cities, villages, and *Hijars*, while 40.8% mentioned that they were born in the desert (near to a well), which means they were of nomadic origin. As can be seen from the table, all respondents of young age (from 15-30), were born in settled communities, i.e. cities, villages, or *Hijars*, as were some of the middle aged as well. For example 44 persons from those aged 31-40 were born in settled communities while only 27 of them were born in the desert.

The chi-square indicates that there is a significant association between age of respondents and their place of birth. Most elderly respondents were born in the desert, while the youngest respondents were born in settlements. This reflects the increasing trend from nomadism to sedentarism, consistent with the modernisation policies of the Saudi government (see chapter three), and the resulting change in housing see patterns, which will be considered in the next section.

Table 6.1. 4 Distribution of sample according to their marital statue

Social Situation		Freq.	Percent
1.	Married	269	85.1
2.	Single	37	11.7
3.	Divorced	6	1.9
4.	Widowed	4	1.3
Total		316	100.0

Table 6-1-4 clearly indicates that the 85.1% of the respondents were married. This can be attributed to cultural factors, in Saudi Arabia in general and in the study area in particular. *al-Shariy'ah* (Islamic law) invites men and women to marry at an early age (see chapter one). The researcher have observed that another reason for the high proportion of married respondents within the 'Utaiba tribe is the fact that they marry not only within their own *Hamulah* (Lineage) but also from outside the *Hamulah* or with other clans or sub-tribes within the tribe. Another reason is that the majority of the tribe do not practise *al-hajir*, i.e. they do not require girls to wait to marry a male cousin (*Ibn 'am*) or be released by him to marry someone else (for more details see table 6.4.2). Finally, this table shows low percentage of divorcees, and which reflects the strength of the marriage bond among the tribe culture in the study area.

Table 6.1. 5 Educational level of respondents by age

Education Level	Age				
		15-30	31-40	41-50	51+Total
Illiterate	Freq.			3	25
	%			5.3%	36.2%
Can read and write	Freq.	2	3	14	28
	%	1.7%	4.2%	24.6%	40.6%
Primary School	Freq.	35	13	19	5
	%	29.4%	18.3%	33.3%	7.2%
Intermediate School	Freq.	27	7	2	2
	%	22.7%	9.9%	3.5%	2.9%
High School	Freq.	26	12	15	1
	%	21.8%	16.9%	26.3%	1.4%
College of Training	Freq.	19	15	1	6
	%	16.0%	21.1%	1.8%	8.7%
University	Freq.	7	16	2	2
	%	5.9%	22.5%	3.5%	2.9%
Higher Education	Freq.	3	5	1	9
	%	2.5%	7.0%	1.8%	2.8%
Note: $X^2 = 215.769$		df = 21		P < 0.000	

Education has played an important role in changing the lifestyle among the people of the ‘Utaiba tribe. According to the data in table 6-1-5, very few members of the sample (8.9%) were illiterate, and those were all aged 41 years and above. The remaining 91,1% of the respondents had received various levels of formal education. Considering that formal education in Duwadmi region only started about thirty-one years ago (see chapter four), an obvious development aim in the educational services has been achieved.

With regard to respondent’s level of education, and despite these attempts and efforts, the table shows that more than half of the sample had completed some level of general education then left school to marry or get a job. However, a quarter of respondents had continued their education at a training colleges training (13.0%), University (8.5%) or some other form of Higher education (2.8%). The chi-square test shows that there was a significant association between education and age, with higher levels of education being found among the younger age groups.

Table 6.1.6 1 Present main job of respondents by age

Present job title		Age				Total
		15-30	31-40	41-50	51+	
Breed camels or sheep	Freq.	1		3	17	21
	%	.8%		5.3%	24.6%	6.6%
Farmer	Freq.	1	3	5	14	23
	%	.8%	4.2%	8.8%	20.3%	7.3%
Teacher	Freq.	13	16	1	2	32
	%	10.9%	22.5%	1.8%	2.9%	10.1%
Civil servant	Freq.	17	16	23	5	61
	%	14.3%	22.5%	40.4%	7.2%	19.3%
Company	Freq.	5	7	6	1	19
	%	4.2%	9.9%	10.5%	1.4%	6.0%
Military	Freq.	60	17	11	8	96
	%	50.4%	23.9%	19.3%	11.6%	30.4%
Engineer	Freq.	1	7	1		9
	%	.8%	9.9%	1.8%		2.8%
Khawi	Freq.		1	6	8	15
	%		1.4%	10.5%	11.6%	4.7%
Student	Freq.	20				20
	%	16.8%				6.3%
Other	Freq.	1	4	1	14	20
	%	.8%	5.6%	1.8%	20.3%	6.3%

Note: $X^2 = 237.009$ df = 27 P < 0.000

Table 6.1.6 2 Second job of respondents by age

Second present job		Age				Total
		15-30	31-40	41-50	51+	
Breed camels and sheep	Freq.	2	7	22	24	55
	%	1.7%	9.9%	38.6%	34.8%	17.4%
Agriculture	Freq.	15	35	29	17	96
	%	12.6%	49.3%	50.9%	24.6%	30.4%
Trade	Freq.		9	2	1	12
	%		12.7%	3.5%	1.4%	3.8%
No job	Freq.	102	20	4	27	153
	%	85.7%	28.2%	7.0%	39.1%	48.4%

Note: $X^2 = 157.150$ $df = 9$ $P < 0.000$

In the past the main jobs among people of the tribe were herding and some traditional handicrafts. However, Tables 6-1-6-1 and 6-1-6-2 show that the current picture is different. Respondents were engaged in several occupations, for example teaching, government employment, military and farming, while some were students. The majority of respondents (62.6%) worked in various government sectors; 30.4% in the forces, 19.3% as civil servants, 10.1% in teaching, 2.8% in engineering. Looking at the data presented in tables 6-1-6-1 and 6-1-6-2 it can be concluded that respondents aged 51 years and above still bred camels or sheep, either as a main job or as a second job. In contrast, respondents aged 15-40 were not engaged in these traditional jobs, but preferred government or private company jobs which would secure them a better living and enable them to help their families. The X2 test was carried out to see if there was any significant association between respondents' age and their job.

It can be seen from the tables that the results are statistically significant ($p < 0.001$); thus it can be said that respondents working in these jobs varies according to their age. The youngest age group are less likely than others to work in traditional jobs, and more likely than others to be in government jobs.

Table 6.1.7 1 Income of respondents by educational level

Income per month	Education Level								Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
2000 SR	Freq.	13	4	6	4	8	3			38
	%	34.2%	10.5%	15.8%	10.5%	21.1%	7.9%			12.0%
2001-4000 SR	Freq.	13	25	28	17	6	1	1		91
	%	14.3%	27.5%	30.8%	18.7%	6.6%	1.1%	1.1%		28.8%
4001-6000 SR	Freq.		13	28	13	29	21	4	1	109
	%		11.9%	25.7%	11.9%	26.6%	19.3%	3.7%	.9%	34.5%
6001-8000 SR	Freq.	2	4	6	4	8	16	16	4	60
	%	3.3%	6.7%	10.0%	6.7%	13.3%	26.7%	26.7%	6.7%	19.0%
8001 SR+	Freq.		1	4		3		6	4	18
	%		5.6%	22.2%		16.7%		33.3%	22.2%	5.7%

1- Illiterate 2- Can read and write 3- Primary school 4- Intermediate school 5- High school
6- College training 7- University 8- Higher education.

For the purposes of the study, income means not only salaries, but also other sources of income (see section two table 6-2-4). Table 6-1-7 shows that those whose income was less than 2000SR represented only 12.0% of the sample, 34.2% of them were illiterate. Those who classified their income as from 2001-4000SR represented 28.8% of the sample, 72.6% of them were educated to primary school level or below. The highest percentage of the sample is 34.5% of the respondents who had income from 40001SR-6000SR. Those whose income was 6001SR and above represented 24.7% of the sample. The majority of these were educated to high school level and above.

It is clear from the table that there is a direct relationship between education and income, i.e. the more educated respondents tend to have higher income. This finding is to be expected, since higher levels of education increase occupational choice. Respondents with higher levels of education would be qualified for higher-paid governmental, technical and professional posts, which would not be available to their less educated counterparts.

6.2. Social Control System

In this section the researcher will discuss the style or pattern of social control among the society of the research, including the role of the sheikh or Emir, and the practice or otherwise of various aspects of *al-'Urf* (traditional customary law). After an account of these traditions, the perceptions of the respondents as to their current practice will be presented.

6.2.1. Traditional form of social control

Traditionally, authority rested with the *Emir* or *sheikh* (chief) of the Tribe: The word Emir or sheikh denoted high social status in tribal societies and was only given to the leaders of the tribe or clan. In most cases, the tribal sheikh held his job easily by reason that his father was the sheikh before him. The sheikhdom was usually inherited from the father or grandfather, and rarely has a sheikh been chosen or elected by the members of the tribe. Before unification, the Emirs or sheikhs who represented the largest tribes ruled Saudi Arabia. Each Beduw tribe had its own authority, which lay in the hands of the tribe's sheikh. In 'Utaiba tribal society, the Emirs played an important role within the clan or sub-clan or tribe or sub-tribe. They mediated on behalf of the tribe with other tribes or with national government. The Emir or sheikh acted as a judge. He also helped poor people and solved any problem between the tribes, particularly in years of drought when the sheikh found himself forced to make agreements and institute a federation with other tribes to get their permission to allow his tribe to graze in their grazing regions. In the past he decided when war took place between tribes. The sheikh's position in the past was hard, as he had to find an appropriate place for his tribe, where

the herd could find pasture and the people find water and security. The people of the tribe had a lot of respect for the Emir or sheikh and these tribal authorities had supremacy over their tribesmen. To maintain his authority, the sheikh had to show himself to be the father of the tribe. He was expected to know everyone's family troubles and to issue kind and fair decisions when cases were brought to him for settlement. Also, he was responsible for the tribe's movements. The sheik's *Bayt AlSha'ar* or tent was usually open to the tribe's members. This was regarded as his duty and also showed his hospitality. Tribesmen would spend the morning or the evening with their sheikh, discussing their location and what they needed. Moreover, there was a custom that any guest reaching the tribe's camp was welcomed by the sheikh, who held an *'Azeemh* (party) to show his hospitality to the guest. He invited the tribesmen and introduced the guest to them.

The family also had Judgement functions. The relationships between members of the family were strong and arguments were rare. If there was a problem the headman or the head of family would consider the situation and decide what should be done to solve the problem. It was considered shameful to resort to the police directly. First, appeal was made to the important people of the tribe and if they could not solve the problem, it would be taken to the tribe's leader.

In the past, nomadic tribes occupied the majority of land outside the cities and oasis. The Emirs or sheikhs ruled according to a combination of Islamic *al-Shariy'ah* and *al-'Urf* (local customary law), backed up in the last resort by their own competence to exert their will. We consider the local customary law the strongest of the social control systems in the society of the research. *al-'Urf* involved traditional solutions when there was no conflict with Islamic law. The enforcement of this sort of law in minor issues

fell particularly within the jurisdiction of tribal Emirs or chiefs. It was one of their responsibilities. *al-'Urf* consisted of a collection of social traditional and customs which were generally accepted by the notables inside the tribe. For example, if someone committed a crime, they would be exiled to another camp as a punishment.

Tribal *al-'Urf* (traditional customary law) shows the social solidarity within tribes. These practices depended upon tribal conventions and standards in accordance and helped to achieve cohesion and maintain balance amongst such societies. These traditional laws included the following:

6.2.1.1 *al-Wajahah*

The term *al-Wajahah* refers to mediation by socially recognised and important people in the tribe, such as the leader of the tribe or clan... (*Emir*) or the sheikh of the tribe, or other renowned persons in the tribe, who would go to a party to a dispute, or his family, asking them to relinquish their rights against the opponent, in consideration of compensation in the form of money, property or animal stock. According to one of my informants, the kind of *al-Wajahah* offered depended on the nature of the dispute to be resolved. If the case was one of *Thaar* (blood revenge) between tribes, or conflict between them on wells or territories...etc the situation would require substantial *al-Wajahah*. In this case, many of the tribes' leaders, dignitaries and important people would act as intermediate. When all these people of high status come between the disputing parties, they could not refuse their orders, because no-one could live in isolation from his tribe.

If somebody committed a murder and was condemned to death, under Islamic law he would have one chance of life; if those people who performed do *al-Wajahah* succeeded

in persuading the relatives of the person killed to relinquish their right to claim the death of the killer, in exchange for compensation (money, land, houses, camels, sheep, and so on).

Today among the 'Utaiba tribe, *al-Wajahah* still plays an important role in solving problems. For example, Muhsan had some land and a dispute arose between him and his neighbour, Qashan, about the land, which was located in the village of Sajir. Qashan collected dignitaries and important people and the leader of his clan and went to Muhsan's home. They asked him to give a small part of his land to Qashan. In this situation, Muhsan could not refuse this *al-Wajahah*, because if he ignored the request of the mediators (the people of *al-Wajahah*), they might in turn disappoint him when he wanted something from them in the future. Thus, the dealings between Muhsan and his clansmen were governed by the principle of exchange. So, eventually, Muhsan submitted to the wish of the mediators and went to *Mahakama* (the court) and said, "I agree to give Qashan this small part of my land."

Among the 'Utaiba, *al-Wajahah* is used when there is a conflict or argument within tribesmen, relatives, families, neighbours, brothers even between husbands and their wives. For example people do *al-Wajahah* may be performed between a man and his wife, when she is *Tamehah* (has returned to her parents' home as a result of argument between herself and her husband). When their relatives know about that, as an emergency, they will do *al-Wajahah*. They select some people who have a strong relationship with the husband, to go to him, and discuss the problem and advise him till they persuade him, to agree to a reconciliation then go to his wife's family, till they solve the problem and the wife returns to her husband.

An important aspect of *al-Wajahah* is its timing. *al-Wajahah* takes place at the beginning of the problem, in order to resolve it before it escalates. Another important aspect is the

characteristics of the people who perform the *al-Wajahah* (mediation), such as dignitaries and important people among the relatives, old people, because they have wisdom and had experience in *al-Wajahah*, or religious people. Hamad the Imam (who leads prayers in the Mosque) told the researcher “ Many people came to me and asked me to engage *al-Wajahah* with some important people to solve different kinds of problems, so we did that for the sake of Allah, not to show the people.” For *al-Wajahah* people choose mediators who they think will be able to influence the other party to the dispute, because of their good relationship with them. So as mentioned, *al-Wajahah* is performed in different kinds of situation.

Usually, when people go to do *al-Wajahah*, they are formal; they wear *Besht* (Arab cloak dressing), and make arrangements for *al-Wajahah* in a ceremonial fashion. Usually after *al-Wajahah* is successful, people hold a big party and invite their relatives and neighbours, in order to show the people around them that harmony has been restored.

6.2.1.2 *al-Khowah*

Among the Beduw tribes in the Arabian peninsula, the system of “*al-Khowah*” was a prevalent aspect of (*al-'Urf*). *al-Khowah* is derived from words with the meaning of brotherhood or fraternity. However, the term in the context of the Beduw tribal of Najd and other part of the Arabian peninsula, means safe conduct, i.e. accompanying someone on the road and providing protection from highlanders. This system had two aspects: economic and social.

From the economic aspect, the person who entered the region or the tribe or the place where the tribe settled had to pay a transit fee, *al-Khowah* (tribute) in order to be protected by the tribe from the time he entered their area until he left it. Older people

informed the researcher that for *al-Drmah*¹ (the payment of the fee), the tribe appointed a person (*Khawi*) to accompany the individual or individuals who needed protection, lest they be robbed and dispossessed by the men of the tribe. According to one of my informants, the Beduw tribe fought and had raids for the right to collect the *al-Khowah* (tribute), and there is a Beduw saying “*qat’a al-kashowom wala qat’a al saluom*”(the severing of noses but not the severing of tributes). So weaker tribes who could not do raids paid *al-Khowah* to tribes who had the power to raid them. Another form of *al-Khowah* was that taken from traders who passed through tribal territory, in order to guarantee safety and protection from the Beduw.

The social aspect was represented in the formation of *Helf*, associations of individuals or groups who protected each other. There existed also friendships between tribes and families; hence they protected each other against other tribes who were stronger than an individual tribe or a group of tribes. Such friendships did not necessitate any financial commitment, although each tribe extended to the other access to sources of grazing. Thus the animals of each tribe could be fed in each other’s pastures. However, these kinds of *al-Khowah* have been prohibited since the unification of Saudi Arabia, due to the problems between the tribes resulting from application of this kind of *al-Khowah*

However, *al-Khowah* does not mean only tribute. According to one of my informants, the basic meaning of *al-Khowah* is travelling companions or companionship. A man could not travel alone through the desert, so when he wanted to travel he needed a *Khawi* (companions).

¹In the past, Manahee Al-Haydhil, the Leader of the Al-Dajeen Clan from the ‘Utaiba tribe took *al-Khowah* (tribute) in cash or in kind, from those who passed or wanted to share his tribe’s territory in Najd.

According to *al-'Urf* among the 'Utaiba tribesmen, people who travel together, not necessarily people from one tribe, by whatever means, for any reason and no matter how long or short the journey, are bound to guard, look after and help each other and to share all that they have, particularly water, food and protection from camel-borne raiding. Moreover, it is not necessary that the *Khawi* start the journey together; they may join each other in route.

Another form of *al-Khowah* among the 'Utaiba tribesmen occurred when somebody came to them and stayed with them, either alone or with his family, and or they sheared food: "*akallana 'aesh wa malah*" (we eat rise and salt together). They would accept him as a *Khawi* to their people. This *Khawi* would live among the tribe as one of its members.

Thus, the norms of *al-Khowah* are different depending on the situation. Some tribesmen go to be a *Khawi* with tribal leaders (of the clan or sub-clan...etc), and many of the 'Utaiba tribesmen were a *Khawi* with King Abd al-Aziz, as mentioned earlier, (see chapter three), and continue to hold jobs as *Khawi* with the royal family in Saudi Arabia (see section one table 6.1.5.1). They have accommodation in the royal family houses, and stay, travel, eat and sit with them, a feature that is very obvious in royal family *Majlis* (seating area for guests). These *Khawi* receive *Ma'aash* (salary) monthly and some of them receive *Sharrhah* (occasional gifts) monthly or at the times of *Eid* (religious holidays). These kind of *al-Khowah* are still practised by many people of the 'Utaiba tribe at the present.

6.2.1.3 *al-Fazah*

Another system of social solidarity was the system of *al-Fazah* as a situation in which emergency help was provided, either individually between members of the tribe or through families or clan, and without any wage. People perform *al-Fazah* to their tribesmen when they find they need *al-Fazah* (assistance) or when they request it as a result of facing difficulties and problems.

According to one of my informants, the Beduw performed *al-Fazah* on occasions such as the following:

Firstly, when they wanted to attack an enemy or expected an enemy to attack them. One of the tribesmen would call *al-Nakhwah* (that usually happened in battle when somebody would cry loudly using especially word this word as an emblem of his identity). Volunteers would respond with *al-'Aazwah* (a call affirming the connection between them, such as Ibn Maflah, “son of Maflah’s clan” or *akhow* Sarah, “brother of Sarah” or *akhow* Wadha “brother of Wadha”...and so), then the volunteer would go to the aid of the man who cried *al-Nakhwah*. In general the people of the ‘Utaiba tribe share one *'Aazwah* which is *'Utaibah ya Rafaqah*. However, the researcher observed that among the ‘Utaiba tribe the *al-'Aazwah* may be used in everyday, speech as a shout of shock. When somebody received a threat or was insulted, he would cry *al-'Aazwah* such as saying *Ana Ra'aee Alaibl* (I am the camel’s herder), or *akhow* Wadha (brother of Wadha).

Secondly tribesmen introduce *al-Fazah* between each other in digging a well; thirdly among tribesmen *al-Fazah* is performed at the time of camel branding, (every tribe has its *Wasms* or tribal brand marks, corresponding somewhat to the clan or lineage crests, which are primarily meant to show people to whom the camels belong). One man cannot

manage the *Wasm* (branding) alone, so he asks for *al-Fazah*. Camel *Wasm* is very important among ‘Utaiba tribesmen because it indicates to their identities (for more details see chapter seven). Fourthly tribesmen perform *al-Fazah* for each other when someone has lost a camel and they follow the hoof-prints until they find it. Fifthly *al-Fazah* can take the form of bringing water or food to the Beduw those who are living in the desert. *al-Fazah* may also take place in movement and carrying on camels. People also co-operate in putting up *Bayt AlSha’ar* (tents), e.g. when a tent was blown down by a storm. In invoking help, someone might say “*Ina llk io la al theeab*” (I am to you or to the wolves) then the fellow tribesman would say “ You are to me,” and would start to help him. Abeer said when someone was attacked by an enemy, he would shout for other people, and if, for example, if he called, “ *‘Utaiba ya eyall opoey*” (oh people of ‘Utaiba, those who are sons of my father) any tribesman who heard that shout would be honour bound to assist him. From this point of view, *al-Fazah* occurs not only among the family or lineage kinships, but also between tribespeople. That does not mean *al-Fazah* does not take place with people from outside the tribe; it could be from any kind of people, but it is stronger and quicker between people of the same tribe.

6.2.1.4 *al-Farqah*

Another of the social forms common in the tribe and Arabian Peninsula was “*al-Farqah*”. In the past, among the ‘Utaiba, *al-Farqah* was a situation in which, each individual in the tribe, lineage, extended family or core family, contributed equally in the case of a loss that was inflicted upon a family member or a tribesman. In some cases a tribe paid another tribe for protection, as protection was for all the individuals in the tribe. Additionally, *al-Farqah* was paid when, for instance, a person assaulted or killed

another. In this case the bereaved family accepted a sum of money as a ransom (compensation) instead of punishment. Such payment could either be material or moral whereby any member included in *Khamsah* had to share with the group. In the past, a person who did not pay *al-Farqah* was punished, as it was taken from him involuntarily; he was forced to pay it by the head of the tribe (the Sheikh), a tribal leader (an Emir), a renowned person in the tribe (*al-Wajahah*) or by an elderly member of the family. In some cases, some people might pay on his behalf. There were instances where some people were punished by being banished outside the tribe and being renounced by the tribe itself. This form of punishment was far harder than having money taken from them by force, as in that harsh environment; a person could not live in isolation, away from the tribe that provided protection for him. Moreover, this kind of social solidarity (*al-Farqah*) was not related to *al-Deah* (blood money) only, it also could be collected for any member who had a disaster, or life difficulties. In fact, this kind of *al-'Urf* (traditional customary law) is still continued by the tribesmen (see next section).

6.2.1.5 *al-Thaar and al-Deah*

Capital punishment never existed in the tribal legal system, simply because no one, including the Emir or sheikh himself, had the authority to carry out the sentence. All judgements involved compensation, either in money or camels. Among the Beduw tribe the victim's closest relatives were charged with it, exacting revenge and they were disgraced forever if they neglected that duty of *Thaar* (revenge). They would wait for an opportunity to take *Thaar*, and the feud was inherited by one of the killer's family. Cases of killing were dealt with, either through *al-Thaar* (blood reprisal) by killing the murderer or one of his relatives or by accepting *al-Deah* (blood payment), either in money or in camels.

Among the 'Utaiba tribe, blood responsibility is shared within the lineage. If a member of them kills an outsider, all male member of the lineage are responsible for his action. Any male of the group may be killed in retribution, or alternatively all members contribute to paying the *al-Deah* to the avenging people. Likewise, if any of the tribe's members are killed, the whole tribe seek revenge. This phenomena is called *Khamsa* (five); the corporate group *Khamsa*, representing the vengeance unit, is descended from a common ancestor five generations back. The Beduw say, "*al halall be khamsa wa addam be khamsa*" (the payment of *wirgelt* involves five ascending generations), *ibn'am* (son of cousin), and blood vengeance involves the same five generations. Among the 'Utaiba the *Khamsa* corporate vengeance unit is referred to as *qadabat aljanbayah* (the five fingers of the hand which holds the dagger), so *Khamsa* often share the same responsibility in time of conflict.

For example Flaah said: "One man, Bejad, killed a man, Manahi, because he would not allow him to get water from the well, and this well belonged to Bejad's tribe and this crime took place in their territory. At the same time, the man Manahi could not find any well to drink from, because he had lost his way and direction in the desert. When Bejad killed him he told his tribe and ran away. So his tribe started negotiation with the murdered Manahi's tribe. If they had not done so, Manahi's tribe would have killed one of their tribe as *al-Thaar* (blood revenge). These negotiations took about one or two years, through the chiefs of these tribes. And finally, Manahi's tribe accepted *al-Deah* (blood compensation) of one hundred *Al ebeel* or *Al zammel* (camels). After that, the killer Bejad was safe and in this way this tribe succeeded in protecting their man from the other tribe".

However, since the establishment of Saudi Arabia, and due to the problems between the tribes, *al-Shariyah* (Islamic law) has replaced *al Thaar* (as will be discussed later).

6.2.1.6 *al-Dakhil*

The system of *al-Dakhil* was one of the tribal systems of traditional law known to the Beduw society in Najd. *al-Dakhil* existed as a common social control system in the 'Utaiba tribe. If a tribesman committed a crime and escaped, he might enter the *Bayt AlSha'ar* (tent) of another and beg *Dakhalah* (entering protection), saying, *Ana Dakhilak* (I am your *Dakhil*) meaning, "I seek your protection". The owner of the tent was bound to grant sanctuary. If a person was in real danger, threatened by another person, he could appeal to another person, and even if that person was very dear to his opponent, even his brother, then the threatened person would become a *Dakhil* (under the patronage of the person from whom he sought protection). Thus, when a person came to another and said, "I seek your protection" (*Ana Dakhilak*) or "I seek the protection of God and yours" (*tarani billah wabika ana dakhilak*), then the person from whom protection was sought announced that the other person was protected by him or under his patronage and he would defend him. By the tribe's tradition or *al-'Urf*, the supplicant was automatically protected. In this case he lived with this tribe as his tribe, and nobody could do anything to him as long as he lived with them and they gave him supplies. Because he was in *Wejh Falan* (under somebody's protection) nobody would harm him.

Within the 'Utaiba tribe, the *al-Dakhil* could be saved in this way for more than a year and in a few cases, for life, if they paid *al-Deah* (blood payment) for him. So a phrase very commonly heard among the 'Utaiba peoples was "*Dakhal al Dakhil Wa Salam*" meaning "The man or woman who is chased for a crime and rushes into our tent will have security".

Elderly people, however, told the researcher that *al-Dakhil* was not only invoked from relatives in case of crime; tribesmen would perform *al-Dakhil* when they had difficulty such as poverty or drought. They would go to the tribespeople nearest to them and ask *Dakhil* from what had happened to them, or explain their suffering, and these tribesmen would have to help them traditionally, as a form of exchange between the people, (see the next chapter). In this way, *al-Dakhil* played a role in social solidarity.

6.2.2. Social controls currently in force

Several items in the questionnaire sought respondents' perceptions of the operation of the social control system and the current role of the tribal leader. The first question concerned whether it was necessary to get the leader's permission before leaving the area. The responses are presented in Table 6-2-1, below.

Table 6.2 1 Responses to the question whether people wishing to depart from region, need to get permission from the leader (*amir*) of the tribe, sub-tribe or clan

	Freq	Percent
1. Yes	6	1.9
2. No	310	98.1
Total	316	100.0

It can be seen from the table that very few people considered it necessary to get such permission. The vast majority accepted the right of the individual to autonomy in matters of this kind. Respondents' opinions about the functions performed by the tribal leaders are presented in Table 6-2-2.

Table 6.2 2 Respondents' opinion about what tribe leaders provided by age

Leaders provide		Age				Total
		15-30	31-40	41-50	51+	
Land for farm	Freq.	26	31	31	30	118
	%	21.8%	43.7%	54.4%	43.5%	37.3%
Help with money	Freq.		5	5	8	18
	%		7.0%	8.8%	11.6%	5.7%
Other	Freq.	21	12	8	17	58
	%	17.6%	16.9%	14.0%	24.6%	18.4%
Not provide anything	Freq.	72	23	13	14	122
	%	60.5%	32.4%	22.8%	20.3%	38.6%

Note: $X^2 = 53.053$ df. =9 P < 0 .001 N = 316

The table shows that more than a third of the respondents did not see the leader as providing any specific help or resources to his tribesmen. Those who held this view

were, however, more- or-less matched in number by those who thought the leaders could help them to obtain farmland. “ Other” forms of help provided by the Emirs included helping them or their sons to get a job, to get land for a house, or to get services from the government for their villages or hamlets; 18.4% of the sample thought leaders could provide such help. The X^2 test was carried out to see if these differences show statistically significant differences in relation to age. It can be seen from the table that the results are statistically significant ($p < 0.001$); thus it can be said that respondents’ beliefs about help provided by leaders vary according to their age. The youngest age group are less likely than others to think leaders can provide land for farms, and more likely than others to think leaders do not provide anything at all.

Table 6-2-3, below, presents respondents’ opinions on the obligation to accede to requests or orders made by the leader.

Table 6.2 3 Respondents’ opinion about obligation to obey the leaders by age

Follow leader’s orders		Age				Total
		15-30	31-40	41-50	51+	
Yes	Freq.	17	13	18	32	80
	%	14.3%	18.3%	31.6%	46.4%	25.3%
Sometimes	Freq.	40	41	27	23	131
	%	33.6%	57.7%	47.4%	33.3%	41.5%
No	Freq.	62	17	12	14	105
	%	52.1%	23.9%	21.1%	20.3%	33.2%

Note: $X^2 = 48.574$ df. = 6 P < 0.001 N = 316

It can be seen that a third of respondents did not believe themselves to be under any obligation of obedience to the Emir. Moreover, those who accepted the existence of such an obligation did not necessarily regard it as absolute; in the view of 41.5% of the sample, leaders’ requests or orders are not universally obeyed, but only “ sometimes”, depending on the circumstances. According to the X^2 test, there is significant association between respondents’ age and their opinion about the obligation to obey the

leader. The youngest age group are less likely than others to feel an obligation to obey the leader.

The following table (Table 6-2-4) shows the respondents' perceptions regarding representation of the tribe, sub-tribe or clan in relations and negotiations with others.

Table 6.2 4 Respondents' opinion about who represents the tribe, sub-tribe or clan with the other tribes or people by age

Who represents the tribe		Age				Total
		15-30	31-40	41-50	51+	
Tribe's leaders, dignitaries people	Freq.	44	32	32	29	137
	%	37.0%	45.1%	56.1%	42.0%	43.4%
Tribe's leaders or chiefs	Freq.	13	13	16	28	70
	%	10.9%	18.3%	28.1%	40.6%	22.2%
Dignitaries and important people	Freq.	40	10	4	7	61
	%	33.6%	14.1%	7.0%	10.1%	19.3%
Nobody	Freq.	22	16	5	5	48
	%	18.5%	22.5%	8.8%	7.2%	15.2%

Note: $X^2 = 50.933$ df. = 9 P < 0.001 N = 316

The largest group in the sample was of those who thought a variety of people, including the leaders and other elite, performed this function. Only around a fifth of the sample saw this as the specific prerogative of the leader, and a small number of respondents did not see anyone as having a specific representational role. According to the X^2 test, there is a significant association between respondents' age and their opinion about who represented them with other people. Older people were more likely to see this as a role of the tribe's leader, while the two younger groups were most likely to think no one has this function.

Respondents were asked from whom they would seek judgement in the event of a dispute within the tribe. Their responses are summarised in Table 6-2-5

Table 6.2 5 Respondents' opinion about preferred source of judgement in the event of a conflict

The Judgement Would Prefer from	Freq	Percent
District court	280	88.6
Tribal leader and District court	28	8.9
Tribal leader or chief	5	1.6
Dignitaries and important people	3	.9
Total	316	100.0

It can be seen from the table that the vast majority of respondents thought the district court would be the most appropriate judge of such cases; little more than 10% of the sample overall preferred any alternative, and only five people saw this judgement function as the leader's sole prerogative.

The distribution of opinion was rather different, however, when the question concerned resolution of land disputes, as Table 6-2-6 reveals.

Table 6.2 6 Respondents' opinions about the person who will resolve conflicts about pasture land or agriculture

Who will make a solution	Freq	Percent
District court	183	57.9
Tribal leader and District court	124	39.2
Tribal leader or chief	5	1.6
Dignitaries and important people	4	1.3
Total	316	100.0

While there were still very few people who thought this was the role of the leader or chief alone, more than a third of the sample thought the leader would participate alongside the district court in resolving the issue. Nevertheless, a clear majority of respondents thought the court alone would decide such disputes.

Table 6.2 7 Respondents' opinion about who they consider would make decisions on punishment

Who respondents consider would make the decisions	Freq	Percent
Judge in the district court	316	100
Others	0	0
Total	316	100%

The one issue in this section, on which there was unanimous agreement, was decision-making authority on matters of punishment. As seen in Table 6-2-7 above, all respondents held this to be the role of the court judge.

Respondents were asked to whom they would have recourse for assistance if they fell victim to crime. Two responses predominated, as Table 6-2-8 indicates.

Table 6.2 8 Respondents' opinion about sources of redress if they were victims or crime, (to whom would you complain first) by age

To whom would you complain first		Age				Total
		15-30	31-40	41-50	51+	
Dignitaries and important people, then the tribal leader, then policemen	Freq.	38	36	40	42	156
	%	31.9%	50.7%	70.2%	60.9%	49.4%
Policemen	Freq.	74	28	14	21	137
	%	62.2%	39.4%	24.6%	30.4%	43.4%
Dignitaries and important people	Freq.	5	5	2	2	14
	%	4.2%	7.0%	3.5%	2.9%	4.4%
The tribe leader or chief	Freq.	2	2	1	4	9
	%	1.7%	2.8%	1.8%	5.8%	2.8%

Note: $X^2 = 35.983$ df. = 9 P < 0.001 N = 316

The data from the table above show that almost half of the sample would be prepared to try several possible sources of redress, starting with dignitaries and important people; if they could help them to solve their problem then they would go to the tribe leader, and if he could not, they would go to the police finally. Almost as many would simply take the matter to the police. There were only nine respondents, however, who indicated that

they would rely on the tribe's leader alone. The X^2 test was carried out to see if these differences are statistically significant. It can be seen from the table that the results are statistically significant ($p < 0.001$); The oldest age group are less likely than others to go to the police first, whereas the youngest age group would go to the police first.

Respondents' opinions about whether *al-'Urf al-qabally* (traditional customary law) is still practised by the tribespeople are presented in Table 6-2-9.

Table 6.2 9 Respondents' opinion about *al-'Urf al- qabally* (traditional martial laws) which are still practised by the people by age

Traditional Martial Laws		Age								Total*	X ²	Sig.	
		15-30		31-40		41-50		51+					Freq.
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%**		
<i>al-Khowah</i>	Yes	77	64.7	48	67.6	42	73.7	57	82.6	224	70.9	7.383	.061
	No	42	35.3	23	32.4	15	26.3	12	17.4	92	29.1		
<i>al-Farqah</i>	Yes	52	43.7	44	62.0	39	68.4	67	97.1	202	63.9	54.663	.000
	No	67	56.3	27	38.0	18	31.6	2	2.9	114	36.1		
<i>al-Fazah</i>	Yes	70	58.8	49	69.0	39	68.4	36	52.2	194	61.4	5.733	.125
	No	49	41.2	22	31.0	18	31.6	33	47.8	122	38.6		
<i>al-Wajahah</i>	Yes	47	39.5	39	54.9	43	75.4	45	65.2	174	55.1	24.095	.000
	No	72	60.5	32	45.1	14	24.6	24	34.8	142	44.9		
<i>al-Dakhil</i>	Yes	7	5.9	11	15.5	12	21.1	19	27.5	49	15.5	17.372	.001
	No	112	94.1	60	84.5	45	78.9	50	72.5	267	84.5		
<i>al-Thaar</i>	Yes	12	10.1	13	18.3	9	15.8	12	17.4	46	14.6	3.233	.357
	No	107	89.9	58	81.7	48	84.2	57	82.6	270	85.4		

Note: X² = chi-square df. = 3 N- 316

*Respondents chose more than one response

The data from above the table show that the largest group (70.9%) in the sample was of those who thought *al-Khowah* was practised and continued by the people of the tribe. Moreover, more than half of respondents thought *al-Farqah* (63.9%), *al-Fazah* (61.4%) and *al-Wajahah* (55.1%) were still practised by tribe members.

It is interesting to note, however, that in case of *al-Wajahah* respondents were divided almost equally in their opinions as to whether it is still practised. This reflects their

different interpretation, some thought *al-Wajahah* related only to crime, while others considered its application in wider contexts including land disputes and cases of marital discord (this is discussed further in section 6.2.1.1).

Those who thought *al-Dakhil* and *al-Thaar* are practised represented only 15.5% and 14.6% respectively. The X^2 revealed significant differences in responses for these three items, (*al-Farqah*, *al-Wajahah*, *al-Dakhil*) according to age. The youngest age group are less likely than others to view these kinds of *al-'Urf* (traditional laws) as still practised. However, most of these systems remain intact, although with some change, such as money becoming more available to people, as well as the contribution of the State to resolving the problems of individuals, for instance redemption of their previous debts. The researcher will discuss these *al-'Urf* (traditional laws) in the next chapter.

6.3. Economic System

In the first half of this section the researcher will discuss the 'Utaiba's traditional economic system (before 1970), describing clearly each of the 'Utaiba people's indigenous technologies and handicrafts in relation to their function, adaptability to local environmental conditions and role in the tribe's culture. Consideration will also be given to the people who actually practised these technologies, the roles of men and women in the manufacturing of indigenous technology and the nature of the division of labour among the 'Utaiba tribe. The second half of the section presents information about the tribe's current economic system, to see how these people have adapted.

6.3.1 Life before 1970

Traditionally, the 'Utaiba people were Beduw. They lived in the desert, and discovered how to adapt to this harsh environment, living in simple tents called *Buot AlSha'ar* (black tents) that they made from wool. These dwellings could withstand the difficult weather, heat, cold, wind, and rain and desert storms. The other reason for choosing them was that they could be carried on camels to move from one area to another. At this time people relied solely on camels for transportation.

Most 'Utaiba were originally nomadic, moving from place to place with their livestock (camels, sheep). They had two economic strategies: nomadism and semi-nomadism. They gained money to supply the family from buying and selling sheep, camels and goats. Some families made and sold the cloth canopies (call *faleej*) of the *Bayt AlSha'ar* (black tent). They also made and sold some traditional foods such as butter (*zibd*), clarified fat (*samn*) fresh oil and dry yogurt (*Madhir or igt*), made by boiling fresh yogurt down to a granular paste and sun drying it in small cakes. This kind of food is

still made by some people of the tribe. A visitor to any Beduw market in Al-Duwadmi areas, even Riyadh, will find it, because it is a common and traditional food in Njed, and people like it. The 'Utaiba people then started to use white tents alongside with *Buot AlSha'ar*. They obtained these kinds of tents from cities. In the past a few people started to learn to drive cars, though many of them still preferred to use the camel in their movements. At in this time, the roads were desert roads, not paved roads, and were difficult to negotiate.

As mentioned earlier, a few of the 'Utaiba people started to settle in Al Duwadmi region. They started to build simple houses of stone and mud, called *Al Bayt AlShabee*. They consisted of three or four rooms, including quarters for the women and family, and the *Majlis* (men's sitting-room). A *Haosh* (courtyard) surrounded these rooms. A high wall enclosed the area in front of the house, so the women could move about without being seen by men. The house usually had two doors; one for male guests situated near to the *Majlis*, and the other for the family and female visitors. There was a kitchen, and usually a *Bayt AlSha'ar* (traditional black tent), or a white tent. Some people had a car. This was the period when the Saudi government established the main road links between Riyadh, Al Duwadmi and Jeddah (see chapters three and four).

By this time most of the 'Utaiba tribe had settled in villages or cities. Although they are Beduw, they live in modern houses (Villa), which are air-conditioned and have on electricity supply and modern furniture...etc. Also, if they have a tent, they have modified the traditional tent to a new modern style with new decoration.

The 'Utaiba still, however, regard them selves as Beduw, even though they now live in villages or the city. They pride themselves on their traditional Beduw jobs, which they have maintained, despite the changes that have take place. For example many men said: '*Ana ra'ae albeel* which means, "I am a herder of camels" This applies even among

people who now live in a comfortable Villa (house). Beduw society has specialised knowledge and roles, and the researcher participated in the lives of the 'Utaiba and saw how well they had adapted to their environment.

The researcher will discuss below roles and jobs or knowledge of men and women who play an important role in the 'Utaiba economy in their region.

6.3.1.1 Men's tasks and knowledge

The Beduw, especially 'Utaiba, are renowned for their deep knowledge of the desert.

The understanding of pastoral movements, hunting, tracking, and finding one's way in the desert, even in areas that are unfamiliar, all have obvious practical value for the Beduw and are also useful to sedentary people who make recreational trips to the desert.

Not all men are equally knowledgeable or skilled in pasturing, movement, or even in preparing *Qahwah* (Arabic coffee) and so on. The principal traditional skills are as follows:

Ra'ae (pasturing): The 'Utaiba men are skilful at herding, and have a special way of dealing with their animals. They use a particular language with them. For example, if somebody had been asleep, and when he woke up he saw his camels were far away, he would call them, and they would recognise his call, look for him, and go back to him. If another person tried to call them, they would not answer, because they only responded to their owner's voice. Moreover, the people of the tribe use many words to control their camels or sheep or goats. Fathers teach their sons about how to deal with flocks and herds from a young age. For example, at the age of 6-11 a boy will herd *al Bham* (lambs). By the time he reaches 12 years old, he will be able to herd the sheep on his own. From 15 years old, he will be able to pasture camels; people say *Flan rajal, yassep*

ma alebel (he is a man, he is able to stay some nights with his camels alone in the desert than go back home).

Halb alebel (Camel milking): The ‘Utaiba people, especially men, are skilful at dealing with camels, an occupation that needs considerable knowledge. If they want to milk a camel, they have a special word, which the camel recognises, so *al-naqah* (she) will be quiet and allow them to milk her. The camel is sensitive and knows her owner by smell, and by touch. Sometimes, camels are difficult and refuse to cooperate in being milked. In this case, the men (three or four of them) help each other by using *Oq'aal* (Rope); that is, the first or second time. After that, one man can manage alone. The men also need to know how to look after the camel's milk. They use *al-Shimalah* see figure 6.3.5, a woollen cover which is tied to the straps and buckles of the harness by woollen strings and stops the *Howar* (calf) from suckling, In the evening, the herdsman unties the *al-Shimalah*, so that the *Howar* may feed from the udder during the night. It is retied the following morning. While the *Howar* is very young, or if the herdsmen notice that a particular camel is not giving enough milk for her *Howar*, then the herdsman does not use the *al-Shmalah*.

Wasm (brand marks): some men are knowledgeable about *Wasm*. Every tribe has its *Wasm* or tribal brand marks, corresponding somewhat to family or clan crests. It is difficult to put *Wasm* on the camel, but often men help each other to do it. From the *Wasm*, people can recognise to whom the camel belongs.

Al Shadeed (Movement's knowledge): when ‘Utaiba men want to move from one place to another, they send somebody (called *al'aasas*) to go before them to explore the region and identify the vegetation. He assesses the location, and looks for the nearest well. When he goes back, he gives the others information before they make a move. Many

people have particular knowledge about the plants preferred by their camels or sheep. They know where and when these can be found. For example *Al Hamte* or *rabel* or *al-safaar* (a kind of herb), which is the preferred and the best plant for camels, grows in *Wadi al Rasha* (a famous dry valley in Al Duwadmi region) in the area. When the researcher asked the informants, “How do you know all these things, plants, land, mountains, valleys and wells?” they said, “ In the past we did not have cars, so we went on foot through the land, so every day we got to know it. Moreover, some men have a good memory, and keep in mind all the natural landmarks such as valleys, mountains, camps and wells. They know their region well so if an explorer, nomad or tourist asks them about points of the compass, roads or directions, they can guide him. They know everybody in the area. It is customary among them that when they meet anyone, they ask, “Who are you? Where are you going? From where do you come?” They like to get news and to give news as well.

al-Qasas (tracking): some men of the ‘Utaiba tribe have a particular ability to interpret the footprints people or camels make in the sand. They can identify whether the person is from their family or not, which way he went, what kind of camel he rode, and so on. For example the researcher asked Sunhat² and he said, “ If they have lost a camel they follow the hoof-prints until they find it, even if it has gone with a hundred others.” it was possible to tell whether a camel was being ridden, whether it was male or female, and whether it was pregnant or not, by looking at the hoof-prints.

Qahwah (preparing coffee): All over Arabia, the elaborate ceremony of coffee making is performed to show the guest that he is welcome and honoured above all men, by his host. This is the first duty of a householder, whether he is in a town, or a tent-dweller, when entertaining a friend or acquaintance. A visitor to most tribespeople will find the

host prepares coffee himself, and will see the indigenous technologies such as the *dallah* (coffeepot), *mhmasah* (long-handled, shallow, coffee-roasting metal basin) and the *yed al mhmash* (metal coffee-bean stirrer). The coffee is ground in the presence of the guest or guests, surrounded by an expectant crowd of relatives or other neighbours, who have been attracted to the host by the ever-welcome sound of pestle ringing on *Najeer* (mortar). When the researcher asked Marzoug³ whether the men make coffee in the traditional way, he said in the past the men had to make coffee, and now the oldest or the middle-aged do so, but some of them preferred to make coffee the easy way. For example they bought ready-ground coffee (most people have a modern coffee maker) and rarely used the *Najeer* (mortar) or *mhmasah*. And he said, "I do not think the new generation will do that".

6.3.1.2 Women's Tasks and Weaving

The tasks of 'Utaiba women traditionally involved wearing, sewing, tanning and other crafts necessary to make various items of equipment and adornment, for family use or for sale.

One of the main traditional tasks of women was weaving. Women collect sheep's or goat's hair and clean it then start to spin using *al-mqzal* a spindle (indigenous technology) made of wood, to make a thread called *Dajah* (yarn). When they have made enough *Dajahs* (yarn), they start *Sadu* (loom) handicrafts. The traditional Beduw *Sadu* consists of two parallel wooden sticks fastened to the ground by four pegs. The cloth woven would be used to make the *Bayt AlSha'ar* (traditional tent) and its furnishings.

² From an Interview with Tarki Al-otaibi, Masal, February 1998.

³ From an Interview with Marzoug Al-otaibi, Sajer, February 1998.

The size of *Bait al-sha'ar* is directly proportion of the wealth of its owner. In general, these handicrafts are now obsolete; but they are rarely needed, because of the high quality of *Bayt AlSha'ar* (tents) available in the markets. Items traditionally made by the women of the tribe include the following:

Thara (the tent walls): It is considered one of the longest pieces made, consisting of three pieces, each woven separately and tied together. This is made in different colours and is removable. The *Thara* is made of sheep, wool or goat or camel hair, and is used to cover the back of the *Bayt AlSha'ar* in case of bad weather.

Al-qata;a (Tent partition): This is made in various beautiful colours to be attractive for guests. It is made of dyed sheep's wool or goat's or camel's hair. The partition separates the women's and men's parts of the tent.

Al-kharj (Bag): A sack made from wool and woven sheep's or goat's or camel's hair or wool, it comes in various colours. *al-kharj* is used for carrying possessions. The sacks are loaded onto camels; usually two sacks are used, one each side of the camel. Such bags are used to hold men's belongings when they travel by camel.

al-mazwadah (Bag): Almost the same as *al-kharj*, but woven of red and a bit of black wool. Women keep their clothes in such bags. *Oq'aal* (Rope) These are made of sheep's wool or goat's or camel's hair and used to control animals.

al-shmalah: It is made of sheep's wool or goat's or camel's hair and used to guard the breast of a camel being kept for milk. Other traditional crafts involve working with leather and wood. Items made include the following:

Qarrbah (Water-skin) When the Beduw kill animals they sort the hide out carefully, Some is tanned and made into *Qarrbah*, to keep drinking water quite cool, even in a hot weather.

Sammel or S'aeen (A small container) Another use for tanned hide is making *Sammel*, to keep and protect camels' sheep' or goats' milk. The milk is churned in the *Sammel* until it separates and the butterfat is released.

'Akah (A container): these are made of sheep's or goat's skin. In the traditional *'Akah*, the Beduw people can keep oil for long periods. For example, people in the 'Utaiba tribe have known oil to be kept for more than one year.

Dalo (A small bucket) was used to pull water from wells. It was manufactured of animal's skin or rubber, with a wooden handle, and attached to a rope.

Howdaj or Qabeet (Howdah): This was a traditional shelter put on a camel so a woman could ride without being seen. It was made of wood and hide and cloths.

Another traditional occupation of women was making different kind of women's clothes such as *Burg'a* (Veil) The *Burg'a* is a black mask with slits for the eyes, worn by all Beduw women in the Arabian Peninsula. It hangs down over the mouth and neck, and is kept in place by three cords; two round the head and one round the neck. *Burg'a* are sewn by most women and made of cotton.

Woman also made the *'abaah*, a black woollen cloak, generally bound round the edge with black silk, which is worn by all 'Utaiba women and those of other tribes. Nowadays *'abaah* are not sewn by women, because these garments can be purchased in the market; there are many different *'abaah*. In Saudi Arabia, women have to wear *'abaah*. This is derived from *al-shariyah* (Islamic law). It applies even to people who come from abroad. Women would also sew the *Bukhnug or Gobie*: a black cotton headdress worn by girl children up to the age of twelve or thirteen years especially at parties or festivals. It fits tightly under the chin and has its edge embroidered in gold thread round the face and down the front.

al-Hatab (Collecting wood): In the past, wood played an important role as firing. Some women are good at collecting wood for firing, a task they share with men. On the other hand many people in the ‘Utaiba tribe, whether in the settlement or on the move, use gas fires, because collecting woods needs more effort and more time. Although they use gas fires, they still collect wood. A visitor to those people will see piles of wood front of their houses. People say using wood for cooking makes the food more tasty.

The researcher and his assistants observed among the ‘Utaiba people that in the area of the study, a few old people practised handicrafts, such as making cloth or parts of tents for use or for sale, whereas the younger people did not like to do so.

In the next section we will see which of these handicrafts or jobs are still practised by people of the tribe, and which have stopped.

6.3.2. Economic After 1970

As the researcher noted earlier in section one, 40.8% of the sample were born in the desert, into nomadic families. However, the data shown in table 6.3.1 that 99.1% of respondents are now settled, and only three people are still Beduw.

Table 6.3. 1 Distribution of respondents by residence.

Residence	Freq	Percent
In a city	115	36.4
In a village	106	33.5
In a <i>Hijar</i> (hamlets)	92	29.1
Beduw (nomadic)	3	.9
Total	316	100.0

This huge change can be attributed to a number of factors that encouraged people to settle. A programme of settlement started in 1914 when the 'Utaiba tribe settled in Al-Ghut Ghut. The aim of this settlement programme was to enable King Abdulaziz Al Saud to control the tribesmen (see chapter four). The government continuing to pay much attention to the Beduw in the 1960s; three planned settlement projects were carried out. Another factor is that *Albank Alaagari*, the Real Estate Development Fund (REDF) grants loans to people to build modern houses. Finally, most of the tribe people settled spontaneously as indicated in chapter two.

Table 6.3. 2 Distribution of respondents by type of house

Type of respondent's house	Freq	Percent
Villa (Modern house)	226	71.5
Concrete	55	17.4
Traditional house (Mud)	26	8.2
Flat or One floor	6	1.9
A black or white tent	3	.9
Shack of shanty	0	0
Total	316	100.0

Compared with traditional dwelling (*Bayt AlSha'ar*) used by people of the tribe in the past, from the data above, a huge change in the style of housing has taken place. Table 6-3-2 shows that 71.5% of respondents were living in a modern house (Villa). Those who reported that they lived in traditional house (Mud or Stone house) were 8.2% and a further 17.4% lived in a concrete house, representing a mid-stage between the mud house and the Villa. Six people reported that they lived in a flat or on one floor, while only three still lived in a black tent (*Bayt AlSha'ar*) or white tent. The widespread ownership of modern houses can be attributed to the interest free loans available from the REDF to build such houses; thus, type of dwelling is not necessarily an indicator of income.

Table 6.3. 3 Job of respondents by their income sources

Income sources	Present job title										Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
Government	Freq.	4	3	32	60		96	9	15	3	7	229
	%	1.3%	.9%	10.1%	19.0%		30.4%	2.8%	4.7%	.9%	2.2%	72.5%
Livestock grazing	Freq.	20	19	2	30	3	28	1	14		8	125
	%	6.3%	6.0%	.6%	9.5%	.9%	8.9%	.3%	4.4%		2.5%	39.6%
Agriculture	Freq.	6	22	16	28	8	21	7	8		2	118
	%	1.9%	7.0%	5.1%	8.9%	2.5%	6.6%	2.2%	2.5%		.6%	37.3%
From Sons and daughters	Freq.	17	5		3						14	39
	%	5.4%	1.6%		.9%						4.4%	12.3%
Trade	Freq.	1	4	5	7	9	1	2	2	1		32
	%	.3%	1.3%	1.6%	2.2%	2.8%	.3%	.6%	.6%	.3%		10.1%
From father and brothers	Freq.									19	2	21
	%									6.0%	.6%	6.6%
Comp or Est.	Freq.					18						18
	%					5.7%						5.7%

1-Breed Livestock 2-Farmer 3-Teacher 4-Civil Servant 5-Company 6-Military
7-Engineer 8-Khawi 9-Student 10-Other

As indicated in section one (see table 6-1-6) income does not mean only salaries. Table 6-3-3 shows that for 72.5% of the respondents, their main income source was from government and 39.6% got their money from breeding livestock, and 37.3% from agriculture and so on. However, it can be seen from the data that most of those who are

working for the government have a second source of income. For example, of those who worked for the government such as teachers, civil servants, military officers and, engineers, 61 also had income from livestock grazing, 15 from trade and 72 from agriculture. Similarly, among those who classed themselves as breeders of livestock, 4 had salaries or pensions from the government; one had income from trade, 6 from agriculture and 17 from their sons. Among farmers, 19 had income from breeding livestock, 4 from trade, 22 from agriculture and 5 from their sons. Several company employees had a second income source (3 from breeding livestock, 9 from trade and 8 from agriculture). Finally, the majority of the students were financially supported by their parents and brothers.

Table 6.3. 4 Ownership and location of property outside Al-Duwadmi area.

Respondents' Answers	Freq	Percent
In Riyadh city	46	14.6
In Dammam city	10	3.2
In Taif city	7	2.2
In Jeddah city	4	1.3
In Madenah city	1	.3
They do not have	248	78.5
Total	316	100.0

Table 6-3-4 shows that 21.6% of the respondents, although living in the area of Al-Duwadmi, also had other property outside the research region. The majority of these cases had a house in Riyadh city, because it is located near to the area, while small numbers of respondents had houses in other cities such as Dammam, Jeddah, Maddenah, and Taif. Such property would provide a base for those with jobs in the cities. However, these people did not move to the city completely because they had relatives and farming interests in Al-Duwadmi.



Figure 6.3. 1 A modern villa, showing a satellite dish in the roof



Figure 6.3. 2 A modern Beduw village



Figure 6.3. 3 *Qasser Alaafrah* (The Weddings Hall)



Figure 6.3. 4 Camels on pasture-land



Figure 6.3. 5 A *Naqah* or *Kalfah* (camel-female) a traditional *al-Shmalah*. Attended by a Sudanese Ra'ae



Figure 6.3. 6 Sheep at pasture near the village

Table 6.3. 5 Who looks after livestock

Respondents Answers	Freq	Percent
A worker from outside K.S.A	104	68.9
A worker, neighbour and the person	26	17.2
Person and his family	17	11.3
Person himself only	2	1.3
A worker from K.S.A	2	1.3
Total	151	100.0
Total	151	47.8
I do not have livestock	165	52.2
Total	316	100.0

As indicated in section 6.3.1, keeping livestock was once the main occupation of the tribe. The data from Table 6-3-5 indicate that the respondents who kept livestock (camels or sheep) represented 47.8% of the sample. Although those people were and still are Beduw, most now depend on *Ra'ae* (workers) to look after their livestock. This change is very clear because 68.9% of those who had camels or sheep had a worker or workers from outside K.S.A. and only 11.3% looked after their livestock by themselves or with their family members. Those workers came from other Arab countries such as Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, and Sudan, or from further countries, Pakistan, India or Bangladesh. The researcher noticed that most *Ra'ae* (workers), especially camel workers were from the Sudan, because the Sudanese have experience dealing with camels.

Table 6.3. 6 Where pasturing is practised

Respondents Answers	Freq	Percent
Inside the region	20	13.2
Inside and outside the area	83	55.0
In their Farm	48	31.8
Total	151	100.0
I do not have livestock	165	52.2
Total	316	100.0

It can be noted from data given in Table 6-3-6 that of people who have livestock, 68.2% kept their livestock in the desert, either in the immediate area or beyond it. Some of

those who continued to practice pasturing in this way had farms, they did not like to confine their camels to the farms this could be for various reasons (see chapter seven).

Table 6.3. 7 Respondents' views of which jobs give people high status.

Respondents' opinion*	Freq	Percent
Person is a merchant	216	68.4%
Having a big function in Government	173	54.7%
Having higher education	118	37.3%
Having a lot of camels or sheep	98	31.0%
Having a high ranking in the army	89	28.2%
Having a farm	45	14.2%

* Respondents chose more than one response

The data provided in Table 6-3-7 indicate that in the view of most respondents (68.4%) merchants have high status among the tribe people. Second in status are those who have a big function in government, nominated by more than half (54.7%) of the respondents. Higher education and a high army ranking were favoured by 37.3% and 28.2% respectively. Almost a third thought having lot of camels or sheep conferred high status. Only 14.2% thought having a farm was sufficient to confer status, a view that perhaps reflects the traditional disdain of the Beduw for arable farming.

Table 6.3. 8 Reasons for continuing to keep camels

Respondents' Answers	Freq	Percent
If they have camels, they will have high status in their society	63	41.7
Because breeding camels is interesting and enjoyable	46	30.5
They can get benefit when they sell camels or sheep	42	27.8
Total	151	100.0
I do not have livestock	165	52.2
Total	316	100.0

Table 6-3-8 shows that the highest proportion (41.7%) of those who had camels reported that they continued to keep camels because it would give them high status in their society, while 30.5% said that they do so because it is interesting and enjoyable. The researcher met many tribespeople who had retired from government or military service

and turned to breeding camels. 27.8% of the respondents said that people keep livestock in order to benefit from their sale. Nevertheless, the findings provide good evidence that most people do not keep camels primarily for sale only but as a hobby and as part of their identity.

Table 6.3. 9 Why some people are not interested in pasture.

Respondents answers	Freq.	Percent
Need much time and effort	88	53.3
People work in government	36	21.8
Other job bring more	27	16.4
No worker to look after the livestock	14	8.5
Total	165	100.0
Total	165	52.2
People are still interested in practising pasturing	151	47.8
Total	316	100.0

The data in table 6-3-9 show reasons why some people are no longer interested in keeping livestock. More than half (53.3%) thought it was because it needs much effort and time. The second reason given by respondents is that people work in government. 16.4% suggested that other jobs bring more money. Finally, 8.5% thought people cannot find workers to look after their animals. However, 47.8% of the respondents thought people are still interested in keeping livestock.

Table 6.3. 10 How respondents get their land for a farm.

Respondent's answers	Freq	Percent
Got it as a grant	94	79.7
Inherited it	18	15.3
Bought it	4	3.4
Rent a it	2	1.7
Total	118	100.0
Total	118	37.3
Do not have a Land for a farm	198	62.7
Total	316	100.0

Table 6-3-10 shows that 37.3% of respondents had farm land. Of those, only 3.4% had bought their land, and 15.3% had inherited it. The great majority (79.7%) got their land

as a grant. This method of obtaining land is explained in chapter seven. The researcher was also interested in is the main reasons behind the tribe's practice of agriculture. The answers to this question are shown in table 6-3-11.

Table 6.3. 11 Reasons that encourage people to practise agriculture.

Respondents Answers	Freq.	Percent
To get a loan from Government without interest	77	65.3
To have high status	17	14.4
Because it helps with pasture	14	11.9
Can get a benefit when they sell the crop	10	8.5
Total	118	100.0
I do not have a farm	198	62.7
Total	316	100.0

Table 6-3-11 indicates that the highest proportion (65.3%) of those who had farms said that their main reason for practising agriculture was that they can get an interest-free loan from the government, as can societies throughout country. Another 14.4% of respondents practised agriculture to have high status. 11.9% did so because it helps with pasture, and the lowest percentage, 8.5% did so to benefit from selling the crop.

Table 6.3. 12 Major crops in the Al-Duwadmi region.

Respondents answers*	Freq.	Percent
Wheat	298	94.3%
Barley (Berseem)	264	83.5%
Dates	226	71.5%
Melon	186	58.9%
Vegetable	153	48.4%
Corn	89	28.2%
Clover	40	12.7%

* Respondents chose more than one response

The information from Table 6-3-12 reveals that different kinds of crops are produced. This is a result of the government's encouragement to farmers, not only in this region

but in the whole country (see chapter two). It can be seen from the data that 94.3% of respondent stated that people grow Wheat, and 83.5 said they grow Barley. Those particular crops are bought by the government at a fixed price, while other crops are marketed. Dates were grown by 71.5% of farmers because they are a principal daily food. Melon and Vegetable were grown by 58.95 and 48.4% of the sample, respectively, and only 28.2% and 12.7% respectively grew Corn and Clover.

Table 6.3. 13 Means of irrigation currently in use.

Means of Irrigation	Freq.	Percent
Modern technology only	287	90.8
Traditional and modern technology	29	9.2
Traditional Technology only	0	0
Total	316	100.0

Table 6-3-13 shows that 90.8% used modern technology only in agriculture, though a few respondents (9.2%) used traditional and modern technology side by side. The researcher observed that many people were not familiar with the new technology. Because they did not know how to use it, they employed workers (see section five Table 6.5.8). Modern technology helps people to farm this difficult land. For example, instead of using a *Dalo*, in watering, they now used modern pumps, to save effort and time.

As the researcher mentioned earlier, camels used to play an important role in transportation. However, all the people of the tribe now rely on cars. The researcher observed that many families have more than one car, (see table 6-3-14). If we compare ‘Utaiba women’s occupations, handicraft, and knowledge in the past and at present we will find new jobs and knowledge, for example, car driving in the desert, when the Beduw move from area to other. For women to drive cars is, strictly speaking illegal in Saudi Arabia, but in the rural areas it is often necessary, especially if the men have left

for jobs or study. So the girls do it to help their families. At the same time, many girls or boys force their family to settle in a village or city so they can study and, as a result, many women from the tribe teach at schools in the Al-Duwadmi village or in the cities nearby.

Table 6.3. 14 Number of cars respondents have

Cars	Freq.	Percent
One	178	56.3
Two	96	30.4
More than two	31	9.8
I do not have a car	11	3.5
Total	316	100.0

As mentioned earlier in this section that each *Hamulah* (lineage) used to have only one car or perhaps none at all. However, table 6-3-14 shows that now, while over half of the respondents (56.3%) had only one car, almost a third had two cars and some had more than two. The researcher observed that people had different makes of cars, such as American, European and Japanese cars. Many families had two or three different cars. Some kept a car with a driver to take children to school and to take women to the markets. Those who had camels or sheep had trucks to carry water and another car to carry their possessions such as tents, food and petrol when they followed their livestock.

Table 6.3. 15 Practice of traditional handicraft.

Respondents Answer *	Freq.	Percent
Spinning wool (<i>al-Shmalah</i>)	85	26.9%
Tanning and making <i>Sammeel</i> or <i>Qarrbah</i>	31	9.8%
Making tents	10	3.2%
Making domestic tools	8	2.5%
Making traditional trinkets	0	0
Making agriculture tools	0	0
No traditional handicraft still practised now	226	71.5%

* Respondents chose more than one response

It can be seen from Table 6-3-15 that a great number of respondents (226) reported that no traditional handicrafts are still practised now. On the other hand, some respondents thought that a few traditional handicrafts are still practised and used by the people of the study area. For example 26.9% of respondents indicated that people spin wool to make the *Alshmalah*, which is used to guard the camel's breast (see figure 6.3.5), and 9.8% of respondents mentioned they made *Sammeel or S'aeen* (small containers) to hold milk, and *Qarrbah* (Water-skins) to keep drinking water cool. On the other hand, making tents is now rare because tents are available in the markets.

Table 6.3. 16 Reasons for the decline of traditional handicraft.

Respondents' opinion*	Freq.	Percent
Modern technology are available	259	82.0%
Because it needs effort and time	221	69.9%
Because using it not suitable	40	12.7%
Because people do not prefer to use it	33	10.4%

* Respondents chose more than one response

The information in Table 6.3.16 reveals the respondents' opinions on reasons for the decline of handicrafts. The great majority thought that the main reason was that traditional handicrafts have been superseded by modern technologies. The second reason given was that traditional handicraft needs effort and time. Other reasons given were that using traditional handicrafts is not suitable, and that they are no longer popular.



Figure 6.3. 7 Traditional tents

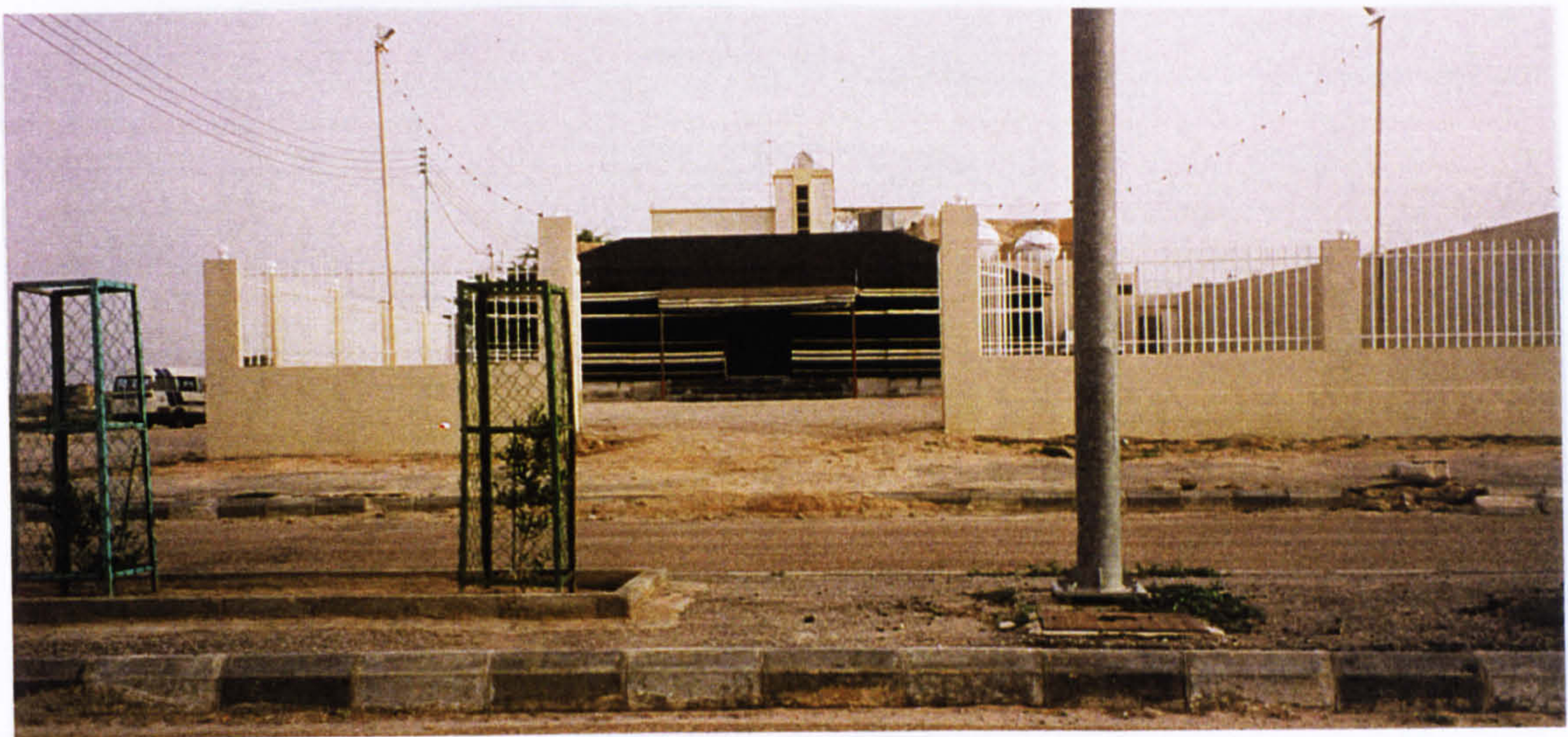


Figure 6.3. 8 A modern black tent erected inside a courtyard



Figure 6.3. 9 *Majlis* (a seating area for guests), interior of a modern black tent, with electric lighting



Figure 6.3. 10 Vehicles, including a water-carrier, following the livestock



Figure 6.3. 11 Camels grazing a farm-land after the wheat harvest



Figure 6.3. 12 The use of technology to irrigate farmland

6.4. Marriage System

In Arabic, marriage is called “*Zawaj*” which means to put or to join things together. Marriage is one of the most important social institutions in any human society, and without doubt there are many values, customs, and marriage traditions, which differ from one culture to another. Marriage is still highly valued in Saudi Arabia society by both men and women. According to Islamic instructions, marriage is a religious duty, a social necessity and a biological need.

6.4.1. Traditional marriage

Among the ‘Utaiba tribe, marriage occurs within a very small circle of kinship. In the past, marriage in the ‘Utaiba tribe was restricted (*al-hajir*) for a girl until she obtained the permission of *Ibn ‘am* (her male cousin), as he had the first claim on her. If *ibn ‘am* wanted to marry her she would not be allowed to marry anyone else, whatever her own feelings in the matter. The girl’s father could not agree to marry her to anybody unless her cousin agreed. If he arranged a marriage for his daughter without the consent of the cousin, he would incur the latter’s enmity and might even be threatened with death. If the cousin did not marry the girl himself, yet refused permission for her to marry anyone else, she would be condemned to spinsterhood. Some families, rather than let this happen, would go to the *Ibn ‘am* and his father, in a group with the chief of the clan or tribe (called *al-Wajahah*, mediation) and ask him to renounce his claim, in which case he could not refuse their request. Although *al-hajir* is contrary to *al-Shariy’ah* (Islamic laws) the custom was perpetuated because, traditionally, first cousin marriage was preferred.

However, *al-hajir* has been given up in the ‘Utaiba tribe because it led to fighting and feuds between sub-tribe, clan, and family. Moreover, the Islamic laws, backed up by the power of the central state authorities, have superseded it (for more details see chapters one and three).

The researcher has observed that even though *al-hajir* has been given up among the tribe (see table 6.5.2) this does not mean the marriage of *Bint al-‘Aamm* “ the paternal uncle’s daughter, has been given up; only the custom that forced a girl to marry her male cousin has been given up. Nevertheless, the people of the ‘Utaiba have a deep-seated preference for marriage between a man and his *Bint al-‘Aamm*, if that is possible. In the second place, the ‘Utaiba people prefer patrilineal parallel cousins within the *Hamulah* (lineage) or the *Fakhath* (sub-clan), which is usually a named patrilineal descent group (for more details see classification of the tribe structure in chapter three).

There were several reasons behind the marriage of *Bint al-‘Aamm* among the tribal people. As mentioned earlier, in the past, the Ghazu (raiding) was practised between the tribal people, so marriage within the *Hamulah* (lineage) or the *Fakhath* (sub-clan) strengthened the protective ability of the unit among the tribes.

An other reason is that when a man married his daughter to someone from his lineage or clan, if she had a problem with her husband, her parents could go to her in her house and solve her problem with her husband. But if their daughter married outside the tribe, the parents could not go to their daughter in her house when she had problems, as it would be considered very shameful among the tribe people. They would have to wait until her husband brought her to their house, by which time she might be divorced. So marriages with patrilineal kin among the Beduw are more likely to be successful and rarely ended to divorce. Moreover, a man and a wife who were a related would appreciate each other’s abilities.

In the past, marriage was not expensive. Shabab said many men of the clan married three or four wives. He said “ The *Maher* (marriage gift and offer) was modest. When I was married, my *Maher* was only one camel and some sheep, plus a little coffee and cardamom”. As Shabab said, in the past many people married two or three wives. Most wives actually welcomed such an arrangement because it meant they had help with weaving tents, and other tasks necessary to live in a difficult and harsh environment (see women handcrafts in section 6.4 in this chapter).

Marriages were arranged and performed in three stages:

Al Khutbah (Negotiation): In the past, Beduw life was straightforward, and people knew each other well because they moved together and settled together. Within the ‘Utaiba tribal lineage, parents talked about marriage for their offspring while the latter were still children. For example a woman might say to her brother or sister when his or her daughter was a baby or child, “Your daughter is a lovely and beautiful girl. I will marry her to my son, *Inshaallah* (hopefully).” A man might say to his brother or sister, “When my son reaches puberty I will marry him to your daughter, *Inshaallah* (hopefully).” These comments served as introduction. Serious *Khutbah* (Negotiation) began between the prospective groom’s and bride’s fathers or brothers when they were still young. Among the ‘Utaiba, many girls married early, as soon as they reached puberty and were considered ready for married life. For example, boys and girls of 14 or 15 years old were considered ready to marry. The boy’s father or older brother would go to the girl’s father or older brother and negotiate with him, telling him that the boy wished to marry the girl. Usually the girl’s representative would ask for time for consultation. If her family were agreeable they would give the boy’s relations their consent. After that, they would arrange the engagement. Parents always encouraged their

sons to depend on themselves and take on the responsibility of establishing a household. Even now, parents pressure their sons to get married, but their sons delay marriage in order to get a job. Parents prefer to marry their sons to close relatives. Finally, parents never mentioned their *Khutbah* to anybody until the engagement was finalised.

Milkaah (engagement): This was the second stage, After the parents had agreed on the *Maher*, the girl's father arranged for *Milkaah* at his house. He invited the *Mumlek* (judge) and two witnesses and the woman's father or guardian, and the boy's father or brother. The *Mumlek* (judge) drew up a contract between the two partners, asking the family about the *Maher or jahaz* (marriage gift) or any other condition to be inserted in the marriage contract. The *mumlek* also met the woman and asked her opinion. This happened in the woman's father's house; the marriage contract, *Milkaah*, need not be concluded in a mosque. Among the 'Utaiba tribe, *Milkaah* took place in secret in the bride's father's house. Only when it was concluded did they tell their relatives, financially and receive their congratulations. After that the man would go to prepare himself for marriage, which might take a long time or a short time, depending on his ability. Among the 'Utaiba, *Milkaah* would take place a month or a year or more before the marriage. When the *Maher* (marriage gift) was ready, the man could arrange with the woman's father a night for the wedding. Some families have been asking for a higher *Maher* than the husband could offer. In the past the *Maher* did not necessarily take the form of money, but could be either a female camel or a sheep. Usually the *Maher* was sent to the bride's household one or two weeks before the first night of the wedding.

Lealat Al 'Arrs (the first night of the wedding). This was the last stage of the marriage arrangements. Usually, weddings were held on a Thursday, the weekend. The groom's and the bride's families invited their relatives to the bride's house, and they started to prepare for the wedding ceremony. They would put up three or four tents or *Bayt AlSha'ar* to be used by guests. Relatives would help the young couple in starting their married life by giving them gifts, such as money, camels or sheep.

As the guests arrived for the party, they would participate with the others in organizing it, for example putting up tents, making coffee, killing sheep, cooking food and so on. Throughout these preparations and the marriage ceremony, men and women remained separate.

Moreover, traditionally, some mothers did not tell their daughters about the marriage night until one or two nights before the wedding was due to take place, especially when the bride was young (14 or 15 years). In preparation for *Leylat al-daklah* (the night of the ceremony), the bride's hair, hands and feet were painted with *Mahsat* or *henna*. She wore *thuob mozakrach* (an ornamented, decorated dress). The groom, wearing a white or black *Besheet* or *Mashlah* (robe) and *'Agaal* (headband) sat on a *Zowleyah* (rug) in the centre of the guests. Other young boys would serve the guests Arabic coffee and tea. Usually, a couple of sheep or a *Q'aawod* (young camel) would be slaughtered for the feast, to express hospitality toward the guests.

After dinner the bride's father or brother accompanied the groom and his father and brothers to the tent where his wife was waiting for him. At the same time, people fired rifles or guns. Then, the companions returned to the party, leaving the groom and his wife alone. The men began dancing and singing with each other, while the women started dancing and singing together, separately from the men, until late into the night. The following morning, they would go and congratulate the newlyweds. After that, the

bride's family said goodbye to her, because she would be going to live with her husband's family.

6.4.2. Marriage customs today

The traditional marriage customs and values have undergone some change among the 'Utaiba tribe. For example, the folk dancing no longer takes place. New customs have become established, such as the use of invitation cards or invitations in newspapers. The bride knows about her marriage from the time of the *Milkaah* (contract of marriage).

Another change is that marriage ceremonies often take place in a special building set aside for weddings, called *Qasser Alaafrah*. Moreover, the groom takes his new wife to his own house and not necessarily to live with his family (see tables 6-4-7 and 6-5-4).

With the increasing cost of living, it is rare for 'Utaiba men to marry three or four wives

Respondents were asked whether a person desiring to get married chose his wife by himself only, or in consultation with his relatives. Their responses are shown in table 6-4-1.

Table 6.4. 1 Who chooses a man's wife?

	Freq	Percent
Person himself	314	99.4%
His father	273	86.4%
His mother	228	72.2%
One of his relatives	7	2.2%
One of his friends	2	.6%
<i>Khutbah</i>	0	0

* Respondent chose more than one response

Table 6-4-1 reveals that the highest percentage of respondents, indicate that the wife was chosen with the assistance of either or both of the men's parents. This can be seen as a continuation of the traditional family system, reflecting the relationship between sons

and their parents, and also the fact that, as mentioned earlier (see chapter two) in Saudi Arabia, as an Islamic society, the authority of the family is in the hands of the father, who is the head of the family. This assistance is not only in choosing the sons wife. When sons meet a problem, or before they take any decision, they will consult their parents or older brothers (see section five table 6-5-2).

Table 6.4. 2 Practice of *al-hajir* (for a girl until she has obtained the permission of her male cousin *Ibn 'am*).

	Freq	Percent
Nobody does that	258	81.6
Some families do that	49	15.5
People do that	9	2.8
Total	316	100.0

Table 6-4-2 shows that the majority of respondents (81.6%) believed that the people of the tribe did not practice *al-hajir* for a girl. Only a very few (nine respondents) thought that the custom was still current. Though in the view of 15.5% of the sample, this traditional custom was practised, but only by “some families” depending on the circumstances. Thus, the *Ibn'am* (male cousin) cannot stop his female cousin from marrying another person. According to the “*Fatwa*” (the judgement) of scholars of jurisprudence the practice is *Harram* (prohibited). Since it goes against Islamic law, most people have abandoned it.

Respondents were asked about the number of their wives. Their responses are summarised in the following table.

Table 6.4. 3 Number of wives of respondents

	Freq	Percent
One wife	252	79.7
Two wives	17	5.4
Three wives	0	0
Four wives	0	0

It can be seen from Table 6-4-3 that the largest group in the sample was of those who had one wife, and a small number of respondents had two wives. None of them had three or four wives. Islam requires that if more than one wife is taken they must be treated equally. If each wife needs a house, this will cost a lot of money. In addition, marriage to more than one wife creates a heavy financial burden because the *Maher* is expensive (see table 6-4-4). These difficulties have contributed to the decline of polygamy.

The following table (Table 6-4-4) shows respondents' perceptions regarding the level of the *Maher* (marriage gift) at the present time.

Table 6.4. 4 Respondents' opinions as to whether the *Maher* is expensive

	Freq	Percent
Yes	302	95.6
No	14	4.4
Total	316	100.0

It can be seen from the table above that the overwhelming majority (95.6%) in the sample was of those who indicated that the *Maher* is expensive. The majority of people now give gold, money, clothes, rugs, carpets or furniture. Moreover, some people give the bride's father a car or land or farm. The researcher attended Trki's marriage. Trki's

family gave the bride's family gold and diamonds, valued more than 110,000 SR (about 21,500 pounds) and gave her father a Mercedes Benz car. This was because of the social situation of the bride's father. He was the leader of the family clan, so the groom's family did that to show respect for him. At this marriage eight *Q'aawod* (young camels) and thirty-five sheep were killed for the splendid meal. This marriage was held in *Qasser Alaafrah* (see table 6-4-7). *Mahers* (Dowries) currently present a serious problem among the 'Utaiba tribe, because the groom cannot afford the level of gift, which has come to be expected.

Table 6.4. 5 Who decides the *Maher* (marriage gift)

	Freq	Percent
Groom's family	161	50.9
Bride's family	93	29.4
By consultation between the two families	40	12.7
Groom only	14	4.4
There is a limited <i>Maher</i> within the tribe	8	2.5
Total	316	100.0

The data in Table 6-4-5 show that half of sample reported the *Maher* is decided by the groom's family, while 29.4% of the respondents said the bride's family decide it, and 12.7% of the respondents mentioned that the *Maher* is decided by consultation between the two families. A small number of respondents thought there is an agreed limit on the *Maher* within the tribe.

Table 6.4. 6 Who assists the groom in paying the *Maher*?

	Freq	Percent
Groom, friends, relatives and family	226	71.5
Groom and his family	64	20.3
Groom only	12	3.8
Family, relatives and friends	12	3.8
Family only	2	.6
Total	316	100.0

It can be seen from the data in the above table that the groom rarely pay the *Maher* by him self. The majority of respondents reported that relatives, friends and family assisted the groom in paying the *Maher*. This traditional custom still practised within the tribe.

Table 6.4. 7 Where marriage party is usually held

Marriage party held	Freq	Percent
In the house of marriage <i>Qasser Alaafrah</i>	257	81.3
In the bride's family house	33	10.4
In the groom's family house	16	5.1
In the tents	10	3.2
In the hotel	0	0
Total	316	100.0

As the researcher noted earlier, family or clan members help each other with marriage arrangements, for example putting up three or four tents or *Bayt AlSha'ar* to be used by guests. Table 6-4-7 shows that a change has taken place in the society; 81.3% of the sample noted that marriages are now held in *Qasser Alaafrah* (see figure 6.3.3 p208).

Table 6.4. 8 Characteristics which the respondents look for in a wife by age.

Items	Age						X ²	Sig.	
			15-30	31-40	41-50	51+			Total
From inside the tribe	Yes	Freq.	95	61	54	67	277	15.264	.000
		%	79.8%	85.9%	94.7%	97.1%	87.7%		
	No	Freq.	24	10	3	2	39		
		%	20.2%	14.1%	5.3%	2.9%	12.3%		
Religious	Yes	Freq.	96	56	44	63	259	5.542	.136
		%	80.7%	78.9%	77.2%	91.3%	82.0%		
	No	Freq.	23	15	13	6	57		
		%	19.3%	21.1%	22.8%	8.7%	18.0%		
Educated	Yes	Freq.	107	59	15	12	193	140.477	.000
		%	89.9%	83.1%	26.3%	17.4%	61.1%		
	No	Freq.	12	12	42	57	123		
		%	10.1%	16.9%	73.7%	82.6%	38.9%		
Beautiful	Yes	Freq.	90	41	19	12	162	68.496	.000
		%	75.6%	57.7%	33.3%	17.4%	51.3%		
	No	Freq.	29	30	38	57	154		
		%	24.4%	42.3%	66.7%	82.6%	48.7%		
Fertile	Yes	Freq.	33	19	33	51	136	51.009	.000
		%	27.7%	26.8%	57.9%	73.9%	43.0%		
	No	Freq.	86	52	24	18	180		
		%	72.3%	73.2%	42.1%	26.1%	57.0%		
Wealthy	Yes	Freq.	6	2			8	6.335	.096
		%	5.0%	2.8%			2.5%		
	No	Freq.	113	69	57	69	308		
		%	95.0%	97.2%	100.0%	100.0%	97.5%		

Note: X² = chi-square

df. = 3

N = 316

*Respondent chose more than one response

It can be seen from the Table 6-4-8 that the great majority preferred a wife from inside the tribe, while only 12.3% of the sample wanted to marry from outside the tribe. Half of the respondents valued beauty in a wife; was particularly the case among younger men less than 30 years. In the view of 82.0% of the sample, a wife should be religious. Those who want her to be educated and fertile represented 61.1% and 43.0% respectively. Very few people attached importance to wealth.

A X² test was carried out to see if there was any significant association between respondents' age and their opinion about the characteristics desirable in a wife. It can be seen from the table that in all cases except the items concerned with wealth and religion, the results are statistically significant (p < 0.01). Thus, it can be said that respondents'

beliefs about wives' characteristics vary according to their age. The youngest age group are less likely than others to choose their wives from inside the tribe or to worry about fertility, but they value looks and education more than do the older men.

The following table (Table 6.4.9) shows the respondents' perceptions regarding the reasons encouraging people to choose their wives from inside the tribe.

Table 6.4. 9 Reasons for choosing a wife from the tribe

Reasons	Freq	Percent
It was what my parents wanted	197	62.3%
A wife who is a relative would appreciate my ability	160	50.6%
To follow the customs and values of the tribe	150	47.5%

* Respondent chose more than one response

It can be seen from the table above that the most frequently given reason pushing tribesmen to marriage from inside the tribe is that this was what their parents wanted. Half of the sample thought a wife who is a relative would appreciate their ability; almost as many reported the reason is to follow the customs and values of the tribe, this will be discussed in more detail in chapter seven.

6.5. Family system

Among the Beduw tribe in Saudi Arabia the societies lived a simple life, in the traditional family style: extended families were in the majority among the 'Utaiba tribe. The demands of living ordained this kind of relation. It was necessary for three or four generations to band together to carry out their various activities, to face the difficulties of *Beduw* life and, moreover, for protection against enemies. For example a father and his sons, whether married or not, and their sons and their kin or relatives, would all live together. Most of these families were patrilocal extended families. The life of the people in the desert, which is a harsh environment, had a strong influence on family style, economy, social structure, kinship and relationship. For that reason it was common for a father to pressurise his son to marry his cousin, and for the father of a daughter to force her to marry *Ibn 'am* (her male cousin), to ensure that the family's resources were not dispersed and to strengthen the alliance between branches of the family (see section 6.4).

6.5.1. Traditional family system

In the past, family relationships were very strong and dissension within the family was rare. If any problems occurred inside the household, they were controlled quickly. The family co-operated and worked together and if they faced any obstacle, they would join forces in order to find a solution to it, especially against an enemy. For example they helped and joined each other at pasture, watering, movement, and in looking after their land. Consequently, a person prided himself absolutely on his kinship and family, which

protected him from his enemies and fulfilled his needs and desires. Therefore, people appreciated their families and did their best for them.

The main functions of the 'Utaiba family were as follows: First, economic functions. The family itself was an economic cooperative. All the members of family shared duties, for example in the pasture, collecting wood, watering and cooking. They kept herd animals to eat, exchange or sell. Consequently, economic activity depended on the family members' power, and all the family numbers sharing the responsibility. Members of the family would share their property with one another. For example the sons could use their father's horse, camel, gun or *Khanjeer* (knife). The family usually taught their children how to participate and play their roles. If the head of the family was absent and suddenly a guest come to the Beduw family, the mother would send one of her sons or daughters in order to bring a sheep, and she would butcher it and cook the meal, and order one of her sons to prepare *Qahwah* (coffee), for their *Dauoff* (guest). So each member in the family was responsible and played an important role in the family (see section 6.4).

In the past, the people of the 'Utaiba tribe did not employ workers; they depended on themselves. When the researcher asked Majed, aged 65 years, whether he employed staff, e.g. a driver or housemaid in the past, he laughed, and said, "We were not slothful as we are now. In the past, by the 'Utaiba tribe's custom, it was *Aib* (shameful) to have men or women (workers) within the family. We used to do everything by ourselves". "And he said, "I was the first one in the family to drive a car. This was in 1959-1961. This car was the only one in our *Hamulah* (lineage). Every day we needed water, which took much effort. Mahseen and I had to go and draw water from the wells, using a traditional *Dalw* (see section 6.3.1). These wells were very deep and we did this manually, and we filled the *Dram* [a tank holding about 250 k]. Every three days we

needed to fill 17 *Dram* and we did that for about five hours in the morning, before it got too hot". He expressed doubt whether the younger generation would do that, now they are used to depending on employees.

Regarding the authority within the traditional family among the 'Utaiba tribe the grandfather had the authority. He had legislative power and a wide jurisdiction to control the household. He was the head of the family, and they would obey him and have a great respect for him. They consulted him in all their affairs. For example, he would be responsible for deciding the allocation of tasks among members of the family. He organised relations between the family and other families. He decided in what order sons and daughters would be married. He decided when the family would move, and to where. He solved the family's problems.

6.5.2 Current family system

Family ties are still strong among people of 'Utaiba tribe. The researcher observed among several 'Utaiba families that sons who go to live and work in cities give economic assistance to their families who are living in the villages or hamlets. Sunhat said: "I have been living in Riyadh because of my job. Every weekend I have to go to my family, who live in Al-Duwadmi, in order to see my father and mother. I bring with me what they want, such as clothes or food. I give my father money every month. When I have a holiday I visit them immediately, because this is my duty. And if I want to buy or sell something like a camel or sheep or car...etc I have to consult my father and we decide it together".

The current position in Al-Duwadmi, as reflected in the questionnaire responses, can be seen in the tables, below.

Table 6.5. 1 Where respondents are living

	Freq	Percent
In their own home	170	53.8
With father (family)	118	37.3
They rent a house	17	5.4
In a Government house	11	3.5
Total	316	100.0

The data given in Table 6-5-1 show that people living in their own homes, constituted the highest proportion of the sample, 35.8%. On the other hand, a considerable proportion of the sample, 37.3% still lives with their family. This may, in turn, be related to job opportunities; for example some of the younger members of the family tend to move to live in cities instead of living in small villages or hamlets, in order to

get a chance for a job, so they can earn money to help those left behind. A small proportion of the sample (5.4%) were renting a house. Such people would be renting a house in Al-Duwadmi city, and usually have a government job.

Table 6.5. 2 Respondents' opinion as to whom they would consult for advice by age

Items (consult)			Age				Total	X ²	Sig.
			15-30	31-40	41-50	51+			
Father	Yes	Freq. %	116 97.5%	59 83.1%	20 35.1%	2 2.9%	197 62.3%	197.497	.000
	No	Freq. %	3 2.5%	12 16.9%	37 64.9%	67 97.1%	119 37.7%		
Oldest brother	Yes	Freq. %	81 68.1%	45 63.4%	33 57.9%	36 52.2%	195 61.7%	5.126	.163
	No	Freq. %	38 31.9%	26 36.6%	24 42.1%	33 47.8%	121 38.3%		
My sons	Yes	Freq. %		4 5.6%	40 70.2%	69 100.0%	113 35.8%	247.637	.000
	No	Freq. %	119 100.0%	67 94.4%	17 29.8%		203 64.2%		
Relative	Yes	Freq. %	19 16.0%	17 23.9%	37 64.9%	37 53.6%	110 34.8%	55.837	.000
	No	Freq. %	100 84.0%	54 76.1%	20 35.1%	32 46.4%	206 65.2%		
Mother	Yes	Freq. %	70 58.8%	20 28.2%	11 19.3%	3 4.3%	104 32.9%	67.191	.000
	No	Freq. %	49 41.2%	51 71.8%	46 80.7%	66 95.7%	212 67.1%		
Friend	Yes	Freq. %	66 55.5%	26 36.6%	7 12.3%	4 5.8%	103 32.6%	62.105	.000
	No	Freq. %	53 44.5%	45 63.4%	50 87.7%	65 94.2%	213 67.4%		
Uncle	Yes	Freq. %	34 28.6%	16 22.5%	2 3.5%	1 1.4%	53 16.8%	32.347	.000
	No	Freq. %	85 71.4%	55 77.5%	55 96.5%	68 98.6%	263 83.2%		
Clan chief	Yes	Freq. %	3 2.5%	3 4.2%	14 24.6%	18 26.1%	38 12.0%	35.608	.000
	No	Freq. %	116 97.5%	68 95.8%	43 75.4%	51 73.9%	278 88.0%		

X² = chi-square

df = 3

N = 316

* Respondents chose more than one response

The table 6-5-2 reveals that the highest percentage of respondents, when they meet a problem, would consult their father and their old brothers; those represented 62.3% and

61.7% respectively. In practice, sources of help in case of problems appear to be more varied. More than a third of respondents (35.8%) suggested they would consult their sons, 34.8% of would consult a relative and 32.95% would consult their mothers, and 32.6% would consult their friend. Only a few would consult their uncle, and still fewer would consult their clan chief (10.8%).

In all cases except the item concerned with older brothers, the chi-square test indicated statistically significant ($p < 0.01$) differences; thus it can be said that respondent's choice of advisor would vary according to their age. The youngest age group are more likely than others to consult their friends, and less likely than others to consult their clan chief.

Table 6.5. 3 Number of children

Number of children	Freq	Percent
From 1-3	68	25.9
From 4-7	118	44.9
From 8-10	46	17.5
11 and above	31	11.8

The data in Table 6-5-3 show the size of the family among the study sample. The majority of the sample had children, most often from 4-7. Those who had 1-3 children represented 25.9% of the sample. There were, however, some very large families; 17.5% had 8-10 children and 11.8% had 11 or more.

Table 6.5. 4 Where sons live when they get married

	Freq	Percent
With groom's family	258	81.6
In a special home	54	17.1
With the bride's family	4	1.3
Total	316	100.0

Table 6-5-4 clearly indicates that 81.6% of the respondents were living with the groom's family. Only 17.1% of the sample lived in their own home when they got married. Living with the bride's family was rare; only four couples had done this. Saad⁴ said, "When my sons married, both of them left their wives with our family in the village, and went to Riyadh for their job; it is their duty to do that, to leave their wives to help and serve their parents. They come back to us every weekend if they can, or on alternate weekends". However, if their parents want them to stay at home, they can't disobey them, because such customs and values are very important to them and, moreover, are derived from *al-Shariy'ah* (Islamic law) see chapter seven.

Table 6.5. 5 Visiting relatives

	Freq	Percent
Daily	8	2.5
Weekly	165	52.2
Monthly	99	31.3
On special occasions	44	13.9
Total	316	100.0

Table 6-5-5 shows that more than half of the respondents' visited their relatives weekly, and a third of them visited their relatives monthly. Those who visited their relatives on special occasions and daily represented 13.9% and 2.5% respectively.

⁴ From an Interview with Saad Al-Otaibi , Al-Duwadmi, February 1998.

Table 6-5-6, below, presents respondents' opinions about the factors that have weakened the relationships between members of the tribe.

Table 6.5. 6 Respondents' opinion about the factors that have weakened the relationships or cohesiveness between members of the tribe is

The factors	Freq	Percent
Conflict over land	232	73.4%
Migrating to look for jobs	132	42.2%
Fundamentalism with traditional customs and values	66	20.9%
Spread of education	32	10.1%

*Respondents chose more than one response

It can be seen that the largest group (73.4%) in the sample was of those who thought that conflict over land was the main reason that has weakened relationships. 42.2% of respondents believed that migrating to look for jobs was responsible. The third reason, suggested by 20.9% of the sample, was Fundamentalism with traditional customs and values. Only 10.1% of the sample blamed the spread of education.

Table 6.5. 7 Kind of help received or given to relatives

Kind of help	Freq	Percent
On marriage	304	96.2%
When paying <i>al-Deah</i> (blood money)	292	92.4%
When there is a disaster	243	76.9%
When building a house	55	17.4%
When there are festivals	37	11.7%

* Respondents chose more than one response

It can be seen from Table 6-5-7 that most of the respondents (96.2%) noted that people help each other on marriage. Such help might take the form of money or sheep or a camel. The researcher attended Mansour's marriage and he observed that many of Mansour's clan came from the area or from far away to attend this occasion. Some of

them come from the eastern province, some from the western province, and some from abroad. For example, from Kuwait and the United Kingdom...etc. Each of them gave the groom (Mansour) or his father 500 SR (90 pounds) or 1000 SR (180 pounds) or more, and he also received more than 31 sheep and 11 camels. The marriage celebration took two days, including Thursday lunch and dinner in the evening and lunch on Friday. This occasion was held in the *Qasser Alaafrah* (see table 6-4-7).

Almost as many (92.4%) of the sample said they help each other in paying *al-Deah* (blood money). 76.9% of the sample received help when they have a disaster. And those who said they received help when building houses or at festival time represented 17.4% and 11.7% respectively.

Table 6.5. 8 Employment of domestic and other help

The workers	Freq	Percent
Housemaid	171	54.1%
<i>Ra'ae</i>	143	45.3%
Farmer	113	35.8%
Driver	50	15.8%
Other worker	16	5.1%
None	97	30.7%

* Respondents chose more than one response

We saw earlier in this section how, traditionally, the tribe was self reliant in all tasks. The data in Table 6-5-6 present the answers to the question about help employed by families today. The results imply a huge change in family roles, because women are now studying or employed outside the home. It has become common to employ a housemaid to help with cooking, cleaning, shopping and looking after children, (54.1% of the respondents have a housemaid). And this Table shows another kind of change in the present family; 15.8% of the family had a driver. Whereas this would once have been regarded as *Aib* (shameful) people now favour having a driver, to take the members of

the family to work or schools...etc. This was especially necessary, the researcher observed, where the family those had a farm or livestock, located far from home.

Finally, this Table shows that 53.8% the sample employed farmers. This is because basically the 'Utaiba people are not farming people and lack experience in this field, so when they to practise agriculture, they turn to workers to help them.

6.6. Traditional and Modern Entertainment

Among the activities of a traditional family within the 'Utaiba were traditional family entertainment, such as *Sbaq Al hajeen* (Camel Racing). Many 'Utaiba men are skilful at riding camels and they try to keep up this tradition. They teach their children how to ride. Even until now the researcher had observed that in the races, the riders are often children, because they are light and this helps the camel to run faster. Moreover, a few people still use *Rekpy* (special camels for riding). Most of those are the *Ra'aee* (workers) who look after the camels (see table 6-5-8).

Another form of entertainment is *Al Sha'aer* (Poetry). There were many poets in 'Utaiba tribe. Most of them were famous and popular, and were widely known throughout the Arabian Peninsula. They were adept at writing different kinds of poetry, for example, elegiac poetry, love and erotic poetry, lyric poetry, narrative poetry, heroic poetry, commemorative poetry and descriptive poetry. The informants mentioned that poets in the past played an important role in communication between tribes, or within the tribe itself. For example, in the civil wars between tribes that frequently occurred before Saudi Arabian unification, the chief of the 'Utaiba tribe, Muhammad ben Hindi, sent a famous poem to the chief of the Qahtan tribe, Muhammad ben Hadi, during the battles between them in Najd, in Al-Duwadmi region. This poem represented a warning before the battle, and Shlewih Al-Atawi did like that (see chapter four). The role of the poet

comes to the fore on occasions such as festivals, celebrations, farewells and wars. This form of entertainment is still practised by many poets of the 'Utaiba people. Anyone visiting the *Majlis* (plural is *Majlis*) or attending a wedding will observe people listening to the Al Sha'aer (poets). These *Majlis* differ depending on the social class of the people. For example, among the noted poets at the present time are Khalaf Ben Hathal Al-Otaibi; Abdarahman Al-atawi Al-Otaibi; Abaallh ben' Oon Al-Otaibi; Mastor Al Oseemi Al-Otaibi; Kademes Al Oseemi Al-Otaibi: Habeeb Al Azmei Al-Otaibi...etc. these are members of the royal houshold (Al Saud) and the public honour these poets. People enjoy them and invite some of them to their marriage celebrations and parties.

Another form of entertainment is *Qalttat al Rags and Al Gena* (Dancing and Singing). 'Utaiba men are good at dancing and singing. They come from far and wide in order to dance and at weddings or at Eid (*Eid Al-fitr or Eid Al-adha*), to celebrate the breaking of the fast. This hobby is still practised by many people of the tribe, both men and women, but in these parties, men are separate from women.

Another recreation is *Al Seed* (Hunting): Most 'Utaiba men are skilful at hunting, which varies according to the season. For example, in the summer they hunt particular animals such as the *Thub* (this interesting *Thub* is known by its snub-nose, and its tail covered with horny spikes which forms its main defensive weapon; it lives in a hole, anything up to 4-5 feet in depth, which it excavates in spiral fashion). Even now, many people learn this skill from their elders. The 'Utaiba people like to hunt and eat *Thub*. The researcher observed many children enjoy hunting these *Thuban*. They could recognize their holes and hunt them by digging them out or by catching them before they entered the hole. Some people shot the *Thub*. Some people prefer to hunt *Jarbu* (jerboa), which lives in a small burrow with three or four exits. They are very alert and if they hear a footstep or voice, they immediately jump and escape; they can run extremely fast. The 'Utaiba

people like them very much. They still hunt them and eat them. Saleh who is 68 years old said “In the past, we hunted Jerboa simply by using a piece of wood, especially in the day”. But at the present time the researcher observed many young people hunt Jerboas at night using a car headlight to dazzle them; then they can be caught easily. The majority of the ‘Utaiba people are skilful hunters. Their quarry includes *Gazal* (gazelle), *Dabee* (antelope), *Habaara* (bustard) and *Arneb* (rabbit). Utilising either a falcon or greyhound and a rifle, it is possible to catch all these.

From the very earliest times *Sager* (falconry or hawking) has been practised throughout the Arabian Peninsula. Everyone in the ‘Utaiba tribe is proud to have a falcon. They like and enjoy falcons, but at same time, keeping them takes a lot of effort. In the past, people caught falcons in the mountains or in the coastal areas. Then they raised, trained and flew them. The two most commonly used hawks are known locally as the *Hur* or *Shahin*. The former is the aristocrat of the two, and fetches a much higher price. People always give the *Sager* (falcon) a good name, such as Sultan, Nadeer, Faraaj, and Jaraah. The researcher observed some ‘Utaiba people in the desert, village and in the city practising this skill. They used *Sager* and they traded them. Nowadays, they fetch prices of 12,000 or 7,000 or 3,000 pounds each bird. With *Sager*, men can catch *Hubara* (bustard) (the principal game hunted with *Sager*) or gazelle or rabbit. These hobbies are passed on from generation to generation; boys of 10-15 are taught how to hunt by *Sager* or by rifle.

Another form of entertainment was story telling. *Hejayah* Some old people are good at telling their children stories. These people (men or women) called *al-qassasen* talk to children and telling them stories, tales about their tribe or about battles between tribes or about the bravery of the ancestors, and poetry about Beduw life, or about tribal wisdom and bravery.

Foot races may be held among members of the family or neighbours, usually if somebody visits them. Or they may play *Gamemah* (One person is blindfolded. All the players must stay within a circle marked on the ground. The blindfolded one tries to catch any person and hit him. The person who is caught is blindfolded in turn and they continued the game). The coffee ritual also provides entertainment, especially when people have guests. The men and children would sit around the fire, in the early morning or in the evening, to talk about their life and exchange news.

The current position within the tribe in the study area, as reflected in the questionnaire responses, can be seen in table 6-6-1, below.

Table 6.6. 1 Forms of entertainment in the respondents' houses

Entertainment in the house	Freq	Percent
Radio and recorder	309	97.8%
Television	280	88.6%
White tent	135	42.7%
Black tent	103	32.6%
Videos	92	29.1%
Satellite	80	25.3%
Library	77	24.4%
Computer	54	17.1%
Swimming pool	12	3.8%

* Respondent chose more than one response

It can be seen from the above table that the vast majority of the respondents had radio and cassette recorders and television. And another new change within the tribe is that those who had satellite represented 25.3% of the sample (see figure 6.3.1 p208) Videos, libraries and computers were owned by 29.1%, 24.4% and 17.1% of the respondents respectively. On the other hand, there is some continuity, such as those who had black or white tents representing 32.65 and 42.7% of the sample. Some of these tents are in fashion while some people still handle the traditional tents. The researcher observed that people used the tent as *Majlis* (guests, sitting room) and spent several hours in these *Majlis* every day. In this new style of tent (see figure 6.3.9 p.217), people came to listen

to the *Al Sha'aer* (poets) while coffee, tea, dates, and *Bakhour* (incense) were passed around. Moreover, some people sitting in these tents play *Balot* (Cards).

Table 6.6. 2 How respondents spend their leisure time by age

Items		Age					X ²	Sig.
		15-30	31-40	41-50	51+	Total		
Trip to the desert	Yes	Freq. 88 % 73.9%	54 76.1%	50 87.7%	58 84.1%	250 79.1%	5.898	.117
	No	Freq. 31 % 26.1%	17 23.9%	7 12.3%	11 15.9%	66 20.9%		
Visiting relatives and friend	Yes	Freq. 90 % 75.6%	53 74.6%	49 86.0%	52 75.4%	244 77.2%	3.051	.384
	No	Freq. 29 % 24.4%	18 25.4%	8 14.0%	17 24.6%	72 22.8%		
<i>Balot</i>	Yes	Freq. 84 % 70.6%	42 59.2%	25 43.9%	22 31.9%	173 54.7%	29.896	.000
	No	Freq. 35 % 29.4%	29 40.8%	32 56.1%	47 68.1%	143 45.3%		
Watching television and satellite	Yes	Freq. 72 % 60.5%	33 46.5%	10 17.5%	9 13.0%	124 39.2%	55.243	.000
	No	Freq. 47 % 39.5%	38 53.5%	47 82.5%	60 87.0%	192 60.8%		
Reading	Yes	Freq. 44 % 37.0%	32 45.1%	9 15.8%	8 11.6%	93 29.4%	27.299	.000
	No	Freq. 75 % 63.0%	39 54.9%	48 84.2%	61 88.4%	223 70.6%		
Listening to the radio or recorder	Yes	Freq. 33 % 27.7%	18 25.4%	13 22.8%	23 33.3%	87 27.5%	1.973	.578
	No	Freq. 86 % 72.3%	53 74.6%	44 77.2%	46 66.7%	229 72.5%		
Playing football	Yes	Freq. 71 % 59.7%	12 16.9%			83 26.3%	166.637	.000
	No	Freq. 48 % 40.3%	59 83.1%	57 100.0%	69 100.0%	233 73.7%		
Pasturing camels or sheep	Yes	Freq. 1 % .8%	6 8.5%	31 54.4%	39 56.5%	77 24.4%	112.080	.000
	No	Freq. 118 % 99.2%	65 91.5%	26 45.6%	30 43.5%	239 75.6%		
On a farm	Yes	Freq. 8 % 6.7%	20 28.2%	24 42.1%	24 34.8%	76 24.1%	34.743	.000
	No	Freq. 111 % 93.3%	51 71.8%	33 57.9%	45 65.2%	240 75.9%		
Hunting	Yes	Freq. 5 % 4.2%	8 11.3%	23 40.4%	22 31.9%	58 18.4%	45.117	.000
	No	Freq. 114 % 95.8%	63 88.7%	34 59.6%	47 68.1%	258 81.6%		
Traditional sporting game	Yes	Freq. 5 % 4.2%	3 4.2%			8 2.5%	5.443	.142
	No	Freq. 114 % 95.8%	68 95.8%	57 100.0%	69 100.0%	308 97.5%		

X² = chi-square

df = 3

N = 316

* Respondent chose more than one response

The data in table 6-6-2 show that the largest group in the sample was of those who spent their leisure time in trips to the desert. In the springtime, in particular, families like to take a day trip into the surrounding desert to have a picnic or barbecue, enjoy the scenery and play or go hunting. Sometime, they may camp overnight. Almost as many spent their leisure time in visiting relatives and friends, while very few people spent their time in playing traditional sports and games.

In all cases except the items concerned with journey to the desert, traditional games, listening to radio and recorder and visiting relatives and friends, the X^2 test indicated statistically significant differences ($p < 0.01$); thus it can be said that respondents' spent their leisure time differently according to their age. The youngest age group are more likely than others to watch television and satellite, read, playing football, and play *Balot* (Cards), and less likely than others to spend time hunting, on a farm, pasturing camels or sheep.

It can be seen from the Table (6.6.3) that certain forms of recreation, generally of a sporting type, are available only to men. Women do not go hunting, or play traditional games or football, nor do they play cards. They are also less likely than men to make trips, and listen to the radio. On the other hand, women are more inclined than men to spend their leisure time visiting relatives and friends (see table below).

Table 6.6.3 How respondents spend their leisure time by sex

Items		Sex		Total	
		Men	Women		
Trip to the desert	Yes	Freq. %	221 80.7%	29 69.0%	250 79.1%
	No	Freq. %	53 19.3%	13 31.0%	66 20.9%
Hunting	Yes	Freq. %	58 21.2%		58 18.4%
	No	Freq. %	216 78.8%	42 100.0%	258 81.6%
Traditional sporting game	Yes	Freq. %	8 2.9%		8 2.5%
	No	Freq. %	266 97.1%	42 100.0%	308 97.5%
Watching television or satellite	Yes	Freq. %	113 41.2%	11 26.2%	124 39.2%
	No	Freq. %	161 58.8%	31 73.8%	192 60.8%
Listening to the radio or recorder	Yes	Freq. %	78 28.5%	9 21.4%	87 27.5%
	No	Freq. %	196 71.5%	33 78.6%	229 72.5%
Reading	Yes	Freq. %	79 28.8%	14 33.3%	93 29.4%
	No	Freq. %	195 71.2%	28 66.7%	223 70.6%
Visiting relatives and friend	Yes	Freq. %	206 75.2%	38 90.5%	244 77.2%
	No	Freq. %	68 24.8%	4 9.5%	72 22.8%
On a farm	Yes	Freq. %	71 25.9%	5 11.9%	76 24.1%
	No	Freq. %	203 74.1%	37 88.1%	240 75.9%
Pasturing camels or sheep	Yes	Freq. %	62 22.6%	15 35.7%	77 24.4%
	No	Freq. %	212 77.4%	27 64.3%	239 75.6%
Playing football	Yes	Freq. %	83 30.3%		83 26.3%
	No	Freq. %	191 69.7%	42 100.0%	233 73.7%
Balot	Yes	Freq. %	173 63.1%		173 54.7%
	No	Freq. %	101 36.9%	42 100.0%	143 45.3%

6.7. Traditional and Modern Medicine

In the past, health care was limited. There were no doctors, just popular treatments using traditional methods, such as using different kinds of herbs or cauterisation, *a-lkei*. *al-kei* was performed using a cast iron bar, which was put in the fire until it glowed. For example if a child had an illness and did not make progress, eventually, the family would resort to *al-kei*. The mark of the branding iron was made three times-over the head, and two or three times over the abdomen.

Another traditional cure was *al-Jaberah* (bone-setting). This traditional medicine is used in by the people of the tribe in connection with dislocated or broken limbs, whether it be arms or legs, etc... They would take the injured party to the ‘*Mojaber*’, (the man who practises *al-Jaberah*). First, he would try to pull the bone back into place without causing pain to the injured party. Then he would make a splint by taking small branches from a tree and attaching them to the affected limb by wrapping a bandage around the branches. *Hilba* ‘fenugreek’ was used to make a poultice for the healing of damaged limbs. They would heat it up, make a paste, apply it to the damaged limb and then wrap a bandage around it. Also, people eat *Hilba*, as it is believed to make bones strong.

Animal-bites: When a person has been bitten by either a snake or scorpion, he is stopped from drinking milk and his family do not let him sleep for a period of at least twelve hours They stay with him, telling him stories or reciting poetry, to keep him awake. Some people apply dates with salt to the wound, or they cauterise the wound.

In the past some people used camel's urine, as a hair-wash and medicine. These traditional medicines are now rarely used. However, the current position in Al-Duwadmi, as reflected in the questionnaire responses, can be seen in these tables, below.

Table 6.7. 1 Kinds of medicine which respondents preferred for themselves

	Freq	Percent
Go to the surgery or hospital only	184	58.2
Hospital first, then go to traditional medicine finally	125	39.6
Traditional medicine first, then go to hospital	4	1.3
Go to traditional medicine only	3	.9
Total	316	100.0

Table 6-7-1 shows that modern medicine has been widely accepted by the study sample. The majority of them (58.2%) would use only modern medicine (surgery or hospital) in the case of illness, and a further 39.6% would give it priority, though if a cure was not achieved they might resort to traditional cures. Only a handful of respondents adhered to traditional medicine to the extent that they would use it before or instead of modern medicine.

Table 6.7. 2 Kind of medicine respondents preferred for their livestock

	Freq	Percent
Traditional medicine first then go to Veterinarian finally	123	38.9
Go to veterinarian only	97	30.7
Veterinarian first, then go to traditional medicine finally	89	28.2
Go to traditional medicine only	7	2.2
Total	316	100.0

The striking finding from the data in table 6-7-2 is that around two thirds of the respondents used traditional and modern veterinary care side by side; the fact that the proportion who resorted first to traditional medicine was slightly higher than those who would try the vet first, may be explicable in terms of the difficulty of access to a vet in some rural areas. It is noticeable, however, that only 7 respondents were prepared to rely solely on traditional medicine.

6.8. Conclusion

This chapter has presented information gained from anthropological study and a questionnaire survey, about various aspects of life among the 'Utaiba tribe in Al-Duwadmi region, past and present. The respondents covered a wide age range, from 15 to over 60 years, and most, especially the younger ones, were born in settled communities. A wide range of occupations, both traditional (e.g. Livestock breeder) and modern (e.g. civil servant) were presented incomes were moderate, mostly in the range 2001– 6000 S.R per month.

The traditional role of tribal leaders and local customary law as forces of control were discussed. Some of these laws were seen to persist today, albeit in a modified form. However, the questionnaire responses revealed an erosion of the influence of the tribal leader, and an acceptance of modern institutions of social control, namely, the police and district courts.

The economy of the local people traditionally depended on animals (camel and sheep) and necessitated moving from place to place, across difficult desert terrain, in search of

pasture. Men's skills in herding, tracking and so on, were complemented by the handicrafts of the women, who made a variety of useful items from the wool and hooves of the animals. Nowadays, sources of income are varied, people are generally settled and modern vehicles are used for transport, though camels are still kept as a hobby or for status. Few traditional handicrafts are still practiced.

Discussion of marriage customs focused on *al-hajir*, polygamy, dowries, and the role of family influence in choice of mate. It was seen that *al-hajir* had been ousted by Islamic law and polygamy is rare, probably for financial reasons, as dowries are now very costly. Now, as in the past, parents are very influential in the choice of marriage partner. Family ties among the tribe have always been strong and remain so. Young people still defer to the elders of the family in all-important decision – making. A more recent development emerging from the questionnaire findings was the tendency to rely on paid employees.

Entertainment in the tribe was traditionally self-made, focusing on sharing of poems, songs and stories, and traditional sports. The questionnaire findings, however, reveal widespread ownership of entertainment media such as T.V., and little practice of traditional sports and games, though the researcher observed that poetry is still popular. The last aspect of life examined was medical care. Traditional medical practices included cauterization, bone-setting. Current findings suggest that traditional medicine has not been entirely abandoned; though it has largely been superseded by modern medicine. Traditional healers are more likely to be used for animals than people. These findings will be discussed further, and set in the context of the literature, in the next chapter.

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Chapter Seven
Conclusion
Discussion, Findings, and Recommendations

6.1. Introduction

This chapter brings together the key findings the empirical research, which are discussed in the light of previous studies of Beduw life. An attempt is made to analyse the extent and nature of continuity and change in each of the social systems investigated: social control, economic activity, marriage and family and entertainment.

In the light of the trends identified and issues raised, some recommendations will be made that may enhance the life of the ‘Utaiba people in a manner consistent with the social values prevailing among them. Suggestions will also be offered for future research.

7.2. Continuity and Change in the Social Control System of the tribe

Before unification of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, each tribe had its own territory, and each such territory was ruled by a sheikh or Emir *Shamill* (the leader of the whole tribe). Moreover, these tribes practised the *Hima* system, whereby land was protected, for use as grazing. History shows that the ‘Utaiba tribe played an important role with King ‘Abd al-‘Aziz’s army in the country’s unification, especially in Al-Hijaz (the western region). After unification, the Saudi Arabian Government discontinued the role or the position of these leaders, and also, the general assembly of all tribes (for more details see chapter three).

‘Utaiba tribal sovereignty has been replaced by that of the Saudi Government, and the role of the Emir or sheikh has been confined to his own clan. Even there, a decrease in the Sheikh’s power or control is evident, though the sheikh continues to act as a

mediator between his clan and the Government. However, this study shows that 98.1% of the tribe people considered it is not necessary to get permission from the leader or the sheikh to depart from or come to the region, for example for pasture, movements or a job; they accepted the right of individual autonomy in matters of this kind (6-2-1).

As the researcher mentioned in chapter three, when a traditional nomadic tribe resettles in a small village, its new environment influences it and its rules and behaviour patterns change slightly.

From the findings of the study, it is clear that those who are now considered the representatives of their tribe, are not only the leaders of the tribe but also dignitaries and important people, for example, the poets, *Khawis* (companions of princes), the wealthy and people of high status (Table 6.7.4). It was also found that decision-making regarding punishment lies with the judge at the district court, although decision making also lies with the people, as this gives a wider and more unbiased decision regarding conflicts or arguments between people (Table 6.7.5).

The study shows that the role of the sheikhs (leaders) among the tribe has changed; the sheikh was not the only representative of his tribe or clan. The largest group in the sample was of those who thought a variety of people, including the leaders and other elite, represented their clans or sub-clans with other people or tribes (Table 6-2-4). In addition, 33.2% of the people did not believe themselves to be under any obligation of obedience to the leader. Also, in the view of 41.5% of the sample, leaders' requests or orders are not universally obeyed, but only depending on the circumstances. Furthermore, 51.4% of the people thought the leaders could help them to obtain farmland or help them with money, or help them or their sons to get a job, while 38.6% of the tribe's people did not see the tribe's leader as providing any specific help to his

tribesmen. However, in all these cases the youngest people are less likely than others to think leaders can assist them with land, money and help to get a job. Moreover, they are less likely than others to feel an obligation to obey the leaders, most likely to think no one represents them, and more likely than others to think leaders do not provide anything (Table 6-2-2 and 6-2-3).

However, we cannot ignore the role of the Sheikh in his participation alongside the decision-makers in the court, in resolving conflicts. For example, when people have an argument about land and one of them goes to the court and says, "This is my land" the Judge asks him for proof that the land belongs to him. In such cases, the sheikh may be called upon to clarify the situation. This example shows how the leader helps to resolve arguments between people.

From the findings of this study, the tribe's older people or people who have a strong relationship with the Sheikhs are the ones who think people get benefits from the leader, while the new generation are less inclined to think that (Table 6.7.2).

The old people, when a problem or argument occurs within their family, like to solve the problem within their family structure. First, they try to solve it themselves; secondly, they would go to important people; thirdly, they would go to their leader and last of all they would go to the police. They do not like to show people outside their family that they have problems. These traditional values are not observed by the new generation, aged 15-30; they would go straight to the police rather than fall back on traditional ways of dealing with problems (Table 6.7.8).

The tribal societies in the centre of the Arabian Peninsula had their own social structures, which distinguished them, as they led their lives independently. However, in modern times, after these societies were integrated into the wider society, these structures started to dwindle, so gradually they became part of the greater structure, that of the State.

This means that previously common social institutions and systems also underwent some change that influenced almost all aspects of life, including the system of social solidarity. For example, the practice of smaller tribes paying money to bigger ones in return for protection has ceased to exist, as the central government, represented by State Governments, now undertakes full responsibility for providing protection to all individuals. However, the study findings show the continuity and change within the kinds of *al-'Urf* as following:

One of the study findings is that *al-Wajahah* as a kind of *al-'Urf*, continues to be practised; 55.1% of sample reported that it is still in use by the people of the 'Utaiba tribe. Indeed, there is evidence that it is widespread in the whole of the Arabian Peninsula today, and that in this respect the study findings are consistent with reports that can be found about many tribes in the country, in the daily papers and magazines¹.

Across the country, those people who perform *al-Wajahah* refer to “Those who need the reward from Allah and the acceptance of *al-Wajahah*”. An example is that “those people who represented *al-Wajahah*, Prince Sultan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Saud Al-Kabeer and Satem Ibn Tuwalah and Sheikh Jode'a Ibn awad al-Qeysim” were successful in revoking the death penalty previously imposed on the man who killed the son of Jaud'ay.

This story started on the night of the marriage of the son of Jaud'ay. Jaud'ay went to bring the food for the *'Aazeema* (party) from the restaurant and when he returned, the guests told him that there had been an argument between his son and one of his relatives

¹ For examples see Al-Riyadh, Saudi daily paper. Saudi Arabia, 25th May 1999, No 11292 – 36th year, P.18. Al-Riyadh, Saudi daily paper. Saudi Arabia, 27th May 1999, No 11294 – 36th year, P. 3. Al-Riyadh, Saudi daily paper. Saudi Arabia, 31st May 1999, No 11298 – 36th year, P. 15. Al-Hafdh, Muhammed k (2000), “the basis is Islam law, when the people use *al-'Urf*”, *Al-Muhami's Magazine*, V.4 (Ramadan 1420 H) p. 32-35. Al-Riyadh, Saudi daily paper. Saudi Arabia, 27th January 2000, No 11539 – 36th year, P.19.

at the marriage. His son had been taken to hospital as a result of the injuries he had sustained during the argument. Jaud'ay went to the hospital. He was stopped at the gate and informed that his son had died due to the stab wounds he had received earlier. Jaud'ay had five sons. The second was the one that had been killed and he was the one most beloved by Jaud'ay. This happened five years ago. Jaud'ay and the rest of his family felt very distressed at their son being killed in such a manner, over a small issue. The killer was apprehended and put in jail and the process of law ensued. After one year the leader of the Jaud'ay tribe came and told Jaud'ay, " We will give you two million Saudi Riyals (307.692 pounds) to revoke the death penalty on the killer". Another member of the Jaud'ay tribe offered him twenty times the usual amount of *al-Deah*² (blood money in compensation), and another important person offered Jaud'ay twenty million Saudi Riyals (3,000,000 pounds) for blood money. Jaud'ay refused all of these offers. After five years, before the court decided to execute the killer, Prince Sultan with two other dignitaries and important people of the tribe went to Jaud'ay and said, "Whatever you want, we will give you, if only you will release the death penalty". Jaud'ay replied, "I don't want anything from you. My son is dead. Nothing can bring him back". Finally, Jaud'ay discussed the issue with his wife and the rest of his family, and when he met Prince Sultan and the other dignitaries of the tribe said, " My family and I, we do not want anything, no blood money. We release the death penalty from the killer, first of all for the sake of Allah our God and because we don't want two members of our family to be killed; one is bad enough. We do not want the money; the only condition is that if we ever are in need, Prince Sultan and his sons must help us. Even if I die, the help must continue through the members of this family". So the Prince and the people were satisfied and thanked Jaud'ay for his forbearance. This is how the case finished.

² The *al-Deah* is set at 100,000 SR (15,550 pounds)

Two things can be noted from the study. The first is that *al-Wajahah* can only be applied in certain circumstances. One example of *al-Wajahah* not being successful follows. Within the Al-Marashidah (sub-clan of the 'Utaiba), an argument struck up about land rights in Hudajah hamlet and one man killed another member of his clan. He was arrested and court proceedings initiated. Many people tried to persuade the family of the dead man to revoke the death penalty. Dignitaries, including some princes from the Saudi Royal family, some sheikhs and other important people offered fifteen million riyals (2,700,000 pounds) but this was not accepted. The Islamic Court carried out the wishes of the deceased family and the murderer was executed in Al-Duwadmi city, on 16 April 1999.

In such cases as these, there was unanimous agreement among the people surveyed that decision making authority on matters of punishment rests with the court, though *al-Shariy'ah* accepts *al-Wajahah* because it helps the court to decide in difficult issues without contradicting Islamic law.

As mentioned earlier, *Al-Wajahah* is practised by the people in various circumstances (see chapter six). Some of these *al-Wajahah* succeed and others fail. The important thing is that *al-Wajahah*, like other kinds of *al-'Urf*, can be seen as forms of exchange among the people. Whereas, however, exchange theory suggests an instrumental motive for people's actions i.e. they give something in order to get something back (see chapter two), in an Islamic society, the motive may be more complex; there is a spiritual dimension. The return or reward is not necessarily in the form of gifts or favours in this life, but in the form of the person's standing before Allah, and his or her reward in the afterlife.

For example the man who revoked the death penalty on a killer, but refused financial compensation, did so because he believed Allah would give him a reward greater than the money.

Allah said “Be quick for forgiveness for your Lord, and for paradise as wide as are the heavens and the earth, prepared for *Al-Muttaqun* (the pious). Those who spend (in Allah’s cause-deeds of charity, alms etc.) in prosperity and adversity, who repress anger³ and who pardon men; verily’ Allah loves *Al-Muhsinun*⁴(the good-doers)” (Qur’ān 3.133-134).

Most authors who have discussed *al-'Urf* have presented a limited or distorted understanding of it. This is evident in discussions by Burckhardt (1930), Lancaster (1981) and Vassiliev (1998) and others, on *al-Khowah* which they define as tribute. Although *al-Khowah* may (but not always) involve paying tribute, *al-Khowah* does not mean tribute. It has been explained in this study that the basic meaning of *al-Khowah* is travelling companions or companionship (see chapter six).

The traditional custom of *al-Khowah* is still practised by many of the people of the tribe (71%), from all the age groups (Table 6-7-9). *al-Khowah* entails binding duties upon two persons or two groups of persons. When people say “*flan maKhawi 'ala flan*” that means, “this man is company with this man”. Each one of them owes duties of respect, deference, loyalty and help to his *Khawi*. When we say a man is *Khawi*, it means he is *Khawi* with the Emir or sheikh or leader of the tribe. The current situation of today is that the most important people or the leaders of the clans within the tribes are *Khawi* with the princes of the Saudi Royal family. Most of these *Khawi* have a strong and

³ Narrated Abu Huraira (may Allah be pleased with him): Allah’s Messenger (Peace be upon Him) said, “the strong is not the one who overcomes the people by his strength, but the strong is the one who controls himself while in anger.” (Sahih AL-Bukhati, Vol.8, *Hadith* No.135).

⁴ Al-Muhsinun (doers of good, i.e. those who perform good deeds totally for Allah’s sake only without any show-off or to gain praise or fame, etc, and they do them in accordance with the Sunna (legal ways) of Allah’s Messenger, Muhammed).

special relationship with the princes. Moreover, the people who are *Khawi* with the members of the Saudi Royal family have high status among their societies, so when people want help or meet a problem they ask them to solve it. The princes help these *Khawi* in difficulties and give them '*Aadah* or *Sharrhah*, special benefits like a bonus every year. This is an example of a traditional role on practice that continues to the present (for more details see chapter six and table 6.1.5.1). There are also a few people who are *Khawi* with the leaders of the tribes.

Another finding is that 63.9% of the sample noted that the system of *al-Farqah* remains intact, although with some change, because of money becoming more available to people, as well as the contribution of the State in resolving the problems of individuals, for instance redemption of their previous debts.

Currently, with the economic boom in the country in the last two decades, Saudi society, including the tribal society, has witnessed the existence of some form of *Sanadeeg Al'aelah* (family budgets or funds). Most *Fakhath* (sub-clans), *Hamulah* (lineages) and *Thowi* (sub-lineages), including the extended family in some cases, have set up a form of fund, in which all individuals contribute money equally, subject to certain conditions agreed upon amongst the participant members of the family. These funds are used in cases of emergencies, problems facing the family or occasions in which members of the core family take part. For example among the Al-Magaerah clan, assistance from the fund may be given to help a prospective bridegroom to pay the *Maher*; it may be used to enable someone to pay for medical treatment; or if someone has an accident and cannot work, the fund will help to provide for him and his family until he recovers. It should be noted, however, that nowadays, some members of the clan express resentment that large sums money are tied up in this fund, and suggest that it could be used more productively in investment and trading to gain profit. This could become a cause of dissension within

the clan. This potential problem would merit further investigation. This result is similar to that of Al-Otaibi (1995) who found that the system of *al-Farqah* was still evidently adopted in the centre of the Arabian Peninsula, amongst the Beduw tribes, in addition to the existence of the new form of funds.

al-Fazah, as another kind of *al-'Urf*, shows continuity and change. As mentioned earlier, in the past people did *al-Fazah* when an enemy attacked them or when they wanted to attack an enemy, during the time of *Ghazu* (raid) before Saudi unification, this kind of *al-Fazah* has since changed.

Despite these facts, social solidarity amongst the people continues under the influence of heredity, family, lineage, and clan relationships and religion. The researcher observed that during the second Gulf war, when Iraq attacked Kuwait, the people of the tribes went to their tribesmen who were living in Saudi Arabia. In the researcher's experience, in many cities, villages and hamlets in Saudi Arabia, people opened their houses for those who escaped from the war, not only among the 'Utaiba tribe but in other tribes and societies. Such a form of solidarity necessitates much commitment to mutual social exchange.

In the present study, 67.45% of the sample reported that tribespeople requested *al-Fazah* or people offered *al-Fazah* to them when they faced difficulties or problems (see chapter six). Nowadays, this custom is reflected in the common practice of using personal and tribal connections to secure some advantage, such as job opportunity. In fact *al-Fazah* occurs between many people in Saudi Arabia, whether tribal or non-tribal. People are quick to provide help, especially among their relatives or community; and this applies to both old and new generations (Table 6.2.9).

The study shows that *al-Thaar* (blood reprisal) has been abandoned. Capital punishment never existed in the tribal legal system, simply because no one, including the Emir or sheikh himself, had the authority to enact such a punishment. Saudi Arabia, as an Islamic country follows Islamic law (see chapter two), so if somebody has been killed, the relative of the person who died does not go and exact revenge on the killer but goes to the police and leaves the matter to the court judge. He still expects the execution of the murderer, but no longer takes matters into his own hands. One issue in this section, on which there was unanimous agreement, was decision-making authority on matters of punishment; all respondents held this to be the role of the court judge (Table 6-2-7).

Normally the court will impose the death penalty on a murderer. As mentioned earlier, there is only one case in which mercy can be granted, and that is if the victim's family will accept *al-Wajahah* from the people those who come for mediation, and be prepared to waive the right to demand death, usually in exchange for some form of *al-Deah* (blood compensation).

The system of *al-Dakhil* (assistance or entering protection, as an element of traditional law) has changed from how it was originally practised. For example, in the past if a person killed somebody he would go to another tribe and seek refuge from their leader and they would solve his problem, perhaps by paying blood money or giving camels (see chapter six). In other words, when somebody committed crime or killed somebody, the people of the tribe would not give *Dakhil* (protection) from a powerful government. However, today the system of *al-Dakhil* is still practised, but in a different way.

At present, if somebody has a difficulty or very serious crisis, he may come to members of his family or tribe and say "*Dakhilak*, I seek your protection" and they are duty bound to help him. But this system can only be used in relation to problems that are not criminal. Criminal matters must be referred to the courts and Islamic law. For example,

a person called 'Ayaad took a loan from the government to farm his farmland. This loan was 1,450,000 Saudi Riyals (223,000 pounds) The government put him in jail for not repaying his loan and when he had been in jail for about two years, his family and his children visited him and they were upset, facing difficulties. He ordered them to take a letter, which said, 'If you don't help me, my skin will give a bad smell in the jail', to Khalaf. His son, aged twelve, with his wife and other children, went then to Khalaf's house. They knocked on his door and Khalaf's family opened the door and they asked to see Khalaf, but he had gone to Riyadh, So they stayed in Khalaf's house for two days, and when he returned he found them in his house. They said " We are Dakhil for your house". He asked what they wanted. They explained and gave him the letter. The money was too much for Khalaf and he could not pay, even though he would willingly have done so, if he could. However, according to the custom among the tribe Khalaf could not say, "Go out of my house, I cannot help you", as they had claimed the security of his house. He took the letter, but he could not sleep all night, so he wrote some poetry about the matter, twenty lines long, directed to his Royal Highness Prince Salman (the governor of Riyadh city). Early next morning, after *Fajr* prayer (before sunrise), he drove to the Prince's house and demanded to see the prince. The guard said he could see him in his office when business started. Khalaf is famous in Saudi, and known to the Royal family. He again demanded to see the Prince. So the guards telephoned the Prince, who was surprised and he thought it must be very important, because he knew the man well. When Khalaf saw the prince he recited his poetry in a strong voice, then he made *Salaam* (salutation) and told the prince the whole story, and went with the prince to his office and said the poetry again in the prince's office, in front of the people sitting at prince Salman's *Majlis* (gathering of guests). The man was released from jail and went to his family, and Prince Salman Ibn Abdul Aziz paid the debt.

7.3. Continuity and Change in the Economy

As education spread throughout the country, and reached the Beduw tribes in their traditional territories (see chapter four), they began to consider their children's future. Education has played an important role in changing the lifestyle among the people of the 'Utaiba tribe. 91.1% of the respondents had received various levels of formal education; the younger people tend to have higher levels of education. At present, within the 'Utaiba tribe, 13.0% have continued their education at a training college and 11.3% have finished University (Table 6-1-4). The situation was different before 1970; the older members of the tribe desire to give their children an opportunity of education, to compensate for what they themselves did not have. Considering that formal education in Al-Duwadmi region only started about thirty years ago, an obvious development in the educational services has been achieved. The Saudi government has a mobile school system, where a teacher will live and teach in a tent among the Beduw. He follows them during their movements, and at the end of semester, the students take their examinations in the nearest village. With such developments, the people of the tribe have come to appreciate the important of education. Moreover, education is one of the reasons that encouraged most of the tribespeople to settle (chapter three).

In the past, the main jobs among the people of the tribe were herding and making traditional handicrafts. However, this study showed that the current situation is different. The field data indicated that 62.6% people of the 'Utaiba tribe worked in the government sector in several occupations, for example, teaching, civil service, military, engineering and farming, while many were students. There was a statistically significant relationship between people's age and their jobs. Thus it can be said that people's jobs vary according to their age. People in the youngest age group are less likely than others

to work in traditional jobs such as breeding livestock, either as a main job or as a second job, and more likely than others to be in government or private company jobs (Tables 6-1-5-1 and 6-1-5-2). It was found that the new generation are not interested in keeping livestock for various reasons. 53.3% of them thought it takes too much effort and time, and another reason is that people prefer to work in the government (Table 6-3-9).

The multi-resource economy has become apparent in this study. Among the people of the tribe, income includes not only salaries, but also other sources of income. In other words, the multi-resource economy within the tribe is behind the increase in people's income. For 72.5% of the tribespeople, their main income source was from the government (Table 6-3-6).

The majority of tribesmen (34.5%) had income of from 4000SR-6000SR (Table 6-1-6). Most of them had a second job. For example, 125 tribesmen reported that one of their income sources was livestock grazing. Of these, only 20 had breeding livestock as their main job, while 19 of them were farmers, 2 teachers, 30 civil servants, 3 company employees, 28 military officers, 1 engineer and 14 *khawi*. Similarly, although 118 people derived income from agriculture, only 22 of them indicated that their present job is agriculture while 16 were working as teachers, 28 as civil servants, 8 company employees, 21 in the military, 7 as engineers and 8 as *khawi* (Table 6-3-3). Those whose income was less than 2000SR represented only 12.0% of the sample, and 34.2% of them were illiterate. On the other hand, those whose income was 6001SR and above represented 24.7% of people. Moreover, the majority of them were educated to high school level and above (Table 6-1-6).

The majority of tribespeople (41.7%) among those who had livestock reported that they continued to keep camels because it would give them high status in their society, while 30.5% said that they did so because it is interesting and enjoyable (Table 6-3-8). The

researcher met many tribespeople who, after retiring from government or military service, returned to breeding camels. Only 27.8% of the people said that they kept camels in order to benefit by selling them. This can be interpreted as good evidence that people do not keep camels primarily for sale only but as a hobby and as part of their identity. This finding among the 'Utaiba contrasts with earlier findings that some tribes had abandoned camel herding:

The traditional camel herding tribes such as the Aneza and Shammar also quickly converted to sheep herding when it became more profitable (Chatty, 1974; Lancaster, 1981; Lewis, 1987), despite the earlier stigma attached to it (Leybourne, 1998).

In summary, among the 'Utaiba tribe the practice of camel grazing still continues, for a number of reasons. To keep and use camels confers an important position in society and also breeding camels is enjoyable and interesting to some people. Keeping camels is also a way of keeping the family *Wasm* (*Wasm* is represented by the identity mark each tribe puts on its camels); usually the *Wasm* refers to clan or lineage, and shows to whom the camels belong. Every *Hamulah* (lineage) among any tribe had its own *Wasm*, which means each tribe had many *Wasms*. These *Wasms* are different in style, and placed on different parts of the camels such as in face, neck, thighs and shoulders, on the left or right side and high or low (see figure 7.1).

In other words, keeping camels among the 'Utaiba is symbolic of maintaining identity, dignity and status, and gives the tribe a good reputation with other tribes. Ibn Khaldon, in *Muqaddimah* (in his introduction) emphasizes, "camel herding Beduw tribes had always been regarded as more 'noble' among tribesmen (Khaldun, 1967)".

Tribal Wasms (Brands)

The researcher shows below some examples of different tribes' Wasms (brands) as noted by Dickson (1949), Al-Haddad (1981) Webster (1987).

His Majesty King 'Abd al-ZiZ (Ibn Saud) o p o
Placed on the right thigh

Muhammad Ibn Saud o | o
Placed on the right thigh

The 'Ajman Tribe

Al Hithlain · | ·
Placed on left cheek

Al Sulaiman ↑
Placed on left neck, low

The 'Utaiba Tribe

Ibn Humaid (Sheikh of Barga sub-tribe) T
Placed on off fore shoulder.

Ibn Rubay'an (Sheikh of Roug a sup-tribe) - ||
Placed on left side of neck.

The Murrah Tribe

Al Naqadan · | o
Placed on right cheek

Al Jufaish - v o
Placed on left cheek

The Mutair Tribe

Al Duwshan - ||
Placed on left thigh

Al Fagam T /
Placed on left neck
Also on left cheek

Figure 7. 1 Tribal Wasms (Brands)

Moreover, this study's finding contrasts with the finding of Al-Haddad in his study among the 'Ajman tribe:

In Al wadi, the value of camels as property decreased while that of sheep and goats steadily rose (Al-Haddad, 1981, p. 212).

It also contrasts with the finding of Al-Jifri in his study among the Beduw in Saudi Arabia, that:

Many Beduw, camel breeders, changed from keeping camels to keeping sheep and goats in order to supply the local markets (Al-Jifri, 1989, p.159)

Al-Haddad and Al-Jifri looked at this issue from the economic aspect only, but that is misleading; the important factor encouraging the Beduw tribes, including the 'Utaiba tribe, to keep camels is their social value, and as means of keeping their identity and link with their ancestors, in other words, to maintain their *Wasm*. The researcher observed that the 'Utaiba tribesmen who have camels come from a wide range of backgrounds. Some of them are in high-status jobs and some in normal jobs in the government; some can barely read while others have a Ph.D. obtained locally or in the United Kingdom or U.S.A; some them are working and some are retired; some living in villages, or in cities; some of them have a very modern lifestyle; others more traditional, and so on.

Moreover, the researcher has observed that many other people from other societies, which are not Beduw or tribes, have become interested in camel breeding, because of its social value feature, and economic value.

This is in contrast to Sabir's comments:

The change, undergone by the society, affected all aspects of the Beduw life. There is no social value of the camels, and the keeping of this animal does not symbolise for any value (Sabir, 1986, p34).

In addition to its social value, the camel is valuable among the tribes in Arabian peninsula, because some people like to drink camel milk and eat camel meat. Nowadays, a small quantity of fresh camel's milk is available in the market in villages and cities. Camel milk has a social value; people give the milk to their guests to symbolise hospitality.

Another social value of camels is that depending on the guest's social status, people slaughter a camel or sheep. In general, a sheep is slaughtered, but if the guest is, for example a Sheikh, dignitary or member of the royal family, a camel will be slaughtered. The Beduw say *al-Rajal tanazell manazelah* (depending on the social status of men (the guest) the '*Aazeema* (party) has to be suited to the occasion).

The other social value of the camel is that, like people among other tribes, 'Utaiba people give camels to people as a gift to assist them on marriage. The giving of a camel, rather than a sheep, on such occasions, depends on the status of both giver and recipient; the giver may provide a camel as a demonstration of his success and prosperity. Moreover, if the recipient is a dignitary or important person a camel will be considered a more appropriate gift than a sheep, as befitting his status.

The researcher has observed that nowadays, young people are interested in breeding livestock, especially camels. Many of them said that camels would give them value and social status among their relatives, friends and the society, so people encouraged them to keep camels and many of their friends visited them in the desert especially at weekends. On such occasions, the group would enjoy themselves holding barbecues, drinking camel milk and listening to poetry.

Now, it has become a fashion to keep camels, especially for the dignitaries and important people, who regard them as a status symbol or fashion item. In this way, as

well as by breeding sheep, the Beduw contribute to the national economy of Saudi Arabia.

In addition to confirming the status value of the camels among the tribesmen, the research revealed a preference for practising pasturing in the desert (the traditional way) rather than keeping the livestock inside their farms (table 6-3-6). Some people, even though they had farms, did not like to confine their camels to the farms. This could be for various reasons, such as that they had many camels, so needed a wide area for them, or because they knew particular plants were preferred by their camels or sheep. This leads to variations in the flavour of milk and meat produced. Eead (one of my informants) said people like the milk of camels that have eaten wild plants, which make the milk tasty. When people want to buy camel, they will ask whether it was pastured on a farm or in the desert; people prefer the meat of camels or sheep, which have been pastured in the desert. Finally, some of the 'Utaiba people have such a strong respect and affection for their camels that they believe it is shameful to confine them on a farm. Keeping livestock was once the main occupation of the tribe. Although the 'Utaiba people continue to breed livestock (Table 6-3-5) the way this is done has changed as now, most of them (68.9%) depend on a *Ra'ae* (special worker who looks after livestock). The researcher observed that the *Ra'ae* had a car, tent, food and car-tanker, and moved from place to place according to what the livestock owner wanted. When the researcher asked Eead,⁵ "Do you or your sons stay the whole week with your camels?" he said, "No we do not. My sons are in the military; as for me, it depends on the situation. For example in the spring when we have a holiday, the whole family come and we stay a few weeks, and usually we invite our relatives to come and enjoy the gathering. The second situation is if I want to move with my camels looking for grazing. This takes me a couple of days until we settle down. However, at least every weekend I

⁵ From an Interview with Eead Al-Otaibi , Al-Duwadmi, February 1998.

have to see my camels and instruct my *Ra'aee*, and recommend and direct him to where he should go with the camels and what he should do until I get back”.

Many 'Utaiba people have sheep and camels in the desert and they have workers looking after them. These workers are of various nationalities, coming from Sudan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Egypt, India, Iraq, Somalia and Sri Lanka. When I asked Qazee about this, he said: “We find the best workers to look after camels are the Sudanese and Somalis because they have experience in this job, and they know how to deal with them, such as Beduw tribes of al Rashaadah and Kababish.” Asad (1970) in his study of the Kababish Arabs in a nomadic tribe of Sudan described their skill and experience with camels. The settled people go to their animals at the weekends, or sometimes they go to them in the holidays, especially in the winter or in springtime. They have different and special cars so they can move from one place to another easily.

The employment of *Ra'aee* is part of a general trend to employ help for tasks that were previously performed by the 'Utaiba themselves. Our study shows that it has become common to employ a housemaid to help with cooking, cleaning, shopping and looking after children. 15.8% of the family had a driver (Table 6-5-8). Indeed this trend is evident, not only among the tribe, but across the whole Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, creating a huge population of immigrant workers constituting 27.4% of the population (Statistical Yearbook, 1996). This mingling of cultures inevitably leads to mutual influences, bringing changes in values and customs among Saudis and among the various immigrant groups.

The study showed that 37.3% of respondents had farmland; the great majority of them (79.7%) got their land as a grant (Table 6-2-10). Two issues are worth pointing out here. The first concerns the availability of land. As the researcher mentioned earlier, Al-Duwadmi region covers a large area and contains many villages and hamlets (*Hijar*),

(see chapter three). However, nearly half of these villages or hamlets are located on land that is unsuitable, for agriculture, because they are located in the Arabian shield (the water in this area is not suitable for practising farming), and the Ministry of Agriculture has advised people to avoid practising agriculture in these regions. On the other hand, the other villages or hamlets which are located in the other half of the study area are agricultural, because of their rich water resources and fertile land.

The other issue is how people obtained farmland as a grant. That is a very complicated matter. People whose homes are in agricultural areas are lucky; some clan leaders distributed clan lands to members, and others shared their land with people from other clans and so on. When a person received promotion from the leader of his clan, the leader would send one of his men to show him some land, which was not owned by any particular person or institution, which meant it was free land. If a person takes such land and cultivates it without anyone else claiming it, according to Islamic law it will become his land. The leader or Emir and the local court and Ministry of Agriculture must ratify such ownership. Evidently, agriculture has played an important role in changing the economy and social life style within the tribe, but what is the main reason behind the tribe's practice of agriculture? The highest proportion (65.3%) of those who had farms said that their main reason for practising agriculture was that they can get help money and an interest-free loan from the government, as can societies throughout the country (Table 6-2-11). What the researcher observed is that when the people got the loan from the agricultural bank, they were not confident that they would succeed in agriculture, so they put some of this money into breeding livestock or trade and kept the rest to farm their land in order to cultivate it and so establish a claim to ownership.

It can be suggested that the Beduw pursued agriculture merely to get money, but in fact they were taking a risk, as they did not know how to cultivate or operate technology such as water pumps or tractors. 90.8% of people of the tribe who had a farm used modern technology only in agriculture (Table 6-2-13), because modern technology helps people to farm this difficult land, for example instead of using a (*Dalo*), in watering, they used modern pumps, to save effort and time. However, because they did not know how to use these appliances, none of the Beduw worked their farms by themselves, but had to employ workers (Table 6-5-8). This finding is similar to those of Al-Ageili (1986) and Nahedh (1989) who found that all those Beduw who had farms depended on foreign labourers.

Various kinds of crops were grown in the study area; this is a result of the Saudi government's encouragement to farmers, not only in this region but also in the whole country, through the Saudi Agriculture Bank (see chapter two). 94.3% of respondents grew wheat, and 83.5% grew barley. The government buys those particular crops at a fixed price, while other crops are marketed. Other crops grown are dates, because they are a principal daily food, and melon, vegetables, corn and clover (6-2-12).

Nevertheless, although people own agricultural land and derive income from it, they do not see themselves as farmers. The prevailing feeling is summed up in the words of the famous poet, Al-Otaibi Khalaf Ibn Hathal;

wen awado geeb al matar lal falieh
Mani be falahen ye 'aideel sawagi
'awadet laley yakasben al madayieh
feaheen tarab qalbey wa lathat mathagi
sowd al bakar al makramat al manayieh
hathey dawat kalfah wa alakara malagi
mlaha tafahag w asmeel ytmayah
trkee ala kabed al hasuod al aragei
anhash 'an nassen tsawy alfadaeyh
tather men been al khwan al shagagei

“When people go back to agriculture after the rain comes”, (he shows the best time to grow) “I will not go back with them to be a farmer”. He emphasises that agriculture is not his real job: “I am not a farmer who directs water to the field”, and says, “I will go back to my camels. They give me high status among the tribal people. When I see them around me I will be extremely happy and taste my beautiful life and this is my favourite time. Those black female camels, they have a lot of milk. When they go back home, one of them with her new baby and the other one pregnant, when people who know camels see them, they will be envious.” Finally he describes the environment that he longs for at home. “ I will escape from the gossips, I cannot stand their gossiping all day, and they make problems between brothers”⁶.

Although this man had a farm, he was not proud to have it, but took pride in his camels. The researcher observed that many tribesmen have such feelings. As mentioned earlier, the tribesmen continue to practise camel breeding because of its social value.

One aspect of camel breeding that has changed, however, is their role in transportation. In the last 50 years or more, one of the main changes that has influenced the Beduw style of life has been motorization. Indeed, all the people of the tribe now rely on cars (Table 6-2-14), and 30% of the respondents have more than one car (Table 6-2-15). The researcher observed that people had various makes of cars, including American, European and Japanese models. Many families had two or three different cars. The use of cars by the Beduw shortens distance, time and effort. Their movement in the past took them many days. Most people of the Beduw now remain settled in their villages or hamlets, and move their livestock to the pasture areas. They use water tankers to transport water to their sheep or camels everywhere. They depend on workers to look

⁶ From an Interview with Hathal ibn Khalaf Al-Otaibi, 24th June 1998.

after their livestock, and visit their livestock daily or twice a day. Motor vehicles have played an important role in giving the Beduw access to markets.

They visit the urban markets regularly, especially on Friday. A visitor to these markets will see it crowded by those Beduw who come to sell their livestock or their traditional handicrafts and to buy what they need.

Regarding other economic activities, this study shows that 71.5% of respondents reported that no traditional handicrafts are still practised at the present time, while 28.5% of the respondents reported that a few traditional handicrafts are still practised and artefacts made by the people of the study area (Table 6-3-16). Moreover, among the ‘Utaiba tribe, men’s and women’s roles and jobs are different; each have their own roles and skills. This is unlike the practice of handicrafts in other parts of Saudi Arabia. For example El-Eryani (1994) in his study in southern Saudi Arabia, found that both men and women performed traditional handicrafts, especially making agricultural tools (see chapter two). On the other hand, this study is different; traditional handicrafts are done by women. For example, they spin wool (*al-Shmalah*), which is used to guard the camel’s breast while she is being milked, and make *Sammeel or S’aeen* (small containers) to hold milk, and *Qarrbah* (Water-skins) to keep drinking water cool (Table 6-2-16). Few women of the tribe practise all these handicrafts (for more details see chapter six). Men are not found in these occupations, because such skills or job and others such as blacksmithing and carpentry are considered shameful by the ‘Utaiba tribe, and it would be beneath the tribesmen’s dignity. There certainly has been continuity, but our finding in this issue seems to be closer to this of Alabbadi (1981)

“Certain occupations are anathema to the Saudi Beduw... to be a carpenter, making agriculture tools, jeweller, tailor, blacksmith, would be beneath the Beduw’s dignity” (Alabbadi, 1981, p.84).

In fact this is a serious problem among the tribal people. The tribal men, especially older people are still reluctant to practise handicrafts, because it is against their tribal customs, but they perform jobs like *al-Ra'ae* (herding), hunting, *Halb alebel* (camel milking), *Wasm* (branding marks) and *Qahwah* (preparing coffee)...etc (see chapter six). On the other hand, if we compare the 'Utaiba people's occupations, handicraft, knowledge and skills in the past and at present we will find new jobs and knowledge. In the past, the main jobs among the people of the tribe were herding, practised by men, and traditional handicrafts, by women. However, the current picture is different.

The study shows that it has become common to employ a housemaid to help with cooking, cleaning, shopping and looking after children. 15.8% of the family had a driver (Table 6-5-8).

Furthermore, many people of the 'Utaiba tribe were engaged in several occupations, for example teaching, government employment, military and farming, while some were students. The majority of respondents (62.6%) worked in various government sectors (Tables 6-1-5-1 and 6-1-5-2). In addition, people aged 51 years and above still bred camels or sheep, either as a main job or as a second job. In contrast, young people, those aged 15-40, were not engaged in these traditional jobs, but preferred government or private company jobs which would secure them a better living and enable them to help their families.

However, among the 'Utaiba women, weaving -such as making tents- is now rare because tents are available in the markets. As a result of modernization, most of the traditional handicrafts have been replaced by the invasion of imported goods. The people of the tribe reported that the reasons behind the decline in handicrafts are the availability of modern technologies, and the time and effort required for traditional handicraft.

On the other hand the researcher has observed is that education is beginning to make new careers available to women. For example, a woman may study tailoring and open her own dressmaking business. Such businesses preserve the social norm of gender segregation; they are staffed only by women (whether indigenous or immigrant) and serve only female clients.

Compared with the traditional dwelling (*Bayt AlSha'ar*) used by people of the tribe in the past, a huge change in the style of housing has taken place. 71.5% of respondents were living in a modern house (Villa), while only three still lived in a black tent (*Bayt AlSha'ar*) or white tent (Table 6-2-2). The widespread ownership of modern houses can be attributed to the interest free loans available from the *Albank Alaagari* (the Real Estate Development Fund, REDF), which grants loans to people to build modern houses. Most of the tribes people settled spontaneously as indicated in chapter three.

However, 32.6% of the people of the tribe had black tents and 42.7% of them had white tents (Table 6-6-1), in addition to their modern houses, consistent with the finding of Alrwes (1998):

“Driving through some of the kingdom’s larger cities, in modern neighborhoods, one often comes upon tents erected in people’s gardens—a symbol of affection for their nomadic past”. (In Alrwes, 1998, p. 152)

Moreover, Al-Haddad in his study among ‘Ajman tribe in Saudi Arabia noted that:

The use of the black tents by the Beduw of Arabia is also considered a major cultural feature that is common among them (Al-Haddad, 1981, p.58).

These tents are in the traditional style, but they are modern, mass-produced versions. Generally, they are machine-made, imported from many countries such as Syria, Turkey, Pakistan, etc.

Most tribal people are continuing to use these *Bayt AlSha'ar* (black tents) as *Majlis* (seating part for guests). It has a fireplace, and a lot of coffee and teapots, because traditional customs, such as the host sitting with his guests and making coffee for them, are still practised (see chapter six and figure 6.3.9).

7.4 Continuity and Change in Marriage and Family

Our study shows that 21.6% of the sample, although living in the area of Al-Duwadmi, also had other property outside the research region. Most of them had homes in Riyadh city, because it is located near to the area, while a small number of them had houses in other cities such as Dammam, Jeddah, Maddenah, and Taif. However, even though people of the tribe moved to live in the cities for work, they did not move completely because they maintained ties with their relatives in the clan or tribe, as well as having property and farming interests in Al-Duwadmi (Table 6-3-4). Cars have played an important role in maintaining contact among people of the tribe. 52.2% of the tribe people visited their relatives weekly, and 31.9% of them visited their relatives monthly (Table 6-5-4).

It was found that polygamy among the 'Utaiba tribe is in decline. 79.7% of the people had one wife, and a small number of respondents had two wives, while none of them had three or four wives (Table 6-4-3). Islam requires that if more than one wife is taken they must be treated equally. If each wife needs a house, this will cost a lot of money. In addition, marriage to more than one wife creates a heavy financial burden because of the increasing price of the *Maher* (marriage gift). Among the 'Utaiba tribe 50.9% of the people reported that the groom's family decides the *Maher*, while 29.4% of the respondents said the bride's family decide it (Table 6-4-5). In fact, there is continuity in the customs because there was no a limit set for the *Maher* within the 'Utaiba tribe. The

groom's family cannot reduce the *Maher* by themselves, they have to be like other people.

This study shows that the overwhelming majority (95.6%) in the sample thought that the *Maher* is expensive.

Changing tastes and social values are reflected in the different forms taken by the *Maher* (marriage gift). This usually took the form of cloth and *Thahab* (gold jewellery). For example, the bride's family might be given 25 or 30 *Tāqat Qamash* (bolts or rolls of cloth) for dressmaking, a similar number of *'abaah* (black cloaks) for outerwear, and quantities of gold jewellery; *Hajowl* (bracelets), *Khateem* (rings), *Hazam* (belt), *Rashrash* (big necklaces like a cuirass). Some of these would be retained for the bride's use, while the rest would be distributed by the bride's mother, among close female relatives. Some people still do this. Today, however, such gifts are less popular. Many women do not favour the heavy *Thahab*; they prefer to have their choice of modern *Thahab* (gold's jewellery) and fashionable clothes. People also like to equip their homes with modern furniture and consumer goods. As a new trend, therefore, it has been observed that it has become customary to pay the *Maher* in the form of money (usually around 100,000 Saudi Riyal or 20,000 pounds) for the bride's family to spend on goods of their choice.

It is customary for the relatives of the bride and groom to give gifts to the bride and her family on the occasion of the wedding. These may take the form of *Thahab*, money or household furnishings and equipment. Moreover, some people give the bride's father a car (see chapter six).

A new trend observed in marriage arrangements is for the bride's parents to impose certain conditions on the groom before they will agree to the marriage. A condition

commonly made nowadays, is that the groom must allow his wife to continue her studies if she wishes to do so. The other condition that is now frequently made is that the couple must have their own private apartment. This does not mean an end to the custom of living with the groom's parents; but within his family house or compound, a suite of rooms will now be provided in which the couple may have privacy.

Mahers currently present a serious problem among the tribes in Saudi Arabia, because most grooms cannot afford the level of gift which has come to be expected. Fortunately, among the 'Utaiba, the people of the tribe assist the groom in paying the *Maher*; our study shows that the groom rarely pays the *Maher* by himself. The majority of respondents (96.2%) reported that relatives, friends and family assisted the groom in paying the *Maher* (Table 6-4-5- and Table 6-5-7).

In addition to helping each other on marriage, the tribesmen exhibited solidarity through various activities. There were several kinds of assistance given between tribesmen. For example, 92.4% of the tribe people indicated that they received assistance in paying *al-Deah* (blood money), and 76.9% of the sample received relief when they had a disaster. Moreover, tribespeople help each other when building houses or at festival time (Table 6-5-7). This traditional custom continues within the tribe, whereby an individual pays a sum of money to help the members of the tribe in cases of crisis. In such cases the money that is paid is not necessarily equal and not compulsory amongst the tribesmen; each member contributes as much as he can afford.

It is very important to state here that modernisation and social change among the tribe have not eliminated the cohesion of the tribe. As mentioned earlier, the relations between the 'Utaiba are reflected and perpetuated in most kinds of *al-'Urf* for example, in *al-Wajahah* (mediation), *al-Khowah* (accompanying), *al-Farqah* (fund contributed equally among tribesmen), *al-Fazah* (emergency help between people) and in *al-Deah*

(blood payment). In addition to that solidarity is shown in Marriage and paying *Maher* (marriage gift) and in fact that cohesion is clearly manifested in any '*Azeemh* (party) occasions such as births or parties held to celebrate recovery from a serious illness or operation. All these customs remain strong and express close kinship ties,

Nowadays, marriage celebrations take a modern style, so arrangements for marriage involve less effort. Instead of putting up three or four *Bayt AlSha'ar* or tents to be used for the celebration. Most '*Utaiba* now hold marriages are now held in *Qasser Alaafrah* which have been built especially for such occasions (Table 6-4-7 and figure 6-3-3).

This study shows that the great majority (87.7%) of respondents preferred a wife from inside the tribe. This may be in part because the tribe is huge (it has many clans, sub-clans and lineages...etc see chapter four) so there is no need to marry outside the tribe. The researcher observed that many of the tribespeople living in the study area, or in Saudi Arabia generally, had married members of same tribe, though not necessarily from the same area. For example '*Utaiba* people in Saudi Arabia may marry '*Utaiba* from Kuwait. Such relations have increased since the Gulf war between Iraq and Kuwait in 1990.

Moreover, the '*Utaiba* tribe people get pleasure from their high status among the tribes in Saudi Arabia. The issue of status among the Beduw was emphasized by Nahedh, thus:

The Beduw enjoy a positive high status image in relation to their stronger adherence to the ideology of the tribal system, with its associated characteristics of bravery, loyalty to one's group and above all, the alleged high level of purity in the bloodline (Nahedh, 1986, p614).

In fact, this ideologically high status has frequently attracted people to marry into noble Beduw tribes. The present findings confirm that this attitude still prevails. Furthermore,

there were other reasons pushing tribesmen to marriage from inside the tribe. Firstly 62.3% of the people indicated this was what their parents wanted. 50.6% of them thought a wife who is a relative would appreciate their ability; almost as many reported the reason is to follow the customs and values of the tribe.

As regards the qualities desired in a wife, 82.0% of the tribe people noted, a wife should be religious, and 61.1% of them wanted her to be educated. 51.3% wanted her to be beautiful, and 43.0% want her to be fertile. Very few people attached importance to wealth. Moreover, there was a significant relationship between people's age and their opinion about the characteristics desirable in a wife, in all cases except the items concerned with wealth and religion. So people's beliefs about wives' characteristics vary according to their age (Table 6-4-8). For example the young people among the 'Utaiba tribe are less likely to choose their wives from inside the tribe or to worry about fertility, and they are more likely to choose wives who are educated and beautiful.

The institution of marriage exhibits continuity and change; the findings of this study show that 87.7% preferred a wife from inside the tribe. In this way the 'Utaiba try to resist change, maintaining their identity as a cultural group and as a tribal entity through their solidarity in the practice of endogamous marriage, which continues as before. This finding is different from that of Al-Eryani (1994) and Al-Seef (1990), who found that a new trend towards exogamous marriage was discernible as a result of social change.

The main issue in marriage among the tribes in Saudi Arabia is the permission of parents. Any man who wishes to marry must have the permission of his parents before marrying. The findings of this study show that 86.4% and 72.4% of people indicated that the wife was chosen with the assistance of the man's father and mother respectively (Table 6-4-1). This can be seen as a continuation of the traditional family system, reflecting the relationship between sons and their parents, and also the fact that (see chapter one and four) in Saudi Arabia, as an Islamic society, the authority of the family

is in the hands of the father, who is the head of the family. Consequently, without parental permission, the marriage cannot proceed. 62.3% of the respondents reported that the main reason for a man choosing a wife from the tribe is that it is what his parents wanted and to please them (Table 6-4-9). However, the family structure, norms and marriage institution in Saudi society derives legitimacy from the religion of Islam. Al-Juwayer (1984) emphasizes that in Saudi Arabia the family and religion are part of one institution. Much of the social, economic and political life is still organized in terms of the family or tribe, and among the family rights and obligations of Islam is the requirement that young people should seek their parents' permission for marriage (Al-Juwayer, 1984, p48). In fact, sons must seek the approval of their parents not only for marriage, but for all worldly matters such as employment, buying a house, land, cars, travelling...etc.

One aspect of marriage that has changed, however, is in relation to the practice of "*al-hajir*", whereby the *Ibn'am* (male cousin) used to have first claim on a woman and could prevent her marrying another person. The findings of the study show in general, people no longer practise *al-hajir*. According to the "*Fatwa*" (the judgement) of scholars of jurisprudence, the practice is *Harram* (prohibited). Since it goes against Islamic law, most people have abandoned it (table 6.4.2).

The study shows that majority of the tribe people continue live with their family, which indicates that the extended type of family still continues. This can be attributed to the situation of the family itself; if the family has sufficient resources and their house is big, two or three generations may continue to live in one house. Furthermore, people of the 'Utaiba tribe clearly indicate that when a son gets married the couple normally live with the groom's family. Only 17.1% of respondents lived in their own home, and it was rare to live with the bride's family. In this respect there had been no change from the

traditional way of life. Even if the groom wants to live in his own house, he will not do so without the permission of his parents (Table 6-5-4). This result is different from the finding of Al-Hemyari (1990) in his study in Koded village in Saudi Arabia; he noted that when a man married, he moved away from his family. Thus, the extended family had disappeared.

As regards the size of the family, among the tribe this study shows that 44.9% of the people had from 4 to 7 children, and 25.9% of them had children 1 to 3 children. There were, however, some very large families; 17.5% had 8 to 10 children and 11.8% had 11 or more (Table 6-4-3).

It was found that the majority of people among the tribe, when they met a problem, would consult their fathers and their older brothers; those represented 62.3% and 61.7% respectively (Table 6-5-2). As the researcher mentioned earlier (see chapter two) in Saudi Arabia, as an Islamic society, the authority of the family is in the hands of the father, who is the chief of the family. The father has a principal position in Islam, since he is responsible for his family, economically and materially. Also, Islamic law determines the duties of each member of the family. In fact, the father's duties and responsibilities lie both within the family and outside it, since he is the person responsible for earning a living for his family and providing it with the necessities of life. But in cases of the death of the father, the oldest son will fulfil those responsibilities. However, there is continuity and change, continuity in consulting the father, older brother, sons (34.8%) and relatives (34.6%), and change in that 32.6% of respondents would consult friends, and few would consult their clan chief (10.8%). These findings suggest a clear preference for consulting family members rather than the chief, and a preference for consulting male rather than female members of the family. Furthermore, there is a significant relationship, between people's choice of advisor and

age. For example, young people were more likely than others to consult their friends, and less likely than others to consult their clan chief.

The study shows that the largest group (73.4%) of tribespeople was of those who believed that conflict over land was the main reason that has weakened relationships, while 42.2% of them thought migrating to look for jobs was the main problem. The third reason, suggested by 20.9% of the sample, was agreement with traditional customs and values. Only 10.1% of the sample blamed the spread of education (Table 6-5-6).

7.5. Continuity and Change in Entertainment and Medicine

Settlement and technology are considered the important elements that influence Beduw social life; the frequent contact between the Beduw and the townspeople may influence the Beduw culture.

There has been huge change among the 'Utaiba tribe as regards entertainment. Traditional entertainments (see chapter six) are rarely found. Our study shows that 97.8% of the tribe people had radio and cassette recorders and 88.6% of them had television. And another new change within the tribe is that those who had satellite represented 25.3% of the sample. On the other hand, we cannot ignore some continuity, such as those who had black or white tents, representing 32.65 and 42.7% of the sample. Even though some of these tents are in the new fashion, some people still keep traditional tents. People enjoy putting up the tent, and moving it, according to the weather. Moreover, people use these tents inside their houses in their settlements or in the desert. However, technology has made available to the tribespeople new facilities such as television, satellite, videos, radio, cassette recorders, libraries, computers, cars, tractors, telephones...etc, making the Beduw dependent on technological manufacture (Table 6-6-1).

This study shows that 79.1% of the people of the tribe like to spend their leisure time in journeys to the desert, and 77.9% of them spent their leisure time in visiting relatives and friends. New forms of entertainment among the tribe, favoured by 54.7% of the people, are playing *Balot* (Cards), and playing football. The youngest age group are more likely than others to watching television and satellite, read, play football, and play *Balot* (Cards), and less likely than others to spend time hunting, on a farm, or pasturing camels or sheep (Table 6-6-2).

Modern medicine (surgery or hospital) has been widely accepted by the people in the case of illness, although if a cure was not achieved they might resort to traditional cures. Only a handful of respondents adhered to traditional medicine to the extent that they would use it before or instead of modern medicine. On the other hand, for livestock treatment, people used traditional and modern veterinary care side by side; the fact that the proportion who resorted first to traditional medicine was slightly higher than those who would see a vet first, may be explicable in terms of the difficulty of access to a vet in some rural areas. (Table 6-6-1 and Table 6-6-2).

7.6. Recommendations

A decrease in the Sheikh's power or control is evident, though the sheikh continues to act as a mediator between his clan and the Government. The tribes every day become bigger, and the gap between the leader of the clan or the lineage is become bigger as well. If planners want to continue using the roles of these leaders, they should update the tribe leaders' job. Also, those leaders should be chosen for special characteristics; for example, they have to have high qualifications, and so on.

The Saudi government should initiate a comprehensive series of studies on the roles of the tribal leaders in all tribes in the country, especially from a political perspective. Such in-depth study of this matter is needed, to seek an understanding of the complexities of these roles and relations.

A wide variety of people of different status among the many tribes in the country should participate effectively in this research, to provide a comprehensive understanding of the tribal way of life, of its *al-'Urf* and customs, which can then be taken into account in planning development for the tribal people.

Nowadays, as we see, it is very obvious among the people of Saudi Arabia that many kinds of *al-'Urf* are still practised among people throughout the country. Each kind of *al-'Urf* such as *al-Wajahah*, *al-Khowah*, *al-Fazah* and so on should be studied separately in order to find out the advantages and disadvantages related to each one of them.

The government should encourage the Beduw to continue their livestock breeding in addition to any new occupation because the livestock economy was once the resource for the whole country, and a decline in livestock breeding by the Beduw could constitute an economic loss to the country. Reliance on livestock imports could be reduced by supporting livestock schemes inside the country. Support of this kind is also needed for the sake of the Beduw themselves. Many of the Beduw have experience in livestock breeding and many of them continue to practise these jobs, so they need more attention, because they still depend mainly on this kind of job, and if they lose this income they will find themselves in a complex position.

As mentioned earlier, Islamic teachings direct Muslims (especially the youth) to marriage, and the findings of this study show that the *Maher* (marriage gift) is very

expensive, and people are facing difficulty in this matter, so the *Maher* should be limited. This will make it easier for young people to marry.

As the findings show, there has been huge change among the people as regards entertainment. Most people spend their leisure time at home in front of the television screen (see chapter six). The people in the study area and other regions have a great need of community centres in order to practise other activities. Indoor sport facilities are needed for activities such as football or volleyball, basketball, swimming pool and so on, because the weather is often too hot for outdoor sport. These centres could make provision for both sexes separately, for example some days for men and others for women, in accordance with cultural values.

It is recommended that a special camel club be set up, not only for camel racing but also for camel aesthetics. In order to set up suitable clubs, the Beduw from different tribes should participate in the plan, because as mentioned earlier, knowledge about camels has social value among the Beduw, and they know which of these camels are preferred among the people; for example some people favour *al-Majahim* (the dark brown or black camel), and other people like *al-Wadhah* (the white camel) and so on. Such clubs (such as are set up in the U.K for horses, dogs, cats and so on) will provide further social and recreational opportunities among the Beduw, and will contribute in the preservation and transmission of their traditional skills, and increasing their economy.

Another issue that arises in relation to camels concerns medicine. For livestock treatment people use traditional and modern veterinary care side by side; but especially for camels, medical attention is necessary. It would therefore be very helpful to establish mobile veterinary clinics, to facilitate access to such care. It would also be desirable to train more people in the care of camels.

With regard to handicrafts, opening factories would provide job opportunities for women. Currently, women do not benefit from their skills and experience in handicrafts, because of the challenges from the markets. As a result of modernization, most of the traditional handicrafts have been replaced by the invasion of imported goods. On the other hand the researcher has observed that education is beginning to make new careers available to women. Women, especially those who have qualifications, could be supported by loans in order to open factories. Such businesses should preserve the social norm of gender segregation; they should be staffed only by women. This would allow women to be more economically active, in line with the principles of the government's development plans.

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ABBENDICES

Appendix 1:

TAH QUESTIONNAIRE IN ENGLISH

Appendix 2:

THE QUESTIONNAIRE IN ARABIC

Appendix 3:

**SCHEDULE OF ANTHROPOLOGY STUDY
IN ENGLISH**

Appendix 4:

**SCHEDULE OF ANTHROPOLOGY STUDY
IN ARABIC**

Appendix 5:

SOME OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

Appendix 1
The Questionnaire in English

**SECTION ONE
BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

CODING

1	<p>Age</p> <p>1. From 15-20 years <input type="checkbox"/> 2. From 20-30 years <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. From 31-40 years <input type="checkbox"/> 4. From 41 - 50 years <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>5. From 51-60 years <input type="checkbox"/> 6. 61 years and above <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	<p>Place of birth</p> <p>1. City <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Village <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. <i>Hijrah</i> <input type="checkbox"/> 4. In the desert near to a well <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	<p>Social Situation</p> <p>1. Single <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Married <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Widowed <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>4. Divorced <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	<p>Education Level</p> <p>1. Illiterate <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Can read and write <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. Primary School Certificate <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Intermediate School <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>5. High School <input type="checkbox"/> 6. College of Training <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>7. University <input type="checkbox"/> 8. Higher Education <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	<p>What is your present (main) job title?</p> <p>1. Breed camels or sheep <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Farmer <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. Teacher <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Civil servant <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>5. Company <input type="checkbox"/> 6. Military <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>7. Engineer <input type="checkbox"/> 8. <i>Khawi</i> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>9. Student <input type="checkbox"/> 10. Other () <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<p>What is your Second job title?</p> <p>1. Breed camels or sheep <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Agriculture <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. Trade <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Other () <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6	<p>Income per month</p> <p>1. Less than 2000 Saudi Riyals <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2. From 2000 to 4000 Saudi Riyals <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. From 4001 to 6000 Saudi Riyals <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>4. From 6001 to 8000 Saudi Riyals <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>5. 8001 Saudi Riyals and above <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**SECTION TWO
ECONOMIC VARIABLES**

1	<p>Where are you living?</p> <p>1. In a city <input type="checkbox"/> 2. In a <i>Hijrah</i> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. In a village <input type="checkbox"/> 4. I am semi-nomadic <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	<p>What kind of house is yours?</p> <p>1. Shack or shanty <input type="checkbox"/> 2. A black or white tent <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. Traditional house <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Concrete <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>5. Flat or One floor <input type="checkbox"/> 6. Modern house (<i>villa</i>) <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	<p>What are your main sources of income? (Tick all that apply)</p> <p>1. From Government <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2. Camel or sheep breeding <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. Trade <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>4. Agriculture <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>5. Work in Comp or Est. <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>6. From parents and brothers <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>7. From sons and daughters <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
4	<p>Do you have another house outside Al-Duwadmi area?</p> <p>1. I have a house in Riyadh city <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>4. Other city which is <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>5. I do not have a house outside Al-Duwadmi area <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	<p>If you have livestock, who looks after them?</p> <p>1. Myself only <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2. My family and I <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. A worker from inside Saudi Arabia <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>4. A worker from outside Saudi Arabia <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>5. A worker, neighbour and I <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>6. I do not have livestock <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6	<p>Where do you practise pasturing when you are looking for grazing?</p> <p>1. Inside Al-Duwadmi region <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2. In my farm <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. Inside and outside Al-Duwadmi area <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>4. I do not have livestock <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7	<p>In your opinion, which of these jobs do you think gives people high status?</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Tick all that apply)</p> <p>1. Person has a lot of camels and sheep <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2. Person has a farm <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. Person is a merchant <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>4. Person has a big function in Government <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>5. Person is high ranking in the army <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>6. Person has higher education <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8	<p>Why do you keeping camels?</p> <p>1. If I have camels or sheep, I will have high status in my society <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2. I can get benefit when I sell some of them <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. Because breeding camels and sheep is interesting and enjoyable <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>4. I do not have livestock.</p>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9	<p>In your opinion, why people are not interested in breeding camels?</p> <p>1. It needs too much effort and time <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2. No workers to look after camels <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. Other jobs bring more money than pasturing <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>4. People like to work in Government <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>5. People are still interested in practising pasturing camels <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10	<p>If you have a farm, how did you get this land?</p> <p>1. I bought it <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2. I got it as a grant <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. I inherited it <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>4. I rent it <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>5. I do not have a farm <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11	<p>Why do you practise agriculture?</p> <p>1. To get a benefit as (loan, without interest) from the Government</p> <p>2. If I practise agriculture I will have a high status in my society</p> <p>3. Agriculture helps with pasture</p> <p>4. I can get a benefit when I sell the crop <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>5. I do not have a farm</p>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12	<p>What do you think are the major crops in Al-Duwadmi region?</p> <p>(Tick all that apply)</p> <p>1. Dates <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2. Wheat <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. Corn <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>4. Clover <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>5. Melon <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>6. Vegetable <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>7. Barley (Berssem) <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

13	What means of irrigation are currently in use? 1. Traditional technology only <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Modern technology only <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Traditional and modern technology <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14	What kinds of transportation are currently in use in Al-Duwadmi region? (Tick all that apply) 1. Animals <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Cars <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Train <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Aeroplane <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
15	How many cars do you have? 1. One <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Two <input type="checkbox"/> 3. More than two <input type="checkbox"/> 4. I do not have a car <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16	What indigenous technology or traditional handicraft is practised? (Tick all that apply) 1. Spinning wool <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Making tents <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Tanning and making containers for milk or water <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Making domestic tools <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Making traditional trinkets <input type="checkbox"/> 6. Making agriculture tools <input type="checkbox"/> 7. There is no indigenous technology or traditional handicraft practised at the present time <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
17	In your opinion, why do you think indigenous technology or traditional handicraft is rare ? (Tick all that apply) 1. Modern technology or tools are available <input type="checkbox"/> 2. People do not prefer to use it <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Using it is not suitable <input type="checkbox"/> 4. It needs effort and time <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

**SECTION THREE
MARRIAGE VARIABLES**

1	Who assists the person to chooses the wife usually? (Tick all that apply) 1. Person himself <input type="checkbox"/> 2. His father <input type="checkbox"/> 3. His mother <input type="checkbox"/> 4. One of his friends <input type="checkbox"/> 5. One of his relatives <input type="checkbox"/> 6. <i>Kattebah</i> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
2	Is marriage in the Utaibah tribe restricted (<i>al-hajir</i>) for a girl until she has obtained the permission of her male cousin (<i>ibn ^cam</i>)? 1. Yes, people do that <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No, nobody does that <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Some families do that <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3	How many wives do you have? 1. I am not married <input type="checkbox"/> 2. One wife <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Two wives <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Three wives <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Four wives <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	Was the Maher (bride's dowry and offer) expensive? 1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	Who decided the <i>Maher</i> (dowry, offer)? 1. Bride's family <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Groom's family <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Groom only <input type="checkbox"/> 4. By consultation between the two families <input type="checkbox"/> 5. There is a limited Maher (dowry, offer) within the tribe <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
6	Who assists the groom in paying the <i>Maher</i>? 1. Groom only <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Groom and his family <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Family only <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Family and relatives and friends <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Groom, friends, relatives, and family <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7	Where is the marriage party held usually? 1. In the bride's family house <input type="checkbox"/> 2. In the groom's family house <input type="checkbox"/> 3. In the house of marriage (<i>Qasser al Affrah</i>) <input type="checkbox"/> 4. In the hotel <input type="checkbox"/> 5. In the tents (in the desert) <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8	What characteristics do people think they want to look for a wife? (Tick all that apply) 1. She is from inside the tribe <input type="checkbox"/> 2. She is beautiful <input type="checkbox"/> 3- She is wealthy <input type="checkbox"/> 4. She is religious <input type="checkbox"/> 5- She is educated <input type="checkbox"/> 6- She is fertile <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
9	What are the reasons for choosing a wife from your own tribe? (Tick all that apply) 1. To follow the customs and values of the tribe. <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Because it was what my parents wanted. <input type="checkbox"/> 3. A wife who is a relative would appreciate my ability. <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

**SECTION FOUR
FAMILY VARIABLES**

1	Who do you live with? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> 1. With my father <input type="checkbox"/> 2. In my own home <input type="checkbox"/> 3. In a Government house <input type="checkbox"/> 4. I rent a house <input type="checkbox"/>	
2	If you meet a problem, whom would you consult (Tick all that apply) 1. My father <input type="checkbox"/> 2. My mother <input type="checkbox"/> 3. My oldest brother <input type="checkbox"/> 4. My uncle <input type="checkbox"/> 5. My relative <input type="checkbox"/> 6. My friend <input type="checkbox"/> 7. Clan Chief <input type="checkbox"/> 8. My sons <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
3	How many children do you have? 1. From 1-3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4. 11 and above <input type="checkbox"/> 2. From 4-7 <input type="checkbox"/> 5. No children <input type="checkbox"/> 3. From 8-10 <input type="checkbox"/> 6. Not married <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	When a son gets married, where will he live? <input type="checkbox"/> 1. With the bride's family <input type="checkbox"/> 2. With the groom's family <input type="checkbox"/> 3. In a special home <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	What kind of help do you receive or give your relatives? (Tick all that apply) 1. When paying <i>al-Deah</i> (blood money) <input type="checkbox"/> 2. On occasions of marriage <input type="checkbox"/> 3. When there are festivals <input type="checkbox"/> 4. When building a house <input type="checkbox"/> 5. When there is a disaster <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
6	How often do you visit your relatives who are living in your village or nearby? 1. Daily <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Weekly <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Monthly <input type="checkbox"/> 4. On special occasions <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7	What, in your view, are the factors that have weakened the relationships or cohesiveness between members of the tribe? (Tick all that apply) 1. Spread of education <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Migrating for jobs <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Fundamentalism with traditional customs and values <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Conflict over land <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

8	How many workers do you have? (Tick all that apply) 1. Housemaid <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Ra'ae <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Driver <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Farmer <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Other workers <input type="checkbox"/> 6. I do not have workers <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
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**SECTION FIVE
ENTERTAINMENT AT HOME**

1	What means of entertainment are in the home? (Tick all that apply) 1. Television <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Satellite <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Radio and recorder <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Videos <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Library <input type="checkbox"/> 6. Computer <input type="checkbox"/> 7. Black tent <input type="checkbox"/> 8. White tent <input type="checkbox"/> 9. Swimming pool <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
2	How do you spend your leisure time? (Tick all that apply) 1. Journey to the desert <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Hunting <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Traditional sporting game <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Watching television and satellite <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Reading <input type="checkbox"/> 6. Visiting relatives and friends <input type="checkbox"/> 7. On a farm <input type="checkbox"/> 8. Pasturing camels or sheep <input type="checkbox"/> 9. Playing football <input type="checkbox"/> 10. Playing <i>Balot</i> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

**SECTION SIX
MEDICINE'S VARIABLES.**

1	When somebody is ill or sick, what do people prefer? 1. Go to the surgery or hospital only <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Go to traditional medicine only <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Go to hospital first, then go to traditional medicine finally <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Go to traditional medicine first, then go to hospital <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	When livestock need medicine, what do people prefer? 1. Go to veterinarian only <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Go to traditional medicine only <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Go to veterinarian first, then go to traditional medicine finally <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Go to traditional medicine first, then go to veterinarian finally <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

SECTION SEVEN
SOCIAL CONTROL VARIABLES

1	<p>Which these forms of traditional martial law are still practised by the people (Tick all that apply).</p> <p>1. al-Wajahah <input type="checkbox"/> 2. al-Khowah <input type="checkbox"/> 3. al-Fazah <input type="checkbox"/> 4. al- Fargah <input type="checkbox"/> 5. al-Dakhil <input type="checkbox"/> 6.. al- Thaar <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
2	<p>When you depart from your region with your livestock, do you need to get permission from the leader (<i>Emir</i>) of the tribe, sub-tribe or clan?</p> <p>1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	<p>Do the leaders of the tribe provide?</p> <p>1. Land for farm <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Help with money <input type="checkbox"/> 3. They do not provide anything <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Other, Please add ()</p>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	<p>If the leader issues an order or request, do the people in his tribe, sub-tribe, or clan follow his orders?</p> <p>1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	<p>Who represents the tribe, sub-tribe, or clan with other tribes?</p> <p>1. Tribe's leaders or chiefs <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Dignitaries and important people <input type="checkbox"/> 3.-Tribe's leaders and dignitaries and important people <input type="checkbox"/> 4-Nobody <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6	<p>If you have a conflict within tribe, what source of judgement would you prefer?</p> <p>1. District court <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Tribe leader or chief <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Dignitaries and important people <input type="checkbox"/> 4. The tribe leader, district court <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7	<p>If there were conflicts about pastureland or agriculture, who would make a solution?</p> <p>1.The district court <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Tribe leader or chief <input type="checkbox"/> 3.Dignitaries and important people <input type="checkbox"/> 4. The district court and the chief <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8	<p>Who they would makes decision to punishment?</p> <p>1. District court <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Others <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9	<p>If somebody threatened you or created a problem for you, to whom would you complain first?</p> <p>1. Policemen <input type="checkbox"/> 2. The tribe leader or chief <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Dignitaries and important people <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Dignitaries and important people, then the tribe leader, and then police. <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix 2
The Questionnaire in Arabic

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

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المملكة العربية السعودية
وزارة التعليم العالي
جامعة الإمام محمد بن سعود الإسلامية

استبانة حول

الاستمرارية والتغير في محافظة الدوادمي
دراسة ميدانية " أنثروبولوجية " على قبيلة عتيبة

إعداد

الباحث / مانع الدعجاني

ملاحظة : البيانات التي ستجمع بواسطة هذه الأداة سرية ولن تستخدم إلا في الأغراض العلمية

أولاً :
البيانات الأولية :

١	كم عمرك:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	١- من ١٥ الى ٢٠ سنة	<input type="checkbox"/>	٢- من ٢١ الى ٣٠ سنة	<input type="checkbox"/>	٣- من ٣١ الى ٤٠ سنة	<input type="checkbox"/>	٤- من ٤١ الى ٥٠ سنة	<input type="checkbox"/>	٥- من ٥١ الى ٦٠ سنة	<input type="checkbox"/>	٦- اكثر من ٦٠ سنة
٢	مكان الميلاد:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	١- مدينة	<input type="checkbox"/>	٢- قرية	<input type="checkbox"/>	٣- هجرة	<input type="checkbox"/>	٤- قرب بئر	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
٣	الحالة الاجتماعية:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	١- أعزب	<input type="checkbox"/>	٢- متزوج	<input type="checkbox"/>	٣- أرمل	<input type="checkbox"/>	٤- مطلق	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
٤	المستوى العلمي:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	١- أمي	<input type="checkbox"/>	٢- يقرأ و يكتب	<input type="checkbox"/>	٣- ابتدائي	<input type="checkbox"/>	٤- متوسط	<input type="checkbox"/>	٥- ثانوي	<input type="checkbox"/>	٦- كلية معلمين
٥	المهنة (الرئيسية):	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	١- تربية الماشية	<input type="checkbox"/>	٢- مزارع	<input type="checkbox"/>	٣- مدرس	<input type="checkbox"/>	٤- موظف حكومي	<input type="checkbox"/>	٥- موظف في مؤسسة خاصة	<input type="checkbox"/>	٦- عسكري
	المهنة الحالية الأخرى:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	٧- مهندس	<input type="checkbox"/>	٨- خوي مع أمير	<input type="checkbox"/>	٩- طالب	<input type="checkbox"/>	١٠- متسبب	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	المهنة الحالية الأخرى:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	١- تربية الأبل والأغنام	<input type="checkbox"/>	٢- الزراعة	<input type="checkbox"/>	٣- التجارة	<input type="checkbox"/>	٤- أخرى	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
٦	الدخل الشهري :	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	١- أقل من ٢٠٠٠ ريال	<input type="checkbox"/>	٢- من ٢٠٠٠ الى ٤٠٠٠ ريال	<input type="checkbox"/>	٣- من ٤٠٠٠ الى ٦٠٠٠ ريال	<input type="checkbox"/>	٤- من ٦٠٠٠ الى ٨٠٠٠ ريال	<input type="checkbox"/>	٥- اكثر من ٨٠٠٠ ريال	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

ثالثاً:
متغيرات النظام الاقتصادي

١	هل مكان اقامتك الحالية ١- في مدينة <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- في هجرة <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- في قرية <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- متنقل في الصحراء <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
٢	ما هو نوع السكن الذي تسكن فيه ١- صندوق <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- بيت شعر او خيمة <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- بيت شعبي <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- منزل مسلح <input type="checkbox"/> ٥- شقة او دور <input type="checkbox"/> ٦- فيلا <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
٣	ما هي مصادر دخلك؟ يمكن اختيار اكثر من اجابة ١- معاش من الدولة <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- من رعي الابل و الاغنام <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- من التجارة <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- من الزراعة <input type="checkbox"/> ٥- معاش من مؤسسة <input type="checkbox"/> ٦- من الوالدين و الاخوان <input type="checkbox"/> ٧- من الابناء والبنات <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
٤	هل لك منزل خارج محافظة الدوادمي؟ ١- لدي منزل في الرياض <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- لدي منزل في مدينة..... <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- لا يوجد لدي منزل اخر <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
٥	اذا كنت تملك ماشية فمن يهتم بها؟ ١- اهتم برعايتها أنا لوحدني <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- اهتم برعايتها أنا و العائلة <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- يهتم بها رعاة من افراد قبيلتي <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- يهتم بها رعاة مستاجرين من خارج المملكة <input type="checkbox"/> ٥- اهتم بها أنا و الرعاة و الجيران <input type="checkbox"/> ٦- لا املك ماشية <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
٦	اين ترعى تلك الماشية ١- داخل محافظة الدوادمي <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- داخل المزرعة <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- داخل و خارج محافظة الدوادمي <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- لا املك ماشية <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

٧	<p>في رأيك ماهي الاعمال التي تجعل للشخص مكانة اجتماعية كبيرة</p> <p>١- الشخص الذي لديه ابل و اغنام <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٢- الشخص الذي لديه مزارع <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٣- الشخص التاجر الذي لديه مؤسسات كبيرة <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٤- الشخص الذي يعمل في وظيفة كبيرة في الدولة <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٥- الشخص الذي يحمل رتبة عسكرية كبيرة <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٦- الشخص الذي يحمل مؤهل علمي <input type="checkbox"/></p>
٨	<p>في رأيك لماذا يحافظ الافراد في القبيلة على تربية الابل</p> <p>١- لان الذي يملك الابل ننظر الية باحترام و تكون له مكانة اجتماعية عالية في المجتمع <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٢- لان عاندها المالي كبير <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٣- لحب الابل و الاستمتاع بتربيتها <input type="checkbox"/></p>
٩	<p>في رأيك لماذا اصبح الافراد لا يهتمون بتربية الابل</p> <p>١- لانها تحتاج الى جهد و وقت <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٢- لا يوجد الرعاية الذين يقومون بتربيتها <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٣- لوجود أعمال عاندها المالي افضل من تربية الابل <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٤- لانتشار التعليم و اتجاه الناس للعمل الحكومي <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٥- مازال الناس يهتمون بالابل <input type="checkbox"/></p>
١٠	<p>ما هي الطريقة التي حصلت بها على الارض الزراعية</p> <p>١- عن طريق الشراء <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٢- منحة من الدولة <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٣- عن طريق الارث <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٤- مستأجر <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٥- لا املك مزرعة <input type="checkbox"/></p>
١١	<p>في رأيك ما هي الاسباب التي ادت الى اهتمام الناس بالزراعة؟ يمكن اختيار اكثر من اجابه:</p> <p>١- من اجل الحصول على قرض زراعي <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٢- لان الذي يملك مزرعة تصبح له مكانة اجتماعية عالية بين الناس <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٣- الزراعة تساعد على الرعي <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٤- عاند الزراعة كبير <input type="checkbox"/></p>
١٢	<p>ما هي المحاصيل الزراعية التي تزرع في المنطقة؟ يمكن اختيار اكثر من اجابة:</p> <p>١- التمر <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٢- القمح <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٣- الشعير <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٤- الذرة <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٥- الحبوب <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٦- الخضروات <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٧- البرسيم <input type="checkbox"/></p>
١٣	<p>هل يستخدم المزارعون</p> <p>١- الادوات التقليدية القديمة فقط <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٢- الآليات الزراعية الحديثة <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>٣- الادوات التقليدية و الحديثة <input type="checkbox"/></p>

١٤	وسيلة النقل السانده في المنطقة هي:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- الحيوانات <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- السيارات <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- القطارات <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- الطائرات
١٥	كم تملك من سيارة؟	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- واحدة <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- اثنتان <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- اكثر من اثنتين <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- لا املك سيارة
١٦	ماهي الصناعات التقليدية التي مازالت تمارس في المنطقة؟	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- غزل الصوف (شمانل الابل) <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- السدو (سدوبيوت الشعر) <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- صناعة الصميل (السعن) او القرية <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- صناعة بعض الادوات المحلية <input type="checkbox"/> ٥- صناعة الحلى الشعبية <input type="checkbox"/> ٦- صناعة الادوات الزراعية <input type="checkbox"/> ٧- لم تعد هناك صناعات في الوقت الحالي
١٧	في رايك ما هو سبب قلة الاهتمام بالصناعات التقليدية؟	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- لتوفر الادوات الحديثة <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- لا يريدون استخدام الادوات التقليدية <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- لان استعمال الادوات التقليدية لم يعد ملائم <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- لان صناعة الادوات التقليدية يحتاج الي جهد كبير <input type="checkbox"/> ٥- لا يوجد هناك من يصنع هذه الادوات التقليدية

رابعاً:
متغيرات نظم الزواج

١	من يقوم باختيار الزوجة عادة؟ يمكن اختيار اكثر من اجابة:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- الشخص نفسه <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- والد الشخص <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- والدته <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- اصدقائه <input type="checkbox"/> ٥- اقاربه <input type="checkbox"/> ٦- عن طريق الخاطبة
٢	هل لا تزال ظاهرة الحجر (تحجير بنت العم) موجودة حتى الان	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- نعم التحجير على بنتالعم لا يزال موجودا <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- لا توجد هذه الظاهرة حالياً <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- توجد عند بعض الاسر و المناطق
٣	كم عدد زوجاتك؟	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- لست متزوج <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- زوجة واحدة <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- زوجتان <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- ثلاث زوجات <input type="checkbox"/> ٥- اربع زوجات

٤	هل الزواج مكلف؟ <input type="checkbox"/> نعم ١- <input type="checkbox"/> لا ٢- <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
٥	من يحدد المهر عادة؟ <input type="checkbox"/> ١- عائلة الزوجة <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- عائلة الزوج <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- الزوج فقط <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- بالتشاور بين العائلتين <input type="checkbox"/> ٥- هناك مهر محدد و معروف لدى افراد القبيلة	<input type="checkbox"/>
٦	من يقوم بمساعدة الزوج في دفع تكاليف الزواج؟ <input type="checkbox"/> ١- هو بنفسه (الزوج لوحده) <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- هو و العائلة <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- العائلة فقط <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- العائلة و الاقارب و الاصدقاء <input type="checkbox"/> ٥- هو و العائلة و الاقارب و الاصدقاء	<input type="checkbox"/>
٧	اين تقام حفلات الزواج في الغالب <input type="checkbox"/> ١- في داخل بيت اهل الزوجة <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- في داخل بيت اهل الزوج <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- في قصور الافراح <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- في الفنادق <input type="checkbox"/> ٥- في البر (في الخيام)	<input type="checkbox"/>
٨	في رايك ماهي الصفات التي يرغب توفرها عادة في الزوجة يمكن اختيار اكثر من اجابة: <input type="checkbox"/> ١- ان تكون من داخل القبيلة <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- ان تكون جميلة <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- ان تكون غنية <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- ان تكون متدينة <input type="checkbox"/> ٥- ان تكون متعلمة <input type="checkbox"/> ٦- ان تكون ولود	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
٩	ماهي اسباب اختيار الزوجة من داخل القبيلة يمكن اختيار اكثر من اجابة: <input type="checkbox"/> ١- اتباعا للعادات و التقاليد <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- من أجل تحقيق رغبة الاهل <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- لان الزوجة عندما تكون من داخل القبيلة تقدر ظروف الشخص	<input type="checkbox"/>

خامسا:

متغيرات النظام العائلي

١	مع من تسكن: <input type="checkbox"/> ١- أسكن مع والدي <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- أسكن ببيت ملكي <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- أسكن في بيت حكومي <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- مستاجر	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
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٢	من تستشير في حل المشاكل التي تواجهها؟ يمكن اختيار أكثر من اجابة:	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- والدي <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- والدي <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- أخواني الكبار <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- اعمامي <input type="checkbox"/> ٥- اقاربي <input type="checkbox"/> ٦- أحد الاصدقاء <input type="checkbox"/> ٧- كبار القبيلة <input type="checkbox"/> ٨- أبنائي
٣	كم عدد أبنائك:	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- أعزب <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- ليس لدي ابناء <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- من ١ الى ٣ <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- من ٤ الى ٧ <input type="checkbox"/> ٥- من ٨ الى ١٠ <input type="checkbox"/> ٦- أكثر من ١١
٤	عندما يتزوج الابن اين يسكن في الغالب:	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- مع أهل الزوجة <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- مع اهله <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- في سكن مستقل
٥	كم عدد المرات التي تزور فيها اقاربك؟	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- يوميا <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- أسبوعيا <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- شهريا <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- في المناسبات فقط
٦	في رايك الاسباب التي ادت الى ضعف العلاقات بين الاقارب هي؟ يمكن اختيار أكثر من اجابة:	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- انتشار التعليم <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- التنقل بسبب العمل في مناطق مختلفة <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- التعصب لبعض العادات و التقاليد <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- الخلافات حول الاراضي
٧	ما هي المناسبات التي يساعدونك او تساعد فيه اقاربك؟ يمكن اختيار أكثر من اجابة:	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- في دفع الديات (الديه) <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- في مناسبات الزواج <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- في مناسبات الاعياد <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- في بناء المنازل <input type="checkbox"/> ٥- في الكوارث
٨	كم عدد العمال لديك؟	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- راعي <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- خادمة <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- سائق <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- مزارع <input type="checkbox"/> ٥- أخرى تذكر (.....) <input type="checkbox"/> ٦- لا يوجد لدي عمال

سادسا:
المتغيرات الترفيهية

١	ماهي وسائل الترفيه الموجودة في المنزل؟ يمكن اختيار اكثر من اجابة:	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- تلفزيون <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- دس <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- مسجل او راديو <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- فيديو <input type="checkbox"/> ٥- مكتبة <input type="checkbox"/> ٦- كومبيوتر <input type="checkbox"/> ٧- بيت شعر <input type="checkbox"/> ٨- خيمة <input type="checkbox"/> ٩- حوض سباحة
٢	كيف تقضي اوقات فراغك؟ يمكن اختيار اكثر من اجابة:	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- في الرحلات الى البر <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- في الصيد <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- بالالعاب الشعبية (التقليدية) <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- مشاهدة التلفزيون او الدس <input type="checkbox"/> ٥- في الاستماع الى الراديو او المسجل <input type="checkbox"/> ٦- في القراءة <input type="checkbox"/> ٧- في زيارة الاقارب و الاصدقاء <input type="checkbox"/> ٨- في المزرعة <input type="checkbox"/> ٩- في رعي الماشية <input type="checkbox"/> ١٠- في لعب كرة القدم <input type="checkbox"/> ١١- لعب البلوت

سابعا:
متغيرات نظم العلاج

١	في حالة اصابة احد افراد العائلة بمرض ايهما تفضل؟	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- الذهاب الي الوحدة الصحية او المستشفى فقط <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- الذهاب الي التداوي بالطب الشعبي فقط <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- الذهاب الي المستشفى اولا ثم التداوي بالطب الشعبي اخيرا <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- الذهاب الي الطب الشعبي اولا ثم المستشفى اخيرا
٢	في حالة الحاجة لعلاج الماشية اين تعالجها؟	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- الذهاب بها الى الطبيب البيطري فقط <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- الذهاب بها الى الطب الشعبي فقط <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- الذهاب بها للطبيب البيطري اولا ثم الى الطب الشعبي اخيرا <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- الذهاب بها للطب الشعبي اولا ثم الى الطبيب البيطري اخيرا

ثامنا:
متغيرات العرف القبلي (الضبط الاجتماعي)

١	ما رأيك في الأعراف القبلية التالية هل لا تزال تمارس بين أفراد جماعتك؟ يمكن اختيار اكثر من اجابة:	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- الوجاهه <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- الخوة <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- الفرعه <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- الفرقة <input type="checkbox"/> ٥- الدخيل <input type="checkbox"/> ٦- الثار
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٢	هل تحتاج الى اذن من امير القبيلة عندما تريد ان تنتقل لرعي الماشية من منطقة الى اخرى؟	<input type="checkbox"/> نعم <input type="checkbox"/> لا
٣	ماذا يقدم الامراء في القبيلة في الوقت الحاضر:	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- اراضي زراعية <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- مساعدات مالية <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- التوسط من اجل الحصول على وظيفة <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- لا يقدمون شيء
٤	عندما يطلب الامراء في القبيلة من افراد القبيلة طلبا فان الافراد:	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- يستجيبون لهذا الرأي <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- لا يستجيبون لهذا الرأي <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- احيانا يستجيبون
٥	الذي يمثل القبيلة هو:	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- امراء القبيلة <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- وجهاء واعيان القبيلة <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- امير القبيلة ووجهاء او اعيان القبيلة <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- لا يوجد
٦	عندما اقابل مشكلة او خلاف فانني افضل الاحكام الصادرة من:	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- المحكمة الشرعية <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- امير القبيلة <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- اعيان ووجهاء القبيلة <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- امير القبيلة و المحكمة الشرعية
٧	في حالة وجود صراع بين الافراد حول المراعي او الاراضي فان الذي يحل هذا الصراع او النزاع هو:	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- المحكمة الشرعية <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- امير القبيلة <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- اعيان ووجهاء القبيلة <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- امير القبيلة و المحكمة الشرعية
٨	الذي يصدر قرار العقوبة او الجزاء هو:	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- المحكمة الشرعية <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- جهة اخرى تذكر.....
٩	الى من تشكي او لا عندما يهددك احد:	<input type="checkbox"/> ١- الشرطة <input type="checkbox"/> ٢- امير القبيلة <input type="checkbox"/> ٣- اعيان ووجهاء القبيلة <input type="checkbox"/> ٤- اعيان ووجهاء القبيلة ثم الامير ثم الشرطة

Appendix 3:
Schedule of Anthropology
Study in English

The Personal Interview

SCHEDULE OF ANTHROPOLOGY STUDY

Section one

Background Personal Information

1- Name

2- Age

3- Marital Status

4- Type of living Settled ()

Semi-nomadic ()

Nomadic ()

6- Previous Occupation

7- Current Occupation

8- Place of Interview

9- Date

Observation :

Section Two

Social Control system

1- *al'Arf* (Traditional customary law)

al-Wajaha: What does *al-Wajaha* mean ? Who were the people who performed *al-Wajahah* ?

What were the circumstances in which *al-Wajahah* was performed ? What is the convenient time for *al-Wajahah* ? What were the kinds of *al-Wajahah* ? What are the results of *al-Wajahah* ?

Why did the people perform *al-Wajahah* ?

al-Khowah: What does *al-Khowah* mean? What were the duties of *al-Khowah* ?

What was the reason for *al-Khowah*?

al-Fazah: What does *al-Fazah* mean ? When does it happen ? Why did the people in the past practise *al-Fazah* ? What kinds of *al-Fazah* are there?

al-Farqah: What does *al-Farqah* mean ? When does it happen ? Who are the people who have to pay *al-Farqah*, and why ? Could they refuse to pay *al-Farqah* and why ?

al-Dakhil: When does a man ask to be *al-Dakhil* ? Why do people ask to be *al-Dakhil* ?

For how long did people protect *al-Dakhil* ?

al-Thaar: What was the reason for *al-Thaar* ? Which people had a right to claim *al-Thaar* ?

Was *al-Wajahah* used to solve *al-Thaar* between the people and why ?

- 2- What was the authority of the Emir or sheikh of the tribe, clan, sub-clan or lineage?
- 3- Did the leaders of the tribe provide help and if so, of what kind?
- 4- Did people within the tribe, sub-tribe, or clan follow the leader's orders or requests?
- 5- Who represented the tribe, sub-tribe, or clan with other tribes or communities?
- 6- When there was a conflict within a tribe, sub-tribe, or clan , who would decide the matter?
- 7- Who made the decision on punishment, when somebody killed a person?

Section Three

Traditional Economic System

- 1- What were the main jobs of the Beduw in the past, and how did the people share the responsibilities for these jobs ?
- 2-What kinds of dwellings did people live in ? Who made these dwellings ?
What did they contain ? What were the advantages and disadvantages of these dwellings?
- 2- What were Men's jobs and skills?
- 4- What were Women's jobs and skills , and did they share the responsibility within the family?
- 5- What were the income sources, and were incomes high or low?
- 6- Did the people are prefer to breed camels or sheep , and did men who had camels have high status among the tribe?
- 7- Who looked after livestock and did people have workers?
- 8- Where did people move for pasturing and grazing, and were these movments inside the tribe terittery ?
- 9- Did people within the tribe deal with agriculture? How did people regard farmers?

10- What means of transportation were used?

11- What kinds of traditional handicrafts were used and practised, and how did people regard craftsmen (*al-Sanee*)?

12 – Why did people decide to settle ? What were the incentives for sedentarisation, and where they choose these settlements ?

Section Four

Traditional Family

Education and Religion .

How did education and guidance function within the traditional family?

What about schools at that time? How did people study *al-Shariy'ah* (Islamic law)?

What about the number of Mosques? Did people see each other on Fridays and at the time of Eids (festival)?

1- What was the life-style within the family? Was it a patrilocal extended family?

2- How was authority exercised within the traditional family?

3- What were relationships or cohesiveness like between members of the family or tribe?

4- Did people commonly visit their relatives, and when?

5- What were the functions and duties of the traditional family?

6- How did consultation between members of the family take place?

7- Did people have housemaids or drivers, and why?

8- Did people receive or give assistance from their relatives, and when ? What form did this help take ? How much was the *al-Deah* in the past, and did people help each other in paying *al-Deah* ? If so, how ?

Section Five

Traditional Marriage System

- 1- Traditionally, who chose the wife within the traditional family, and how were the *al-Kutabah* (negotiations), and the *al-Mulkaah* (engagement) conducted?
- 2- Was marriage of a girl in the 'Ataiba tribe restricted (*al-Hajir*) until she had obtained the permission of her male cousin (*ibn 'am*)?
- 3- Did people marry more than one wife in the past, and if so, what were the reasons for that?
- 4- Was the *Maher* (bride's dowry and offer) expensive?
- 5- Who decided the *Maher* (dowry, offer)?
- 6- Who assisted the groom in paying the *Maher*? What form did this assistance take?
- 7- What qualities did people look for in a wife?
- 8- Where was the marriage party usually held?
- 9- What was the reason for choosing a wife from the tribe?
- 10- When a son married, did he live with his family, or separately?

Section Six

Traditional Entertainment

- 1- What facilities for entertainment were available at home?
- 2- How did people spend their leisure time?

Section Seven

Traditional Medicine

- 1- How did people deal with illnesses, when somebody was ill or sick?
- 2- How did people deal with illnesses, when livestock needed medicine?

Appendix 4:
Schedule of Anthropology
Study in Arabic

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

دليل المقابلة

الدراسة الانثروبولوجية

أولاً:
البيانات الأولية

الاسم

العمر

الحالة الاجتماعية

نمط الحياة البدوية

مستقرة ()

شبه مستقرة ()

متنقلة ()

المهنة السابقة

المهنة الحالية

مكان المقابلة

التاريخ

الملاحظات :

ثانياً نظام الضبط الاجتماعي التقليدي:

١- العرف القبلي في الماضي:

* الوجاهه ، ماهي الوجاهه ، من الذين يقومون بالوجاهه ، وفي ماذا ولماذا تكون الوجاهه ، ما هو الوقت المناسب للوجاهه ، وماهي انواع الوجاهه ، ما هي النتائج التي كانت تترتب على هذه العمل ، لماذا كان الناس يقومون او يشاركون في الوجاهه؟

* الخوة ، ما هي الخوة ، هل كان للخوة واجبات و حقوق بشكل عام هو خاص ، في الماضي متى تكون الخوة ، ما هو الدافع اليها ، ماهي واجبات الخوي على خوية ، وما هي واجبات المخوي عليه ؟

* الفرعة ، متى تكون الفرعة ، ولماذا كان الناس في الماضي يقدمون او يقومون با الفرعة ، و ماهي انواع الفرعة ، ماهي الألفاظ التي كانت تستخدم في الفرعة؟

* الفرقة ، ماهي الفرقة ، متى تكون ، هل كان يستلزم على جميع الأشخاص ان يقوموا بدفع الفرقة ، وهل كان يمكن لهم ان يتخلوا عن ذلك ، ولماذا كانوا يقومون بهذا العمل؟

* الدخيل ، في الماضي ، متى يكون الشخص دخيلاً على شخص آخر أو جماعة اخرى ، عن ماذا تكون الدخالة ، كم كانت مدة دخاله ؟

* الثأر ، في ماذا يكون الثأر في الماضي ، ولماذا ، من هو الذي له الحق بطلب الثأر ، من الذي يحكم في الثأر ، هل كانت الوجاهة تتدخل في قضايا الثأر ام لا ولماذا ؟

٢- ماهو الدور الذي كان يقوم به امير القبيلة او البطن او الفخذ في الماضي ، وكيف كانت علاقة بافراد قبيلته.

٣- هل كان الأمير يقدم مساعدات الى افراد قبيلته ، وما نوع هذه المساعدات.

٤- هل كان عندما يصدر امير القبيلة امر فإن افراد قبيلته يستجيبون لهذا الأمر ام لا ، ولماذا ؟

٥- هل كان هناك من يمثل القبيلة او الفخذ او البطن ؟

٦- اذا كان هناك صراع بين الأفراد فكيف يمكن حل ذلك النزاع ، ومن كان يتخذ القرار في عقاب السارق او القاتل ؟

ثالثاً النظام الاقتصادي التقليدي:

١- ما هو العمل او المهنة الرئيسية للبدو ، وما هو الدور الذي يقوم به كل من الرجل والمرأة والأبناء في ممارسة هذا النشاط او العمل ؟

- ٢- ما هي انواع المنازل التي كان يسكنها البدو، ماهي مكوناتها، ومن الذي يقوم بعملها؟
- ٣- ماهي الأعمال التي كان يقوم بها الرجل؟
- ٤- ماهي الأعمال التي كانت تقوم بها المرأة، وهل كانت تشارك العائلة في تحمل المسؤوليات؟
- ٥- ماذا كانت انواع مصادر الدخل، وهل كانت ذات قيمة مرتفعة او منخفضة؟
- ٦- هل كان الناس يفضلون تربية الأبل او الأغنام ولماذا، هل كان للرجل الذي يملك عدد من الأبل مكانة اجتماعية عالية بين افراد جماعته؟
- ٧- من الذي يرعى الماشية، و هل كان هناك رعاة مستأجرين ام لا؟
- ٨- هل كان البدو ينتقلون للبحث عن المراعي، كيف كانت تتم هذه التنقلات، و هل كانت هذه التنقلات داخل مناطق القبيلة ام خارجها؟
- ٩- هل كان البدو في الماضي يعملون بالزراعة، و ماهو موقف البدوي من هذه المهنة؟
- ١٠- ماهي وسائل المواصلات التي كانت تستخدم في الماضي؟
- ١١- ماهي الصناعات التقليدية التي كان يمارسها الافراد، ومن الذي كان يقوم بهذا العمل؟
- ١٢- ماهي الدوافع و الحوافز التي دفعت البدو الي الأستيطان، وماذا عن مكان هذه المستوطنات؟

رابعاً النظام العائلي التقليدي:

- ١- كيف كان نمط العائلة التقليدية، وما هي خصائصها؟
- ٢- ما هو الدور الذي كان يقوم به الأب في العائلة، ومن هو صاحب السلطة داخل العائلة؟
- ٣- كيف كانت العلاقات بين افراد العائلة في الماضي، وكيف كانت العلاقات بين افراد العائلة وأقاربهم؟
- ٤- هل كانت الزيارات بين افراد العائلة والأقارب قوية، ولماذا، ومتى كانت اوقاتها؟
- ٥- ماهي الواجبات والحقوق المطلوبه من افراد العائلة في تعاملهم مع بعضهم البعض؟
- ٦- هل كان هناك تشاور بين افراد العائلة، و احترام للحقوق و الواجبات؟
- ٧- هل كانت العائلة التقليدية تملك سائق او خادمة، ولماذا؟

٨- ما هي المساعدات التي يقدمها افراد العائلة لبعضهم البعض ، وما هي المساعدات التي يقدمها او يستقبلها افراد العائلة التقليدية من اقاربهم او افراد قبيلتهم ، وكيف كان دور العائلة والأقارب في جمع الدية و دفعها الى اهل المجني عليهم ، وكيف كان دور العائلة في مواجهة المشاكل و الصعوبات التي كانت تواجههم؟

٩- كيف كان التعليم عند العائلة التقليدية ، هل كان هناك مدارس ، و ماهو نوع هذه المدارس؟

خامسا

نظام الزواج التقليدي:

١- ماذا عن العرف التقليدي (الحجر) او التحجير على بنت العم بأن لا تتزوج من غير ابن عمها الا بعد موافقته؟

٢- متى وماهي الطريقة التي كانت تتم بها الخطبة ، ومن الذي يقوم بها ، ومتى يكون عقد الزواج ومن الذي يقوم بأختيار الزوجة في الغالب؟

٣- من الذي يحدد المهر ، وهل كان المهر غالي ، وهل كان هناك تعاون بين افراد العائلة في عملية دفع المهر ، وما نوع هذه المساعدات؟

٤- اين و كيف كانت تقام حفلات الزواج ؟

٥- ما هي الصفات المطلوبة في الزوجة ، وما هي اسباب اختيار الزوجة من داخل القبيلة ؟

٦- ماذا عن تعدد الزوجات ؟

٧- اين يسكن الابن عندما يتزوج ؟

سادسا

النظام الترفيهي التقليدي

١- ما هي الوسائل الترفيهية المتوفرة في المنزل ؟

٢- كيف كان الناس يقضون اوقات الفراغ ؟

سابعا

نظام العلاج التقليدي

١- ما هي الطرق التقليدية لعلاج الأنسان ، ومن الذين يقومون بها ؟

٢- ما هي الطرق التقليدية لعلاج الحيوان ؟

**Appendix 5:
Some Official Correspondence**

Appendix 5

Some Official Correspondence

Appendix 5.2

The Letter Given to the Researcher by his University (Al-Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud Islamic University, College of Social Sciences in Riyadh) Asking to Facilitate the Conduct of the Study.

Appendix 5.2

An Example of the covering Letters with the Questionnaire, asking respondents to answer the Questionnaire, and thanking them for doing so.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

المملكة العربية السعودية

وزارة التعليم العالي

جامعة الإمام محمد بن سعود الإسلامية

كلية العلوم الاجتماعية

بالرياض

KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

Ministry of Higher Education

Al-Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud

Islamic University

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

IN RIYADH



إفئادة

الموضوع :

الرقم :

التاريخ :

المشروعات :

تفيد كلية العلوم الاجتماعية بالرياض بأن المحاضر بقسم الاجتماع بالكلية / مانع بن قراش الدعجاني أحد الطلاب المتعثرين من قبل الكلية لدراسة الدكتوراه في التغير الاجتماعي (دراسة انثربولوجية) بجامعة هل في المملكة المتحدة (بريطانيا) ، ودارسته تتطلب الاطلاع على بعض المراجع والحصول على بعض المعلومات التي تهتم بحثه. وبناء على طلبه أعطي هذه الإفئادة.

والله يحفظكم ويرعاكم.

والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته.

عميد كلية العلوم الاجتماعية

د. عساف بن علي الحواسر



١١/٠٢/٠١ ١٨/١٠/١١ .. ا.ح.ن.ا.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

المملكة العربية السعودية

وزارة التعليم العالي

جامعة الإمام محمد بن سعود الإسلامية

كلية العلوم الاجتماعية

بالرياض

KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

Ministry of Higher Education

Al-Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud

Islamic University



COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

IN RIYADH

الموضوع :

الرقم :

التاريخ :

المشروعات :

وفقه الله.

سعادة /

سلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته ... أما بعد:

فإن المحاضر بقسم الاجتماع بالكلية | مانع بن قراش الدعجاني أحد الطلاب المتعثرين من قبل الكلية لدراسة الدكتوراه في التغير الاجتماعي (دراسة انثربولوجية) بجامعة هل في المملكة المتحدة (بريطانيا) ، ودارسته تتطلب الاطلاع على بعض المراجع والحصول على بعض المعلومات التي تهم بحثه. وعليه نأمل التكرم من سعادتكم بالتوجيه لعمل اللازم نحو مساعدته في الحصول على المعلومات المطلوبة. شاكرين لكم حسن تعاونكم.

والله يحفظكم ويرعاكم.

والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته.

عميد كلية العلوم الاجتماعية

د. عساف بن علي الحواس



١٠ / ١١ / ١٤٣١ هـ . ا. ح. ن. ا.

السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته

تجد بين أيديكم استبانة لدراسة الاستمرارية والتغير على محافظة الدوامي

* دراسة ميدانية " أنثروبولوجية " على قبيلة عتبية *

أرجو من سعادتكم التفضل بقراءة الإستبانة قراءة متأنية ومن ثم الإجابة

عليها بما يعبر عن رأيكم وواقِعكم الخاص ، علماً بأن إجاباتكم ستحظى

بسرية عالية كما أنها لن تستخدم إلا لأغراض البحث العلمي .

شاكرين لكم حسن تعاونكم ونجاوبكم ...

الباحث

مانع الدعجاني

قسم الاجتماع - جامعة الإمام