# Societal Security Challenges in the UAE: The Role of Tribes

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**Abstract**: This paper is an integral part of a broader PhD research programme on national loyalty and national security in the UAE. The union among the seven states of Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ajman, Fujairah, Ras Al-Khaimah, and Umm Al-Quwain forms the United Arab Emirates, which goes back to the early 1970s. In the past decade or so the UAE has been regarded as one of the best models of economic and social performing countries in the region. Despite its massive modernization and social development, the country still has strong traditional values, primarily based on tribal and strong family ties. In light of this background, being primarily based on the so-called Copenhagen Societal Security (CSS) theory, the research attempts to examine the role of tribal and kinship ties and its potential impact on national security of the UAE. In this paper, a comprehensive questionnaire has been developed in line with the theoretical framework, covering a large number of respondents' characteristics and their responses to a number of critical questions. Using an online survey monkey, well over 900 completed questionnaires were compiled and collected. The application of exploratory factor analysis and regression analysis has led to a number of interesting findings. First and foremost, the elasticity relating income to the national loyalty/security index suggests that maintaining the citizens' economic well-being through continuous rises in real incomes can help reduce tensions and hence enhance national stability and security. Secondly, the role of education cannot possibly be ignored. The study shows that the higher the levels of educational attainment, this brings about more support for national identity, hampers tribal support, and hence enhances national security. Finally, age was found to be significant in a number of cases, indicating that the older citizens tend to be more content and happy with the enhancement and protection of national identity and security at the expense of tribal support. This piece of information suggests that the younger population of the UAE must be provided with more economic, social and political well-being to motivate them to appreciate their national identity and values.

Keywords: Copenhagen Societal Security, Tribalism, National Identity, Factor Analysis

### 1. Introduction

The recent years has witnessed the growing importance of societal security issues, particularly since 9/11 and the subsequent involvement of Western countries in wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. It can be said that since early 2001, owing to a series of terrorist activities, the focus has now moved to national security in most countries. Furthermore, the emergence of the so-called Arab Spring, which followed the removal or displacement of a number of dictators in the Middle East and North Africa, has further accentuated the crises worldwide and hence has led most Western governments and their allies to introduce further national security measures (Frisch, 2013). Moreover, insofar as the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) region is concerned, the recent involvement of Saudi Arabia in the war in Yemen against the Houthis (who are indirectly supported by Iran) may potentially turn into a war of attrition between the two major powers in the region (Johnsen, 2014: 107-9). The off-shoot of such regional involvement has brought extra burden to the societies living in the GCC area as more resources are now needed to be allocated to safeguarding national security from possible terrorist attacks.

In the light of these events, it is now necessary to increase the awareness in the field of knowledge and security, hence the idea behind this research to discover a new method that could help recognize the social risks that would impact on national security. External threats to security being equal, one cannot possibly ignore the internal threats that could present themselves in the region as a whole. One dominant aspect of internal force is the presence of tribes and tribal culture and values that can either support stability or may indeed damage it. It is therefore important to focus on the tribal dimension both in supporting the stability of the nation or in dismantling of the state internally.

These dangers exposed in the Gulf region have led policy makers to focus more on the subject of societal security. Hence, it is important to understand the loyalty of tribes, but it is equally important to pay attention to the tribes who live on the borders between the United Arab Emirates and neighbouring countries. Moreover, border disputes have shaped the tribes in terms of loyalty, to whom the tribe will support and be loyal to. Furthermore, the understanding of the meaning of the tribes and their current position in society as a whole are also important in identifying their potential contribution to societal security.

According to what has been stated above, the aim of the research is to critically examine and evaluate the potential threats to national security of the United Arab Emirates (UAE), with a special reference to the relationship between national identity, and traditional tribal values and principles. In so doing, the following three questions of the study have emerged:

- 1) How significant is the role of tribes in the UAE in shaping the citizens' values and principles?
- 2) Do tribal values and principles help enhance national security in the UAE?
- 3) What factors give rise for the people to value their national identity and national security in the UAE?

### 2. An Overview of Literature

The concept of security has developed on several fronts; however, the most important stage tends to have led to further focusing on societal security, particularly after the end of the Cold War in 1990. So, according to scholars, societal security, starts to question different aspects relating to people as a group whose aim is to maintain an environment in which they can live, work and be safe. In so doing, this section focuses on Copenhagen School of security studies, which was developed by Buzan (1990, 2014). The security consists of the five elements which affects the stability of any state, according to Buzan: Military sector, Environmental sector, Economic sector, Political sector and the Societal security as the latter two are all about the security of the people and citizens in matters relating to entitlement and social justice. On the other hand, the societal security is concerned about the people as a group and its identity (Buzan, 2001, p. 120).

According to Al-Thami, societal security is the demise of fear and its replacement with a sense of security and safety of the life of an individual and the security of the homeland. It has also been defined as an action and programme of political, cultural, and economic transformations which aims to provide comprehensive safety for people in the community, and also providing ways to achieve welfare in the context of political freedom and social justice (Abed Rabbo, 2014). So, security means protection from any aggression or injustice, and collective security is the security of the nation as a single entity, so, to achieve the highest level of collective security, the state should maintain the capabilities to protect it from any form of threats (Hussein, 2009).

Buzan has divided the sources of societal security into three main determinants (Migrations, Horizontal competition and Vertical competition). Firstly, migration can be explained as the flow of immigrants into a given state, normally leading to competition between indigenous people and the immigrants. The immigrants are seen to have a potential influence on national identity, which could result in either changes or shifts in the composition of society - for example, the case of Russian migration into Estonia. Secondly, horizontal competition, which comes from the neighbouring countries and which has the potential of overriding the culture and the language - for example, Quebecois' fears of Anglophobe Canada and general fears of Americanization. Finally, vertical competition, which relates to a group of people whose belongings and identity has been changed through merging with a large union or coalition - for example, the disintegration of Yugoslavia, and its joining with the EU (Buzan and Waever. 2003, p.121).

It can be argued that though the theory of societal security has been successful in its application to several cases, it has been primarily built on European political, social and economic standards. Thus, research will attempt to fill in the gap in the literature by applying Copenhagen societal theory to an Arab state, where internal

security is primarily non-militaristic and non-political. The Arab world should be viewed as traditional, conservative and originally founded by the tribal system. Hence, in a number of such countries, tribal values and principles are still deeply rooted (Inbar, 2013). This is to say that the inter-dependency of the five elements of the Copenhagen model on national security may be rather complex as modernity and tribalism are not separate entities. Nevertheless, tribal values and principles can be affected by societal movements. Conversely, in some cases – as in the Yemen and Libya - tribes have emerged as being very influential in having a significant impact on national security.

# 3. Methodology and Data

Given the nature of research being deductive and positivist, one would expect the researcher to search for data for the purpose of analysis. Since no previously published data is available on people's perceptions and expectations about national security in the GCC, the study has made an attempt to conduct a survey using a questionnaire. The design and development of the questionnaire has been made in association with the literature and the author's prior knowledge and information about the field of study. The questionnaire approach is considered as particularly useful when seeking to collect data relating to the opinions, expectations and/or perceptions of a large sample group in regard to specific phenomena (Collis & Hussey, 2009). As has been advocated in Remenyi *et al.* (2005), the overall aim of a questionnaire is to gather data which cannot otherwise be observed, and that such information can then be utilized in order to provide descriptions, analyses, and hypothesis-testing.

Insofar as this research is concerned, the sampling is based on a simple random technique, but allocating a bigger share of the sample to cities or regions with a larger population. It is therefore aimed for cities such as Abu Dhabi and Dubai, which together house more than 60% of the UAE population, to have a much greater shares of the sample size.

Furthermore, this research has used *SurveyMonkey* for online distribution and data collection of the designed questionnaire. Online surveys and social-media information have become the most popular and efficient research tools of the digital era for fast-moving small businesses. *SurveyMonkey* is now available for educational and research purposes free of charge, as it is a quick and do-it-yourself online data collection tool. *SurveyMonkey* is developed using cloud-based software as a service company that includes data analysis, sample selection, bias elimination, and data representation tools. The application of the *SurveyMonkey* has led to collection of data for a sample size of 942 across the seven cities of the UAE.

The final version of the questionnaire includes 20 questions, asking respondents about their loyalty and support for their tribe and respect and support for national identity, and loyalty. The questions are designed to enable the researcher to establish whether support for, and loyalty to, tribal values are in line with national values and national support. The scores attached to these questions are of interest to the researcher as they determine the extent of support for tribal and national values. The answers to these questions are measured using the Likert five-point scale, as follows:

Strongly Disagreed	1
Disagreed	2
Satisfied	3
Agreed	4
Strongly Agreed	5

Table 1 presents the full data-set relating to descriptive statistics of all the 20 questions. A careful examination of the questions suggest that questions 1-13 include statements relating to tribal interests, values and support, whereas questions 14-20 deals with statements relating to nationalism and national loyalty. Except for questions 2 and 3, the mean values for the remaining items are statistically significant. According to this

table, the highest top-ten scores are given (in descending order) to questions 17, 18, 19, 15, 1, 14, 12, 10, 5, 13 respectively. On the other hand, apart from the statistically insignificant questions 2 and 3, the lowest scores (below 3.00) were obtained for questions 7, 4, 8, 9, respectively.

A careful examination of these questions in Table 1 can help derive two main dependent variables: Nation and Tribe. The Nation variable is composed of a combination of factors (questions) 14-20, where the Tribe variable is built on a combination of questions 1-13.

Question	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Dev.
O1: Droud of my triba	1.00	5.00	4.6316	.66424
Q1. Floud of my my tribe	00	1.00	2719	44510
	.00	1.00	.2/18	.44310
Q3: I will marry from my tribe	.00	1.00	.1783	.38301
Q4: Tribe's chieftain plays an important role	1.00	5.00	2.8758	1.20417
Q5: I like to live in a city where my tribe originates from	2.00	5.00	3.5711	1.06072
Q6: Cities should be named after tribes	2.00	5.00	3.3737	1.20945
Q7: Chieftain is effective	1.00	5.00	2.6868	1.10962
Q8: National loyalty is derived from tribal loyalty	1.00	5.00	2.9704	1.39245
Q9: Chieftain usually solves tribal problems	1.00	5.00	2.9850	1.12825
Q10: Tribal problems must be resolved by tribesmen	1.00	5.00	3.8132	1.16499
Q11: Tribal rules must be applied	1.00	5.00	3.1837	1.09643
Q12: Tribes help national security	1.00	5.00	3.9783	1.03222
Q13: Tribesmen should work in the interest of their tribes	1.00	5.00	3.4809	1.23497
Q14: Tribal interests negatively affect national interests	1.00	5.00	3.9798	1.23645
Q15: Loyalty to the state should be above tribal loyalty	1.00	5.00	4.6497	.83265
Q16: Tribal loyalty leads to national loyalty	1.00	5.00	4.0711	1.07835
Q17: I am proud of my nationality	1.00	5.00	4.9395	.30503
Q18: I defend my state above tribal interests	1.00	5.00	4.9108	.35488
Q19: State reputation is above the tribe's reputation	1.00	5.00	4.7845	.56955
Q20: The state should promote more roles for tribesmen	1.00	5.00	3.4745	1.12308
Overall Score (excluding Q2 and Q3)	1.00	5.00	3.8084	0.9888

TABLE I: Descriptive Statistics of Responses

Table 2 shows the distribution of responses for each and every city in the UAE. As can be seen, of the total 942, Abu Dhabi (ABD) and Dubai (DUB), with a much larger population compared to the rest, each represent about 31% of the sample size. The total responses from Sharjah (SHA) represent 20% and the remaining 19% can be allocated to the four smaller cities of Ras Al-Khaimah (RAK), Fujairah (FUJ), Ajman (AJM) and Umm-Al-Quwain (UAQ). According to this table, the response rates varied quite substantially from one city to another. The highest response rate belongs to Ajman where all of the 21 distributed questionnaires were received fully completed. On the other hand, the lowest response rate is reported for the Ras Al-Khaimah, where only 57.9% of received questionnaire were fully completed. On the whole, out of 1161 questionnaires distributed in the UAE, 942 were fully completed and returned, giving a respectable response rate of 81%.

TABLE II: 0	Questionnaire	Responses	by	City
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TIDEE II. Questionnane Responses by City						
City	Responses	Completed	Response Rate	Share of Total		
	Received	Responses	(%)			
Abu Dhabi	342	294	85.9	31.2		
Dubai	364	292	80.2	31.0		
Sharjah	210	191	90.9	20.2		
Ras Al-Khaimah	119	69	57.9	7.4		
Fujairah	77	55	71.4	5.8		
Ajman	21	21	100.0	2.2		
Umm Al-Quwain	26	20	76.9	2.1		
UAE	1,161	942	81.0	100		

Table 3 presents the total sample of the respondents' descriptive statistics. According to this table, the mean value for Sex is shown as 0.5287 indicating that 52.9 percent of the respondents were male. Similarly, the mean value of Marital is 0.77 indicating that the large majority of respondents were married. The mean value for Age is shown to be 34.9 years, ranging from 18 to 65 years. This indicates that the representative respondent is in the

middle range of the age category. Excluding the retired and the unemployed, the mean value of job shows that well over 60% of respondents were working in the public sector (government and military). The mean value for education has turned out as 3.578, indicating that the average respondent has an educational qualification somewhere between high school/college diploma and an undergraduate degree. Finally, the mean value for monthly income is estimated as AED23,800, and that is approximately in the middle of the distribution.

The second-last column in Table 3, shown as Std. Deviation, represents the measure of variation around the mean values and that the higher the standard deviation relative to the estimated mean value, the lesser the significance of the representativeness of the mean value. In Table 2, the mean values relating to age and education variables, shown in a green colour, have turned out to be statistically significant. On the other hand, the mean values relating to the other four variables have failed to be statistically significant.

Characteristic	Ν	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Significance
Sex	942	0.00	1.00	0.528	0.4994	0.212
Age	942	18	65	34.9	12.42	0.001
Income (AED)	942	10,000	50,000	23,800	16,250	0.152
Education	942	1.00	5.00	3.578	1.1139	0.000
Job	942	0.00	1.00	0.6645	0.4724	0.135
Marital	942	0.00	1.00	0.7357	0.44121	0.117

TABLE III: Descriptive Statistics of Respondents - Total Sample

Finally, to observe any differences in the mean values of respondents' characteristics at city level, Table 3 has been prepared. The main significant differences are found in age and incomes of respondents, shown in a green colour. According to this table, while ABD, DUB and SHA respondents exhibit ages significantly higher than the average for the UAE, UAQ shows the mean age of 29.4, which is significantly lower than the overall average. As for mean values of income, there are some marked differences across cities. Only ABD shows the average income of AED27,400, significantly higher than the average for the UAE, whereas SHA and FUJ exhibit incomes of AED19,400 and AED20,900 respectively, significantly lower than the overall average.

The average UAE score of 3.578 for educational attainment appears to be a good representative as there are only two cases (RAK and UAQ) which exhibit mean education scores significantly different from the overall average. UAQ gives the highest mean score for education of 4.00, whereas RAK exhibits the lowest mean score of 3.476. Looking at the bottom row of Table 3, it can be summed up that the average respondent in our survey is expected to be a man, aged 34.9 years, earning a monthly income of AED 23,800, with an educational qualification of either a Diploma or university degree, married and holding a public-sector job.

	Sex	Age	Income	Education	Job	Marital
ABD	0.513	37.1	27,400	3.653	0.608	0.779
DUB	0.599	36.8	23,700	3.520	0.486	0.652
SHA	0.534	37.8	19,400	3.656	0.565	0.722
RAK	0.514	34.3	23,200	3.476	0.667	0.751
FUJ	0.558	34.6	20,900	3.619	0.472	0.724
UAQ	0.517	29.4	25,200	4.000	0.750	0.764
UAE	0.528	34.9	23,800	3.578	0.664	0.736

TABLE 3: Mean Scores of Respondents' Characteristics by City

## 4. Analysis of Results

The analysis of the data collected from the questionnaire enables the researcher to find the answers to the three questions of the paper. Analytical steps include a reliability test, factor analysis and regression analysis.

## 4.1. Reliability Test

One of the most common procedures in dealing with a multidimensional questionnaire is the test for reliability. This involves evaluating the extent of consistency of the respondents with regard to their responses to questions relating a particular theme or topic (Cortina, 1993). For example, a given individual answering questions relating to tribal values/loyalty is expected to assign similar scores to questions across the board. Hence, one expects to see small estimates of variance per individual across the questions. However, any such test should expect to see larger variances across individuals for any given question. Therefore, any test for reliability should consider comparing the two sets of variances.

The application of the Cronbach Alpha reliability test using the option to test for reliability within the SPSS software has produced the estimated alpha coefficient for the entire sample, as well as for each and every city in the UAE, as shown in Table 4. According to this table, all the cases are either acceptable, or good, in terms of reliability of the data. Interestingly, the highest estimated alpha relates to AJM with the smallest sample size of 21. This may reflect the fact that the respondents in Ajman have responded to the questions more consistently than those in cities such as Dubai and Fujairah. Nevertheless, as the overall estimated alpha is concerned, the data collected through the questionnaire are reliable and consistent.

	Sample size	Estimated Alpha	Comment
Entire UAE	942	0.783	Acceptable
ABD	294	0.820	Good
DUB	292	0.795	Acceptable
SHA	191	0.816	Good
AJM	21	0.858	Good
FUJ	55	0.792	Acceptable
RAK	279	0.817	Good
UAQ	20	0.821	Good

TABLE IV: Estimates of Cronbach Alpha Reliability Test

#### 4.2. Exploratory Factor Analysis

In an environment where a large number of potential dependent variables exist, it is recommended to find ways of reducing such variables. The application of the so-called factor analysis can help achieve this objective. As a technique within factor analysis, commonly used in social sciences, i *Exploratory Factor Analysis* (EFA) is described as an orderly simplification of a number of interrelated items. This is to say that EFA attempts to explore the most likely underlying structure of a set of observed variables without imposing any *a priori* structure or theoretical framework (Child, 1990). In short, EFA is a rather mechanical and theoretical approach, by only considering means of identify a set of latent constructs underlying variations in the variables in question. The application of EFA has led to selection of eight factors out of 13 forming the Tribe construct, which are to be used for further statistical analysis as follows:

- Q1 Proud of my tribe
- Q4 Tribe chieftain plays an important role
- Q8 National loyalty is derived from national loyalty
- Q9 Chieftain usually solves tribal problems
- Q10 Tribal problems must be resolved by tribes
- Q11 Tribal rules must be applied
- Q12 Tribes help national security
- Q13 Tribes should work in the interests of their tribes

Similarly, the application of EFA for the Nation construct has led to elimination of only one factor, with the remaining six factors as follows:

- Q14 Tribal interests negatively affect national interests
- Q15 Loyalty to the state should be above tribal loyalty
- Q17 I am proud of my nationality
- Q18 I defend my state above tribal interests
- Q19 State reputation is above the tribe's reputation
- Q20 The state should promote more roles for tribesmen

#### 4.3. Regression Analysis

In building a mathematical model explaining respondents' support of tribal values or national values, and how these two constructs would relate to national security, a number of steps need to be taken. First and foremost, it is evident that the six socioeconomic factors representing the respondents' characteristics should be treated as explanatory variables of our model. Furthermore, we have managed to produce two main indices out of the twenty items: Tribe and Nation. These two constructs represent the dependent variables in our model.

The so-called national security index (NSI) in our case should be built based upon the two constructs of Tribe and Nation. Insofar as internal sources of instability are concerned, the best way to explain national security in this case is to define it as a trade-off between tribal values and national values. Based on this definition, the research therefore constructs the NSI based on the national security index ratio (NSIR) of the two construct of Nation and Tribe. If these two constructs turned out to be of equal weight, then a ratio of the two construct is unity. However, if this ratio turns out to be greater or smaller than unity, then it can be argued that respondents treat these two entities as going on opposing directions.

NSIR is to be used to regress against the six explanatory variables. The application of a stepwise linear regression has led to the final estimated coefficients as shown in Table 5, exhibiting an overall good fit for the estimated model as the F-stat is 18.04, therefore being statistically significant. As is evident, three factors have turned out to be statistically significant: age, income and education. Since the dependent variable (NSI) here is in form of a ratio, then the estimated equation must be treated as a non-linear model and hence the estimated coefficients must be treated as elasticities rather than parameters. The concept of elasticity should enable us to associate the dependent variable to the independent variable as a percentage rather than an absolute value.

For example, as Table 5 shows the estimated coefficient of age being 0.044, this indicates that for every, say, 50% increase in age (equivalent of moving from one age category to the next), *ceteris paribus*, there would be a 2.2% increase in national security. The importance of age in national security has also been confirmed in Kinninmont (2015), where it is stated that the main source of national insecurity and instability in the Gulf region may well come from the youth. This may be primarily due to a lack of both employment opportunities and economic security, and the presence of social networking/media (Monier, 2015). Similarly, based on the estimated elasticity of income, by doubling a representative citizen's monthly income(i.e. 100% increase), say from AED20,000 to AED40,000, there would be a rise in national security, *ceteris paribus*, of as much 3.1%. Finally, as for education, if the representative citizen is assumed to improve his/her education level from say a diploma to a university degree, then one would expect an improvement of 3.5% in the index of NSI. On the whole, one can conclude that if every factor in Table 8 was allowed to increase by 100%, then the total increment in the national security index would be 11%, which equates to the sum of the three estimated elasticities (4.4%+3.1%+3.5%).

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		t	Sig.
	В	Std. Error		
(Constant)	1.030	.050	20.585	.000
age	.044	.013	3.237	.001
income	.031	.010	3.207	.001
education	.035	.011	3.152	.002
F-stat=18.038 (0.000)				

TABLE V: Estimated Coefficients for UAE, NSI as Dependent Variables

# 5. Summary and Conclusions

The aim of this paper has been to develop a national security index enabling us to estimate and evaluate the extent of the potential role of tribal values and principles in the so-called societal security framework. The research has led to the development of three main questions, for which the analysis of the data has provided answers. The sampling has been conducted using a simple random process using *SurveyMonkey*. All the processes of distribution and collection of the questionnaire were done online.

The analysis of the respondents revealed several interesting findings. The majority of respondents were male, married and working in the public sector. The average respondent was found to be around 35 years old, with an income of just less than AED24,000, and a level of education somewhere between high school diploma and university degree. In examination of the respondents' characteristics, the research found some significant intra-city differences, particularly those relating to incomes, age, and employment.

The application of the exploratory factor analysis (EFA) led to a reduction in the total number of questions (items) across the board. The calculated measures of tribal support/values (Tribe) and of national support/values (Nation) were obtained using the information from EFA. Furthermore, based on the theoretical definition of national security, and further use of descriptive statistics, the so-called national security index (NSI) was developed as a potential dependent variable. The calculated NSI was used to regress against the six explanatory variables (respondents' characteristics).

On the basis of the findings derived throughout this chapter, one can conclude that maintaining the citizens' economic well-being through a continuous rise in incomes can help reduce tension and hence enhance national stability and security. Furthermore, the role of education cannot possibly be ignored. The study shows that increasing levels of educational attainment bring about more support for national identity, values, and hence enhance national security. Finally, age was found to be significant in a number of cases, indicating that older citizens tend to be more content and happy with the enhancement and protection of national identity and security. This piece of information suggests that the younger population of the UAE must be provided with greater economic, social and political well-being to motivate and encourage them to appreciate their national identity and values.

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