RESEARCH ARTICLE   OPEN ACCESS

Trajectory of Governance in Saudi Arabia from the Formation of the Third Saudi State till the Arab Spring : A Critical Appraisal

Dr.Ashia khan*

*The author has done Ph.d from Jamia Millia Islamia central university. Currently, teaching in University of Delhi as guest lecturer

Email:akashia03@gmail.com

Abstract:

Saudi Arabia, the largest country in the gulf has got the monarchical form of government. It is the country which is named after a dynasty and is ruled by the same. Being the custodian of two holy cities Mecca and Medina it enjoys eminent position in the Muslim world.[1] Among the other things, its legitimacy depends on governance based on a strict interpretation of Islam. Although there is large debate on lack of democracy and human rights violation in Saudi Arabia[2] but at the same time it cannot be underestimated that it is the most stable country of the gulf region. And the Saudi government have very skilfully managed to hold its power so long. Since the emergence of the third Saudi State it has been continuously engaged in gaining legitimacy through several means. And in the process have brought lot of political development in the Kingdom. The country now rely more on strategies of opening up[3] rather than on suppression. Saudis today even aspire to have a say in a decision making process which previously was confined to politically affluent elite class. Therefore, this paper is an attempt to examine the art of governance adopted by the regime in consolidating its power so long. The paper would also endeavour to examine the political reforms adopted by the regime, whether they are substantial or are mere cosmetic changes undertaken to gain legitimacy. It would also investigate the dynamics and factors that have so far propel Saudi Arabia to introduce this development. It would also comprehend the policy changes that essentially culminated in bringing about changes.

Key words: Governance, legitimacy, reforms, policies.

INTRODUCTION:

Governance in simple language implies the method by which the government regulate the affairs of the people within the country by controlling them. The most important element of the governance is legitimacy, through which the government is authorised to govern the country. Legitimacy can be obtained by use of power; it may be political, social or economic power. Basically, there are two major means of gaining legitimacy. One is the use of repressive or coercive power and the other is the use of ideological state apparatuses such as religion, school, cinema, knowledge, economy etc. According to Foucault the relation of political subjects to government, is not a contractual one rather it is a relation of subjection and subjugation to a mixture of governmental procedure and practices .It is a relation of subtle coercions and procedural manipulations. The "governmentalization" of the state consists of a

---

[1] Leign, Nolan (2011), "Managing Reform? Saudi Arabia and king's Dilemma ", Policy Briefing.

[2] Human Right Watch (2006), "Saudi Arabia"

[3] Crystal , Jill (2005), "Political Reform and Prospect For Democratic Transition In Gulf" , *Fride Foundation ,* Working Paper 11

vast proliferation of state administrative apparatuses and widespread bureaucratization. There is virtual explosion of government apparatuses, agencies and institutions that function as the instruments of governmental intervention into the affairs of the population (Michael Clifford, 2001). In other words, "governmentality" is the ensemble formed by the institutions which have its own procedures, analyses, calculations and tactics to exercise its power for controlling the population. And it does so, with the help of the knowledge of political economy and by using the tool of the apparatuses of security.[4] Added to this, governmentality is also characterized by a recognition that the strength of the state and the welfare of individuals are intertwined and the survival of the government depends very much on the wellbeing of its people. Hence, it engages in providing various services to the people through food production and distribution, providing housing facilities, educational facilities, ensuring employment, providing health care and medical assistance, social security, insurance etc in order to ensure its survival.

Likewise over the decades, the kingdom of Saudi Arabia has been continuously engaged in experimenting with various tools and techniques of government in order to gain legitimacy[5]. From the time of the formation of the third Saudi Sate, the regime has adopted new means and tools to strengthen its support. A glance at the history of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia reveals that the traditional mode of governance in the kingdom was more of suppression, coercion, and domination. This period can be trace back to the time when King Abdul Aziz bin Saud captured the whole kingdom with the help of the Sheikh Family. Saudi Arabia being the birth place of Islam and also of Prophet Mohammad. Religion has always played a dominant role in the kingdom.[6] Therefore, King Abdul Aziz bin Saud used religion as a tool in gaining legitimacy and in consolidating his power over the region. Since early period an important characteristic of Saudi Arabia is that, tribes were important social and political units in Saudi Arabia. The peoples of Arabia used to live in a Bedouin tribal society and culture. Wherein, the members of a particular family lived together. Again this related families formed a group which was named as clan and a group of several clans constituted a tribe. Tribes were led by a chief, popularly known as Sheikh who was selected by the heads of leading clans or families. Moreover an advisory council " Majlis" was also set up by leader of the clans, within which the tribal chief could exercised his leadership and authority[7] .The kingdom was dominated by several such tribal groups, which divided the kingdom into small provinces. Most of these tribes formed independent entities and occupied a special position in the society. And there were intense rivalry among these groups. King Abdul Aziz along with the help of Al sheikh integrated those tribes with multiple strategies and established a United Kingdom.[8] They tried to unite them either through military conquest or through propagation of the discipline of the Hanbali school of Islamic law under the wahhabi movement. Under the movement they propagated the concept of Tawhid, which constitute the essence of Islamic belief. It preached for monotheism and denounced all forms of mediation between God and the believers; declared the worship of saints, trees, and other objects as Kufr. The main objective of the movement was to revive Islam. Since then their prime agenda was to gain submission to the tenets of Wahhabi Islam among the people. Those people who willingly accepted the movement were to swear allegiance

[4] Clifford,Michael (2001), "*Political Geneology After Faucault",* London, Routledge

[5] Ilias, M.H(2010)," Neo liberalism and the New Means Of Art Of Government In The Persian Gulf Monarchies", *International politics ,*vol. 3(6):pg 32

[6] Al Rasheed, Madawi (1996), "God ,the king and the Nation: political rhetoric in Saudi Arabia since 1990s", *Middle East Journal* vol 50 no.3,pg 359-371

[7] Wynbrandt,James (2010), "*A Brief History Of Saudi Arabia*" New York ,USA

[8] Echague, Ana and Burke, Edward (2009), "Strong Foundation ? The Imperative for Reform In Saudi Arabia", *Fride Foundation*

to its religio- political leadership. They had to show their loyalty by paying Zakat to the leaders and had to fight for its cause. And those who were not willing to accept it had to give up their life. The role played by the Ikhwan and the Muttawah in this regard was praise worthy. Without their effort it would have been difficult for such rapid conquest. [9] However, coercion alone would not have guaranteed such a high level of expansion if not the Wahhabi had promised salvation not only in this world but also next.

Another strategy adopted by King Abdul Aziz to unite the kingdom was through the institution of marriage.[10] King Abdel Aziz married into most of the tribes and so do his sons, grandsons, great grandsons and daughters. This marriage provided the main source for support of the various tribes to the ruling regime and provided legitimacy to the Al Saud family. Therefore, marriage with the various tribal groups and encouragement to the tribal confederation to take part in expansion with the promise of material rewards further facilitated the expansion. It is observed that even today, Clan and lineage links remained a potent force in Saudi Arabia.

Slowly and gradually after consolidating his power, King Abdul Aziz started to formalise the government structure by establishing certain institution of ministries (like the political committee, ministry of foreign affairs , the ministry of defence, ministry of finance etc) whereby he assigned minimal role to some of his elder sons but remained the ultimate supreme authority. There was also provision for establishment of Majlis, to listened to the grievances of the people of Saudi and to work for its redressal [11]. Although such procedural arrangements were made but in reality the affairs of the state were conducted behind closed doors by the king,some princes and foreign advisers.

Implementation of Shariah law was to be followed, wherein the ulema were the chief to interpret the laws. No political rights were granted to the people. However, after the oil discovery the payment of taxes were abolished and the king spend huge funds in developmental projects to please the people.[12] Though on the one side the people were denied political rights but on the other hand they were given minimal economic privileges. Huge funds were distributed to gain legitimacy. With the introduction of increasing oil revenue in the kingdom, another tool to gain legitimacy was witnessed in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The regime which heavily relied on use of force and suppression in order to consolidate its power , now had introduced mild policy to contain the people .The regime granted welfare packages to the people and were asked in return to remain away from the political participation.“No representation without Taxation” was the principle to be followed. The people had not to pay any taxes to the government and they would receive all kinds of services like free education, housing, food etc, but in return the people should not interfere in the governance of the country and would support the regime by providing legitimacy.

On 1953 King Abdul Aziz died and King Saud succeeded to his throne. During his rule the government became increasingly wasteful and lavish, leading to governmental deficits and foreign borrowing in 1950s. The country's economy continuously went down which badly affected the mode of governance, which was heavily dependent on the oil revenue. By early 1960s Saud was disposed in favour of Faisal after a long internal rivalry of the Al Saud family and finally Faisal became the king[13].

[9] ibid

[10] John Duke,Anthony(1982) "Saudi Arabia :From Tribal Society To Nation –State" in *Saudi Arabia :Energy, Development Planning and Industrialization,* Ragai El Mallakh and Dortheo H.El Mallak, Lexington Books.

[11] Al Rasheed, Madawi (2002), " *A History of Saudi Arabia*", London

[12] Tim Niblock .(2006) "*Saudi Arabia: Power , Legitimacy and survival*", Routledge, London

[13]Bligh, Alexander (1984), "*From Prince To King :Royal Succession In The House Of Saud In 21st century*", New York University ,New York

Though the welfare scheme began during the time of Abdul Aziz itself, it was Faisal who played significant role in modernising Saudi Arabia and gave a new direction to its mode of governance. He pursued modernization, introduced western technology, and increased public education.[14]The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, which was based on all sorts of traditional institutions, now witnessed certain modern institutions and policies as well. Large numbers of universities were established and good numbers of students were sent to foreign universities for obtaining higher education, later these students became the core of Saudi civil service. Many ministries, government agencies and welfare programs began during his reign .Policies like agricultural, industrial subsidies, labour law, pension and social insurance programs for the workers were introduced. He laid the foundation for the modern welfare system. A decree for total abolition of slavery was issued. The country's first 'five year plan' for economic development began due to his effort. The Ministries of information, ministries for Higher Education, ministries for justice, ministries for Municipal and Rural affairs, ministries for planning, public works and Housing, Commerce, Industry, Electricity and Posts, Telegraphs and Telecommunication were established. Local Administration was recognised by royal decree by giving more authority at local levels to government officials and reducing the scope of responsibility of tribal sheikhs. A social security law was also introduced at the end of 1962 ensuring those over the age of 60, the incapacitated, orphans and women without means of support could obtain a minimum annual payment of 360 riyals.[15]With this, the kingdom now witnessed the extension of the policy of welfare services, along with the introduction of minimal people participation.

However, following the assassination of King Faisal in 1975 the kingdom witness two events one was the event of Iranian revolution in 1979 and the other was the seizure of the Grand Mosque in Mecca in 1979. These two event severely affected the domestic policy and as well as the foreign policy of Saudi Arabia. The Iranian revolution led to the emergence of several anti government riots in the region by the Shia opposition group which resulted from the unequal distribution of oil wealth that had been produced in the eastern province since 1938.[16] The Saudi Government promised a series of economic reform in response to the unrest to contain the dissenting voices and also increased surveillance over the population by installing more religious police (Muttawah) in the region.[17] The seizure of the Grand Mosque in Mecca by Islamist extremist, took place as a result of discontentment of some Wahhabi religious scholars against the material transformation that was taking place in Saudi society. These scholars were afraid of the risk of losing Islamic values.[18] The regime's responded to it by executing the rebels and then tightened the control over social and political life of the people. This led to the deteriorating conditions of the region. Gender segregation was enforced in public space, media was censored, huge funds were allotted for expansion of Islamic universities. In order to strengthen his power King Fahd changed his title from "Your Majesty" to the "Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques".[19]

After few years again the regime witnessed a great discontentment in the region. It was the time just after the gulf war, in 1990 when Saudi Arabia joined the anti –Iraq coalition and fearing an attack from Iraq King Fahd invited American and coalition soldiers to be stationed in Saudi Arabia for its defence[20]. He maintained close cooperation with the US and increased purchasing of sophisticated military equipment from US and Britain investing huge fund of the kingdom.[21] At this,the Saudis were

[14] Al Rasheed, Madawi (2002)"*A History of Saudi Arabia*", Cambridge university, London

[15] ibid

[16] Tim Niblock .(2006) "*Saudi Arabia: Power , Legitimacy and survival*", Rout ledge, London

[17] Okruhlik,Gwenn, "Making Conversation Permissible :Islam and Reform in Saudi Arabia"

[18]ibid

[19] ibid

[20] Ibid

[21] ibid

very much upset with the policy adopted by King Fahd therefore, from 1990 onwards a large numbers of petitions were submitted to King Fahd demanding for political, social, and economic reforms. "The Memorandum of Advice" was one such important petition .It was signed by near about 107 religious scholars in the year 1992. This document criticized the role of the official Ulema and the other main elements of the Saudi government. It demanded for fair and equal distribution of wealth, the establishment of an independent judiciary and consultative council, called for more extensive application of Islamic law, and urged to improve the educational system by having more influence of the religious sector over it, it also criticised the foreign policy of the country, particularly its relationship with the United States. [22]While the other important documents like the "Liberal petitioners"[23] and "the Shia' opposition movements" [24]demanded to end the corruption that was prevailing in the regime, and called for the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, it also demanded for more rights to women and the Shi'i minority.

As a result of this, number of scholars was put behind the bar. And in order to calm down the situation King Fahd announced steps towards democratization and sharing of power in March 1992.He announced "Saudi Basic System", which defines the structure of the government, administration of justice and the role of Majlis Al Shura (the consultative council). He also drafted the provincial system of government and a royal decree setting up the Majlis.[25] "It stated that the Kingdom has got monarchical form of government and its rule will be confined to the sons of the Kingdom's founder Abdul Aziz Ibn Abdel Rahman Al Faisal and grandsons. The most suitable will be enthroned to rule under the guidance of *Holy* Quran and Prophet Sunnah."[26] This gave a written document to the kingdom to regulate the affair of the country. However, a close scrutiny reveals that this incorporation was done only with the motive to control the situation, but in reality the power still remains in the hand of the ruling regime and the common people have a little say on the political matter and the basic law in fact fell far short of a constitution and did not even guarantee the freedom of association, expression, or assembly. Moreover, the Consultative Council that was established was only a mere advisory body and was entrusted with very insignificant role. In fact, it had no access to budget information nor could conduct investigations into any administrative irregularities.

After the 9/11 event of 2001, Saudi Arabia was under serious pressure from the US to transfer and change the system of governance as out of 19 hijackers15 were of Saudi nationals. The US launched its policy of war on terror which further left the kingdom in tension[27].Added to this, the kingdom also witnessed the union of different groups like the conservative religious scholars, moderate Islamist, liberal reformist, and the support of the moderate faction of the royal family for bringing about substantial reform measures in the kingdom[28] . Once again the regime received a series of petitions from various groups. On January 20, 2003, some famous liberal and Islamist intellectuals submitted a petition "A Vision for the Present and the Future of the Nation" demanding for separation of powers, judicial reform, and elections to the consultative council, emancipation for women and respect for civil rights.[29] In April 2003, another petition named "Partners in One Nation" was sent by the Shia groups

[22] Alshanshi,Mansoor Jassem,(2011), "Islam and Political Reform In Saudi Arabia: The Quest For Political Change", Routledge, London

[23] ibid

[24] Steinberg , Guido (2014), "Leading The Counter Revolution: Saudi Arabia And Arab Spring", *SWP Research Paper*

[25] H.k Victor, Richard and Forrest , Nicole (2009), "Saudi Arabia : Modern Reform , Enduring Stability", *Harvard Business School*

[26] Hamzawy ,Amr (2008), "The Saudi Labyrinth: Is There A Political Opening?" in Marina Ottoway and Julia Choucair Vizoso(eds),*Beyond The Facade : Political Reform In The Arab World,* Cairo press

[27] Bassam ,Albassam Abdullah (2011) "Political Reform In Saudi Arabia Necessity Or Luxury?" *Middle East Studies Journal,* No.6 vol(3)

[28] Ibid

[29] Leign , Nolan (2011), "Managing Reform? Saudi Arabia and king's Dilemma", Policy Briefing

asking to end discrimination against them by ensuring equal treatment under the law[30]. In September 2003, "In Defense of the Nation" petition was submitted supporting the January petition and called for rejection of violence and all forms of terrorism. In December again a petition demanding increased rights for women was sent by some of the Saudi women [31] In February of 2004, 880 intellectuals demanded accountability for previously announced reforms, a schedule for implementing political reforms, and the reform of the Saudi basic law.[32]

When King Abdullah came to the throne in 2005 he introduced his policy of mild reforms and brought unprecedented change in the kingdom. He allowed selective privatization of the economic sector through mechanisms like membership in the World Trade Organization. He also introduced gradual reforms of the social sector through a series of a National Dialogue[33] forums broadcast on national television on topics such as women's rights and religious tolerance. He announced elections at the municipal level in 2005 and promised to expand the powers for the Consultative Council by providing some access to budget information and giving it the authority to propose new legislation.[34] However, these initiatives did not turn out to be of any significance as the municipal elections were marked by low voter turnout, also the female candidates were excluded, and a subsequent round of elections scheduled for 2009 was reschedule[35]. As those initiatives could not materialise, King Abdullah undertook another policy towards reform and in 2009 he announced a significant reshuffling of his cabinet.[36] He assigned top positions to the more reform-minded and technocratic ministers in the ministries of education and the judiciary. He also appointed Nora bin Abdullah al-Fayez as Deputy Education Minister who was the first women to serve in a senior ministerial position. Moreover, the influence of the religious police, especially in the Hejaz was diminished and press censorship was eased,[37] especially on controversial social issues such as gender segregation. No doubt that these measures were noteworthy, but these reforms were partial and tends to relapse due to competing interests, both within the royal family and society at large. The bureaucracy itself is difficult to change. Therefore, potentially positive reforms with substantial political effects are halted by a bloated bureaucracy and the perennial threat of conservative backlash.

In 2011, an uprising known as the Arab Spring took place in the kingdom. Increasing youth population with unemployment problem is said to be the main reason behind the agitation. They called for better employment opportunities, end corruption, and for more political and economic rights. During the uprising the media has played a vital role in creating awareness inside and outside the kingdom. Although there is media censorship in the kingdom even then the regime could not stop the dissenting voice. The explosion of social networking site, blogs, and satellite channels has made it easier[38]. They also opposed the restrictions on freedom of expression and assembly in the Eastern Province and elsewhere in the country, restrictions on freedom of religion or belief, discrimination against women, and other problems associated with the unemployed educated youth's .Several petitions like "A Declaration of National Reform"[39] and "Toward the State of Rights and Institutions."[40] were circulated

[30] ibid

[31] ibid

[32] Echague Ana and Burke Edward (2009) "Strong foundation ?The imperative for reform in Saudi Arabia" ,*Fride,*vol (84)

[33] Yamani ,May (2008), "The Two Faces Of Saudi Arabia", *Survival* ,vol 50 (1) pg 143-156

[34] ibid

[35] ibid

[36] ibid

[37]

[38] ibid

[39]ibid

in the region, asking for more economic, political, and social liberties and was signed by group of liberal elites as well as some prominent Islamists.

The regime once again with its power of money was able to control the situation in very tactful way. The King distributed huge sum of money as unemployment benefits and for providing housing facilities. He also announced women's participation in the 2015 municipal election and eligibility as consultative assembly members.[41] He also announced for the establishment of an anti-corruption commission, more religious establishment, provision for ensuring more military, and internal security, and for providing more public sector jobs, high salary and other financial inducement. [42]Added to this the regime also used its coercive power of security and intelligence services. Several punitive measures were also taken against some of the reform-minded religious scholars and activists who had criticized the political system on the Internet. Some were arrested, and others threatened, censored, or had their freedom of travel restricted. As for the eastern province of the country that comprised of the Shi'ites groups, number of them was arrested and some shot to dead. one of their prominent leaders, Nimr al-Nimr, was also shot in July 2012.[43] The regime also issued warnings to its people for such troublesome and illegal nature of public demonstrations.[44] The Saudi Council of Senior Scholars issued a fatwa declaring "public protests illegal in Islam". It stated "that Saudi Arabia was 'founded on the Qur'an, the Sunna, allegiance to the ruler and the necessity of community and obedience. Reform could only take place through 'advice and not through demonstrations and means and methods that stir up strife and divide the community".[45] In December 2014 two women for the first time in the history in Saudi Arabia could sit in the Shura Council. Dr Lateefa Al Shaalan, an associate professor at Princess Noora University, and Dr Khawla Al Karie, the director of the Research Centre for Children's Cancer at the King Faisal Specialist Hospital and Research Centre, were selected members as the Council named the heads and members of its committees for the third year of its Sixth Session. The Council also choosed six women members as deputy chairpersons of the committees as well.[46]

Conclusion:

An analysis of the history of Saudi Arabia reveals that since the establishment of third Saudi state, the regime has continuously introduced new techniques of governance for gaining legitimacy and controlling the population. With the passage of time it has turned the means of control from coercion to cooptation; from political restructuring to political opening up and even went on for economic reconfiguration to gain legitimacy. As a result of this development, the regime today sees a transition from the tribal system to new mode of governance. The factors that led to bring these changes were both internal as well as external. The Iranian revolution, the gulf war , the event of 9/11 etc may be categorized into the external factors, that has directly or indirectly influence the dissented group in expressing their discontentment. On the other hand the factor which can be consider to be the internal factor responsible for bringing changes includes: the reinter economy, corruption in the ruling family, the seizure of Grand mosque in Mecca, emergence of educated youth who realised the importance of political participation, unemployment problem, discrimination of the women and the shia population,

---

[40] ibid

[41] Ottoway, David B (2015), "Saudi King Abdullah: An Assessment" , *Middle East Program*

[42] Rieger ,Rene (2013), " In The Search Of Stability: Saudi Arabia and the Arab Spring", *GRM paper Gulf Cambridge ,*U.k

[43] ibid

[44] Amnesty International (2011), "Saudi Arabia :Repression In The Name Of Security", vol (1)

[45] Steinberg , Guido (2014), "Leading The Counter Revolution: Saudi Arabia And Arab Spring", *SWP Research Papre,* Berlin

[46] Gulf News 24 Dec 2014

explosion of social network. As the question of change is concerned, it can be accepted that the kingdom of Saudi Arabia is undergoing significant transformation during the last two decades. An analysis of the demand reflects that the dissenting groups demanded for ensuring more social, economic and political rights but the more demand were made to reform the political process. However, on the other hand when one examine the reform measures undertaken by the regime, it reflect that it were more of economic reform rather than any other. More economic liberalization is provided rather than political liberalization and the regime is buying social peace through co-option. But at the same time it cannot be denied that at least there are some political openings in the region. For eg; Women once denied of any political right, can now enjoy minimum political participation. Moreover, although suppression and repression is very much prominent in the kingdom but it can be said that it is less as compared to early period and now it has been replaced by surveillance and cooptation. Although, the kingdom has yet to go a long way, in ensuring proper political participation to the people. But, a fact that need consideration and is praise worthy is the strategies and policies adopted by the regime in controlling the situation and in managing to survive so long.

REFERENCES:

- Andrzej Kapiszewski, "Saudi Arabia: Steps Towards Democratization or Reconfiguration of Authoritarianism?" *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 41, No. 5-6 (459-482);
- Ehteshami, Anoushriravan and Wright Steven (2005) " Political change in the Arab oil monarchies: from liberalization to enfranchisement", *International Affairs* vol 83:5, pg 913-932
- Abdullahadi Khalaf , Giacomo Luciana (2006), "Constitutional Reform And Political Participation In The Gulf", *Gulf Research Center.*
- Arts, Paul and Meijer, Roel (2012)," Saudi Arabia Between Conservatism , Accommodation And Reform", *Netherland Institute Of International Relations .*
- Al Rasheed, Madawi (2002), " *A History of Saudi Arabia*", London
- Al Rasheed, Madawi (1996), "God ,the king and the Nation: political rhetoric in Saudi Arabia since 1990s", *Middle East Journal* vol 50 no.3,pg 359-371
- Amnesty International (2011), "Saudi Arabia :Repression In The Name Of Security", vol (1)
- BTI Report, " Saudi Arabia", *Bertelsmann Stiftung*
- Crysttal , Jill (2005), "Political Reform and Prospect For Democratic Transition In Gulf" , *Fride Foundation ,* Working Paper 11
- Ottoway, David B (2015), "Saudi King Abdullah: An Assessment, *Middle East Program*
- Echague, Ana and Burke, Edward (2009), "Strong Foundation ? The Imperative for Reform In Saudi Arabia", *Fride Foundation*
- Frederic , Wehrey (2013), "The Unforgotten Uprising In The Eastern Arabia", *Carnegie Endowment for international Peace*
- Freitag , Ulrike (2012), "Saudi Arabia Buying Stability?" ,*SWP,* Berlin
- Human Right Watch (2006), "Saudi Arabia".
- H.k Victor, Richard and Forrest , Nicole (2009), "Saudi Arabia : Modern Reform , Enduring Stability", *Harvard Business School*
- Ilias , M H (2010), " Neo liberalism and the New Means Of Art Of Government In The Persian Gulf Monarchies", *International politics ,*vol 3(6):pg 32
- Leign , Nolan (2011), "Managing Reform? Saudi Arabia and king's Dilemma", Policy Briefing.
- Mausaed Al Tamamy, Saud (2012) , "Saudi Arabia And The Arab Spring: Oppurtunities And Challenges Of Security" ,*Journal Of Arabian Studies,* vol(2.2), pg 143-156
- Muriel, Asseburg (2012), "Protest ,Revolt and Regime Change In The Arab World",*SWP Research Paper,* Berlin.
- Rieger ,Rene (2013), " in The Search Of Stability: Saudi Arabia and the Arab Spring", *GRM paper Gulf Cambridge ,*UK
- Stephen Rosiny (2012), "The Arab Spring: Triggers, Dynamics and Prospects",*GIGA Focus,* vol(1*)*

- Steinberg , Guido (2014), "Leading The Counter Revolution: Saudi Arabia And Arab Spring", *SWP Research Paper.*
- Tim Niblock . "*Saudi Arabia: Power , Legitimacy and survival*", London,2006
- Hamzawy ,Amr (2008), "The Saudi Labyrinth: Is There A Political Opening?" in Marina Ottoway and Julia Choucair Vizoso(eds),*Beyond The Facade : Political Reform In The Arab World,* Cairo press
- Henderson , Simon (2015), "After king Abdullah : Succession In Saudi Arabia", *Policy Focus*
- Hakala Pekka (2013), "Cautious Reform in Saudi Arabia".
- Ayubi, Nazih H "*Over-stating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Middle East*" ,London. 1995
- Abdulaziz, Sager, " *political Reform measures ; from a domestic GCC perspective*", Dubai, 2005
- Clifford,Michael (2001), "*Political Geneology After Faucault*", London, Routledge
- Ottoway ,Marina (2008), "Democracy Promotion In Middle East: Restoring Credibility", *Carnegie Endowment For International Peace,* vol (50)
- Yamani, May (2009), "From Fragility To Stability: A Survival Strategy For Saudi Monarchy" ,*Carnegie Middle East Centre* , vol (1): pg 90-105
- Yamani ,May (2008), "The Two Faces Of Saudi Arabia", *Survival* ,vol 50 (1) pg 143-156 .

_____