

Sociology of the Crisis in Saudi Arabia; Characteristics of Civil Society in Saudi Arabia since Crown Prince Mohammed Bin Salman

Zahra Hosseinpour^{1*}, Atieh Mahdipour^{2*}, Abdolreza Alishahi³

¹Master's degree in Executive Master of Business Administration at Tehran University, Tehran, Iran,
^{2&3}PhD Student in Political Science at Allameh Tabataba'i University, Faculty of Law and Political Science Bachelor of Industrial Management, Islamic Azad University-South Tehran Branch (EN)

***Corresponding Author:** Zahra Hosseinpour, Atieh Mahdipour, Master's degree in Executive Master of Business Administration at Tehran University, Tehran, Iran, PhD Student in Political Science at Allameh Tabataba'i University, Faculty of Law and Political Science, Iran. Email: ZahraHoseinpour990@gmail.com, Abdolrezaalishahi@atu.ac.ir

ABSTRACT

Following Crown prince of Bin Salman and his some corrective policies, it seemed that the process of democratization and political development of this country given US support, it will begin to grow. But this issue not only happens, but the political structure of Saudi Arabia towards a neopatrimonialism system. In this article, the authors are trying to answer this question what are the achievements of the Bin Salman Neopatrimonialism in Saudi Arabia? And what could be the possible consequences? The findings of the article, which are based on the analytic-descriptive method and the use of David Saunders's instability theory, it confirms that Bin Salman's neo-patrimonialism has led to an escalation of the challenge between the nation-state and on issues such as the execution and suppression of the Shiites, the isolation of some Sunni scholars and the assassination of some of the emerging civil society elites. The findings of the paper confirm that three major internal, regional and international consequences are due to the new policy of Bin Salman. First, the intensification of the activities of non-governmental and civilian organizations in Saudi Arabia, Exacerbation of tensions such as peril, assassination, protest and strike And finally, the emergence of opposition movements like the Al-Karaama movement. At the regional level, the gradual decline of the Gulf Cooperation Council will be the most likely outcome of this issue. Finally, the threat and punishment of international opinion and the revision of Western supporters and allies in the absolute support of the newly established government of Bin Salman in Saudi Arabia can be a response to the policies of his Neopatrimonial.

Keywords: Neopatrimonialism, Mohammad bin Salman, Nation-State, Saudi Arabia, instability

INTRODUCTION

After Saudi Arabia's change of power from Mohammed bin Nayef to Mohammed bin Salman, The pragmatist politics of the Saudis led the way to the intensification of tensions in the region by combining Neopatrimonialism and authoritarianism. To test this hypothesis, we can find hostile positions against Syria and active participation in the crisis of this country , Exacerbation of diplomatic crises with Iraq, Maximum Political Challenges with the Islamic Republic of Iran, Rape on Yemen, Cutting political ties with Qatar and relative challenges with Turkey. Measures such as the execution of Sheikh Nimr al-Nimr, the prominent Saudi Shiite leader, Imprisonment and repression of many of the Saudi princes and ultimately the

assassination of Jamal khashoggi. This article try to answer this question what is the important crisis of Bin salman neopatrimonialism for Saudi Arabia's government? And what are the implications of this issue for the Saudis in indoor, regional and international? The hypothesis of the article suggests that the neo-Patrimonialism of Bin Salman, in the first step, has led to the intensification of the challenges between the state and the nation in the Saudi society. These challenges, according to David Saunders's political instability pattern, include a wide range of changes among the rulers (widespread changes in the bin Salman among the Saudi princes), Extensive arrests (some of the other Saudi princes and Sunni scholars), Suppression and execution (Saudi Shiites) and the assassination of non-

government civilian elite (khashoggi murder). This seems to have three important implications. In the internal environment of Saudi Arabia, the escalation of terrorism, the emergence of opposition movements and increased activities of non-governmental elites, In the regional environment, the gradual collapse of the Gulf Cooperation Council And ultimately the international community threatening and punishing for Bin Salman to stop the crackdown inside.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, POLITICAL INSTABILITY THEORY DAVID SAUNDERS

In general, the concept of stability and instability is identified with four characteristics. The first feature is "value and normative", and the second is "relative". The third is "the degree of affinity and distance from some characteristics," and the fourth is "timing." In its operational definition, some in the sense of order in the course of political interactions, Others, in the sense of political institutionalization, Some predictable political behavior, some of the other continuity and continuity of the political system and some means the absence of violence, Another means the existence of a legal regime, a group means a lack of structural changes Another group has been more focused on the combination of previous topics.

David Saunders describes the inconsistencies of the five consequences of regime change, government change, community change, violent challenges, and peaceful challenges, along with indicators and instances that are characterized by abolition of character, interference, and adding some other things for completeness can be found in the present study. Political instability, such as the politics, different levels and dimensions. The precise conceptualization and systematic study of instability requires the separation and definition of these levels and dimensions (Delavari, 2015: 77).

STRUCTURE OF POLITICS AND POWER IN SAUDI ARABIA

In the distribution of power in Saudi Arabia, The monarchy is the first and most important group. The family of the monarchy is called "Al Saud" But this short title has a number of distinctions, among which four important families can be distinguished. In fact, these four families are the main owners of power in Saudi Arabia. Meanwhile, Al Saud's main family is Al

Faisal. These are the descendants of Abdul Aziz, Faisal ibn Turki's grandfather and the number of members are more than four thousand people are included.

Since the reign of Fahd in 1982, the most influential branch of Al Faisal, Al Sadiri. In the family of Al Faisal, the most important family is the Sadiri family. The second most important Al Saud family is al-Saynayan. The al-Sayyani family has an important place in the political structure of Saudi Arabia, because they are close allies of Al-Sadiri. Unlike the Al Faisal family, which holds Saudi political and military power, Al Sanaee the civilian branch of the House of Saud are. The third influential family in the Al Saud family is the Al Jilawi family. They are the descendants of Faisal Bin Türk, the grandfather of Abdul Aziz. One of the inner disagreements in the Saudi family, Challenges of power and debate are the choice of a kingdom that exists between the al-Jilawi, Al-Faisal and al-Sayyana tribes. The history of these disputes dates back to the 1960s, when some of the Gilawi's family objected to the policies and policies of the government and in a coalition with other protest groups, they sought to overthrow Al-Faisal's rule. In fact, the Jilawi wanted to give kingdom for themselves after the assassination of Faisal. The fourth group of Saudis is the Al-Kabir family. This group is in close family relationship with the three other groups. Thus, the sons of Saud al-Kabir are the cousin of King Abdulaziz. For this reason, members of this family have never claimed a monarchy or crown prince. Mohammad bin Saud is one of the princes belonging to the Al-Kabir family, who has been very revered by the Al-Saud family (Massoudnia, Forouzan and Alishahi, 2016: 144-145).

NEOPATRIMONIALISM

Neopotrimonialism is a new species of patrimonialism in traditional systems. Samuel Huntington sees the prominent feature of neopathymional systems as "centralizing power in the kingdom" and believes that the exercise of power in such systems depends on the proximity, access to, and support of the ruler. He views some of the features of such systems as patronage, superintendence, friendship and corruption (Huntington, 1991:91). Neopotrimonial systems that have emerged from modern relationships are becoming more rigorous and personalized. Moreover, in most

Neopatrimonial systems, there are official symbols and seemingly democratic institutions, but the main power of the past is in the hands of the ruler.

The features of such systems are as follows:

- Personal power;
- The lack of political institutionalization;
- Political monopoly;
- Not official relations;
- Supporting the army and security forces;
- Bureaucracy;
- Following the policy of dispersal and tension between the opposition;
- Apparent relationship with religion and religious authorities to gain legitimacy (Sharabi, 2001: 53).

THE INTENSIFICATION OF AUTHORITARIANISM IN SAUDI ARABIA IN THE FORM OF NEOPATRIMONIALISM MOHAMMED BIN SALMAN

The Crisis of Massive Arrest of Saudi Princes

Bin Salman in his first action after Crown prince, on June 21, 2017 to be carried out several actions on the stability of his Crown prince. In less than 3 months, he carried out far-reaching changes, isolated and even the arrested of the Saudi princes. His main points in this action are:

- fight against financial corruption of Saudi princes;
- Strengthen Saudi security system through the appointment of its loyalists;
- Eliminating the most important opponents of his future kingdom, such as Mutaib bin Abdullah, the Saudi Arabia's Minister of the National Guard;
- Eliminating any threat of a coup against him (Wright, 2018: 1).

Suppression of Saudi Shiites

The other authoritative approaches to the neopatrimonial system of Saudi Arabia since the time of the rule of Bin Salman intensification of isolation policies, denial, suppression and execution of the Shiites of this country. This approach can be considered as a challenge to the government in the form of protest

demonstrations and major strikes. This issue continues in the area of al-Awamiya, in eastern Saudi Arabia, which is Shiites home and has rich oil reserves.

Bin Salman is constantly threatened by the insurgency and insurrection of the Shiites and this issue has become more serious after the Islamic awakening, the execution of Sheikh Nimr al-Nimr and the growing Saudi Shi'a deprivation of political, social and economic (Menoret, 2016: 6). Sheikh Baqir Nimr al-Nimr was arrested by Saudi security forces in 2012 after Saudi Shiite protests. The major challenges between him and Saudi rulers were around three big issues:

- Recognition of Shiite religion by Al Saud and reverence to the Holy Shrine of Saudi Shi'ites like the Al-Baqi' Cemetery;
- Applying fundamental changes in the educational practices of Saudi Arabia;
- Official holding of the election in Saudi Arabia in line with the activity of all existing social spectrum such as Shiites.

Finally, Sheikh Baqir Nimr al-Nimr was sentenced to "execution with a sword and crucified in public" in Saudi Arabia's criminal court in October 2015 because of acting against national security and moharebeh, and executed on January 2, 2016. His execution caused widespread negative reactions in the region and to independent international organizations (Khaleghi, 2017: 13).

Saudi Boycotting and Arresting Sunni Clerics

Bin Salman's neo-Patrimonialism did not include the arrest, torture, imprisonment and boycotting of Saudi princes and Shiites. In other words, the challenge and creating a threat to the state is not only perceived by the Shi'a, but also some of the Saudi Sunni scholars who are neo-Habib defenders are also considered to be major dangers. The most important Sunni scholars detained by bin Salman are Salman al-Ouda, Awad al-Qarni and Ali al-Amri, who have many followers in Saudi Arabia. At Salman al-Ouda's court, he was accused of supporting terrorists and betraying the Saudi and Saudi Arabia's Attorney General called for his execution. Awad al-Qarni was also transferred to a "Shaar prison" in Abha, southern Saudi Arabia. Indeed, the reason for their arrest and boycott was the lack of their support and loyalty

to Bin Salman and his Political actions (Bruton, 2018: 2).

The Collapse of Civil Society and Suppression the Pseudo Democratic Forces In Saudi Arabi

The culmination of the repression of Saudi elites and protesters ,Murder of Jamal Khashoggi, journalist, writer and critic of Saudi Arabia who has been the main critic of bin Salman ruled. He was originally the secretary of Saudi reformist newspaper Al-Watan but with the power of Mohamed bin Salman, his conditions of operation in Saudi Arabia were facing serious challenges To the point presence in this country has become dangerous for him (Phillips, 2018: 6).The culmination of Khashoggi activities was during the reign of King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz, thathis notes were repeatedly published in al-Hayat newspaper. However, during the reign of King Salman's and his son's crown prince, the challenges intensified between Khashoggi and Saudi kings. After the beginning waves of the arrest of Saudi princes by bin Salman, Khashoggi was silent for a while and limited his media activities and eventually moved to Washington in 2017 voluntarily. His residence in the United States coincided with a series of critical writings and criticisms against the crown prince of Saudi Arabia and his domestic and foreign policies, especially the Yemeni war. His notes were published in popular media such as SPIEGEL and the Financial Times. He noted in a German magazine Der Spiegel, criticized the concentration of power and suppression of critics by Bin Salman. Aside from the crisis in Yemen, Khashoggi was considered a serious opponent of relations between Israel and Saudi Arabia. He was finally killed in October 2018 by the security forces of Bin Salman in the Saudi Consulate in Turkey. The issue of the assassination of Khashoggi will have a major international and regional consequences on Bin Salman and other Saudi politicians.

Here the authors, by regardless the positions of different countries, will examine the consequences of the Khashoggi murder and the possible actions of Bin Salman in this regard:

- Exacerbation of international pressure to withdraw from power bin Salman;
- Ben Salman's effort to draw the attention of the international community and his western allies Through the granting of certain

political freedoms, the release of some political prisons and ...;

- BinSalman's attempt to provide another great blessing to the West (after concluding a \$ 500 billion Dollars deal with Trump) and playing a constructive role in realizing the deal of the century.
- Of course, one can assume a different kind of approach to bin Salman in this regard. If the international community's pressure to step down bin Salman would be exacerbated, He may also withdraw Saudi economy from the United States and Europe and in political and security matters, to intensify the crisis with Qatar, Yemen and Iran. Due to the great pressure that comes with Bin Salman from from the international community the occurrence this issues seems very unlikely, because in such a situation He will lose his only supporters, Trumps and other Republicans.

Another important point is Saudi Arabia's relationship with its traditional rival Islamic Republic of Iran in the region. Saudi Arabia has always viewed Iran as a powerful regional competitor. This issue has always been based on threat and challenge, especially after the victory of the Islamic Revolution in 1979. Before the coming of Bin Salman, The relations between two countries followed a framework of Continece and covert competition However, with the power of Bin Salman, the atmosphere of interaction and dialogue has led to hostility and hostility and odium between two countries. He told pulling the war deep into the soil of Iran because of it's a country that cannot interact with it (Massoudnia, Forouzan and Alishahi, 2016: 156).

In the event of the departure of bin Salman and crownprincical of Ahmed bin Abdulaziz Al Saudor Muhammad bin Nayef, It is likely that there will again be a bit of dialogue and interaction to smooth the current turbulent relationship. This will not be a Pleasant for many Bin Salman allies.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE EXPANSION OF BIN SALMAN'S AUTHORITARIANISM AT THREE HUGE LEVELS

At the Interior Level

- The emergence of opposition movements like the Al-Karama movement (Mazboudi & al-Fass, 2017: 9-10);

- An increase in the activities of the applicant's civil rights by non-governmental organizations;
- Threats and assassination of bin Salman by the opposition;
- The coup and the fall of bin Salman from other Saudi princes.

At the Region Level

Pragmatic break in the Gulf Council: Bin-Salman's neo-patrimonialist policies seem to be the cause of the collapse of the Gulf Cooperation Council or the suspension of its activities. In these circumstances, it is expected that the three countries of Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and the UAE will seek an independent coalition. In the case of Qatar, it should also be admitted that Doha seems to be the gateway to Turkish influence and the Brotherhood to the Gulf region, especially after the crisis between Riyadh and Doha which led to the departure of Qatar from Saudi Arabia's yoke and power (Alishahi, Masoudnia and Forouzan, 2017). The authors believe that the Oman will be the next target for Saudi Arabia after the Qatar crisis and finally we have to wait for the final confrontation between Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. In the case of Oman, the conservative, interaction and compromise policies of this country against Islamic Iran, Yemen and Qatar will not be favorable to the Saudi politicians and in the case of the UAE, it seems that land problems in the near future will badly affect the relations between the two countries.

Internationally

Bin Salman's authoritarian policies and his Neo-patrimonialist structures have provoked a wave of global concern. This issue has even been raised by his strategic allies. Donald Trump after the murder of Khashoggi, has severely threatened bin Salman's punishment if confirmed his direct involvement. Also, some American senators, such as Bob Corker and Rand Paul, believe that bin Salman is involved in the killing of Khashoggi and bin Salman's allegations of non-participation in the murder of Khashoggi are his hilarious and insult to the global community.

In addition, Britain, France and Germany have called for a comprehensive and immediate investigation to clarify the hidden dimensions of this case and its officials. Bin Salman recognized the threat to the international community well and considered the West as a coup against him. Although major analyzes

indicate that Trump, by withdrawing his support policies from Bin Salman, intends to identify and support his revival alternatives. For reasons of Bin Salman's macroeconomic support of Trump's economic plans, the possibility of withdrawal of support for bin Salman seems very unlikely. But in any case, it should not be forgotten that the challenge in the Yemeni issue, exacerbated crisis with Qatar, destructive role in the crises of Iraq and Syria, deepening gaps with the Shiites of Saudi Arabia and other Saudi princes. And finally, the assassinations and executions of the country's most important religious and civilian figures, such as Sheikh Baqir Nimr al-Nimr and Jamal Khashoggi, it is possible that Trump's support of bin Salman would be seriously revised in the near future.

CONCLUSION

The Middle East can be considered as the centerpiece of the political crisis, revolution, war, terrorism, coup, and other crises. In 2017, significant changes took place in the political and governance structure of Saudi Arabia and faced some kind of foundation of power transfer among the Saudi Kingdom, with a profound transformation. After Salman's crown prince and his good relations with the Republicans, it seemed that the traditional, tribal and patrimonialist structures of Saudi Arabia would move towards civil society and, at least, gradually erupted from purely traditional tribal foundations. The ruling country will take place but the issues that came to fruition put Saudi rulers in the most political and ideological challenges after the establishment of this country. By using the political instability theories of David Saunders and written and virtual sources, the authors have examined the three major challenges of bin Salman in the political structure of Saudi Arabia. First of all, the fact that the neo-Patrimonialism of Ben Salman did not only solve the problems of civil society and political development in this country, but also became the cause of the intensification of tensions. In verifying the hypothesis of the authors, we have emphasized on crisis such as the execution and suppression of the Shiites (Sheikh Baqir Nemir and the destruction of Shiite areas), the isolation of some Sunni clerics and the assassination of some of the emerging civil society elites. Also the defeat in al-Assad's regime change plans in Syria and Iraq, the failed Yemen war and high tension with Qatar, Ben Salman has put in the widest levels of pressure on the domestic,

regional and international. By explaining the above, the authors achieved some general and important points regarding the political situation of bin Salman in the future. First, the intensification of activities of non-governmental and civil institutions in Saudi Arabia, The escalation of tensions such as peril, assassination, protest and strike, and eventually the emergence of opposition movements like the Al-Karaama movement. At the regional level, the gradual deterioration of the Gulf Cooperation Council and the Bin Salman isolation and ultimately threats and punishment from international opinion and revision of Western supporters and allies in the absolute support of the newly formed bin Salman administration in Saudi Arabia. It could be a response to Neopotrimonial bin Salman's policies.

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