Saudi Arabia and the Arab Spring

Reshaping Saudi Security Doctrine

Yahya Al Zahrani

The Gulf regional strategic environment indicates that the balance of power is moving towards an inward concentration for the Gulf Co-operation Council (GCC) states while Iran attempts to fill the strategic vacuum created by the 2003 US invasion of Iraq. This work explores Saudi national security from different perspectives and addresses the impact of population growth, new media and societal harmony in relation to it. Challenges magnified by the so-called "Arab Spring" will also be discussed. Additionally, this work analyses a particular societal phenomena that could influence the strategic vacuum, which is caused by the absence of regulation in certain societal situations and, as the result of a gap, or emptiness, in public spaces. I argue that Saudi Arabia needs to develop a security doctrine combining both internal and external dimensions. This work does so by demonstrating that there are two "wheels:" 1. the wheel of change (i.e. demographical societal, regional with national impacts) and 2. the wheel of adaptation (i.e. the effort of the government). The wheel of change moves faster than the wheel of adaption, illustrating the need to implement regulatory measures. Hence, internal and external "security circles" (national, regional and global) need to be synchronised into a single plan of action and security efforts will have to combine development both internally as well as externally. This work also studies a variety of Saudi government initiatives implemented to deal with the multi-dimensional changes noted above. Finally, this work asks whether it is possible to change the speed of interaction between the regional balance of power domestic socio-political realities in Saudi Arabia?

Keywords: strategic vacuum, societal security, new media, population growth, demographics, national security, Saudi Arabia

Scan this article onto your mobile device

Introduction

While it is largely recognised that no state is fully immune to political instability, including revolutions, it is also understood that societies vary in the way they express reform aspirations; these are dependent on complex factors, and / or the transformation of governing political structures. In particular, monarchies throughout the Arab World have been characterised by their mainly "soft" approach vis-à-vis non-violent socio-political demands and movements. With many potentially dest-abilising political and socio-economic factors in Saudi Arabia, it is vital to ask how the Saudi government will preserve this "softer" approach, and whether the government will develop a comprehensive strategy to engage with increased societal demands and social movements. In a broader sense, this article contributes to the analysis of present and future Saudi state-society relations through a security nexus. The central aim of this work is to analyse Saudi regional and domestic strategic security environments and the impact of the Arab Spring on these. In this regard, it is possible to identify security challenges that may have transformed into threats, i.e. security challenges and normal tensions have become more obvious as a direct result of the uncertain regional situation.

This work is divided into two substantive sections: the first measures the impact of the Arab Spring on Saudi society and government. Some of the issues examined are: demographics,[1] socio-economic issues such as poverty and urbanisation, and new media usage in relation to Saudi society; for example, there are 5852520 Facebook users and 3.5 million Saudi Twitter users.[2] The second section evaluates the possibility of de-mographic issues, socio-economic issues and societal media factors being transformed into destabilising political trends. This section references and further develops concepts set out in Beshara's work entitled: *On Revolution and the Revolutionary Potential*.[3] This section also examines the impact and possible consequences of recent Saudi socio-political developments such as the municipality elections and the appointment of women delegates to the *Majlis al-Shura*.

The Pre-Arab Spring Security Environment

Before turning to the main point of this section, it is prudent to provide a brief overview on the concept of security and the various stratums it covers. For this work, national security is related to the development of international relations as well as definitions of the state and its strategic

interests. The concept of national security evolved in the US where the security of the state is not simply about the domestic level and / or issues of sovereignty but much more inclusive. Robert McNamara defined his vision of national security by focusing on three critical aspects: political development, economic development, and societal development.[4] National security can also be defined as a state of feeling secure, i.e. a state has freedom from danger; feelings of safety, and lack of fear and / or anxiety. Regarding a small state, its national security often perspective is often different as sovereignty issues are affected, in particular when these are based on state survival and the maintenance the small state's very existence.[5] In addition, a small state may have little trust in its neighbours, especially if a neighbouring state is arming itself for "defensive" purposes. Therefore, a small state may attempt to link its security with larger scale international security networks, i.e. internationalisation security for small states.

Yahya Al-Zahrani

A 2013 article from Texas University addressed the US National Security Strategy by stating 'our nation is strongest when we adhere to the core values and interests of the citizenry'[6] illustrating a trans-vector characteristic. The concept of national security has many definitions whether applied to small states[7] or regional and / or international actors. Former UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, highlighted the link between national and global security when he declared:

> At the beginning of the 21st century, we face a world of extraordinary challenges – and of extraordinary interconnectedness. We are all vulnerable to new security threats, and to old threats that are evolving in complex and unpredictable ways. Either we allow this array of threats, and our responses to them, to divide us, or we come together to take effective action to meet all of them on the basis of a shared commitment to collective security.

Within national security numerous elements refer to notions of state survival and the preservation of national integrity. These can be thus defined:

> National security is a state or condition where our most cherished values and beliefs, our democratic way of life, our institutions of governance and our unity, welfare and well-being as a nation and people are permanently protected and continuously enhanced.[8]

Accordingly, there are two main divisions in within the definition of nation security. This is the national dimension that consists of the political, economic and societal aspects as well as the security aspect of these elements.

The Strategic Context of Saudi Arabia

Given the above, although the new US strategic vision vis-à-vis the Gulf region is a pivot away from the region – focusing instead on the Asia-Pacific and a "Strategic Rebalancing" (2012) – the core US security interests remain unchanged.[9] Thus, despite that this new US strategy has not marginalised US power in the region, it has encouraged secondary regional actors to expand their influence. In practical terms, currently Saudi Arabia is being challenged by both Iran and Turkey in the shadow of American redeployments.

And yet, Saudi Arabia remains a hinge of regional security. The Kingdom occupies ⅘th of the Arabian Peninsula with an area of more than 2250000 sq. kms, and has a population of some 27 million. Crucially, Saudi Arabia remains the global leader in oil production and has approximately 25% of all known oil reserves. It ranks fifth in terms of natural gas reserves of and ninth in natural gas production. Additionally, the Kingdom hosts millions of pilgrims who perform Hajj and Umrah in Makkah and Madinah every year. The Saudi government provides accommodation, food and medical care in sufficient quantities to sustain this huge number during pilgrimage.

In terms of security objectives, it is important to turn to the Saudi Ministry of the Interior (MOI) which suggests that:

1. To achieve security and stability in all parts of the Kingdom, and to provide reassurance and security reasons for their children, and to fight against all forms of crime, immorality and corruption, in order to maintain the integrity of the Saudi society and ensure its progress;

2. Ensure the safety of pilgrims and protect them from risks, to enable them to perform rituals and worship freely and completely safe;

3. Achieving security cooperation and coordination with neighbouring Arab countries and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) to protect internal and external security, and the fight against crime and drug smuggling, and the exchange of security information, organising rules and regulations relating to immigration, citizenship, and other fields;

4. To support and strengthen security cooperation and coordination with the Arab countries, in order to protect the gains and achievements of civilisation overall, consolidate internal and external

security in the face of challenges and different threats, and the fight against crime, terrorism and drugs, and the development of hardware Arab security and achieve progress and development.[10]

While the MOI is only one source of policy doctrine, it is key and the objectives set out by the Ministry are a reflection of the state as a whole. Yet, being able to define the national objectives of Saudi Arabia must be understood against the backdrop of the challenges faced by the state and its citizenship. These have certainly changed over the decades. This work very narrowly reviews the most recent spate of changes; those produced in the lead-up and aftermath of the Arab Spring events.

Wheels of Change and the Arab Spring

The Arab upheavals from 2011 intensified regional and domestic challenges by creating two phenomena: a regional power vacuum that could be filled by regional powers such as Iran and Turkey and increased national challenges that have created a comprehensive new 'security reality' approach.[11] This section evaluates these in a systematic manner.

Societal transformation indicators – Saudi Arabia has a population of between 27 and 29 million people and trends indicate an increase in the number of residents in the Kingdom to nearly 34 million people by 2030. This will have a profound impact on the Kingdom's security, and with it, the regions'. Indeed, Cordesman highlights the impact of the population on security by suggesting that:

> The GCC should consider ways to improve security cooperation that address the causes of security issues as well as ways to deal with such threats. The last year has made it clear that the combination of high population growth, issues in educating and employing native youth, housing, infrastructure pressures, medical services, and other material issues play a critical role in the security of each GCC state.[12]

The demographic aspect presents both opportunities and risks that should be taken in to consideration by strategic planners when considering the importance of future events in terms of the prospective 'Black Swan.'[13] There is also a need to enhance the strengths of the different societal components in order to face these future risks. If there is one thing that is certain in the political life of states it is that demographics

is the lynchpin of stability; with the right formula of youth opportunities, employment, sustainability and the state will prosper. If policies are dysfunctional, animosities will be compounded and an expanded tension

Societal Security – Regarding the societal aspect, this work argues that two wheels are in operation. The first wheel represents fast-moving societal transformation influenced by new technology and media, social change and societal networks. In consequence, these are facilitating information sharing and helping to create a new public cyber-opinion. This in turn affects notions of national identity; notions that are being discussed within an ever expanding socio-political cyber space. However, the second wheel of adaptation appears to be slower in terms of inter-action with fast-moving societal transformation as well as important youth issues and aspirations.

Societal security can be measured by the ability to satisfy the basic needs of citizens in order to achieve social justice and/or reduce social inequality. Societal security is based on upon a social contract:

> An implicit agreement among the members of a society to cooperate for societal benefits, for example by sacrificing some individual freedom for state protection. Theories of a societal contract became popular in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries among theorists such as Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, as a means of explaining the origin of government and the obligations of subjects.[14]

Hence, this societal contract should preserve national identity along with all the existent components that play crucial roles in state- society relations. Indeed, a government needs to employ effective societal security in order to foster domestic security and also maintain its popularity. In addition, a government need to promote greater social interdependence as this alleviates societal dislocation and tensions, thereby encouraging creativity and innovation in all fields. This also assists societal solidarity and a degree of consistency and coherence between different sectors of social activity. Societal security involves state-society relations, in particular the rights of its members. It also involves the care of all seg-ments of society, especially those in need such as women and children who do not have any source of income in addition to those members with special needs such as the elderly and disabled. Therefore, societal security is a community necessity that can facilitate not only societal

peace, but enduring social and state stability. However, the state must help its citizens in various aspects of their lives such as financial aid related to daily livelihood. For example, rent assistance or providing part-value of housing; finding channels that guarantee people a decent living from employment and / or financing study programmes; financial aid for craftsman or facilitating new projects.

Yahya Al-Zahrani

Ministry of Social Affairs—The Saudi Ministry of Social Affairs provides financial assistance, but this is often slow and inefficient. For example, a divorced woman receives only 800 riyals per month even though as Dr. Abdulaziz Al Dakhil has pointed out she needs a minimum of 5,000 riyals per month. This example illustrates the separation from reality when dealing with the ministry. Therefore, it is critical that the Ministry of Social Affairs starts to use subsidies as these are not merely financial assistance, but are in fact a right that the state must provide to its citizens, especially those who do not have access to a sufficient means. Indeed, this system is practiced in many countries under the pretext of societal security and provides an opportunity for everyone to live a decent life.

The Ministry of Social Affairs should also create more community centres within neighbourhoods that would incorporate volunteer work and community integration programmes for families through the activation of community participation in societal projects. In addition, the formation of social clubs could promote and enhance notions of national identity and culture, thereby helping to enrich community integration. This view is not utopian as these centres are necessary for effective neighbourhood integration, providing better community sports programmes and increased numbers of social clubs for training purpose that enhance creativity and excellence.

There is no doubt that in Saudi society, Islamic history and Islamic norms there are many such examples related to societal rights. The Saudi community has its own original Arabian features underpinned by Islamic principles. However, economic globalisation has impacted negatively on Saudi society; society has become overly materialistic and has forgotten traditions that encourage good deeds and Islamic behavior. Therefore, it is important to utilise traditional Saudi culture to enhance societal security related to Saudi Islamic and Arab civilizations; preserve Saudi traditions whilst simultaneously respect the principle of human rights and pluralism.

New Media Impact and Societal Values

Where is the virtual world leading us?

Currently, the virtual and digital worlds cast greater shadows on the individual and society as well as in the world of business and even our family and government departments. Major Internet companies are in the process of greater integration so it is predicted that over the next 10-20 years a single set of Internet companies will control websites in each particular field including social media. Furthermore, increased availability of information in the virtual world is advancing globalisation which is affecting the formation of societal formats at both national and international levels. The role of the Internet represented by social media provided a clear picture of events in Arab countries during the Arab Spring. Social media played an important part in mobilising societal coordination as well as providing information that enable demonstrators to deal with emergency situations and assist in rapid decision-making. This enabled the protestors achieve what their stated goals and also transferred images of the demonstrations around the world through this virtual world. These political and / or economic events are characterised by a number of features including, for example, lack of predictability.

Lack of Predictability

Taleb refers to this as "black swan" in his work on the repercussions of events that are unexpected and beyond familiar scope. Sims calls this a "revolt of information" and notes how the virtual world has contributed to the Arab Spring to 'predict the future is becoming increasingly difficult when trends are a result of powerful forces and conflicts.' Therefore, it is necessary to try and predict the event in particular if its impact is going to be overwhelming and influential although this can only be interpreted after the event. Of course, accurate prediction would make the event less controversial and random.

Cyber Threat or Opportunity?

In recent years, there has been a boom in the amount and type of use of Internet services available from smart phones to social networking features that can be downloaded to any portable device. In addition,

the speed of information transmission has increased greatly and this is difficult to control. In fact, modern technology is said to have broken many vertical barriers and this has melted the separation between the leader and the subordinate and between the ordinary citizen and the state official. Ordinary citizens can now challenge the state official due to the dialogue occurring within social media networks as well as the breaking of traditional cultural taboos. There is little doubt that the Internet and the virtual world is an extension of our senses and our minds and that the development witnessed by this virtual world is produced by the evolution of human creativity. The future of online services is determined by millions of users through their choices and decisions, but we must not lose sight of the role of technology specialists, web developers and programmers. As the virtual world interferes more and more in our daily lives it also has an effect on overall human society including the Arab world.

Societal Values

Mahdi Carpentry states that real values move the individual society forward and develop moral character and creativity. Renewal and innovation depend on scientific research, innovation and creation.[15] When discussing the foundations of citizenship, Wahba Zoheily (in 2006) stated that

> This requires the availability of two grounds of citizenship, first: freedom, not tyranny of the ruling, and the second: the availability of equality between citizens in rights and duties regardless of religion, creed or custom. These are available only if there is a political system to serve democracy, which is the rule of the people and for the people, and the legal system that recognises the human rights of citizens and duties and a societal system based on patriotism.

Dr. Mohammed Ahmari maintains when discussing citizenship concepts it is important to remember that 'we use the word citizenship, we do not know its meaning.' In the case of the Arab community we do not have citizenship of any kind because citizenship means to participate in the responsibility of the homeland of its rights and duties. Arabs live in areas of authoritarianism, but citizenship means having rights and duties, i.e. participation in the decision-making process. However, this right is absent in the Arab community.

Saudi Governmental Initiatives

Depicting the challenges facing Saudi Arabia and the wider Gulf region paints only a partial picture however. It is equally important to identify some of the initiatives carried out by the Saudi government in order to stem the mounting pressure and construct a more stable domestic political scene. This brief section identifies some of the more visible ways that the Saudi government has reformed the Kingdom.

Food Security Initiative

The late King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz initiated the Overseas Agricultural Investment in order to contribute to the achievement of national food security and at the global level build integrated partnerships with a number of countries around the world. In particular, with countries that have viable and high agricultural potential in the field of development and management of agricultural investments, for example in strategic crops, sustainable quantities and stable prices.

King Abdullah Scholarship Programme

Education is a sign of the development of any nation. In Saudi Arabia this is exemplified by the King Abdullah Scholarship Programme related to the sustainable development of human resources in the Kingdom. The programme aims to be an important tributary to support not only Saudi universities, but also public and government and private sectors so as to develop the human resource capabilities in the Kingdom. The programme also aims to prepare individuals to work effectively in order to assist Saudi Arabia become a global competitor in the labor market as well as in the field of scientific research.[16]

Women's Development

Saudi women can act as a positive factor for the reconstruction of Saudi society. King Abdullah said in interview with Barbara Walters 'I believe strongly in the rights of women. My mother is a woman. My sister is a woman. My daughter is a woman. My wife is a woman.'[17] This demonstrated the king's support female empowerment. In fact, women's empowerment and capacity building were highlighted as major goals

of the Eighth National Development Plan (2005-2009). Consequently, there was an increase in female employment from 5% in 1990 to 19% in 2010. Previously in 2004, Saudi women had effectively participated in the Third National Dialogue Forum which focused on women issues, rights, and responsibilities and yielded several related recommendations. The gradual progress of Saudi Arabian women is attributed to the general increase in female educational levels. The average rate of yearly growth for female enrollment in all education levels has reached 8% between years 1975 and 2002.[18]

Yahya Al-Zahrani

In the last few years, women's empowerment has emerged as a priority issue and this has been illustrated by the emphasis in national policies and strategies on increasing women's participation and contribution in the socio-economic and socio-cultural processes in accordance with Islamic laws and Saudi cultural values.[19] It has also been illustrated by the socio-political participation of Saudi women in the *majlis al- shura*.[20]

Economic Reform

King Abdullah has taken Saudi Arabia into the G20 (twenty-largest economic countries in the world) and the WTO (World Trade Organisation) in order for the Kingdom to be at in the heart of global economic decision-making.[21] These new economic reforms represent an ambitious plan that includes the creation of giant economic cities such as the King Abdullah Economic City and the King Abdullah University of Science and Technology (KAUST).

In Need of a New Strategic Vision Based on Regulation

Two phenomena related to Saudi Arabia raise some questions regarding societal security levels. For example, what transpires when certain societal elements try to impose their interpretation of religion on others and yet at the same time the state supports and applies Sharia'a law; who is correct? A first phenomenon can be seen at the annual Riyadh International Book Fair. Individuals not connected to the official religious police have taken it upon themselves to enforce religious police rulings such as attempting to influence:

1. The type of books an individual should buy;
2. Enforcing gender segregation;

3. Prohibiting the teaching of so called 'liberal' Saudi or westernised ideas.

This has happened despite the fact that the Riyadh Book Fair is under the patronage, and organised, by the Ministry of Culture and Media. This illustrates a lack of effective communication between government officials and specific individuals from differing ideologies.

A second phenomenon happened at the annual Saudi Arabian National Guard (SANG) organised Janadriyah cultural festival when an administrator, who looked like a member of the religious police, attempted to stop an Emirati female, a traditional entertainer, from singing as he considered this a breach of religious law. These incidents demonstrate a lack of regulation with regard to religious issues. Furthermore, there are regulations governing fundamental rights such as freedom to gather and cultural activism that are guaranteed by recognised human rights conventions.

National Challenges

It is argued that the external regional situation surrounding Saudi Arabia has imposed more draconian internal security measures. However, in the foreseeable future it will be necessary for the Saudi government to integrate issues of internal security with overlapping external security issues. For example, responding to Iran's influence and in the Arabian Gulf, its presence in the Red Sea as well as its influence in Sudan, Ethiopia and Yemen, particularly with regard to the Houthis. Also the conflicts in Syria and Lebanon and Saudi attempts at rapprochement with Egypt, all have created types of external strategic security threats. At the internal level there are a number of security challenges, particularly with regard to Shiite communities in the Kingdom, as well as human rights organisations and related community issues. In addition, population growth and its impact on the national security system also poses an important socio-political and economic challenge.

Within these circles a problem occurs: the internal and external levels (or wheels) move at different paces. The first dimension focuses on change in population growth and economic change; the second one focuses on the adjustment that operates at a different pace and this creates a strategic gap regarding the comprehensive concept of security in the Kingdom.

Youth and Citizenship

The attacks by conservative religious shaikhs on Twitter users in their Friday sermons demonstrate the separation between young people and policy-makers and between decision-makers and Saudi youth. However, societal security is affected by another level that is increased social knowledge and awareness through social media such as Facebook and Twitter. These play an increasing important role in influencing young Saudi perceptions. The issue is that the virtual world is very different from what Saudi youth observe in reality and this causes social confusion and indeed, conflict. Additionally, this could widen the gap between the different societal components especially those who have not officially considered the acceptance of pluralism as a basis to form critical questions concerning national identity, loyalty and citizenship principals. Therefore, there needs to be a better understanding in terms of intellectual and religious issues as related to Saudi youth so as to enhance values of citizenship and create a secure community; one that rejects extremist ideologies.

Conclusion

This work emphasised the link and interaction between multiple dimensions of security strategic concept. The paper showed that there is a new strategic reality pushed by the Arab Spring exemplified by the strategic vacuum on a regional level since the retreat of US power in the region. On a domestic level, there are various challenges that have been intensified by the Arab upheavals, including demographics, societal security and security exposure. Saudi Arabia has attempted to deal with these issues on numerous levels, yet the speed of these changes has made it difficult for the Saudi government to respond in kind. In particular, regarding implementing legal procedures that are able to create regulation that correlate with societal transformation and progress such as socio-economic rights.

The work illustrated that in the short-term Saudi Arabia has succeeded in confronting and dealing with issues raised by the Arab spring. However, in the long-term, other socio-political reforms should be taken into consideration such as continuing the experience of free and fair elections such the one that exists in the Saudi Sports Federation. The continuity of legal reforms will also deter national actors from claiming

societal issues related to security exposure in the name of the religion, or reform or "liberalism" in the Saudi sense. It is imperative to find common ground where national norms and values can exist; norms and values that respect multi-culturalism, pluralism and human rights within a legal framework that enhances the Saudi social contract. The Arab upheavals may create a great opportunity for Saudi national development; one that focuses on the comprehensive understanding of security and provides opportunities to all national actors to act collectively for the benefit of progress, stability and sustainable security in Saudi Arabia.

∿

YAHYA AL-ZAHRANI is affiliated to the Naif Arab University for Security Sciences and may be reached at: *yaheez@gmail.com*

Notes

1. Approximately 70% of the total population of Saudi Arabia is under 30 year old.
2. See, for example: <http://www.internetworldstats.com/middle.htm#sa> (accessed 12 December 2014)
3. Azmi Beshara who is a former member of the Knesset is a Palestinian intellectual, academic and politician. He has written extensively on various topics and is currently is the General Director of the Arab Centre for Research and Policy Studies.
4. Robert McNamara (1968), *The Essence of Security: Reflections in Office*, New York, Harper & Row.
5. There is no clear-cut definition of a small state, but three of the elements of small state are: population, GDP and size; for example other than Saudi Arabia, the rest of GCC countries are small states. Saudi Arabia in comparison with Iran can be considered a small state if indicators such as population are taken into account.
6. See, for instance: <http://www.utexas.edu/lbj/sites/default/files/file/news/National%20Security%20Strategy%202013%20%28Final%20Draft%29.pdf> (accessed 01 December 2014).
7. Jonathan Alford (1984), 'Security Dilemmas of Small States: The World Today,' *The Royal Institute of International Affairs*, 40:8/9, pp. 363-369.
8. See: <http://www.dlsu.edu.ph/offices/osa/rotc/pdf/ms1/threat-NatlSecurity.pdf> (accessed 14 December 2014).
9. This work references the classical US three strategic pillars theory, i.e. as the US is prepared to act militarily if it is threatened with regard to US security, Israeli security, and access to Gulf oil supplies.
10. See: <http://www.moi.gov.sa/wps/portal> (accessed 14 December 2014).

11. Beshara identifies three conditions for revolt status: a) when it is impossible for the governing system to govern without change and there is a bridge between the ruling classes; b) increased suffering for the oppressed classes c) when there is increased political awareness amongst an oppressed class as a result of a crises. See: Azmi Beshara (2013), 'The Revolution and Revolutionary Potential,' *Arab Centre for Research and Policy Studies*, Doha, pp. 62-63.

12. Anthony Cordesman (2013), 'Securing the Gulf: Key Threats and Options for Enhanced Cooperation,' *Center for Strategic and International Studies*.

13. Black Swan Theory, by Nassim Taleb, argues that: 'The disproportionate role of high-profile, hard-to-predict, and rare events that are beyond the realm of normal expectations in history, science, finance, and technology.' See: <http://www.fooledbyrandomness.com/tenprinciples.pdf> (accessed 12 December 2014).

14. See: <http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/social%2Bcontract> (accessed 15 December 2014).

15. Mahdi Emandjra (2006), *Valeur des Valeurs*, Najah el Jadida Publishing.

16. See: <http://www.mohe.gov.sa/ar/studyaboard/King-Abdulla-hstages/Pages/Introduction.aspx> (accessed 12 December 2014)

17. King Abdullah in an interview with Barbara Walters on ABC, October 2005.

18. Ibid.

19. See:<http://www.undp.org.sa/sa/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=262&Itemid=383> (accessed 12 December 2014).

20. See: <http://www.shura.gov.sa/magazine/majalah128/majbdf/t7kek.pdf> (accessed 12 December 2014).

21. See: <http://www.kingabdullahcity.com/> (accessed 12 December 2014).