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Recalibrating Youth Bulge Theory Saudi Arabia's Youth and the Threat to Security

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Abstract

This thesis addresses the question of whether Saudi Arabia's youth bulge presents a threat to domestic and international security. Youth bulge theory informs us that if countries are home to large youth populations whilst experiencing high levels of unemployment they are susceptible to civil unrest, terrorism or civil war. It is irrefutable that Saudi Arabia has a youth bulge, high unemployment and -- in spite of its perceived prosperity -- it has experienced both domestic and global terrorism, with 15 of the hijackers on September 11, 2001 coming from the Kingdom. Consequently, following 9/11 Saudi Arabia was criticized by the West for having a religious education system that turned out terrorists, an allegation it strongly refuted. Given the recent resurgence in domestic and international terrorism by young Saudi members of DAESH (Islamic State), both within Saudi Arabia and the Levant, after a decade of relative calm, there would appear to be a strong case to support the theory. However, in Arabia, things are not always as they may seem.

It is argued that youth bulge theory is overly focused on civil war and needs to be recalibrated to take account of Saudi exceptionalism. Built upon a foundation of Social Movement Theory, this thesis is supported by the three pillars of youth bulge, terrorism and feminist theory; the latter because half the population has to date been ignored by the academy in the discussion on youth bulge. Drawing from Durkheim's work on religion, education and suicide, and Habermas for his public sphere, administrative power, education and crisis in society, the theory is reinforced by exhaustive ethnographic research and data drawn from primary and secondary sources. This process to recalibrate youth bulge theory will lead us to a better understanding of Saudi youth and an explanation for why when a few young Saudis embraced terrorism, the vast majority did not.

Recalibrating Youth Bulge Theory

Saudi Arabia's Youth and the Threat to Security

Terence Richard Sayce

**Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in International Relations**

Durham University

School of Government and International Affairs

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CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY AND METHOD

CHAPTER 6 SAUDI ARABIA'S DISPUTED ROLE IN RADICALIZATION

Declaration:

No Material within this thesis has been previously submitted for a degree at this or any other university.

The work is solely that of the author under the supervision of Dr (now Professor) Jeroen Gunning and Professor James P. Piscatori.

Material from the published or unpublished work of any other author which is included in this thesis is credited to that author in the text.

Statement of Copyright:

Acknowledgments

Dedication

For Arabia's Youth

INTRODUCTION

THE MAIN ARGUMENT OF THE THESIS - SAUDI ARABIA'S YOUTH BULGE

Youth bulge theory suggests that where countries experience a youth bulge with high unemployment there exists the potential for civil unrest, terrorism and civil war.[1] Saudi Arabia has a youth bulge with around sixty percent of the population under the age of thirty.[2] Tilly, (1978) tells us that 'sharp tears in the social fabric caused by widespread unemployment… are highly favourable to mass politics.'[3] The Kingdom's youth bulge suffers high unemployment; an allegedly volatile mixture that critics of the Kingdom argue led beyond politics to the violence of 9/11 and subsequent domestic terrorism. Given that 15 of the 19 hijackers on 9/11 were Saudi citizens and significant terrorist incidentsperpetrated by young Saudis happened across the Kingdom (particularly around 2003), there appears at first glance to be a case to answer. However, in Saudi Arabia, things are not always as they seem and it is fitting that Champion, (2003) refers to it as the Paradoxical Kingdom.[4] This research project examines the theory of youth bulge within a framework of social movement theory; it reviews relevant literature and includes comprehensive fieldwork across the Kingdom. Three years of comprehensive ethnographic research in Saudi Arabia from 2012 to 2015, specific to this research enquiry reinforces this author's observation of Saudi Arabia and its people from within, over a period of forty-two years and throughout the reigns of five of its seven Kings. Having observed the Kingdom's youth bulge from its birth this author seeks to identify what factors may have motivated young men to take up arms not just against the infidel but against their own people whilst being driven to seek martyrdom. Given that following 9/11 the Saudi religious and educational system was accused of turning out terrorists[5], this thesis considers that allegation from both the Occidental and Orientalist perspectives. It is however, equally

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[1]There is no universal agreement within the academy of what exactly is meant by the term 'youth bulge,'
[2]Fuller, (2003), CIA World Fact Book, (2014) Niblock (2007) p228.
[3]Tilly, (1978) p82, cites Kornhauser (1959) p229.
[4]Champion, (2003).
[5](i) Gunaratna, (27 June 2002) interview with Walker and Costigan, www.ciaonet.org/pub/gur01.html (ii) Mendelsohn, (2009) p98. (iii) Sageman, (2008) pp59-60. United States Congress Senate Committee on Judiciary, Saudi Arabia: Friend or Foe in the War on Terror, p158. (iv) Meijer,(2012) in Deol, J. and Kazmi, Z. (2012) (v) Hegghammer, (2010) pp 188-189. (vi) Bishara, 17 September 2001 in Rubin and Colp Rubin, (2002) p308. (vii) Al-Ansari, 29 November (2001) in Rubin and Colp Rubin (2002) p313. Ranko, (2015) p64.

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about trying to establish why when a few hundred took the road to terrorism, millions did not? It explores the influence of the Muslim Brotherhood on the development of educational pedagogy in the Kingdom following the Nasserite purges and the Brothers' flight from Egypt, whilst considering how the impact of the teachings, execution and martyrdom of Sayyid Qutb[6] might have influenced later generations to adopt anti-Western ideology and turn to violence in their quest for a perfect Islamic caliphate. Additionally, because youth bulge theory has ignored females, this thesis seeks to provide a better understanding of the role of women in Saudi society --one of the world's most gender segregated societies-- to separate myth from reality. It seeks to let women speak for themselves and undertake a more nuanced discussion than the simple Western preoccupation with the issue of women driving. Finally, it considers the recent upsurge in domestic terrorism during 2014-2015 across Saudi, perpetrated by young Saudis who joined DAESH (Islamic State) but would have only been in elementary school at the time of 9/11. Consequently, factors from within youth bulge theory and beyond are explored in an attempt to find a reason why a second generation of young men have been enticed to jihad and why some are returning home to attack the State security apparatus and their own people alike.

This thesis consequently offers an in-depth examination of what it is like to be young and Saudi in the second decade of the twenty-first century as Saudi Arabia adapts to modernization at its own pace. It offers an up-to-date portrayal off the issues confronting Saudi Arabia's youth bulge and will demonstrate that Saudi youth share many of the ambitions and aspirations of youth elsewhere in the world.

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[6]See (i) Weston, (2008) p364. (ii) Cook, pp85-86. (iii) Chalk, (2013) p603. (iv) Calvert, (2010) p276. (v) Lacroix, (2015) in Haykel et al (2015), p170. (vi) Khatab, (2006) pp 147-148.(vii) Ranko, (2015) p64.

The Research Question

This thesis will provide the answer to the following question:

Does Saudi Arabia's Youth Bulge constitute a threat to domestic and international security?

The Five Hypotheses

This thesis offers up five hypotheses which will be explored and tested throughout the following chapters:

1. The Saudi educational system is responsible for turning out terrorists.

2. Unemployment, and particularly unemployment of 3rd and subsequent sons, is a factor in the radicalization of young Saudi men.

3. The Muslim Brotherhood infiltrated the Saudi education system half a century ago and their doctrine and ideology percolated throughout the Saudi educational system resulting in turning young men towards terrorism.

4. The execution of Sayyid Qutb is a crucial factor in his elevation to martyrdom, his influence on radical Islamic thought and the promotion of anti-America feeling across the Middle East that culminated in 9/11 and beyond.

5. Youth bulge theory is inadequate in its present form because it is overly orientated towards the study of civil war, failing to offer an adequate theoretical framework for the type of violence perpetrated by members of the Saudi youth bulge and moreover, requires recalibration to take account of Saudi exceptionalism.

Motivation for the Research Project

The motivation to undertake this research comes from a desire to not simply recalibrate youth bulge theory against the model of Saudi exceptionalism but to give a voice to a generation of Saudi youth, to allow them speak about their lives and to respond to allegations that they pose a threat to both national and international security. This author contends that much of the

literature on Saudi Arabia is outdated in view of the fast moving events in the Kingdom and some fails to provide an accurate representation of how things really are. This is probably because authors are too far removed from the subject matter and/or are too heavily reliant on questionable or outdated secondary source data. This thesis redresses this shortfall from a position of three years of topic specific research by this author and thirty-five years of experience working with Saudi youth in various locations across the Kingdom since 1973. This author is motivated by being able to offer what is believed to be the first in-depth holistic study specific to Saudi youth in relation to issues of security, and thereby offers both the academy and other interested parties a valuable tool and academic asset. This thesis comes into being only as a result of a series of unique and fortuitous circumstances. This author undertakes this research project with the aspiration that it will recalibrate and reinforce the knowledge within the academy, a wider audience will find it useful and Saudi Arabia's youth bulge will have found a voice.

The Plan of the Thesis:

This thesis is comprised of nine chapters as follows:

Chapter 1 lays down the theoretical foundation for the thesis. It opens by addressing the issue of theories that best serve academic exploration of Middle Eastern issues in general and Saudi issues in particular, whilst discussing difficulties encountered by researchers approaching Oriental research from a perspective of Occidentalism. It draws up on the work of two major Western theorists from different generations. Durkheim's structuralist-functionalism and epistemological realism is adopted as a basis for society adapting to the social impact of modernization, and draws on his work on religion, education and deviance. The second theorist supporting this research is Habermas for his work on the public sphere, his later work on religion and crisis in society, and his more recent discussions on terrorism.

The section on social movement theory discusses the work of a broad range of social movement theorists and provides a case study[7] from within the Shia community in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia to demonstrate the relevance of social movement theory within this research project. It also demonstrates an alternative view of social movements from the opposite side of the sectarian divide, of protest viewed from the perspective of security forces employed to maintain order in a divided society.

Reinforcing the broad foundation of social movement theory are four theoretical supporting pillars of rentier state theory, youth bulge theory, terrorism theory and, because females have largely been neglected in issues concerning youth bulges, feminist theory.

The first pillar, rentier state theory explores what is meant by the term rentier state and draws upon the seminal work of Mahdavy, Beblawi and Luciani and looks to Hertog et al for analysis of the extent to which rentierism affects markets, the economy and society itself. It considers the relationship between rentierism and authoritarian regimes and the social contract between the Saudi leadership and the people. Finally it considers the parallel worlds that are created within rentier systems of the nationals on one hand and the wage earning expatriates on the other.

The next pillar, youth bulge theory, opens with discussion on what is meant by the term and how various authors define it differently and how this academic dichotomy leads to uncertainty and confusion. It draws on a wide range of theorists but gives due attention to the work of Urdal and his use of quantitative methodology. The sub-chapter then moves to a discussion on youth bulge as a threat or demographic dividend.

The third pillar supporting social movement theory deals with terrorism, discussing what is meant by the terms and exploring its origins. Consideration is given to the difficulties confronting researchers into terrorism due to the secrecy surrounding the subjects and the

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[7]Waller, (1934:269-7) in Gerring (2007) Case Study Research: 'The product of a good case study is *insight*, and insight is : the unknown quantity which has eluded students of scientific method.'

alleged resultant stagnation in research. It gives attention to suicide terrorism since this has become a preferred method of terrorist organisations over recent years. It looks into the motivation of young terrorists and explores those factors that can attract them to commit atrocities whilst claiming moral and religious legitimacy in seeking martyrdom. Finally, this sub-chapter closes with a discussion on the roles of women in support of or participation in terrorism.

Chapter 2 is the literature review which sets out to be broadly illustrative. It reflects the structure of the theory chapter; divided into sections covering literature on youth, terrorism and women. On youth, the review addresses issues of concern such as education, employment and housing. The section on terrorism literature covers two phases before and after 9/11, and includes discussion on the pros and cons of quantitative and quantitative approaches to terrorism research. The section on women draws upon ethnographic research and literature that seeks to counter the arguments that Arab women are repressed, and considers the need for a re-orientation of the Occidental perspective of Oriental women.

Chapter 3 is the methodology chapter. It is divided into two sections -- the first on methodology and the other on research methods -- the latter outlining those methods used in this research project. It opens with brief definitions of methodology and research methods, progressing to explore the methodological approaches favoured by Durkheim and Habermas, the theorists central to this research. It considers Durkheim's methodology on his work on the nature of society and religion, and on suicide given that the suicide-bomber is now a weapon of choice of terrorist organisations operating in and around Saudi Arabia. For Habermas, his methodological approach to science in the public sphere is explored and the chapter moves on to consider his approach to both religion and terrorism. In the second part, matters of research method are considered both from an academic perspective and from that of the method adopted for thisstudy. Della Porta, (2014) provides a blueprint for research methods in this social movement research. She encourages methodological pluralism and flexibility of

method for effective research, a strategy adopted by this researcher.[8] The chapter progresses to discuss the importance of ethical behaviour in research, particularly since interview subjects could put themselves in harm's way when offering to contribute research data. It further identifies the minor constraints imposed upon this researcher and the consequent limitation to the research project. The chapter outlines that the research methods adopted for this project are predominantly qualitative although it may be argued that the use of a survey on employment and educational issues deflects it towards being 'mixed methods'[9] rather than pure qualitative research. Finally, this chapter demonstrates that the on-line survey responses from Saudi youth from across the world illustrate their preparedness to contribute to the discussion on issues that concern them and that social media is the most effective method of reaching out to them.

Chapter 4 entitled Protest to Terrorism opens with discussion of the views of classical theorists on society in what is not a fair world and where discontent may have repercussions. It takes an overview of Saudi Arabia's transition to modernity in a society that is in part frustrated by the pace of progress whilst conservative factions seek to further slow the rate of modernization. It touches on issues of leadership succession and allays the fears of authors who predicted chaos at the time when succession would have to pass down the generations. It covers issues of internal protest and considers the apparently disproportionate response and criticism from outside of the Kingdom. It moves on to consider Jihad and those that left the Kingdom in the 1980s, encouraged by both their own government and as America's freedom fighters, but returned home unwelcome in their own land.[10] It then moves on to consider the role of those in Saudi Arabia's youth bulge who have in more recent times joined the conflict in Syria and Iraq.

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[8]Della Porta,(2014) pp1-20.
[9]Ibid., p68.
[10]See Chossudovsky, Global Research, 09 September 2010. From Ronald Reagan and the Soviet-Afghan War to George W. Bush and September 11. http://www.globalresearch.ca/9-11-analysis-from-ronald-reagan-and-the-soviet-afghan-war-to-george-w-bush-and-september-11-2001/20958

Chapter 5 moves on to consider those from Saudi Arabia's youth bulge who chose to turn to terrorism, their motives and backgrounds. It first takes a backward look into Arabian history from times of Khawaariji ideology and the battles for power following the death of the Prophet. It moves forward nearly 1400 years to the flight of the Muslim Brotherhood from Egypt, their welcome into Saudi Arabia and their clandestine infiltration of the Saudi education system. It looks into the influence of Sayyid Qutb, his distaste for all-things American and his influence on subsequent events which arguably culminated in 9/11. The next part of this chapter looks at terrorist profiles starting with the 9/11 operational crews with 15 of the 19 hijackers being Saudi citizens, whilst the next part of the chapter reviews the profiles of Saudi youths who perpetrated acts terrorism in Saudi Arabia. This is presented in two distinct phases, the first relating to the 9/11 Al Qaeda period and the later DAESH (ISIL) phase involving young people who joined the 'caravan of martyrs' to Syria and Iraq.[11] The latter includes field work case-studies carried out by this author, followed by reports of attacks by young Saudi aligned with DAESH on targets in Saudi Arabia, which gained momentum through 2015.

Chapter 6 opens with discussion on the damage done to Saudi Arabia's image on the international stage as a result of so many of the 9/11 hijackers being members of the Kingdom's youth bulge. It considers those allegations that originated outside of the Kingdom that Saudi Arabia's education systems turned out terrorists. It reviews the criticism that originated in the U.S. and considers the Kingdom's response and the strategies adopted to deflect external criticism and address the need for improvements in the face of conservative opposition. It reflects on the continuing Palestinian/Jewish issue and the conspiracy theories that abounded following 9/11. It includes this author's own field work in the field of education and the view on the prevalence of corruption.[12] Finally it considers the impact of the changes in leadership in the Kingdom, considers what the future may hold under a new younger regime and how the youth bulge may rally round it in support.

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[11]Hegghammer, Saudi Militants in Iraq: Backgrounds and Recruitment Patterns, 5 February 2007 pp7-8, Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI).
[12]See Schwartz, (2013) in Al-Humaid et al, (2013) pp30-35.

Chapter 7 reviews the fitness for purpose of Saudi Arabia's educational system in preparing its youth bulge for work, particularly in the private sector. It considers the issue of wasted human resources, with women having been largely excluded from most job opportunities for generations, and the impact of the changes taking place as more women enter the workforce. It examines the nation's development plans and the strategy for reform of the curricula having been examined to eliminate deviant thought. It reviews the issue of discipline (and lack of it) in schools and reflects upon whether this might have an impact on how youth develops and the path they may follow in maturity.

Chapter 8 studies the enigma that is the Saudi youth bulge under subject headings of employment, youth culture and land and housing. This chapter seeks to provide a better understanding of the issues confronting Saudi youth, offering a clear and accurate picture of those factors that impact upon their lives and influence their life choices. It seeks to give the reader a better understanding of how it is to be young and Saudi. Employment is central to their concerns aswithout it they are unable to marry, set up their own homes and become independent adults, remaining trapped in perpetual 'waithood.'[13] This section moves on to review the nationalization of the workforce and the contentious issue of a population that is around 30% expatriate whilst the Saudi private sector demonstrates a marked reluctance to employ its own people. It finally reviewsthe changing employment status of women and the resultant impact on male unemployment, along with the social ramifications of increasing numbers of females in the workforce. The second part of this chapter considers aspects of youth culture and the impact of stringent gender segregation.[14] It reviews the practice of drifting cars as a cultural phenomenon, along with the problems arising out of the misuse of drugs and alcohol and the state's methods of combating these problems. It considers the paradox of a generation born into an age of technology yet retaining beliefs in magic, the supernatural and Jinns. It then moves on to consider one of the greatest threats to the youth

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[13]Singerman (2011) in Khalaf and Khalaf, (eds) (2011) Arab Youth, p67.
[14]See Johnston and Noakes, (2005) p15, Cultural compatibility.

of the Kingdom, their love-affair with and abuse of the motor car, and the dangers of traffic with statistics that illustrate that the chance of being killed on the Kingdom's roads is very significant.[15] Finally this chapter considers an issue important to all young Saudis -- the price of land -- given that it impacts upon house prices. It illustrates youth's distaste of those investors who retain large tracts of white land and evaluates measures adopted by the government to combat this practice in the face of vested interest and corruption.[16]

Chapter 9 is the concluding chapter and reflects upon all that comes before. It revisits the hypotheses and measures how the research data supports or refutes each one. Ultimately it provides a definitive answer to the research question, evaluates the contribution the thesis makes to the literature and considers potential objections. It closes with recommendations for further research and identifies a need for the next generation of Saudi social and political scientists to create theory appropriate for the Arabs and Arabia.

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[15]The National UAE, 29 May 2013: One death per hour on Saudi roads by 2014, conference told.
http://www.thenational.ae/news/uae-news/one-death-per-hour-on-saudi-roads-by-2014-dubai-conference-told
[16]See Hammond, (2012) p142. For more on role of government over control of land see Hajrah, (1982) pp35-37.

Mediterranean
Sea

Israel

Jordan

Iraq

Iran

Kuwait

Egypt

Madinah

Jeddah
Makkah
Taif

Red Sea

Sudan

Abba

Jubail
Dammam
Dhahran
Al Khobar

Riyadh

SAUDI ARABIA

Rub Al Khali
(Empty Quarter)

Bahrain
Qatar

Persian
Gulf

United
Arab
Emirates

Oman

Yemen

Arabian Sea

Ethiopia
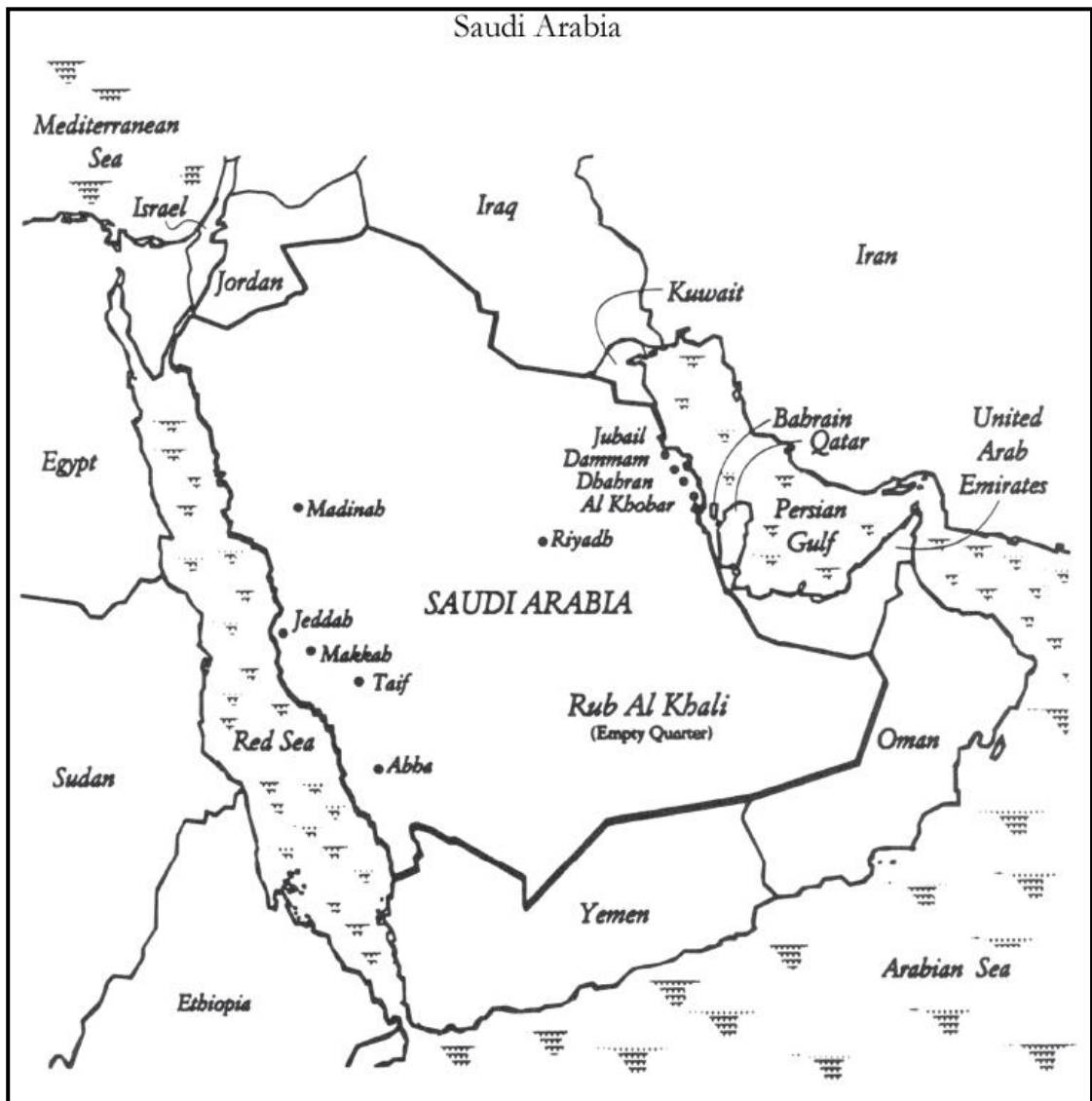
CHAPTER I

SAUDI ARABIA'S YOUTH BULGE IN A GLOBALISED WORLD

A Theoretical Foundation

'Don't Confuse Hypothesis and Theory. The Former is a Possible Explanation, the latter the Correct One. The Establishment of Theory is the Very Purpose of Science.'[1]

1.1.   Introduction

This chapter creates the theoretical foundation for this thesis, and the chapters that follow build upon this. According to Zubaida, (2001), 'The contemporary student of the Middle East is faced with several theoretical dilemmas. One of them is the question of the suitability of concepts and theories of class for the analysis of contemporary societies in the Middle East and the explanation of political forces, configurations and events in these terms.'[2] One of the fundamental problems for Western researchers enquiring in to Oriental issues appears to be the inability to detach oneself from cultural and political bonds and the belief in the superiority of democratic models. Acharya, (2011) identifies weaknesses in Western-centric IR theory arguing that it 'marginalizes the histories, voices and experience of the non-Western world' whilst promoting the 'superiority of Western ideas', and that there exists 'a tendency to view Western practices as the universal standard while non-Western practices are viewed as particularisms, aberrations or something that is in some way inferior.'[3] Fandy, (2001) recounts that having spent most of his life studying the Arab world; he is 'struck by what little relevance Western theory has to the world of the Arabs.'[4] We will see as this thesis unfolds that the issues of culture change and extremism are central since some will argue that the Saudi youth bulge's reaction to modernization is not universal. Some embrace it enthusiastically whilst others view it as Western cultural imperialism and an assault upon their values, and consequently some react violently. However, change is not necessarily about modernization

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[1]Fischer and Fabing, (1944).
[2]Zubaida, (2001) p84.
[3] Acharya, 10 August 2011: Amitav Acharya on the relevance of regions, ASEAN, and Western IR's false universalisms.
http://www.theory-talks.org/2011/08/theory-talk-42.html
[4]Fandy, (2001) p14.

as from Qutb we learn that it may be more a matter of direction, since he states 'Islam stands

for change. It seeks to change the individuals and the society. This change covers every aspect

of human life, from personal morality to business, economics and politics.'[5] Sidahmed and

Ehteshami, (1996) state that the extremist Islamist movements can be attributed to radical

Islamic leaders such as Qutb and al-Maududi who originated within the mainstream Islamic

movements and shared a vision of a perfect Islamic caliphate.[6] Where they ultimately differed

is in regard to how they set about achieving this objective.[7] Qutb opposed that version of jihad

'the so-called Greater Jihad' that adopts a defensive, non- aggressive position, taking up arms

only when threatened or prevented from practicing their faith.[8] His own much harder position

advocated Islamic expansionism through violent struggle as the holy mission of the faithful.[9]

In writing this chapter, this author is mindful of the potential limitations when attempting to

superimpose Western theoretical models on the theory and praxis of Saudi youth bulge and

associated issues in this time and space. Given the centrality of youth, religion and education

to this thesis, and the issues of violence attributed to the spread of modernization and

globalization, this theoretical underpinning through necessity draws on the work of a number

of theorists. For example, from Durkheim we can draw from 'his classical theory of the

transition from the pre-modern organic solidarity to the modern mechanic society.'[10]

Furthermore his work on suicide can contribute to our understanding given that a strategy

promoted by the leaders of terrorist organizations both in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere has

involved the use of suicide jihadists. Sennet, (2006) identifies that Durkheim differed from his

contemporaries Marx and Weber in so much as he dealt with issues of the day rather than

attempting 'to look forward into the future.'[11] He argues that for Durkheim writing in the late

19[th]century, the specter of mass killings of innocents by suicidal terrorists could not have been

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[5]Qutb, (2002) Milestones. Forward.
[6]For more on Maududi, see: Asyraf, et al., (2012), The Influence of Al-Maududi and the Jam'at Al Islami Movement on Sayyid Qutb Writings. *World Journal of Islamic History and Civilization,* 2 (4): 232-236, 2012.
[7]Sidahmed and Ehteshami, (1996) p11.
[8]Calvert, (2010) p222.
[9]Ibid.
[10]Skjolberg & Lia, (2007) p23.
[11]Sennett, (2006) xi-xii in Durkheim (1897/2006) On Suicide, See also Durkheim (1952) Suicide p247.

foreseen, but that we may learn more about aggressive, active suicide though following Durkheim's direction on interpretation of evidence and we may see whether, as he contended, suicide is a social fact.'[12] It would appear that those of the Saudi youth bulge who turned to violent jihad appeared to do so as Gerges, (2007) suggests, 'armed with a new militant or Islamist perspective, they launched a frontal assault against the failed ideologies of…"decadent" Western liberalism in a daring bid to overthrow Muslim rulers and establish Islamic states.'[13] Habermas' later work on religion in the public sphere is considered to be illustrative since 'it is the faith and practice of the religious community that decides whether dogmatic processing of the cognitive challenges of modernity has been successful or not; only then will the true believer accept it as the result of a learning process.'[14] Habermas also demonstrates that modernity and morality are interwoven, illustrating the extent to which the negative impact of 'colonization …on the morals of a community.'[15] However, in an attempt to traverse the theoretical cross-cultural divide, this thesis draws upon theory from across the ages and philosophies. For structural purposes it is built upon a foundation of social movement theory reinforced with an underpinning of rentier state theory, youth bulge and terrorist theory. And finally because women are almost fifty percent of Saudi Arabia's youth bulge and totally ignored within the theory, some attention is given to feminist theory.

Diani, (2003) argues that social movements are 'complex and highly heterogeneous network structures' that are consequently difficult to understand[16], whereas Borum, (2011) adds that social movement theory is 'one of the most promising theoretical frameworks applied to understanding radicalization processes and violent extremism' and is valuable to our understanding of these issues.[17] Consequently the various theories relating to terrorism can be interrogated under the wider scope of social movement theory. Whittier, (2002) concludes

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[12]Giddens, (1978) Durkheim, p42. See also Giddens (1971) p84 'poverty is in itself a source of moral restraint.'
[13]Gerges, (2007) p11.
[14]Habermas, (2006) p14.
[15]Finlayson, (2005) Habermas, p62.
[16]Diani, (2003) in Diani and McAdam, (eds) (2003) p1.
[17]Borum, Radicalization into Violent Extremism I, 16: A Review of Social Sciences Theories. *Journal of Strategic Security,* (Volume 4 Issue 4, 2011),pp7-36*., citing Gunning, from Social Movement Theory and the Study of Terrorism,' in Jackson, R., Smyth, M.B. & Gunning, J. (eds) (2009), pp156-177.

that 'social movements are neither fixed nor narrowly bounded in space, time or membership. Instead they are made up of shifting clusters of organizations, networks, communities and activist individuals connected by participation in challenges and collective identities through which participants define the boundaries and significance of their group.'[18] It is this absence of enforced boundaries and the resultant flexibility of methodology that makes social movement theory an appropriate medium for the study of the Saudi youth bulge and associated issues.

Given that this thesis sets out to recalibrate youth bulge theory against a backdrop of Saudi exceptionalism, the second element of the theoretical underpinning is constructed of the various and conflicting theories of youth bulge. According to Rummel, (2010) youth bulge theories differ from Malthusian theories which concentrate on the issues of increases in populations and shortages of resources, whereas youth bulge theory 'focuses on a disparity between non-inheriting 'excess' young males, social systems of division of labour.'[19] Heinsohn, (2006) credits Bouthoul, as 'the father of youth bulge theory,'[20] and from this starting point a range of theoretic approaches are reviewed and evaluated.

As a second underpinning element this chapter explores theories of terrorism because Saudi Arabia has experienced terrorist violence by members of its youth bulge both within the Kingdom and externally. Most prominently the September 11 attack on the United States ofwhich 15 of the perpetrators were Saudi.[21] Exploring links between the Saudi youth bulge, jihadi ideology, the Saudi educational system, civil unrest and terrorism is therefore central to this thesis. However, the issue is complex, for as Goldstone, (2012) argues it is not necessarily accurate to identify a youth bulge and argue for the inevitability of resultant violence or revolution.[22] However, Helgerson, (2002) includes Saudi Arabia in a list of countries with youth

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[18]Whittier, (2002) in Meyer, Whittier and Robnett, (eds) (2003) Social Movements p289.
[19]Rummel, (2010) p69. For more on Malthusian and Neo-Malthusian Theories see Abramitzky and Braggion 2003, http://web.stanford.edu/~ranabr/Malthusian%20and%20Neo%20Malthusian1%20for%20webpage%20040731.pdf
[20]Heinsohn, 20 November 2006 credits Gaston Bouthoul (1896-1980) as 'the father of youth bulge theory'. http://davidbau.com/downloads/heinsohn_slides.pdf Bouthoul, G.(1970) L'infanticide Differe.
[21]Shideler and Weinglass, (2011) in Stern, (2011) p87 and 9/11 Commission Report (2004) p92.
[22]Goldstone, 20 November 2012. World Politics Review. Youth bulges and the social conditions of rebellion. http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/12507/youth-bulges-and-the-social-conditions-of-rebellion

bulges that 'are likely to be most disruptive to US interests'[23] but conversely, some theorists and observers argue that given the correct conditions youth bulges can be a valuable resource, a demographic dividend.[24]

Finally, leading theorists studying the youth bulge phenomenon have restricted their study almost exclusively to males as 'in literature on security the experiences of women have rarely been of interest.'[25] This is probably because males are seen as having a greater propensity to violent action, 'or perhaps because 'Women's Movements' also rarely if ever attempt to organize political parties, to seize direct control of the state, or to use political violence as a tool, perhaps because these are strategies severely disfavored by the gendered political opportunity structure'[26]. However, Hilker and Fraser, (2009) view this omission of women from youth bulge theory as a failing of the academy, stating that they make up '10%-30%' of all groups under arms worldwide.[27] Consequently this final part of the chapter will consider the position of women through from the origins of the women's rights movements of the 18th century pioneered by Wollstonecraft, who having published the Vindication of the Rights of Women in 1792 was, according to Ryan, (1992) ' about fifty years ahead of her time.'[28] It will consider the position of women as half of the population in general and half of the Saudi youth bulge population in particular. It will draw upon literature from Western and Middle Eastern theorists and consider the merit of Ménoret's, (2014) statement that 'women in Saudi Arabia don't need to be saved from their culture or religion and have inventive creative ways to talk back to power.'[29]

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[23]Helgerson, J.L. National Security Implications of Global Demographic Change, 30 April 2002.
http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/cia/helgerson2.htm
[24]Weeks, (2012) in Weeks and Fugate, (eds), (2012) p154.
[25]TRAC (Terrorism Research and Analysis Consortium), Gender and Terrorism. http://www.trackingterrorism.org/article/gender-and-terrorism-female-suicide-missions
[26]Ferree, and McClurg Mueller, (2007), Soule Kriesi, (2007) p591.
[27]Hilker and Fraser, 30 April 2009, p14 http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/CON66.pdf
[28]Ryan, (1992) p10. See also Al Namlah, (2013) in Al-Humaid, et al, p229.
[29]Ménoret, (2014) in Le Renard, (2014) (rear cover).

1.2.1. Social Movement Theory – A Broad Foundation

As stated above, Borum, (2011) considers social movement theory valuable for understanding radicalization and violent extremism, and Saudi Arabia has experienced both.[30] Diani, (1992) in discussing social movement theory identifies the complexity of a theoretical approach that covers such a breadth of phenomena and identifies the need to understand exactly what 'social movements specifically refer to'.[31] He argues that whilst there is broad diversity across the range of thinking of social movement theorists it is possible to coalesce the various common strands from an otherwise complex web of intellectual thought. He identifies four of the leading trends: First he turns to Turner and Killian, (1987) who offer their definition of social movements 'as a peculiar kind of collective behaviour, which is contrasted to organizational and institutional behaviour' … 'a collectivity acting with some continuity to promote or resist a change in the society or organisation of which it is a part. As a collectivity, a movement is a group with indefinite and shifting membership and with leadership whose position is determined more by informal response of adherents than by formal procedures for legitimising authority.'[32] Second, from McCarthy and Zald, (1977): Resource Mobilization Theory – 'a set of opinions and beliefs which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or rewards distribution of a society. A countermovement is a set of opinions and beliefs in a population opposed to a social movement'.[33] Tilly offers an explanation that is historically and politically focused and defined 'as a sustained series of interactions between power holders and persons successfully claiming to speak on behalf of a constituency lacking formal representation, in the course of which those persons make publicly visible demands for changes in the distribution or exercise of power and back those demands with public demonstrations of support.'[34] Finally, Diani, (1992) transports us from an American perspective to a European one, towards the New Social Movement theories of Touraine and

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[30]See note 12, this chapter.
[31]Diani, *The Sociological Review* 1992 Vol. 40 Issue 1 pp1-25, p1. http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-954X.1992.tb02943.x/pdf
[32]Turner and Killian, (1987) p4 & p223 in Diani (1992) p4.
[33]McCarthy and Zald, (1977) pp1217-18 in Diani (1992) p4.
[34]Tilly, (1978) p306 in Diani, (1992) p5.

Melucci. Touraine, Dianitells us, defines a social movement as 'the combination of a principle of identity, a principle of opposition and a principle of totality.'[35] Finally Melucci argues that social movements are culturally situated so that their actions may be intermittent and they may not be regularly visible in the political sphere.[36] Williams, (2007) expands the argument for the importance of cultural factors on social movements, within which he identifies the importance of religion within communities and its value of group dynamic for change.[37] Whilst Williams theorizes within an American social context that the argument for the importance of religion is as relevant for Saudi Arabia as it is for the U.S because Islam for as Yamani (1997) states, 'Islam istotally ingrained in the fabric of contemporary Saudi life.'[38] Qutb, (2000) comments on the state of social justice in Islam, that it should not be purely theoretical 'but that it shall be applied in the realm of practical life.'[39] The definitions of social movements above are complex and whilst exemplifying four strands of theory from both sides of the Atlantic this very breadth and flexibility serve to facilitate the efforts to recalibrate how youth bulges are theorized in general and in the context of the Saudi Arabian model in particular.

Opp and Roehl, (1990) consider the impact on social movements resulting from repression by state sponsored agencies.[40] They argue that empirical evidence abounds to indicate that repression may have the effect on one hand of suppressing political protest, but on the other may act as the catalyst for an acceleration of such action. They identify shortfalls in academic enquiry since they consider that it remains unclear under what conditions repression will have an impact of directing protest in one direction or another. They draw on the work of McAdam, (1988b) to explore the importance of state repression on individual decision making processes in which he states: 'Movements may occur in broad macro context, but their actual development clearly depends on a series of more specific dynamics operating at the micro

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[35]Touraine, (1981) p81 in Diani (1992) p6.
[36]Melucci, (1989) p60 in Diani (1992) pp6-7.
[37]Williams, (2007) p107.
[38]Yamani, (1997) p3.
[39]Qutb, (2000) p120.
[40]Opp and Roehl, (1990) in McAdam and Snow, (1997)p190.

level.'[41] Opp and Roehl, (1990), state that the different theories offer differing predictions, for the impact of repression on protest. They suggest that 'relative deprivation and deprivation theory' treat 'imposed sanctions' as 'deprivations' which incite the repressed to anger andmay manifest in multiple ways including a drift towards radicalization.[42] They continue, offering the view that resource mobilization theory would appear to indicate that state repression of protest groups would inhibit the ability of those groups to function or expand, or as Tilly and Wood, (2013) suggest, when regimes are able to suppress the rights 'to assembly, association and speech' ...'social movements generally declined.'[43] However, Opp and Roehl concede that various weapons available to protesters, including the right to appeal to law, may in fact give strength to the movement whilst increasing popular support, but this will only work within societies wherein the law is linked to universal social justice. The theory of collective action appears to indicate that repression creates fear and concentrates the minds of potential recruits to the value of the cause, and it then becomes an issue of cost benefit analysis for those involved.[44] Opp and Roehl conclude that empirical evidence is similarly inconclusive. Consequently to test whether social movement theory may indeed predict the impact of repression on protest, these theories will be tested here against data from an arising in Saudi Arabia.

What follows is a brief study concerning the case of the Shia of the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia who can be considered as a social movement for, as Moghadam, (2013) states, 'like the women's movement and the global justice movement, Islamism may be seen a "movement of movements" ...and Islamists can be involved in pro-democracy movements.'[45] This study focuses on Sheikh Nimr al-Nimr the Saudi Shia cleric who was a strong and vocal supporter of the anti-government protests that took place in the Qatif area during 2011. Saudi Arabia has experienced considerable unrest in its Eastern province which was particularly severe in 1979

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[41]McAdam, (1988b) p27 in Opp and Roehl, (1990) in McAdam and Snow, (1997) p190.
[42]Opp and Roehl, (1990) in McAdam and Snow, (1997) p190.
[43]Tilly and Wood, (2013) 1768-2012, p54.
[44]Oliver and Marwell, (1992) in Morris and McClurg Mueller, (1992) p252.
[45]Moghadam, (2013) p99.

in the wake of the Iranian revolution. This has simmered for over four decades and exploded following the February 2011 protests in Bahrain.[46] Following al-Nimr's arrest, during which he was shot four times, it was reported that the terrorist court in Riyadh had sentenced him to death for 'foreign meddling in the Kingdom.'[47] Numerous organizations including Amnesty International report longstanding discrimination against the Shia minority in the Eastern province of Saudi Arabia.[48] There has been simmering discontent within the area since 2011 (and before) with fifteen Shia deaths reported in confrontations with security forces in the Qatif area.[49] Whilst it is reported that security forces used deadly force against protestors, Amnesty International report that their sources confirm that some protestors carried firearms and BBC reports confirm the use of handguns against riot police.[50] However, as in all military actions, 'in war, truth is the first casualty,'[51] or as Hobbes states 'force, and fraud are in warre the two Cardinall Vertues. Justice and Injustice are none of the Faculties neither of the Body, nor Mind.'[52] Following the death sentence on al-Nimr protests intensified, with thousands taking part in street demonstrations and with reports of twenty killed by security forces.[53] However, from the perspective of the Security forces it may be as Lucius Accius said, 'Let them hate so long as they fear.'[54]

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[46]This author's experience of living in the Eastern Province during the Shia uprising of 1979, and talking to Shia from Qatif, and Sayhat about what it was like to live under curfew.

[47]BBC News, 15 October 2014 Saudi Shia cleric Nimr al-Nimr 'sentenced to death.' See also Arab News 15 October 2014: Death Penalty for EP Riot Instigator. http://www.arabnews.com/featured/news/644691?quicktabs_stat2=0 See al Monitor 13 July 2012. 'Shooting, Arrest of Shiite cleric ignites protests in Saudi Arabia.' http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/ar/politics/2012/07/qatif-movements-smoldering-fire.html#

[48]Amnesty International, (2011) 'Saudi Arabia Repression in the Name of Human Rights.' http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/saudisecurity.pdf p41. Amnesty International reports that 'the government does not allow Amnesty International to visit the country to research human rights issues…' p5. See also Matthieson, 07 March 2012, http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/03/07/saudi-arabias-shiite-problem/ and Wehrey (Carnegie) 14 June 2013 The Forgotten Uprising in Eastern Saudi Arabia. http://carnegieendowment.org/2013/06/14/forgotten-uprising-in-eastern-saudi-arabia See also Human Rights Watch 2013, Saudi Arabia http://www.hrw.org/world-report/2013/country-chapters/saudi-arabia?page=3

[49]Erlich, NPR News 23 March 2013. 'In Saudi Arabia, Shiite Muslims Challenge ban on protests.' http://www.npr.org/2013/03/23/175051345/in-saudi-arabia-shiite-muslims-challenge-ban-on-protests See also: The Economist 18October 2014. The Shia in Saudi Arabia. The Sword Unsheathed. http://www.economist.com/news/middle-east-and-africa/21625868-protests-break-out-after-shia-cleric-sentenced-death-sword-unsheathed

[50]Amnesty International ,(2011) and BBC 30 May 2014. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27619309

[51]Variations of this this quotation are variously attributed to Aeschylus 525BC-456BC and Samuel Johnson in the Idler Magazine, 11 November 1758: 'Among the calamities of war may be jointly numbered diminution of the love of truth, by the falsehoods which interest dictates and credulity encourages.' Radcliffe (2011) The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations, 16, p203.

[52]Hobbes, (2011) Leviathan, Part 1, Chapter XIII p78.

[53]Donaghy, 16 October 2014. 'Thousands protest cleric death sentence in Saudi Arabia as cross-sect solidarity flickers.' http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/thousands-protest-cleric-death-sentence-saudi-arabia-cross-sect-solidarity-flickers-124708687

[54]Radciffe, (2011) From the tragic play 'Atreus', by Lucius Accius, 170-86 BC. See Matthiesen, (2013) p72.

So what does this brief case study tell about the ability of social movement theory to predict the onset of protest and violence? Particularly in regard to the Saudi Shia youth bulge? Given the history of the region we should perhaps not be surprised that violent protests erupted in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia following the King of Bahrain's declaration of a State of National Security on 15 March 2011,[55] and the deployment of Saudi troops as part of a GCC force to subdue Shia protests on the island.[56] However, as Chambers, (1995) reminds us 'Following Durkheim and Weber, Habermas argues that social and political institutions cannot be maintained through force or strategic manipulation.'[57] Whilst it is reported that al-Nimr called for peaceful protest,[58] the official reporting by the government in the press was that he incited violence and was shot in a gun battle whilst trying to escape arrest.[59] According to Opp and Roehl, (1990) deprivation and relative deprivation theory suggests that repression of political protest fuels anger and radicalization, all of which has been experienced in and around Qatif for the past 40 years, and as Aristotle stated 'poverty is the parent of revolution and crime.'[60] Anger exploded with further unrest following the pronouncement of the death sentence on al-Nimr.

Resource mobilization theory Opp and Roehl argue, creates a model whereby increased repression by centres of power discourages dis-satisfied actors from joining the protest who might otherwise do so. In an interview with this author, Ali and Hussain, young Shia residents of Qatif employed in Dhahran, explained that they felt repressed to the point where the odds were simply too heavily stacked against them.[61] Whilst angry and frustrated at the general situation of Shia as a repressed minority without equal opportunities throughout the Gulf, they felt the risk was too great to take their protest to the streets. They had wives and children to care for and they believed that violent protest would only make matters worse and cost them

[55]Abdulhameed, (2015) in Khalaf, al-Shehabi and Hanieg, (2015) p166.
[56]Reuters, 14 March 2011. 'Saudis send troops, Bahrain Shi'ites call it war.'http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/03/14/us-bahrain-protests-forces-idUSLDE72D0KH20110314
[57]Chambers, (1995) White, (ed) (1995) The Cambridge Companion to Habermas, p242.
[58]The Economist 18 October 2014. The Shia in Saudi Arabia. The Sword Unsheathed. http://www.economist.com/news/middle-east-and-africa/21625868-protests-break-out-after-shia-cleric-sentenced-death-sword-unsheathed
[59]Arab News, 15 October 2014.
[60]Everson, (1996) Aristotle, p41.
[61]This author's Interview with Ali and Hussain, young Shia from Qatif. Interview at Dhahran 14 May 2013.

the jobs that they had worked so hard to get. Intriguingly, in spite of the deprivations they claimed to suffer, they saw themselves as Saudi Shia with no allegiance to Iran either spiritually or politically. All they wanted was what Hussain termed 'a fair deal in a safe environment,' to be allowed to contribute to the wealth of the nation and enjoy some of the benefits. They did not wish to actively participate in demonstrations, for as one stated, 'things are not always as they seem, since some frustrated Shia do meet government aggression with a deadly response, frustration leads to anger, anger to violence, and violence ends with Shia widows.'[62] Ali's cousin had been killed in a confrontation with the security forces in 2011 which in the words of Tripp, (2013) gave 'the generic term "resistance" a human face, linked to tales of exceptional courage and resistance …many have paid for it with their lives.'[63] A third member of the group -- aged 17 during the 2011 protests -- was far less resigned to the situation. He argued that he had taken to the streets to throw stones at security forces but that he had stopped short of throwing petrol bombs because he believed that petrol bombers and those carrying guns were targeted by snipers from within the security forces. Here there are echoes of Goldstone, (1991) for in Qatif in 2011, as in London in the 1620s, 'the radicals…came from the younger generation.'[64] They all agreed that they saw no resolution to the problem for the Shia in the Gulf since they believed that Sunnis are bought up from a young age to believe that Shia are inferior and evil, that they carry out unnatural practices, and constitute a threat to Sunni society.[65]

Matthiesen, (2012) argues that the Saudi government's policies in regard to the repression of the Shia can only be interpreted as part of a policy of retaining its own legitimacy. He suggests that by maintaining a fear and distrust of the Shia and portraying them as a 'social movement'

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[62]Statement by Ali, Qatifi, interview at Dhahran, 14 May 2013.
[63]Tripp, (2013) p309.
[64]Goldstone, (1991) p138.
[65]This author's experience of Sunni - Shia relations in Saudi Arabia since 1973. Many Sunni appear to have been brought up to believe that Shia are inferior and pose a threat to them. e.g.(i) This author's discussions with Sunni officer who brought his own coffee to the office as he was convinced that the Shia tea-boy would poison him. (Discussions during period 2000-2004 Dhahran.) ii. Case of enlisted man having to pray in broom cupboard as not permitted to use the room used as a mosque. Dhahran 2003. This author's interview with 30 year old Saudi (Sunni) professional on threat posed by DAESH. He explained that he was not very interested but the one good thing about them was that they were killing Shia. Interview Riyadh, 02 February 2014. Interview with Western educated senior military officer who believed that Shia carried out deviant practices. 11 October 2014, Riyadh.

whose primary loyalty is to a hostile power, the government reinforces its own power.[66] Furthermore, he claims that the government has no intention of ever bringing the Shia into the mainstream of Saudi society, and unlike those Sunni who turned to terrorism Shia cannot be 'rehabilitated.'[67] However, situations in Saudi Arabia change rapidly, for in April 2015, a royal Prince Madough was banned from public appearances by the King for making racist remarks with reports stating there is no room for racism in Islam.[68] Williams, (2002) argues that 'religion can be a progressive or conservative force, opening or closing public space.'[69] Ali and Hussain stated their belief that the situation will never change until Sunnis are educated differently and generations of prejudice are overcome with some degree of religious tolerance of the Saudi Shia. However, they were not hopeful of any resolution in their lifetime or that of their children.

Opp and Roehl explain that the theory of collective action (and rational choice theory from which the theory of collective action is derived) presents repression as a 'negative selective incentive.'[70] Consequently if members of a social movement fear repressive action by the state they will be disinclined to participate in the social movement at all. From this brief case study, it may be argued that any one of these theories might fit and should predict potential protest and violence. We have seen that from the interview reported above that for some the price of opposition to repression is too great; it fails the test of cost benefit analysis. However, it is also apparent from the reports cited that many in and around Qatif were prepared to take to the streets to protest and some were prepared to meet deadly force with deadly force. The theories offer generalizations and it may be as McAdam, (1988b) argues: 'Movements may occur in broad macro context, but their actual development clearly depends on a series of more specific dynamics operating at the micro level.'[71]

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[66]See Matthiesen, (2015) p113.
[67]Matthiesen, 07 March 2012.
[68]Arab News, 26 April 2015, http://www.arabnews.com/featured/news/738471
[69]Williams, (2002) in Meyer, Whittier and Robnett, (2002) Social Movements, p251.
[70]Opp and Roehl, (1990) p190.
[71]McAdam, 1988b: 127 in Opp and Roel, (1990) p190.

Edgar, (2006) discusses the influence of culture in the early work of Habermas, and the importance that he placed on the Marxist view that the ruling class are empowered to dominate culture through various means including religion and control of the mass-media, which legitimizes its relationship with and control over the people. Habermas talks of religion and the media as examples of 'channels, or as a "sluice" through which public opinion is transformed into communicative power, that is in turn is transformed by the state administration into administrative power so that it can be realized as enforceable laws that will constrain and direct the actions of citizens.'[72] However, as Osa, (2003) reminds us, states that do not practice democracy exclude independent journalistic overview, and dissent may be repressed through various means including press censorship.[73] Klandermans and Goslinga, (1996) discuss the impact of media on social movements, and drawing from Kielbowicz and Scherer, (1986) argue that the media permit a channel for information by which social movement actors can reach out to the general population and influence opinion.[74] The media can also act as a medium by which like-minded actors may be brought together and finally can offer psychological support to social movement actors. However, as has been illustrated above, there is no single media source. In the Qatif study, the Saudi press was critical of the Shia protest and it was only media sources external to the Kingdom that reported positively on the protest movements and their cause. The world can only see what it is allowed to see and certain areas of the Kingdom are closed to international scrutiny.[75] However, social media has transformed Saudi youth's ability to get its message out to the wider world, though their own access to networks through the internet remains subject to various restrictions through censorship. Hofheinz, (2007) cites Saudi policy that states that sites that 'violate Islamic tradition' are blocked, and goes on to argue that the State's priority is to target individuals or entities it sees as compromising the moral fabric of the nation, and that consequently 'filtering

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[72]Edgar, (2006) p23 & p67, taken from Habermas (1999a) p250 in Cooke (ed.) On the Pragmatics of Communication.
[73]Osa, (2003) in Diani and McAdam, Social Movements and Networks, p100.
[74]Klandermans and Goslinga, (1996) p319.
[75]See note 81.

of content on…political opposition is much less strict.'[76]   However, interviews by this author

did not substantiate this statement. In group discussions on censorship with Saudi males of

different generations the general consensuswas that there was a government imposed

benchmark for both standards of internet morality and political voice that was largely

supported by the majority of the population.[77]   There was some qualified agreement on

Hofheinz's point that there had been some pushing back of the boundaries of 'freedom of

expression' on political issues and freedom of speech but that issues of public morality

remained much as they had always been.[78]   There was no agreement with his observation that

moral issues were much more vigorously policed than those that were political.

1.2.2. Rentier State Theory

Saudi Arabia is a state largely dependent upon its upon oil revenues and 'oil has transformed

Saudi Arabia beyond recognition,…'[79] The Kingdom's youth bulge therefore live within the

confines of what is termed a 'rentier state' wherein due to the state's ability to distribute

revenues, the implication is that 'no effective political power sharing is necessary.'[80] Beblawi

and Luciani, (2016) pose the question of what exactly is meant by the term 'rentier state', and

in so doing, explore in greater depth, 'the relationship between state and economy.'[81] They

offer two explanations, the first, state orientated and isolated from the economy. This they

argue, describes States that obtain most of their income from *rent* from their customers

abroad who buy the natural resources or services provided by the vendor states which are able

to produce and sell their products for profit. Beblawi and Luciani, (2016) identify a shortfall in

this explanation in so much as it fails to provide any real information on the economy.

Consequently, they expand the analysis to consider the 'concept of rentier economy,'[82] which

they define as an economy in which expenditure from state-driven projects fuel the economy

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[76]Hofheinz, (2007), Sakr, (ed) (2007) p57.
[77]Group interview with Saudi males (Sunni) of ages between 23 and 55, Riyadh 06 April 2015.
[78]Hofheinz, (2007) p61.
[79] Hertog, (2010) p13.
[80]Hertog, (2005) p112 in Aarts and Nonneman (2005) Saudi Arabia in the Balance.
[81]Beblawi and Luciani, (2016) p11.
[82] Ibid.

and that the state's financial assets are derived from rent obtained from the sale of natural resources to overseas customers. Within this paradigm the rentier state is in effect subordinate to a rentier economy. From Mahdavy, (1970)[83] 'Rentier states are defined …as those countries that receive on a regular basis substantial amounts of external rent,'[84] and he aligns his case study of oil production in Iran to his theory of rentierism. However, Davidson, (2012) reminds us that prior to Mahdavy's essay, that as early as the '1860s' rentierism had been defined by Marx as a symptom of decadence within a 'class which benefits from profit-income derived from renting out property and thus does not actually produce anything itself.'[85] Mahdavy therefore appears to have initiated a shift in the concept of rentierism from property to commodities with the predominant commodity being oil to such an extent that in contemporary literature rentierism and oil are synonomous. Hertog, (2007) demonstrates how this shift to a dependency on oil has created 'the anonymous structural forces, the "resource curse" of "the rentier state" and how these forces have shaped politics and markets with their inexorable logic.'[86]

Beblawi (2016) draws on Adam Smith to define what is meant by *rent* and how it can be distinguished from other types of income. In his 1990 work Beblawi defines rents as 'income derived from the gift of nature,'[87] but turns to Smith and his argument that rent, 'enters into the composition of the price of commodities in a different way from wages and profit. High or low wages and profit are the cause of high or low price; high or low rent is the effect of it.'[88] Beblawi, (2016) argues that the Arab oil producing states exemplify rentier states, 'par

[83]According to Gray, (2011) Hussein Muhdavy is generally regarded as the 'first scholar to lay out the fundamentals of rentierism, as a term and a concept, in writing about per-revolutionary Iran of the 1960s.'
[84]Mahdavy, (1970) The Patterns and Problems of Economic Development in Rentier States : The Case of Iran, p428 http://www-personal.umich.edu/~twod/oil-s2010/rents/Mahdavy.pdf
[85]Davidson, (2012) After the Sheikhs, p6.
[86]Hertog, *Int. J. Middle East Stud.* 39 (2007) 539-563, p539. DOI: 10.1017/S0020743807071073http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/29872/1/Shaping_the_Saudi_state_(publisher).pdf See also (i) Hertog, *World Politics,* 62, No. 2 (April 2010) Defying the Resource Curse. Explaining Successful State-Owned Enterprises in Rentier States. 261-301.http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/29834/1/Defying_the_resource_curse_(Publisher).pdf (ii) Rutledge, 23 October 2014, The Rentier State/Resource Curse Narrative and the State of the Arabian Gulf. MPRA Paper No.59501 https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/59501/1/MPRA_paper_59501.pdf
[87]Beblawi, (1990) The Rentier State, p85.
[88]Smith, (1960) 412 in Beblawi (2016) The Rentier State in the Arab World, p49 in Beblawi and Luciani, (2016) The Rentier State.

excellence,'[89] stating that in 1987 oil revenues accounted for more than 90% of the States' incomes and accounted for more than 95% of exports.[90] Nearly thirty years later Saudi Arabia is still heavily dependent upon oil exports with oil and gas accounting for 50%[91] of gross domestic income and over 85% of export earnings.[92] Chaudhry, (1994) reports that in response to declining oil prices in the 1980s and resultant depletion of reserves and a serious financial crisis, the Saudi Arabia embarked upon programmes of limited liberalization and market reform but concludes that in practice the Saudi private sector 'is not always in favour of markets.'[93] Beblawi argues that in spite of dependence on oil exports, less than 3% of the labour force are involved in 'production and distribution of the oil wealth,'[94] although he does not state whether this figure of 3% refers to the Saudi national workforce or a combined Saudi national-expatriate workforce. He compares the working of the rentier state with its distribution of wealth through a layered hierarchical system with that of the traditional Arab tribal system with its traditions of the purchase of loyalty. This traditional tribal culture creates a model for the distribution of wealth and favours on a much grander national scale and has developed to the point wherby 'public goods and private favours have thus gone together in defining the role of the state.'[95] This may in part provide an explanation for Saudi Arabia's apparent resilience by so far remaining an oasis of comparative calm amidst a region in political turmoil and violent chaos. Reflecting the tribal system and non-democratic structure, the sharing-out of proceeds from the export-generated revenues and the consequent absence of taxation to fuel the state apparatus has largely mitigated any significant expectation for widespread involvement in the political decision making processes. Bolme, (2015) argues that rentier state theory links taxation to democracy and but that in return for that taxation the people can expect representation in the process of government and the right to call their governers to account. Citing Ross, (2005) she reports that oil producing states are most likely

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[89]Beblawi, (2016) p53.
[90]Ibid.
[91] This figure of 50% of GDP as reported by OPEC has declined from the 60-80% as stated by Beblawi and Luciani (2016, p53).
[92]OPEC Saudi Arabia Facts and Figures. http://www.opec.org/opec_web/en/about_us/169.htm
[93]Chaudhry, *Comparative Politics,*Vol. 27, No. 1 (Oct 1994) pp1-25, The City University of New York. Economic Liberalization and the Lineages of the Rentier State, p1 &p20.
[94]Beblawi and Luciani (2016) p53.
[95]Ibid.

to be authoritarian whilst those raising revenue through taxation are likely to be democratic.[96]

Beck, (2007) argues that 'rent receiving state bureaucracies create rentier states that do not comply with the will of the majority.'[97] However, he presents no evidence to support that simply because a rentier state is authoritarian; it cannot be governed in such a way as a majority of the people might wish. Sulaiman, (2013) suggests that since the 1970s that the legitimacy of those states referred to as rentier has depended upon 'an implicit social contract, seen as part of an Islamic tradition called *al-abay'a;* the pledge of allegiance between the people and regimes.'[98] Nevertheless, given that historically, taxation has invariably led to calls for political representation,[99] it remains to be seen what the future holds for rentier states in times of oversupply of oil, low oil prices prices, austerity and resultant lowering of subsidies on staple goods.[100]

Dunning suggests that rent permits powerful elites to purchase the technical and military hardware to suppress and subjugate their their own people.[101] Waldner and Smith, (2013) compare rentier state theory with the resource curse thesis identifying the former as creating 'weak and predatory institutions', the latter as generating 'economic stagnation, authoritarianism, and heightened vulnerability to civil war.'[102] Beblawi, (2016) identifies Kuwait as the first of the rentier states to distribute a portion of the proceeds from oil to the population which created, in effect a form of welfare state. One of the methods used was by government purchase of land at prices well in excess of the market values. This practice spread across other Gulf states but he identifies that it had been a method used by King Abdulaziz (Ibn Saud) of Saudi Arabia since his annexation of the Hijaz in 1920s and 1930s in those times before oil was first discovered at a time when the King was largely still reliant upon

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[96]Bolme, (2015) The Roots of Authoritarianism in the Middle East, in Karakoc,(ed) (2015) Authoritarianism in the Middle East p31.
[97] Beck, (2007) Paving the way for Democracies or Strenthening Authoritarianism? Reforms in the Middle East in Furtig, (2007) The Arab Authoritarian Regime between Reform and Persistence, p8.
[98] Al-Farsi, (2013) Democracy and Youth in the Middle East, p1.
[99]See Niblock and Malik, (2007) The Political Economy of Saudi Arabia, p 17.
[100]See Ross, 'Does Oil Hinder Democracy,' *World Politics,* Vol 53, No. 3 (2001) pp. 325-361, p329.
[101]Dunning, (undated), Authoritarianism and Democracy in Rentier States.
http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/politics/seminars/dunning_3_f05.pdf
[102]Waldner and Smith, (2013) Rentier States and State Transformations, p2.
http://www.benjaminbsmith.net/uploads/9/0/0/6/9006393/waldner.smith.oxford.chapter.pdf

rent from the pilgimages to Mecca and Medina. As oil revenues poured into the Gulf States, favours of land grants were distributed and whilst some were sold within the private sector most were bought back by goverments at inflated prices, thereby enriching those who had had such favours bestowed upon them.[103] However, the practice of land gifts and subsequent speculation in land as a commodity originating from the early days of the rentier economies has left a legacy for today's youth of high land prices and unaffordable housing costs causing related problems which are covered in more detail in Chapter 8 of this thesis.

Beblawi, (2016) identifies a deep mistrust of and hostility towards those who benefit from rent and turns to Weber for an explanation for this: 'The religious valuation of restless, continuous systematic work in a worldly calling, as the highest means to aseticism, and at the same time, the surest and most evident proof of rebirth and genuine faith, must have been the most powerful conceivable level for the expansion of that attitude toward life which have here called the spirit of capitalism.'[104] Hafez, (2009) in discussing the culture of rent argues that 'rent per se has no 'negative' implications but for the last two centuries economists have attempted to decry it.[105] He suggests that this because the prevailing theory of rent is politically motivated and citing Hudson, (2008) that it has been so 'since Adam Smith, through John Stuart Mill until Henry George in order to justify taxation on landlords.' Hafez continues that he believes that it it not rent itself that is at issue but 'the culture it generates,' and whilst rent may appear to be to be gained without effort or risk, as 'Ibn Khaldun informs us, Arab tradition does not look upon effort favourably, even if it contradicts Qur'anic teaching.'[106] Hafez draws upon Ibn Mandour, (1232-1311) for the definition of rent from the Arabic, '*ray*', meaning 'accrual or augmentation' which is normally used in the context of flour or bread.[107] He argues that for the Arab, rent has its origins in plunder from iner-tribal raids *'ghazzu'* and

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[103]Beblawi, (2016) The Rentier State in the Arab World, p56, in Beblawi and Luciani, (2016) The Rentier State.
[104]Weber, (1959) p127 in Beblawi The Rentier State in the Arab World, (1987/2016) p62 in Beblawi and Luciani, (2016) The Rentier State.
[105]Hafez, (2009) Contemporary Arab Affairs: Vol 2 Issue 3. (2009). The Culture of Rent, Factionalism and Corruption: A Political Economy of Rent in the Arab World pp465-466. http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17550911903034989 See also: Ozyavuz & Schmid, (April 2015) Note de I'Ifri, Persistance and Evolutions of the Rentier State Model in Gulf Countries. https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/rentier-state-final.pdf
[106] Ibid., p466.
[107]Hafez, (2009) p460.

drawing from (Henni 2008) illustrates that through the ages 'wealth in the Arab World is generated through the capture of the effort made by the Other,' and as Ibn Khaldun recorded over seven hundred years before, 'Arabs considered effort as quite humiliating, especially in agriculture or industry.'[108] This presents a graphic illustration of the cultural differences in the perception of the value of and importance attached to rent and effort in Western and Arab cultures and the legacy left for the youth bulge of latter-day Arabia.

As the Gulf monarchies developed from tribal groupings controlled largely by the distribution of rent and favours to providing the needs of emerging nations, came the need for the provision for a national infrastructure and total range of services. However, the expectation of the favours from rents persists with a overlap between public and private, with contracts regularly awarded either directly to favoured individuals within, or close to governments. Overpricing and multilayering of contracts remain commonplace across the Middle East as does the practice of placement of major contracts with or through the relations of officials along with the use of selected priveliged individuals who are permitted to broker major deals for 'private gain.'[109]

Beblawi, (2016) identifies that emanating from the paternalistic rentier mentality[110] comes an expectation that most residents within rentier states that opportunities should exist for all to be employed within the government sector, indeed on such a scale as matched only 'by socialist-orientated states.'[111] From Beblawi's finding from 1987, little seems to have changed in this regard in the past thirty years, since in Saudi Arabia as only 14% of Saudis in employment in the private sector.[112] However, Luciani and Hertog, (2010) argue that 'both in

[108] Ibid.
[109]Beblawi, (1982) p216 in Beblawi (2016) p55. See also: (i) Gulf News, 12 February 2014, Exposing the Corrupt in Saudi Arabia. http://gulfnews.com/opinion/thinkers/exposing-the-corrupt-in-saudi-arabia-1.1294345 (ii) Ernst & Young, 12th Global Fraud Survey. Managing Bribery and Corruption Risks in the Construction and Infrastructure Industry. http://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/Managing_bribery_and_corruption_risks_in_the_construction_and_infrastructure_industry/$FILE/Assurance_%20FIDS_sector_paper_Construction.pdf
[110]For more on the Rentier Mentality see Levins, C.M. (2013) *Rutgers Journal of Law and Religion*, Vol 14, The Rentier State and the Survival of Arab Absolute Monarchies, p393. http://lawandreligion.com/sites/lawandreligion.com/files/2013%20Vol.%2014%20Levins.pdf
[111]Beblawi, (2016) p55.
[112](i) Fakhreddine & Owen, Gallup. 20 August 2015: Lure of Government Jobs for Saudis.http://www.gallup.com/businessjournal/184748/lure-government-jobs-saudis.aspx (ii) Arab News, 17 January 2014. Saudi

scale and scope, the private sector is incomparably more important in the national economies in the Arab world than was the case just a few decades ago.'[113] Nevertheless, it would appear that creating a framework of governance within a rentier economy has in turn created a dependency culture wherein Beblawi suggests that attendance is prioritized over productivity.[114]

Beblawi, (2016) considers the parallel worlds within the rentier economies from the perspective of two distinct groups, the citizens of these states and the expatriates. He views the role of these nationals/citizens within the rentier states as beneficiaries of rental income whereas the expatriate communities earn reward for labour but remain for ever aliens outside the 'body politic' and outside of the society they serve.[115]   Whilst his arguments and theory appear generally accurate and sustainable this author takes issue with the statement, 'The material life of expatriates is usually comfortable and no way comparable to the conditions of their homeland.'[116] Whereas this may be a reasonably accurate representation of the situation of many Western expatriates and those of the professional classes of other nations, it is an inaccurate representation of the situation of vast numbers of workers from the sub-continent and South-East Asia, many of whom are employed in contruction or domestic roles.[117]

Graduates still prefer Government Jobs.
https://www.google.com.sa/search?site=&source=hp&q=Arab+news+saudi+graduates+still+prefer+government+jobs&oq=Arab+n ews+saudi+graduates+still+prefer+government+jobs&gs_l=hp.3...3193.24915.0.26150.56.56.0.0.0.0.300.7486.0j49j3j1.53.0....0...1 .1.64.hp..3.27.3901.B7hojaKT0k0 (iii) See also Annex B & C to this thesis: Employment and Education Survey.
[113]Luciani and Hertog, (2010) Arab Reform Initiative Policy Paper 1 of 2, October 2010. ARI Thematic Study: Private Sector and Reform. Has Arab Business Ever been, or Will it be, a Player for Reform? http://www.arab-reform.net/sites/default/files/Policy_paper_Luciani_and_Hertog.pdf
[114] Beblawi, (2016) p55.
[115]Ibid., p59.
[116] Ibid.
[117]See: (i) Human Rights Watch 21 January 2014. Qatar: Serious Migrant Worker Abuse.
https://www.hrw.org/news/2014/01/21/qatar-serious-migrant-worker-abuses (ii) The Guardian 14 May 2015. Modern Day Slavery + Qatar. http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/series/modern-day-slavery-in-focus+world/qatar (iii) Middle East Institute. Attiya Ahmad. 02 February 2010. Migrant Workers in Kuwait: The Role of the State Institutions. http://www.mei.edu/content/migrant-workers-kuwait-role-state-institutions (iv) The Telegraph, Leah Hyslop. 18 November 2010. Immigrant worker abuse in Middle East condemned by human rights group.
http://www.telegraph.co.uk/expat/expatnews/8139712/Immigrant-worker-abuse-in-Middle-East-condemned-by-human-rights-group.html (v) The World Post, 12 November 2015. Deteriorating Situation for Migrant Workers in Middle East.
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/fiona-david/deteriorating-situation-f_b_8779668.html (vi) US Department of State. 2014 Trafficking in Persons Report: Bahrain. http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/countries/2014/226676.htm (vii) Redress Information and Analysis. 08 December 2013, The Abuse of Migrant Workers in Saudi Arabia.
http://www.redressonline.com/2013/12/the-abuse-of-migrant-workers-in-saudi-arabia/

Finally Gray, (2011) argues a case that Rentier State Theory (RST) has failed to adapt to changing times.[118] He states that it has not kept up with the economic transformations across the Gulf States over the past 20 years and identifies Dubai, Bahrain, Qatar and Abu Dhabi as specific examples. He argues that in its original form Rentier State Theory is now outdated, overly simplistic and now needs revision to account for the impact of 'globalization, new technologies, freer trade and investments, social changes, and development imperatives.'[119] He labels this revised and updated theoretical approach as 'late rentierism,'[120] and draws upon Davidson, (2008)[121] to demonstrate how Dubai has adapted by creating a rentier style economy from businesses other than oil. He argues that this example demonstrates what he terms 'the Dubai model' exemplifying a 'late rentier or even neo-rentier economy.'[122] However, Gray argues that rentier state theory is not without some value in so much as it remains the most appropriate for framing political theory of the modern Middle East Gulf States. However, it terms of the economic theory, it is not sufficiently agile to cope with the complexity of rapidly changing populations and the impact of globalization and shifting economic strategies. That, he argues is where late-rentierism offers a contemporary theoretical alternative that demonstrate how these states are adapting to changing times and offers a framework for understanding the durability of non-democratic regimes. To conclude, Herb, (2005) suggests that 'rent wealth does not make contries better governed, but neither is it a curse.'[123]

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[118] Gray, (2011) Center for International and Regional Studies. Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar. Occasional Paper No. 7. The Theory of "Late Rentierism" in the Arab States in the Gulf, p1. https://repository.library.georgetown.edu/bitstream/handle/10822/558291/CIRSOccasionalPaper7MatthewGray2011.pdf?sequence=5

[119] Ibid.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid., p27, where we are referred to Davidson (2008) The Diversification of the Economy, in 'Dubai.'

[122] Ibid.

[123] Herb, M., *Comparative Politics,* Vol. 37, No. 3. (Apr., 2005) pp 297-316 The City University of New York. No Representation without Taxation? Rents, Development and Democracy, p311.

1.2.3. The Other Side of Protest: The Theory of Policing Social Protest

Klandermans, (1992) tells us that 'the social construction of protest is a struggle between various actors to determine whose definition of the situation will prevail. In the clashes and confrontations between competing or opposing schemes, meaning is constructed.'[124] Social movements are by nature confrontational and confront the State in the form of its apparatus of control at street level, the police.[125] Della Porta and Fillieule, (2004) consider the conflicting perceptions of those that protest and those that seek to maintain order in accordance with the State's requirements. Consequently the police may be viewed by actors within social movements as weapons of State repression whilst the police see social movement actors as a threat to the equilibrium of society. Della Porta and Fillieule, (2004) argue that empirical research on the relationship between the two parties is scant, primarily because police are hostile to and reluctant to interact with outside research agencies whilst researchers see the police 'as a mere arm of the State.'[126] Clearly, policing methods will vary not just within varying theatres of social protest and confrontation but within differing societies and forms of government. Police behavior in reaction to street protests will be constrained or otherwise by not just their own rules of engagement but by issues of accountability. In cases where response to protests is not subject to outside scrutiny it is likely that police action may be more repressive and violent, but as Della Porta, (1995) argues, 'state repression created martyrs and myths,'[127] and martyrs, … 'are those that set out to fight solely and purely for God's cause, out of faith for Him and an unshakeable belief in His messengers.'[128]

Gans, (1979)[129] identifies the media as a significant constraining factor on police use of excessive violence, but even the presence of media may not deter it since much will depend upon the agendas of media present at the scenes. Furthermore, as reported by Della Porta

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[124]Klandermans, (1992) in Morris and McClurg Mueller, (1992) Frontiers in Social Movement Theory, p100.
[125]Della Porta and Fillieule, (2004) p217.
[126]Ibid. See also Malthaner, (2014) in Della Porta (ed) 2014, p175,cites Fielding (2007) pp236-237.
[127]Della Porta, (1995) p191.
[128]Qutb, (1999) p195.
[129]Gans, (197, 53.ff) cited in Della Porta and Fillieule (2004) p230.

and Fillieule, (2004) 'media coverage of events may often cover up police behavior.'[130] As demonstrated, the only positive reporting of the Qatif protests appeared to come from outside the Kingdom but for those seeking a platform within a largely closed society, external media attention can best be attracted by violent disturbances,[131] although isolated exceptions can be located. For instance, Al Jazeera Newspaper carried a report of a journalist's coverage of a seminar on inter-faith dialogue in Qatif at the Diwaniya Cultural Forum and the conclusion was that both sides had much in common, 'Shia …sharing the same concerns like other Saudi citizens…' whilst 'misguided ideologies target both Shia and Sunni to fuel sectarian strife in the region.'[132]

An interview with a police officer in the Eastern Province who had served on the front line during the disturbances in Qatif in 2011, offered an illuminating alternative perspective on Sunni-Shia relationships in Saudi Arabia, this time from behind the riot shield.[133] To this thirty-something Sunni police officer the street protests by the Shia social movement constituted a real threat to the security of the Kingdom and his society. This was a man who believed the Shia constituted the enemy within, one who has no allegiance to Saudi Arabia but looked to their spiritual home across the Arabian Gulf. Here we find echoes of Weber, (1964) of 'The idea of God, Religious Ethics and Taboo,' wherein 'norms of taboo may give rise to extraordinarily severe impediments to the development of communal barter and other types of social intercourse. The absolute impurity of those outside one's own religion, as taught by the Shite sect of Islam'.[134] Here in Qatif we find the image and reflection that Weber envisaged as intolerance. To the police officer these were a people to be contained by all necessary means because they could not be expelled or dealt with by other means. These are a naturally violent people he argued, as large crowds of rioters had attacked policewith petrol bombs. This generation of the Shia youth he stated is no better than those who rebelled in

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[130]Della Porta and Fillieule, (2004) p230.
[131]Della Porta, Fillieule and Reiter, (1998) in Meyer and Tarrow, (1998).
[132]Jasser Al-Herbish, 15 December 2014, http://www.saudishia.com/?act=artc&id=530
[133]Author's Interview with police officer,Dammam, 21 February 2015.
[134]Weber, (1964) p41.

1979. For this police officer there was no desire for an accord with his Shia neighbours since he stated that he saw these people as unworthy of Saudi citizenship, a view he argued was shared by the majority of his colleagues and friends. This was a long term mission to be pursued with the 'logic of war.'[135] Of the three identified strategies available to the police in the field of protest control it is probable that all will have been used in the Eastern Province against the Shia youth bulge over time.[136] These identified by Della Porta and Diani, (2006) include 'persuasive' strategyinvolving negotiated compromise between the two sides, 'informative' (reconnaissance, intelligence gathering and surveillance) and finally 'coercive strategies' whereby the police utilize all necessary force.[137]

Della Porta, (2014) argues that for most members of social movements the police confronting any protest group represent 'the very face of State power' and that in the front line 'police officers indeed enjoy a high degree of discretion in their encounters with citizens.'[138] However, when as in Qatif, the repressed and the agents of the state confronting them are so ideologically and culturally opposed, there appears few grounds for optimism for long term peaceful co-existence, for there is little of what Habermas termed the 'universal morality…dependent upon a form of life that meets it half way.'[139] In confrontations that some might term asymmetrical, Smithey and Kurtz, (1999) invoke the term 'paradox of repression', whereby force used by state actors may mobilize public opinion so that repressed gain the moral high ground and gain international support.[140] Furthermore, as Saudi Arabia engages in a war against the Shia Houthi in Yemen, it may further fuel the fire of internal sectarian hatred with little chance for rapprochement between these people who share a land but not a religious ideology. Consequently, the Shia of the Eastern Province like other movements before them is unable to 'convert the energy of the slums into political power.'[141]

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[135]Della Porta, (1999) in Giugni, McAdam and Tilly, (1999) p89.
[136]Della Porta and Diani, (2006) in Della Porta and Diani, (2006) pp197-198.
[137]Ibid.
[138]Della Porta, (2014) p232.
[139]Warnke, (1995) in White, (ed), (1995) p132.
[140]Smith and Kurtz, (1999) in Zunes et al, (1999) Nonviolent Social Movements, p97.
[141]Piven and Cloward, (1992) cite Jacobs and Landau (undated) in Morris and McClurg Mueller, (1992) p322.

Okruhlik, (2004) suggests that 'In the case of Saudi Arabia, a "loose" definition of a social movement is an appropriate starting point: a solidarity network with potent cultural meaning.'[142] Singerman, (2004) adds that Western social movement theorists have been preoccupied with 'social' networks when seeking the foundation of social movements, and consequently have missed the point that networks have been integral to Islamic society long back into history. However, the reason that this has been overlooked may be that such Muslim networks are internalized and thereby opaque, even secret.[143] Tarrow, (2011) argues that 'extremism is an exaggerated form of the dramatization of meaning that is found in all social movements' and 'we see it (the negative view of social movements) most dramatically in the reaction to the militantism of Al Qaeda'.[144] According to Dumke, (2005) acts of terrorism are 'freak occurrences which stem from the twisted manipulated minds of the few "Them" (the terrorists) versus the many, "Us" (the civilized world).' As this thesis progresses we may see that the crucial word in this statement may prove to be *manipulation* in the context of the manipulation of young minds. In some perverse way this might be referred to as some form of re-education and it may be necessary to consider education in the broader sense and that it may not wholly be a force for good.[145]

McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly, (2001) invite us to consider repression which they argue is 'a predictable response to contention, with relatively predictable effects.'[146] Consequently, as one side hardens its position there is a corresponding response from the other. One strategy of the State may be to isolate and target leading activist actors from the mainstream protest group, cutting them out of the herd, but this may simply escalate hostilities towards a downward spiral of radicalization of the moderates.[147] Arguably, this study illustrates a clash of cultures but Williams, (2007) suggests that the meaning of culture is ambiguous and in

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[142]Okruhlik, (2004) in Wiktorowicz, (ed), p251. She cites Melucci, 1985, from Making Conversation Possible.
[143]Singerman, (2004) in Arabia in Wiktorowicz, (ed.), (2004) p154.
[144]Tarrow, (2011) p9.
[145]Dumke, (2005) in Al-Bishr, (ed), (2005) p22.
[146]McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly, (2001) p69.
[147]Ibid.

seeking a definition there are no 'right' answers.[148] However, he argues that culture remains a valuable asset within the study of social movements and cultural change in particular demands even greater academic exploration, because 'by moving inductively through the cultural resources used by social movements in particular settings, the "boundaries of the legitimate and the cultural resonance of symbolic repertoires can be revealed".'[149]

1.3. THE YOUTH BULGE

1.3.1. Youth Bulge Theory

Urdal, (2006) states that youth bulge theory tells us that 'exceptionally large youth cohorts, the so-called "youth bulges", make countries more susceptible to political violence.'[150] He goes on to state that youth bulge theorists have largely concentrated on the less intense forms of protest such as riots and non-violent protest, whereas he develops the theory to encompass 'internal armed violence',[151] referred to by this author in this thesis as terrorism. Giddens, (1991) argues that progression towards modernity presents us with a dilemma of 'unification versus fragmentation' but although 'modernity fragments it also unites.'[152] Consequently, as the Saudi youth bulge fragments under the pressures of modernity, some embrace modernity enthusiastically whilst it alienates others who fragment from mainstream society but come together within violent groups. Hilker and Fraser, (2009) refer to assumptions that are made about how youth bulges are viewed and how they are represented in literature. They cite Hendrixon, (2003:8) who states that youth bulges tend to be personified as a discontented, angry young man, almost always a person of colour living in huge numbers in Africa, the Middle East and parts of Asia and Latin America forming an unpredictable out of control force.'[153] Ryder, (2012) considers the issue of intergenerational conflict within youth bulges

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[148]Williams, (2007) in Snow, Soule and Kriesi, (2007) p98.
[149]Williams, (2007) p109.
[150]Urdal, (2006) A Clash of Generations? Youth Bulges and Political Violence. *International studies Quarterly* (2006) 50.pp607-629, p607.
[151]Ibid., p609. Urdal, (2012) p118.
[152]Giddens, (1991) p188.
[153]Hilker and Fraser, 30 April 2009. Youth exclusion, violence, conflict and fragile states, p12.
http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/CON66.pdf

citing the Arab proverb 'Men resemble the times more than they do their fathers,' [154] *(Arrijal abna' assrehim akther min konehim abna' aba'ehim.)*[155]

First the issue of the terminology of what constitutes a youth bulge requires some clarification since different theorists offer differing definitions. Table 1.1., below presents a sample of the criteria against which youth bulges are measured by various theorists, but what is evident from this sample is that there is no single agreed criterion. Weeks and Fugate, (2012)[156] identify three separate measures of youth bulges. These include 'qualitative and descriptive' such as those used in media and historical reporting, 'quantitative and generalized' originating in early youth bulge theory, and finally 'quantitative and bounded', examples of which appear in this author's own table below. From Table 1.1., it is evident that some methodological similarities exist but Urdal, (2004) argues that the weakness in the theories proposed by Huntington, (1996) and Goldstone, (2001) is that they 'measure the size of the youth cohorts (most commonly defined as those between 15 and 24 years) relative to the total population rather than the adult population.'[157] Krohnert, (2006) broadens the scope of enquiry, identifying that Bouthoul measured youth bulges in all areas of conflict immaterial of whether they were internal or between countries, and adopted this method in his own work. When measuring the conflict statistics against the measures of youth bulge and economic factors for the period 1950-2000, youth bulge proved to be the predominant factor, although in the period 1975-2000 the results were reversed. This largely aligned with the work of Urdal, (2004). Krohnert, (2006) attributes this reversal to a 'decline in fertility triggered by social and economic development,' and 'an extraordinary mortality in the adult population caused by AIDS' although according to the Saudi Ministry of Health, this is not a significant problem within the Kingdom.'[158] Heinsohn, although controversial, appears to be a lone voice in identifying issues

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[154]Ryder, (1965) in Weeks and Fugate, (eds) (2012) The Youth Bulge, p28.
[155]The Arabic translation of the proverb is as it is known in Saudi Arabia, this is not a literal translation of Ryder's quotation.
[156]Weeks and Fugate, (2012) p2.
[157]Urdal, (2004) The Devil in the Demographics: The Effect of Youth Bulges on Domestic Armed Conflict, 1950-2000. *Social Development Papers*. Paper No. 14 July 2004. The World Bank.
[158](i) Krohnert, 22 March 2006. The Formation of Extreme Youth Bulges and Armed Conflict between1950-2000: An Empirical Analysis. Paper presented at annual meeting of the International Studies Association. San Diego.
http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/0/9/8/8/9/p98895_index.html?phpsessid=kc57ppmedc9t6pa

relating to youth bulges as exclusively male centric whereas other theorists largely refer to *total population* but then ignore the female half of it.

Table 1.1. Definitions of Youth Bulge

Theorist	Year	Measure of Youth Bulge
Davis	1963	Percentage of population under 30
Bouthoul	1970	Very high percentages 18-35 year olds
Huntington	1996	15-30 year olds (particularly in Muslim societies)
Esty et al	1999	15-29 relative to 30-54 age group
Goldstone	2001	Disproportionate numbers aged 15-25 relative to total population
Helgerson	2002	Disproportionate numbers aged 15-29 relative to total population
The Corner House	2004	Disproportionate numbers under 27of age
Hart et al	2004	Disproportionate numbers in 16-25 age group relative to adult population
Urdal	2004	15-24 age group relative to total adult population (15 and over)
Heinsohn	2006	30%-40% of males belong to fighting age - 15-29
Cincotta	2008-9	Proportion of 15-29 in 15-64 age group.
LaGraffe	2012	Disproportionate numbers aged 15-24 as percentage of total population
Ortiz & Cummins	2012	Disproportion numbers aged 15-24 relative to total population
Lin (World Bank)	2012	15-29 age group
Schomaker	2013	More than 20% of population aged 15-24 (with 'children bulge' >30% 0-14)
Carter (Wilson Center)	2013	15-24 age group as percentage of total population
Lam	2014	Proportion of 15-24 in 15-64 age group

Fargues, (1994) considers the additional dimension of youth bulges by considering their potential life span. He argues that whilst youth bulges have the capacity to destabilize

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384g1od0ag2 (ii) Saudi Arabia claims to be the Arab country least affected by HIV/AIDS, 5348 cases of Saudi nationals infected since 1984. Arab News 01 December 2013. http://www.arabnews.com/news/485866 (iii) Saudi Ministry of Health Report,p19 2000–2013, average 445 Saudi males and 97 Saudi females infected each year. http://www.unaids.org/sites/default/files/country/documents//SAU_narrative_report_2014.pdf Update 03 December 2014, Arab News reports 2013 infections up 26% to 1777. http://www.arabnews.com/news/668561

societies in the short term, falling birth rates will bring an end to 'this demographic disequilibrium' in a single generation.[159]

This sample of range of parameters that are in use to define a youth bulge demonstrates the difficulties researchers encounter when attempting to make quantitative comparisons, since it is frequently a case not to be comparing like with like.

> *'Concentrations of young men (particularly third and fourth sons) disaffected with society through lack of opportunities for employment, social advancement and marriage are those most likely to follow a path towards radicalisation, terrorism and war.'[160]*

Heinsohn, (2007) suggests that rebellious young men are not a recent problem. He attributes genocides, early colonialism, even the rise of Fascism and Communism and the French Revolution to the youth bulge phenomenon. Goldstone argues that the discontent which culminated in 'The English Revolution,' could be traced to 'the extraordinary youthfulness of England's population in the 1630s.[161] Furthermore he suggests a close link to religious zeal and unrest during the 17th century. This may seem to have been mirrored in Saudi Arabia in the 1990s as Sager suggests for 'the radicals and the religious establishment increasingly seemed to share similar educational experiences and hold relatively similar views.'[162] Heinsohn, (2007) contends that excesses of young males in populations leads to social unrest, war and terrorism as they find no prestigious positions within their existing societies.[163] He argues that 'The answer lies not in ideology but in demography' and from evidence drawn from the Afghan conflict he disputes the theories that resistance to Allied forces is due to jihad or poverty, but posits it is instead born 'out of Afghanistan's baby boom.'[164] A significant argument outlined in Heinsohn, (2003) refers to strategies to address the perceived threat arising out of

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[159]Fargues, From Demographic Explosion to Social Rupture, *Middle East Report,* September-October, 1994 6-10, p3.
[160]Heinsohn, (2003) Söhne und Weltmacht. Terror im Aufstieg und Fall der Nationen.
[161]Goldstone, (1991) pp138 and 247-8. See also Goldstone, (2001) Towards a Fourth Generation of Revolutionary Theory. *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci* 2001. 4.139-87 p140.
[162]Sager, (2005) in Aarts and Nonneman, (eds) (2005) p252.
[163]Heinsohn, (2007) 'Islamism and War: the Demographics of Rage', Open Democracy.
https://www.opendemocracy.net/conflicts/democracy_terror/islamism_war_demographics_rage
[164]Ibid.

predominantly Muslim youth bulges.[165] Stopping just short of suggesting an all-out military offensive against a generation of young Muslim men, Heinsohn supports aggressive U.S.strategies but acknowledges that no short term solution exists, with a consequent need for commitment for generations.[166]

More than half the Arab world is aged under 25 and, in Saudi Arabia, this figure rises to around 65%.[167] Zakaria, (2003) argues that 'Globalisation has caught it' (the Arab world) 'at a bad time,' and Arab societies are going through a massive youth bulge. Zakaria continues that educated young men with little to look forward to are the potential constituents of protest. He argues that these young men are fearful of the pace of modernity and are unsettled when 'they see women unveiled in public places, taking buses, eating in cafes and working alongside them.'[168] Their fear would seem to arise out of a belief 'that the modernization of society brings about the secularization of its population,' and the public spheres that seek 'communicative freedom of publics to address issues of the consequences of Islamic regimes and laws for women, such as those sought by organization such as Women Living Under Muslim Laws.'[169] Fuller, (2004) suggests that a consequence of the combination of youth bulge and the strengthening of political Islam is that Muslim youth are drawn to shedding national identity in favour of absorption into the wider Umma.[170]

Urdal, (2004) argues that youth bulges have become increasingly linked to terrorism and civil unrest in the Middle East particularly after 9/11, and therefore given that 15 of the 9/11 hijackers were Saudi, by implication appears to link Saudi Arabia's youth bulge to terrorism.[171]

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[165]Heinsohn, (2003) Sohne und Weltmacht: Terror im Aufstieg und Fall der Nationem.

[166]Therborn, *New Left Review*, 56 Mar-Apr 2009, 136-144, pp139-140.

[167]Niblock, (2007) p228 states 70% under age of 30. CIA World Fact Book, 30 June 2014, 0-14 Years 27.6% of population, 15-24, 19.3%, 25-54 45.4%. See also UN - Saudi Arabia Demographic Profile Youth in Saudi Arabia which states 15-24 age group will decline to 13.2% of total population by 2050. http://www.escwa.un.org/popin/members/SaudiArabia.pdf Fuller, (2003) states 62.3% of Saudi Arabia's population under the age of 24.

[168]Zakaria, Newsweek 15 November 2001. The politics of rage: Why do they hate us? http://www.newsweek.com/politics-rage-why-do-they-hate-us-154345

[169]Bohman, (2013) Medieta and VanAntwerpen (eds) (2013) Habermas and Religion, p179 & p190.

[170]Fuller, (April 2004) The Youth Crisis in Middle Eastern Society p12. http://www.ispu.org/pdfs/graham%20fuller%20paper.pdf

[171]Urdal, (2004) The World Bank. *Social Development Papers*. Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Paper No. 14/July 2004. The Devil in the Demographics: The Effect of Youth Bulges on Domestic Armed Conflict, 1950-2000. p1. http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2004/07/28/000012009_20040728162225/Rendered/PDF/29740.pdfand: Sommers, M. The World Bank. Social Development Papers, Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction, Paper No. 32/January 2006:

His quantitative researchconcludes that there is statisticalevidence to support the hypothesis that countries with youth bulges have increased risk of internal armed conflict, and that the risk increases in societies wherein the economy is weak and there is high unemployment amongst theyouth of the population. Nevertheless, he refutes Huntington's claim that '...youth bulges above a certain '*critical level*' make countries especially prone to conflict.'[172] Charting a range of 14 vulnerable states for the year 2000, Urdal identifies Syria as the most vulnerable.This would appear to have been prophetic, but Yemen (identified as less vulnerable) has descended into civil war whereas Jordan which has an even-lower rating has remained comparatively stable.[173] This demonstrates the fallibility of the exclusive use of statistical data for predicting whether youth bulges will rebel, since as concluded by Collier and Sambanis, (2005) 'whilst useful for design and policy, qualitative studies alone are unlikely to pinpoint specific policies that reduce war risk.'[174] Alternatively it could bring into question the efficacy of youth bulge as an indicator of civil unrest, terrorism and civil war.

Urdal, (2004) adds that the fundamental basis for conflict within countries with youth bulges is the number of individuals making up the bulge. However, Goldstone, (1991) argues that where there is discontent, the mobilization of support for rebellion will depend largely on the masses' perception of the chances of success. Consequently, a prerequisite for a protest movement's success will be the ability of the 'bold' to convince the 'timid' to follow.[175] However, centuries on from Goldstone's examples of the English and French revolutions to a time of the new stable world order, 'the end of history' that would follow after the collapse of the Soviet Union predicted by Fukuyama simply never materialised.[176]

Fearing Africa's Young Men: The Case of Rwanda http://www.wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/IW3P/IB/2006/02/13/000090341_20060213142651/Rendered/PDF/351490RW0Young0men0WP3201PUBLIC1.pdf

[172]Urdal, (2004) p16.

[173]Urdal, (2004) p1 Table 6. Youth scores as percentage of 15-24 year olds compared to total adult population over 15 years -: USA 17.1 and UK 15.1 Syrian A.R., 37.5, Jordan 35.0, Yemen 36.8. Polity scores USA and UK, 10. Syrian A.R. -9, Jordan -3, Yemen 0. Saudi Arabia did not feature in Urdal's list of vulnerable states.

[174]Collier and Sambanis, (2005) World Bank. Understanding Civil War, Vol. 1 Africa, pxiv. https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/7437/344110v10PAPER101Official0Use0only1.pdf?sequence=1

[175]Goldstone, (1991) p137.

[176]Fukuyama, The National Interest, Summer 1989,The End of History https://ps321.community.uaf.edu/files/2012/10/Fukuyama-End-of-history-article.pdf

Goldstone argues that significant events from history can be attributed to youth bulges and identifies where economic decline has coincided with explosions of populations, particularly in urban populations. He argues that contemporary theorists have failed to give sufficient consideration to urban revolt. As an example he cites London in the mid-17th century where a population with half aged 10-29 coincided with an economic downturn and resulted in a collapse in the administration and civil order. Drawing on literature referring to the part played by young people in popular revolt, Goldstone concludes that the numbers of the young are disproportionate to the overall numbers of participants. He argues that youth bulge and economic deprivation mixed have the effect of a multiplicative form of mass mobilisation. Just as 18th century Europe experienced an educated class with little chance of employment within the government sector, Saudi Arabia today experiences a surfeit of educated youth, ill prepared to service the needs of private industry, yet mostly excluded from a saturated government sector.[177]

Urdal and Hoelscher, (2008) consider education in relation to youth bulges and explore the link between high and low levels of education, employment opportunities and civil unrest. They identify that in MENA[178] high levels of education offer no guarantee of employment, and identify that in Algeria and Morocco 70% of the youth population are unemployed.[179] However, there, as in Saudi Arabia, the youth regard higher education as an opening to employment within the government, but the fallibility lies in an education system that fails to satisfy the requirements of the private sector. Durkheim argues that education is neither an art nor a science but being situated somewhere between the two. Whilst it may be close to science, the theory of education aims to shape conduct. He continues that 'it in is our public schools the majority of our children are being formed' and 'schools must be the guardians par excellence of national character.'[180] What Durkheim theorized for conditions experienced in

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[177]Goldstone, (1991) p280.
[178]MENA -Middle East, North Africa.
[179]Urdal & Hoelscher, (2008) Urban Youth Bulges An Empirical Study of Asian and Sub-Saharan African Cities, p5.
https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/4299/WPS5110.pdf?sequence=1
[180]Durkheim, (2002) pp2-4.

early 20th century France appears to remain relevant in Saudi Arabia in the 21st century. A later chapter of this thesis seeks to establish whether the conduct and action of those members of Saudi Arabia's youth bulge who chose the path to violent protest and terrorism did so due to failings in the state educational system in contrast to Urdal and Hoelscher's, (2008) conclusion that 'low secondary education levels among young males aged 20-24 are strongly associated with higher levels of disturbance, whether or not large urban male youth bulges are present.'[181] Ostby and Urdal, (2010) conclude that the primary reason that educated youth stray into terrorism is that they are viewed as higher-quality material by recruiters whilst Urdal (2008) identifies that 'states with high literacy rates somewhat surprisingly have more violent events.'[182] Schwartz, (2010) illustrates the frustration that young Muslim men within a youth bulge experience, citing a case study from the border tribal regions of Pakistan. There where education is unaffordable, paid work non-existent, and war has been waged for a quarter of a century, jihad seems inevitability.[183] In the pursuit of robust prevention strategies more attention should be focused on the suitability of the provision of education appropriate for the job market, including quality of content and more equitable opportunities for all.[184]

Within his modelling Urdal considers the issue of regime type and concludes that the greatest stability comes from within either fully-democratic regimes or those that are totalitarian and autocratic. He cites the democratic peace argument, discussing why democracies do not confront and engage each other militarily and why democracy has a significant impact on the creation of internal peace and stability. Ironically, those countries in the Arab world presently experiencing youth bulges such as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait may find their security

[181] Urdal & Hoelscher, (2008) p18.
[182] Urdal, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. 52, No. 4. August 2008. Population, Resources, and Political Violence: A Subnational Study of India, 1956-2002, 590-617, p603. http://jcr.sagepub.com/content/52/4/590.full.pdf+html?&hwshib2=authn%3A1427195105%3A20150323%253A6059d91c-7ecc-455d-8f86-815c515edcc7%3A0%3A0%3A0%3AwXHXqp7BWBWo5ktiVBpPQA%3D%3D
[183] Schwartz, (2010) p12.
[184] Ostby and Urdal, (2010) United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization: Education and Civil Conflict: A Review of the Quantitative, Empirical Literature, p26. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0019/001907/190777e.pdf See also Barakat and Urdal, (2009) World Bank Policy Research Working Paper. WPS 5114: Breaking the Waves? Does Education Mediate the Relationship between Youth Bulges and Political Violence? p15. https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/4304/WPS5114.pdf?sequence=1 Urdal, Centre for Peace and Development (CRPD) CRPD Working Paper No. 2. September 2011. Demography and Armed Conflict: Assessing the Role of population Growth and Youth Bulges. https://soc.kuleuven.be/web/files/12/80/wp02.pdf

compromised by any move away from autocracy, since it is within the middle ground that the greatest threat to stability lies.[185] From their Muslim Countries Model, Goldstone et al,(2000) state 'regimes types had the strongest influence on state failures. Both partial and full democracies faced odds of failure *five times* as high as their autocratic counterparts did.'[186]

Urdal, (2004) identifies that limited empirical research has been carried out on the link between youth bulges and armed conflict.[187] He refers us to Choucri, (1974) and states that her research of 45 internal conflicts did not identify any substantial link. Close examination of Choucri's work on age structure, power relations and violence by this author does reveal inconclusive findings, as she admits. For example, the proposition that 'A high fertility population, (which will be relatively youthful), propels a state towards greater propensies for external violence' … 'the empirical evidence was not conclusive.'[188] A second proposition 'the higher the proportion of youthful population, and the greater the unemployment, the greater are the possibilities of dissatisfactions, instabilities, and violence.'[189] In this latter case the conclusion is that whilst there exists some 'circumstantial evidence to link youth to conflict, the more convincing argument is the combination of a youth bulge and 'economic depression.'[190] Collier, (1999) concludes that there is little evidence to confirm grievance to be the primary cause of civil conflict as dominant within the discourse. Instead he argues that economic factors are the primary cause with small groups with vested interests profiting from a continuation of hostilities, suggesting that 'greed was more important than grievance.'[191] Only Esty et al, (1998) claim a clear link and then only within internal ethnic armed conflict.[192]

[185]Urdal, I*nternational Studies Quarterly*. (2006) **50**. 607-629 Youth Bulges and Political Violence, p613.
[186]Goldstone et al, 30 September 2000, State Failure Task Force. State Failure Task Force Report; Phase III Findings., pviii.
[187]Urdal, The World Bank. Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction. Paper No. 14/July 2004. The Devil in the Demographics: The Effect of Youth Bulges on Democratic Armed Conflict, 1950-2000, p6.
[188]Choucri, (1974) pp71-72.
[189]Ibid.
[190]Ibid., pp72-73.
[191]Collier, World Bank. 10 April 1999. 28137. Doing well out of War, p14.
http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTKNOWLEDGEFORCHANGE/Resources/491519-1199818447826/28137.pdf For more on economic factors as a cause of youth violence see Collier and Hoeffler, 1998, On Economic Causes of Civil War, *Oxford Economic Papers,* 50 (1998) 563-573, http://asso-sherpa.org/sherpa-content/docs/programmes/GDH/Campagne_RC/War.pdf and Collier, Hoeffler and Rohner, 07 August 2006, Beyond Greed and Grievance, Feasibility and Civil War.
http://www.csae.ox.ac.uk/workingpapers/pdfs/2006-10text.pdf See also Fearon and Laitin, 20 August 2001, Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil Strife, paper presented at the 2001 Annual meeting of American Political Science Association, San Francisco Ca. http://web.stanford.edu/group/ethnic/workingpapers/apsa011.pdf .
[192]Esty et al, Environmental Change and Security Report, Issue 5 (Summer 1999) p51.

Consequently this absence of clear conclusive evidence would appear to cast doubt upon the robustness of the case for the link between youth bulges and internal conflict. Nevertheless Urdal's own study, which took the form of a Large-N quantitative survey using the unit of analysis as the country-year, led him to the conclusion that there was a definite link between the two factors and that youth bulges did indeed increase the likelihood of internal conflict. Staveteig, (2012) argues that the very term 'youth bulge is a misnomer' since some countries with high numbers of very young people do not produce demographic profiles in the shape of 'an irregular swelling' that might be expected.[193] For her, 'insurgency' results from 'alienation, frustration and marginalization' rather than from disproportionately high numbers of young people within a population.[194]

Urdal, (2004) provides a framework of comparative analysis that identifies the types of state wherein youth bulge theory can be readily applied and further demonstrates where elsewhere it simply does not fit. He identifies those countries that appear theoretically vulnerable to the risk of violent conflict resulting from the combination of risk factors which include 'youth bulges, intermediary political regimes and negative or stagnant economic growth…'[195] These he identifies as 'Zambia, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Yemen, Niger, Togo, Iran and Jordan,' with '…Cote d'Ivoire, Burkino Faso, Tanzania and Guinea,'[196] also at risk unless able to maintain similar levels of economic growth to those they had achieved in the late 1990s. Urdal refers us to Kaplan (1994) who states; 'In cities in six West African countries I saw similar young men everywhere – hordes of them. They were like loose molecules in a very unstable social fluid, a fluid that was clearly on the verge of igniting.'[197] Urdal further identifies Honduras and Syria as experiencing economic deprivation and youth bulges but these were countries, 'less prone to conflict as a result of their political regimes.'[198] However, a decade on from Urdal's essay, many of Syria's youth bulge have rebelled against the Alewite leadership and its violent

[193] Staveteig, (2012) in Weeks and Fugate, (eds) (2012) pp116-117.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Urdal, (2004) The Devil in the Demographics: The Effect of Youth Bulges on Domestic Armed Conflict, (1950-2000) p17.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Urdal (2004) p1 and Kaplan (1994) http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1994/02/the-coming-anarchy/304670/
[198] Ibid.

opposition to that political regime that Urdal saw in 2004 as the factor for stability, has

plunged the country into civil war. This has created a vacuum which DAESH has filled resulting

in one of the greatest mass migrations of refugees across Europe since the Second World War.

However, back in 2004 few would have predicted the chaos that would ensue for even as late

as mid-2014 Cordesman and Khazai argued that; 'No one could have predicted the course of

the Syrian civil war in the Spring of 2014...'[199] Urdal adds a list of countries that had already

experienced armed conflict, identifying Liberia, Uganda, Rwanda, Gaza, Burundi, DR Congo,

Angola, Etheopia Senegal and Algeria, which had 'youth bulges, intermediary regimes and in

many cases economic stagnation or recession in 2000.'[200] These examples would appear to

offer a strong case for the efficacy of youth bulge theory within these countries. By means of

comparison he identifies autocratic countries in the Middle East, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and

Oman as having declining economic bases but suggests it is that very autocracy that maintains

stability and any move towards democracy increases the risk of instability and armed conflict.

In a more recent study, Gehem et al, (2014) identify the Palestinian territories, Yemen and

Mali as countries with youth bulgies and economic deprivation, which are 'one and half times

more likely to experience conflict than countries with median youth bulges of around 15%...

And statistically, a 1% youth bulge increase is associated with over 4% increase in violent

conflict breaking out.'[201] Reinforcing Urdal's argument that youth bulge theory applies less to

the Gulf states, Gehem et al (2014) conclude that this is largely due to the ability of these to

'buy-off potential discontent and youth unemployment rates are especially high because

expats make up 50% (Saudi Arabia) to over 90% (United Arab Emirates) of the labour force.'

This author argues that whilst there is some evidence to support this conclusion it largely

represents an over-simplification of what is a complex situation in Saudi Arabia at least. The

theory will doubtless be tested in times of reduced oil prices, budget deficits and impending

austerity.

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[199]Cordesman and Khazai, (2014) p23.
[200] Ibid.
[201] Gehem, Marten, Mass & Schellekens, (2014) Balancing on the Brink: Vulnerabilityof States in the Middle east and North Africa, p18.

Table 1.2.

VULNERABLE STATES, 2000.

Vulnerable States	Youth Bulges[a]	Polity Score[b]	Annual GDPpc Growth 1990-2000[c]	GNP PER Capita Growth 1998-1999[d]
Zambia	42.1	1	-2.1	0.4
Kenya	39.8	1	-0.5	0.1
Côte d'Ivoire	37.9	-6	0.4	1.1
Burkina Faso	37.8	0	2.4	2.7
Syrian A. Rep.	37.5	-9	2.8	-3.9
Zimbabwe	37.4	-5	0.4	-1.8
Tanzania	37.1	1	0.1	3.1
Yemen	36.8	0	2.3	-3.9
Niger	36.7	-6	-1.0	-1.1
Togo	36.1	-2	-0.4	-0.3
Guinea	36.0	1	0.7	0.9
Iran	35.6	-6	1.9	0.5
Honduras	35.3	7	0.4	-3.9
Jordan	35.0	-3	1.0	-2.0
Some Major States for Comparison				
China	20.7	-7	9.2	6.3
India	28.2	8	4.1	4.9
Indonesia	28.5	-5	2.5	0.3
Russia	19.0	4	-4.6	1.6
United Kingdom	15.1	10	2.2	1.6
United States	17.1	10	2.2	3.1
[a] Defined as the percentage of 15-24 year olds over the total adult population of 15 years and above. Source UN (1999).				
[b] The Polity scale goes from -10 (autocratic) to 10 (democratic). Values close to 0 indicate intermediary regimes. Scores are of 31.12.2000. Source: Marshall & Jaggers (2000).				
[c] UNDP, 2002. *Human Development Report 2002.* New York: Oxford University Press.				
[d] World Bank, 2001. *World Development Report 2000/2001.* New York: Oxford University Press.				

Table 1.2. Urdal (2004) The Devil in the Demographics: The Effect of Youth Bulges on Domestic Armed Conflict, 1950-2000, p17.

Urdal and Hoelscher (2008) further develop youth bulge research from a starting point of a projection from the United Nations that by 2008 half the world's population were urban dwellers and by 2050 this figure will have risen to two thirds. In what they claim as 'the first cross-sectional time-series study to address political instability and violence at city level, …'[202] they draw on data from 55 cities across Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. When researched at this sub-national level they state that, 'the empirical investigation concludes that large urban male youth bulges do not seem to generally increase levels of social disorder in large cities in Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa,' but 'most importantly, large male urban youth bulges do not seem to equate to high levels of youth frustration and exclusion.'[203] Urdal (2008) further develops youth bulge research within a hereto unexplored dimension, that of the state (sub-national) level, in this case-study covering 27 of the largest Indian states over a period from 1956 to

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[202] Urdal and Hoelscher, (2008) Urban Youth Bulges and Social Disorder, pp2-3.
[203] Ibid., p17.

2002. India was the country chosen due to five armed conflicts taking place within that country during 2005. Research focussed upon which if any of the following factors contributed to political violence, armed conflict and Muslim-Hindu clashes. These were, youth bulges, increasing population on limited natural resources and contrasting population rates between religious groups. In this case Urdal reports that his study lends considerable support to the youth bulge hypothesis and within the scope of this case study, youth was identified as the only factor that had a direct statistical impact for increased risk of those three forms of political violence identified above.[204]

Bloom, Canning and Sevilla, (2003) examine the potential benefit to nations through the demographic dividend of youth bulge, particularly through investment in education. With increased urbanization labour is lost to agriculture, but the longer term 'demographic dividend' may be significant if wisely managed.[205] Saudi Arabia experienced intense urbanization as Ibn Saud broke the powers of the tribes and previously nomadic peoples settled[206], so that by 2010, 82.3% of the Saudi population were city dwellers adapting to major social and cultural change.[207] Finally, Urdal (2012) argues that for countries with declining birth rates and improving economic positions, the problems of youth bulge and potential violence should decline.[208] However, for some countries, including some in the Middle East, the forecast is not so encouraging.

1.3.2. Theories of Terrorism

Prior to exploring the various theories associated with terrorism we should first pause to consider the origin and meaning of the words *terrorist* and *terrorism*. Matusitz, (2012) tells us that 'Terror comes from Latin, *terrere which means* "frighten" or "tremble".'When coupled with the French suffix *isme* (referencing "to practice"), it becomes akin to '…"practicing the

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[204] Urdal, (2008) Political Violence, Population Resources, and Political Violence: A sub-national Study of India 1956-2002, p609.
[205]Bloom, Canning and Sevilla, (2003) in Weeks and Fugate (2012) p129. See Lin, J.F. The World Bank.05 January 2012. Youth Bulge: A Demographic Dividend or a Demographic Bomb in Developing Countries? http://blogs.worldbank.org/developmenttalk /youth-bulge-a-demographic-dividend-or-a-demographic-bomb-in-developing-countries
[206]Long and Maisel, (2010) p19.
[207]CIA World Fact Book. https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2212.html
[208]Urdal, (2012) in Kaufmann and Toft, (2012) pp130-131.

trembling' or "causing the frightening".'[209] He continues that the word 'terror' can be traced back as far as Ancient Rome and 'terror cimbricus' fear of the Cimbri tribes, around 105BC.[210] However, terrorism is a word that entered le vocabulary of Europe in 1793-1794 in the wake of the mass executions of the French Revolution[211] and Burke's observation 'thousands of those hell-hounds called terrorists…are let loose on the people.'[212] As Laqueur, (2001) contends, 'in Burke's view, a terrorist was a fanatic… an assassin – a murderer – and a thief and a fraud – not to mention an oppressor.'[213] By his description he stripped them of any semblance of legitimacy, but his use of the terms terror and terrorism were 'more labels than definitions.'[214] Nevertheless Burke belonged to a privileged class most vulnerable to any uprising of the masses and his position on the French Revolution should been viewed from that perspective.   But in the wake of the French revolution terrorism had entered the vocabulary of 19th century England, as Bentham, (1818) stated, 'The terrorist is he who obtains his seat by the motive of fear. This system may be called terrorism.'[215] Thorup, (2015) claims that the word *terrorism* was first used in August 1794 in the French National Assembly by Jean-Lambert Tallien in the context of the system of power exercised by Robespierre and in an attempt to distance himself following Robespierre's execution as the revolution turned upon itself.[216] Some French revolutionaries had used the term *terrorist* to promote their actions as those of freedom fighter and over-throwers of despots, however, Thorup argues that the more popular use of the term was as reported in *Le Courant Francaise* in July 1795 where terrorists were described as 'these bloodthirsty devils once again will come to cause political turbulence among us.'[217]

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[209]Matusitz, (2012) p1.
[210]Ibid.
[211]Laqueur, (2001) p6.
[212]Burke, (1812) Letters on a Regicide Peace. Letter iv to the Earl Fitzwilliam Part ii pp379-394 3.4.72.
http://www.econlib.org/library/LFBooks/Burke/brkSWv3c4.htm
[213]Laqueur, (2001) p6.
[214]Ibid.
[215]Bentham, (1818) p54.
[216]Thorup, (2015) p19.
[217]Ibid.

Having located the origin of the term and what it meant in the 18th century, what does it mean today? From the literature it is apparent that there are multiple definitions of the terms terrorism and terrorists. Pedahgzur, et al (2004) argue that so many definitions have been proffered and that agreement had proved to be so elusive that Laqueur, (1977) considered an all-encompassing definition that could achieve consensus within the academy was all but impossible; 'An observer would simply know it when s/he saw it.'[218] Consequently no single theoretical approach will suffice much for the same reasons that Borum, (2004) citing Laqueur, (2003) suggests, 'Many terrorists exist, and their character has changed over time and from country to country. The endeavor to find a "general theory" of terrorism, one overall explanation of its roots, is a futile and misguided enterprise. ... Terrorism has changed over time and so have the terrorists, their motives and the causes of terrorism.'[219] Moghaddam, (2006) suggests that those searching for appropriate explanations and theories of terrorism 'will not be disappointed in the number of theories available, although they may be disappointed in the explanatory power of each theory independent of other theories. In many respects, the available theories tend to complement rather than compete with one another.'[220] Schmid and Jongman, (1988) argue that many authors seem fatigued about the need to consider basic conceptual questions.'[221] In what appears to be a direct assault on Laqueur (1977), they state that an acceptable definition remains elusive but that the 'we know it when we see it attitude…leads to double standards and bad science and also, arguably bad politics.'[222] Pedahgzur et al, (2004) illustrate how Schmid, (1988) collated 109 definitions of terrorism through a survey he conducted by drawing on the input from academics. From this he constructed a definition (which is not shown here due to its length, and has been superseded by later version from Schmid himself in 2012[223]) with a further 250 definitions

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[218]Pedahzur et al, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 16 No. 4 (Winter 2004), pp777-794, The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism, pp777-794, p777 in which they cite Laqueur, 1977, Terrorism, p5.

[219]Borum, *Psychology of Terrorism* (Tampa: University of Florida, 2004). In this he cites Laqueur, (2003) No end to war: Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century, p5.

[220]Moghaddam, (2006) p15.

[221]Schmid and Jongman, (1988) p1.

[222]Ibid.

[223]Schmid, (ed.) (2011) pp 39-98. See also Schmid and Jongman, (1988) p32 Appendix B for selection of definitions.

offered by Easson and Schmid, (2012).[224] Pedahzur et al, undertook their own research in an attempt to establish what the word means to academics through analysis of their articles in three journals, *Terrorism* (1977–1989), *Terrorism and Political Violence* (1990–2001), and *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (1992-2001). They compared Schmid's 109 definitions with the 73 that they drew from 55 articles across the three periodicals. There appeared to be some limited similarities between the research findings, in so much as 20% of respondents agreed on terrorism 'as a method of combat, or a tactic involving a threat of force and violence used for a political purpose.'[225] However, the comparison also produced significant differences between the two pieces of research. Surprisingly, the contributors to the journals placed much less emphasis on 'fear and terror' and the psychological impact of terrorist activity.[226]

Kruglanski and Fishman, (2006) suggest that one of the fundamental problems arises from the issue of perceptions of what constitutes terrorism. They suggest what is viewed as terrorism to the injured party may be seen as legitimate action by the other, for 'motivations…dictate one's definitions,'[227] or as Schmid and Jongman, (1988) suggest 'one man's terrorist is another man's patriot.'[228] However, by means of example these following definitions are offered, chosen from a diverse group of contributors:

> 'The calculated production of a state of extreme fear of injury and death and secondarily the exploitation of this emotional reaction to manipulate behavior.'[229]

> 'The deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or threat of violence in the pursuit of political change.'[230]

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[224] Easson and Schmid, (2011)in Schmid, (ed.) (2011) pp 99-157 Appendix 2.1: 250 plus Academic, Governmental and Intergovernmental Definitions of Terrorism'.
[225] Pedahzur et al, (2004) pp780-782.
[226] Ibid.
[227] Kruglanski, A.W. and Fishman, S. (2006) The Psychology of Terrorism: "Syndrome" Versus "Tool" Perspectives. *Terrorism and Political Violence,* 18: 193-215, p201.
[228] Schmid and Jongman, (1988) p68.
[229] Schmid and Jongman, (1988) pp21-22.
[230] Hoffman, (1998) p43.

'Terrorism is a universal phenomenon, without a nationality or religion. It has become a major threat to world peace and stability of all nations. Terrorism is not a new phenomenon.'[231]

'Terrorist groups are organizations that rely, partially or exclusively, on terrorism to achieve their political ends.'[232]

As is evident, much is made of the various theoretical differences on the meaning of terrorism but the manipulation of the term in an empirical context can also have significant impacts. For instance the charges laid against Qutb by the Egyptian regime in August 1965. He was charged with 'subversion, terrorism and the encouragement of sedition', and his subsequent execution and elevation to martyrdom may have been the inspiration for 9/11 as I argue later.'[233] Thornton, (1964) argues that 'terror is a symbolic act'[234] but this author would respond by suggesting that it is less the act that is symbolic than the choice of targets. The leadership of al-Qaeda chose symbolic targets in the U.S: the World Trade Centre, the Pentagon and probably the White House or the Capitol. Similarly in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia they attacked Western expatriate compounds, and in al-Khobar targeted Oasis Village, symbolic in so much as it was the most prestigious compound in the region. Edwards, (2014) offers an explanation of why individuals join together in terrorism. She suggests that there is a link between social movements and political violence through drawing from Della Porta, (1995) Tilly, (2003) and Smelser, (2007). However, she argues that this work alone is inadequate to provide an explanation for the type of violent action that terrorists wage against civilian non-combatant targets. To address this issue she turns to Goodwin, (2004) and his work on cultural constructionism for she argues that at the core of the theory are the methods used by 'activists' to 'construct and communicate the meaning of the world around them.'[235] She

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[231]Al-Khateeb, (2005) in Al-Bishr, M.S. (ed.) (2005) p50.
[232]Weinberg, 'Turning to Terror: The Conditions Under Which Political Parties Turn to Terrorist Activities,' *Comparative Politics* 23, no. 4 (July 1991) p437.
[233]Algar, (2000) Introduction to Sayyid Qutb (2000) p9.
[234]Thornton, (1964) cited in Schmid and Jongman, (1988) p7.
[235]Edwards, (2014), pp182-3.

further argues that social movement theory is valuable for the study of both domestic and international terrorism since there is a pre-established link between globalization and international social movements. Finally, she suggests that the greatest challenge for social movement theory is in lifting the blanket of secrecy that terrorist organizations envelope themselves within, and how well a theoretical foundation created for the public sphere can be adapted for the private (secret) sphere of covert terrorism.[236]

Sageman, (2014) addresses the issue of what he perceives as 'stagnation in terrorism research' from a different direction whilst supporting Edwards' view regarding the value of social movement theory since as he states, 'a fruitful strategy is to apply the developing insights of social psychology and social movement studies to terrorism, since the findings about how we think, feel and behave are supposed to be universal.'[237] However, his prognosis for the state of terrorism research post 9/11 is pessimistic. He argues that contrary to the popular portrayal within the media, little empirical evidence exists to support the theory that future terrorists evolve through formal networks whilst they are in fact 'more akin to a bunch of guys.'[238] He is brutally critical of the methodology of the various intelligence and security agencies with use of 'agents provocateurs' and the inequalities of justice systems which he argues, presupposes guilt and manipulates what juries see in cases of young men tried for terrorism related offences.[239] Following eight years working with the Intelligence Community, his outlook for the development of terrorism research is gloomy, for he concludes that 'we have a system…in which intelligence analysts know everything but understand nothing, while academics understand everything but know nothing.'[240] In a somewhat unconvincing response to Sageman's article, McCauley and Moskalenko, (2014) agree that terrorism research remains overly dependent on modelling and that the system is flawed through lack of access to

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[236]Ibid.

[237]Sageman, The Stagnation in Terrorism Research, *Terrorism and Political Violence,* 26: 565-580, 2014, pp571-572.

[238]Ibid., p567.

[239]Ibid., p575.

[240]Ibid., p576.

accurate data.[241] Their argument appears to depend on what they feel they have learnt since 9/11 from data regarding Muslims in the U.S. and U.K., which appears to indicate that 5% of this group support suicide bombing, in the cause of radical Islam, but of this group, 99% do not actively participate. The conclusion McCauley and Moskalenko draw from this that 'there are two kinds of radicalization, radicalization of opinion and radicalization of action.'[242] This along with the contention that 'one man's stagnant can be another man's steady progress' appears to be the core of their somewhat lame response to Sageman's lament of 'stagnation in terrorism research.'[243]

In discussing the psychology of terrorism, Victoroff, (2005) opens by restating that terrorism is as old as humanity and that human nature is unchanging, but that the modern threat is enhanced through globalization, an upsurge in religious fundamentalism and the availability of sophisticated weapons to terrorist groups.[244] He stresses through citing Stern, (1999) that the threat constitutes a 'clear and present danger to the security of civilization.'[245] He considers the age and educational profiles of terrorists across different time and space but offers no demographic data specific to Saudis, although does make reference to the educational background of two of the (non-Saudi) perpetrators of the 9/11 operation, but his research on Palestinian terrorists largely reflects the age profile of the Saudi youth bulge. He cites Sageman's (2004) work wherein he identified that almost three-quarters of Muslim terrorist leaders had some level of higher education and nearly half could be considered professionals.[246] Victoroff, (2005) offers a dual approach to the categorization of terrorists. First in what he describes as 'top down' he covers the social, political and economic factors whereas the alternate 'Bottom up' approach covers the more personal issues of individuals

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[241]McCauley & Moskalenko, (2014) Some Things We Think We've Learned Since 9/11: A Commentary on Marc Sageman's "The Stagnation in Terrorism Research", *Terrorism and PoliticalViolence,* 26: 4, 601-606, p602.
[242]McCauley & Moskalenko, (2014) p603.
[243]Ibid., pp601-602.
[244]Victoroff, The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution.* Vol 49, No. 1 (Feb., 2005) pp3-42, p3.
[245]Ibid.
[246]Victoroff, (2005), p8. See Sageman, (2004), p74 and Krueger and Maleckova, Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is there a Causal Connection? *Journal of economic Perspectives,* Volume 17, Number 4-Fall 2003, pp119-144, p135.

and groups.[247] He argues that there is considerable blurring around the edges of the various theories and that the framework of rational choice and relative deprivation can be successfully utilized against this model. Victoroff, (2005) considers a broad range of theories in the context of terrorism. Here he considers the anti-social versus pro-social aspects of terrorism and draws on the work of Della Porta, (1988) and her study of pre-existing social links between recruits and the terrorist organizations they choose to join. Presupposing that terrorists are not mentally deranged, he broadens the area of enquiry into rational choice theory. However, within that sphere he finds that the weakness lies in the question of why, when large numbers of people remain in similar circumstances, do so few rebel? This is a core question for the study of our Saudi youth bulge since from the entire Saudi youth population only a few thousand have followed the path to jihad and even fewer to terrorism. In conclusion, Victoroff is scathing in his criticism of psychological theories of terrorism arguing that they are nearly a century out of date. He identifies an excess of theories and a shortage of sound research, and alleges that what little psychological research exists is fundamentally flawed.[248] Sinai, (2008) draws our attention to the importance of the root causes of terrorism, that they are complex and constantly shifting, and to be effectively understood need to be examined from the perspectives of all the actors, terrorists, governments and academics.[249]

All this leaves us no closer to a definitive description of what terrorism is or what makes up a terrorist group. Phillips, (2014) concedes that there is no '"true" definition' but suggests it may be how terrorist groups operate that sets them apart from others.[250] He cites an example of how al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula has adapted its strategy and tactics to hold territory in Yemen although he argues that this has done little to change the nature of the group.

Pape, (2003) considers the motivation for terrorist organizations to pick suicide terrorism increasingly as the weapon of choice. He dismisses religious fundamentalism as an

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[247]Victoroff, (2005) p11.
[248]Victoroff, (2005) pp33-34.
[249]Sanai, (2008) in Chen et al, (eds.) (2008).
[250]Phillips, (2014) What is a Terrorist Group? Conceptual Issues and Empirical Implications. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 27:2 225-242, p237.

explanatory factor, identifying Sri Lankan Tamil Tigers as the most prolific exponents of the tactic and their ideology being Marxist rather than religious. He identifies a 'strategic logic' to the tactic from the perspective of the leadership, which uses disposable assets to coerce governments to either give up territory or change policies.[251] He directs us to consider what Schelling, (1966) terms the 'rationality of irrationality' whereby the irrationality of the act for the individual is offset by the rationality of the audience that this act is just the precursor of things to come.[252] Durkheim defines altruistic suicide as virtuous within certain societies and therefore worthy of admiration and praise within those societies. 'When people are accustomed to set no value on life from childhood on, and to despise those who value it excessively, they inevitably renounce it on the least pretext.'[253] Whilst Durkheim talks in an historical context of Visigoths, Thracians, and other ancient civilizations, some modern societies claim no fear of death having unshakeable faith that 'heaven awaits.'[254] Durkheim argues that unlike in societies wherein suicide may have been an obligatory duty, a martyr has purpose 'because he has a goal, but one outside this life.'[255] He further argues that a man cannot belong to two worlds since he can only belong to one if he has departed from the other. He refers to religious suicide as the 'logical culmination of this asceticism, since the only way of escaping profane life entirely is to escape life altogether.'[256] Using the framework of social movement theory Henne, (2010) poses the question, 'does religion lead to greater destructiveness from suicide terrorism?'[257] He concludes that religiously-inspired suicide bombers cause more deaths than groups that acquire their motivation from alternative ideologies. Consequently he argues that research that fails to focus on the importance of religion in martyrdom terrorism will culminate in poor or failed science.

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[251]Pape, (2003) The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism, *American Political Science Review,* Vol. 97, N0. 3 August 2003,pp343-361, p344.
[252]Ibid.
[253]Durkheim, (1952) pp180-181.
[254]Author's interview with Mohammed, 38 years old professional who stated his unwavering faith in the inevitability of a glorious afterlife, and above all else his first love was his religion. Riyadh 07 April 2015.
[255]Durkheim, (1952) p184.
[256]Durkheim, (2001) p39.
[257]Henne, (2012) The Ancient Fire: Religion and Suicide Terrorism, *Terrorism and Political Violence,* 24:1, 38-60, p38 & p52.

Addressing the issue of suicide terrorism, from the framework of rational choice modeling, Perry and Hasisi, (2015), take a very different approach. They argue that far from being altruistically motivated, young suicide bombers are 'in fact victimized, both by their handlers and by the subculture of Islamic fundamentalism,' being enticed and indoctrinated through promises of the ultimate reward.[258] They argue that whilst glorying in the image of altruism, the suicide bombers are motivated by achieving the status of shahid (martyr) for the glory and material rewards that may be bestowed upon their families in this world and the free passage of seventy of their selected relations to the next. Added to this, comes the incentive of the promise from their handlers of the joy of the martyr's marriage to 72 black-eyed houris and what appears to be further remarkably earthly pleasures in heaven. Perry and Hasisi conclude that it is not important whether these anticipated rewards really exist, but it is important that the suicide bomber believes that they do and consequently they do what they do through rational choice.

We see above that latter-day suicide terrorists appear to seek glory and reward from the act of ending their lives and those of their targets. However, Aristotle tells us that the man who kills himself acts voluntarily, against the law, unjustly, but unjustly against the state and consequently, the state dishonors the suicide.[259] Silke, (2007) also draws on historical data to demonstrate that suicide as a strategy has a 'long and explicit role in politics and conflict.'[260] Citing examples from Thermopylae, Karbala, the Alamo, Japan's Kamikaze aircrew and Palestinian attacks on Israeli targets, he illustrates that suicide missions have been efficient, effective, and consequently an inspiration to those that follow. Hoffman, (2006) illustrates just how cost-effective these missions using 'the ultimate smart-bomb' can be.[261] He states that the average financial cost of an attack by a Palestinian suicide bomber is in the region of one

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[258]Perry and Hasisi, Rational Choice Rewards and the Jihadist Suicide Bomber. *Terrorism and Political Violence,* 27:52-80, 2015, p54.
[259]Aristotle, p143, 1138a 5-14.
[260]Silke, The Role of Suicide in Politics, Conflict and Terrorism, *Terrorism and Political Violence,*18:1, 35-46, p44.
[261]Hoffman, (2006) p132.

hundred and fifty U.S. dollars[262] whilst the entire 9/11 operation cost no more than half a million dollars.[263]

Much of what is discussed in regard to the theory of suicide terrorism comes from secondary literature sources.[264] To counteract this and produce authoritative data, Merari et al, (2009) undertook psychological analysis of imprisoned Palestinians convicted of terrorist offences. Three groups were studied, drawn from three separate organizations: Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad and the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade (Fatah). Within these three contributory groups subjects for study came from those charged with carrying-out terrorist offences, (the control group), attempted suicide terrorists who had failed to detonate for various reasons, and the organizers of suicide missions. Scientific comparisons between the groups identified significant personality differences. For example none of the control group displayed suicidal tendencies, wherein the martyr's group six out of fifteen did and over half were assessed as having depressive symptoms. Conversely within the control group, only one participant was found to display depressive symptoms. The ages of both groups were very close, with a mean age difference of just 2 months and all in both groups were single. Educationally both had low levels of education with only one (in the control sample) having attended (though not completed) university education. The greatest differences were found to exist between the two operational groups on one side and the organizers group on the other. The latter were found to be older (mean age 27.6), with higher levels of education -- one with a degree in education and another in religion. All were married and most had children. This brief overview of a comprehensive scientific study and report serves to illustrate the parallels between characteristics of the young terrorist operatives of the Palestinian cause and those of the Saudi youth bulge who turned to terror. The picture emerges of manipulators and manipulated, vulnerable young men, some depressed, used as disposable weapons by ruthless men with political agendas. These young men becoming the ultimate *'fire and forget'* missile,

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[262]Hoffman, (2006) p133, cites Nasra Hassan, "Letter from Gaza: an Arsenal of Believers," New Yorker, November 19, 2001, p39.
[263]Hoffman, (2006) p134.
[264]Merari, Diamant, Bibi, Broshi, & Zakin, Personality Characteristics of "Self Martyrs"/"Suicide Bombers" and Organizers of Suicide Attacks. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 22:1,pp87-101.

with similar potential for collateral damage, as the real thing.[265] This would appear to confirm -- as Outhwaite, (1996) quotes from his Habermas inspired work -- that 'this seemingly loneliest of deeds actually enacts a fate for which others must take some of the blame, the fate of ostracism from an inter-subjectively shared lifeworld.'[266]

In an attempt to assess the state of recent terrorism research, Silke, (2010) revisits Schmid and Jongman, (1988) whose outlook had been pessimistic. He seeks to make comparisons between the situation in 1988 and 2001. They had stated that 'there are probably few areas in the social science literature in which so much is written on the basis of so little research. Perhaps as much as 80 percent of the literature is not research based in any rigorous sense… '.[267] They cited a comment from one of their respondents who stated that he/she believed that 'there were really only about five researchers who actually knew what they were talking about, the rest were simply integrators of literature.'[268] Researchers were heavily dependent on secondary analysis through documents and interviewing and as a consequence no effective theoretical framework had developed. At that time over 80% of terrorism research relied upon secondary documentation sources resulting in issues of accuracy, bias, and what Silke refers to as 'audience context'-- the potential for misunderstanding between researchers, those subject of the research and the readers of the resulting papers. Silke reports that by 2001 little had improved and only around 20% of published articles added anything new to the body of knowledge.[269] He argues that one of the factors that inhibit progress towards a sound theoretical foundation in terrorism research is researchers' reluctance to make use of statistical data as part of their methodology. He laments that between 1996 and 2001, barely 3% of articles utilized 'inferential analysis.'[270] He compares this to the level of statistical analysis utilized in forensic psychology and criminology; two disciplines Silke argues have

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[265]See Defence Update, Operational Limitations of Fire and Forget Missiles. http://defense-update.com/features/du-2-07/helicopters_3gen_missiles.htm
[266]Outhwaite, (1996) p197.
[267]Silke, (2010) The Devil You Know: Continuing Problems with Research on Terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence,* 13:4, 1-14, p2.
[268]Ibid., p4.
[269]Ibid., p8.
[270]Ibid., p10.

marked similarities to terrorism research. Within these he found that 'some 86% of research papers in forensic psychology and 60% of papers in criminology contain at least some form of statistical analysis.'[271] The reasons for this discrepancy between the disciplines and terrorism research he suggests is that terrorism researchers invariably work alone and fail to expand their research far enough beyond the range of documentation review and getting close to terrorists is not easy. Furthermore, in many cases, they lack the expertise to collect and extrapolate meaningful statistical data to integrate into their qualitative analysis. Ultimately the prognosis is not encouraging with Silke concluding that little progress has been made over the past thirty years and little indication that this field of research is changing so as to be better equipped to predict future threats.

This sub-chapter in common with much of published literature has so far considered only the roles of males in the research of terrorism. This is largely because this thesis considers youth bulges and their links to civil unrest, terrorism and civil war, and drawing upon empirical data from Saudi Arabia there is little evidence to indicate that women have been involved to any significant extent outside of limited cases of logistical support and isolated attempts to join al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula in Yemen and latterly DAESH. However, across a broader spectrum of terrorism research, increased female involvement in terrorist activities has prompted a resultant increase in research. Jacques and Taylor, (2009) collated available literature on terrorism research from 54 publications and from these concluded that, as identified in mainstream terrorism research by Silke, little progress has been made since the earliest work on the subject.[272] Their interrogation of the literature produced interesting results particularly in regard for the motivations for females to turn to terrorism. Highest on the list (34/54) were 'gender inequality, education/career needs, humiliation and repression, and family problems. Other than humiliation and repression, turning to terrorism for the other points mentioned appears a disproportionate response. Alternatively 'idealistic' motivation of

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[271]Ibid., p10.
[272]Jacques and Taylor, (2009) Female Terrorism: A Review. *Terrorism and Political Violence,* 21: 499-515, p500.
http://dx.doi.org/1080/09546550902984042

'religion, nationalism, commitment to cause and martyrdom' had less than 50% positive responses (15/54), whilst 'in response to revenge and anger' was almost negligible, (5/54).[273] Jacques and Taylor lead us towards a sub-chapter on the role of women as part of the youth bulge and a brief review of feminist theory. Their own review of six articles identified that gender issues within the terrorism research context identified two distinct sets of analysis. The first, approaching the research from feminist theory argues that females are coerced into terrorism by manipulative men and that this is a continuation of gender oppression in a patriarchal society. The opposing argument sees females as willing, active participants in acts of terror willingly discarding the mantle of softness and femininity. Additionally Jacques and Taylor, (2009) identify from their review that Western and Arab media have culturally situated views of the profiles of females terrorist. Whilst Western media are prone to portraying female terrors as victims of a male dominated society, the Arab media portray these females as ideologically or religiously inspired.[274] Finally, Lahoud, (2014) discusses women in combat roles in jihad given that 'all Muslims – men women and children and slaves – have an obligation to go out to fight (fard'ayn) in defense of their territory and their faith.'[275] However, as Lahoud concedes, jihadists are not the only armed organization that denies women the option of taking up arms in a cause even though A'isha, wife of the Prophet is remembered as a politician and military commander who took to the field against Ali.[276] Lahoud identifies a cadre of women who entreat others to either take up arms themselves or to press their men-folk to do so. She cites a frustrated female author who is heavily critical of the failure of lazy men to take up jihad and of the religious authorities within Saudi Arabia who extol the virtue in jihad but fail to move beyond the theoretical.[277] Lahoud argues that in the final reckoning jihadi males fear the intrusion of women into their world, for the inclusion of women would

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[273]Ibid., p506.
[274]Ibid., p505.
[275]Lahoud, (2014) The Neglected Sex: The Jihadis' Exclusion of Women From Jihad, *Terrorism and Political Violence,* 26:5, 780-802, p780.
[276]Afshar, (1996) in Yamani, (1996)p199.
[277]Ibid., p789.

constitute a step into the future when in reality what the jihadis seek is a step back into the past to a time of offensive jihad when men were eternally victorious.[278]

1.3.3. The Invisible Youth: Feminist Theory

Saudi Arabia's youth bulge is almost 50% female, but issues concerning young women in this context have largely been ignored in literature and theories concerning youth.[279] Given that this thesis challenges prevailing youth bulge theory that contends that countries with very young populations and high levels of unemployment pose a threat of civil unrest, terrorism and civil war, this sub-chapter briefly considers the feminist theory and how it relates to Muslim women in particular.

 The Kingdom and the Islamic world in general may appear from the outside to be a patriarchal society, and consequently the issue arises of perceptions based upon Occidental/Oriental views of gender power relationships. Abu-Lughod, (2013) draws from her long-term ethnographic work with Muslim women to challenge Western theory and perceptions of the plight of the Muslim woman which she argues has its roots in Orientalism.[280] Said, (2003) tells us that 'the Orient was orientalised not because it was discovered to be "Oriental" in all those ways considered commonplace by an average nineteenth century European, but also because it *could* be - that is, submitted to being - *made* Oriental.'[281] He offers us the example of Flaubert's relationship with an 'Egyptian courtesan'[282] who he possesses in all regards. His power emanates from being male, Western and affluent, and as a result he not only spoke for her but explains to his readers that she is 'typically Oriental' and therefore subjugated.[283] Said argues that this exemplifies the power relationships between West and the Orient. Abu-Lughod, (2001) concedes that Said's Orientalism was not written with the objective of advancing feminist theoretical issues, but it at least opened the door at an early stage for

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[278]Ibid., p798.
[279]CIA World Factbook: Average Saudi male to female ratio;- 1.21/1.0. https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/sa.html
[280]Abu-Lughod, (2013) pp6-7.
[281]Said, (2003) pp5-6.
[282]Ibid.
[283]Ibid.

others to do so in the context of an 'orientalist discourse.'[284] However, she acknowledges that some feminist theorists simply do not think Said gives sufficient attention to feminist issues in their wider field of Oriental post-colonial studies. Kandiyoti, (1996) states that women's studies are in their infancy, particularly in the Middle East, but argues that the close links between Islam and culture has resulted in two polarised directions of feminist discourse. These strategies she contends are 'denying that Islamic practices are not necessarily oppressive or asserting that oppressive practices are not necessarily Islamic.'[285] These strategies she argues, allow for comparisons of the Islamic female as a cherished protected species compared to the more independent but sexually exploited Western female stereotype. She continues that anthropological enquiry reveals that contrary to Orientalist views of the alleged subjugation of Islamic women, they can lead full and rewarding lives whilst exerting considerable internal power and financial independence. This point regarding the status of women in Saudi culture is reflected in interviews with this author with both male and females.[286] Arguing from what some may see as a male-centric viewpoint, Abdalati, (1975) states that if the role of women in Islam is viewed holistically rather than in parts it can be seen that women enjoy 'rights and privileges which she has never enjoyed under other religious or constitutional systems.' He continues that women enjoy the same level of consideration but 'Equality and sameness are two quite different things.'[287]

Observing women from a different perspective, Assad, (1989) confirms the status and power that Bedouin women experience, and draws upon Katakura's (1977) research within the Bedouin community of Wadi Fatima in the West of the Kingdom, named after a woman, as many villages are.[288] Within that society women enjoy considerable autonomy and freedom including mobility such asdriving trucks in the desert. Similarly Assad, (1989) reports on the

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[284]Abu-Laghud, (2001) Orientalism and Middle East Feminist Studies. *Feminist Studies* 27, No 1, Spring 2001, 101-113, p101.
[285]Kandiyoti, (1996) p9.
[286]This author's telephone Interview with (i) Meesh 24 year old single professional female 23 March 2015, Riyadh. (ii) Interview with Mohammed 38 year old professional, 02 April 2015, Riyadh.
[287]Abdalati, (1975) p182.
[288]Assad, (1989) Current Status of the Literature on Muslim Women: A Case Study, *Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs. Journal*, 10:1, 171-198, p192 in which she cites Katakura, (1977) Bedouin Village: A Study of a Saudi Arabian People in Transition. Tokyo University Press.

power exercised by women within Jeddah's leading commercial families in family matters and how those of high status may enjoy a position above men of a lower order.[289] Even as early as 1977 Altorki was reporting ethnographic research which challenged the traditional Western view of the repressed status of women in Saudi Arabia. Her own field work (1970-71) during which she studied the role of women in elite families, demonstrates the power that women exert within those families especially in crucial marriage arrangements within 'kinship-structured' Saudi society.[290] Bullock, (2002) considers the issue of the veil and the Western view of it as symbolic of a patriarchal society and oppression of women.[291] Through her research she concludes that this view results from within a combination of ignorance, liberalization and modernization theory. She argues that those to whom she refers to as 'Liberal Feminists' persist with the belief that even veiled contentment constitutes a form of oppression.[292] Yamani, (1996) suggests that if the wearing of the veil in Saudi Arabia is viewed in the context of the United Nations Women's Convention it would appear discriminatory but once again this constitutes an Occidental view on something that is explicitly Oriental. She argues that to the Saudi woman the veil is not an acceptance of subordinate status, but a means by which a social barrier is erected whilst conforming to social norms.[293] However, al-Munajjed, (1997) reminds us that the wearing of the veil is not a requirement within Islamic law but is a legacy from previous Arab civilizations wherein it bestowed status and afforded privacy.[294] Connors, (1996) concedes that the convention may in part conflict with Shari'a and where it does, implore Islamic scholars to 'challenge the view that Islamic law is incapable of evolution.'[295] According to El Fadl, (2001) 'gender-related issues present some of the most difficult and complicated challenges to contemporary Islamic law, and it is imperative that Muslim legal specialists start to develop coherent and critical ways of dealing with these

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[289]Assad, (1989) cites Altorki, Women in Saudi Arabia.
[290]Altorki, Family Organization and Women's Power in Urban Saudi Arabian Society, Journal of Anthropological Research, Vol.33, No. 3 (Autumn, 1977), pp277-287, p277 &286. See also Yamani, (2009) pp98-99.
[291]Bullock, (2002) ppxv-xvi.
[292]Ibid.
[293]Yamani, (1996)pp270-271.
[294]Al-Munajjed, (1997) p25.
[295]Connors, (1996) in Yamani, (1996) Feminism in Islam, p366.

issues' to eliminate what he terms the 'despotism in practice of contemporary Islamic law.'[296]

In a more recent report Ridge, (2014) argues that education of women in the Gulf has facilitated a significant step forward to the point where they are better represented in the sciences than females in the West and that 'the stereotype of the oppressed Arab woman, who is denied opportunities for education and development, that is so popular in the West simply does not hold true.'[297] However, in spite of an apparent erosion of constraints on the freedom of women, tribal tradition retains power holding some women in its grip. As recently as 2015 there are reports that Saudi courts are inundated with cases of Saudi male guardians petitioning to prevent women marrying outside of the tribe. In an incident in Hail, men within a tribe attempted to prevent a woman marrying outside of that tribe in spite of her having her father's approval, even offering to pay the father to halt the marriage. In another case in the Makkah region, a man shot his sister to prevent her marrying outside of the tribe.[298]

Women's rights as they are today are a relatively recent development even in Western Europe. Consequently, given that Saudi Arabia is a relatively young nation, external criticism of the position of women in Saudi society maybe viewed from inside as unjustified, 'arbitrary and unfair.'[299] In the 19th century Mill's was an isolated call for emancipation as he argued that 'the principle which regulates the existing social relations between the two sexes, the legal subordination of one sex to the other, is wrong in itself and now one of the chief hindrances to human improvement and it ought to be replaced by a principle of perfect equality, admitting no power or privilege on one side or disability on the other.'[300] He refers to the difficulties in confronting entrenched opinions held by the most powerful actors and argues that the primary challenge does not lie in enacting change but simply in the outset gaining a platform for ones' grievances, with the greatest burden falling upon those who seek change against almost universal resistance. To expect people to give up principles that they have experienced

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[296]El Fadl, (2001) px-xii.
[297]Ridge, (2014) p59.
[298]Saudi Gazette, 12 August 2015. 'Tribal considerations still control marriage relations.'http://www.saudigazette.com.sa/index.cfm?method=home.regcon&contentid=20150813253229
[299]Al Qasim et al, (2003) p99.
[300]Mill, (1988) p7.

for generations and are a major part of the order within their life he argues, is unrealistic. It is an expectation too far for which people are ill prepared. He sees not a lack of reliance on sound argument but an overreliance on custom, for all those things for which no rational explanation can be furnished, instinct has been offered in its place. Mill identifies this as a characteristic of 19th century thought, unlikely to change from the convenient explanation of being the result of the will of God. At that time, whilst slavery in the Western nations had been outlawed, he argued that the enslavement of women perpetuated, albeit in a less overt form. The relationship between men and women perpetuated as one of the stronger maintaining dominance over the weaker. From the earliest beginnings of the women's rights movement pioneered by Wollstonecraft there was opposition from men and women alike. Having published the Vindication of the Rights of Women in 1792 she was, according to Ryan, (1992) 'about fifty years ahead of her time.'[301] This is a widely held perception within the West of the role of women in much of the Islamic world and particularly in Saudi Arabia where 'women are cast as symbolically important...the physical markers of social norms.[302] However, as Abu-Lughod, (2013) argues, the difference between the Atlantic slave trade and the subjection of women is that whereas 'it was the British people who convinced their own government to abolish the slave trade. ...In contrast, the consensus in opposition to the kind of violence against women...is about persuading men in *other* places to end their violence towards *their* women.'[303]

Just as Mill argued that the subordination of women was a waste of human resources, so was this echoed from within the stirrings of an Arab 'social and political' revival between 1912 and 1914?[304] Khalidi (2013) tells us of her own experience 'subjected to that odious veil.'[305] She introduces us to a little known Lebanese advocate of women's rights, Qasim Amin who attributes the decline of Arab achievements to the subjection of women through 'the veil that

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[301]Ryan, (1992) p10.
[302]Cooke, (2001)pp117-118.
[303]Abu-Lughod, (2013) pp61-62.
[304]Khalidi, (2013) pp44-45.
[305]Ibid., p45.

covered them in darkness, shutting them out from the light of knowledge and a free and untrammelled life…consequently the nation suffered from paralysis in thought and sank into lethargy and fanaticism'.[306] Like Mill, those who stand against the status quo risk criticism and ridicule. For him the timing of the publication of the *Subjection of Women* was delayed until he felt the opposition might be more muted. For Amin, it was accusations of heresy and derision by fellow Muslims in Lebanon and the banning of his books by the Ottoman overlords afraid that his writing would ignite civil unrest among the young. Morales states that Mill 'had to argue that women are persons before he could even argue that we are legal persons let alone that we should be treated as persons in all aspects of our lives'.[307] She argues that even after 150 years of progress towards emancipation and equal rights, the 'perfect equality' that Mill had visualised is still not fully achieved in Western societies. She argues that women are under much greater scrutiny than men in their professional lives and in some cases do not enjoy parity of remuneration. Whilst the assumption may be that there is justice and equality within the public sphere, it may be not be comprehensive within either culture. However, to create the change towards Mill's radical goal of 'perfect equality' requires a fundamental shift in attitudes in the private sphere which Morales considers radical even in the 21st century.[308]

1.4. CONCLUSION

This chapter has laid the foundation upon which the framework and structure of this thesis is built. It draws upon the seminal work of world-leading theorists across the generations and across the cultural divide. The gauntlet that has been picked up is to recalibrate theory as it relates to youth in general and the Saudi youth bulge in particular and thereby evaluate why, in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, a few of its youth bulge turned to terrorism but most did not. Upon the broad foundation of Social Movement and Rentier State theory, the work of youth bulge theorists who have approached the subject through both quantitative and qualitative methodology contribute to this analysis. Next, given that youth bulge theory argues that when

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[306]Ibid.
[307]Morales, (ed.), (2005) pxii.
[308]Mill, (1869/2000) p7.

large youth populations combine with high unemployment, civil unrest, terrorism and civil war may ensue, the next pillar interrogates terrorism theory and draws upon the work of Durkheim and others to explore the peculiarities of suicide terrorism. Finally, because females are largely ignored in the theories associated with youth in spite of the fact they constitute nearly half of the population, attention is given to feminist theory. This is approached from its early beginnings in late 18th century Europe through to the first stirring of an Arab feminist movement, and through to more recent feminist thought from both an Occidental and Orientalist perspective. From here the thesis progresses to consider what happened in events leading up to 9/11 and beyond and through the media of literature review, theory and field work reinforced by long term in-theatre experience, considers the reasons and to what extent there may be a case for a recalibration of existing youth bulge theory, at least as it is viewed in the context of Saudi exceptionalism.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter undertakes a review of a sample of the literature across a spectrum of issues relevant to youth, and in particular, Saudi Arabia's youth bulge and it seeks to be broadly illustrative. Within a framework of the pillars of Chapter 1, issues reviewed include those that have a direct impact on the aspirations and expectations of Saudi youth and what happens when these fail to be achieved. Hart, (1998) argues that to achieve a meaningful literature review, integration is crucial to link 'ideas, theories and experience' to apply 'method and methodology from one area to another', and to place events into a 'larger theoretical framework thereby providing a new way of looking at that phenomenon.'[1] That is what this chapter sets out to achieve. The literature reviewed covers a range of issues from education and availability of employment, to housing and other aspirational issues important to the youth of the Kingdom who constitute around 60% of the population. It further reinforces the theoretical foundation of Chapter 1 in reviewing the literature on Saudi terrorism in the wake of 9/11 and attacks within the Kingdom itself, and seeks answers from within the literature to the all-important question of why when some of Saudi Arabia's youth take to terrorism, the vast majority does not. Supporting the final theoretical pillar, literature on the role of the female half of the Saudi population is reviewed since females constitute half the Saudi youth bulge and have yet to feature in youth bulge theory. Finally, on a cautionary note, it is necessary to consider that however authoritative the literature, its weakness lies in it being time-bound. Consequently, even that of the highest quality remains static whilst time and events moves inexorably onward andtherefore, particularly when dealing with issues concerning youth, what was relevant a decade ago may be less so in the fast changing social and political landscape of the Middle East, and Saudi Arabia in particular. Consequently, whilst

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[1]Hart, (1998) p8.

giving due consideration to earlier literature--wherever it exists--the most recent may prove to be the most informative and valuable.

2.2. YOUTH IN THE LITERATURE

2.2.1. Danger in Demographics?

In his aptly titled 'The People Want', Achcar, (2013) addresses the issue of youth under-employment under the banner of 'Fettered Development.'[2] Herein he attacks Heinsohn's theory of youth bulge which states that young people's propensity to rebellion increases with improving prosperity and increasing population.   Achcar argues that Heinsohn's solution to the issue of youth bulge and the dangers he sees emanating from them is overly simplistic and at best misguided.   He challenges the thesis that demographics alone (disproportionate numbers of young people aged 15-24) result in civil unrest, terrorism and civil war.[3]   Achcar counters with an equally uncomplicated but much more plausible response that the problem is not one of demographics but 'the social and political conditions responsible for an economic situation thanks to which nearly one quarter of the youth between the ages of 15 and 24 are, according to official statistics, looking for work.'[4]   However, when considering 'the future of the Arab uprising', a reference to the Arab Spring, Achcar tells us that the primary achievement is that 'the peoples of the region have learnt to *want. …*The workers, the unemployed and the students of the Arab region have learned the "power is in the street".'[5] He further tells us that unless the countries across the region take a sharp turn towards 'reviving progressive social projects on a profoundly democratic basis, the whole region runs the risk of plunging into barbarism.'[6]   He identifies how groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood, and other religious fundamentalist organizations that have that had lain dormant for generations under repressive regimes, surfaced following the uprising. He argues

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[2]Achcar, (2013) pp42-43.
[3]The definition of youth bulge herein referred to is: 'population between 15-29.' There is no indication whether this is refers to exclusively males or may include females.
[4]Achcar, (2013) p43.
[5]Ibid., p292.
[6]Ibid., p290.

that alliances between the Brotherhood and Salafis create the conditions for the emergence of regimes with all the worst characteristics of Sudan, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. Achcar challenges the notion that democracy and Islam are incompatible and cites Amin, (2012) who draws a parallel between the political Islam of Iran and that of the Brotherhood.[7] He attributes what progress has been made in regard to such things as the rights of women, infant mortality and girls' education not to the regimes but to 'evolution of the modern world.'[8]

Urdal, (2004) argues, long established autocracies are those regimes least likely to suffer armed conflict with resultant stability of government and society.[9] As much of the Arab world had been swept along in the euphoria of the Arab Spring with their repressive leaderships confined to history so have they descended into the chaos of sectarian and tribal violence? Events would appear to indicate that Achcar's confidence in the power of democracy seems ill placed in the Middle Eastern theatre, and that the Arab world is simply too big and too diverse to make generalizations. Furthermore, returning to the title, 'The People Want', it is essential that scholars are clear about exactly who those people are. For example it is clear that throughout the Arab Spring that those people who took to the streets wanted improved conditions, employment and a greater share of resources, but it may have not been a Western-style democracy. History has taught us that it is much easier to tear something down than it is to build something better in its place and as Achcar himself argues, a Salafi-Brotherhood alliance is poised to fill the void. As one of this author's interviewees commented on the Brotherhood's concept of democracy, it is 'one man, one vote...once!'[10] As a further interviewee stated, 'we know what is best for us and it is our right to choose. Those outside do not understand us or our culture, and they have no right to tell us to do what they do or that we should be like them. We want what we want and what is right for us, not what

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[7]Amin, (2012) in Achcar, (2013) p290.
[8]Ibid.
[9]Urdal, (2004) The Devil in the Demographics: The Effect of Youth Bulges on Domestic Armed Conflict, 1950-2000. *Social Development papers: Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction* Paper No. 14/ July 2004, p11.
[10]Interview with Mohammed, a medical doctor and student of Muslim Brotherhood's theory and praxis. Riyadh 08 April 2015.

America wants us to want.'[11] As Achcar appropriately states, 'The People Want',[12] but it is who they are and what they want that matters.

Fuller, (2004)[13] argues that the youth bulge problem has the potential to be even more devastating in the long term than war and terrorism, identifying Yemen and Saudi Arabia as having the highest level of youth under the age of 24, with 65.3% and 62.3% respectively.[14] He describes the time it takes for a youth bulge to fade away using the analogy of a bulge passing through a large snake, the 'pig in the python.'[15] To service this youth bulge as it develops places ever-increasing demands on society, and Fuller illustrates that even by 2030 the Saudi youth bulge will have dropped only to 52.1%. He is critical of the Saudi education system, but his thesis diverges from that of many Western critics in so much as he does not attack the religious curricula, but argues that education has failed to prepare young Saudis for the job market. He also attributes a further factor for potential unrest to the sexual frustration experienced by youth resulting from the lack of housing, and delayed marriage resulting from the shortage of job opportunities.[16]

2.2.2. How to React?

Under the cover of a heading of 'radicalism', Fuller suggests a polarized duality of options for how Middle Eastern youth can react to the situation that they face. However, once again he deals in generalizations and fails to acknowledge that the needs of different societies throughout the Middle East may not be the same and that even within the region that there are significant cultural differences. First he argues that the situation throughout the region is 'intolerable.'[17] The war in Afghanistan and 'the overthrow of Saddam's brutal tyranny' stimulates a desire within the Middle-Eastern youth bulge who have a 'broad admiration … for American domestic life, the democracy…' to respond to calls from the U.S. to follow the

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[11]Interview with Saudi senior executive 11 March 2015.
[12]Achcar, (2013) The People Want: A Radical Exploration of the Arab Uprising. Cover, title.
[13]Fuller is a former Vice-Chair of the CIA's National Intelligence Council.
[14]Fuller, (2004) The Youth Crisis in Middle Eastern Society. The Institute for Social Policy and Understanding, pp4-5.
[15]Weeks and Fugate, (2012) p1.
[16]Assad and Barsoum, (2009) in Dhillon and Yousef, (eds) (2009) p81.
[17]Fuller, (2004) p9.

American model of Western democracy.[18] When these propositions are put to Saudis they are dismissive of Fuller's finding and suggestions.[19] No-one interviewed by this authorexpressed any desire for Saudi society to emulate that of the United States and resented external pressure that they should so do whilst at the same time acknowledging that there were material benefits for them to draw upon from the West. Even Sayyid Qutb, of the Muslim Brotherhood and an ideological inspiration for al-Qaeda, conceded that America was not without some virtue:

'Of the Virtues of America.'

'All this does not mean that Americans are a nation devoid of virtue, or else what would have enabled them to live? Rather, it means that America's virtues are the virtues of production and organization, and not those of human and social morals, America's are the virtue of the brain and the hand and not those of taste and sensibility.'[20]

In interviews with this author, the general response from Saudis to the overthrow of Saddam Hussein was that the invasion had been illegitimate and American naivety and incompetence in Middle-Eastern affairs had resulted in the chaos that exists in the region in 2015.[21] Fuller suggests that for those who reject the superior American model, the only alternative available to Middle-Eastern youth is a descent into radical Islam with all the perils that it entails. This author's interviewees again took issue with Fuller's argument, stating that the Middle East could not be dealt with through generalizations. The countries and peoples of the region we ethnically and culturally diverse and consequently had different requirements. For Saudis, they believed there was a third option, that course which the country and its people had opted to take, of a gradual controlled merging into a globalized society within their own model

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[18]Ibid., pp9-10.
[19]This authors interviews with young professionals May 17-18 2015, Junior and Senior Military officers in period 10-14 May 2015, Riyadh.
[20]Qutb, (1951) "The America I have seen": In the Scale of Human Values.
http://www.pdx.edu/sites/www.pdx.edu.sociologyofislam/files/media_assets/The%20America%20I%20Have%20Seen%20Sayyid%20Qutb%20Ustad.pdf
[21]The issue of democratization, America's role in Iraq and the country's slide into the chaos of war, and the rise of IS (DAESH) has been the subject of interviews and informal discussions throughout the period of the formulation of this thesis. Group discussions with young professionals 12 March 2015, and military officers took place 16-18 March 2015, Riyadh.

of Islamic governance, at their own pace. However, there remains an underlying resentment that external actors should believe that they have any right to exert pressure to make them mirror the Western (American) model. Finally interviewees suggested that given their view that Fuller had little understanding of Saudi Arabia and its people, but that as he had held the Vice-Chairmanship of the National Intelligence Council of the CIA, it was unsurprising that that the Middle East had descended into chaos following U.S. intervention.[22]

In a paper for UNICEF, Ortiz and Cummins, (2012) evaluate the impact of the global recession and its impact on pre-existing youth bulge and argue that the creation of job opportunities for young people needs to be a priority for governments.[23] Using a measure of lowest youth employment-to-population ratios, they report figures for 2010. From this, out of 50 countries surveyed, Saudi Arabia appears second only to Namibia and they state that 'in places such as Namibia, Saudi Arabia and South Africa, nearly nine out of ten young persons is outside the labour force. Their data for Saudi Arabia is incorrect.'[24] They raise the issue of job quality, and describe how across those regions experiencing youth bulges many of the youth have to compromise by taking temporary or part-time work and that up to a billion people world-wide are employed but live in poverty. Whilst identifying Saudi Arabia as a cause for concern, they fail to address the issue of the paradox of the Saudi-expatriate conundrum although perhaps unknowingly identify the cause in their discussion on job quality.[25] Whilst identifying the social and employment issues that confront Saudi youth, they overlook that Saudi Arabia has nearly ten million expatriate-workers when the Kingdom has a Saudi population of around twenty million, and that the demand for expatriate labour is constantly increasing.[26] Of the expatriate workers nearly three-quarters originate from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Egypt and the Philippines.[27] Furthermore, in spite of the shortages of jobs for the youth of the Kingdom, half

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[22]Interviews with Bassam and Ahmed, Saudi academics 10 March 2015, Yazeed, Faisal and Abdullah, young technicians, Riyadh, 18 March 2015.
[23]Ortiz and Cummins, (2012) When the Global Crisis and Youth Bulge Collide. UNICEF Social and Economic Working Paper, piv., http://www.unicef.org/socialpolicy/files/Global_Crisis_and_Youth_Bulge_FINAL_web.pdf
[24]Ibid, pp14-15.
[25]See Yamani, (2000) pp81-90.
[26]Arab News, 11 October 2013. 'KSA has 9.2 million expatriates.'
[27]Saudi Gazette, 10 September 2014,'85% expatriates are from 8 countries'.

a million Indian workers arrived in the Kingdom in the sixteen months prior to 6 May 2015[28]

and following the repeal of a moratorium on the exclusion of additional Bangladeshi nationals

into the Kingdom in place since 2008, two million workers await visas for overseas

employment. These include engineers, nurses and half a million housemaids.[29]

2.2.3. The Youth Bulge: Threat or Opportunity?

Courbage, (2011) takes an altogether more optimistic view of the youth bulge arguing that in

an age of increasing literacy it presents more opportunities than threats.[30] Whilst in the short

term he foretells of social disruption resulting from use of contraception and population

decline, and an increase in the age that people within the societies marry, he argues that all

these factor combined will lead to a more equitable distribution of resources that will

ultimately result in democratic forms of governance. This author would suggest that the

normative transition that Courbage envisions is theoretically-based, and will prove unrealistic

and consequently unattainable across all societies experiencing a youth bulge, and again

presupposes that those societies want the type of government that he envisages. He argues

against the 'clash of civilizations' thesis proposed by Huntington that youth bulges in Muslim

societies become a threat to security, and from Heinsohn that male youth bulges (particularly

marginalized third and fourth sons), lead to social unrest and terrorism.[31] Courbage links the

50% literacy threshold and reduction in birth rates to what he terms 'the dark side of

modernization', but that once this period has been passed through opportunities await. He

argues that Huntington's theory is flawed in so much as it fails to acknowledge that education

and literacy will change the way Islamic people think. Courbage presents a counter-argument

to Huntington's in which he states 'we are in the middle of a universal process of

modernization, a long cycle in which literacy, secularization…the Arab and Muslim world is

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[28]Arab News, 06 May 2015, '500k Indian workers arrive in 16 months.'
[29]Arab News, 14 April 2015.
[30]Courbage, (2011) in Khalaf and Khalaf, (eds) 2011) p79, also Khalaf and Khalaf (eds) (2011) p13.
[31]Ibid., p82.

currently at the heart of the transition to modernity.'[32] He presents data on Saudi Arabia that predicts youth bulge as percentage of the 15-24 years to total population by 2030 having dropped dramatically to around 14%, and by 2050 to 11%. These figures are significantly more optimistic than the 52.1% for 2030 predicted by Fuller above.

In a perceptive chapter, Singerman (2011) illustrates the difficulties faced by the youth of the region in regard to how economic deprivation has created a situation she refers to as 'waithood.'[33] Whilst she draws on research from Egypt much of what she reports has applicability across the Arab world and for Saudi Arabia's youth bulge. She studies the specific problems of resource deprivation and resultant rise in the age of first marriage, and the psychological and physical impact it has on youth. She reports that due to the economic realities of life in Egypt and the high cost of marriage, the average age of marriage is 27 years and over 25% of men marry between the ages of 30 and 40. Whilst the reported age of marriage in Saudi Arabia is a little lower at 25.9 years, in most all but the most affluent parts of society the option remains either to marry and live with parents or to marry later and rent.[34] High land and housing prices excludes young Saudi families from the housing market whereby as a result of being unable to buy housing they spend significant amounts on overseas travel.[35] For example, during the Spring (2015) half-term holiday, Saudis spent 2.8 billion riyals on overseas vacations[36] whilst during the summer of 2013 they spent SR 40 billion abroad.[37]

Such spending on luxuries is not replicated in Egypt wherein Singerman quantifies the cost of marriage as 'eleven times annual household expenditure per capita.'[38] Similarly the cost of marriage in Saudi Arabia remains a significant burden for young people in all but the wealthiest families in spite of the spending on luxury goods referred to above.[39] Whilst the ulama

[32]Ibid., pp86-87.
[33]Singerman, (2011) in Khalaf and Khalaf, (eds) (2011) p67.
[34]Maps of the World: Average age of marriage. http://www.mapsofworld.com/thematic-maps/average-age-of-marriage.html
Interview with Mohammed, middle-class administrator, 35 married and living with parents. 14 January 2015, Riyadh.
[35]Interview with Majid, professional with large family, 22 April 2015 who all take regular vacations in Europe and Dubai.
[36]Arab News, 9 March 2015. http://www.arabnews.com/news/715761 SR2.8billion = US&466 million approximately.
[37]Arab News, 15 August 2013.http://www.arabnews.com/news/461291 SR 40 billion =US$ 6.6 billion approximately.
[38]Singerman, (2011) p71.
[39]Group interview with young professionals in their 20s and 30s, Riyadh 11 March 2014.

encourage early marriage with the express aim of expansion of the umma, the costs of marriage increased significantly with improved oil revenues from the 1970s. The expectations of Saudi society for extravagant demonstrations of material goods outpaced the ability of young Saudi males to meet these demands, with consequent increases in the ages of those marrying.[40] This pattern of rising ages of first marriages is acknowledged as a worldwide phenomenon and though most acute across the Arab world it can, in part, be attributed to a shift from an agrarian lifestyle to urban living and economic conditions.[41] Under cover of a title of 'Love in the Time of Restriction' Ibrahim and Wassef, (2000) demonstrate how in the Middle East young people do not marry for love as marriage 'is considered an agreement between two families.'[42] They quote from ethnographic research by Hoodfar, (1997) and from an interview with an elderly Egyptian woman:

> 'Here one does not marry a person, but a family. Therefore marriage is much too important to be left in the hands of two kids….'[43]

Singerman illustrates the importance in the Arab world between marriage and the perception of being an adult. Given the largely economic causes, she frames the issue in economic terms stating that when a commodity (in this case marriage) is scarce and the price is unaffordable, alternatives are found. She describes various alternatives, the 'urfi' informal marriage[44] or mut'a[45] which is formalized for a specific period of time. The practice of temporary marriage can be traced to the times of the prophet and referenced in the hadith and books on Jurisprudence. 'To those of them (women) whom you enjoy, give to them their appointed wages, (4.24).'[46] Whilst not openly practiced in Sunni society in Saudi Arabia the practice persists in parts of Shia society.[47] Singerman concludes that youth that are deprived of

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[40]Al-Rasheed, (2013) p24 &p122.
[41]Rashad, Osman & Roudi-Fahimi, (2005) Marriage in the Arab World. Population Reference Bureau p1.
http://www.prb.org/pdf05/MarriageInArabWorld_Eng.pdf
[42]Ibrahim and Wassef, (2000) in Meijer, (ed) (2000) p179.
[43]Ibid.
[44]Urfi - meaning custom or convention.
[45]Karim, (2004) pp230-231.
[46]Al-Islam.org Four Pillars of Mut'a, http://www.al-islam.org/muta-temporary-marriage-in-islamic-law-sachiko-murata/four-pillars-muta
[47]Interview with Bassam, Riyadh, 22 January 2015.

economic security and sexual fulfillment are unlikely to become valuable contributors to society and that governments should seek solutions rather than remedies to resultant transgressions.

2.2.4. Dissident Views

Yamani, (2011) argues against what she terms the alienation of Saudi youth under a repressive regime and that the nation's youth 'aspire for democratic representation that state paternalism has historically denied.'[48] In an otherwise authoritative narrative (she is Saudi) she makes several claims which this author's own research could not substantiate. Whilst she is correct in stating that communication has transformed the way Saudis see the world, this author's interviews with young Saudis did not confirm that their 'foremost' desire was for democratic representation.[49] Most recently in the wake of the violent upheaval throughout the Middle East and on the Saudi borders, interviewees identified peace and political stability as their foremost concern and that they stated was best delivered within the framework of al-Saud leadership. Now, they argue is not the time for such radical change.[50] There is clear evidence that as Yamani states that 'tribes and sects have preserved their cultural distinctiveness', but now most argue is the time for the country to act as one.[51] Yamani is also correct in her identification of the difficult issue of minorities within the Kingdom and these are considered in greater detail in Chapter 4 of this thesis. However, her suggestion that the Eastern Province could secede from the Kingdom to join a "Greater Bahrain in a Republic of Hajr" is unthinkable. The publication date of Yamani's (2011) paper coincided with unrest in Bahrain which resulted in GCC troops entering the island Kingdom.[52] Saudi Arabia and the GCC as a whole will not permit a Shia take-over of the oil-rich Eastern Province as without the

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[48]Yamani, (2011) in Khalaf, and Khalaf, (eds) (2011) p112.
[49]Ibid.
[50]Discussions with a wide range of interviewees on the subject of their priorities. e.g. Group discussion with six young professionals, 13 March 2015, Riyadh.
[51]Ibid., p113. Note: The Shia spoken with did not appear to identify with the Houthis of Yemen during the ongoing war on the Southern Border during the Spring of 2015 and stated that the Kingdom needed cohesion in time of war.
[52]BBC News, 14 March 2011. Gulf States Send Forces to Bahrain Following Protests. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12729786 See also Bradley, (2012) p97.

latter; the al-Saud rentier economy would collapse.[53] However, this author during more than a quarter of a century living in the Eastern Province (notwithstanding the unrest of 1979 in Sehat and Qatif) has never once heard the issue of secession countenanced by Sunnis, and for Shia it was acknowledged as simply unattainable.

Yamani, (2011) argued that Saudi youth were further 'alienated' by what she termed the 'secretive royal maneuverings for authority' and issues of uncertainty over succession and aged leaders. Four years on and both issues have been addressed and will be covered in more detail later in this thesis.   However, for now, the accession of King Salman and the appointment of Mohammed bin Naif and Mohammed bin Salman as First and Second Crown Princes appears to the population at large to have been seamless and widely welcomed, and given that the latter is in his early 30s, addresses the issue of aged leaders. Finally, that the youth of Saudi Arabia want more is not in dispute, however, this researcher's findings identify that at this time it is not as Yamani suggests, 'a new political narrative.'[54] They want more of those material things such as accessibility to finance for housing to facilitate marriage for, as Yamani herself reports, 65% of the population do not own houses.[55]

2.2.5. An Issue of Focus

Fugate, (2012) argues that a fundamental weakness in the study of youth bulge lies in the concentration of research at the national level whilst research has identified that '95 percent of all post-cold war conflict has occurred within national boundaries.'[56] Consequently, she argues that if a social science is to benefit from data on issues of youth bulge and conflict, what she terms 'geodemographics – spatially explicit demographic data' must be utilized that is proportionate to the extent of the conflict at the sub-national level.[57] Her conclusion is that if conflict and terrorism are to be avoided, issues of demography and youth bulge must be

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[53]For explanation of rentier economies see Al-Thani, (2012) p28. See also Dawisha, (2013) p40.
[54]Yamani, (2011) p125.
[55]Ibid., p119.
[56]Fugate, (2012) p94, citing Harbom and Wallensteen, 2005 and 2007.
[57]Ibid.

more widely researched and better understood. She directs us to Moller who she suggests may be regarded as one of the first to link large youth bulges to occurrences of violence and civil strife. Moller, (1968) describes the Protestant Reformation in Europe as a significant youth movement which was fueled by a population explosion coincident with times of high unemployment, though he cautions that not all significant movements can be attributed to youth. To illustrate this point he identifies the 'Enlightenment' and the 'Catholic Counter-Reformation.'[58] He further identifies the impact that youth have had on social change citing how the Bosnian youth movement ignited the spark that started World War I and how over four and a half million first-time voters swept Hitler to power in 1930. Moller concludes that societal change results from the conditions that youth experience. Whilst under certain circumstances youth may provide a dividend, it may become a force that is destructive and overthrows the status quo. Weeks, (2012) frames the dividend in terms of 'good' and 'evil', the 'good' appearing as economic development, wider economic prosperity, and more equitable distribution of wealth, whilst the 'evil' is violent civil unrest and terrorism.[59] He identifies the factors that will tilt the balance one way or the other, the first being the state of the economy and distribution of resources. Next, he argues that those societies that exclude the female half of their populations waste half of their natural resources and consequently are susceptible to longer periods of youth bulge. He suggests that worker migration may act as a safety valve but in Saudi Arabia that option does not exist as Saudi youth generally lack the skill sets and work ethic[60] that make them attractive to international employers. Furthermore they generally lack mobility for employment outside of their own family areas.[61] Finally Weeks identifies the most important factor relating to the duration of youth bulge as being the rate of births, since until the birth rates declines the problem will persist.

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[58]Moller, (1968) in Weeks and Fugate, (eds) (2012) p48.
[59]Weeks, (2012) in Weeks and Fugate, (eds) (2012) p155.
[60]Niblock with Malik, (2007) p170.
[61](i) Ibid. (ii) Author's interview with Head of Saudi recruitment agency, 17 January 2014, Riyadh. He reports difficulties filling employment vacancies by placing young qualified Saudis into well paid positions due to their reluctance to relocate outside home areas.

2.2.6. A Researcher's View

In his historical social and political overview of Saudi Arabia, Ménoret (2005) takes us from the birth of the Saudi state, via the economy, to the issues of youth and education, including that of women and their role in Saudi society along with the centrality of religion. It is only reasonable to acknowledge that this was written a decade before this thesis and much has changed in the mean-time.[62] Consequently that generation 'of shipwrecked youth' to which he refers will now be around thirty and today's youth bulge were in elementary school in 2005 when he wrote.[63] Ménoret's reporting appears in places to be confused. For example, in attempting to demonstrate the transition from ancient to modern through the medium of town planning, he writes in 2005 that 'The collision between the two worlds can sometime be dramatic, most notably in the Eastern conurbation of Dammam-Dhahran-Khobar, where the 'native' town exists alongside a 'Western' town, the citadel of Aramco, surrounded by fences and tightly controlled entrances.'[64] In the 1970s it was indeed much as he describes it but since Saudi Arabia achieved full ownership of what became Saudi Aramco in 1980[65] it underwent rapid Saudization of both professional and domestic space and by the 1990s was no longer the Western town that he suggests, although remaining a largely closed community.[66]

Ménoret argues that between 1985 and 2005 Saudi society transformed from the traditional and rural to the more individualistic and urbanized. This is in part correct in so much the population has become largely urbanized, but this researcher's own observations (and those gained from discussions with older Saudis) consider that the process started long before 1985 and may be traced back to the to the early part of the reign of Ibn'Saud.[67] Furthermore, this author's interviewees took issue with Ménoret's findings that the 'model, centred on the

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[62]'The Saudi Enigma' and issues relating to youth in Saudi society were the subject of discussion between this author and Ménoret, 28 March 2013 Abu Dhabi.
[63]Ménoret, (2005) p195.
[64]Ibid., p161.
[65]Cordesman, (2003) p472.
[66]This researcher's personal observation of Aramco and surrounding areas as a resident of Dhahran/al-Khobar 1973-2007.
[67]Interview with Abdulaziz and Ahmed, retired professionals in their 60s, 19 February 2014, Riyadh.

extended family had given way to a fragmented society in which the dominant form is the nuclear family of parents and children.'[68] They argued that for the youth of the Kingdom it is 'family first and tribe second.'[69] This author's interviewees agreed that there was a gradual drift away from multi-generational occupation of houses, but that this was still common and those who left home would visit parents several times a week. Modernization might mean that they visited a smaller circle of relations during Eids, instead sending text messages to the more distant relations,[70] but in matters of marriage the mother was central and in times of trouble it was the father who the family turned to. However, things were changing and not always for the better. The recent phenomenon of teenage girls running away from home following arguments with the family was unheard of in the past and is seen as an unwelcome consequence of modernization and particularly social media.[71]

Ménoret does however address the crucial question 'does the educational system turn out terrorists?'[72] He argues that the fundamental problem facing the Kingdom and its educational policy is more economic than ideological. He correctly concludes that the numbers who have turned to violence are 'a tiny minority' and that whilst the Saudi curriculum is a religious one; he argues that it is not where the cause of terrorism is to be found.[73] Ménoret concedes that the causes of terrorism are complex and develops his argument further into what he terms 'the re-Islamification of young people', which he argues 'like most social movements, …must be attributed to a multiplicity of causes, not to some official aim of strengthening the hold of Islam over society.'[74] Consequently whilst arguing that the cause of Saudi terrorism cannot be found in its educational system, he appears to favor relative deprivation. However, as will be seen from evidence documented in Chapter 4 of this thesis, this author will offer an alternative explanation.

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[68]Ménoret, (2005) p218.
[69]Interviews: see note 60 above. Also interviews with Majid and Abdulillah and Fahd, professionals in their 20s and 30s, 14 May 2014, Riyadh.
[70]'Eid al-Fitr Muslim religious holidays following Ramadan. Eid al-Adha, Festival of the Sacrifice 10th day of Dhu al Hijjah http://www.islamawareness.net/Eid/detailed.html
[71]Interview with Majed, Professional in private sector, 20 May 2015, Riyadh.
[72]Ménoret, (2005) pp201-207.
[73]Ibid., p203.
[74]Ibid., p204.

2.3. TERRORISM IN THE LITERATURE

2.3.1. A Brief Introduction

This sub-chapter briefly considers literature on terrorism in two phases, that written before 9/11 and the much greater volume that followed when the academy awoke to realization that terrorism had entered a new age. Some attention is also focused on those factors that may have inspired young men to turn to violence in the name of God. Terrorism has a history that can be traced back through millennia,[75] Walsh and Hemmens, (2011) refer to the Jewish Sicarii of 70 C.E. and their guerilla war against the Roman occupation forces, but understanding of guerilla warfare remains limited, due in part to research efforts having been concentrated into conventional warfare.[76] There are two aspects to the literature worthy of consideration, the first being the quality and the second being the quantity which has become an ever more important factor since 9/11. As far back as 1988, 90% of the literature on terrorism had been written since 1969. However, at the present rate of production over 90% on this subject will have been published since 2001.[77] Silke, (2008) demonstrates that the numbers of books published (in English) in the year 2000 (150) rose to 1767 by 2002, and has continued at a rate of over 1000 each year with more books on terrorism published between 2001 and 2006 than in the previous half-century. 9/11 ignited a new industry in the production of books and articles on terrorism and refocused attention towards the Middle East, Saudi Arabia, and by implication those of its youth bulge who turned to terrorism. Given that so many authors direct their attention to terrorism, the Middle East, and Saudi Arabia, without access to the terrorists themselves or entry into the theatre of terrorists operations, this leaves most dependent upon secondary sources.[78]

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[75]Walsh and Hemmens, (2011) p403. See also: League of NationsConvention for the Prevention and Punishment of Terrorism,19 November 1937, Geneva. http://www.wdl.org/en/item/11579/
[76]Silke, (2007) in Ranstorp, (ed) (2007) p76.
[77]Silke, (2008) in Chen et al. (2008) in which he cites Schmid and Jongman, (1988).
[78]Dolnik, (2013) p3, Burgess et al, (2005) p21.

2.3.2. Methodological Strategy to Terminology

Methodological strategy has an important part to play in terrorism research and Maskaliunaite, (2014) evaluates the pros and cons of quantitative and qualitative approaches.[79] She argues that quantitative methods are valuable in research in general and in terrorism research in particular[80] a view also taken by Silke, (2008) who welcomes a trend towards statistical approaches.[81] Maskaliunaite views the quantitative approach as having the advantage to facilitate 'large generalizations and create parsimonious theories that could inform decision-making on terrorism.'[82] However, she concedes that there are certain weaknesses also, in so much as the data extracted is only as good as the quality of the incoming data and the appropriateness of the methodology and the robustness of the measurement protocols.Furthermore, it is possible that differing interpretations of the same data by different researchers could lead to conflicting conclusions. She argues that the softer approach to research within a qualitative methodology is inhibited by the limited case studies and information on terrorists and their leaders through the very elusiveness of the research subjects.[83] Ellis, (2008) argues that the need for an interdisciplinary approach to terrorism studies has led to 'theoretical confusion', with 'little distinction between the 'popular and the scientific.'[84]

Silke, (2008) produces some extraordinary data and statistics on the study of terrorist groups.[85] For example, he shows that prior to 9/11, and despite of attacks on the U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam in 1998[86] and USS Cole in 2000,[87] al-Qaeda attracted little research attention. He demonstrates that between 1989 and September 2001 less than half of one

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[79]Maskaliunaite, (2014) in Milosevic and Rekawek, (2014) p10.
[80]Ibid.
[81]Silke, (2008) p27.
[82]Maskaliunaite, (2014) p10.
[83]See Flick, (2009) p121 and Choy, (2014) The Strengths and Weaknesses of Research Methodology: Comparison and Complimentary between Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and social science (IOSR-JHSS)* Vol 19, Issue 4, Ver. III (April 2014) pp99-104, p101. See also Bobeicca et al, (2008) in Chen et al, (eds) (2008) pp115-139.
[84]Ellis, (2008) p144.
[85]Silke, (2008) p38.
[86]CNN US Embassy Bombings. 12 March 2015. Nairobi and Dar es Salaam attacks August 15 1998. http://edition.cnn.com/2013/10/06/world/africa/africa-embassy-bombings-fast-facts/
[87]FBI.gov The USS Cole Bombings October 12 2000. http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/history/famous-cases/uss-coleFor more on USS Cole and 9/11, and use of Dubai as transit route see Davidson, (2008) p294.

percent of research papers were on al-Qaeda, and that represented just two articles. By 2008 the focus of attention shifted to such an extent that articles on this group increased by a factor of twenty-seven, and at that time this represented one out of every seven articles published.[88] Reinforcing the argument of an upsurge in interest in terrorism and al-Qaeda, Gerges, (2011), reports that 'there is no better yardstick to measure the demand for the study of terrorism than the number of post-graduate students and doctoral candidates who specialize in the topic.'[89] He states that the trend is reflected across 'top Western universities' as students 'follow research funding.'[90]

As seen in Chapter 2 most literature on terrorism opens with discussion regarding the definition of the term or more accurately the controversy that persists in regard to the failure of the academy to reach consensus on a single acceptable explanatory description.[91] Silke, (2004) argues that given that there exists no universal agreement on the definition, it is unsurprising that the international response has been similarly inconsistent, with the confusion reflected in the widely differing responses from governments with some even 'prepared to tolerate it or even support it.'[92] Contrary to authors who have agonized over the definition of terrorism, the contributors to Kushner's *The Future of Terrorism,* (1998) bypass this concern and 'chose instead to discuss terrorism without detailed discussions about the problem with the problem definition.'[93] In a comprehensive and thought-provoking collection of essays published three years before 9/11, Kushner argues that the Iranian revolution heralded in a new era of terrorism. He brings together a group of authors who variously consider the threats from terrorism on both the domestic and international stage perpetrated by actors who may have been U.S., born, immigrants or aliens. They look at how terrorism may be combated and what the future might hold, and what are those conditions that may act as catalysts to violent action against the state and civilians.

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[88]Silke, (2008) pp38-39.
[89]Gerges, (2011) p13.
[90]Ibid.
[91]This issue is discussed in Chapter 2 above but see also Houen, (2002) p7.
[92]Silke, (ed) (2004) p4. See also Kushner, (1998) pp4-5.
[93]Kushner, (ed), (1998) piv.

2.3.3. Homeland Terrorism: Clouded by Time

Kelly, (1998) reminds us that the United States was not immune from terrorist attacks throughout the 1960s and 1970s, even though for most time has eroded the memory.[94] Close inspection of the history of terrorism in the U.S. since the assassination of Abraham Lincoln shows an extraordinary list of terrorist acts including for example the assassination of four Presidents and attacks on several more, the murder of numerous politicians, bombings of aircraft, the suicide bombings of a school, and the simultaneous bombing of the Yugoslav embassies in 6 cities across the United States and Canada in January 1967.[95] In a perceptive article for CNN, Lauter and Pitcavage, (2015) reflect on domestic terrorism in the U.S. and circumstances leading up to and during the twenty years since the Oklahoma Federal building attack.[96] They report that the FBI were caught totally unaware, their intelligence operations focused on Puerto Rican extremists, environmental activists, and animal right campaigners, with the consequence that their 1994 Annual Terrorist report having only a single paragraph on domestic terrorism. In much the same way as Oklahoma had totally shifted their attention so too did 9/11. Lauter and Pitcavage argue that the right-wing threat did not disappear with the collapse of the Twin Towers and whilst the radical Islamic threat persists, the U.S. disregards the right wing threat at its peril.[97] However, as a means of intelligence gathering, data mining in the name of homeland security and the issue of privacy remains a significant issue for government agencies and private sector organizations alike.[98]

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[94]Kelly, (1998) (ed) 1998, p22.
[95]Johnson, 04 May 2015. Terrorist Attacks and Related Incidents in the United States.
http://www.johnstonsarchive.net/terrorism/wrjp255a.html
[96]Lauter and Pitcavage, 17 April 2015.Homegrown Extremists Threat remains 20 Years after Oklahoma City Bombing.
http://edition.cnn.com/2015/04/17/opinions/lauter-pitcavage-oklahoma-bombing/
[97]Ibid.
[98]Fienberg, (2008) in Chen et al, (eds.) p212.

2.3.4. From al-Khobar to al-Qaeda and Beyond

Kelly, (1998) draws attention to the 1996 al-Khobar Towers bombing,[99] appearing to link this to protest by Saudis to the stationing of U.S. Forces in the Kingdom[100] whereas it is was executed by a Shia group linked to Iranian Intelligence with its own agenda.[101] Strangely, in the following paragraph he makes reference to Iranian patronage of international terrorism but fails to link it to the Dhahran incident in 1996. Nevertheless, given that this work was published in 1998, Kelly was prophetic in warning of the threat posed by Saudi mujahedeen exploited by the CIA and sponsored to undertake jihad in Afghanistan by the Saudi and U.S. governments. He refers to the phenomenon of jihadis turning violence upon their sponsors by the CIA's term '*blowback*', but is less than accurate in his analysis linking the 1993 World Trade Center attack with the al-Khobar bombing since the motives and perpetrators had quite different ideologies. However, he does pose the crucial question: 'Why is the United States targeted by terrorists?'[102] He offers two plausible explanations. First, he argues that attacking and humiliating the hegemonic power attracts respect and prestige for radical groups. Second, he suggests that groups affected by terrorist atrocities may lobby the U.S. government and thereby redirect foreign policy whilst unwittingly creating maximum publicity for the terrorist organizations. However, Kelly should perhaps have looked to Qutb and pondered his anti-American philosophy from which he states, 'the Crusader spirit runs though the blood of all Occidentals. It is this that colors all their thinking which is responsible for their imperialistic

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[99]Al-Monitor, 26 August 2015, Riedel, reports on apprehension in Beirut around 12 August 2015 of Ahmed Ibrahim al-Mughassil Saudi-Shia leader of Khobar Towers attack. http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/08/saudi-arabia-terrorist-capture-mughassil.html# This author's discussions with Mohammed and Abdullah (professionals) 07 September 2015 revealed they believed that Mughassil has lived under Iranian protection for past 20 years but was betrayed and handed by over by Iran as part of the US/Iran Nuclear.

[100]Operation Southern Watch enforced UN Security Council Resolution 688, (05 April 1991). Interview: abu Turki 10 September 2015, Riyadh.

[101](i) See Ottaway (2008) The King's Messenger, pp119-122. (ii) US Department of Defense. Office of the Assistant Secretary of State of Defense, Vol. 11 No 88. The Protection of U.S. Forces Abroad. http://www.defense.gov/Speeches/Speech.aspx?SpeechID=937 (iii) This author's Interview with former National Security Officer, 14 May 2015, Riyadh. (iv) See also Rubin and Rubin (2002) Anti-American Terrorism in the Middle East. Indictment against the Khobar Towers Bombers of June 1996, (June 21, 2001). U.S. Department of Justice, pp123-126. (v) Hegghammer, 15 February 2008, Combatting Terrorism Centre. Deconstructing the Myth About al-Qa'ida and Khobar. https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/deconstructing-the-myth-about-al-qaida-and-khobar (iv) This author's discussions with USAF, R.S.A.F., R.A.F. and French Air Force personnel in the days immediately following the attack on Khobar Towers, 25 June 1996. King Abdulaziz Air Base,Dhahran.

[102]Kelly, (1998) p28.

fear of the spirit of Islam and for their efforts to crush the strength of Islam.'[103] Qutb argues that American Jews hold the wealth that molds Western foreign policy and that '…the role of International Zionism is plotting against Islam.'[104] Qutb's appeal to the umma to recapture the purity of faith, along with his anti- American rhetoric was irresistible to those that would later become leaders of the global jihad. As Sageman, (2004) reports, 'Some of the founders of al-Qaeda - Ayman al-Zawahiri, Ali Amin Ali-Rasidi and Subhi Muhammad Abu Sittah - were Egyptian disciples who had sought refuge from political persecution in the Afghan jihad.'[105]

Qutb argues that renunciation of jahilyyah[106] is central to the Umma's core mission of recapturing the purity of the time of the Prophet. He calls for Islam to 'fulfill its role…by taking concrete form in a society, rather in a nation.'[107] Whilst conceding that Islam cannot compete with Europe's scientific, cultural and superior methods of production he decries the West's moral decay and calls for what amounts to a pan-Islamic coup d'état, a 'movement of Islamic revival in some Muslim country.'[108] This author interprets Qutb's call for an Islamic society and a nation as a call for an Islamic caliphate and the likelihood is that those who followed the flag of al-Qaeda interpreted it thus for as Valentine (2008) states, Qutb was both the 'the spiritual leader of radical Islamism' and the 'architect of worldwide Jihad.'[109] However, Pankhurst, (2013) surprisingly suggests that whilst 'Milestones' was a significant factor in events leading up to his execution, 'Milestones' nor 'In the Shade of the Koran' went beyond the theological, since 'neither book mentioned the caliphate much in its political form.'[110] Clearly this author and Pankhurst interpret this aspect of Qutb's work quite differently, for the description of a nation practicing the purity of the teachings of the prophet would seem to appear as a caliphate.[111] Sayyid, (2014) addresses this issue arguing that the Umma is caught in the trap of

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[103]Qutb, (2000) p275.
[104]Ibid.
[105]Sageman, (2004) p9.
[106]Qutb, (2000) p19 Jahiliyyah – 'The state of ignorance of the guidance from God.'
[107]Ibid., p9.
[108]Ibid., p11. See Taha, (1997) in Rubin, and Colp Rubin, (2002).
[109]Valentine, Islam Daily, 14 December 2008. Sayyid Qutb: Terrorism and the Origins of Militant Islam, p1.
[110]Pankhurst, (2013) p86.
[111]The Independent, 29 May 2015. Iraq Crisis. What is a Caliphate?http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/iraq-crisis-what-is-a-caliphate-9572100.html

'diaspora' yet at a time when globalization is blurring the borders of the nation state.[112] Qutb acknowledged that this diaspora weakened the Muslim identity and argued that a 'vanguard' should clearly mark the path with 'Milestones' to lead and guide the Umma from jahiliyyah. He clearly states that 'Milestones' is written to be that vanguard to a revivalist Islam and thereby by implication it is his mission to lead that vanguard, 'and the guidance is from God.'[113] Even since 9/11 the Middle East has undergone significant upheaval and with the emergence of DAESH/ISIL at least for those who have flocked to its black flag, the khilafa is a reality and 'will expand and sack Istanbul.'[114] Shortly after 9/11 Said argued, 'what is bad, all terror is when it is attached to religious and political abstractions and reductive myths that keep veering away from history and sense.'[115]

Reeve, (1999) tracks the careers of leading terrorists of the era particularly Ramzi Yousef in what is claimed to be the first book written on Osama bin Laden.[116] It opens with a report of events around the first attack on the Twin Towers in 1993 but concludes with the warning 'that Osama bin Laden can call on Islamic revolutionaries to attack America and Britain, and zealous young Muslims rise to the call…,' a vision of things soon to come.[117]   Well researched although it reads like a novel (perhaps why its rear cover lacks the expected academic accolades normally associated with books on this subject) as reported above this is one of the few books to examine al-Qaeda before 9/11. Burke, (2007) exhibits similarities in style to Reeve's New Jackals, unsurprising since he is a journalist rather than an academic.[118] Nevertheless, it is both readable and informative and was adjudged 'Essential Reading,' by Chomsky.[119] Ellis, (2008) argues that the need for an interdisciplinary approach to terrorism

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[112]Sayyid, (2014) p115.
[113]Qutb, (2000) pp12-13. See also Sharpes, (2012), p22 &p75
[114]Wood, (2015) The Atlantic. What ISIS Really Wants. http://www.theatlantic.com/features/archive/2015/02/what-isis-really-wants/384980/
[115]Houen, (2002) cites Said, The Observer 16 September 2001, Islam and the West are Inadequate Banners.
[116]Amazon, Simon Reeve,http://www.amazon.co.uk/Simon-Reeve/e/B001K8JVWY
[117]Reeve, (1999) p6 and p263.
[118]The Guardian, June 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/profile/jasonburke
[119]See front cover of Burke, al-Qaeda.

studies has led to 'theoretical confusion', with 'little distinction between the popular and the scientific and evidence of a very small core and a very large periphery.'[120]

In an equally readable but much more academically-focused book from those by Reeve and Burke, Gerges, (2011) offers the very different view that the threat from al-Qaeda exists today as little more than a myth. He argues that al-Qaeda offers the Arab world nothing more than an ideology of destruction, does not enjoy the popular support across the Arab world, and consequently, is largely a spent force[121] existing in little more than disparate uncoordinated groups, but within the U.S. its image is disproportionate to its operational capability. However, its impact may still be summarized in the statement, 'terrorism intends to create a state of despair and hopelessness among the civilian population and regime forces as expressed in the popular Chinese maxim, "kill one, frighten ten thousand".'[122] Gerges offers solutions to neutralize the image and impact of al-Qaeda. He suggests that the umma need to be projected to Americans as a people who pose no threat to them, but at the same time the 'War on Terror' needs to be ended because domestic terrorism has its origins on the battlefields overseas.[123] Since 2011 when Gerges wrote this book a further threat has emerged from DAESH/ISIL in Iraq, Syria and most recently in Saudi Arabia, so convincing an American public disinterested in international relations is likely to prove challenging. Freidman tells us that 'it's not that Americans are disinterested in Foreign Affairs, it's that their interest is finely calibrated. The issues must matter to Americans, so most issues must carry with them a potential threat.'[124]

Sageman, (2004) argues that 'in the war on terror, the United States and many other countries are doing the right thing.'[125] His approach is framed not just from an academic position, but as that of someone who has spent considerable time within the U.S. intelligence community. He

[120]Ellis, (2008) in Chen et al, (eds) (2008).
[121]Gerges, (2011) p4.
[122](i) Morales, (2006) in Leonard, (ed) (2006) p728. See also: (ii) Pandey, (2006) (iii) Global Security.org Combating Terrorism: Kill One Frighten Ten Thousand. Sun Tzu http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/policy/army/fm/100-20/10020ch3.htm
[123]Gerges, (2011) p201.
[124]Geopolitical Weekly, February 18 2014, Friedman, The American Public's Indifference to Foreign Affairs.' https://www.stratfor.com/weekly/american-publics-indifference-foreign-affairs
[125]Sageman, (2004) p175.

argues for terrorists to be portrayed as criminals, thereby stripping them of all semblances of honour and glory as jihadists and martyrs, to deter others from following their example. A significant conclusion to his work is that ideology is a less important factor in jihadi and terrorist recruitment than 'social bonds' is, something in-part substantiated by this author's own field work.[126] Whereas, this may account for some later recruitment it does not explain how this was originally conceived which was almost certainly ideological. Sageman addresses operational issues in the battle to eliminate terrorist threats and advocates the benefits of turning disillusioned jihadis into intelligence assets as agents of the State, and the adoption of a 'carrot and stick' approach in dealing with terrorists in custody.[127] He argues that the problem can never be solved without combined support of Muslim communities world-wide, but this remains an aspiration that appears even more distant in 2015 than it did in 2004. He warns that unless the U.S. mission succeeds in the reconstruction of Iraq then it will encourage young men to join the jihad with resultant expansion of terrorist networks. And so it came to pass, for Iraq along with Syria has slipped into chaos as DAESH/ISIL have recruited young men from Saudi Arabia's youth bulge and Muslim communities from across the world and some have returned to attack Saudi security forces, expatriates and Shia alike.[128] In interviews with this author, senior Saudi military officers argue that the U.S. is responsible for what is taking place in the Levant.[129] They argue that that for all his brutality, Saddam Hussain largely held the factions under control for as Huntingdon, (2002) states, 'Arabs and Muslims generally agreed that Saddam Hussain might be a bloody tyrant, but paralleling FDR's thinking "he is our bloody tyrant".'[130]

In a perceptive and meticulously researched work, Hegghammer (2010) draws upon his in-Kingdom field-work to review 'violence and Pan-Islamism since 1979.'[131] From the 1979 Mecca

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[126]Ibid., p178. Arab News, 25 June 2015, 'Man Recruits his Dad for fighting in Syria.' http://www.arabnews.com/saudi-arabia/news/767076
[127]Ibid., p181.
[128]Arab News, (i) 25 November 2014, IS behind Al-Ahsa attacks. http://www.arabnews.com/featured/news/665071 (ii) 30 June 2014, DAESH trying to create divisions. http://www.arabnews.com/columns/news/769461
[129]Interviews with senior Saudi military officers, 19-23 April 2015, Riyadh.
[130]Huntington, (2002) p248.
[131]Hegghammer, (2010)

siege he takes us along a Pan-Islamic discourse identifying an extraordinary paradox along the way of a Kingdom that encouraged its youth to take-up armed jihad outside its borders but had to rely upon external forces to defend it when Saddam Hussain threatened.[132] He argues that Saudi Arabia had not experienced the violent political upheaval such as that in Egypt but experienced a backlash from jihadis returning from Afghanistan and Chechnya only to find they were unwelcome, being regarded as a threat to their homeland. His study reveals that of 800 Saudi militants studied most had very limited exposure to Western people. This author's own field work identified some of Hegghammer's exceptions and these are covered in Chapter 4 of this thesis.[133]

Finally in this section, al-Bishr et al., (2005) present the reader with a valuable diverse literary source within a single cover. It offers a selection of twenty-seven essays expressing comprehensive 'cross-cultural views' authored by a wide range of authors both male and female, from both Occidental and Oriental perspectives.[134] Contributors include notable academics, journalists, Foreign Service officers, politicians, lawyers and scientists. Each brings a personal perspective to the events around 9/11, with each essay apparently written in isolation, thereby retaining the author's intellectually-unique viewpoint. The essays constitute an interesting, often conflicting range of opinions under the main categories of general terrorism, the terrorism of 9/11, the Islamic perspective on terrorism, the more Saudi-specific stand on the issue from both internal and external perspectives, and the troubled relationship between Saudi Arabia and Western media following 9/11. The constraints of space preclude extensive review of this book but this author draws from the essay by Chomsky in which he questions what may be considered a just response to terrorism. It is selected since it takes an alternative approach to that generally coming from the American academy. He draws upon the work of Schuller and Grant, (2002) and their principle of proportionality, the 'magnitude of response will be determined by the magnitude with which the aggression interfered with key

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[132]Ibid., p16.
[133]Details of these exceptions appear in Chapter 4.
[134]Al- Bishr, (ed) (2005) Saudis and Terror Cross-Cultural Views.

values in the society attacked.'[135] He then suggests that if this measure is utilized then the U.S. are culpable under international law for support of regimes that have committed atrocities citing Haiti and Nicaragua as examples arguing that these countries would be morally justified in exacting proportionate retribution against the United States. He further argues that Bush's War on Terror was actually the second, the first being that launched by Reagan.   He refers to the attack on Sudan under the Clinton administration suggesting that 'the acts can be excused then, only on the Heglian assumption that Africans are "mere things" whose lives have "no value."'[136] If this is the case then American society has not moved on from the times of Ibn Khaldun: 'We have seen that Negros are in general characterized by levity, excitability and great emotionalism. …They are everywhere described as stupid.'[137] Chomsky concludes that whilst 9/11 was indeed an atrocity, it demonstrates that in an age of technology, organizations utilizing relatively modest assets can inflict significant damage on the seemingly hegemonic powers. Although terrorism may be seen as the 'return to barbarism it is not surprising that perceptions about its nature differ rather sharply in the light of sharply differing experiences.'[138]

2.4. FEMALES IN THE LITERATURE

2.4.1. Oppression: Myth or Reality?

Given that half of Saudi Arabia's youth bulge is female but largely ignored in the literature it is refreshing to find a book that addresses the issue directly and is based upon first-hand ethnographic field work. Le Renard's (2014) A Society of Young Women, is such a book.[139] It is limited in part by the narrowness of the scope of her research since she studies only the young women of Riyadh, although her subjects come from various parts of Saudi society. She seeks to dispel the myth that women in Saudi Arabia are oppressed and excluded from society whilst

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[135]Schuller and Grant, April 2002 Current History in Chomsky, (2005) in al-Bishr, (ed) (2005) p123.
[136]Chomsky, (2005) p124.
[137]Ibn Khaldun, (2005) p63.
[138]Chomsky, (2005) p138.
[139]The material in A Society of Young Women (2014) originally appeared in French as Femmes et Espaces publics en Arabie Saoudite (2011).

having no way to respond and further argues to 'de-exceptionalize Saudi society.'[140] On the issue of the exclusion of women in society, Habermas suggests that we should use the term 'excluded' in Foucault's sense when we are dealing with groups that play a constitutive role in the formation of a particular public sphere.[141] Habermas draws from Bakhtin for he states that this was where his eyes were opened to 'the inner dynamic of a plebeian culture.'[142] He argues that Bakhtin, through Rabalais and his World demonstrates 'how a mechanism of exclusion that locks outs and represses at the same time calls forth counter-effects that cannot be neutralized.'[143] Habermas continues that if this same perspective is applied 'to the bourgeois public sphere, the exclusion of women from this world dominated by men, now looks different than it appeared to me at the time.'[144]

However, this author is not in accord with Le Renard's view when referring to Saudis, that 'religion and culture do not in themselves define, nor do they determine their behaviour,'[145] nor can one realistically dismiss the exceptionalism of Saudi society as she aims to do. Thirty-five years' of experience and observation in Saudi Arabia of the religion, culture and traditions, inclines this author to support Al Munajjed's view, (1997) that 'in order to understand the social structure of the Saudi system in general, and more specifically the status of Saudi women, it is essential to study the direct relationship between Islamic thought and society.'[146] Nevertheless, overall, Le Renard demonstrates that young Saudi women living a starkly gender-segregated society do have ways of creating their own public and private spheres.[147]

Al-Munajjed's later work (2006) also seeks to counter the Western perception that Saudi women are repressed.[148] Cooke, (2001) argues that in some societies the relationship between men and women is perpetuated as one of the stronger maintaining dominance over

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[140]Le Renard, (2014) pix.
[141]Habermas, (1992) in Calhoun, (ed) (1992).
[142]Ibid.
[143]Ibid.
[144]Ibid.
[145]Le Renard, (2014) A Society of Young Women, pix.
[146]Al-Munajjed, (1997) p9.
[147]This needs to be compared with Valentine, (2015) pp100-101.
[148]Al-Munajjed, (2006) pp1-5.

the weaker. This appears to be widely-held perception within the West of the role of women in much of the Islamic world and particularly in Saudi Arabia where 'women are cast as symbolically important...the physical markers of social norms.'[149] She argues instead that those symbols of the Arab woman that Western media portray as repressive, e.g. the abaya and the veil and gender segregation, are in reality issues of tradition and society that sit comfortably with most Saudi women. She further argues that Saudi women have no desire for a more secular society or for an erosion of Islamic moral values, and resent those from outside who demand 'a replica of Western society in the Arabian Peninsula.'[150] She seeks to educate Western society on how life is for 'educated and professional women in Saudi Arabia' through their own voices.[151] Al Munajjed's research methodologyis through interviews with twenty-four leading women across the Kingdom, and therein lies a potential weakness for whilst featuring 'remarkable women,'[152] it concentrates of an elite in Saudi society, women from leading business families and royal princesses. However, a theme clearly run through each of these question and answer interviews, is that Saudi women are strong although they exist in a largely 'male dominated,'[153] 'patriarchal society.'[154] However, this is a society in which women value their traditions and culture. A second theme is that of Western misconceptions about the role of women in Saudi society and that the West simply does not understand the complexities of Saudi Arabia, responding only to superficial reporting[155] which portrays them as living in the Middle Ages.[156] However, as al-Munajjed's interview with Aisha al-Mana demonstrates, frustration remains in parts of Saudi female society that 'women's rights are not being accommodated,' and that tradition and social constraints are inhibiting their

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[149]Cooke, (2001) pp117-8.
[150]Ibid., p2.
[151]Ibid., p3.
[152]Ibid., p3.
[153]Ibid., p 102, p191.
[154]Ibid., p59.
[155]Ibid., p59, p69, p80, pp97-98, p124, p148, p169, pp179-180, p191, p209, p227.
[156]Ibid., p169.

development and progress.[157] In 1928 al-Din argued that the veil was an indicator of those nations who looked backwards rather than forwards:

> 'I have noticed that nations that have given up the veil are the nations that have advanced in intellectual and material life. The unveiled nations are the ones that have discovered through research and study the secrets of nature and have brought the physical elements under their control as you see and know. But the veiled nations have not unearthed any secret and have not put any of the physical elements under their control but only sing the songs of a glorious past and ancient traditions.'[158]

2.4.2. An Unlikely Champion

Mill, (1869) argues that the greatest burden falls upon those who seek change against almost universal resistance.[159] To expect people to give up principles that they have experienced for generations and are a major part of the order within their life he argues is unrealistic. It is an expectation too far for which people are ill prepared. He sees not a lack of reliance on sound argument but an overreliance on custom. For all those things for which no rational explanation can be furnished, instinct has been offered in its place. Mill identifies this tendency as a characteristic of 19th century thinking unlikely to change from the convenient explanation of being the result of an act of God. Whilst it would appear that progress has been made in developing the role of women in Saudi Arabia, some things are hard to change. As al-Munajjed's interviewee, *Okaz* journalist Al Jawhara al-Angari states, '…the Saudi man is an oriental man in all senses of the word… Arab men have an oriental way of thinking that emanates from their male pride and ego.'[160] Mill makes reference to the difficulties of confronting entrenched opinions held by the most powerful actors. He argues that the primary challenge does not lie in enacting change but simply at the outset of gaining a

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[157]Ibid., p244.
[158]Nazira al-Din, (1928) in Badran and Cooke, (eds) (1990) p272.
[159]Mill, 1869/2000, p7.
[160]Al-Munajjed, (2006) p80.

platform for ones' grievances. In Wollstonecraft we find frustrations with the women for whom she campaigned in the18th century, she wrote:-

'That woman is naturally weak, or degraded by a concurrence of circumstances, is, I think, clear. … Women, I argue from analogy, are degraded by the same propensity to enjoy the present moment; and, at last, despise the freedom which they have not sufficient virtue to struggle to attain.'[161]

Morales, (2005) states that Mill 'had to argue that women are persons before he could even argue that we are legal persons let alone that we should be treated as persons in all aspects of our lives.'[162] She argues that even after 150 years' of progress towards emancipation and equal rights, the 'perfect equality' that Mill had visualised is still not fully achieved in Western societies. Consequently it is unsurprising that that is Saudi Arabia in 2015, opinions remain divided. For instance whereas some consider significant changes have been made in the way men react with women in the past twenty-five years, others argue that progress has been too slow.[163]

Mill's feminist theory is subject to both support and criticism in contemporary feminist literature. Two opposing views appear here to illustrate the division in opinion. Donner defends Mill's liberal feminist political theory, which according to Morales she interprets as 'egalitarian, practical and social rather than individualist, abstract and egoist.'[164] Donner argues that Mill's theoretical position is built upon a foundation of human nature, the common good, and development of self, which identifies him not only as a liberal but also a utilitarian. Core to this self-development for Mill is the right of individuals to happiness through the fullest exploitation of intellectual capacity and personal fulfilment though altruism. In an interview with young female graduate professionals, this author's interviewees argued that they had received high-quality education, had well-paid jobs, that they and their peers were in general

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[161]Wollstonecraft, (1792) http://www.bartely.com/144/4.html
[162]Morales, (2005) xii.
[163]Al-Munajjed, (2006) p127 &p244.
[164]Donner, (2005) p1.

happy, and they belonged to groups that supported each other.[165] That mankind should care

for each other whilst pursuing intellectual development rests comfortably within the principles

of feminist theory. Donner argues that for Mill the core of individualism is the individual, and

the value of the broader group cascades from the sum of those individuals.[166] She argues that

the problem is that there is not universal agreement on the role of the individual within

communitarian and liberal theory. She identifies Sandel and Taylor as subscribing to the

principle of the individual as committed to the values and life of a community. The

communitarian perception of liberalism is that they fail to appreciate that individuals are

unable to develop except within the social boundaries of the group.[167] Donner argues that the

dangers of feminist communitarianism lie in the marginalization of minorities and Le Renard,

(2014) reports some Saudi women 'feel relatively excluded owing to the impossibility of

conforming to these norms of femininity.'[168] In the context of predominant theory which is

U.S. centric, Donner cites Kymlicka who identifies exclusion of marginalised groups as 'endemic

to the communitarian project.'[169] She contends that Western society is male-dominated and

as a result women's views are given insufficient consideration. She argues that unless these

views are opposed, there is a danger of being swept into the community, but once in then

marginalised around the periphery of power and decision making. She vehemently opposes

Sandel's contentions that minority groups must adapt and integrate into the community and

not challenge the status quo. Returning to Saudi Arabia, Coleman, (2010) illustrates how even

women's leaders such as Dr Haifa Jamal al-Lail, Dean of Effat University have to adapt, since

those who are 'at the forefront of a social revolution in the Kingdom' …'serves her and her

mission well to showcase her piety' and yet such women still are accused by those frustrated

by the pace of reform as being little more than 'government toadies.'[170]

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[165]Interview with Sara, and Reem, (20s) Riyadh, 11 May 2014.
[166]Ibid., p6.
[167]Ibid., p7.
[168]Le Renard, (2014) p156.
[169]Ibid.
[170]Coleman, (2010) p209.

Even the onset of a new sociology at the dawn of the 20th century, the leading thinkers of the day, including Spencer, Weber and Durkheim, did not treat feminist concerns as anything of any great consequence and these issues remained marginalised.[171] Within feminist communitarianism the society envisaged is less aligned to that of broader western society but rather to the ideals of small groups who are like minded, or as Iris Young suggests, to 'an ideal of shared subjectivity, or the transparency of subjects to one another.'[172]

Mill argued that for most women marriage was their destiny and so it is in Saudi Arabia today. Throughout early European history, women 'were taken by force or sold by their father to the husband.'[173] In the 19th century the church required women to publicly agree to the union through the marriage ceremony. Yet Mill argued that little had changed for women since they had little option other than to consent to the marriage as arranged or retreat from life behind the walls of convents. The vow *to obey,* places women in the role of servants and their perpetual servitude places them in a worse position than those who were slaves because they were never free. Whilst slaves might have a life outside of their duties, women are often in a union not of their own choosing, with little hope of release whilst being subject to anything forced upon her by her husband. Furthermore the children of the union are legally his so women have no rights in this respect. Whilst arranged-marriage may be the destiny for Saudi women as it was in England in Mill's time, divorce may also be the destiny for many in Saudi Arabia today.[174] The Kingdom has the highest divorce rate in the Arab world, a problem attributed by Chairman of Commission for Family Unity in the Eastern Province to media failing to promote the culture of marriage, and women working and their consequent financial independence, whereas Saudi author Khalid Sulaiman attributes it to the 'fragility of the personality' of the young generation.[175] Elsewhere, modernization and Western influences are proffered as potential causes in spite of what Assad identifies as family pressures for young

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[171]Ritzer, (2012) pp6-7.
[172]Donner, (2005) p8.
[173]Mill, (1869/2000) p39.
[174]Saudi Gazette, 01 February 2014. Three divorces an hour in Saudi Arabia.
http://www.saudigazette.com.sa/index.cfm?method=home.regcon&contentid=20140201194322
[175]ANSAmed 25 August 2015. Saudi Arabia: Divorce Rate Highest in Arab World.
http://www.ansamed.info/ansamed/en/news/sections/generalnews/2011/08/09/visualizza_new.html_732389173.html

wives to remain in unhappy marriages for the sake of family honour.[176]   Fatany draws on a report from the Saudi Ministry of Justice which reports that 40% of divorces were due to husbands refusing wives the right to work whilst the other 60% are attributed to issues over the control of wives' salaries.[177]   This would appear an oversimplification but whatever the causes, Saudi Arabia is ranked '20th out of 22 Arab states for women's rights.'[178]

Moller Okin considers the theoretical situation of Mill from both the perspective of his work in *On Liberty* and *The Subjection of Women.* She states that his views are utilitarian or at least he presents his own particular interpretation of utility and again, citing Mill from *On Liberty,* 'utility in the largest sense, grounded on the permanent interest of man as a progressive being.'[179] She contends that this too is the utilitarian theme running throughout *The Subjection of Women.* On the other hand she further argues that he approaches becoming a natural rights theorist and again from *The Subjection of Women,* regarding 'the equal moral right of all human beings to choose their own occupations (short of injury to others) according to their own preferences.'[180]   Whether Mill can be regarded as true utilitarian is again brought into question with his total rejection of Bentham's interpretation of human nature. His preference for seeing it as something more akin to nature rather than mechanistic or, as Moller Okin again cites him, 'human nature is not a machine to be built after a model...but a tree which requires to grow and develop itself on all sides according to the tendency of the inward forces which make it a living thing', a sentiment echoed by Sulaiman who argues 'relations between husband and wife do not come ready made, but is like a seed that grows and consolidates gradually.'[181] Coleman directs our attention to Khan who argued that in the India of the 1870s, Islamic law favoured women to a greater extent than that enjoyed by English women,[182] whilst

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[176]Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs, 10.1 pp171-198, 20 March 2007. Soraya Assad, The Current Status of Literature on Muslim Women: A Case Study, p173. (Assad is Chairman of Department of Sociology, King Abdulaziz University Women's Section.)
[177]Saudi Gazette, 23 March 2013. Why divorce is on the Rise in Saudi Arabia.
http://www.saudigazette.com.sa/index.cfm?method=home.regcon&contentid=20130323158091 See also Mahajan, (2012) The Arab World Unbound.
[178]Reuters, 11 November 2013, Factbox: Women's Rights in the Arab World.http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/11/12/us-arab-women-factbox-idUSBRE9AB00I20131112
[179]Moller Okin, (2005) p31.
[180]Mill, (1869/2000) p31.
[181]Mill, 1869, cited in Moller Okin, (2005) p31.
[182]Coleman, (2013) pp42-43. Sir Syed Khan, (1817-1898) Indian Muslim thinker and Official of the East India Company.

nearly a century later Qutb (2000) argues that the equality guaranteed to women in regard to property and income, and marriage with only their explicit consent is 'the strongest point in Islam.'[183]

It seems that critics of Mill's work are overly concerned with the labelling applied to his theorising. This is well illustrated in Annas' contention that although *The Subjection of Women* was radical and 'before its time' in spearheading the campaign for the rights of women, Mill failed to clarify whether he came at the subject from a radical or reformist position.[184] She claims that he moves from one to the other, resulting in a blurring of his theoretical position. She describes those taking a radical approach as seeing little virtue in legal reform in so much as it will achieve only limited advantage for the few, whilst the majority of women will see their desire for change frustrated. What are required are a cultural shift and a fundamental change in inter-gender attitudes across societies. 'Muna's Story' Yamani, (2000) offers a case study that demonstrates the difficulties experienced by a young Saudi girl trapped by the gender divide.[185] The reputation of the Arab family is crucial, illustrated in ibn Khaldun's story of the alleged affair between Ja'far Yahya bin Khalid, Minister to ar-Rashid and ar-Rashid's sister al-Abbasah.[186] Annas continues that the justification for the reformist approach is utilitarian, and the objective is to open up to the most women those opportunities previously denied to them. This should be facilitated through changes in law since in most cases women have the ability to do what men do. They are simply denied opportunity and Sabria Jawharr argues that 'it is time to narrow the gender gap.'[187] Citing a study from the World Economic Forum she reports that 80% of female Saudi students applying to study abroad are most interested in engineering and that 60% of Saudi university graduates are female. She argues that culture and tradition can impose a cost to this new-found element of freedom because many Saudi men have difficulty adapting to this situation and are reluctant to marry girls who

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[183]Qutb, (2000) p75.
[184]Annas, (2005) in Morales, (ed). (2005) in Mill's The Subjection of Women. Critical Essays, p55.
[185]Yamani, (2000) pp141-145.
[186]Ibn Khaldun,(2005) p18.
[187]Arab News, 09 December 2013.

have been educated abroad lest they may have been 'corrupted' and fail to be compliant. She

concludes that it is 'a sad state of affairs that an educated Saudi woman is perceived as threat

to men.'[188]

Where Annas takes further exception to Mill's work is in his reference to women, whom he

describes as '…capable of intuitive perception of situations, rapid and correct insight into

present fact'.[189] She contests his suggestion that whilst women [of that time] may have

demonstrated practical talents such as management of household expenditures, they were not

suited for scientific roles or those that required the power of reason. She argues that Mill's

philosophy did little to promote the cause of women, since he infers that women should not

be educated to prepare them for intellectual pursuits. She rejects women's most valuable role

as being that of restraining men from over-exuberance in their pursuit of their own academic

and scientific goals. Annas rather unkindly portrays Mill as much a product of male dominated

society as his peers, lauding those qualities in women which men value rather than their

potential to join them as equals.

The Subjection of Women, written 150 years ago was for its time radical and amounted to

virtual political and social heresy since it challenged convention, and courted and received

ridicule for its attack on the inequalities in the social relations between men and women. In

much the same way as Mill's work divided opinions so too did that of Saudi journalist Hussein

Shobokshi in 2003.[190] In a published 'bedtime fable' to his young daughter at a time when the

winds of change appeared to be blowing through the Kingdom in response to terrorist attacks,

he visualised a time when his daughter had grown up and,with her generation emancipated,

she would meet him at the airport and drive him home. Reaction was divided, ranging from

enthusiastic support to threats of retribution 'from God and his followers on earth.'[191] In the

final reckoning he like Mill was a man before his time and loss of employment was the price he

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[188]Ibid.
[189]Annas, (2005) p58.
[190]Coleman, (2013) p219.
[191]Ibid.

paid. Whilst from a contemporary viewpoint Annas presents a reasonable argument, Mill's writing needs to be objectively evaluated in the context of its time. His work and that of Shobokshi illustrate thinkers ahead of their times but constrained by their own cultural and societal environment. Debate over whether Mill's writing fits into the radical or reformist category seems trivial when measured against the courage taken to oppose the status quo. Mill's *The Subjection of Women* was an exceptional essay for its time. Whilst criticised for his description of the comparisons of the differences between the abilities of men and women these likely originate from a Victorian naivety in regard to understanding of gender issues. His contribution to feminist literature should not be understated for he stood to argue for the unthinkable. Whether Saudi Arabia will find its own Mill to champion women's rights and prepared to challenge tradition remains to be seen, but it is probably unlikely. However, in an age of instant communication and social media, technology will eventually accelerate progress towards more equal rights for women. In a country where lack of independent mobility inhibits the ability to meet, social media, particularly Twitter, has given young women a prefect platform for communication and gaining a voice.[192]

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[192]Arab News, 19 August 2013, 'Women use Twitter to raise issues.'

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY AND METHOD

3.1. METHODOLOGY

3.1.1. Definitions and Meaning

At the outset, the term methodology should be defined and thereby two definitions are offered. The first defines methodology as 'the philosophical evaluation of investigative techniques within a discipline, a concern with the conceptual, theoretical, and research aspects of knowledge.'[1] In this context it assumes 'the epistemological concern with the scientific status of sociology.'[2] Second, it is the 'techniques and strategies employed within a discipline, to manipulate data and acquire knowledge' and in this context simply concerns methods utilised in the pursuit of knowledge through research without any deeper exploration of 'validity or appropriateness' of carrying out such research.[3] Jary and Jary, (1999) offer these concise definitions which help to clarify what may appearan otherwise ethereal concept. They state that methodology was important and of interest to Durkheim, Marx and Weber whilst Halewood, (2014) tells us that these same three sociologists nevertheless had no firm ideas of 'society', with Durkheim offering no real definition of 'society' which could consequently cause a problem for social scientists.[4] However, in spite of this apparent omission Durkheim 'clearly did mean something when using these words.'[5] Central to this thesis are youth and their behaviours and the resultant part they play in contributing to or disrupting society. Halewood continues that issues concerning the 'social' have become synonymous with 'society and sociality' and as a consequence he advocates the use of the term 'the social' to be utilised as a 'conceptual device' so that the work of various authors might be analysed against the same criteria.[6]

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[1]Jary and Jary, (1999) p410.
[2]Ibid.
[3]Ibid.
[4]Halewood, (2014) p2.
[5]Ibid.
[6]Ibid., p1.

3.1.2. Durkheim and the Nature of Society

Halewood, (2014) discusses Durkheim's approach to the relationship between the social and the natural, and argues that suggestions that Durkheim delineates the two are largely a misrepresentation of his thought. Instead, Halewood argues, that whilst it might be a conclusion finally drawn from his philosophy, it is not the foundation. Instead he suggests that Durkheim favoured the position that the social was intrinsically linked to nature rather than being apart from it. To support this argument he draws on Durkheim's work on the division of labour; 'that it is not a mere social institution whose roots lie in the intelligence and the will of men, but a general biological phenomenon, the conditions for which must seemingly be sought in the essential properties of organised matter.'[7]

As we look to Durkheim to offer theories of why some young men within a society took a particular course of action whilst most did not, directed by Halewood, (2014) we find Durkheim's argument for associations. He argues that societies are nothing more than the product of an original society, but coalesce in various forms of construction and it is this variation in structure that creates differences through associations. Reverting again to a reference from the natural sciences, he draws upon the analogy of molecules in a cell, arguing that 'the whole is not equal to the sum of its parts; it is something different' and it is the arrangement of the parts, the way they exist in associationthat creates difference.[8] However, whilst he argues that it is this association, the way that parts interact and form something different that drives innovation, he also attributes these same issues to the factors that drive people to suicide. 'The causes of death are outside rather than within us, and are effective only if we venture into their sphere of activity.'[9] We will see in later chapters that the factor of associations, the coming together of individuals, playing small parts, making up the greater whole, would have a devastating impact on a global scale.

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[7]Halewood, (2014) p19 in which he cites Durkheim (1933) The Division of Labour in Society, p3.
[8]Durkheim, (1982) Lukes,(ed.) Rules of Sociological Method, pp128-129.
[9]Durkheim, (1952) Simpson (ed) Suicide, pxii

Halewood (2014) continues by exploring Durkheim's position in regard to his exclusion of women from his writing, arguing that this takes him beyond the simple concept that he was theorising within a simple patriarchal society. Indeed, whilst Halewood concedes that Durkheim may be interpreted in this way, he argues that his view of the role of women in society was more profound and to have included women would have necessitated a reconceptualization of what is meant by the *social*. Similarly in Saudi Arabia what is meant by the social and the role of women within a modernising society is equally problematic, and since women have been excluded from discussionson youth bulge theory their role as part of the youth bulge will be explored throughout subsequent chapters.

Durkheim's thought will be found throughout this thesis and Smith (1998) suggests that whilst he may be considered a positivist by some, the reality is that his methodology is more complex and nuanced than critics might argue. Smith states that Durkheim was in the vanguard of sociologists who analysed society using scientific method, with a 'careful and systematic study of empirical evidence.'[10] He demonstrates how Durkheim utilised this technique using comparative data, for example in analysing incidents of suicide, a subject considered in more detail when this thesis progresses to address suicide-terrorism by young Saudis on 9/11 and after. Giddens, (1978) suggests that Durkheim's approach to the analysis of society is linked to his efforts to separate 'social normality from social pathology.'[11] At the heart of this thesis is the issue of human behaviour for that is central as we seek to establish whether the behaviour of the Saudi youth bulge presents a threat to domestic and international security.[12]

According to Stevens, (1994), in seeking an explanation for how behaviours develop, answers might be found in socio-biology, a field radically different from mainstream social science, and one promoting the theory that the social and behavioural patterns are a result of evolution.[13] Whilst drawing upon data that for example demonstrates that men are the more aggressive

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[10]Smith, (1998) p83.
[11]Giddens, (1978) p40.
[12]Ibid., pp166-168.
[13]Stevens, (1994) In Anderson and Ricci, p158.

sex and more inclined to risk, Stevens concludes that socio-biology is ultimately flawed since thoughit may be capable of predictions it is most usually drawn upon to explain what already exists. In so much as conclusions may be based on firm evidence, he argues that socio-biology may be considered to be scientific, but in practice it resorts to mere speculation, offering at best only a limited explanation for human behaviour.[14] Durkheim argues that the objective of his Division of Labour in Society is to 'treat the facts of moral life according to the methods of the positive sciences.'[15] However he determined not to emulate theorists who, from drawing on scrap from the mainstream sciences 'such as biology, psychology, or sociology, term their moralities "scientific".' The requirement was 'not, to deduce morality from science, but to constitute the science of morality, which is very different.'[16] In arguing that 'moral facts' deserve the same level and quality of research as the sciences, he argues not for a positivist approach to the social sciences but for the same rules of engagement to apply across both side of the academy.

3.1.3 Habermas and the Public Sphere

Half a century on from Durkheim, and the debate on naturalism appears to have waned with two parallel philosophies appearing to persist. Following a debate over the issue of positivism in sociology begun by his mentor Adorno, Habermas concluded that 'depending upon the type of science with which it is concerned, the philosophy of science takes the form of either a general methodology of the empirical sciences or of a general hermeneutics of the cultural and historical sciences.'[17] Habermas argues that the two schools co-exist largely in isolation from each whilst 'the analytic school dismisses the hermeneutic disciplines as pre-scientific, while the hermeneutic school considers the nomological sciences as characterized by a limited pre-understanding.'[18]

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[14]Ibid., pp166-168.
[15]Durkheim, (2014) Lukes (ed) p3.
[16]Ibid.
[17]Outhwaite, (1996) p105.
[18]Ibid., p106.

Various themes run through this thesis including totalitarianism, modernisation, religion and terrorism, all subjects methodologically scrutinised by Habermas. He draws on Heideger's work and critical evaluation of modernity, andin the context of the time Heideger sees in totalitarianism, in both its military and political manifestations, 'the struggle for the domination of the earth.'[19] This bears striking similarities to the expansionist ideology of Qutb, whereby 'nothing was to stand in the way of Islam's manifest destiny.'[20] Referring to those of other faiths not wishing to enter into armed confrontation with the Islamic caliphate, Qutb argues that neutrality would only be respected if the infidel submitted to Islamic authority since Muslims fought not for 'nations, territories and kings,' but for 'God's Universal Truth.'[21]

3.1.4. Durkheim: Methodology and Religion

Saudi youth and religion are intrinsically linked, so here we briefly consider religion and its methodology and associated sociology. First, Pickering, (1984) guides us to Durkheim's thought on how religious phenomena could be defined.[22] *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1912) outlines Durkheim's fundamental argument that there exists a need for a separation of religion from other phenomenon since 'men have preconceived ideas'[23] which must be wiped away before any intellectually acceptable starting point can be established. This point applies equally to all religions and the basis of all religions must be formulated around the concept of the 'sacred and the profane'.[24] Excluding magic,[25] 'religion is finally defined as a system of beliefs, and practices, related to sacred things – beliefs and practices common to a concrete collectivity.'[26] Weber on the other hand took a polarized view on magic to Durkheim, contending that 'magic is the elementary form' of religion.'[27] From his work on primitive totemism, Durheim concludes that 'religion is not an illusion ...historically religion has

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[19]Habermas, (1990) p132.
[20]Calvert, (2010) p222.
[21]Ibid.
[22]Pickering, (1984) p79.
[23]Ibid.
[24]Ibid., p80.
[25]See Qur'an, Surah 18, Al-kahf, part 16, para 94, Ya'juj and Maj'uj and Surah 72, Al-Jinn Para.1. for reference to the supernatural and magic in Islam.
[26]Ibid.
[27]Swindler, (1993) Foreword to Weber, (1964) pxi.

been the point of advance for philosophy and science for it has been their predecessor.'[28] In a comprehensive critique of the Elementary Forms, Jones, (1986) questions Durkheim's rationale of drawing on ethnographic study of the Arunta[29] when seeking to comprehend the meaning of religion to modern societies. Durkheim argues that even the most 'basic categories of human thought have their origin in social experience.'[30] Jones, (1984) refers to Lukes, (1972) who critiques Durkheim arguing that his single conclusion is overly simplistic and should be broken down into six separate claims. He starts with the heuristic conclusion that 'concepts are collective representations, the causal claim that society produces the concepts, the structuralist claim that these concepts are modelled upon, and are thus similar to, the structures of society; the functionalist claim that logical conformity is necessary to social stability; the cosmological claim that religious myth provided the earliest systems of classification; and the evolutionary claim that the most fundamental notions of modern science have primitive religious origins.'[31] This critique may seem overly harsh given that over half a century had passed since Durkheim had written *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* and during that time support for functionalism had waned within the academy in spite of its early appeal to both scientist and theologians.[32] A criticism of functionalism is that it fails to deal with change, or evolution within religion that brings change and a concomitant development within society. What is apparent is that religion can from its inception be disruptive to existing society and only in the longer term can it be considered as a stabilizing force. Consequently religion may be under various circumstances be a threat to the equilibrium for a society or a force for revolution.

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[28]Ibid.
[29]Australian Aboriginal tribe.
[30]Jones, (1986) Emile Durkheim: An introduction to Four Major Works.pp115-155, http://durkheim.uchicago.edu/Summaries/forms.html p23.
[31]Ibid.
[32]Pickering, (1984) p300.

3.1.5. Habermas: Religion, Education and Terrorism

Ewert (1991) defines Habermas' methodology as attempting to 'resolve the empirical/normative division, presumed to separate facts and values and to remove the resulting separation of practice and theory.'[33] For Habermas, modernization frees people from the constraints of tradition and values moulded by faith and religion.[34] Wolterstorff, (2013) identifies the importance that Habermas sets upon the work of Jaspers who argues that intellectual sophistication and the rise of modern day religion are traceable back to what Jasper turned the Axial Age, a period between 800 and 200 BCE.[35] Wolterstorff suggests that Jaspers was referring to 'Buddhism, Judaic monotheism and classical Greek philosophy.'[36] He argues that post-metaphysical philosophy[37] and contemporary religions have their roots in the Axial age. Habermas suggests that modern sociology categorises religion in terms of functionalismexisting to serve a basic human need.[38] He rejects both the functionalist approach while further rejecting the secularization theory whereby religion gradually fades away in society in the wake of modernization.[39] Mendiaetta and Vanantwerpen, (2011) state that acknowledging that religion has not been eroded by modernization has led Habermas to the view of 'cultivating a post-secular stance,' a position that acknowledges the role of religion in latter-day societies whilst incorporating 'the ethical insights of religious traditions …into a post-metaphysical philosophical perspective.'[40] In a spirited critique of Habermas's argument for reason over religion, Milbank (2013) argues that Habermas, in taking up the position vacated by Brecht and Adorno, fails to see that rather than religion fading away under the influence of modernity it is in some areas expanding and with it comes an expansion of

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[33]Ewert, (1991) Habermas and Education: A Comprehensive Overview of the Influence of Habermas in Educational Literature, *Review of Educational Research,* Fall 1991, Vol 6, No. 3, pp345-378, p346.
[34]Finlayson, (2005) Habermas, p67.
[35]Wolterstorff, (2013) in Calhoun et al (2013) p92. For more on the foundation of religions in the Axial age, see Jaos, (2012) The axial Age as a Religious Discourse, pp9-29 in Bellah and Joas, (2012) (eds) The Axial Age and its Consequences.
[36]Wolterstorff, p92.
[37]Postmetaphysical philosophy – 'Postmetaphysical thinking is prepared to learn from religion while at the same time remaining agnostic. It insists on the difference between the certainties of faith and publicly criticisable validity claims; but it eschews the rationalist presumption that it can itself decide which aspects of religious doctrines are rational and which irrational. The contents that reason appropriates through translation must not be lost for faith.' Wolterstorff, (2013) p420, N.4.
[38]Wolterstorff, (2013) in Calhoun et al (2013) p92.
[39]Ibid., p93.
[40]Medietta and Vanantwerpen, (2011) in Butler et al (2011) p4.

religious extremism. What Milbank argues is that a resurgence of metaphysics makes Habermasian thought redundant and that his argument that faith and reason are incompatible is flawed, whereas what is required is 'feeling' as a mediating factor.[41]

Young, (2000) states that in spite of the fact that Habermas wrote little directly on the subject of education, issues of improved levels of learning and understanding formed a core part of his work and Lovat (2013) refers to him as 'education's reluctant hero.'[42] Outhwaite, (1996) adds that Habermas developed 'a discourse based or communicative ethical theory' arguing that the objectives of communication go beyond issues of 'fact' but include 'moral questions.'[43] As a result it is possible to differentiate between ethical issues arising out of everyday life and morality and 'a discourse ethics steers a path between the formal and communitarian traditions of ethical thought.'[44] Any agreement must therefore arise from 'discussion.'[45] Habermas argues a case to transpose this principle onto the state and its legal system, and whilst issues of morality and law are separate they are dependent upon 'the discourse principle'[46] as he refers to it, and 'that those affected by them could agree to them in a rational discourse.'[47] This he then places in 'the three contexts of morality, law and political democracy, the intuition embodied in the discourse principle underpins the structural relations between them.'[48] This leads Habermas to deduce that quality of decisions made by government are not simply dependent upon the system of democratic governance, but on levels of personal involvement, communication and 'school education… in short, on the discursive character of non-institutionalised opinion formation in the public sphere.'[49] Englund, (2006) argues that Habermas along with Dewey, (1927) stress the impact of 'the socially integrative force and constitutive power of communication...each of them develops a

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[41]Milbank, (2013) in Calhoun, Mendieta and Vanantwerpen (eds) (2013) p323.
[42]Young, (2000) in Hahn, (ed) (2000) p531. Lovat, (2013) pp69-83.
[43]Outhwaite, (1996) p12.
[44]Ibid.
[45]Ibid.
[46]See Martin, (2012) p99.
[47]Outhwaite, (1996) p13.
[48]Ibid.
[49] Ibid., from Faktizitat und Geltung, p570.

kind of social philosophy that may be seen as a general theory of education.[50] The problem

Habermas leaves for the student of Oriental governance is that he presupposes a democratic

form of government. Whereas two of his three contexts may exist in Saudi Arabia, political

democracy does not, not in the Western occidental sense at least. It might then be reasonably

argued that a majalis[51] system that allows for discussion and access to governors may in fact

surpass the opportunities for the ordinary citizen to be heard afforded by a system of

representative democracy.

Moon, (1995) states that Habermas does not 'project a vision of a just society,[52] and whilst

acknowledging that terrorism is an 'elusive concept' presenting a dangerous challenge to

global society, there remains uncertainty whether terrorism has claim to any political

legitimacy.[53] Consequently given the lack of an apparent political objective to the 9/11 attacks,

Habermas questions the strategic wisdom of issuing a declaration of war on terrorism, arguing

that is so doing that it bestows upon al-Qaeda a political legitimacy of which it is undeserving.

He argues that 9/11 heralded a new era that calls for a reassessment of established

international law and a return to the ideals of the Enlightenment, to 'world citizenry and

cosmopolitan right.'[54]

3.2. METHOD

3.2.1. Methodological Skirmishing or Academic War?

Given that this thesis is built upon a foundation of social movement theory, it establishes its

methodological legitimacy and method around that discipline. Della Porta, (2014) argues that

whilst there may appear to exist a philosophical dichotomy between scholars adopting either

'positivist' or 'interpretivist' methodologies, in practice researchers inevitably adopt a more

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[50]Englund, 2006. Jürgen Habermas and Education, *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 2006, Vol 38, No. 5, 499-501, p500.See also Englund, (2010) Educational Implications of the Idea of Deliberative Democracy, in Murphy and Fleming, (eds) (2010) Habermas, Critical Theory and Education, p19.
[51]Majalis, a meeting place for citizens to petition a ruler or governor.
[52]Moon, (1995)in White (ed) p144.
[53]Borradori, (2003) pxii.
[54]Ibid., xiv.

flexible approach, using what she terms 'methodological pluralism.'[55] She suggests that both

sides of the academy see the value of operating outside of the strict constraints of one

discipline or the other resulting in the adoption of an effective triangulation of mixed methods.

From Klandermans, Staggenborg, and Tarrow, (2002) Della Porta suggests that the theoretical

differences have not escalated into 'methodological wars, but rather have encouraged scholars

to use a variety of methods, build upon one another's research findings and constructively

criticize each other's theoretical perspective.'[56] Klandermans et al., add that this is not to say

that there have not been significant theoretical disagreements but that these actually enrich

the debate rather than detract from it. Offering up a wide range of methods for the collection

of data, Della Porta states that each has its own strengths and weaknesses, and creating the

appropriate research instrument and asking the right questions is central to effective efficient

research.

Denzin, (2009) appears not to share Della Porta's confidence in the relative peaceful co-

existence of the two schools, arguing that there is a dispute, that it is 'international,

acrimonious, and there are elements of state-sponsored support "in the West" for a return to

a kind of neo-positivist quantitative inquiry.'[57] However, in spite of any disagreement within

the academy of the legitimacy of qualitative data there is value in utilising those techniques

that give a researcher flexibility of method, offer 'a more holistic view' and prove particularly

useful given the intensity of subject contact during fieldwork.[58]

3.2.2. Flexibility of Method

Given the nature of this research project and its reliance on subject interaction during

fieldwork, this author's research takes the form of predominantly qualitative analysis. It draws

upon the techniques that Miles and Huberman, (2014) refer to as '"a little bit of this and a little

bit of that," used on an "as needed basis" whilst remaining 'deliberate and diligent in our

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[55]Della Porta, (2014) p2.
[56]Klandermans, Staggenborg, and Tarrow, (2002) p315 in Della Porta, (2014) p2.
[57]Stronach, (2006) p758 in Denzin& Lincoln, (2013) p139.
[58]Della Porta, (2014) p7.

analytical methodologies and work.'[59] It may be argued that the use of surveying methods for one part of the research takes it into the realms of Large N small n, mixed methods triangulation, 'the use of multiple research methods and types of data to analyse the same problem…allows the analyst to paint a more holistic picture of the complex phenomenon… .'[60] Nevertheless, this thesis remains predominantly a work based on qualitative methodology. The major part of the research undertaken by this author is conducted through in-depth interviews, defined as 'a technique or procedure used to collect data,' supplemented by a survey on issues of employment and education.[61] The objective of these interviews has been to draw on information from subjects that will either allow for the recalibration of existing knowledge or for the acquisition of that which may be new, or hitherto undocumented.

3.2.3. A Question of Ethics, Risk and Trust

Milan, (2014) addresses four major questions in regard to ethics in social movement research. The first she identifies as 'the question of relevance since there is a need to establish if subjects are interviewed for the production of knowledge or with alternative motives in the mind of the researcher.'[62] In the case of the collection of knowledge for this thesis, it matters that Saudi Arabia's youth speak for themselves allowing the academy to listen to what it is they feel and have to say. It permits recalibration of existing knowledge and adds to it. It matters also to the Saudi youth bulge since they are afforded a voice.

Milan next turns to the question of risk associated with social movement research, and subject concerns that it constitutes a 'police science' especially in research wherein free-speech may have consequences. Consequently, trust becomes an essential prerequisite for successful and meaningful research. She identifies that many subjects require anonymity for various reasons preferring to not be noticed by any state apparatus. Researchers in Saudi Arabia may be viewed cautiously by research subjects, for as Ménoret, (2005) reports from his research in

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[59]Miles, Huberman, and Saldana, (2014) p9.
[60]Ayoub et al, (2014) p68.
[61]Della Porta, (2014) p228.
[62]Milan, (2014) p447.

Riyadh as being viewed as 'an object of suspicion…whose research could add some day to the information gathering by Western governments, security agencies, and private and public armies.' [63] Le Renard, (2014) also conducting fieldwork in Riyadh in what she terms 'A Society of Young Women,' encounters similar problems when researching within a religious organisation and found 'their mistrust proved insurmountable.'[64] Conversely, this author's own research did not encounter any such difficulties, rather experiencing active encouragement by research subjects to expand the circle of enquiry and to report faithfully and accurately on what was found. This is most probably because unlike Ménoret, and Le Renard who were relatively new to the Kingdom, this author had been embedded in part of the society over a 35-year period starting in 1973 and consequently was known to pose no threat to either citizen or State security. Nevertheless, at all times this interviewer was mindful 'to see the world from the point of view of the interlocutor, and all of this without "going native".'[65] Subjects gave of their time generously and contributed to a 'snowballing effect,'[66] which through contacts, resulted in a rich and wide source of interviewees. In total, 187 subjects from a broad cross-section of Saudi society (both male and female) were talked to in semi-structured interviews, carried out between March 2013 and July 2015 in various parts of the Kingdom.[67] It appeared that all interviewees spoke frankly about their feeling in response to interview questions and in some cases were quite outspoken. Many of the interviewees spoke to this researcher on multiple occasions and group discussions were held on a wide range of subjects all applicable to this research project. Due to the sensitivities of the Saudi people, no request or attempt was made to record any interviews, and only bullet-point notes were taken during interviews, detailed notes being written up immediately after the conclusion of interviews. All interviewees were offered anonymity and whilst some (generally younger interviewees) expressed a specific desire to have their contribution

[63]Ménoret, (2014) p15.
[64]Le Renard, (2014) p15.
[65]Della Porta, (2014) p245.
[66]Atkinson and Flint, (2004) SAGE Encyclopaedia of Social Science Research Methods. http://srmo.sagepub.com/view/the-sage-encyclopedia-of-social-science-research-methods/n931.xml
[67]Given the number of interviews undertaken and inevitability of some repetition in interviews responses from some interviewees will not be explicitly referred within this thesis.

acknowledged most spoke openly, comfortable in the knowledge that specific controversial comments would not be attributed directly to them by name.

Milan continues by suggesting that the process of research has power since 'science is power, for all research findings have political implications.'[68] Consequently, responsibility follows and the concomitant requirement for ethical behaviours. The challenge for researchers in social movement research is to retain professional detachment -- offering subjects the assurance that by offering to support the research programme they will not be compromised, whilst the objective of the researcher should be to serve the academy and beyond. Consequently, it begs the question 'to whom should research matter?'[69]

The final part of Milan's discussion on ethics considers accountability on the part of researchers and their responsibilities to the subjects. She succinctly outlines accountability in social science research as 'a set of measures that, if taken seriously, contribute to building bridges between academia and the social world from a perspective of social change.'[70] This is a fundamental objective of this thesis.

3.2.4. Ethical Applications: Approval and Refusal

Prior to any interviewing taking place responsible and ethical research demands compliance with appropriate protocols.[71] To this end ethics approval for this research project was sought and granted on 11 December 2012 and an updated approval for amended research requirements on 11 February 2013. However, a request by this researcher for approval to interview Saudi former jihadis who had fought in Afghanistan, Bosnia and Chechnya but had reintegrated in to Saudi society previously, was denied.[72]

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[68]Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, p6 in Milan (2014), p446.
[69]Milan, (2014) p446.
[70]Ibid., p459.
[71]Yin, 2014, pp76-77. Also Miles et al, pp58-66.
[72]Application to interview former Jihadis refused by the Ethics Committee of the School of Government and International Affairs, Durham University, March 2013.

3.2.5. Alternative Methods: A Quantitative Approach

To augment the qualitative methodology that is predominant throughout this research project and thereby achieve comprehensive and representative results, a quantitative element is included within the methodology. This takes the form of a survey of 43 questions in English and Arabic and covers issues of employment and education. According to Punch, (2003) 'a great strength of the qualitative survey as a research strategy is this breadth and flexibility'[73] The form, structure and complexity, and the delivery instrument/survey[74] was subject of considerable research and discussion prior to construction, and launched with advice taken from multiple sources both from within the Kingdom and from academic sources. Given that the major instrument to launch the survey was to be an on-line platform, guidance was taken from Sue and Ritter, (2012) who advise that when 'the sample size is fairly large and widely distributed, digital administration is a good option.'[75] The platform of choice is *Kwiksurveys* distributed via *Facebook*, *Twitter* and email. This afforded the opportunity for 'random sampling,' for as Creswell, (2014) argues, 'with randomization, a representative sample from a population provides the ability to generalize to a population.'[76] It is believed that this is the first survey of its type by an independent researcher to canvas opinions on these subjects from a wide range of Saudis from across the Kingdom and also those studying abroad. Given that the survey posed 43 questions, most requiring one answer from five options, some scepticism was expressed regarding what level of response the survey might attract. It was considered by some to be overly ambitious. Comments ranged from that the response would be measured in thousands because this is something that all young people are interested in, to 'maybe lucky to get a hundred…because we are a very lazy people.'[77] In the final reckoning the response fell somewhere between the two extremes with 1196 questionnaires completed via social media.

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[73]Punch, (2003) p4.
[74]Creswell, (2014) Design, pp159-160.
[75]Sue and Ritter, (2012) Conducting Online Surveys. See also Tuten et al, Conducting online surveys. Advanced methods for conducting online behavioural research, (pp179-192). Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association, vii, 286 pp. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037
[76]Creswell, (2014) p158.
[77]Discussion with Abdullah G' and Abdullah Y and Shadi' prior to survey launch, Riyadh, 27 January 2013.

Creswell, (2014) argues for the need for validation of survey results.[78] To this end and to accommodate respondents who stated a preference to complete a hard copy of the survey, 325 paper copies were distributed in Riyadh, Dhahran and Tabuk. Of these 243 were returned completed.   No significant differences were observed between the responses from the Kwiksurveys instrument and the hard copies, although the latter came from a narrower geographical field.   The survey and results appear as Annex C and D to this thesis.

3.3. CONCLUSION

This chapter outlines the methodological approach that supports this thesis, drawing on the thought and methodologies of Durkheim and Habermas, each set in very different times and space. It explores the issue of the scientific approach to society and the potential for differences of opinion within the academy and issues that are relevant to the Saudi youth bulge. It argues for a qualitative approach to the operation of method but how this can be enhanced through the addition of a small but not insignificant quantitative element to the research. This in turn, has demonstrated that the Saudi youth bulge care about those issues that affect their lives, particularly in matters of education and employment.

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[78]Creswell, (2014) p160.

CHAPTER 4

SAUDI ARABIA'S YOUTH BULGE - FROM PROTEST TO TERRORISM

'Terrorism is a universal phenomenon, without a nationality or a religion. It has become a major threat to world peace and stability of all nations.'[1]

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Protest in whatever form signals discontent with the status quo and a consequent demand for change. Aristotle feared change as a threat to stability of the state. 'Discontent is a constant threat to stability; and inequality, being a kind of injustice, is a potent cause of discontent.'[2] Hobbes argued for the state of nature to be a state of perfect freedom and equality,' but that equality was about the ability to gain power'[3]. For Hobbes human nature was 'nasty, brutal…' and the power of the King had to be absolute and without challenge to contain that brutality.[4] Locke on the other hand, countered that in the absence of the state, the law of nature came from God, and if governments were self-serving and neglected the interests of the people, they could legitimately be overthrown.[5] In Saudi Arabia, a religious, conservative society wherein the Qur'an and the Sunnah are the constitution, the path that it takes towards modernity is inevitably fraught with obstacles and at times intense opposition from within.[6] Beck, commenting on the evolution of the modern state, likened the change to a 'metamorphosis', and to a snake shedding the skin of its classical tasks and developing a new global 'skin of task.'[7] Such is the journey of change that Saudi Arabia embarks upon under the leadership of a modernizing King, one committed to an incremental programme of reform

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[1]Al-Helwah, International Terrorism. King Saud University, Political Science Department, 2005, p3. Unpublished Paper in Arabic cited in Al-Khateeb, 2005, p50. In Saudis and Terror. Cross Cultural Views.
[2]Aristotle, The Politics, p295 Vi *(1301a19-13o2a15).*
[3]Lacewing, (undated) The State of Nature, p3.
http://cw.routledge.com/textbooks/alevelphilosophy/data/AS/WhyShouldIBeGoverned/Stateofnature.pdf
[4]Locke and Hobbes, two contrasting views of the English Revolution
http://www.iun.edu/~hisdcl/h114_2002/Locke%20and%20Hobbes.htm see also St Thomas Aquinas on Politics and Ethics, (1988) On Kingship, p27.
[5](i) http://cw.routledge.com/textbooks/alevelphilosophy/data/AS/WhyShouldIBeGoverned/Stateofnature.pdf (ii) Locke and Hobbes, two contrasting views of the English Revolution http://www.iun.edu/~hisdcl/h114_2002/Locke%20and%20Hobbes.htm
[6]Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia, Washington D.C. http://www.saudiembassy.net/about/country-information/laws/The_Basic_Law_Of_Governance.aspx
[7]Beck, (1994) p38.

whilst seeking to maintain a peaceful balance between modernizing liberals and Islamic conservatives and take the Kingdom along the 'middle way - al-wasatiyya.'[8]

4.2. ACTION AND REACTION

4.2.1. The Middle Way: A Difficult Path to Tread

It is a delicate balance to maintain and it's impossible to keep all intellectually opposed parties satisfied all of the time. For some the pace of reform is frustratingly slow, whilst others attempt to invoke Shariah to strengthen their argument to maintain the status quo or revert to even more strict interpretation of Wahhabist theology and practice. In a country in which religion and politics are inextricably linked, the issue is not simply one of Islam itself but of its interpretation by a very young population within an increasingly globalized society subject to constant change. January 2015 saw the passing of King Abdullah and the apparently seamless transition as King Salman ascended the throne and promised continuity.[9] In spite of concerns over succession and particularly of the planned succession to the next generation of the grandsons of Ibn Saud, the change appeared similarly seamless.[10] All indications are, as Stenslie, (2012) argues, 'that the al-Sa'ud is far more united that what is commonly believed,'[11] and the reason for this according to Gause, (2011) can be attributed to four factors: Foremost is having the resources to buy loyalty; second, effective and loyal security forces; third, a network of patronage and fourth and finally, divisions within reform factions. However, Gause concedes that factors remain that could still destabilize the regime, including rapid royal succession and high youth unemployment.[12] Perhaps he should have added, low oil prices. The appointment of Mohammed bin Naif as the new Deputy Crown Prince was universally welcomed throughout the Kingdom by youth and older Saudis alike.[13] Whilst continuity of

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[8]Meijer, (2012) in Deol and Kazmi, (2012) p167.
[9]BBC News Middle East, 23 January 2014, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-30950731 See also Cordesman, 23 January 2015, CSIS http://csis.org/publication/saudi-arabias-smooth-succession-king-dead-long-live-king
[10]See Henderson, 2009, After King Abdullah, Succession in Saudi Arabia. The Washington Institute for Near East Policy. http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PolicyFocus96_Henderson.pdf
[11]Stenslie, (2012) p2.
[12]Gause, (2011) pp5-13.
[13]This author's interviews with 12 Saudis of various ages immediately after the new King came to power and the appointment of the first grandson to the line of succession.

policy may have been the intent, the new younger generation of leaders chosen to implement it came to power in swiftly implemented, sweeping changes.[14]

Under the previous leadership there had been some public expression of discontent with various aspects of governance. For example, in an interview on the stock market report *Al Eqtisadiyhah*, economist and academic Saad al-Jowhar argued that the economy was performing so badly because it was run by old men totally out of touch with a fast-moving world and the Saudi younger generation.[15] The changes implemented by the new King indicate that someone had listened. However, the challenge that faces these new younger leaders is whether they can make the changes that will give the Kingdom's youth bulge what it needs whilst steering all away from extremism. Terrorism remains an ever-present concern for the members of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and at the February 2015 conference held in Jeddah, Secretary-General, Madani acknowledged that military means alone would not provide the solution. Consequently a unified approach must be sought to draw on the expertise of 'political leaders, clerics, community leaders, scholars and experts from across the member states.'[16]

4.2.2. Incremental Change

Whilst some fear may remain of state retribution if boundaries are crossed, significant changes have taken place over the past forty years. In the early 1970s, there was a palpable culture of fear of being heard criticizing the government. Various individuals within Saudi society and in the work place were believed to be on the payroll of the Mabahith al-Ammah (The General Investigation Directorate). The situation was as Osa, (2003) concluded on non-democratic states, for life in the Kingdom at that time was subject to 'press censorship and restrictions on travel' and there was a fear, real or imagined, of secret police surveillancedeployment of

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[14]Al-Araby, 30 January 2015.
[15]Al Jowhar, 22 May 2013, Al Eqtisadiyhah, Riyadh, Stock market report.
[16]Arab News, 16 February 2015, http://www.arabnews.com/saudi-arabia/news/705201

informants and spy networks.[17] Today there is more open debate throughout Saudi society, which would have been unthinkable forty years ago, and social media has taken this to an altogether higher level.[18]

Objections to government policy in the kingdom are invariably muted and any incident is seized up by foreign media as an indication that the regime is about to fall.[19] In an interview with this author an interviewee raised the issue of an incident that occurred on 17 May 2013 in Riyadh that was widely reported in the international media.[20] A vegetable seller Ali Jabiar Al-Houraysi died in an act of self-immolation, setting himself on fire after pouring petrol over himself. It is alleged that he did so in protest to being harassed by police for selling his vegetables from a place that was not approved and of not being able to produce identification documentation. Unsurprisingly, international media linked this incident to the death of Mohammed Bouazizi, the Tunisian vegetable seller whose death appeared to trigger the protests that ignited the Arab Spring that swept through the Middle East throughout 2011. However, in the case of al-Houraysi, other than for a brief demonstration outside a police station, the incident passed-off without any escalation of protest. Nevertheless, as an interviewee argued, Saudi Arabia has a significant number of poor people and this incident may have been a demonstration of the inequalities and lack of social justice, but it could have been as a result of some quite different cause.

4.2.3. Resistance and Resistance to Change

Resistance to the way the state operates appears to take a number of forms within the Kingdom, from widespread use of social media to rare public criticism and demonstrations. Citing an example, Khalid, (2013) reports on an incident that occurred on February 27, 2013 when a group of women publicly protested in Buraida, Qassim Province.[21] They took to the

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[17]Osa, (2003) in Diani and McAdam, (2003) p100.
[18]Personal observation by this author in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia over the period 1973 to 2015.
[19]Ibid.
[20](i)Interview with Abdulaziz al-Gasim , 18 May 2013, Riyadh. (ii) See BBC News Middle East, 17 May 2013.
http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-22565290
[21]Khalid, Global Voices 03 March 2013. http://globalvoicesonline.org/author/osama-khalid/page/4/

streets to protest against the alleged treatment they had suffered from Ministry of the Interior officials when they had staged a sit-in protest against the continued detention of family members held without trial. They publicly called for the resignation of the Minister of the Interior for the actions of Ministry officials. Consequently, the women were arrested and detained by the security services. This in turn provoked a reaction from a further group of protestors. Around 160 men, women and children demonstrated outside the Bureau for Investigation and Public Prosecutions in Buraida and remained there throughout the night. The following morning the demonstrators were arrested as reported in Amnesty International News dated 1 March 2013.[22] Tweeted reports state that a man who brought blankets to the protestors had also been arrested by the authorities. However, prior to his arrest this protestor had made a video in which he explained what he was going to do and this was distributed via social media. The premeditation of the recording and the placing of it on YouTube prior to the incident, suggests the objective had been to provoke the authorities into making the arrest and thereby discrediting them in a world-wide forum.

For groups involved, positions appear polarized, with Human Rights organizations reporting statements based mostly upon social media reports and official communiqués. For example, following the Buraida incident, Philip Luther of Amnesty International stated, 'This cat and mouse game authorities in Saudi Arabia are playing is simply outrageous, instead of persecuting peaceful protestors, what the Saudi Authorities should do is listen to their demands and release all those held solely for exercising their human rights.'[23] However, Amnesty International reacted to social media reports and presented no independent verification beyond tweets and videos uploaded onto YouTube. The official response to the protests and subsequent arrests came from the Deputy Governor of Qasim Province. On

[22]Press TV 01 March 2013. http://edition.presstv.ir/detail.fa/291612.html See also Arab News, 02 March 2013. http://www.arabnews.com/saudi-arabia/161-arrested-buraidah See also Amnesty International Saudi Arabia, Unfulfilled promises, https://www.google.com.sa/search?q=buraidah+protest+March+1+2013+amnesty+international&oq=buraidah+protest+March+1+2013+amnesty+international&gs_l=serp.3...17845.22964.0.23340.22.22.0.0.0.0.198.3005.0j20.20.0.msedr...0...1c.1.62.serp..7.15.2250.lJ6UFuQKYg8
[23]Amnesty International, 20 May 2013. http://www.amnesty.org/en/news/saudi-arabia-must-stop-playing-cat%20-and-mouse-game-with-peaceful-protestors%2001%20march%202013,%20accessed%2028%20May%202013.

March 3, 2013 he is reported as stating, 'A rational man would not tolerate women going to the streets.'[24] Castells, (2012) argues that 'the paths to revolution are always surprising',[25] and identifies the impact made by women in revolution, citing the case of the Asmaa Mahfouz who via Facebook called upon men to join her in Tahrir Square.

> 'Whoever says women shouldn't go to the protest because they will get beaten, let him have some honor and man-hood, come with me on January 25th… If you have honor and dignity as a man, come and protect me, and the other girls in the protest.'[26]

From above, social movement theory provides a framework for understanding the issues that might potentially link Saudi Arabia's youth bulge and terrorism. Boyns and Ballard draw upon six essays from leading theorists that analyze the causes of terrorist 'bottom-up, counter-hegemonic' action. These include counter-hegemony, resource-mobilization, counter-institutionalization, power-prestige, ritualization and solidarity propositions. They argue that acts of terrorism are more than simple reactions to perceptions of injustice and hegemony; they may be the ultimate reaction to failure of all other methods to radically alter the status quo. They suggest that 'in Weberian terms, terrorist groups are the charismatic components of social movements.'[27] It is irrefutable that Saudi Arabia has produced terrorists who, along with others, perpetrated arguably the most spectacular and devastating act of terror in recent history. However, the numbers are low even though the majority of the Saudi population is young and some 70,000 young Saudis went to jihad in Afghanistan, Bosnia and Chechnya,[28] and 'according to a modern definition *jihad* is the "self-exertion" of a Muslim to discipline his own soul, to improve one's faith and to refrain from combat, his own evil inclination.'[29] Nevertheless, al-Asseri, (2009) confirms that the Saudi government 'knew that that the path

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[24]Khaled, 03 March 2013. http://globalvoicesonline.org/2013/03/03/saudi-prince-a-rational-man-would-not-tolerate-women-going-to-the-streets/
[25]Castells, (2014) pp69-70.
[26]Ibid.
[27]Boyns, and Ballard, Developing a Sociological Theory for the Empirical Understanding of Terrorism, (2004), p16. *The American Sociologist.* 35. (2) pp5-25.
[28]9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States.
See also: Cordesman and Obaid, 2 February 2005, p5.
[29]Shmuel Bar, Jihad Ideology in Light of Contemporary Fatwas. Research Monographs on the Muslim World, Series No 1, Paper No 1 August 2006. http://www.hudson.org/content/researchattachments/attachment/1382/20060906_s_bar_jihad.pdf

that some of those who had fought in the Afghan jihad against the Soviets had adopted was inhuman and un-Islamic,'[30] and so it continues today with DAESH.

4.3. SECURITY IN TIMES OF UNCERTAINTY

4.3.1. Security and Uncertainty in Earlier Times

This section briefly considers Islam in its historical context with a view to demonstrating how scholars and ideologues formed the political-religious landscape from the earliest times and to identify those people and events that created the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia as it is today. It illustrates that issues of security and uncertainty have been ever-present from the time of the origin of one of the world's great religions.

It is stated that the mission of the Prophet Muhammad and the four caliphs that succeeded him was neither to secure political nor economic reform nor to create a unified country nor an empire, although what followed was an inevitable consequence. The mission was exclusively 'to deliver themessage of God to all the peoples of the world and to invite them to submit to Him, while being the foremost among those who submitted.'[31] Clearly the Prophet was successful in this objective given that by 2014, 28.26% of the world's population (2.08 billion people) was Muslim.[32] Yamani, (1997) states that Islam is the single predominant factor in moulding the Kingdom and its people, and that since the time of the Prophet, the influence of the Arabian Peninsula has been central to Islamic faith and so it remains.[33] The primary role of Islamic governments remains as it has since the time of the Prophet, to govern in accordance with Islamic law, the Qur'an and the Sunnah,[34] for 'the Islamic view … is based on the view that man was created in the first place for worshipping God Almighty…hence in view of this stand

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[30]Aseeri, (2009) p133.
[31]The Rightly-Guided Caliphs, http://www.islamicweb.com/history/bio_caliphs.htm
[32]Muslim Population in the World. http://www.muslimpopulation.com/World/
[33]Yamani, (1997) To be a Saudi , p3.
[34]The Rightly-Guided Caliphs, http://www.islamicweb.com/history/bio_caliphs.htm

point the academic syllabi in Islamic societies, and in particular in Saudi Arabia must necessarily be based, in its structure conception and content on the Islamic Shari'ah.'[35]

The Islamic movement's development was from the beginning violent[36] with the Prophet having to fight many battles[37] and with even his death being attributed by many Muslims to him having been poisoned by a Jewish maid in retribution for his killing of her family.[38] Whilst he did not die as an immediate result of the poisoning he himself believed that it weakened him to such an extent that it shortened his life.[39] Wynbrandt, (2010) states that the Prophet ultimately died from a fever.[40]

Wynbrandt, (2010) recounts that in pre-Islamic times Christian and Jewish communities coexisted alongside pagan polytheists particularly along the western coast of Arabia and towards Yemen. However, by the time the Prophet died in 632, Islam was the predominant faith across Arabia. Much of its original appeal could be attributed to the charisma of the prophet himself but with his passing, so did some of the converts slip away from the faith. The matter of spiritual and political direction was complicated by there being no firm succession plan in place. Four leading candidates, men close to the Prophet were identified and eventually Abu-Bakr al-Siddiq, father-in-law to Mohammad was elected in an early display of internal democracy and these four candidates would each become Khalifah in turn, being referred to as the 'Rightly Guided Caliphs' or the 'Rashidun.'[41] Abu Bakr led the Muslims for just two years during which time he brought back those who had strayed from the faith by

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[35]Al-Qasim et al, (2008) Letter to the West. A Saudi View, p81.
[36]See Wynbrandt, (2010) pp41-44 for reports of battles of Badr (624) and the Trench (627).
[37] For Battles fought by the Prophet, see Omer, (2011) Prophet Muhammed, His life and Times, pp31-41.
[38] Author's Interview with Ahmed, religious scholar, Riyadh, 11 February 2016.
[39] (i)Narrated Anas bin Malik: A Jewess brought a poisoned (cooked) sheep for the Prophet who ate from it. She was brought to the Prophet and he was asked, "Shall we kill her?" He said "no" I continued to see the effect of the poison on the palate of the mouth of Allah's Apostle. Sahih Bukari 3.47. 786. (ii) The Apostle of Allah sent for Zaynab and said to her, "What induced you to do what you have done?" She replied, "You have done to my people what you have done. You have killed my father, my uncle and my husband, so I said to myself, "If you are a prophet, the foreleg will inform you; and others have said, "If you are a king we will get rid of you," See al-Rossooli (2012) p73. (iii) Interview with Majed, Islamic scholar, 12 February 2016.
[40]Wynbrandt, (2010) p46.
[41]Ibid., p49

force of arms.[42]   However, his rule was short-lived for in 634, in violent and uncertain times Abu-Bakr died from poisoning.[43]

The second caliph was appointed by Abu-Bakr prior to his death and the successor Umar in a decade of leadership of the Muslims extended the reach of the faithful into the Persian and Byzantine empires across what are today Syia, Iraq and Iran and part of Egypt.[44] An accomplished administrator, military strategist and commander, he took defeated forces into his own ranks and retrained them, a lesson that latter-day Western politicians and commanders would have done well to have learned. His achievements were considerable including setting up efficient systems of taxation and introducing the Hijira calendar, in use until this day. Similarly he reintroduced the Taraweeh prayer, once cancelled by the Prophet lest it might be made mandatory by God. Umar argued that he was no prophet, had no divine lineage and 'because he knew his action could not be made obligatory upon the Umma,'reinstated it.[45] It remains to this day as a prayer offered up during the month of Ramadan. Umar was a man known for permitting debate but in common with his predecessors, fell victim to violence in 644.   He was stabbed to death by a Christian slave, Abu Lua Lua a Magian from the defeated Persians who attacked thirteen and killed seven with a poisoned blade,[46] demonstrating that a defeated enemy, even when coopted, remains a threat. Six men were selected by Umar as he lay near death to choose the third Caliph. With the choice between Uthman and Ali, Uthman was chosen and would rule for the following twelve years (644-656). Whilst Uthman expanded the Islamic empire as far as Armenia[47] he was less successful militarily than was his predecessor. Whilst he captured the last Persian emperor his major contribution to Islamic civilization is considered to be in ordering the third

[42]Ibid., pp47-49.
[43] (i)Jubouri, (2010) Islamic Thought, pp58-59. (ii)Interview with Yazeed former student at Islamic University of Medina 09 January 2016.
[44]Wynbrandt, (2010) p50.
[45]Abu Ruasah, (undated) Innovative Excuses, http://sunnahonline.com/library/beliefs-and-methodology/68-innovative-excuses
[46] Hozien, (undated) History of Islamic Civilzation. Glimpses from the life of Umar bin Khatab. http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/mih/isl/umar.htm#lega
[47] Wynbrandt, (2010) p51.

compilation of the Qur'an, a book of guidance referred to as the 'Uthman Scriptures.'[48]

Uthman considered this essential since many of those who had memorised the original

versions has been killed in inter-tribal wars and there was a fear that the word of God would

be lost or distorted. However, during the period of Uthman's rule the influence of the Arabs as

the predominant race within the Muslim world began to wane as they were overshadowed by,

'Berbers, Persians, Slavs, Africans, Turks and Kurds.'[49] Utham's clan the Umayyad of the

Quraysh had resisted the Prophet although Uthman had been an early convert.[50] However,

because of his lineage many did not trust his conversion and he was regarded as corrupt and

opposition grew to such an extent that a mob attacked and murdered him in his home.[51]

Upon Uthman's death Ali bin Abu Talib, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet became the last

of the four Rightly Guided Caliphs.[52] However, he was accused by some of being implicated in

the assassination of Uthman and this mistrust prevented Ali from bringing the Umma together

as a cohesive movement. Here was the crucial point from where Islam started to splinter with

those who followed Ali as the Shia t'Ali, the party of Ali whilst those opposed to him, referred

to themselves as Sunni, the followers of tradition.[53] Bowen (2015) argues that at this point the

differences between Sunni and Shia were over issues of succession of the caliphate rather than

over 'religious ideology.'[54] As positions polarised Ali was challenged by Aisha, widow of the

Prophet, some of the Prophet's companions and Muawiya, Uthman's cousin who himself

aspired to of caliphacy. The Battle of Camel[55] on 8th December 656 heralded 'the first civil war

of Islam,'[56] and whilst Ali triumphed, the later Battle of Siffin ended with no clear winner.[57] A

period of civil war followed until such time as both parties agreed to arbitration by a Quranic

tribunal. However, a group of Ali's supporters believing only God could choose the caliph,

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[48]Cornell, (2007) Voices of Islam, p51.
[49]Bowen, (2015) The History of Saudi Arabia, p51.
[50]Hourani, (2002) A History of the Arab Peoples, p25.
[51]Gillespie, (2013) The Causes of War, Volume 1. 3000 BCE to 1000 BCE, p224.
[52]Simmonds, (1984) Believers All, p71.
[53]Bowen, (2015) pp55-56.
[54]Ibid.
[55]Battle of the Camel so known because Aisha sat atop a 'scarlet pananquin on the back of a camel' to watch the battle. Irwin, (2010) Camel, p90.
[56] Cavendish, (2006) The World and its Peoples, p534.
[57]Hickman, (undated) Muslim Empire: Battle of Siffin. http://militaryhistory.about.com/od/battleswarsto1000/p/siffin.htm

seceded and known as the Kharijites[58] broke away in violent opposition to both sides. Ali's rule was shortlived, as he too died by the hand of a Kharijite assassin.[59] The Kharijites plotted to assassinate both Ali and Muawiya but by failing in a crucial half of the plan, reinforced Muawiya's rule and power and so began the Umayyad dynasty during which political issues took prominence over religion. However, with the passing of Muawiya in 680 the issue of succession arose again with Yazid son of Muawiya on one side and Hussain son of Ali on the other, culminating in Hussain's death at the battle of Karbala.[60] The martyrdom of Hussain, marked a point of irreparable damage to the oneness of the Muslim Umma, a wound that festers to this day.[61]

To understand the political-religious Islamic heritage 1300 years after the death of the Prophet requires at least a brief review of the four schools of Islamic jurisprudence. The first establishment of formal rules of Islamic law came not out of Arabia but the Levant during the Umayyad dynasty. There, local governors appointed qadis to interpret the laws but with the rise of the Abbasid dynasty came the necessity for a system that could gain universal acceptance throughout the Isalamic world.[62] Out of this came four schools of Sunni thought[63] a fifth Ja'fari being adopted by the Shia.[64]

The first and most tolerant of the four orthodox Sunni schools of fiqh is the Hanafiyyah School named after Abu Hanifa, (al-Nu'man ibn Thabit, 699-767) of Persian descent born in Kufa in Iraq. This school is less reliant on the oral traditions whilst favouring the place of reason (qiyas) in the law. Abu Hanifa argued for the Qur'an and the 'universal concurrence of the Ummah (community) of Islam on a point of law, as represented by legal and religious scholars, constituted evidence of the will of God,'[65] as the basis of Islamic law but acknowledged the

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[58]For more on the Kharijites see Timani, (2008) Modern Intellectual Readings of the Kharijites.
[59]Moubayed, (2015) Under the Black Flag: At the Frontier of the New Jihad, p214.
[60]Abu Ammar, (undated) The History of Karbala, http://www.islamicinformationcentre.co.uk/karbala.htm
[61]For comprehensive reporting of the subsequent development of Islam and its part in the creation of the Saudi state see Wynbrandt, (2010) pp55-208.
[62]Wynbrandt, (2010) pp88-89.
[63]For outline of four Sunni schools of Islamic thought see http://www.islam-laws.com/articles/sunnischools.htm
[64]Five Schools of Islamic Thought. http://www.al-islam.org/inquiries-about-shia-islam-sayyid-moustafa-al-qazwini/five-schools-islamic-thought
[65]See note 62.

importance of custom. The influence of this school waned with the decline of the Abbasids but enjoyed resurgence with the rise of the Ottoman Empire. Today, the Hanafi School predominates in Turkey, Albania, the Balkans and Pakistan.[66]

The second school of Sunni fiqh is Maliki or Malikiyyah founded by Malik bin Anas (713-795), a specialist in Islamic law from Medina. It shared with Hanafiyyah a doctrine of the Qur'an, hadiths, qiyas and ijma but interpreted the Umma as being those residents of Medina. However, this subsequently evolved until the Umma became only Islamic lawyers and scholars from Medina. Malik's greatest contribution to Islamic jurisprudence is regarded as being his al-Muwatta, *The Hidden Path* a code of law originating from the customs and rituals practiced in Medina. After the fall of the Ottaman Empire and the decline of the influence of Hanafi School, Malikiyyah enjoyed a resurgenceand today is predominant across Africa.[67]

The third Sunni School of jurisprudence is Shafi'I or Shafi'iyyah. (Muhammed ibn Idris al-Shafi'I) (767-819). Of the Quraysh, he was student of Malik in Medina. For this school the ultimate source of law is enshrined in the Qur'an and the Sunnah with ijma[68] of the people and qiyas[69] being of lesser importance. This school sought a compromise between the teachings of Hanafiyyah and Malikiyyah. It has a wide following across Egypt Indonesia and the Far East.[70]

The fourth school of Sunni thought is Hanbali (Hanbaliyyah) which places emphasis on unwavering compliance with the Qur'an and the Sunnah for the rule of law. Ahmad ibn Hanbal (780-855) was a student of Malik but more conservative requiring strict adherence to the hadiths with little room for interpretation or opinion. Reason was subordinate to text under this school. Whereas the all four schools called for women to wear the hijab the first three did not demand that women should always wear the veil except in places where not

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[66]See Appendix 4.
[67]Ibid.
[68]Shafaat, (1984) Islamic Perspectives: The Meaning of Ijma. http://www.islamicperspectives.com/meaningofijma.htm
[69]Ujaji, (03 July 2007) Qiyas in Islamic Law – A brief introduction. Qiyas- Anology- comparison: http://en.islamtoday.net/artshow-385-3387.htm
[70]See map at Appendix B.

wearing it might place them in danger.[71] However, the Hanbali school was more strict in the demand for women to fully cover in public.[72] The Hanbali School is the Official *madhhab* in Saudi Arabia,[73] but Roberts (2003) states that the rite of law 'that prevails in Saudi Arabia is not as primitive as often portrayed-in theory.'[74] This he argues is because even though a royal decree in 1928 made the Habali School predominant in matters of law in Saudi Arabia, ijtihad (reasoning) was included into Saudi Law in 1992. Henceforth quadis within the Saudi court system were obliged to referin the first instance to Hanbali jurisprudence, secondly refer to the other schools and finally refer to ijtihad.

Following the passing of Ahmad ibn Hanbal (855) the influence of Islam ebbed and flowed over the centuries losing some of the orthodoxy and purity of the earlier schools as power shifted with the drifting sands of empire. Wynbrandt, (2010) decribes Arabia in the early 14th century as a place, 'awash with heretical movements,'[75] since when even ultra-conservatives such as al-Ghazali whilst preaching against the value of reason on one hand, drew aspects of Sufism and mysticism into Islam on the other.[76] Ibn Taymiyya (1283-1328) bitterly opposed such practices as heretical saint worship and called for a return to the beginning, a literal enactment of the teaching of the Prophet, thereby to be Salafi.[77] Much later, in the 18th century Mohammed al Wahhab (1703-1792) made a similar call to eliminate idolatory such as the veneration of the martyrs from the decendents of Ali the fourth of the Rightly Guided Caliphs which he regarded as cult worship.[78] Along with a a tribal leader from Dirayah he set out to establish a state based upon his interpretation of theology. Two centuries later a descendent of the tribal leader aligned himself with the family of Mohammad al Wahhab with brought the

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[71]Interview with Islamic Scholar, Riyadh 05 March 2016. See also Akbari and Tetreault, (2014) Honor Killing, p101.
[72]Bucar, (2012) The Islamic Veil: A Beginner's Guide. P62.
[73]Legal System of Saudi Arabia, Faculty KSU.edu.
http://www.google.com.sa/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&frm=1&source=web&cd=6&ved=0ahUKEwimyZmCk6nLAhVEWhoKHYR0Ao
AQFgg6MAU&url=http%3A%2F%2Ffaculty.ksu.edu.sa%2F77921%2FDocuments%2FLEGAL%2520ENVIORNMENT%2520OF%2520B
USINESS%2FCHAPTER%25202.pptx&usg=AFQjCNGfO7Jc0ijMGCVyBVVb9qQ1MPKobw
[74]Roberts, (2003) Sharia law and the Arab Oil Bust, p60.
[75]Wynbrandt, (2010) p112.
[76]See Craig, (1998) Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Vol. 4, pp63-66.
[77]Salafism is controversial even within Islam. See: Let us correct our Islamic Faith: Founders of Salafism.
http://www.correctislamicfaith.com/foundersofsalafism.htm
[78](i)Agoston & Masters, (2009) Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire, p260. (ii)For more on the influence of Ibn Taymiyyah on Ibn
Abdul Wahhab, see al-Matroudi, (2006) pp159-161.

tribes together and 'Thus a theocratic state was established and political ideology became religious obligation,'[79] much as it does today. In the same way as he sought to unite the tribes into a nation, Ibn Saud sought to minimise the theological and practical distance between the four Sunni schools of jurisprudence. "How divided were the followers of the four schools..." and they kept doing this until King Abdulaziz Al Saud united them behind one Imam, and his son Saud took down the four stands when he renewed the building of God's house, God bless them both."[80]

In more recent times Salafism has been linked to terrorism.[81] Sageman, (2004) links the 'global Salafi jihad', to terrorist organizations such as al-Qaeda and various other violent Islamic organisations, including the Indonesian Jemaah Islamiyah, and in the Philippines, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front.[82] Spencer, (1996) identifies the characteristics of Salafiyya in the early Islamic reformist movement that spread throughout the Middle East and the Sub-Continent led by ideologues such as 'Sayyid Qutb and Hasa-al-Banna,' largely influenced by Maududi.[83] However, Woodward et al., (2013) argue against conventional wisdom stating, 'Broadly defined, theological orientations including Salafism and Sufism are not prime movers or causal factors leading to acceptance or rejection of violence against religious others as a political strategy.'[84]

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[79]Coughlin, (2006) Muslim Cultures Today: A Reference Guide. P161. See also: (i) Al-Rasheed, (2010) A History of Saudi Arabia, p17. (ii) Coates Ulrichsen, 2011 Saudi Arabia, in Davidson, (2011) Power and Politics in the Persian Gulf Monarchies, p63.

[80]Al Faqih, (2002) In Arabic Al Kashf Al Mobdee, p98. See photograph at Annex E which shows four separate shelters, one for each Sunni school of jurisprudence around the Kabah prior to all being united under one Imam by King Abdulaziz, Ibn Saud.

[81]Bakker, (2008) Jihadi Terrorists in Europe and Global Salafi Jihadis,in Coolsaet, (2008) (ed) Jihadi Terrorism and the Radicalization Challenge in Europe, pp69-84.

[82]Sageman, (2004) Understanding Terror Networks, pp63-64,

[83]Spencer, (1996) The Roots and Future of Islamism in Algeria in Sidahmed and Ehteshami (1996) Islamic Fundamentalism, p97. For more in the literature linking Salafyyah to terrorism see: (i)White (2014) Terrorism and Homeland Security, p 263.

(ii)Shehata, (2012) Islamist Politics in the Middle East: Movements and Change, p97. (iii)US Aid From the American People: Guide to Drivers of Violent Extremism. http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/Pnadt978.pdf (iv) Toros & Tellidis (2014) Bridging the Gap with Terrorism, Peace and Conflict Studies, pp126-129. For a comprehensive report on the Salafi movement see: Wiktorowicz, Anatomy of the Salafi Movement, *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism,* 29: 207-239, 2006. For more on Maududi and his influence on Qutb see: (i)Asyraf, et al The Influence of Al-Maududi and the Jam'at Al Islami Movement on Sayyid Qutb Writings. *World Journal of Islamic History and Civilization,* 2 (4): 232-236, 2012. (ii)Bevir, (2010) Encyclopedia of Islamic Theory, p721. (iii)Haynes, (2009) Routledge Handbook of Religion and Politics, pp163-164. (iv)Salmi et al (1998) Islam and Conflict Resolution. pp143-144.

[84]Woodward et al, *Perspectives on Terrorism,* Vol. 7 No.6. (2013) Salafia Violence and Sufi Tolerance? Rethinking Conventional Wisdom. p1. See also Salon, Zhou, 20 December 2015. "Salafi" does not equal "terrorist." Stop assuming conservative Muslims are violent extremists.

http://www.salon.com/2015/12/21/salafi_does_not_equal_terrorist_stop_assuming_all_conservative_muslims_are_violent_extremists/

4.3.2. Exploring the Links: Jihad and the Threat to Security

When reasons are sought for why some of Saudi Arabia's youth bulge turned to terrorism both at home and abroad, a common explanatory theme of jihad persists against the backdrop of a society in transition, in times of what Giddens referred to as 'manufactured uncertainty.'[85] This author's field work reveals widespread anger at Syria's civil war and concern that the Kingdom's youth were provoked to respond. Media images of atrocities in Syria incited Saudi youth to Pan-Islamic jihad. This author's interviews revealed widespread desire to intervene, but attitudes changed noticeably with the rise of DAESH.[86] Borum, (2011) states that data from polling companies such as Gallup and Pew indicate 'that there are tens of millions of Muslims worldwide who are sympathetic to 'jihadi aspirations' though most of them do not engage in violence.'[87] An interviewee took this point much further, stating that Islam had millions of martyrs waiting in the wings to answer the call. He cited the hadith wherein it states that first the Muslims and Christians will unite to overthrow the enemy but this would be followed by war between Muslims and Christians. He stated, 'We do not know when it will happen, an hour, a year or a century but it will happen.'[88] In support of this view, Singer, (2008) argues that for Muslims anything other than Islamic governance and Shari'a is illegitimate so 'there is automatically a theoretical state of war between the world of Islam and the rest of the world, Dar al Harb ("the world of war")…. The majority of Muslims believe in either *jihad*-now, *jihad*-as-soon-as-possible or most commonly, *jihad*-someday.'[89] Singer continues that the real problem for the United States is that it has to deal with covert threats, since 'the principal weapon of *jihad* is terror.'[90] As Sher, (2010) suggests, 'The call for Islamic war has more appeal than a war of liberation in countries like Iraq.'[91] However, other interviewees when discussing the Hadith which referred to the alliance between Muslims and

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[85]Giddens, (1994) p184.
[86]Author's interviews with Abdulrahman and Abdullatif, professionals, Riyadh 15 September 2014 and Omar and Salah, (aged 30) Dhahran 03 September 2014, Dhahran.
[87](i)Borum, (2011) Radicalization, p9.
[88]Interview with military officer 12 November 2014, Riyadh.
[89]Singer, 2008, p175.
[90]Ibid.
[91]Sher, 2010, p173.

Christians against 'an enemy' and the subsequent battle between them, argued that that Hadiths have been misappropriated and misinterpreted by extremist groups for their own political ends.[92] Whilst they believed the Hadiths, they felt that any number of occasions over the past 1400 years could have be engineered to fit the conditions, including the Mecca uprising of 1979 and the actions of and against Saddam Hussein.[93]

Hegghammer argued that the Saudi jihad is linked to Pan-Islamism a phenomenon traceable back to the 19th century and an ideology that the Nation of Muslims exists outside the constraints imposed by political and geographical borders. This author's observations over five decades and during more-recent interviews in the Kingdom confirm that many people aspire to this ideological and religious ideal of the Umma as a single Pan-Islamic Muslim entity whilst acknowledging the practicalities and realities of the nation state. As Hegghammer suggests there exists 'a tendency towards self-victimization and a strong emphasis on the defense of territory.'[94] Elsewhere he argues that whilst hard data is hard to come by, 'the hypothesis that unemployment and idleness fueled recruitment to al-Qaeda's training camps is probably correct.'[95]

4.3.3. Understanding Jihadists

Gerges, (2007) states that in order to understand jihadists it is necessary to understand the issue is one of politics, rather than religion. Gunning, (2012) argues that the separation of religion and politics presents a 'very specific worldview, which has its roots in European history' but 'this assumption is by no means universal; such a rigid distinction is far less self-evident in, for example Saudi or Jordanian society, and the lack of separation between the two realms is not necessarily seen as threatening there.'[96] Just as was illustrated in the discussion on the hadiths above, Gerges argues that the doctrine of all religions is open to interpretation

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[92]The Hadith referred to in note 43 does not specify who the 'enemy' is but all those people that this author discussed this with accepted that it referred to the Jews.
[93]Interview with two professionals Saber and Raid 16 February 2015. Discussion on various hadiths including Sunan Abi Dawad 4292, Book 38, Hadith 4297, 'What was mentioned about war with Rome.'
[94]Hegghammer, (2008) Islamist Violence and Regime Stabilty in Saudi Arabia. *International Affairs* 84: 4 (2008) 701-715.
[95]Hegghammer, (2010) p131.
[96]Gunning, (2012) in Deol and Kazmi, (2012) p239.

and can be interpreted to promote peace and tolerance or may be manipulated for the misuse of power. 'The real culprits are the ideologues who would twist religion - any religion - to serve their political end.'[97] Spark, (2014) drew on Barton's research on British jihadis that concluded they were inspired to regain the land lost to apostates but were often quickly disillusioned with the 'gang warfare' they found themselves caught up in.[98] Prior to recruitment they had been easily manipulated having had a 'fairly juvenile mentality,' and been 'driven by peer pressure and desire for affirmation.'[99] Barton, (2014) reported a case of a 17-year-old Muslim from Sydney Australia who had been enticed to join terrorists in Syria. He likened the recruitment of young impressionable Muslim males by terrorists into their groups to 'sexual predation' and 'grooming by pedophiles' and whilst the recruit 'thinks that he's the star… his new friends have got him a one-way ticket.'[100] There are striking similarities between Barton's report from Australia and the enticement of an 18-year-old Saudi from Riyadh reported to this author. In late 2013 he simply disappeared and after two months called his parents from what was assumed to be Iraq but there has been no further contact since. His family believes that he was enticed away as he had never demonstrated any inclination for jihad, although he had had a friend who had disappeared under similar circumstances.[101] From McAdam (1986):

'First through his friends he will most surely meet activists who he did not know previously, thus broadening his range of movement contacts and increasing his vulnerability to future recruiting appeals.'[102]

However, those men within the wide group interviewed by this author reported seeing no visible evidence to support Heinsohn's youth bulge theory that third and fourth sons left for jihad more often than their older siblings. From these interviews it would appear that the

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[97]Gerges, 2007, p11.
[98]Spark, 2014, p9.
[99]Ibid.
[100]The Australian, 22 October, 2014. http://www.theaustralian.com.au/in-depth/terror/terrorists-groomed-teen-jihadist-abdullah-elmir-like-pedophiles/story-fnpdbcmu-1227098654153?nk=aecd8c0b542051fdbf4aeda57aa9bcd3 See also case of al-Agaily in Chapter 5.
[101]Interview with Bander, uncle of jihadi, 23 July 2014, Riyadh.
[102]McAdam, 1986, p70.

population at large feel that around four thousand young men left for Syria and Iraq since the start of the Syrian civil war, some as young as fifteen.[103] Parallels may be drawn with the motives of an earlier generation of jihadis who fought in Afghanistan, Chechnya and Bosnia, since these young men were initially similarly motivated.[104] Whilst the older generation empathized with youthful zeal, they lived in dread of what would happen when these young untrained men went into the front lines. Their greatest fear after loss of their sons is that jihadis would gravitate towards the DAESH, becoming a danger to domestic stability upon their return in much the same way as some of those who returned from Afghanistan did in the late 1990s.[105]

4.3.4. Failed Strategy - Bitten by the Hand that Fed It

 It is reported that there was the fear that money from Saudi Arabia supposed to support the Syrian opposition was actually reaching the Al Nusra Front and IS/DAESH,[106] which appears to have caused disquiet in the United States Administration.[107] On 16 April 2014, as earlier predicted by al-Rasheed,[108] Prince Bandar bin Sultan left his position as the Chief of Saudi Intelligence.[109]

There was no official criticism of the leadership of the General Intelligence Presidency but opinions expressed immediately after the appointment of a new chief indicated that the perception within the country was that there had been an overall failure in the handling of the Syrian crisis and the threat of another potential terrorist backlash at home.[110] An interviewee

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[103]Interview with Turki, senior manager, whose nephew left for Iraq. Riyadh 20 February 2015.
[104]Hegghammer, Terrorist Recruitment and Radicalization in Saudi Arabia, *Middle East Policy,* 13: 2006, pp39-60.doi:10.1111/j.1475-4967.2006.00269.x.
[105]For more on impact of returning jihadis and attacks on Saudi Arabia see Meijer 2005, pp271-308.
[106]Newsweek, 06 November 2014. http://www.newsweek.com/2014/11/14/how-does-isis-fund-its-reign-terror-282607.htmlReports by Rosenthal on ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and al-Shams): http://www.almonitor.com/pulse/ru/contents/authors/john-rosenthal.html
[107]SUSRIS Speech by Chas Freeman, former US Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, 11 March 2015, Sarasota. http://susris.com/2015/03/25/the-us-and-saudi-arabia-marriage-of-convenience-on-the-rocks-freeman/
[108]Al-Rasheed, Al-Monitor: 20 February 2014. http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/02/saudi-terrorism-battle-ideological.html
[109]Rosenthal on ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and al-Shams): http://www.almonitor.com/pulse/ru/contents/authors/john-rosenthal.html Hearst, 'Bandar's Busted Flush' http://www.huffingtonpost.com/david-hearst/bandars-busted-flush_b_5162472.html, 16 April 2014. Arab News 16 March 2014 andwww.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27047856 Ian Black, The Guardian, 16 April 2014, End of an era as Prince Bandar departs Saudi Intelligence Post. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/apr/16/prince-bandar-saudi-intelligence-syria
[110]From late 2014 a series of attacks was carried out in the Kingdom by young Saudis, details in Chapter 5.

suggested that a reason for the failure to topple the Assad regime was that the leadership of GIP had their backgrounds in diplomacy and the air force, and that the skill-sets required for Intelligence were totally different.[111] Furthermore, there was widespread belief that the Ministry of the Interior had actively sought the Syrian portfolio and had achieved that objective.[112] However, things in the Kingdom are rarely as they seem and two months after Prince Bandar relinquished the Intelligence portfolio, he was appointed as Advisor and Special Envoy to King Abdullah.[113] However, as King Salman ascended the throne in January 2015, so did Prince Bandar depart from his post of envoy and President of the National Security Council. It was suggested by another interviewee that Prince Bandar had been closer to the Republicans than Democrats during his 22 years as Ambassador to the United States. It was suggested that the U.S. had been unhappy with Prince Bandar's handling of Syria. An interviewee asked whether it might be more than a coincidence that President Obama had visited the Kingdom on 29th March 2014 and on 15th April 2014 Prince Bandar lost the Intelligence portfolio. Then, following Presidents Obama's visit to Riyadh to meet the new King Salman on 27th January, he departed from the now disbanded National Security Council.[114] Whilst this is mere speculation on the part of the interviewee, it gives an indication of how Saudis think about the issue.[115]

4.3.5. Jihad and the Ulama

Whilst some of the Ulama actively encouraged men of the youth bulge to leave for jihad, the leading Sheikhs have continued to extol the virtue of jihad from a theological position but have not actively encouraged young men to fight. Sulman al Awdah, a leading cleric, threatened to challenge the media in court over allegations that he encouraged young people to leave for

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[111]Interview anonymous commentator, 19 April 2014, Riyadh.

[112]Interviews carried out by this author with middle ranking civil servants and senior military officers in the period immediately following the changes of the leadership of the General Intelligence Presidency, 17-23 April 2014.

[113]Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia, Washington DC. 20 June 2014, http://www.saudiembassy.net/latest_news/news06301403.aspx

[114]Al-Monitor, 28 March 2014. http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/04/us-saudi-obama-visit-drifting-apart.html#
BBC New, 27 January 2015. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-31001332

[115]Interview with Sulaiman, 28 year old graduate and government employee, Riyadh. 04 February 2015. See Ottaway, 2008, p108 for details on Prince Bandar's relationship with President Clinton and Democrats.

jihad.[116] Al-Rasheed reports that the clerics advised young Saudis against leaving for Syria but 'the question of who encourages Saudis to wage jihad in Syria will probably remain unanswered.'[117] However, in a society wherein religion legitimizes government, she argues that the Saudi government must take responsibility for prevention of radicalization. Given there are no reports of any overt call for jihad in sermons in mosques across the Kingdom the question then remains what, or who, is it that calls Saudi Arabia's youth to jihad.[118] Such is the level of concern within the Saudi government that in August 2014, Saleh al-Sheikh, Minister of Islamic Affairs, Endowment, Call and Guidance instructed officials in the Ministry's offices throughout the Kingdom to ensure that sermons were preached that branded DAESH as a terrorist group affiliated to al-Qaeda. He stated that the terror group was committing crimes against humanity and posed a significant threat to Saudi homeland security.[119] Hamid, (2014) cites Hachigian and Shorr, (2013) who state that a power vacuum exists in the Middle East as a result of the U.S. policy they refer to as the 'responsibility doctrine' whereby other nations were called upon to assume the role vacated by the U.S. military as they withdrew.[120] Al-Sheikh lamented that in July 2014, an attack on security forces at the Wadia border post near Shrurain the South of the Kingdom left five policemen dead. Three of the five terrorists killed in this incident had been previously sentenced for terrorist activities and then released followed apparent rehabilitation. Mousa al-Shihri had been released in 2012 and Saleh al-Omari in 2011. Abdulaziz al-Rashoudi had been held in custody after returning from jihad in an unnamed conflict zone and had been released in 2012.[121] Boucek's 2009 report on the

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[116]Eight o'clock with Dawaad. A television programme shown five times each week from Middle East Broadcasting Centre, Riyadh. For more on Sulaiman al-Audah see Jones, pp109-110 in Ayoob & Kosebalaban, (eds) (2009) pp109-110.

[117]Al-Rasheed, Al-Monitor: 4 February 2014. http:www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/02/Saudi-anti-terror-law.html

[118]There is widespread belief that sermons preached in mosques throughout the Kingdom are monitored by al-Mabahith-al-Amma, Saudi Arabia's General Investigation Directorate or Secret Police. Interviews with attendees at several different mosques in Riyadh, Dammam and Al-Khobar, (Riyadh February 11th 2014 and March 3rd 2014, Dammam and Al-Khobar 02-04 May 2014).

[119]Arab News, 11 August 2014. See also Spark, (2014) p75.

[120]Hachigian & Shorr, The Responsibility Doctrine" *The Washington Quarterly,* Winter 2013, p73 cited in Hamid (2014) p215.

[121]Arab News, 09 July 2014. http://www.arabnews.com/news/598991 Saudi Gazette, 09 July 2014. http://www.saudigazette.com.sa/index.cfm?method=home.regcon&contentid=20140709211013

Kingdom's rehabilitation programme stated that the authorities claimed an 80%-90% success rate, but conceded that the programme was at that time still in its infancy.[122]

4.3.6. The Jihadi Objectives and Government Reaction

Monshipouri, (2014) suggests that 'today's youth in the Muslim world seem to be more interested in jobs and freedoms than in the Islamic militants' agenda of using violence to topple autocratic regimes and wreak havoc on Western imperialism.'[123] Nevertheless, recent history has demonstrated that it can be but a brief transition from youth bulge to jihadi and terrorist. Gunning and Jackson, (2011) explore the concept of religious terrorism and direct us to academic roots in Rapoport, (1984).[124] Herein, parallels may be observed between more recent terrorist incidents perpetrated by young Saudis and those of the Ismailis-Nizari otherwise known as the Assassins of the 11-13th centuries. Much like those who attacked the World Trade Centre and the Western Compounds in Saudi Arabia, the Assassins sought maximum public impact and premeditated martyrdom.[125] Shipler, (1987) argued that 'Terror is a theatre, its real targets are not the innocent victims but the spectators',[126] whilst Crenshaw argues that 'the purpose of terrorism is to intimidate a watching popular audience whilst harming only a few'.[127] Such was the level of concern surrounding the outflow of young men from Saudi Arabia to Syria for jihad, the potential for a new Afghanistan and another violent backlash in the Kingdom, that the Saudi Government took decisive action. On 3 February 2014, the King announced that anyone fighting abroad would be subject to imprisonment for terms ranging from three to twenty years. Similarly, anyone belonging to groups promoting extremist religious or ideological views would also be subject to the same penalties. The decision to implement the penalties received the public support of the Council of Senior

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[122]Boucek, 2009, in Bjorgo and Horgan, 2009, p222. Arab News, 29 March, 2015 Saudi Sakinah Campaign draws World Interest. http://www.arabnews.com/saudi-arabia/news/724756
[123]Monshipouri, (2014) p4.
[124]Gunning, J. and Jackson, R., What's so 'religious' about 'religious terrorism'? *Critical Studies on Terrorism* Vol 4, No. 3, December 2011, p370.
[125]Rapoport, D.C., Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions. *The American Political Science Review.*78, 3, (1984), pp664-665.
[126]Shipler, 1987, p84 cited in Asseri, 2009, p17.
[127]Crenshaw, (2000) p406.

Religious Scholars. On 7 July 2014, four men were sentenced to imprisonment for travelling to Iraq to fight.[128] The Grand Mufti, Abdul Aziz al-Sheikh issued a warning that young men were being enticed to jihad by 'false jihadis.' This was accompanied by a statement from the Minister of Education that teachers must comply with the new anti-terror laws and that action would be taken against teachers attempting to promote radical ideologies.[129] For over a decade there had been concerns over the systematic targeting and infiltration of radicals into public schools in poor rural areas. It is claimed Naif al-Shammary, identified by the Ministry of the Interior on their list of *Most Wanted*, had been radicalized by teachers who first ensnared young men in schools and then held 'scientific study groups' at camps where they would receive military-style training to ensure that they would be strong Muslims. These camps operated in secrecy and outside of school hours to avoid detection by the security services. Poor families were encouraged to send their sons to the camps through regular payments and false promises that they would be given preferential treatment when applying to further and higher-educational establishments.[130]   Here we find similarities with the process of radicalization that Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, the architect of the 9/11 attacks, experienced when young, since he appears 'to have become enamored of violent jihad at youth camps in the desert'.[131]

4.3.7. The Afghan Jihad during the Cold War

In a comprehensive account of the Afghan Jihad during the Cold War period Rubin (2013) argues that whilst Islam underpinned the legitimacy of Saudi Arabia's rulers, the religious and ideological platform was as important in the international arena during the 1960s and 1970s as it was at home.[132] In the context of international relations it was aimed at combatting Soviet influence, Arab Nationalism and Shiaism and after the Iranian revolution, the leadership of Iran. Abu Khalil (2002) states that 'in the context of the Cold War both Saudi Arabia and the

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[128]Reuters, 07 July 2014. http://uk.reuters.com/article/2014/07/07/uk-saudi-prisoners-idUKKBN0FC1Y220140707 .
[129]Arab News, 13 March 2014. 'Teachers warned: Abide by new anti-terror laws.'
[130]Arab News, 11 July 2005. Terror Teachers Target Rural Schools.
[131]9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, p146.
[132] Rubin, (2013) Afghanistan From the Cold War Through The War On Terror, p77.

U.S. were both worried about their interests in the Middle East.'[133] Whilst America's concerns were the spread of Communism, Saudi Arabia sought to supress Nationalism, Communism and Egypt's Nasser and the threat he posed through plots to overthrow the rule by royals across the Middle East. Rubin outlines that an effective resource available to Saudi Arabia towards achieving this objective was Rabitat al-Alam al-Islami, an organization founded in the 1960s when Saudi Arabia was in direct confrontation with Nasser's nationalist regime in Yemen. It was a tool for Sunni Islamic expansionism having had the the initial objective of forging an accord with the Muslim Brotherhood since both were commonly opposed to Communism and Nasser who was seen to epitomize Arab nationalismin the region. As the confrontation with Russia developed into war in the Afghan theatre, Rabitat would prove an effective medium for channeling funds to and supporting Afghan resistance organizations and the Afghan Arab fighters. The Afghan based Jamaat i Islami, (Islamic Society) with informal links to Pakistan and Saudi Arabia originally formed in the 1950s had its roots in anti-Communist groups from Kabul University. From 1973 the organization took on a more formal structure, aligning with the doctrine of Qutb and spread out across the Muslim world in search of funding to promote their view of Islam though whatever means available.[134] After Qutb, the Ikwan strategy under Hudaybi and later Talamasani for Islamification of society had been for development from the grass roots upwards rather than through Qutb's vision of regime change through violent revolution. However, in Afghanistan, faced with an atheist invasion, the issue became academic for the only response could be jihad under a leadership virtually untouched by external influence or education.[135]

In Egypt, as Sadat purged the nationalists in his self proclaimed role as the 'pious president,'[136] his strategy permitted an accord with the Ikhwan that sat comfortably with the both Saudi Arabia and the United States. The Iranian revolution was a turning point in Middle Eastern relations since following the overthrow of the Shah; Saudi Arabia faced a challenge from Shia

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[133]Abu Khalil, (2002) Bin Laden, Islam and America's New "War on Terrorism." P58.
[134]Rubin, (2013) p76.
[135]Rubin, (2013) pp76-77.
[136]Gerges, (2009) The Far Enemy, p46

Iran for the role of hegemonic Islamic state. Furthermore the Iranian revolution had deprived the US of a major ally in the Middle East but it rapidly adapted by forging a close tri-national partnership with Pakistan and Saudi Arabia which according to Rubin directly resulted in the expansion of anti-communist Islamic networks in Afghanistan.

The invasion of Afghanistan by Russia in December 1979 after the Afghans rebelled against communist regimes became an ideological and strategic military battlespace. However, it resulted in over six millions Afghans being displaced, most fleeing into Pakistan.[137] The Russian invasion created a perceived threat to Gulf oilfields which brought together unlikely allies, Western powers with the US as the predominant partner, the Sunni Islamic world led by Saudi Arabia along with China, each assisting Pakistan in their mission to provide military support to the mujahadin in the form of weapons and logistics. The Chinese role predominantly involved the supply of weapons to the CIA. Rabita channeled Saudi money from GIP (Saudi Intelligence) under PrinceTurki al-Faisal into schools for the children of refugees and to meet the operational needs of the resistance movements. Logistical aid for Saudi jihadis who went to fight the Russians in support of the Afghan mujahedeen was provided by Prince Salman bin Abdulaziz then the Governor of Riyadh.[138] Al-Rasheed (2015) argues that Saudi government policies of support for Jihad against the Russians in Afghanistan was legitimized through the application of 'a religious gloss to justify and promote them among Saudis – which according to some reformers, resulted in the local terrorism crisis after 2001.'[139] Aid was channeled by the CIA through ISI, the Pakistani Intelligence Agency which consequently gave them power to influence mujahdeen military strategy by favouring commanders who did the bidding of ISI. Weapons supplied by the CIA came from 'China, Egypt, Israel and elsewhere.'[140] The internationalism of the jihad was championed from within as well as from across the wider Muslim world. In Afghanistan, Abdur Rasul Sayyaf, a former professor of Islamic law at Kabul

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[137]Zunes, and Arsala, The U.S. and Afghan Tragedy, February 18 2009, p1. http://fpif.org/the_us_and_afghan_tragedy/
[138] Rubin, (2013) p81.
[139]Al-Rasheed, (2015) Muted Modernists, p33.
[140]Rubin, (2013) p83. Rubin reports that both China and Egypt manufactured their own version of the Kalasnikov AK-47 and the SAKR ground-to -ground missile system. Israel had captured various Soviet manufactured weapons in Lebanon and successfully copied these. Rubin, (2013) p94.

University, with connections to the Muslim Brotherhood from time spent at the al-Azhar University in Cairo is credited with centralizing world-wide jihad in Afganistan.[141] A charistmatic fluent Arabist he is credited more than any other with attracting significant personal donations from within Saudi Arabia, and inspiring young Muslim men to undertake jihad against the Russian military by creating Afghanistan as 'a focal point of concern for Muslims around the world.'[142] Many of these young men would subsequently seek martyrdom; feeling cheated having survived combat, some taking the quest of martyrdom to extremes by 'pitching white tents in the open in the hopes of attracting Soviet fire.'[143]

In response to and in support of the resistance to the Russian occupation of Afghanistan, vast amounts of money poured into the war effort. Rubin (2013) reports that more than US$ 600 million a year came from the US government during the period 1986-1989, with this amount more than matched by the contribution from Saudi official sources via the General Intelligence Presidency (Riyasat al-Istakhbarah al-Ammah). Money for the Afghan resistance movement also flowed in from Kuwait to support refugees, but Zunes and Arsala (2009) allege that whilst the U.S. was prepared to pour vast amounts of money into military logistics, they were much less generous with aid to refugees, for it seemed that 'no one cared and valued Afghan lives.'[144] Unspecified amounts of money were raised from private donations from the Gulf States and Saudi Arabia where money was collected though mosques and collection tins were even placed on supermarket check-outs and from the outset of the Afghan jihad shoppers Saudi appeared to contribute generously.[145] Osama bin Laden supported some Afghan groups and Arab mujahadeen from his personal fortune.[146] This was channeled through the Islamic Salvation Foundation which he set up and he worked closely with Saudi Intelligence until his estrangement from the Saudi royals following the King Fahad's rejection of his offer to expel

[141]Edwards, (2002) Before Taliban. (pp266-269).
[142] Edwards, (2002) p269.
[143]Bergen, (2001) Holy War inc. Inside the Secret world of Osama bin Laden pp61-62, in Egerton, (2011) Jihad in the West, p19.
[144] Zunes and Arsala (2009) p3.
[145] This author's observations in Dhahran, Al Khobar, Khamis Mushayt and Riyadh throughout the period of the Afghan jihad.
[146] Bodansky, (2001), The Man who Declared War on America, p13.

Saddam Hussein's forces from Kuwait and to protect the Kingdom's holy sites with his mujahadeen force.[147]

Money for the Afghan resistance movement also flowed in from Muslim Brotherhood groups across the world to support jihadists and refugees. Disparate groups worked to aid refugees some joining together to create the Islamic Coordination Council based in Peshawar under the leadership of Palestinian Abdullah Azzam, who Rubin reports became 'a guide to hundreds of Arab Mujahdeen in Afghanistan.'[148] He sought not Islamic expansionism but 'his fundamental goal was to awaken the sleeping Muslim giant and "the hidden capabilities of the ummah," he hoped to do so by breeding a new generation of Islamic mujahadeen to protect the homeland and resist invaders.'[149] However, not all those foreign fighters arriving in Afghanistan to fight, shared Azzam's philosophy.[150] Mendelsohn, (2012) describes those who poured into Afghanistan to conduct the jihad, some coming through the Muslim Brotherhood others having fled from the governments they had opposed, pleased to be rid of them, little imaging the havoc they would wreak when they returned home, years later. Others simply came to discharge what they believed to be their Islamic duty of jihad. However, as more and more radically inclined fighters joined the war, so did it shift the philosophical balance within the Afghan Arab movement towards more radical strategies? New arrivals were left with a choice of which group they should join. Should they support Azzam's philosophy of attacking the near enemy and regaining Muslim lands or that of Zawahiri, inspired by Qutb, with primary focus on spreading the war to include violent opposition against apostate regimes? Consequently, the rift in the leadership of the Afghan Arabs over fundamental philosophy developed into a struggle for the loyalty of new arrivals into the war zone and with that leadership of the

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[147](i)Kepel (2006) Jihad, p12. (ii)Geltzer, (2010) p88. U.S Counter-Terrorism Strategy and al-Qaeda. (iii)Lansford, (2012) 9/11 & the Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq: A Chronology and Reference Guide, p234. (iv Lusted, (2012) Capture and Killing of Osama bin Laden, p33. (v) Jalata, (2016) Phases of Terrorism in the Age of Globalization: From Christpher Columbus to Osama bin-Laden, p187. (vi) Rubin, (2013) pp80-81.
[148]Rubin, (2013) p81.
[149]Gerges, (2005) p136.
[150]For more on the role of foreign fighers in conflicts across the Muslim world see Heghammer, *International Security,* Vol.35, No. 3 (Winter 2010/11), pp53-94.

Afghan Arab movement.[151] Sageman, (2004) argues that Azzam's jihadist philosophy was traditional if uncompromising, but never seeking to overthrow secular governments on the grounds of being apsostates. For Azzam, Afghanistan was a first stepping stone towards returning former Muslims lands to the Ummah. He advocated 'jihad and the rifle alone, no negotiations, no conferences, no dialogues.'[152] He was equally concerned about the corruption of jihadis in so much that violent jihad could be turned upon those very people that they swore to protect and this concern was realized across Afghanistan as some young men adopted a violent takfiri doctrine.[153] Azzam was later assassinated in a car bomb attack along with his sons on 24 November 1989 as they walked towards a mosque in Peshawar. Allen, (2006) suggests that whilst the CIA were blamed the man who benefitted most was Zawahiri who became the 'world jihad's leading ideologue.'[154] Gerges, (2005) ponders what might have been had Azzam not been assassinated. He suggests that Azzam's jihadist philosophy was at odds with that of bin Laden preferring a vision of raising a Muslim army to protect the Ummah and reclaim Mulim lands rather than the terrorist organization as developed under bin Laden.[155] Gerges further suggests that had Azzam lived, he may have been seen as a challenger for the leadership of the Afghan Arabs. His violent death immediately following allegations that he was a spy for the Americans may have been timely as bin Laden sought to reinforce his own leadership of the Afghan Arabs perhaps with a view to what was to come. However, Gerges continues that at the time of the Afghan jihad neither neither Azzam nor bin Laden appeared to have not looked beyond the Afghan conflict nor saw it as a rehearsal for war against the West. Whilst the jihadis may have been unhappy over the presence of infidels in Muslim lands, it was a case that their enemy's enemy was their friend[156] or at least until the common enemy was defeated or expelled.[157] The 'near enemy' was the priority of the time

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[151]Mendelsohn, (2012) Combating Jihadism p43.
[152] Sageman, (2004) Understanding Terror Networks, p3.
[153]See also Abu Khalil, (2002) p55.
[154] Allen, (2007) God's Terrorists, pp285-286.
[155]For more on Azzam see Gerges, (2011) The Rise and Fall of Al-Qaeda, pp44-53
[156]See Aronson & Cope, My Enemy's Enemy is my Friend: *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* Vol. 8 (1.PL1) Jan 1968, 8-12.
[157]Gerges, (2005) p14.

and jihad against 'the far enemy' perhaps only a dormant idea in the minds of just a few, only to surface long after the end of the Afghan war and the expulsion of the Russian military.[158]

Rubin, (2013) states that during the Russian occupation of Afghanistan, it was well known that Arab volunteers played a central role in the logistical support to the mujahedeen, but less was known about their combat roles. Bin Laden himself had stated that the Afghan resistance leadership had indicated that their need was for money and not for untrained volunteers preparing to be martyrs. However his own decision to take on a combat role was based upon the personal obligation (fard al-'ain) of every Muslim to undertake jihad and to ready himself 'to defend Mecca and Medina from the Jews.'[159] Rubin further reports that in the late 1980s thousands of young Arab men answered the call to jihad and the Pakistani Intelligence Service ISI set up training camps for the Arab volunteers using Saudi money. At one such camp under the command of Malawi Arsala Rahmani built near Urgun, Paktika, many hundreds of Arab volunteers trained.[160] Another was built by Arab volunteers in Eastern Afghanistan and yet another at Maasadat al-Ansar in Jaji was supported by bin Laden and trained hundreds of jihadists from Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries.

Al-Rasheed, (2007) states that both the Saudi and American governments had encouraged young Saudis to join the jihad in Afghanistan and over 30,000 had answered that call.[161] Cordesman and Obaid suggest this number to be somewhere between 70,000 and 100,000 whilst Champion suggests a range of figures between 10,000 and 25,000.[162] Kushner, (1998) simply put the figure as 'thousands'[163] with government incentives including subsided flights on Saudi Arabian Airlines to Pakistan.[164] Of those who travelled, around 5,000 had not returned home, becoming the missing people or mafqudin. Al-Rasheed argues the Kingdom's policy on jihad was paradoxical and contradictory in so much as it had been encouraged as

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[158]Ibid.
[159]Rubin, (2013) p86.
[160]Ousef and Adkins, Bear Trap p182 in Rubin, (2013) p86.
[161]Al-Rasheed, (2007), pp106-109.
[162]Cordesman and Obaid, 02 February (2005) p5, See also Champion, (2003) p240.
[163]Kushner, (1998) p12.
[164]Saudi Arabia Backgrounder: Who are the Islamists? ICG Middle East Report No. 31: 21 September 2004, p3.

part of the Government's pan-Islamic discourse but the requirement was for subservient compliance within the domestic arena.[165] The Kingdom withdrew support from the mujahideen when they failed to support the stationing of American troops on Saudi soil in the lead up to the first Gulf war.[166] However, the campaign to encourage young men to respond to the call to jihad had not enjoyed universal support throughout the Kingdom. In the 1980s a prominent judge in the Asir region and Imam of the local mosque had preached against it. He argued that going to war would dehumanize their young men and that when they no longer had an enemy to fight, 'they will come back and kill us.' Whilst he was ridiculed by some for arguing against official policy, he had seen what others had not, for his concerns proved to be prophetic.[167]

4.3.8. Discouraging Jihad – A Philosophical Reversal

Following the announcement by King Abdullah outlining action to discourage latter-day jihadis, the Haya, the Commission for the Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice, turned in upon itself with Chief Commissioner Abdullateef al-Sheikh promising to purge extremists from within his own ranks, referring to them as 'advocates of sedition.'[168] Action to enforce the crackdown on returning jihadis was swiftly implemented even before the King's official royal decree. A judge continues to be held in custody as of February 2014 for giving aid to two jihadi members of his family on their return from Syria. The family protested that he had done nothing that was at the time illegal other than assist two nephews to reintegrate into Saudi society after 2 years' of fighting against the Assad regime in Syria.[169] These two also remain in custody and may face imprisonment or government sponsored rehabilitation within the Sakinah programme, a process referred to by some as 'cleaning their minds.'[170] However, this action did little to discourage other members of the family from wanting to retrace the

[165]Al-Rasheed, (2008), pp199-201.
[166]Al-Rasheed, (2007), p203.
[167]Author's interview with the son of the judge, 08 May 2014.
[168]Arab News, Thursday 13 March 2014.
[169]Author's interview a cousin of returning jihadis and of a judge held in custody, Riyadh, 26 March 2014.
[170]Author's interview with senior military officer, Riyadh, 02 April 2014.

footsteps of their relations into the Syrian and Iraqi conflicts. A 17-year-old cousin of those jihadis referred to above, remained determined to go whatever the threats of retribution by the State or danger to himself. His mother begged male members of the family to prevent him from leaving the Kingdom invoking the three levels of permission required for a man to proceed to jihad legitimately. First, he must receive the permission of the State and following the recent Royal Decree this cannot be granted. In a passionate statement the cousin of a jihadi killed in Syria confirmed 'only our King can give permission for Jihad.'[171] Secondly, he must obtain the permission of his parents and, in the case-study here, it has been refused. Finally, he must receive an invitation from the commander of the unit he is planning to join.[172] However, since the Saudis have no formal battle group to join, the third condition cannot be met either. Consequently, men who answer the call to jihad are inevitably drawn to the splinter groups and the black flag of DAESH and sucked into terrorism.[173] In spite of these complicating factors, young Saudi men continue to answer the call to jihad and some return to wreak havoc at home.[174] However, unlike the Afghan campaign when, as reported by al-Rasheed, 2007, 'wives joined the husbands and engaged in preaching and charity work,' there are few reports of women from Saudi Arabia joining the jihad, although there are isolated reports.[175] In an interview with this author, an imam suggested they numbered 'no more than a handful.'[176]

Della Porta argues that the actors, seek conflict with 'clearly identified opponents', they are bound together 'by dense informal networks' and they each 'share a distinct collective identity.'[177] Within the social movement of the Saudi youth who are following the cause of jihad in Syria one can also identify Diani's foundation of mechanisms of collective action

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[171]Author's interview with Abu Khaled, brother of jihadi killed in Syria in January 2014, Riyadh, 01 April 2014.
[172]Interview with Imam, 24 February 2015, Riyadh.
[173]Joining DAESH is frequently referred to in conversations with Saudis as rallying to the 'Black Flag.'
[174]Author's interview with officer from Ministry of the Interior, Riyadh, 03 April 2014.
[175]Al-Rasheed, 2007, p109. See Chapter 5 for such a report.
[176]Interview with Imam, 17 February 2015. Riyadh, See also Shmuel Bar, Jihad Ideology in Light of Contemporary Fatwas. Research Monographs on the Muslim World, Series No 1, Paper No 1 August 2006. pp9-10.
http://www.hudson.org/content/researchattachments/attachment/1382/20060906_s_bar_jihad.pdf
[177]Edwards,(2014) p5, citing della Porta and Diani, 1999, p16.

described above.[178]   Hegghammer, (2015) outlines what he terms 'a contemporary Islamic legal orthodoxy on jihad.'[179]   Therein arms can only be taken up when Muslim territory is occupied by infidels, offensive action must be restricted to defense of Muslim lands, only government can confer legitimacy, all Muslims are duty-bound to defend against occupation but response must be 'proportional.'[180]   This is at odds with jihad as promoted by Qutb of the Muslim Brotherhood.[181]

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[178]Ibid.
[179]Hegghammer, 2015, in Haykel, Hegghammer and Lacroix, (eds) 2015, p211.
[180]Ibid.
[181]Calvert, (2010) p221.

CHAPTER 5

TERROR AND TERRORISTS

How much blood must be spilled? How many tears shall we cry? How many mothers' hearts

must be maimed?[1]

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter opens by looking for reasons why young men from Saudi Arabia's youth bulge were drawn to terrorist organizations in the 1990s. It considers potential economic factors and looks back into history to a time of the birth of Islam as it seeks an explanation. It considers the impact of the infiltration by the Muslim Brotherhood into the Kingdom and reviews the backgrounds of young men who strayed into terrorism in two phases. First it reports on those who achieved martyrdom, committing the act that resulted in the United States becoming 'a nation transformed,'[2] and the legacy of violence in the Kingdom in the years that followed. Finally, after a decade of relative calm, it seeks an explanation for why some from a second generation of Saudi youth have opted for a radical form of Islam which they appear to believe can only be achieved through violent means. The objective is to build a case to establish why some continue to stray into terrorism whilst the vast majority do not, and to collect evidence that will ultimately lead to a conclusion as to whether Saudi Arabia's youth constitute a threat to domestic and international security.

5.2. HISTORICAL ROOTS AND THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

In their quest to find a link between terrorism, poverty, and education, Krueger and Maleckova, (2003) draw a parallel between crime and terrorism. Drawing on the work of Ehrlich, (1973), Freeman, (1996) and Piehl, (1998) they suggest that whereas evidence resulting from that research indicates a tangible link between property crime and lack of

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[1]Marie Fatayi-Williams, Mother of Anthony Fatayi-Williams, Killed Tavistock Square 07 July 2005.
[2]The 9/11 Commission Report, (2004) Executive Summary, pix.

education and economic deprivation, no such link is evident in violent crime and murder. Consequently, if such a link cannot be forged in the case of violent crime, the same explanation may be true for terrorism. Therefore, economic or relative deprivation theory may offer little to explain the reason why some members of the youth bulge turn to terrorism.[3] By means of example, 9/11 hijackers Wa'il and Waleed al-Shehri came from one of the most affluent families in the Asir region.[4] Al-Anbaree attributes the intolerance of others exhibited by al-Qaeda terrorists and their practice of kufr and takfeer to having historical roots within Khawaarij ideology.[5] The Khawaaij history can be traced back to the time of the Prophet and the battle for leadership of the Muslims following the Battles of Hunain 630 AD and Siffin in 657 AD. The Khawarij ideology revolved around charging anyone who disagreed with them on theological issues with takfeer, as being an unbeliever, and declaring them so by accusations of kufr.[6] So charged, this was grounds for legitimately killing them.[7] Krueger and Maleckova briefly consider the issue of hate crimes which they define as including acts of violence, destruction of property, harassment and trespassing.[8] In kufr and takfeer we find all of these factors which al-Anbaree argues, 'The ideology of the takfeeree terrorist remained within the ranks of the youth of the Ummah past and present from the time when the Hanooree Khawarij began. For what are all these devastating bombings, booby-trapped cars, unjust riots, evil massacres of those who pray and even of the scholars and Imams - what is all of this except the disgusting and distasteful fruits of the takfeeree ideology and its end results.'[9]

Lacroix, (2011) states that 'the mantra of Islamic modernization' championed by King Faisal in the 1960s and 1970s was aligned to some extent with the philosophy of the members of the Muslim Brotherhood who had sought refuge in Saudi Arabia and been absorbed into the

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[3]Krueger, A.B. and Maleckova, J., Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is there a Causal Connection? *Journal of Economic Perspectives*- Volume 17, Number 4 -Fall 2003, p121.
[4]Author's interview with relation of 9/11 hijackers, Wa'il and Waleed Al-Shihri 18 May 2014.
[5]Al-Anbaree, K., Hazeematul-Fikr it-Takfeeree (The Defeat of the Takfeeree Ideology) (undated) in As-Sihaymee, A., The Ideology of Terrorism and Violence in Saudi Arabia, SalafiManhaj, 2007, p9.
[6]For more on the Khawarji history and ideology see Wagemakers, (2012) in Deol and Kazmi (eds) (2012) pp147-150.
[7]Hendricks, S. S. (undated) The Kharijites and their Impact on Contemporary Islam [http://www.sunnah.org/aqida/kharijites1.htm]
[8]Krueger, A.B. and Maleckova, J., Education (Fall, 2003), pp119-144.
[9]Al-Anbaree, K., Hazeematul, (undated) p9.

schools and universities.[10] Rouleau, (2002) argues that Saudi Arabia granted political asylum to thousands of the Muslim Brotherhood who were fleeing repression in Egypt, Syria and Iraq,[11] whilst Brachman, (2009) referred to this group as the 'reinvigorated Ikhwan' and 'no country would welcome them more with open arms than Saudi Arabia.'[12] Ayoob and Kosebalaban (2009) also state that when Saudi Arabia's educational system was in its infancy, the Muslim Brotherhood became teachers at all levels of education and spread their dogma throughout Saudi education whilst Bowen, (2012) states that they 'had been the driving force behind political Islam for decades.'[13] Muslim Brotherhood teachers and professors introduced their Saudi pupils to the writings of the movement's leading thinkers including Egyptian Sayyid Qutb.'[14] Piscatori, (1986) describes Qutb as a man disenchanted with Western culture and values and who was critical of Muslims who were attracted to the shallow materialistic trappings of a secular society.[15] Kostiner, (2008) argues that 'they imported into Saudi Arabia the hatred of Western culture and society,'[16] whilst Kepel, (2002) states that the Brotherhood had a global impact since they taught Muslim students from across the world at the University of Medina from 1961.[17] Alaolmolki, (2009), reports that following his two year stay in the United States, Qutb railed against all that he saw and did not like, and began to 'demonize modernity.'[18] Qutb saw a threat to the purity of Islam culture, because as in the words of Pyszczynski et al., 'The glitzy, materialistic, sexually open American way of life is indeed quite alien to traditional Islamic values.'[19] They continue: 'modernity the ongoing march of ideas and the changes in lifestyle that they bring about has always been a threat to the dominant

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[10]Lacroix, (2011)p43.
[11]Rouleau, (2002) Trouble in the Kingdom. http://www.foreignaffairs.com/print/58042
[12]Brachman, (2009) p24.
[13]Bowen, (2012) p181.
[14]Ayoob and Kosebalaban, (2009) p49.
[15]Piscatori, (1986) p105.
[16]Kostiner, (2008) in Frisch and Inbar (eds) (2008) p76.
[17]Kepel, (2002) p51.
[18]Alaolmolki, (2009) pp12-15.
[19]Pyszczynski, Solomon and Greenberg, pp157-158 cited in Mazarr, (2007) p85.

social order.'[20] However, in the context of any link to 9/11 Chomsky, (2001) refutes the theory that it can be interpreted as anything to do with 'economic globalization.'[21]

Adopting the ideology of ibn Taymiyya,[22] (1263-1328) of strict adherence to Muslim principles, Qutb called for jihad against infidel occupation of Muslim lands, even by 'people of the book.'[23] This thesis explores whether this absorption of the Brotherhood into positions wherein they could influence the youth was a clandestine but very effective infiltration which would be a factor in the radicalization of some of the Kingdom's youth half a century later. Sidahmed and Ehteshami, (1996) suggest that the Cold War and fears of Communism benefitted the Muslim Brotherhood with 'assistance and funding' being provided by 'Saudi Arabia and its allies', and experience has proven that 'mainstream groups are not necessarily immune to the violent tactics associated with extremist groups'.[24] Piscatori, (1983) suggests that the attempt by Khalid ibn Mussa in 1965 to close the newly-opened television station in Riyadh whilst the King was out of the country may have been an attempt 'to stage a coup with the Muslim Brotherhood's help.'[25]

What follows below is a brief case study review of those who were drawn to jihad or were lured into terrorism in Saudi Arabia and abroad. The objective is to seek why young men from varying backgrounds within the Kingdom's youth bulge, and a few from outside, would be driven to kill whilst having such disregard for their own lives. It seeks to test the youth bulge theory that young men are driven to terrorism though being part of a disproportionately young, disadvantaged population and to what if any extent the infiltration of Qutb's Muslim Brotherhood ideology provided the blue-print for suicide terrorism in Saudi Arabia and beyond.[26] Hoffman, (2006) is unequivocal in stating that the 'dominant force behind this trend

[20]Ibid.
[21]Chomsky, (2001) p66.
[22]See Phares, (2010)p20.
[23]Schwartz, (2002) p5. People of the Book - Jews and Christians.
[24]Sidahmed and Ehteshami, (1996) p7 &p11.
[25]Picatori, (1983) p66 cites al-Anwar, 26 September 1965.
[26]Urdal 2006, *International Studies Quarterly, (*2006) 50, 607-629., Goldstone, 1991, pp136-137, LaGraffe, "The Youth Bulge in Egypt: An Intersection of Demographics, Security, and the Arab Spring." *Journal of Strategic Security* 5, no. 2 (2012): 65-80.

is religion,'[27] whereas Pape, (2003) argues that the objective of terrorism is 'to gain supporters and coerce opponents.'[28] In his later work Pape, (2006) challenges Hoffman's view on the importance of religion as a factor in terrorism, having argued that 'for al-Qaeda, religion matters but mainly in the context of national resistance to foreign occupation.'[29] Gerges, (2012) describes al-Qaeda as 'a parasite that feeds on social instability and turmoil,'[30] whilst Pape, (2006) argues that al-Qaeda's timing and choice of targets shows that religious and ideological factors are not the forces driving the strategic logic of this suicide terrorist campaign.'[31]

5.3. TERROR AND MARTYRDOM

Burke, (2007) suggests that 'spectacular martyrdom is ...the ultimate demonstration of jihad as a testament' and 'the primary audience is of course God, but in addition, martyrdom involves a demonstration of faith to various audiences for various purposes.'[32] Malik, (2009) states that, 'only through death do jihadists join their imagined community.'[33] Durkheim drew on historical evidence to explain the reasons for what he termed 'obligatory altruistic suicide' from societies where under certain circumstances suicide was expected.[34] 'He must be trained to renunciation and unquestioned abnegation',[35] and thereby we have what McDermott, (2004) termed 'Perfect Soldiers'.[36] These perfect soldiers of jihad undertook their missions, drawn together under conditions of what Moghaddan, (2006) termed 'Comradeship, brotherhood, belonging, and a sense of identity through friendship....these are the basic building blocks, the first steps of young men becoming ensnared in the morality of terrorist organizations.'[37] Berman, (2003) argues that what makes these people who seek to have Islam proscribe every

[27]Hoffman, (2006) p131.
[28]Pape, The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism, *American Political Science Review,* Vol. 97, No. 3 August 2003, pp.343-361, p345.
[29]Pape, (2006) p104.
[30]Gerges, 13/05/2012, The Daily Beast: How the Arab Spring beat al-Qaeda.
http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/05/13/fawaz-a-gerges-on-how-the-arab-spring-beat-al-qaeda.html
[31]Pape, (2006) p104.
[32]Burke,(2007) p35.
[33]Malik, (2009). https://kenanmalik.wordpress.com/from-fatwa-to-jihad-2/
[34]Durkheim, (1951) p180. Hadith, Al-Buhari#683 forbids suicide and commits that person to hell. Karim, (2004) Modern-Day Hadith Guidance p168.
[35]Durkheim, (1951) p181.
[36]McDermott, (2004).
[37]Moghaddan, (2006) p92.

aspect of life 'as members of a coherent movement is not their choice of particular means, but rather the nature and scale of their ends - the establishment of an Islamic state.'[38] Tessler and Robbins, (2007) suggest that the explanations for why seemingly ordinary people either take part in or approve of terrorist acts against the United States, fall into two competing categories. The first they argue is a result of culture and religion and the second as political and economic.[39] Pankhurst, (2013) argues that the jihad against the U.S. went through three specific phases, the first in 1996 directed at foreign troops based in Saudi Arabia, the second by a fatwa against 'Jews and Crusaders,' and the third 9/11 itself, which 'led the call for a global clash between the Muslim world on one side and America and her allies on the other.'[40] As Scheuer, (2008) stated 'In September of the fifth post-Cold War year this lanky and quiet Saudi Arabian declared war on the United States.'[41]

5.4. TERRORISTS ABROAD: PROFILES

5.4.1. The 9/11 Crew

Given the impact and reaction to the events of September 11 2001, consideration is given to the backgrounds of those who chose martyrdom on that day. Whilst 15 of the 19 hijackers were Saudi, only Hani Hanjour, piloted an aircraft, the remainder were described in the 9/11 Commission Report, as 'the muscle' used to overpower the crew and passengers to take control of the aircraft.[42]

Hani Saleh Hasan Hanjour was born in Taif, Saudi Arabia, on August 30 1972.[43] He was believed to be the pilot of American Airlines, AA 72 which crashed into the Pentagon. He was the fourth of seven children, which might support Heinsohn's youth bulge theory that third and later sons are more likely to succumb to the lure of terrorism. Brought up in a middle-class trading family he had only High School education, although he had studied English

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[38]Berman, (2003) p257.
[39]Tessler and Robbins, (2007) pp306-307.
[40]Pankhurst, (2013) p146.
[41]Scheuler, (2008) pxiii.
[42]The 9/11 Commission Report: pp86-103.
[43](i)Ibid. (ii) McDermott, T., Perfect Soldiers (Kindle).

Language in 1991 at the University of Arizona. In 1996 he undertook further English language study in California and progressed to flight training, obtaining a Commercial Pilot's license in April 1999.[44]

Three out of the four operational leaders on September 11 2001 were non-Saudi. Given their pivotal roles in the act and terrorist relationship with the Saudis, herein is offered a brief overview of their backgrounds so that the reader may gain an understanding of what similarities or differences existed between them and the Saudi youth, which in turn led them each to attack America.

Mohamad Mohamad el-Amir Awad el Sayed Atta was an Egyptian born in Cairo to a middle-class family, his father was a lawyer.[45] He was the only son in the family with two older sisters, one who entered academia and the other, medicine. Wright, (2006) suggests that Atta and his co-conspirators in the Hamburg group joined the jihad outside of their homelands. 'Like Sayyid Qutb they defined themselves as radical Muslims while living in the West, and found like-minded people at the al-Quds mosque.'[46] Atta studied Architecture at Cairo University, English at the American University in Cairo, and German at the Goethe Institute, Cairo. From 1992 he undertook a course in Urban Planning at the Technical University of Hamburg-Harburg, Germany and graduated with a Master's Degree. His parents are reported to have believed that he went to the U.S. for a PhD in urban planning. None of the educational characteristics displayed by Atta, a tri-lingual Masters graduate match those of the radical youth bulge actors of the theory presented by Heinsohn, for he was neither poorly educated nor a fourth or fifth son. However, Atta was critical of the corruption in Egypt and was frustrated by the injustice suffered by graduates since the greater the level of education a graduate had, the lower his chances of securing a job.[47]

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[44]The 9/11 Commission Report, p89.
[45]The 9/11 Commission Report, p65. See also Burke, 2007 pp238-242.
[46]Wright, 2006, p344.
[47]Loveluck, March 2012, Chatham House, Education in Egypt: Key Challenges.
http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/public/Research/Middle%20East/0312egyptedu_background.pdf

Whilst he had worked as a draughtsman in Hamburg his family lacked the influence to obtain for him a job commensurate with his qualification and language abilities. As a graduate in Cairo he was 32 times less likely to get a job than a non-graduate so joined the Engineer's Syndicate, a co-operative affiliated to the Muslim Brotherhood, to reinforce his credentials.[48] Citing Collier and Hoeffler, (2004), Barakat and Urdal, (2008) suggest that 'rebel recruitment is more costly and rebellion less likely the higher the level of education in a society.'[49] However, this argument appears to fail the test of scrutiny when applied in particular to the terrorist pilots of the four aircraft taken on 9/11. Corbin, (2002) suggests that Atta the well-educated Egyptian, as the commander of the 9/11 mission, was the only one of the group who had full access to the details of the operation.[50]

Zaid Jarrah born 11 May 1975 in Beirut, Lebanon,[51] is believed to be the pilot of the only one of the four aircraft on 9/11 not to hit its target. United 93 crashed near Shanksville, Pennsylvania. He was the only son of affluent middle-class Sunni Muslims with his father a middle-ranking bureaucrat, his mother a teacher. Jarrah attended Christian Schools and the family led a secular lifestyle. After High school he enrolled to study dentistry but changed to Aeronautical Engineering at the Technical University of Hamburg-Harburg. Once again, this profile does not fit the youth bulge theory of a young, disadvantaged, third or fourth son with little expectation of a career.

Marwan Yousef Rashid Lekrab al-Shehhi is believed to have been the pilot of United's flight 175 which impacted the South Tower of the World Trade Centre on 9/11.[52] He was born in 1978 in Ras al-Khaimah, United Arab Emirates. His father was active in a mosque but they were not affluent. He had a strict Islamic upbringing and a consequent in-depth knowledge of

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[48]Fergany, 'Human Capital and Economic Performance in Egypt.' Almishkat Centre for Research, Cairo. August 1998 cited in McDermott, Perfect Soldiers. Chapter 2 Note 20.
[49]Barakat, and Urdal, Breaking the Waves? Does Education Mediate the Relationship Between Youth Bulges and Political Violence? World Bank. Africa Region: Policy Research Working Paper WPS5114, 2009, p4.
[50]Corbin, (2002) p184.
[51]The 9/11 Commission Report, and McDermott, (2004).
[52]Ibid.

religious teachings.[53] He was educated at High School, then joined the Emirati military and was sent to Germany. From April 1996 he studied German language at the University of Bonn, but his subsequent studies of technology, were a struggle. Nevertheless, on transferring to flight training at Huffman Aviation in Florida, al-Shehhi was a committed student and took additional flight training on simulators at other schools to be able to qualify to fly large commercial jets. However, it is suggested that Atta was really the driving force behind al-Shehhi's drive to qualify.

The 14 other hijackers were Saudis.[54] From debriefs by Saudi Security services with relatives the following major characteristics have been established: All were in the age range of 20-28 and most were single. Most were unemployed and had varying levels of education. The three al-Ghamdis and Ahmad al-Hanawi were all from the Al Baha region and none had university degrees. The brothers Wa'il and Waleed al-Shehri, along with Mohanad al-Shehri, Abdulazizal-Omari, and Ahmad al-Nani, were all natives of Asir Province which borders Yemen. It is reported that all five had started university courses but only al-Omari had graduated having attended the Imam Mohammad ibn Saud Islamic University. He was exceptional in the group in that he was also married and had a daughter.

Wa'il and Waleed al-Shehri came from the very wealthy Segaily family. Interviewees reported that the government had purchased land from the family some 40 years before for a price reputed to be in excess of SR 120 million (US$ 32 million). It was stated that at that time the local people in this poor agricultural region 'did not think there was that much money in the world.'[55] The 9/11 report surprisingly makes no mention of the fact that these young men came from such a wealthy background. It makes reference only to the fact many of the hijackers came from the Asir Province, 'a poor area in South-Western Saudi Arabia that

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[53]Son of a Moa'then (muezzin). A caller of the faithful to prayer.
[54]The 9/11 Commission Report: pp95-98.
[55](i)Interview with a person who knew the al-Segaily family, at time leading up to and after 9/11. 24 April 2014. Riyadh (ii) 34% of population of Jazan live below poverty line, Safir Al Arabi reported in Al-Monitor 02 November 2012. http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/culture/2012/10/poverty-rising-issue-in-saudi-society.html#

borders Yemen; this weakly policed area is sometimes called *the wild frontier*.'[56] Mousseau,

(2002/3) offers an explanation for why those terrorists and especially terrorist leaders come

from wealthy backgrounds. He suggests that within clientist systems the privileged have the

most to lose from the impact of globalization and to counter any loss of status they promote

an 'anti-market ideology.' Consequently, 'the mass murder of Westerners serves two

purposes: It reflects the leader's power and it taps into widespread anti-market fury.'[57] They

were sixth and seventh in order of birth and there was a significant age gap between them and

their oldest sibling, consequently this could fit Heinsohn's theory of younger sibling being the

most susceptible to radicalization. It is reported that their father was extremely hard working

and busy with business matters, which included real estate, and so did not have much time to

spend with his large family. This author's interviewee felt strongly that there has been total

misrepresentation of events in the Western media.[58] He stated that reports that the family

was overly religious or fundamentalist were 'totally untrue.'[59] He argued that theirs was an

extremely rich family that enjoyed the good things in life and were no more or no less religious

than the average Saudi family. Furthermore, the family including both Wa'il and Waleed had

enjoyed the company of Western people in and around Khamis Mushayt although neither of

them spoke much English. Following 9/11, ABC television journalist Barbara Walters visited

the family, and reported that she was 'amazed at what she found.'[60] Instead of a stereotypical

backward family of extremist Islamic mountain people from the 'wild frontier', she found a

wealthy family, sophisticated and fiercely loyal to the al-Saud with a number of them serving in

the military.[61] Similarly when CIA and FBI operatives visited, it is stated that they were

similarly surprised at what they found,[62] although these observations were not included in the

9/11 Report. Hegghammer suggests that the boys probably became radicalized by extremist

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[56]The 9/11 Commission Report: p 232. See also Graham, (2004) p66.
[57]Mousseau, Market Civilization and Its Clash with Terror, *International Security* 27, no. 3 (Winter 2002/03), pp19-20.
[58]Interview with relation of 9/11 hijackers Wa'il and Waleed al-Sherhi, 18 May 2014. This interview was given on the
understanding that the interviewee would not be identified and only limited parts of the discussion would be reported.
[59]Ibid.
[60]Ibid.
[61]'Wild-frontier' 9/11 Commission Report p92.
[62]See note 34.

clerics when Wa'il travelled to Medina to be treated for depression.[63] Whilst this author's

interviewee confirms that the boys left Khamis Mushayt, there was no confirmation from this

source that Wa'il was mentally ill or that the boys were radicalized by a sheikh in Medina.

There remains disbelief within the family over whether Wa'il and Waleed actually were

terrorists and the belief that they were little more than unfortunate victims on 9/11 if they

were on the flight at all. It is stated that the boys' mother still refuses to believe that they

were complicit in the attack and every day she awaits their return. It was further stated that

the family remain unconvinced by the evidence and the issue becomes not one of how they

were radicalized but if they were radicalized at all. The interviewee stated that he and his

family believed that there were 'other agendas and that even bin Laden had an undisclosed

agenda.'[64] Whatever the relatives' opinions on this, this author's interviewee was convinced

that given that he and his whole family had been educated within the Saudi state system,

education itself played no part in the radicalization of those who turned to terrorism.

The interviewee expressed feelings regarding jihad and events in Syria. He felt that nothing

was worth 225,000 lives lost and a country in ruins. He argued that all that was being fought

over was power and this was no war for democracy. He stated that the world should look

around the Middle-East and take note that Saudi Arabia was one of the few areas of stability in

the region.[65] When there were crises in other oil-producing countries Saudi Arabia would

increase production to make up the shortfall. He argued that the world should look to Syria,

Iraq and Libya and the danger that Iran poses to peace.   He argued that 'the region is in

flames' and the Kingdom's youth would be tempted to leave the Kingdom to fight for the Pan-

Islamic cause in spite of the dangers and the potential cost to their freedom should they

return.[66] However, when they come back they may well react as those did in 2003. He argued

passionately that those from outside the Kingdom have no right to attempt to impose any sort

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[63]Hegghammer, Jihad (2010) p140.
[64]See Note 57.
[65]Numerous interviewees have stressed the point that throughout the Arab Spring it is the Middle Eastern monarchies that have emerged largely unscathed.
[66]Interviewee's statement.

of Western-style values and democracy on Saudi Arabia and those that did simply do not understand the Saudi people, their culture and traditions. Social and political progress is being made and will continue but it will be at a pace set by the people of the Kingdom.[67] He refuted totally the idea that Saudi Arabia has 'a youth population determined to achieve genuine democracy in their native land.'[68] 'The West needs to understand that we are not like them and what works for them will not work for us'.[69] Whilst the interviewee might have agreed with Giddens that 'Globalization lies behind the expansion of democracy' this author's interviewee utterly opposed the view that 'fundamentalism originates from a world of crumbling traditions.'[70] He believed that custom, tradition, Islam and the al-Saud are the glue that holds the Kingdom together whilst all around is disintegrating into chaos.

Finally, a brief profile of the remaining 9/11 hijackers; Satam al-Suqami, a Riyadh native was poorly educated whilst Majed Moqed from Annakhil, near Medina, had dropped out of university. The al-Hazmi brothers Nawaf and Salem were from Mecca, where their father had a grocery shop. They had no university education and Salem had a history of petty theft and issues with alcohol.[71]

5.5. PROBABLE CAUSE

5.5.1. Conspiracy Theories

Immediately following September 11 2001 conspiracy theories abounded across the Kingdom, and Kennedy, (2005) states that certain conspiracy theorists speculated that the U.S. government was complicit.[72] On *NBC*'s Meet the Press, the Saudi Ambassador to the U.S. was challenged over the alleged statement by the Saudi interior Minister 'that the Zionists were responsible for 9/11.'[73] He responded that this was not the position of the Saudi

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[67]See Murphy, (2013) Kindle version Chap 1 Loc 158 www.wilsoncenter.org/middleeast
[68]Austin, The Politics of Youth Bulge: From Islamic Activism to Democratic Reform in the Middle East and North Africa, *SAIS Review of International Affairs, Volume 31, Number2, Summer-Fall 2011, (Article)* (Baltimore USA: John Hopkins University Press, 2011) p92.
[69]See Sager, (2005) in Aarts & Nonneman, (eds) (2006) p253.
[70]Giddens, (1999) pp4-5.
[71]The 9/11 Commission Report, p232.
[72]Kennedy, in al-Bishr, (ed) (2005) p112. See also Cordesman and Obaid, (2005) p11.
[73]Ibid.

government.[74] From personal observation it was apparent that the rumour that the U.S., the CIA and Mossad were jointly responsible for the 9/11 attack was widely believed in Saudi Arabia in the period immediately following 9/11 and persists in some quarters to this day.[75] It is widely argued that this attack gave the U.S. the opportunity to intervene militarily in the Middle-East and the Twin Towers were a small price to pay in a much greater game.[76] This statement made by a Saudi entrepreneur educated in the United States appears typical of the skepticism that persist over 9/11. Skjolberg and Lia, (2007) propose that Mousseau's theory goes some way to explaining the apparent extraordinary 'degree of approval, if not outright support, for al-Qaeda's mass murder in New York and Washington, far beyond the radical jihadi movements.'[77] Whilst time and the impact of al-Qaeda turning upon its own people has dampened the fire of support for radical action, Western values of individualism still do not sit comfortably with a people at ease with themselves, who prefer to look inwards rather than out.

5.5.2. Fear of Modernity

Skjolberg and Lia, (2007) draw from Mousseau for a theory to explain the transition of authoritarian states towards modernization as a potential cause of terrorist violence.[78] The suggestion is that modernization, globalization, and the spread of Western ideology (or what Ritzer calls 'McDonaldism') destabilizes the equilibrium of tribal societies and shakes the foundations of cultural norms, taking its people outside of their comfort zones.[79] Al-Suud (2002) confirms that 'tribalism and Islam are important markers of personal and social Identity.'[80] On 28 May 2003 three clerics, Ali Fahd al-Khudair, Ahmed Hamud Mufreh al-Khaldi and Nasir al-Fuhaid were arrested in Tabuk for calling on the people to expel the infidels and to support the terrorists of the 12 May attacks on three Riyadh Compounds. Bascio, (2007)

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[74]Testimony of Steven Emerson, Executive Director, the Investigative Project on Terrorism, before the United States Senate Judiciary Committee, 08 November, 2005.
[75]This author's personal observations in the Kingdom 2001-2015.
[76]For more on Arab reaction and theories on 9/11 see Gerges (2007) pp183-186.
[77]Mousseau, (2002-3) pp 5-29 in Skjolberg, and Lia, (2007)p27.
[78]Skjolberg, and Lia, Facts and Fiction in Theories of Terrorism: An Expanded and Updated Review of the Literature on Causes of Terrorism. Research Institute Oslo, (2007) pp26-27.
[www.svt.ntnu.no/.../katja.skjolberg@hia. noFacts%20and%20Fiction%20in%]
[79]Ritzer, (2012) p304.
[80]Al-Suud, (2002) p57.

argues that the roots of Islamic terrorism can be traced from Madudi, to Qutb, to Azzam and onward to bin Laden taking with them the doctrine of violence from the hadith 'I have been ordered to fight people (al-nas) until they say "There is no God but God".'[81]

5.5.3. Relative deprivation?

The issue then remains to identify those factors that might have an impact on the Saudi youth bulge causing some young men to turn to terrorism in the name of Islam (whilst most do not) and to what extent, if any, does poverty and economic factors play a part in the process of radicalization. Given that Wa'il and Waleed al-Shehri came from circumstances of extreme wealth this theory would not seem to be strong. Mesoy, (2013) identifies that considerable conflict of views exist between leading scholars in regard to the link between poverty and terrorism. He suggests that the arguments can be categorized into three distinct groups which he terms 'no link, weak link and link'. Within the first group he places scholars such as Sageman, (2004), Berrebi, (2007) and Kreuger, (2007). Within the category of 'weak link' he places Hegghammer, (2010) and Wiktorowicz, (2004). Finally in the category of 'link' he identifies the work of Piazza, (2011) and Von Hippel, (2004).[82] In summary, Mesoy suggests that the conditions for political violence are constantly changing and that it is difficult to make meaningful comparisons between for example, terrorism in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia given the differing socio-economic conditions. Consequently he concludes that more in-depth quantitative and qualitative research is required at the micro-level to better understand the issues.[83]

5.5.4. Regional Strategy

Hegghammer states that jihadi and al-Qaeda terrorists have predominantly come from the urban areas of the Hijaz and Nejd. Consequently the disproportionate representation of southern families in the 9/11 operation must have been a premeditated strategy by bin Laden to demonstrate to the world that he controlled the youth bulge in an area traditionally loyal to

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[81]Bascio, (2007) pp88-89.
[82]Mesoy,Poverty and Radicalisation into Violent Extremism: a Causal Link? NOREF Expert Analysis, Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre, (2013) p2.
[83]Ibid.

the House of Saud.[84] This was a view supported by Ramzi bin-al Shibh, a Yemeni operative involved in the 9/11 plot, following his rendition to the US. Conversely, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed the architect of 9/11, as well as other al-Qaeda operatives, stated that the selection of young Saudis from the South was made for purely operational reasons including, particularly, their willingness to volunteer for martyrdom and the fact that at any time 70% of the mujahidin would have been Saudi.[85]

When seeking explanations for why, when the southern region is generally poor and under-developed, the southern people should be so loyal to the government it is note-worthy that the Saudi military is largely manned by the Southern tribes.[86] The reasons for this are primarily economic since there is little industry in the region, and the men pride themselves on being tough mountain men, well-equipped to deal with the rigors and discipline of military life. There is a story told of when King Abdulaziz the first King of the modern Saudi Arabia outlined his strategy to hold the people of the Kingdom loyal to him. It goes as follows: Pay the Nejd, so they will not betray us, educate the Hijaz, make them doctors, lawyers and teachers, but trust the men of the South because 'they will die for us.'[87] And so it is today, there is genuine affection for the Royal family from the South, and Southern men guard the Kingdom.[88] In spite of cultural and historical links with Yemen, loyalty is to the al-Saud. Bitter memories of Turkish occupation of the peninsula during the Ottoman Empire persist and memories of exploitation and the suppression of education remain raw. This author's interviewee stated: 'when Egypt had PhDs, we did not even have schools and mosques. The al-Saud changed all that. Any thought of an Arab Spring here is unthinkable, for us it is family, tribe and the al-Saud.'[89]

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[84]Hegghammer, (2010) p131.
[85]The 9/11 Commission Report, p92.
[86]Author's interviews with senior military officers (serving and retired) during 2013/14. Personal observation within the Kingdom since 1973.
[87]Author's Interview with a military officer born in the Southern region of Saudi Arabia, Riyadh. Interview date: 07 May 2014.
[88]In this interview with the author interviewee expressed the feeling that the people of the South have for the Al-Saud and particularly King Abdullah, as more than affection, it was 'love'.
[89]Ibid.

This insight into the loyalty of the southern people to the al-Saud perhaps goes some way towards an explanation why bin Laden might have wanted to dispel this perception through having so many young men from the south become martyrs to his cause. But an alternative opinion of why the people of the South are seen as loyal to the al-Saud but why so many of the 9/11 hijackers came from that region was offered by someone who studied the situation from the viewpoint of a person born and brought up in Nejd region. He believed that through their geographical displacement from the Nejd centre of power, the southern tribes suffered from a certain sense of isolation and with that isolation came a sense of inferiority, or at least a lack of power to influence. Consequently, there exists a tendency to compensate through overt declarations of loyalty.[90] Conversely some Southerners did express feeling that other regions looked down on them because of their history of low education and an agricultural heritage. Yamani's interview with Rasha highlights the regional divisions that exist within the Kingdom. In this, a 27-year-old female states, 'Saudis are racist; divisions are based on regions more than tribes. Nejdis look down on Hijazis and vice versa'.[91] Former Labor Minister Ghazi al-Ghosaibi stated that Saudis are 'arrogant and racist' and a survey carried out by *Arab News* found that eight out of ten respondents agreed with him.[92] The men of the South are proud of being tough, having a willingness to do jobs others would not do, setting them apart. Furthermore they believe that their work ethic challenges the stereotype of the indolent Arab as perceived from outside the Kingdom.[93] They further confirmed that Southern men joined the military primarily for economic reasons as even the lowest rank (enlisted) would be paid SR 5,000 (US $1,333) a month.[94]

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[90]Interview with Omar, a middle ranking civil servant and native of the Nejd, 10 February 2014.
[91]Yamami, (2000) p34.
[92]Arab News, 04 January 2009. Gosaibi vindicated. http://www.arabnews.com/node/319600
[93]Arab News, 09 March 2013, Saudi youth, the issue of unemployment and work ethic. http://www.arabnews.com/columns/saudi-youth-issue-unemployment-and-work-ethic
[94]Interview with Senior Military Officer, Riyadh, native of Asir.

5.6. SAUDI ARABIA'S HOMELAND TERRORISTS: PROFILES

The following section reviews the backgrounds of some of those who attacked targets in Saudi Arabia. It seeks to establish why members of the Kingdom's youth bulge sought to wage war against their homeland. Data is drawn from information released by the Saudi Ministry of the Interior relating to the 26 *Most Wanted* of 2003.[95] Additional data relating to the profiles of terrorists killed in action but not included in the list of 26 *Most Wanted* comes from interviews by this author with those who knew, or who were related to them. The data originates from two different time periods, the first following 9/11 and the second (more recent) coming out of the Syrian and Iraqi conflicts and the resultant resurgence of homeland DAESH terrorism in the Kingdom up to the third quarter of 2015.

5.7. THE POST 9/11 AL-QAEDA PHASE

5.7.1. Front Line Terrorists

Number 1.[96] Abdulaziz Isa Abdulmohsin al-Mogrin. Saudi, born 1972. He came from a middle-class family but failed to complete High School dropping out at age 17. Having married at 19 he deserted his family to take up jihad in Afghanistan in the late 1980s and fought in numerous conflicts during the 1990s. He was described by a leading authority on terrorism as being 'shallow, very simple minded with no political brain.'[97] Conversely, he is acknowledged as the planner of the attacks on offices and Oasis Compound in al Khobar and compounds in Riyadh causing extensive loss of life and disruption within the expatriate community across the Kingdom.[98]

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[95]*Ain-Al-Yaqeen*. 12 December 2003.
[96]Number designates the position of priority on Ministry of Interior list of 'Most Wanted.'
[97]Moshen al-Awaji in an interview with Reuters, Saudi Gazette, 20 June 2004.
[98](i)Author's interviews with residentspresent during time of attacks at Oasis Compound (Al Khobar) (03 May 2014) and Al Hamra Compound (Riyadh) (16 May 2014). (ii)Author's personal experience of being present in Al Khobar, 29-30 May 2004 and observing Oasis Compound siege first hand. For detail on Oasis massacre see Small and Hacker, (2014) pp251-268.

Number 2. Rakan Moshen Mohammad al-Saikan. Saudi, born 1978. He graduated from High School and attended the King Saud University. He died sometime after 12 April 2004 from wounds sustained in a gun battle with Saudi security forces.

Number 4. Kareem al-Ohami al-Mojati. A Moroccan, included here due to the parallels with Ziad Jarrah, pilot of United Flight 93 and Hani Hanjour, the only Saudi pilot on 9/11. Jarrah and al-Mojati both attended Christian Schools. In common with Hanjour, the pilot of AA 72, he was born into an affluent merchant family. He was the son of a French mother and Moroccan father and was married to an American woman. According to terrorist friend Ahmad Al Rafiqi, jailed in Morocco, al-Mojati had aspired to attack synagogues.

Number 12. Faris Ahmad Jamaan al-Shaweel al-Zahrani. In common with the three al-Ghamdis and al-Haznawi, perpetrators of the 9/11 attacks, al-Zahrani was from the Al Baha region. He had progressed to study Shariah at the Mohammad ibn Saud Islamic University, Abha Campus. However, he remained there for only one semester subsequently transferring to the Qasim campus of the same university. It is argued even from within Saudi Arabia that the Islamic Universities are the most fertile grounds for radical recruitment. What is more it is suggested that most of those who strayed into terrorism, did not finish more than the first year of their studies.[99] However, al-Zahrani was excluded for failure to attend classes and borrowed half a million Saudi riyals (US$ 133,000) from a Sheikh from the al-Baha region who lived in Qasim. He absconded with the money and disappeared. He had married when very young but deserted his family in 2000. It is reported that his family lost contact with him and knew nothing of his activities until he was posted as *Most Wanted* by the Ministry of the Interior. He was arrested in Riyadh on 18 June 2004.

Number 13. Khalid ibn Mubarak Habibullah al-Qurashi. A Saudi, who failed to complete High School, instead he enlisted into the Royal Saudi Naval Force, where he served for four years. He became deeply fundamentalist having become involved with radical elements. It is

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[99]Author's interview, with Ahmed, Government employee, Riyadh, 21 April 2014.

reported that he destroyed the family television convinced that it was the work of Satan. He also persuaded his younger brother to join al-Qaeda but the brother was intercepted by the Saudi Security Services before becoming active. Al-Qurashi was married but had no children. He was killed by security forces in Jeddah on 22 April 2004.[100]

Number 14. Mansoor Mohammad Ahmad al-Faqeeh. A Saudi, born in 1981, he was the second son of the family. His older brother Fahd had, according to his father, been killed in Afghanistan after taking to extremist ideology. The Ministry of the interior described Mansoor as a school drop-out whilst his mother confirmed that he had no education beyond second grade. He had applied for a job in the Government sector but had been unsuccessful due to his lack of education. The third son Hassan, born in 1985, had been arrested by the security services following the Riyadh attacks of May 2003. Although he had minimal education he returned to education whilst in custody.[101] Mansoor's mother called on him to give himself up to the authorities and he turned himself in on 30 December 2003.[102]

Number 15. Isa ibn Saad al-Aushan, a Saudi, had graduated from the Imam Muhammad ibn Saud Islamic University and sat as a judge in Jizan near the Kingdom's southern border with Yemen. He gave up law to become an Imam of the Omar ibn al-Khattab mosque in Shubra. In 2001 he disappeared deserting his wife and children who stated they were unaware of his activities until he was posted as one of the 26 *Most Wanted* by the Ministry of the Interior.

Number 24. Abdullah Mohammad Rashid al-Rashood, was well educated and taught in the faculty of Science at the Imam Muhammad ibn Saud Islamic University, Riyadh. It is reported that he was killed whilst fighting in Iraq.[103]

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[100]Arab News, 11 December 2003. http://www.arabnews.com/node/241413
[101]Within its measures for 'soft counter-terrorism' the Saudi Government operated a programme of 're-education' of former radicalized jihadis with the objective of reintegrating them into mainstream Saudi Society. See Hegghammer, (2010) p20, Asseri (2009) pp107-109, Boucek, (2009) in Bjorgo and Horgan, (2009) pp212-223.
[102](i)Ibid. Hegghammer outlines one of the core strategies of the Saudi government as offering the option for surrender and amnesty, pp19-20. (ii)Arab News, 31 December 2003. Report on announcement by Saudi Ministry of Interior. (iii)Wagner, (2010) Rehabilitation and De-radicalization: Saudi Arabia's Counterterrorism Successes and Failures, Peace and Conflict Monitor, University for Peace, 30 December 2012 http://www.monitor.upeace.org/archive.cfm?id_article=735
[103]Report of death from Global Jihad. 13 November 2008.

26 MOST WANTED

	Name/ Profession	Age	Natio nality	Afg.	List of19	Died	Education	Born
1	Abd al-Aziz Isa Abd al-Muhsin al-Muqrin	30	Saudi	yes	#5	18.06.04 Riyadh	Primary School	Riyadh
2	Rakan Muhsan Muhammadal-Sikhan (teacher)	26	Saudi	yes	#9	12.04.04 Riyadh	University left	Riyadh
3	Khalid Ali bin Ali Hajj	30	Saudi	yes	#19	15.03.04 Riyadh	Primary School	Jeddah
4	Karimal Tuhami al-Majiti	?	Mor.	yes	-	05.04.05	Secondary School	Morocco
5	Salih Muhammad Awwadallahal-Alawi al-Awfi (security/merchant)	38	Saudi	yes	#4	-	Secondary School	Medina
6	Ibrahim Muhammad Abdallahal-Rayyis	?	Saudi	?	-	08.12.03 Riyadh	?	?
7	Sa'ud Hamud Abdilahi-Qataimi al-Utaibi	33	Saudi	yes	-	05.04.05 Qasim	?	?
8	Ahmad Abd al-Rahman Saqral-Fadhi (police)	27	Saudi	?	-	23.04.04 Jeddah	Primary School	Mecca
9	Sultan Bijad Sa'dun al-Utaibi	?	Saudi	no	-	28.12.04 Riyadh	University Grad**	?
10	Abdullah Sa'ud Abuniyan	22	Saudi	no	-	-	University Left**	?
11	Faisal Abd al-Rahman Abdallahal-Dakhil	25	Saudi	yes	#15	18.06.04 Riyadh	?	Buraida
12	Faris Ahmad Jama'an al-Shuwail al-Zahrani. (Judge)	27	Saudi	yes	-	05.08.04arrested	University Grad**	Jawfa'Zah ran
13	Khalid Mubarak Habiballahal-Qurashi (student)	27	Saudi	no	-	22.04.04 Jeddah	Secondary School	MeccaUta ibiya
14	Mansur Muhammad AhmadFaqih	22	Saudi	no	-	30.12.03 gave up	Primary School	Mecca
15	Isa Sa'd bin Muhammad AhmadAwshan. (Judge/Imam)	26	Saudi	?	-	22.07.04 Riyadh	University Grad**	?
16	Talib Sa'ud Abdullah Al Talib	26	Saudi	no	-	22.04.04 Jeddah	University Left**	BuraidaQa sim
17	Mustafa Ibrahim MuhammadMubaraki	26	Saudi	?	-	22.04.04 Jeddah	?	?

18	Abd al-Majid MuhammadAbdallah al-Muni	25	Saudi	yes	-	12.10.04 Riyadh	University Grad**	Riyadh
19	Nasir Rashid Nasir al-Rashid	?	Saudi	?	-	12.04.04 Riyadh	University Left**	Riyadh
20	Bandar Abd al-RahmanAbdallah al-Dakhil	23	Saudi	?	-	29.12.04 Riyadh	Secondary School	Buraida
21	UthmanHadi Al Maqbul al-Umari	36	Saudi	no	#11	26.06.04arrested	Secondary School	Shabariq
22	Talal Anbar Ahmad Anbari	?	Saudi	?	-	22.04.04 Jeddah	Primary School	?
23	Amir Mushin Maryaf Al Zaidanal-Shahri	22	Saudi	yes	-	23.12.03 Riyadh	University Left**	Riyadh
24	Abdallah Muhammad Rashidal-Rushud	30	Saudi	no	-	18.06.04? Riyadh?	University Grad**	Aflakh/ province?
25	Abd al-Rahman MuhammadMuhammad Yaziji	26	Saudi	?	-	06.04.05 Riyadh	?	Jazan
26	Husayn Muhammad al-Hasaki	?	Mor.	?	-	July 04 Belgium	?	Morocco

Roel Meijer,The Limits of Terrorism in Saudi Arabia in Arts and Nonneman (2005) Saudi Arabia in the Balance, pp. 304-306, Appendix iii. List issued 06 December by Ministry of the Interior.
[** Religious Study]

Majid Abdullah Saad bin Okail had a High School education but after graduation had various jobs and appears to have had difficulty in settling into any career. At around the age of 24 he won a place on an aviation technical training programme,[104] qualifying as a technician on military aircraft. He was subject to security vetting processes by military intelligence prior to acceptance into training and it would appear that there was nothing in his background to suggest that he might prove a security risk.[105] Upon graduation he was posted to the King Faisal Air Base at Tabuk in the North-West of the Kingdom. Research by this author revealed

[104]Author's interview with former colleagues of bin Okail, 18 September 2013. Bin Okail had been trained on the BAE Systems Youth Training Centre (YTC) technician training programme. He was slightly older than the average trainee which substantiates Hegghammer's research that the average age of terrorists within al-Qaeda on the Arabian Peninsula (QAP) is 27 questioning the popular myth of teenage terrorists. See Hegghammer, Terrorist Recruitment and Radicalization in Saudi Arabia, *Middle East Policy,* Vol XIII, No.4, Winter (2006) p42.
[105]All civilian personnel are required to be security cleared by military intelligence prior to be permitted to enter and work on Saudi military installations or bases.

that bin Okail was involved in a traffic accident in which his wife and children were killed. When most vulnerable he appears to have fallen victim to those who would radicalize him. By the time of his return to Tabuk, he had become very anti-Western and argued with Saudi colleagues that they should not respect infidels. Shortly after his return from the trauma he disappeared, and thereafter it is believed that he went to Afghanistan and trained in the al Qaeda camps. Upon his return to Saudi Arabia he joined al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula and participated in an attack that shocked the Saudi government, the Saudi people and the expatriate community alike. Following 12 May 2003 he was identified as one of the terrorists who attacked the al-Hamra, Jadawel and Vinnel Corporation compounds in Riyadh. These three compounds were symbolic of a Western presence, and al-Hamra was home to one of the major icons of foreign influence, the British International School which over the years has educated several members of the Saudi Royal family and consequently presented an 'availability of symbolic targets'.[106] Bin Okail was identified by the Ministry of the Interior through DNA evidence following the suicide bombings.[107]

[106]Crenshaw, (1988) Theories of Terrorism: Instrumental and Organizational Approaches, (1988), p14
www.stanford.edu/class/polisci243b/readings/**crenshaw**.pdf
[107]Author's interview with military officer, 30 September 2013. From MOI, 6 June 2003, reported in SAMIRAD, 7 June 2003,
http://www.saudinfo.com/disply_news.php?id=664

12 (14) SUICIDE BOMBERS KILLED IN RIYADH 12 MAY 2003

	Name/ Profession	Age	Afg.	List of19	Education	Born
1	Khalid Muhammad bin Muslim al-Arwi al-Jahani	28	yes	#3	Primary School	nk
2	Muhammad Uthman Abdullah al-Walidi al-Shahri	26	yes	#8	University Grad	Nimas
3	Hani Sa'id Ahmad Al AbdKarim al-Ghamidi (Teacher)	23	yes	#7	University Grad	?
4	Jibran Ali Ahmad Hakami Khibrani	27	?	#17	Teacher College	?
5	Khalid bin Ibrahim Mahmud Baghdadi	29	yes	-	University Left	?
6	Mihmas bin Myhammad Mahmas al-Hawashla al-Dawsari	26	yes	-	Not Known	?
7	Muhammad bin Shazaf Ali Al Mahzum al-Shahri (employee)	25	?	-	University Left	Nimas
8	Jazim Muhammad Sa'id Kashmiri (NGO worker)	35	yes	-	University Grad	?
9	Majid Abdullah Sa'ad bin Akil (Military Aircraft Technician)	27	no	-	ELT+Technical	?
10	Bandar bin AbdalRahman Manawwar Al-Rahimial-Mutairi	23	?	-	Primary School	?
11	Abd al-Karim Muhammad JabranYaziji	35	yes	#6	Primary School	?
12	Abdallah Faris bin Jaafin al-Rahim al-Mutairi (Mosque employee)	23	?	-		?
13	Muhammad Abd Al-Wahhab al-Muqit	28	yes	-	?	?
14	Ashraf al-Sayyid	23	yes	-	Primary School	Medina

Roel Meijer, The Limits of Terrorism in Saudi Arabia in Arts and Nonneman Saudi Arabia in the Balance, (2005) p. 303, Appendix ii. Data in blue indicates where author's own research supplements Meijer's work. (ELT = English Language Training).

In spite of the initial shock at the attacks upon the Western expatriate community in Saudi Arabia, the overall strategy of the AQAP failed both militarily and because most expatiates were unmoved, and they failed to win the support of Muslim people.[108] Hegghammer, (2010) further argues that this failure resulted from the asymmetric nature of the conflict between a relatively small cadre of terrorists against the full might of the Saudi security apparatus, a lack of support for terrorist activities within the Saudi population as a whole, and a split within the AQAP human and material resources resulting from groups leaving to fight in Iraq. Whilst AQAP followed an anti-Western strategy targeting expatriate compounds and individuals, it initially avoided direct attacks on civilian representatives of the Saudi government.[109] However, AQAP operational strategy in the Kingdom shifted and Hegghammer reports that subsequently jihadis returning from Afghanistan in the first quarter of 2002 attacked and killed 2 police officers, a judge, and a deputy Governor in al-Jouf, and he refers to unconfirmed reports of failed assassination attempts on members of the royal family.[110] This author's research confirms that four Saudi officials were murdered in al-Jouf Province during 2002/3. Hamad al-Wardi, the Deputy Governor of al-Jouf was shot dead in Sakaka in February 2003. A judge, Sheikh Abdulrahman al-Sahibani was murdered in September 2002 and a senior police officer Mamoud Rabih was killed outside his home in April 2003. An unnamed soldier was also murdered around the same time. Seven suspects including the leaders of the plots were arrested and confessed to the murders in early 2002.[111] On 29 December 2004 AQAP launched two suicide bomb attacks, the first on the Ministry of the Interior headquarters building in Riyadh and the second on a police training centre.[112] The primary target in the attack on the

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[108] Author's personal experience within the Kingdom throughout the period of QAP activities, particularly, Al-Khobar, Riyadh, and Yanbu. See Hegghammer, (2010) p15, The Failure of Jihad in Saudi Arabia, *Occasional Paper Series,* Combating Terrorism Centre at West Point. Gerges, (2011) p199.

[109] Heghammer, Islamist Violence and Regime Stability in Saudi Arabia, 714 *International Affairs,* 84:4,(2008) pp701-715.

[110] Hegghammer, Jihad Yes. But Not Revolution, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies,* December 2009, 36 (3), pp395-416, 402.

[111] Arab News, 2 January 2004, 7 Confess to Killing Al-Jouf Officials, Al Watan Daily in Arabic, 01 January 2004: http://www.arabnews.com/node/242466

[112] New York Times, 30 December 2004: http://www.nytimes.com/2004/12/30/international/middleeast/30saudi.html

MOI was the Assistant Minister for the Interior for Security Affairs, Prince Muhammad bin Naif.[113] Given that the Minister had publicly committed to hunting down the terrorist cells, he became their primary target. A total of four assassination attempts have been made upon his life to date. Following the first in 2004 a second attempt was made in Yemen, when a missile was launched targeting his aircraft as it was on approach to land, but the crew took successful evasive action. In a third attempt an AQAP operative offered to give himself up to Prince Muhammad during Ramadan on 27 August 2009. He travelled in the Prince's aircraft from Yemen and thereby bypassed airport security screening. When close to the Minister, the terrorist Abdullah Hassan Taleh al-Asiri detonated an explosive device which he carried internally.[114] This killed al-Asiri and slightly injured the Minister. The latest attempt was foiled when two al-Qaeda terrorists Yousef al-Shahri and Raedal-Harbi were intercepted at Hamra al-Darb checkpoint in Jizan.[115] In response to al-Qaeda action and propaganda the countermeasures utilized by the Saudi government and its security services included use of the power of the media, the imams, religion and education. The objective was to undermine the credibility of the terrorists portraying them as a force attacking Muslims.[116] Its efforts to contain violence and seek justice for those killed or injured by terrorists in the Kingdom remains ongoing. For example, on Sunday 20 April 2014 a special criminal court sentenced five men to death and 37 others to varying periods in jail for being part of an 85-man terror cell that had conspired to support and manufacture ordnance for the attack on the 'al-Hamra, Granada and Vinnell compounds' on 12 May 2003.[117]

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[113]Prince Mohammed bin Naif named Deputy Crown Prince and Second Deputy Prime Minister 23 January 2015.
http://www.saudiembassy.net/about/Biographies-of-Ministers.aspx

[114]Abdullah Asiri was a brother to Ibrahim Al Asiri QAP master bomb maker and regarded as the greatest threat to US interests world-wide: [http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/al-qaeda-bomb-maker-ibrahim-hassan-al-asiri-has-tried-to-attack-the-us-three-times-officials-say/2012/05/08/gIQA16pkBU_story.html]

[115](i)Saudi Gazette, 16 August 2010, Fourth assassination attempt against Prince Foiled:
[http://www.saudigazette.com.sa/index.cfm?method=home.regcon&contentid=2010081681128]

[116]Hegghammer, The Failure of Jihad, 25 February 2010, p21.

[117]Arab News, 21 April 2014. The three compounds attacked were Dorata' Jadawel (also known as Ishbiliah), Al-Hamra Oasis Village and Vinnell. Reports from Asharq Al-Awsat state that 105 people were involved in the May 12 plot. Contrary to earlier reports that 16 men took part in the attacks, Meijer, (2005) p303, Appendix II) Asharq Al-Aswat reports 24 terrorists attacked the compounds, 81 supplied support and finance, whilst 23 died in the attack and one known as 'perpetrator 24' escaped but was later captured. Asharq Al-Awsat, 21 June 2010.

Al-Asseri, (2009) describes a soft counter-terrorism strategy of de-radicalization and rehabilitation of former or potential terrorists[118] (al-Munasahawa al-Islah, Advice and Reform) who the State saw as having been misguided by manipulative men preaching a distorted interpretation of Islam.[119] Boucek, (2008) refers to the programme by the acronym, 'PRAC' standing for Prevention, Rehabilitation and Post Release Care. He suggests that its success may be measured through the fact that other nations have chosen to replicate the Saudi model, an acknowledgment that hard countermeasures alone cannot eradicate violent extremism.[120]

5.7.2. Wanted: The Matlubin – Logisticians of Terror

"If you harbor terrorists, you're a terrorist; if you aid and abet terrorists you're a terrorist–
and you will be treated like one."[121]

The profiles of those terrorists from the Kingdom's youth bulge outlined here are outside the list of the Ministry of the Interior's *26 Most Wanted* but contributed to the terrorist framework as *matlubin*.[122] As the Saudi security forces progressively eliminated those terrorists *Most Wanted*, necessity drove logistical support sympathizers into direct combat against the Saudi security forces.

Abdulhameed ibn Abdulaziz al-Tamimi was wanted by the Saudi security services for supplying logistical support and safe houses to known terrorists. It is stated by a member of his family in interviews with this author that he had been an impressionable child and received only

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[118]Al-Munasahawa al-Islah - Advice and Reform.
[119]Al-Aserri, (2009) p103.
[120]Boucek, Saudi Arabia's "Soft" Counterterrorism Strategy: Prevention, Rehabilitation and Aftercare (Washington DC: *Carnegie Papers. Middle East Program,* Number 97 September 2008) p3 & pp22-23.
[121]Chomsky, (2005) in Al-Bishr, (ed) p118, cites Talbot and Chanda, The Age of Terror: America and the World after September 11, (2001).
[122]*Matlubin*- wanted – but members of the wider support network of Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula who as the Most Wanted were liquidated, took a more active terrorist combat role. Meijer (2005) in Arts and Nonneman, (eds) (2005) p282.

elementary education. A picture is revealed of a naïve but cheerful youth who once

disappeared from home as he wanted to travel like a wandering minstrel and play his oud.[123]

Once, when a teenager, he took the family's pick-up truck and used it for drifting,[124] and having

seriously damaged it, he returned it to the place where he had taken it in the hope that no-one

would notice. Nevertheless, he was popular in the family but seen as child-like in his ways --

funny and always trying to make people laugh.[125] He joined the Civil Defence Fire Department,

but outside of his work became radicalized by speakers calling for violent jihad against

Westerners. Indoctrinated with radical ideology he argued with his family that the World

Trade Centre had been a legitimate target since America supported Israel in the oppression of

the Palestinians. When a relation argued that the killing of innocents could not be Islamic,

Abdulhameed retorted that 'this was Satan talking.'[126] He deserted his wife and two young

children to join the jihad in Afghanistan, where he became further radicalized by the Al Qaeda

doctrine and on return to Saudi Arabia, joined up with the operational wing in the Arabian

Peninsula. On 12 October 2004, in the Al Nahda area of Riyadh, Saudi Security forces cornered

Abdulhameed, along with Abdulmajeed bin Mohammad Abdullah al-Moneea and Isam bin

Miqbil bin Saqral al-Otaibi.[127] All three were killed. His relation reports that the family's

greatest fear was that since grenades had been exploded towards the end of the battle,

Abdulhameed probably committed suicide, a major sin in Islam.[128] Durkheim (1951) states that

'Mohometan societies prohibit suicide with equal vigor. "Man." Says Mahomet, "dies only by

the will of God according to the book which fixes the term of his life".'[129] In spite of turning to

terrorism al-Tamimi is fondly remembered by the family who pray that God will accept him for

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[123]Oud, Arabian lute.

[124]Drifting, sport wherein young Saudis race and perform dangerous manoeuvers with cars. See Ménoret (2009) in al-Rasheed & Shterin (2009) pp124-137.

[190]Interview with relation of al-Tamimi 11 March 2013. See King, and Taylor, Radicalization of Home Grown Jihadis: A Review of Theoretical Models and Social Psychological Evidence. *Terrorism and Political Violence,* 23, (2011) pp602-622, for parallels between this Saudi jihadi and Canadian terrorist Zakaria Amara.

[126]Further interview with relation of al-Tamimi 13 March 2013.

[127]Abdulmajeed bin Mohammad Abdullah al-Moneea, number 26 on Saudi Arabia's Ministry of Interior list of Most Wanted. Saudi Embassy Press release 14 October 2004, Washington DC.,[http://www.saudiembassy.net/archive/2004/press/page5.]

[128] Small and Hacker, (2014) p132. This is how the siege of the Suwayr mosque also ended when Turki al-Dandani and three other terrorists committed suicide by grenade rather than be taken by the MOI, 03 July 2003. See also Arab News, March 30 2011. http://www.arabnews.com/node/385921

[129]Durkheim, (1951) p204.

what he had been in his earlier life, rather than for what he been lured into. The family considers that the Saudi state education system was not responsible for the radicalization of Abdulhameed. If anything, they believe it was the lack of education, his unworldliness and consequent naivety that made him susceptible to radicalization, and that he was a victim of evil manipulative and misguided men.[130]

5.8. THE DAESH PHASE

5.8.1. Pan-Islamism: A Calling for a New Generation of Holy Warriors

The case studies below are from this author's own field work and report on young Saudi men who have traveled to Syria and Iraq to support the opposition to the Assad regime or DAESH through armed jihad. They join what Hegghammer identifies from jihadi terminology as 'the Caravan of Martyrs.'[131] He posed the questions 'Which Saudis go to Iraq? Why do they go? How do they get there? And which role do they play in the insurgency?'[132] Hegghammer's analysis of the reasons why Saudi youths went to war in Iraq largely aligns with this author's own field research for why in 2015 young men crave martyrdom through jihad. He identifies the motivating force not as religious fundamentalism or 'inherent Saudi radicalism but rather in the strength of so-called pan-Islamic nationalism in Saudi Arabia.' In a broad range of interviews across the Kingdom this is a theme that is raised repeatedly.[133] Hegghammer was prophetic when he suggested in 2007 that 'the Saudis currently in Iraq are probably not the Kingdom's last generation of holy warriors.'[134]

Sageman, (2004) argues that social networks are pivotal in the recruitment of Salafi jihadis and are more important than ideology.[135] In later work he maps the development of the networks that entice young men to jihad and downwards into terrorism. He describes a shift from a

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[130]Author's interview with cousin of terrorist killed by Saudi Security Forces, 12 October 2004. Interview date: 02 January 2014.
[131]Hegghammer, Saudi Militants in Iraq: Backgrounds and Recruitment Patterns, 5 February 2007, pp7-8.
[132]Ibid.
[133]Author's interviews with Saudi males across the Kingdom throughout 2013/2014.
[134]Hegghammer, Saudi Militants in Iraq, 5 February 2007, p19.
[135]Sageman, (2004) p178.

time in the early 1990s where the networks relied on personal contact to around 2004 which is the time he identifies that the internet became an essential tool for communication and expansion of networks within social movements.[136] Edwards contends that globalization has enabled ease of communication 'by enabling activists to connect beyond their geographical locale.'[137] She views the use of mobile telephones and social media as enabling previously constrained networks, in what Castells et al., refer to as 'person-to-person, horizontal mass communication'.[138] Castells et al., suggest that through 'multi-modality' 'activists no longer depend therefore upon the proximity of face-to-face encounters for communicating grievances, sharing information and generating emotional bonds'.[139] Weimann, (2004 and 2011) argues that the internet 'has long been a favorite tool for terrorists… decentralized and providing almost perfect anonymity' it 'has enabled terrorist organizations to research and coordinate attacks, to expand the reach of their propaganda to a global audience…'.[140] However, it is this very technology that renders the terrorist vulnerable to communications intercepts by intelligence and security services.[141] For example Ibrahim al-Asiri, AQAP's Saudi master bomb maker in Yemen and brother to the attempted assassin Abdullah referred to above, protects his security through relying on messages being passed from hand to hand.[142] At the other end of the technology spectrum al-Qaeda's Global Islamic Media Front launched an encrypted instant messaging system Asrar al Dardashah (the Secret of the Chat) which facilitated a texting system which only sender and recipient could access with secret electronic keys.[143]

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[136]Sageman, (2006) p 109.
[137]Edwards, (2014) p158.
[138]Castells et al, 2006, p 211 in Edwards, (2014) p. 157.
[139]Edwards, (2014) p158.
[140](i)Weimann, (2011) Al Qaeda has sent you a friend request: Terrorists using online Social networking. http://cleanitproject.eu/files/95.211.138.23/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/2012-Terrorists-using-online-social-nerworking.pdf (ii) Weimann, (2004) U.S. Institute of Peace Special Report. www.terror.net How Modern Terrorism Uses the Internet. http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/sr116.pdf
[141]Johnsen, (2012) p121.
[142]Interview with former National Security Officer, Riyadh, 17 August 2013.
[143]Times of Israel 15 August 2013. On Line forums provide key havens for terror plots. http://www.timesofisrael.com/online-forums-provide-key-havens-for-terror-plots/#

5.8.2. Profile of a Potential Jihadi

Omar, a 23-year-old, unemployed, High School graduate dropped out of the Imam Muhammad bin Saud Islamic University after one year.[144] He is the fifth son of a family of five boys. Following problems with depression and drugs he dedicated himself to memorizing the Qu'ran and, on seeing the Syrian civil war unfold, developed a desire for redemption through fulfilling the duty of Jihad. This was opposed by his parents but they were unable to convince him of the dangers. Consequently an uncle with impeccable Islamic credentials was introduced to dissuade him through appropriate interpretation of religious teachings. Omar argued that some Sheiks were calling for the young men of the Kingdom to take up jihad in support of their Syrian brothers. His uncle countered that Jihad is an honorable calling but that it does not necessarily need to take the form of armed struggle. If Omar wished to discharge his perceived duty he could do so through working with humanitarian organizations such as the Red Crescent.[145] With no military training he would be a liability in front line combat and if captured would be identified as a foreigner by his accent. He would likely be tortured and divulge information that would compromise others. Furthermore, notwithstanding the role that was being carried out by the General Intelligence Presidency to channel arms and money to the Syrian opposition, there exists no official state of war between Saudi Arabia and the Syrian regime; consequently, there is in effect a treaty between the two countries which individual citizens should not attempt to circumvent.[146] Justification he argued could be found within the Qu'ran:

> *'Verily, those who believed, and emigrated and strove hard and fought with their property and their lives in the Cause of Allah as well as those who gave (them) asylum and help, - these are (all) allies to one another. And as to those who believed but did not emigrate (to you O Muhammad), you owe no duty of protection to them until they emigrate, but if they*

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[144]Interview with relation of a youthwho aspired aspiring to go to jihad 13 March 2013, Riyadh.
[145]This took place in 2012 before the extent of the atrocities committed by DAESH became so visible.
[146]Wall Street Journal 25 August 2013.http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424127887323423804579024452583045962

seek your help in religion, it is your duty to help them except against a people with whom you have a treaty of mutual alliance; and Allah is All-Seer of what you do.[147]

The mediator advised that the search for jihad was doomed to failure. He should learn from history and previous conflicts including Bosnia, where jihadis fought for Islam but the result was victory for secularism. Omar did not enter the shrouded world of Jihad out of duty to his sick father and the threat of imprisonment following the recent Royal Decree. The family believes that Omar remains in a fragile state of mind following his experience with drugs, depression and unemployment, and is therefore vulnerable to suggestions from recruiters. Blame could only be attributed to education in so much as it had failed to prepare him for work in the private sector when the state sector was already saturated. Finally, it is believed by the interviewee that the fathers of those who are drawn to jihad and terrorism are often very old (as in this case) and that father and son may have little in common and that the families often seek help from Islamic scholars.

5.8.3. The DAESH Jihadi Backlash.

It is widely believed in the Kingdom that DAESH, in their attempt to form an Islamic caliphate, are seeking to destabilize Saudi Arabia through attacks on their security personnel and in attempting to initiate Sunni-Shia sectarian violence though murder of Shia. Gaining control of Mecca and Medina is seen as their primary objective, closely followed by control of the Eastern province oil fields.[148] Brief reports of the recent DAESH attacks perpetrated by Saudi youth in the Kingdom are outlined at Annex A to this thesis.

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[147]The Qur'an: Surah 8 Al-Anfal 72.
[148]SUSRIS, Freeman 25 March 2015,p4 and this author's discussions with military officers and civilian professionals, Riyadh, 3-7 May 2015.
http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2014/11/04/Masked-gunmen-kill-five-in-Saudi-Arabia-s-al-Ahsa-district-Arabia.html
http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2015/01/30/Saudi-Arabia-gunfire-wounds-American-in-al-Ahsa.html Author's interview with senior military officer 04 June 2015.

CHAPTER 6

SAUDI ARABIA'S DISPUTED ROLE INRADICALIZATION

"It doesn't matter if they are wrong. From 9/11 to more recent shooting in the United States there's nothing more dangerous than a true believer on his own crazy mission."[1]

6.1. INTRODUCTION

Ayoob and Kosebalaban, (2009) suggest that since 15 of the September 11 hijackers were Saudis it is unsurprising that the perception of Islam, the Kingdom, and the doctrine of Wahhabiyya should be subjected to intense scrutiny in the United States.[2] Blanchard, (2009) argues that the role of Saudis from the country's youth bulge in the attack 'kindled strong criticism in the United States of Saudi involvement in terrorism or of Saudi laxity in acting against terror groups. The attacks constituted the most serious challenge to U.S.-Saudi relations since the 1973-1974 oil embargo.'[3] It is equally unsurprising that questions would be asked concerning the cause for such events and how America should respond. One response came in February 2002 when a group of 60 American scholars of mixed religious beliefs, including Fukuyama and Huntington, were signatories to a document entitled *What We're Fighting For: A Letter from America.*[4] The primary purpose of the letter was to define the circumstances under which they considered it would be morally and legally justifiable to wage war, in this case that which George W. Bush referred to as 'the War on Terror, the US Government's response to 9/11.'[5]

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[1]Brad Meltzer, (2013) History decoded: The 10 greatest conspiracies of all time.
[2]Ayoob and Kosebalaban, (2009) p4. The term Wahhabiyya is not one in common use in Saudi Arabia, but a term used by Western commentators, Saudi will refer to themselves as, e.g Hanbali, Salafi but not Wahabi.
[3]Blanchard, (2009) p8 in Nagunian, (2009),(ed), pp1-57.
[4](i)Aird, et al., (2002) What We're Fighting For: A Letter from America. Institute of American Values.
http://www.americanvalues.org/html/wwff.html. (ii)Washington Post, 12 February 2002. Academics Release Letter on 'Just war.'
[5](i)Ye'or, (2011) in Stern, (ed) p162. (ii)Pape, & Feldman, (2010) p29.

6.2. The Saudi Education System: An Assault from all Sides

'The Educational system has helped in indirect ways in producing terrorism. One of the significant educational problems in many Gulf countries is the unbalanced distribution of university graduates.'[6] Given that this criticism of the educational system throughout the Gulf region came from within the inner circle of academia in Saudi Arabia, it is unsurprising that even more scathing attacks were launched from the West following the events of September 11, 2001 and the subsequent acts of terrorism carried out across the Kingdom and beyond. In addition to broader charges against the Saudi regime regarding policies that had allegedly become 'a genuine menace to the United States', the Saudi state education system was charged by a range of actors with creating a culture within education that presented a danger to both domestic and international security.[7] Consequently, a priority of U.S. foreign policy since 2001 has been to encourage reform of the educational system in Saudi Arabia.[8] In response to a question from Barbara Walters on the subject of 'extremism and hatred in Saudi text books' King Abdullah gave her the assurance that 'we have toned them down.'[9] Some leading scholars and youth bulge theorists argue that within countries with large youth populations and high unemployment, there exists the danger of radicalization and militancy in the male population.[10] However, opinions differ on the level of the danger this presents to society at large and to what extent shortfalls within educational systems plays a part. Cordesman, (2002) identifies the need for Saudi Arabia to address the dual issues of youth bulge and education, offering two dramatically different potential outcomes. In a 'Best Case v

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[6]Al-Khateeb, (2005) p50.

[7]Prokop, (2006) p57. For reference to attacks on Saudi Education system originating in the United States see Aird et al. 2002. 'What we are fighting for: A Letter from America.' See also Champion, (2003)pp. 242-3 in which he details editorial attacks on the Kingdom by International Herald Tribune, 'Out of Saudi Arabia', 22 January 2002 and New York Times, 14 October 2001.

[8]Saudi Arabia's Curriculum of Intolerance: With excerpts from Saudi Ministry of Education Textbooks for Islamic Studies, 2006. Centre for Religious Freedom of Freedom House (With The Institute of Gulf Affairs).

[9]Testimony of Nina Shea, (Freedom House) before Committee on the Judiciary U.S. Senate 08 November 2005 Saudi Arabia Friend or Foe in the War on Terror, p158.

[10]Goldstone, 1991, Goldstone, Towards a Fourth Generation of Revolutionary Theory (*Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.,* 2001), Heinsohn, (2006), Heinsohn, Islamism and War: The Demographics of Rage [http://www.opendemocracy.net/conflicts/democracy-terror/isbism_war_demographics-rage, 20 July 2007],[Heinsohn, Exploding Populations [http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/17/opinion/17iht-edheinsohn.1.9292632.html, 7 January 2008], Therborn, Nato's Demographer' (*New Left Review,* March/April 2009), Urdal, A Clash of Generations? Youth Bulges and Political Violence. International Studies Quarterly, 50, 2006: pp607-629, doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2478.2006.00416.x, Urdal, Population, Resources, and Political Violence: A subnational Study of India 1965-2002, (2008), Urdal, & Hoelscher, Urban Youth Bulges and Social Disorder: An Empirical Study of Asian and Sub-Saharan African Cities. *PolicyResearch Working Paper* (The World Bank, 2009), Urdal, A Clash of Generations? Youth Bulges and Political Violence. Expert Paper No. 2012/1. (New York: United Nations, 2012).

Worst Case' scenario, his worst case fears of regime collapse along with failure of educational and political reform and an energy crisis were not realized.[11] Twelve years on, Cordesman's vision of reform in education, and decisive action to eliminate radicalism and terrorism, have been addressed to some extent. However, the statement that 'political reform keeps pace with the evolution of Saudi society' demands a more subjective evaluation.[12] What may be considered progress by external actors and those internal to the Kingdom may be measured on altogether different scales and against quite different social and cultural norms.   This chapter seeks to evaluate the quality and efficacy of the Kingdom's education system then and now. It will evaluate whether claims that it failed its youth and thereby endangered the future of its people, state and international securitythrough not adequately preparing them for employment and inclusive citizenship within a modernizing society.

6.2.1. A Matter of Terminology

Before considering *A Letter from America*, and the response that it attracted from within Saudi Arabia, it is necessary to pause to briefly consider the use (and misuse) of various terminology that has entered the discourse of national security. For example Salmi, (2005) argues that there is a tendency for Western critics to associate 'today's terrorists, radicals, militants fundamentalist and fanatics' as being the product of Islamic theology and the media are guilty of linking terms such as Islamic fundamentalist or Islamic terrorist directly to Islam.[13] However, no such religious labels are attached to perpetrators of terrorist-style violence who hold other than Islamic beliefs. At the core of this problem Salmi suggests is ignorance and misinformation emanating from those who are bigoted, self-serving and ideologically opposed.[14] To counter the belief throughout the Islamic world that the United States was ideologically and militarily opposed to all things Islamic, by early 2005 the emotive terminology and strategy of the war on terror had undergone a subtle but nevertheless significant

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[11]Cordesman, The U.S. Military and Evolving Challenges in the Middle East. *Naval War College Review,* Summer 2002. Vol. LV, No. 3.
[12]Ibid.
[13]Salmi, (2005) in Al-Bishr,(ed) (2005) pp223-224.
[14]Salmi, (2005) p246.

paradigm shift. Vertigans, (2009) stated that confusion persisted, particularly in the United States regarding who exactly was the enemy and what was their cause, with much of the confusion caused by the terminology.[15] With the strategic objective of regaining the ideological high ground from al-Qaeda as protectors of the Ummat al-Islamiyah, the shift was from terminology describing a war on terror to 'a strategy against violent extremism.'[16] The joint objectives were isolation of Islamic extremists whilst simultaneously diluting anti-American feeling throughout the Muslim world.[17] Just as Salmi identifies Western ignorance as a factor in the demonization if Islam, Abu Sulayman, (1993) claimed that 'the West has failed to understand Islam and its positions are coloured by considerations stemming from the Middle Ages.'[18] Durkheim argued that since Aristotle, philosophers have identified 'the notions of time, space, genus, number cause, substance personality and so on' as the 'categories of understanding' that are at the source of all intellectual judgment.[19] What follows demonstrates the dichotomy of faith, culture and understanding that each side seeks to defend.

6.2.2. A Letter From America

In the aftermath of the 9/11 attack in which 15 members of Saudi Arabia's youth bulge had taken part, the group of American academics responded through the medium of an open letter to argue the necessity and justification for a war on terrorism.[20]

A Letter from America and the press coverage that followed 9/11 provoked anger and a counter-reaction from within the Kingdom. *A Letter to the West. A Saudi View,* was one such response. Written by 19 Saudi academics and scholars, mounting a passionate defense of what was seen as an attack on 'Islam in general and the Kingdom, its leaders and its legal

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[15]Vertigans, (2009) p159.
[16]Hoffman,(2006) p129.
[17]Ibid.
[18]Abu Sulayman, (1993) pxvi.
[19]Durkheim, (2001) p11.
[20]Aird, et al., (2002)http;//www.americanvalues.org/html/wwff.html and 12 February 2002. Academic Release Letter on' Just War.' http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nation/specials/attacked/transcripts/justwar_letter020102.html

system in particular within the framework of the relations that need to be scrutinized, reviewed and amended.'[21]

6.2.3. A Letter to the West

A Letter to the West devoted a full chapter to the issue of Religious Education in the Kingdom. Arguing that the Western media attacks have targeted Islam as an enemy of the West and of the United States in particular, it took a stand against what it saw as an attempt by outsiders to interfere with the internal affairs of the Kingdom and an assault on Islam. It rebuffed the analysis that terrorist attacks and specifically suicide attacks are perpetrated by groups and organizations who are motivated by religious extremism and political Islam and strong anti-American feelings. However, Atran, (2002) stated that 'Willing martyrs believe sincerely in the goodness of a religious fraternity that is menaced by outside evil', whilst Gibson, (2004) claimed that 'the attacks of September 11 were predated by considerable discussion in the Arab world in which America was portrayed unequivocally as the enemy.'[22] Western media and academics argued that 9/11 had its origins in the schools of Saudi Arabia where the youth bulge males were radicalized.[23] Citing calls in the Western media for changes or even cancellation to the religious curriculum in the Kingdom, the authors claim that this is tantamount to an unprecedented attempt to elevate the subject of domestic education to an international level. They argued that 'there are as many education systems in the world as there are cultures… it is the right for each nation to choose what is appropriate for it.'[24] Furthermore, they argued, whatever the extent of the crime committed by a group who were as angry at the Kingdom as they were with America, this does not in any way justify any external interference in the Kingdom's internal affairs. An entire nation should not be held responsible for the terrorist acts of a renegade group. Saudi Arabia and its education system they claim, is no more culpable for the tragedy of 9/11 than the citizens of the United States were for the Oklahoma bombing. Taking a more offensive position they argued that America

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[21]Al-Gasim et al., (2003) p9.
[22](i)Atran, (2002) p134, (ii)Gibson, (2014) p60.
[23]Nabulsi, (2006) in Craze and Huband, (ed) 2009 pp173-179.
[24]Al-Gasim et al., (2003) p78.

should look inward before sitting in judgment on other nations. For foreigners to suggest that the Saudi curriculum should be changed in response to external pressure was regarded as an attack on the very foundation of Saudi society and Islamic values.[25]

6.2.4. Defending Islamic Curricula from External Attack.

In their response to the challenge to Saudi values, the authors of *A Letter to the West* concede that theoretically there will always be a link between what is taught in schools and the religion and culture of any society and nation. Pickering, (1984) drew upon Durkheim's theory and praxis of education to illustrate the importance of teachers believing in what they teach. If there is a need for radical change to the curricula, there is a concomitant demand for a change in 'the outlook of teachers.'[26] In defending the educational curriculum against the charges laid against it, *A Letter to the West* turns to the philosophy that underpins the Saudi state education system. It is this point that sets Islamic education apart from the secular in so much as the fundamental objective of the former is to teach the meaning of life within Islam. It is argued that man's primary reason for existing is 'for worshipping God Almighty' and he must act as ordained within the Qur'an and Sunnah.[27] As a result teaching within Islamic schools and most particularly in the Kingdom '…must necessarily be based, in its structure, conception and content on the Islamic Shari'ah.'[28] They argue that the educational policies which are built upon this philosophical foundation are the most appropriate for Saudi Islamic society being the 'most moral and human foundations that reform and do not corrupt, that build and do not destroy and which pay attention to all that would prepare the individual to participate in the construction of a sound and balanced community.'[29] It is made clear that there is no place here for any such radical exclusion of religion from education such as France experienced after 1880. There, men of religion were completely replaced by new teachers in the school system,

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[25]Al-Gasim et al., (2003) pp95-96.
[26]Pickering, (1984) p35.
[27]Al-Gasim et al., (2003) p81.
[28]Ibid.
[29]Ibid., p82.

by what Peguy referred to as 'the Black Hussar of the Republic.'[30] To reinforce the argument for legitimacy, *A Letter to the West* reverts to an educational policy document from 1970 which, endorsed by the Ministry of Education, has been the blueprint for education ever since.[31] It is noteworthy that this predates any significant external criticism by over thirty years.

6.2.5. A Sense of Injustice - An Appeal for God to Defend the Umma.

The Western media's attacks on Islam and the Kingdom provoked a deep sense of injustice in Saudi academics and Saudi society.[32] Their defensive strategy invoked the tenets of Islam and the word of God. They claim that Muslims deal with people of other creeds referred to as 'People of the Book, (Christians and Jews)' with tolerance, justice and fairness since in Islam a difference of creed is not justification for inferior treatment.[33] A verse from the Holy Qur'an is cited to illustrate the tolerance of Muslims to others:[34]

> *'60.8. Allah does not forbid you to deal justly and kindly with those who fought not against you on account of religion nor drove you out of your homes. Verily, Allah loves those who deal with equity.'[35]*

However, the U.S. Department of State took a different view stating that 'Freedom of religion is neither recognized nor protected under the law and is severely restricted in practice.'[36] *A Letter to the West* argues that there is nothing in the curriculum that will tempt young men towards acts of extremism or terrorism. Given that their intended audience is the people of the West and the United States in particular, it is unlikely that they convinced many in their target audience. They remained unapologetic for the close ties between the curriculum and

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[30]Lacapra, (1972), p59, cited in Pickering, (1984) p36.
[31]Saudi Arabian Ministry of Education Policy Document (1970) reproduced in' A Letter to the West, A Saudi View.' (2003) pp82-84.
[32]This author's personal observations within the Kingdom of the Saudi reaction to attacks from Western media in the months following 9/11.
[33]Al-Gasim et al., (2003) p85.
[34]Qur'an. Surah 5. Al-Mai'dah Part 6. 8.
[35]Qur'an. Surah 60. *Al-Mumtahanah Part 28.8.*
[36]U.S. State Department (2010) Report on Human Rights Practices. Country of Saudi Arabia p19 and U.S. Department of State. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. International Religious Freedom Report 2010. 17 November 2010, p1. http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2010/148843.htm

the teaching of Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab.[37] Again they reiterated that the religious

education in the Kingdom was for the purpose of the worship of Allah and the elimination of

Shirk.[38] This is reinforced by the document that lays out the objectives of the Tenth

Development Plan (2015-2019) from the Ministry of Economy and Planning. Therein the First

Objective is 'To safeguard Islamic teaching and values, enhance national unity and consolidate

the Arab and Islamic identity of the Kingdom.'[39] As El Sakran and al-Gasim, (2003) attack parts

of the religious curriculum to an internal audience to illustrate that it was not fit for purpose,

so do the authors of *A Letter to the West* use the same strategy to defend it.[40] They cite a

specific paragraph:

> *'Hirabah is armed or similar assault against people in the desert or in urban areas for the*
>
> *purpose of openly robbing them of their property. Attacking people and shedding their*
>
> *blood and raping their women fall within the purview of Hirabah which also includes what*
>
> *takes place in an aircraft, a ship or a car, whether this is accompanied by the threat of arms*
>
> *or the planting of explosives or the blowing up of buildings. Hirabah is forbidden and is a*
>
> *serious sin. It is forbidden in the Qur'an and Sunnah and according to the unanimous*
>
> *opinion of religious scholars.'*[41]

6.2.6. The Best Form of Defence

The defence of the religious curriculum in *A Letter to the West* concludes with scathing

criticism of Western media, academics and politicians. These attacks they claim are mounted

by ill-informed Western writers over-reacting to events and misrepresenting facts after 9/11.[42]

They state that the error was in the emphasis on close ties between education, religion and

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[37]Safran, (1985) Saudi Arabia, p9. See: Niblock, (2006) p10, Allen, (2007) pp43-68, Gerges, (2009) p131, Al-Rasheed, (2010) p15, Long, and Maisel, (2010) p5, Wynbrandt, (2010) pp319-320. Al-Dakhil (2009) argues that the Wahhabiyya was an urban rather than nomadic phenomenon and was a political rather than a religious force. Al-Dakhil, (2009) in Ayoob & Kosebalaban, (2009) p24.
[38]Mission Islam. Definition of Shirk: Polytheism. The worship of anything other than the true God or elevating anything other than God to a level of divinity. http://www.missionislam.com/knowledge/Shirk.htm
[39]Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 'Ministry of Economy and Planning. Objectives of the Tenth Development Plan (2015-2019). http://www.mep.gov.sa/themes/BlueArc/
[40]El Sakran & al-Gasim, 2003.
[41]Al Qasim, et al., (2003) p88 cites Jurisprudence Curriculum. First Secondary Level.
[42]See statement of MEMRI President Yigal Carmon to U.S. Senate Judiciary hearing "Saudi Arabia friend or foe in the war on terror." 08 November 2005.

the Book of Monotheism. The focus had been upon the centrality of unerring faith in the single God; that which bonds the fabric of Islam together. Critics they argue targeted this--walaa and baraa (loyalty and renunciation) in the book of Monotheism -- within the Saudi education system citing it as the central reason for 9/11.[43] They cite Chomsky and his argument that when the response to terrorism fails to identify the true cause and the reactions are inappropriate, the resultant inexorable drift towards violence is precisely the objective the terrorists have striven for.[44] The true cause of terrorism they argue lies not in the Kingdom but in the U.S. support for Israel who have uprooted and oppressed the Palestinian people. Gerges, (2012) reinforces this argument stating that this was 'an example of America's duplicity and manipulation,' and that 'Palestine represented a rupture between America and Muslims, particularly Arabs'.[45] In a report from October 2001, MacFarquhar critiqued anti-Jewish, anti-Western content in in the Saudi curriculum and identified textbook content which included statements such as 'It is compulsory for Muslims to be loyal to each other and consider infidels their enemy.'[46] He cites Saudi journalists including the deputy editor of Al Bilad newspaper who is quoted as saying 'If you review the curriculum in Saudi Arabia, you would see it promotes any kind of extremist views of Islam, even in the eyes of very devout Muslims.'[47] In a further quote from Khashoggi, (*Arab News*) on the promotion of hate the curriculum he stated 'It is social fanaticism, but it takes just a few small adjustments to turn it into political fanaticism.'[48]

6.3. THE PALESTINIAN/JEWISH ISSUE

6.3.1. Its Impact on the Youth Bulge and Jihad

Luciani, (2005) reports that following 9/11 Prince Walid bin Talal, CEO of Saudi Arabia's Kingdom Company made a US$ 10 million donation to the relief fund. However,

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[43] Al-Gasim, et al., (2003) p93.
[44] Chomsky, (undated) cited in al-Gasim, et al., (2003) p94.
[45] Gerges, (2012) Obama and the Middle-East p32.
[46] New York Times.com MacFarquhar, 19 October 2001. Anti-Western and Extremist Views Pervade Saudi Schools.
http://www.nytimes.com/2001/10/19/international/middleeast/19SAUD.html?ex=1004552077&ei=1&en=3316a2606d0e6334
[47] Ibid. See Also Bradley, (2005) p98.
[48] Ibid.

simultaneously his office issued a statement suggesting that the U.S. government should 'adopt a more balanced stance to the Palestinian cause.'[49] The donation was returned. Conflicting views of Israel and its role in Middle East politics were noted throughout this author's interviews with several different generations of Saudi males. For the older generation, those born during 1940s–1960s the woes befalling the Middle East are routinely blamed upon the Great Shaitan.[50] Israel is routinely blamed for all things bad including 9/11.[51] Discussions with younger Saudis revealed a less aggressive stance but frustration persists. Interview consensus was that most youth were more concerned about what was happening in Syria and Iraq, but one young interviewee stated that his generation hated the Shia more than the Jews.[52] An example quoted to explain a softening of government approach was that Saudi Arabia was represented at the Madrid Middle East Peace Conference of 1991 where Israel met with Arab neighbours for the first time in over 43 years.[53] However, Saudi youth feel a lingering sense of injustice in the way the Palestinian people were treated by the U.S. and Israel.[54] One interviewee stated that Israel was like the 'favorite spoilt child of the U.S. which had turned into the local bully.'[55] They referred to issues outside of the Palestinian problem including the power of the Israeli lobby in Congress to block arms sales to the Kingdom citing

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[49]Luciani, (2005) in Aarts and Nonneman, (eds.) (2005) pp174-5

[50]Shaitan the Arabic for Satan. http://www.thefreedictionary.com/shaitan

[51](i)Interviews with (A) (i) abu Fawaz, Retired government employee (age 63) Riyadh, 21 April 2013. (ii)abu Khaled, businessman, Riyadh, (age 57) 24 April 2013. (iii)abu Abdulaziz, retired military officer, Riyadh aged 60. Riyadh 26 April 2013. (iv) abu Salah, retired military NCO (age 64) Riyadh, 27 April 2013. (v)Mohammed, retired police officer (age 59) Riyadh, 28 April 2013. (vi)Abu Ahmed, High School teacher (age 49) Riyadh, 01 May, 2013. (vii)Ayman (Egyptian, age 48) High School teacher, Riyadh. 02 May 2013. (viii)Abdullah, employee of Ministry of Education, (age 47) Riyadh, 15 May 2013. (ix)Omar, (age 61) retired bank employee. Riyadh, 16 May 2013. (x) Abu Saad, (telephone interview) farmer, (age 64) Hofuf, 18 May 2013. (xi) Abu Talal, retired Aramco employee, (age 63) Al- Khobar, 04 May 2014. (B) (i)Brothers Fawaz, student and Hamed, technician (age 19 & 24) Riyadh 21 April 2013. (ii)Abdullah, (age 29) security guard/ part time taxi driver. Riyadh 25 April 2013. (iii)Abdullah, (age 32) executive in international company, Riyadh, 25 April, 2013. (iv)Hameed, unemployed, (age 26) Riyadh 27 April 2013. (v)Faisal, IT specialist, (age 27) 27 April 2013 Riyadh. (vi)Ali, administrator, (age 32), Al-Khobar 05 May 2014. (vii)abu Nawf, Bank Executive, (age 35) Al-Khobar 05 May 2014 (viii)Hameed, technician (age 30) Al Khobar 06 May 2014. (ix)Saeed, technical instructor (age 32) Riyadh 03 May 2013. (x)Sultan, medical doctor, (age 33) Riyadh 19 May 2013. The recording of dates of birth and consequently ages of the older generation within the kingdom is somewhat inexact due to registrations of births not always being made before the late 1970s.

(ii)This author's own experiences of interacting closely with Saudis since 1973.

[52]Interview with Hamed, Technician, Riyadh, 23 August 2015.

[53](i)Interview with former National Security Officer, (NSC) Riyadh 12 October 2013. (ii)BBC News report 30 October 1991. 'Bush Opens Historic Mid East Peace Conference.
http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/october/30/newsid_2465000/2465725.stm

[54]Group interview, 5 Saudis age range 23-28 Riyadh. 13 October 2013.

[55]Interview with Faisal 23 year old graduate trainee, Riyadh 22 April 2013.

the embargoes on the sale of AWACs and F15s to the Kingdom from the 1980s.[56] Interviewees echoed Said's (2003) lament of 'anti-Arab and anti-Islamic prejudice in the West, which is immediately reflected in the history of Orientalism' and that 'no Orientalist, that is, has ever in the United States culturally and politically identified himself wholeheartedly with the Arabs.'[57] Whilst there may have been some level of identification, 'it has never taken an "acceptable" form as has liberal American identification with Zionism.'[58]

6.3.2. Lingering Resentment

The repercussions of 9/11 appeared to force a modernization the curricula by removing the more intolerant references to other religions, and to heal what Cordesman, (2003) referred to as 'a self-inflicted wound.'[59]   The U.S. State Department report on human rights in the Kingdom, (2011) stated that a seventh-grade text book was still found to contain the following: 'The nature of Jews is duplicity, oath breaking and back-stabbing'[60] whilst Arendt appears philosophical, suggesting that it had been the lot of the Jew to be persecuted for centuries and it is natural to have enemies.[61]

Access to international news has made a difference to what youth now see and hear and therefore how they now feel about the Jewish/Palestinian question. Whilst they were found by this researcher not to be as passionate about the Palestinian problem as the previous generations, they did care about Jerusalem as the third holiest city in Islam. One older interviewee raised the matter of Jerusalem and suggested that if DAESH had any Islamic legitimacy, they would have turned their attention towards the freeing of Jerusalem rather than murdering Muslim innocents.[62]   Another interviewee also talked on the Jewish-

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[56]For more on the role of the pro-Israeli lobby, see (i) Lacey, R. 2009, p106. (ii) See also Albers, 1989 pp127128 for Saudi feelings towards Israel in 1970s. (iii) For data on later F15 sales see Davidson (2015) p168 for reference to AWACS see Ehteshami, Nonneman and Tripp, (1991) p101.
[57]Said, (2003) pp26-27. Walberg, (2013) p167.
[58]Ibid.
[59]Cordesman, (2003) pp177-179.
[60]U.S. State Department 2010 Report on Human Rights Practices. Country of Saudi Arabia p19 and U.S. Department of State. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. International Religious Freedom Report 2010, p31, 17 November 2010
[61]Arendt, (1994) p14.
[62](i) Interview with senior military officer, Riyadh, 03 March 2014. (ii) Black, The Guardian, 21 September 2014. The Islamic State: is it ISIS, ISIL - or possibly DAESH? (iii) Independent 23 September 2014, Dawat al-Islamiyah f'al-Iraq wa al-

Palestinian conundrum and argued for the Muammar Gadaffi solution to the Palestinian problem, a combined Israeli/Palestinian state when geography offers no other sensible solution. He proffered the ancient Arabic expression *Khuth al hekma min afwa al mjanine* (Take wisdom from the mouths of crazy men) as under odd circumstances only radical unorthodox solutions work.[63]

6.4. THE CALL FOR REFORM

6.4.1. Internal Pressure and Plans for Change

The views expressed in *A Letter to the West. A Saudi View* and El Sakran et al's critique of the Religious Curricula conflict; the first document offering up a defence whilst the other is strongly critical. All the more surprising considering Al-Gasim is a contributor to both. One interviewee saw no paradox in this stance, stating it is what any family would do, defending an accused child from external attack but deal quite differently with the problem within the family.[64]

The paper presented at the King Abdulziz Centre for National Dialogue targeted an audience of religious leaders and academics. Whereas Saudi academics rallied round to confront an external attack, for a domestic audience the message presented at Medina was quite different. Here hard facts were debated, and aspects of the state curriculum which could lead Saudi Arabia's young men into radicalism were identified and modifications proposed. Commins, (2006) identifies strong Muslim Brotherhood influence within the curricula suggesting that the brotherhood had an undeclared policy to indoctrinate the Kingdom's youth since the 1930s.[65] Subsequently they had infiltrated the Saudi Ministry of Education and as Berman, (2003), citing an activist from the Egyptian Engineers Association, stated, 'It's like planting seeds on a

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Sham.http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/isis-vs-islamic-state-vs-isil-vs-daesh-what-do-the-different-names-mean-9750629.html
[63]Interview with Abu Abdulrahman, middle-aged Saudi former military officer now employed in the private sector, Riyadh July 11 2014. Several interviewees independently made the same comment about 'taking wisdom from the mouths of crazy men.
[64]Interview, Abu Fawaz, Engineer, 12 July Riyadh, 2014.
[65]Commins, (2006) p200.

farm.'[66]   Lacroix, (2005) reports that al-Qasim's presentation at the National Dialogue Conference of December 2003 'strongly criticized the religious curricula and elements of Wahhabi dogma which inspired them, and provoked a scandal in conservative circles.'[67]

6.4.2. Addressing the Economic Challenge

Given that there was recognition in some circles that the education system had failed to prepare young Saudis for the demands of the employment market, what might be the solution?[68] Prokop, (2005) citing the Seventh Development Plan from the Ministry of Planning estimated the unemployment level at the time as somewhere between 10 and 30 per cent, with 60 per cent of the population under the age of 20.[69] She reported that the Ministry of Education were to revise thirty-two text books in an attempt to modernize the curriculum but that there was resistance to cutting the amount of time spent on religious teachings.[70] The Ministry of Planning's 2010-2014 Ninth Development Plan devotes forty-four pages to Education and Vocational Training.[71] The Brief Report on the Ninth Development Plan 1431/32 -1435/36 (2010-2014), outlined the framework for economic development of the Kingdom for longer term sustainable development.[72] The allocation to Human Resources Development which included education was raised from SR 480 billion under the Eighth Plan to SR 731.5 billion (US$195 billion) under the Ninth, an increase of 52.5%.[73] By 2013 Education and Vocational training had been allocated a budget of SR 204 billion. A need for 6050 new schools had been identified and the Ninth plan aimed to undertake 3750 of these, 62% of the

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[66]Berman, (2003) p261.

[67]Lacroix, (2005) in Aarts and Nonneman, (2005) (eds.) p45.For more on early Wahhabi influence on Saudi state see Hinnebusch, (2003) p122.

[68](i)Prokop, (2005), in Aarts and Nonneman, (eds.) p79. (ii)Menoret, 2005, p193. (iii)Niblock and Malik, p208. (iv)Oxford Business Group Report (2014) states KSA's intention is' to move away from reliance on hydrocarbons and transform into knowledge- based economy by 2025.'

[69]Brooking Center for Universal Education, February 2014, Arab Youth: Missing Educational Foundations for a Productive Life? p18, reports Saudi youth unemployment at 23.5% for male and 54.8% for females.
http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/research/files/interactives/2014/arab%20world%20learning%20barometer/arabworld_learningbarometer_en.pdf

[70]Prokop, (2005), in Aarts and Nonneman, (eds.) p79. Throughout three years of research in the Kingdom this author has not found any Saudi who advocated less teaching of religion in schools.

[71]Saint-Prop (2013) in Al-Humaid et al (2013) p40: 'education and vocational standards are not suitable to meet the needs of the population.'

[72]Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Economy and Planning. Brief Report on the Ninth Development plan 1431/32-1435/36 (2010-2014) pp8-13.

[73]Brief Report on the Ninth Development plan 1431/32-1435/36 (2010-2014) pp8-13.

total requirements.[74]   SR13.4 billion (US\$ 3.6 billion) had been set for the Electronic University.[75] SR4.25 billion (US\$ 1.13 billion) had been allocated for the construction of three additional teaching hospitals. Over 120,000 Saudi students are studying abroad on the King Abdullah Scholarship Programme and the budget for that was set at nearly SR 22 billion (US\$ 5.86 billion).[76]   Nevertheless, Smith and Abouammoh, (2013) reported that this programme required overhaul since 'there is no clear evidence that students entering the programme are pursuing areas of study that are of benefit to the Kingdom and that are likely to lead to employment when they return.'[77]

The Ninth Development Plan stressed the importance that the Kingdom placed upon education, reporting that in 2008, 28% of the total population was in education of some kind. By 2013, 25% of the total budget for that year was committed to the education sector, resulting in a 5% budget deficit due to oil having fallen below US\$ 50 a barrel.[78] In spite of this level of investment, a G20 country report on the Kingdom reported a rise in unemployment of Saudi nationals from 11.2% in 2103 to 11.6% in 2014.[79] Such substantial investment would appear to indicate that state education required this level of attention. However, this was treated as a domestic issue rather than authorities bowing to external pressure. In a statement issued in response to external criticism, Prince Naif the Minister of Interior defended the curriculum, stating that radical militancy had roots elsewhere than in education.[80] Four years earlier the Minister of Education, Mohammed al-Rasheed, had stated that Saudi Arabia would not allow external forces to dictate on education, that the idea was

[74]Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Ministry of Economy and Planning, Ninth Development Plan, p399. http://www.mep.gov.sa/themes/GoldenCarpet/index.jsp.(ii) *US-Saudi Arabian Business Council* *http://www.us-sabc.org/custom/news/details.cfm?id=1380*
[75]The Saudi Electronic University (Asrooh Athakiyah) from 10 August 2012, is expected to attract 100,000 students by 2025, 60% are expected to be women.
[76]Saudi Gazette, 23 September 2014, http://www.saudigazette.com.sa/index.cfm?method=home.regcon&contentid=20140923219114
[77]Smith and Abouammoh, 2013, p178.
[78](i) US-Saudi Arabian Business Council.   http://www.us-sabc.org/custom/news/details.cfm?id=1645 (ii) See U.K. Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 05 January 2015. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/saudi-arabia-record-budget-for-2015/saudi-arabia-record-budget-for-2015 (iii) The Guardian, 07 January 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/business/2015/jan/07/oil-price-brent-crude-falls-below-50-barrel
[79]G20 Report, Australia 2014. Comprehensive Growth Strategy: Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. https://g20.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/g20_comprehensive_growth_strategy_saudi_arabia.pdf
[80]Islam Today: Saudi Royal defends text books on militant charge.http://www.islamdaily.org/en/saudi-arabia/4488.saudi-royal-defends-textbooks-over-militant-charge.htm

'mere anti-Saudi propaganda' and that the Ministry had a department dedicated to the on-going revision of curricula before the recent external criticism.[81]

6.5. REFORM AND RESISTANCE

6.5.1. The National Plan

The Ninth Development Plan set out specific objectives and targets for all four educational sectors, seeking to improve quality in curricula and teaching in order to create a knowledge society and by implication ensure that the youth of the Kingdom did not follow those who strayed into terrorism.[82] This theme is again taken up within the Eleventh Objective for the Tenth Development Plan which is in progress with the United Nations Economic Development and Globalization Division (EDGD).[83] According to Sfakianakis, (2014) this plan is 'of critical importance and whilst Saudi Arabia is one of the few nations that does produce 5 Year plans… it fails to consistently implement what it states in its plan documents.'[84] It is apparent from the Plans that the Saudi Government has committed to investment in improving opportunities for its youth bulge through better preparing them for useful citizenship.[85] Saudi Arabia is not the first country to attempt to improve its education system, so there is the potential to draw on earlier experiences since as Santayana, (1905) stated 'Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.'[86] Al-Amoudi, (2002) cites the need for on-going revision of educational curricula in the U.S. and argued for similar change in the Kingdom. He criticized

[81]Gulf News, 07 March 2002. http://gulfnews.com/news/gulf/uae/general/saudis-will-not-allow-changes-imposed-on-national-curricula-1.380226
[82]Ninth Development Plan, 2010-2014.
[83]Ministry of Economy and Planning. Objectives of the Tenth Development Plan (2015-2019). P13. http://www.mep.gov.sa/themes/BlueArc/ See also: United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia. ESCWA's Support for the Arab Region: Programme: Develop a comprehensive and inclusive10th National Development Plan. http://www.escwa.un.org/sites/ESAR/project.asp?ProjectTitle=Develop%20a%20comprehensive%20and%20inclusive%2010th%20National%20Development%20Plan
[84](i) Sfakianakis, Saudi-US Trade Group, 27 June 2014. http://sustg.com/saudi-arabias-upcoming-10th-economic-development-plan-is-of-critical-importance/
[85]Arab News, 02 January 2013. http://www.arabnews.com/saudi-arabia/kingdom-tops-world-education-spending
[86]Santayana, 1905, The Life of Reason: Reason in Common Sense. Scribner's, p284.http://www.iep.utm.edu/santayan/

the practice of 'rote learning; the production of parrots who can recite without understanding.'[87]

6.6. CIRCLING OF THE WAGONS

6.6.1. Achievements as a Defence Strategy

Following 9/11 the Saudi government's early strategy included setting up a first line of defence of education, focused on achievements rather than appearing to respond to external criticism. It stressed the importance of 'fifty years of continuous educational achievements based on the foundations King Fahd as the first Minister of Education established in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.'[88] Al-Watan reported, that the Minister of Education denied that the Kingdom would make changes to the curricula in response to attacks from the West. He stated, 'Nobody has the right to interfere in our issues nor to instruct us what to do.'[89] In January 2002 Ummahnews carried the same report on the Minister's speech, with additional reports of Imams preaching that the U.S. was advocating the dissolution of religious schools and that Saudi educators had rejected all allegations that the curricula was flawed.[90] However, by the end of 2002 internal criticism had surfaced. Abu Sameh's report in *Okaz* challenged the indoctrination of Saudi youth, and argued for the need for re-education and a rejection of violence. The article argued that the existing teaching split humanity into believers and non-believers with the latter relegated to the status of apostates. It promoted jihad as a tool of oppression rather than an honorable calling with extremists inciting Saudi youth to violence.[91]

[87]Al Amoudi, Arab News, 13 March 2002.http://www.arabnews.com/Article.asp?ID=13430&ArY=2002&ArM=3&ArD=13. See also Lippman,(2012) Saudi Arabia on the Edge, p140, Wilson and Graham, (1994), Saudi Arabia: The Coming Storm, p257.
[88]Ain-Al-Yaqeen, 09 November 2001. http://www.ain-al-yaqeen.com/issues/20011109/feat9en.htm
[89]Arabic News.com, 01 November 2002. cited in al-Watan report, (undated). World Tribune.com. 28 October, 2002. http://www.worldtribune.com/worldtribune/WTARC/2002/me_saudis_10_28.html
[90]Ummahnews.com 14 January 2002. http://ummahnews.com/viewarticle.php?sid=2502
[91]The Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI) Washington, D.C. 11 December 2002, Abu Sameh, Dispatch- Saudi Arabia/Reform in the Arab and Muslim World. No. 448.

6.6.2. The Coming Storm: Towards the Near Enemy[92]

In the wake of terrorist attacks on Riyadh and Yanbu (2003/4)[93] the criticism of the curriculum gained momentum. Just a few weeks before the al-Qaeda attack on the Oasis Compound in al-Khobar, Saudi journalist Raid Qusti lamented the upsurge in terrorist activity within the Kingdom, which he blamed upon the state's religious education. In an article he called for an investigation into the causes of terrorism in 'a nation in decline.'[94] He cited al-Sudairi the editor of the *Al-Riyadh* newspaper who drew a parallel between the 2003/2004 attacks in the Kingdom and the ideology of Juhaiman al-Otaibi and his 1979 seizure of the Grand mosque in Mecca. He asked 'Have we helped create these monsters? Our education system, which does not stress tolerance of other faiths, let alone tolerance of followers of other Islamic schools of thought, is one thing that needs re-evaluating from top to bottom.'[95] As early as 1986 Abir had identified that graduates for the lower reaches of Saudi society had little chance of achieving good jobs within the government bureaucracy, which contributed to them adopting 'fundamentalist (neo-Ikwan) ideologies'.[96] This he argued concentrated the tensions between students of Saudi religious universities and those of a more secular nature. Furthermore it increased the tensions between the young Saudis and Western expatriates who occupied senior positions within the government apparatus at that time. It is possible that this resentment gradually fermented a violent ideology that culminated in the al-Qaeda attacks in the early 2000s.[97]

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[92] The term 'the near enemy' is attributed to Gerges, 2007, p11.
[93] See Arab, News 14 June 2011. http://www.arabnews.com/node/380652
[94] The Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI) Washington, D.C. Special dispatch – Saudi Arabia/Reform Project 21 May 2004, No.720. Arab News 05 May 2004. 'How Long before the first step.'
[95] Ibid.
[96] Abir, (1986) Modern education and the evolution of Saudi Arabia. *National and International Politics in the Middle East,* Ingram E.(ed) p242.
[97] Ibid., p243.

6.7. DIVIDED OPINIONS, CONFLICTING RESPONSES

6.7.1. Tug of War

The Kingdom's response to external criticism of it educational curriculum differed depending upon who was making the argument. In March 2002 the Grand Mufti, Sheikh Abdulaziz al-Shaykh appealed to faculty and students in an address at the King Saud University. He preached that educators must rise to their responsibilities of steering the youth away from 'misleading calls and ideologies and obey God to try to temper the zeal of youth…so they do not act irrationally.'[98] However, barely a month after the Mufti's appeal, the chairman of the Executive Council of the Federation of Islamic Universities stated that 'the council would not discuss the issue of changing the syllabuses of Islamic institutions as demanded by the United States' and 'we totally reject the move to link Islam with terrorism', since 'it is Muslims who are victims of terrorism.'[99] At the same conference al-Tuwaijri, Director General of the Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization attacked external criticism of the Saudi educational curricula arguing that their response would refute the 'false allegation and expose Israel's reign of terror against Muslims in Palestine.'[100] Differing opinions on the need for educational reform for the Kingdom's youth appeared in letters and articles in local press in the years following 9/11. Countering the arguments presented by a critic of the curricula who called for the separation of education from religion, a correspondent argued that all disasters befalling the world could be attributed to a failure of those who failed to follow the true path of Islam. The country was founded on the basic principles of Islam and any attempt at separation of education from religion undermined the very foundations of the State.[101]

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[98]Arab News, 03 February 2002. http://www.arabnews.com/Article.asp?ID=12492
[99]Arab News, 06 March 2002. . http://www.arabnews.com/Article.asp?ID=13283 .
[100]Ibid.
[101]Arab News, 16 May 2003. From Al-Watan, 15 May 2003, Ahmad Jaafari. http://www.arabnews.com/Article.asp?ID=26191

6.7.2. If You Can't Change the People - Change the People

In an overhaul of the Education Ministry in 2009 the King repositioned Faisal bin Abdullah from Intelligence into the role of Minister of Education, but arguments continued to rage between liberal educationalists and religious clerics. An advocate for the restructuring of education, Mohammed Youssef, Professor of Education at King Abdulaziz University, applauded the changes which he argued were long overdue. Washington based Saudi political dissident Ali al-Ahmed alleged that the contents of the curricula continued to produce 'thousands of Saudi suicide bombers' who died in Iraq and Afghanistan.[102] However, the religious clerics, angered by the changes, countered that revision of text books was a result of Western political pressure and feared for the future.

Naif al-Roumi, Deputy Minister of Education argued that whilst curricula could be changed the teachers remained the same, leaving a need for essential retraining.[103] This echoes Durkheim's argument that if the content of education is to be radically changed so must the outlook of the teachers.'[104] Giddens argues that education is a powerful medium for the molding of the character of a child, and draws the analogy of him/her as a vacuum susceptible to hypnotic-like suggestion. This, coupled with the impression of the teacher's 'superiority', renders the student malleable to the 'hypnotic power of suggestion.'[105] Durkheim implied that religion, and consequently the teaching of religion and the beliefs and practices therein, created what he termed a moral community.'[106] It was this moral community brought together through Wahhabi ideology that the Saudi Ministry of education sought to redirect. In various interviews conducted by this author most interviewees agreed that the curriculum needed recalibration to better prepare the Kingdom's youth bulge for work in the private sector. However, they countered that they themselves were the product of this system and they had not experienced

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[102]Reuters, 15 April 2009. Saudi speeds up education reform, clerics resist. http://www.globalgoodnews.com/education-news-a.html?art=123981839016830802
[103]Ibid.
[104]Pickering, (1984) p35.
[105]Giddens, (1986) pp181-2.
[106]Durkheim, (2001) pxxii.

any inclination to turn towards civil unrest and terrorism, nor were they advocates for revolution or civil war.[107]

6.8. THOUGHTS FROM THE FRONT LINE

6.8.1. The Educators' Views

This researcher's own interviews with male secondary school teachers in the state sector and female teachers in the private sector --six years on from al-Roumi's call for retraining-- still revealed conflicting results and opinions.[108] Within the state sector the opinions remained divided; some of the younger teachers seemed as unsettled about the changes as were their older colleagues. When books are changed it appears to be much harder to change beliefs and opinions. The responses to questions at interviews appeared contradictory, interviewees indicated that improvements needed to be made to the educational system to better prepare young people for work, yet believed that students received an education that prepared them well for university and to get a job. There was a striking parallel between these interviews and responses to a survey conducted by this author. In that survey 77.4% of respondents strongly agreed that improvements needed to be made to the education system to better prepare young people for work. However, in response to the question, 'Do you agree that the education young people receive in schools in Saudi Arabia properly prepares them for further education so that they can qualify to get a job?' the results were much more ambiguous. To this only 31.4% answered 'strongly disagreed' and 35.7% 'partially disagreed' with 16.5% 'unsure'.[109]

These interviewees stated that they felt that they represented a fairly typical cross-section of the middle ground in contemporary Saudi society, whilst one teacher proudly stated that his

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[107]Interview with (i)Bandar, Riyadh, 22 January 2015 (ii)Mohammed al- A' and Mohammed al- R' 22 January 2015.
[108]This author's interviews with(i) Ahmed (27), religious studies teacher, Hassan, (26) mathematics teacher, Abu Khalid, science teacher, (44) Abu Majed (41) religious studies teacher, Riyadh, 12 March 2014. Abu Osama (44), religious studies teacher, Abu Nawf (50), Geography teacher. Abdulatif (27), English teacher. Riyadh. 16 March 2014. Abdulgardar (25), Physical education teacher, Abdulkareem (27), English Teacher. Riyadh, 23 March 2014. (i)Ib'tissam and Alanood, English teachers. Dammam, 01 June 2013. A'ishah, Science and Sara and Reem, English teachers, Al Khobar, 02 June 2013.
[109]43 question on- line survey conducted by this author attracted 1194 respondents plus 243 hard copy responses.

father had heeded the Government's call to jihad and had driven the 'Russian atheists' from Afghanistan in the late 1980s.[110] In spite of recent reforms and changes, the teachers did not exhibit signs of high morale or that they were proud to members of an honorable profession.[111] Staff confirmed that changes had been made since September 2001. The older staff felt that teachers had become less central to the educational experience and had lost the power to discipline unruly students.[112] They stated that they believed that their primary objective remained to educate the youth bulge to become good Muslims, as well as to produce useful members of Saudi society as the two were synonymous. The younger members felt that they were better informed and more open to the outside world than their parents' generation, and all agreed that social media had transformed society for students and teachers alike. Whilst they stated that they themselves were comfortable with the foreign other and harbored little animosity towards people of other nationalities and faiths, it was apparent that that they felt differently about different expatriate groups. They all felt that Saudis should take over all but a few of the jobs held by Western expatriates but were content for manual jobs to remain with workers from the East.[113] Most ladies interviewed had drivers from outside the Kingdom and male teachers stated their families employed foreign domestic staff.[114] Here was a paradox, for on one hand they were tasked to produce useful members of society, but on the other demonstrated a desire to retain the foreigners rather than do work that they felt was inappropriate for them.

6.8.2. Slavery's Legacy

In an interview outside of this group of teachers an interviewee offered his opinion on why Saudis were reluctant to take on manual work. He stated that the Arabs excelled at three

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[110] Interview with Ahmed, Teacher, Riyadh. 23 March 2014.
[111] For an opposing view on the status of teachers see Gahwaji, Controversial and Challenging Concerns Regarding Status of Saudi Preschool Teachers, Contemporary Issues in Education Research – Third Quarter 2013, Volume 6, Number 3. pp333-344.
[112] Arab News, 04 November 2013. http://www.arabnews.com/news/472241
[113] For more on this point see the discussion of Sir James Craig's, Valedictory Number 2 https://www.chu.cam.ac.uk/media/uploads/files/Craig.pdf and relevant extract reproduced in Wilson, P.W. and Graham, D.F. (1994), Saudi Arabia, The Coming Storm, pp255-256.
[114] Responses to survey question produced data of 55.9% of families having domestic staff/drivers from outside the Kingdom and 44.1% did not.

things: they were great raiders, traders and slavers.[115] Piscatori, (1986) states that the slave

trade in the Kingdom was stopped in 1936, however, manumission was delayed until 1962.[116]

According to this author's interviewees, the ending of slavery was not a popular decision with

Saudi people so they simply adapted to the situation. Slavery in Arabia pre-dated Islam and

endured through the centuries until recently, and half a century one interviewee argued was

not long for those habits to change. He stated that there was so much litter left around after

the weekends across the Kingdom because people leave it where they sat, leaving it to be

picked up by others.[117] He stated that 'we bring people from outside to do the same jobs they

always did. Instead of paying slave traders we now pay agents in Dacca, and Jakarta.' He

closed by stating that with the legacy of slavery and issues of decreased marriage

opportunities for men with low-class jobs, these were the reasons why young Saudis did not

wish to do manual jobs.'[118]

But, even after over half a century, the culture of slavery persists with parallels to the ancient

Athenian economy of 'insiders,'…and 'outsiders.'[119] In a lecture recorded by the Saudi

Information Agency in 2010, Sheikh Saleh al-Fawzan, a member of the Senior Council of Clerics,

author of Al-Tawheed (Monothesim) and critic of curricula reform, preached that 'Slavery is

part of Jihad, and Jihad will remain as long as there is Islam. Muslims who contend Islam is

against slavery are ignorant, not scholars. Whoever says such things are infidels.'[120]

Consequently, as such influential members of the Ulama preached such messages, it is

unsurprising that the Kingdom's youth disparage the foreign other. Herein we find a close

parallel to Aristotle's Theory of Natural Slavery, for Smith, (1983) suggests that 'Aristotle

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[115]Interview with Saudi Businessman 10 February 2014 Riyadh, See also Al Fahad, 2015 in Haykel, Hegghammer and Lacroix (eds) 2015, p234.
[116]Piscatori, 1986, p71 & p124. See also Karim (2004) pp267-268.
[117]This author observes this practice each weekend across Riyadh.
[118]Interview with Saudi businessman, Riyadh, 21 August 2013. For more on 'Slavery in Islam'
http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/history/slavery_1.shtml See Anti-Slavery International, Working Paper 2006: Trafficking in Women, Forced Labour and Domestic Work.
http://www.antislavery.org/includes/documents/cm_docs/2009/t/traffic_women_forced_labour_domestic_2006.pdf
See Wilson and Graham, (1994) p256.
[119]Held, (1996) Models of Democracy, p14.
[120]Crethiplethi, 08 May 2010. http://www.crethiplethi.com/slavery-is-a-part-of-islam/global-islam/2010/

considers the view that slavery is just a matter of convention.'[121] Aburish, (2005) speaks of a

Saudi people for whom 'having money led to xenophobia and arrogance, and people who had

lived in a tent until recently did not know how to treat their helpers. To them they were real

slaves.'[122]

6.8.3. Fitness for Purpose

All teachers interviewed agreed that there needed to be more emphasis on the teaching of

technical skills and science in Saudi schools, in spite of the general reluctance for Saudi youth

to wish for employment in anything but supervisory roles or within the government sector.

However, they all strongly rejected any thoughts that the quality of education or the curricula

would have directed the Kingdom's youth bulge towards jihad and into terrorism. Baqutayan,

(2011) argued that the two major obstacles to the teaching of science and technology in Saudi

schools are 'levels of access and quality of education.'[123] The reluctance of Saudi youth to

undertake hands-on work rather than supervisory roles as outlined above is what Champion,

(2003) referred to as 'the Mudir syndrome'.[124] Ahmad, (2013) counters that no job should be

below any unemployed Saudi and quotes the Deputy Chairman of the Shoura Council's

Committee for Energy and Economic Affairs, who had stated that there was no unemployment

in the Kingdom, the jobs were available but Saudis did not want to work in these. Ahmad

argues that 'life is getting tougher' and schools should teach the importance of working and

that honest work brings honest money.[125] He suggested that schools should encourage young

people to 'take summer jobs so that they would learn.'[126] Ahmad blames parents of the

unemployed within the youth bulge 'for not educating them about the value of work.'[127]

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[121]Smith, Aristotle's Theory of Natural Slavery, Phoenix, Vol.37, No.2 (Summer1983) pp109, p110. See also Aristotle, The Politics, 1255a3-b4.
[122]Aburish, (2005) p90.
[123]Baqutayan, Issues in the Implementation of Science and Technology Education in Saudi Arabia. *International Journal of Applied Science and Technology.* Vol. 1. No. 5; September 2011, pp165-170, p166.
[124]This compares with 95% positive response to survey question (77.4% strongly agreeing and 18.2% partially agreeing.) See also Niblock, and Malik, (2007) pp164-165. See also Champion, (2003) p17 and p200. 'Mudir' is Arabic for manager or director.
[125]Saudi Gazette, 23 December 2013,
http://www.saudigazette.com.sa/index.cfm/index.cfm?method=home.cat&categoryid=2013122350300
[126]Ibid.
[127]Ibid.

Brooks, (2013) in discussing Hegel's political philosophy draws upon the Philosophy of Right in considering the role and responsibilities within families. He states 'The primary duties of parents are to raise and educate their children', and from Hegel 'that children have rights and are more than merely the property of their parents.'[128] 'The upbringing of children is characterized chiefly through their education and discipline' and 'children must be taught to recognize a right way of living, a way that will help to promote their freedom by enabling them to overcome acting on impulse…The entire capriciousness of children must be sublated.'[129]

6.8.4. Freedom of Thought

Al-Seghayer, (2012) wrote that young people are still denied independent thought both at home and in schools. He suggested this to be a social phenomenon resulting from the strict hierarchical order that is endemic in Saudi families, and that this has permeated into the workforce especially within the governmental bureaucracy. He continued, 'students are taught to follow precisely whatever their instructors tell them. This creates a generation of young Saudis who cannot, or who are not willing to express or communicate freely their thoughts and feelings. When you ask them their personal views on a subject, they will either ask you in return about your opinion or refer to what so and so said about the issue under discussion.'[130] Rugh, (2002) criticizes Saudi over-reliance on memorization by rote for it is this which stifled independent thought and draws on a World Bank study to reiterate the need for improvements to the quality of education for the Kingdom to meet the demands of the 21st century.[131] Khashoggi, (2014) offers an alternative conclusion arguing that the problem lies in the quality of the teaching.[132] A Brooking Report, (2014) identifies that in 9 Arab states, large percentages of the students are not learning. Results for Saudi Arabia have the biggest difference between the achievements of boys and girls, with 50% of the boys not learning

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[128]Brooks, (2013) Hegel's Political Philosophy, p69 from the Philosophy of Right.
[129]Brooks, (2013) pp69-70.
[130]Saudi Gazette, 08 May 2012.
http://www.saudigazette.com.sa/index.cfm?method=home.PrintContent&action=Print&contentID=00000000123649
[131]Rugh, *Middle East Policy,*Vol.IX, No.2, June 2002. pp40-53, p50.
[132]Al Arabiya News 09 February 2014. Jamal Khashoggi, http://english.alarabiya.net/en/views/news/middle-east/2014/02/09/Saudi-Arabia-s-education-system-in-the-spotlight-again.html

compared to less than 30% of girls.[133] Concern over of quality of education is not a new issue in Saudi Arabia. As early as 1984 studies were carried out in Higher Education, when three universities in the Kingdom were evaluated against the criteria of an even earlier investigation in 1977. The purpose had been to establish whether all stakeholders shared the same priorities for the education offered by the three institutions. The results were that generally they did not.[134] A further investigation was carried out in Riyadh in 1997 in response to the realization that graduates from the Mohammed bin Saud Islamic University were poorly qualified to take up teaching positions in public schools, and again the results were not encouraging.[135]

6.9. RECOVERY STRATEGIES

6.9.1. Polite Refusal

One strategy that the Ministry of Education adopted to improve the quality of education was the introduction of foreign consultants to evaluate existing practices and recommend changes to teaching methodology.   For example, during 2013 a UK consultancy was employed to review girls' education in Zulfi.[136]   The objective was to promote effective self-evaluation, improve leadership, raise standards and provide continuous professional development. However, such visits are unlikely to change an ingrained educational culture for whilst the recommendations for change were welcomed at strategic levels, they were politely deflected at the operational level. Only a sustained programme involving the transfer of educational best practice with enthusiastic cooperation at school and classroom level, starting with the youngest students, can achieve the objectives set out in Development Plans.[137]

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[133]Brooking Center for Universal Education, February 2014,
http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/research/files/interactives/2014/arab%20world%20learning%20barometer/arabworld_learningbarometer_en.pdf
[134]Suhaibani, July 1984. Oklahoma State University. Unpublished Ed.D dissertation. A Study of Institutional Goals in Three Saudi Universities.
[135]Al-Habis, 1997. Ohio University, Unpublished PhD dissertation. An Evaluation of Selected Aspects of the Teacher Education Program at Imam Mohammed bin Saud Islamic University in Saudi Arabia.
[136]Zulfi, city in al-Qasim Province some 280kms North West of Riyadh.
[137]Discussion with Director of *Top Quality Marque International*. Hereford, 13 November 2013. See also McKinsey and Co. reports: 2007, (i) http://mckinseyonsociety.com/how-the-worlds-best-performing-schools-come-out-on-top/and (ii) Mc Kinsey &

6.9.2. Quantity v Quality

In spite of official protestations to the contrary, acceleration in Saudi educational reform followed 9/11 with the realization that 15 of the perpetrators were products of the Saudi youth bulge and educational system.[138] Al-Nahdi, (2014) drew on research by Hargreaves and Shirley, (2009) which emphasized the importance of listening to the views of the youth as a requirement of making sure they would receive a valuable education that would ensure that they did not stray or deviate from the appropriate path.[139] According to al-Nahdi, the timetables in Saudi schools permitted no flexibility and citing al-Sadan, (2000)) did not allow students to concentrate on subjects for which they had talent and enjoyed. Nevertheless, it would appear that the Ministry of Education did seek the views of students as in 2009 they launched a students' competition aimed at doing exactly that, and focused on canvassing the views of the youth bulge on issues that could ultimately impact upon the security of the Kingdom.[140] The research subject was:

'The role of schools in protecting youth from behavioral and intellectual deviation' and the required research themes were:

- The concept of intellectual and behavioral deviation.

- The role of schools in building moderate ideology and a refinement of behavior.

- The effect of Islamic awareness programs in protecting the youth from intellectual and behavioral deviation.

Company, 2010: http://mckinseyonsociety.com/how-the-worlds-most-improved-school-systems-keep-getting-better/& McKinsey and Co. 2012. http://mckinseyonsociety.com/education-to-employment/report/
[138]Baer, (2003) p16.
[139]Al-Nahdi, 2014, Educational Change in Saudi Arabia, *Journal of International Education Research*-First Quarter 2014. Volume 10, Number 1 pp1-6, p4, he cites Hargreaves and Shirley (2009).
[140]Interviews with Yazeed bin Hamed al-Awdah, MOE competition prize winner, 16 December 2014, 12 January 2015 and 19 January 2015.

6.10. STRATEGIC INTENT V OPERATIONAL REALITY

6.10.1. 'Corruption: Our Main Enemy'[141]

Al-Khathlan, in a paper to measure the success of the Saudi Development Plans, concluded that corruption threatens to undermine the entire concept.[142]   In the front line of Saudi education there was little indication of even moderate levels of the morale that such massive investment might have been expected to create. In this author's interviews with educators the reality, they claimed, was quite dismal. It would appear that that they did not doubt the King's commitment to improved education within the Tatweer framework, but that by the time it percolated down to the classrooms, it has been so diluted that it has lost most of its impact. This might go some way towards why, as Wiseman et al., (2008) reported, 'Saudi Arabia scored among the lowest of all participating nations on the achievements sections of the 2003 Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS)….and while scores were low compared to other countries' scores… the individual and school resources are low comparatively as well.'[143] Whilst Wiseman, et al., were critical of Saudi Arabia's educational performance (though acknowledging that the educators had limited resources), they argued that other countries do better on less.[144]

An interviewee stated that the common belief throughout the Kingdom is that the money disappears into a web of corruption that permeates the system of awarding of contracts for buildings and facilities.[145]   It is common in Saudi Arabia for government contracts to be awarded to the lowest bidder regardless of quality. Thereafter the winner may sub-contract the work to another organization and this may happen several times. Whilst the contract will have been awarded for the original price, the contractors carrying out the work may in fact be

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[141]Arab News, 22 December 2013.

[142]Al-Khathlan, (undated paper) Have been the Development Plans in Saudi Arabia Achieving their Goals? (sic)
http://faculty.ksu.edu.sa/alkhathlan/Documents/paper1.pdf

[143](i)Tatweer, a wholly government owned company ordered in 2008 by King Abdullah to provide all educational services.
(ii)Wiseman, et al, Educational Indicators and National Development in Saudi Arabia, paper presented at the 3rd IEA International Research Conference 18-20 September 2008, Taipei City, Taiwanp1.

[144]Ibid. (ii) p10

[145]This author's Interview with senior finance professional and entrepreneur with relations in senior government posts, Riyadh. 17 January 2014. Transparency International: Corruption Perceptions Index 2014:Results.
http://www.transparency.org/cpi2014/results#myAnchor2

paid just a fraction of this amount. This has led to inferior and sub-standard facilities being built, with the additional issue of little attention paid to the working conditions of the expatriate work force employed to do the job. He argued that it was little wonder that Saudi youth are angry when they hear a quarter of the Kingdom's budget goes into education and yet they have study in overcrowded class rooms with unserviceable air-conditioning.

Furthermore, the interviewee stated that the people had little faith in the effectiveness of NACC (National Anti-Corruption Commission). He believed that whilst they had prosecuted some low-level cases, those with links to power and patronage remain untouched. He argued that Saudis do not want any Western-style democracy, but most want to see a reduction in corruption. The concern that he raised in regard to not having seen anything from the massive investment in education was reflected in a statement by a Saudi High School teacher. She expressed disappointed that the Tatweer development project had been allocated 9 billion Saudi Riyals (US$ 3 billion) but she saw no improvements to the classroom environment. 'With such a big sum of money we thought our schools would be like castles in the sky' she lamented.[146] Shortages of high quality facilities and teaching led to frustration and anger in both staff and pupils in the Kingdom's state schools. Elyas and Picard, (2012) suggests that opposing 'Islamic-National and Western-Global neo-liberal discourses were evident in the implementation of reform programmes of Tatweer,' and cites the example of the co-educational King Abdullah University for Science and Technology (KAUST) and the King Abdullah Foreign Scholarship Programme.[147] King Abdullah had been trying to push back the tide of conservative opinion according to a young professional educated in the United States.[148] He stated that 'the King was a man before his time. Saudi Arabia simply was not yet

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[146]Mohammed Al-Kinani, Arab News, 04 November 2013. http://www.arabnews.com/news/472241 For Report on Tatweer, see al-Yami, Educational Reform in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Tatweer Schools as a Unit of Development. Literacy Information and Computer Education Journal (LICEJ), Volume 5, Issue 2, June 2014, pp1424-1433.
[147]Elyas, and Picard, Critiquing of higher education policy in Saudi Arabia: towards a new neo-liberalism. *Education, Business and Society: Contemporary Middle Eastern Issues*. Vol 6 No1, pp31-41, p36.
[148]Interview with 26 year old U.S. educated Saudi male.

ready for co-educational facilities such as KAUST here in the Kingdom and for the next five to ten years, this type education would be better done outside.'[149]

The views on corruption would appear to be corroborated by regular reports in the Saudi press. For example, in August 2013 an article appeared entitled 'Stiff action sought against corrupt education officials.'[150] It reported that the Control and Investigation Board had called for stiffer sentences after a court in Hail had handed down what were seen as overly-lenient sentences for corruption.[151] Nine education officials were guilty of misappropriating SR 7 million (US$ 1,867,000) and sentences totaled 34 years with fines of SR 700,000. Such cases reinforce the belief of the Saudi population at large that anti-corruption measures by NACC result in numerous low level cases being brought to court to demonstrate the effectiveness of anticorruption measures.[152] However, the belief persists that the major beneficiaries the *hamour* will always remain untouched.[153]

6.11. THE LEADERSHIP FACTOR

6.11.1. A New King: Times of Uncertainty

In a dramatic change to the leadership of education, on 22 December 2013 King Abdullah appointed Prince Khaled al-Faisal, who had previously been Governor of the Makkah region.[154] In a follow-up conversation with a School manager interviewed earlier to discuss this surprise appointment, he repeated that he remained convinced that education should be led by an educator,[155] though he applauded Prince Khaled for prosecuting corruption in Jeddah

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[149]Ibid.

[150]Saudi Gazette, 17 August 2013.http://www.saudigazette.com.sa/index.cfm?method=home.regcon&contentid=20130817177134[150] Business anti-Corruption Portal reported that the greatest area of concern for corruption in Saudi Arabia is in the general area of public procurement. http://www.business-anti-corruption.com/country-profiles/middle-east-north-africa/saudi-arabia/snapshot.aspx
See also Arab News, 04 December 2012. http://www.arabnews.com/which-corruption-must-we-fight-0

[151]Saudi Gazette, 09 April 2013. http://www.saudigazette.com.sa/index.cfm?method=home.regcon&contentid=20130409160564

[152]Business anti-Corruption Portal reported that the greatest area of concern for corruption in Saudi Arabia is in the general area of public procurement. http://www.business-anti-corruption.com/country-profiles/middle-east-north-africa/saudi-arabia/snapshot.aspx

[153](i) Hamour - 'Big Fish.' Interview 05 January, 2014, Eid, public service employee, Riyadh. (ii) Arab News 22 December 2013: Corruption: 'Our main enemy.'

[154](i) Arab News, 23 December 2013. (ii) Al Riyadh.com 22 December 2013. http://www.alriyadh.com/en/article/894761/a-royal-order-appoints-prince-khalid-al-faisal-minister-of-education

[155]Follow up interview with High School Manager, Riyadh 09 January 2014.

following deaths in the flooding.[156] He stated that if he could do the same in education there was hope for improvements; however, he was concerned that the new Minister might be too liberal. If Prince Khaled's reputation for fighting corruption had made him unpopular in the corrupt clientist business community of Hijaz, his new appointment sent shock waves through the religious establishment.[157] He had earned the ire of the Mutawah for his liberal views and for such loosening of conventions as allowing single men into festivals in Jeddah, and now they feared that under his leadership of education, their influence on religious curricula would be further eroded and Ikhtilat further extended. Meijer, (2010) considers that gender segregation is 'one of the defining features of Saudi Arabia' and argues that, 'although the position of women has improved since 9/11, Ikhtilat demarks the battle lines between reformists and conservatives. Any attempt to diminish its enforcement is regarded as a direct attack on the standing of conservatives and Islam itself.'[158] There was broad surprise throughout the Kingdom at the appointment, and social media was flooded with comments expressing this surprise and with jokes about poetry gaining new found prominence in the curriculum since the Minister was a well-known poet.[159]

6.11.2. Changes at Court

Barely a year later, yet another new Minister of Education was appointed following the death of King Abdullah on 23 January 2015.[160] Azzam al-Dakhil became the new Minister of Education as part of the sweeping changes made by King Salman just days after his accession

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[156]Arab News, 07 March 2013. In 2009 and 2011, 133 people were killed in flooding in Jeddah as a result of corrupt building and flood protection administration. In March 2013 21 people we found guilty of corruption over the failed flood defences and sentenced to a total of 118 years Arab News, 07 March 2013: http://www.arabnews.com/saudi-arabia/21-jailed-jeddah-floods-case

[157]Group interview, 15 January 2014, Riyadh. 6 Saudi professionals, (ages 23 to 44) to discuss appointment of new Minister of Education.

[158](i) Meijer, Reform in Saudi Arabia: The Gender-Segregation Debate *Middle East Policy Council*. Winter 2010, Volume XVII, Number 4, pp1-19, p1 (ii) Ikhtilat, the mixing of men and women in society.

[159]Poetry News Agency, 31 August 2012. Saudi Prince, Al-Saud publishes his new poem. http://www.alapn.com/en/news.php?cat=1&id=3660

[160]The Economist, January 31 2015, http://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21641199-western-leaders-must-do-more-push-saudi-arabia-reform-its-own-sake-well

to the throne.[161] Simultaneously, the Ministry of Higher Education was merged with the Ministry of Education.[162]

In a follow up with a group previously interviewed, the main reaction to the ministerial changes was one of surprise at the extent of the changes made by the new King and the speed at which they were made.[163] Opinion was divided, but all agreed that there was youthfulness about the new team which might lead to the majority of the population identifying more with the government. For instance the new Minister of Defence and Head of the Royal Court, Mohammed bin Salman, was only 35 years old.[164] The newly-appointed Education Minister was generally thought to be in his 40s. He was regarded as capable having been CEO of the Saudi Research and Marketing Group and CEO of the Prince Mohammad bin Salman Foundation.[165] The group agreed the recent appointments indicated a trend of recruitment from an extremely able group of the Kingdom's CEOs, Academics and Financiers. However, as one further interviewee stated, 'we don't need people in government to be brilliant, we just need them to be honest.'[166]

Attention has been focused upon the education of Saudi Arabia's youth bulge because the Kingdom's educational system was targeted by external sources following 9/11 and internal terrorist actions across the Kingdom. Furthermore, most of those Saudis who turned to terrorism were not long out of the educational system. However, what transpired in the Kingdom was not unique, for as Horgan, (2008) argued, 'it is still the case that extremely few people engage in terrorism altogether. It may thus seem warranted to consider actual terrorists as different or special in some way'.[167] Similarly, the Saudis who launched the first

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[161]Arab News, 29 January 2015. http://www.arabnews.com/saudi-arabia/news/697361
[162]Asharq al-Aswat, 30 January 2015, http://www.aawsat.net/2015/01/article55340973 Arab News. 06 February 2015, http://www.arabnews.com/featured/news/700416
[163]Follow up interview with group of professional staff previously interviewed on 15 January 2014, Riyadh, 01 February 2015.
[164](i) Arab News, 24 January 2015. http://www.arabnews.com/featured/news/694006 (ii) Al-Arabiya.net http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2015/01/23/Saudi-Prince-Mohammad-bin-Salman-appointed-defense-minister-head-of-Royal-Court.html
[165]Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia, 08 February 2015, Council Of Ministers: Membership. http://www.saudiembassy.net/print/about/Biographies-of-Ministers.aspx
[166]Interview with Saeed, middle ranking executive, Riyadh, 08 February 2015.
[167]Horgan, July 2008, ANNALS, AAPSS, 618.http://ann.sagepub.com/content/618/1/80.full.pdf+html

foreign attack on the U.S. 'mainland territory since the war of 1812,'[168] may have been different. But the conundrum remains how to identify what it was that made these young men of the Kingdom's youth bulge different from most of their peers and enabled so few to cause such damage so disproportionate to their numbers.[169] The following chapter takes an in-depth look into Saudi education to establish whether it may be the significant factor in creating terrorists that critics have argued. Since, it may be as Horgan states that we have to look for other contributory factors.[170]

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[168]Ibid.
[169]Kellner, (2003) p53.
[170]Horgan, July 2008, ANNALS, AAPSS, 618.http://ann.sagepub.com/content/618/1/80.full.pdf+html

CHAPTER 7

EDUCATING SAUDI ARABIA'S YOUTH BULGE: A CONTESTED FIELD

'For it's the direction given by education that is likely to determine all that follows -

like calls to like, doesn't it?'[1]

7.1. INTRODUCTION

With the objective of seeking an explanation for why some young Saudi men strayed into violence whilst most did not, this chapter undertakes an in-depth review of education that has been provided across Saudi Arabia and the impact it has had on Saudi Arabia's youth bulge. The methodology involved semi-structured interviews by the author with those in the front line of Saudi education, whilst also drawing upon a broader theoretical base and scholarly research. It reviews literature that both critiqued and defended the curricula and pedagogic delivery methodology prior to and subsequent to 9/11 and the violent conflict within the Kingdom. This author also interviewed a wide range of people from within the youth bulge as well as parents in regards to their views on the education provided to children by the Saudi State system, to established whether they felt it contributed to reasons that some had gravitated to violent protest. Further consideration is given to the impact of the programme to educate students outside of the Kingdom and on the forgotten half of the youth bulge, the females. Mindful that Peters, (1967) states that 'there is little agreement on the correct standards of education',[2] views on education and its fitness for the purpose of employment were canvassed from over 1,400 people through a survey conducted by this author. Within these chapters the objective has been to establish whether the Kingdom's education and social system failed its youth bulge and thereby endangering its future and that of the State and international actors, and subsequently reviews the changes made that aimed to neutralize any threats. Durkheim argued that 'it in is our public schools the majority of our children are being

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[1]Plato. The Republic, Book 4,Part 4, p127. Guardians and Auxiliaries.
[2]Martin, (2012), Interlude: Kantian Constructivism and Education, in Education in a Post-Metaphysical World, p117 cites Peters (1967).

formed' and 'schools must be the guardians par excellence of national character', a statement which remains pertinent to Saudi Arabia in the twenty-first century.[3] A further objective has been to establish whether Saudi exceptionalism is a factor that could reinforce the case to refute the efficacy of mainstream youth bulge theory against the Saudi Arabian model.[4] Finally, consideration has been given to the secondary issue of whether the demonization of the Kingdom, its educational system and its youth was justified and whether it is appropriate for external actors to interfere in the internal matters of other sovereign states.

7.2. The Danger of Idle Hands

Prokop, (2005) argues that many of the problems confronting Saudi Arabia's youth population are a result of the inadequacies of the State education system.[5] She argues that the education provided is not fit for placing young people into employment. Consequently this perpetuates the demand for high levels of expatriate labour to continue to do those tasks that Saudis are unable or unwilling to do. The problem is longstanding since Wilson and Graham, (1994) reported that the Saudi educational system did not produce graduates with the appropriate skills to meet the needs of society.[6] Ménoret supports this view and identifies the greatest challenge facing education as that of preparing Saudi Arabia's youth bulge for the labour market.[7] He argues that the numbers of expatriates illustrates that the challenge faced by state education in Saudi Arabia 'is primarily economic, not ideological or religious'. Champion, (2003) reports that by 1997, 90% of the workers in the private sector were expatriates with numbers approaching nine million.[8] Al-Rasheed, (2010) illustrates that in 1985, Saudi nationals accounted for only 29% of the workforce, the remainder composed of a broad range of foreign expatriates where they 'dominated three economic sectors: construction, manufacturing and utilities,' due to a lack of local expertise and the reluctance for Saudis to undertake 'menial

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[3]Durkheim, (2002) pp2-4.
[4]For more on Saudi exceptionalism see Vitalis, (2009) pp2-3, and Ottaway, (2011) Saudi Arabia in the Shadow of the Arab Revolt. http://www.wilsoncenter.org/node/19849
[5]Prokop, (2005) in Aarts and Nonneman, (eds) 2005, p77.
[6]Wilson & Graham, (1994) p257. Also from personal observation by this author little has change in this regard since 1973.
[7]Ménoret, (2005) p203 and this author's discussion with Menoret, 28 March 2013, Abu Dhabi.
[8]Champion, (2003) p198.

jobs.'[9] Al-Abdel, (1988) argues that Saudi Arabia experiences a similar dilemma to other Arab states, as wherever there is a shortage of skilled manpower the result is a stagnation of national development which can only be rectified through education and vocational training.[10] However, there is the additional issue that some Saudi women are reluctant to marry men who are employed in blue-collar jobs.[11] A report issued by the Saudi Ministry of the Civil Service in August 2014 stated that out of a population of just under 20 million Saudis, I.3 million were employed in the public sector and 39% of those are women.[12] Saudi Arabia's Ninth Development plan identified the problem of the work culture among the Saudi youth bulge, whereby they are dependent on the State to provide employment whist demonstrating a reluctance to assume responsibility for their own development. The Plan identifies a need to enhance 'the work culture and to instill in the Saudi worker the values of diligence, creativity and innovation in order to become the knowledge worker required by the knowledge economy.'[13] Wilson and Graham, (1994) identify a potential cause for the reluctance for Saudis to undertake anything other than management jobs as being rooted in slavery which was not outlawed until 1962.[14] Through interviews carried out by this author, manual work was found to be something that was there to be done by slaves or the modern manifestation, the expatriate.[15] In interviews most young Saudi men expressed the belief that it was their destiny to manage and that they were impatient for high professional status. Most openly expressed the view that there were jobs that simply did not fit their perception of what it means to be Saudi.[16] In a survey conducted by this author the question asking whether respondents felt that they were qualified to take over a job from a Western expatriate, the

[9]Al-Rasheed, (2010) p146.
[10]Al-Abdel, (1988) p491.
[11]Arab News, 24 March 2015. http://www.arabnews.com/saudi-arabia/news/722021
[12](i) Gulf News.com August 13, 2014. (ii) Saudi Department of Statistics and Information, the 2012 Population and Housing Census, total population: 29,195895: 68.94% (19,838448) Saudi, 31.06% (9,57447)non-Saudi. Illegal population several million more. Arab News, 03 November 2013, 04 November, 2013, 05 November 2013, 27 November 2013, 01 December 2013, Saudi Gazette, 05 November, 2013 & 27 November, 2013.
[13]Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Economy and Planning. Brief Report on The Ninth Development Plan. 1431/2-1435/36 (2010-2014) p9.
[14]Long, & Maisal, (2010) p21.
[15]Wilson & Graham, (1994) p256. For more on the legacy of slavery in the Kingdom see Chapter V of this thesis.
[16]This author's interviews carried out with Fahad and Saad, (24/26 year old administrators) in Riyadh, 14 November 2013 and Fawaz, Ahmed and Salah, 02 December 2013, Riyadh. These are sample comments taken from a broad range of interviews. Kufir, a word used in this context to describe the foreigner other (expatriate).

response was an overwhelming 'Yes'. Of the 1194 on-line respondents 82.3% (954) reportedthat they were ready. Only 3.7% (43) stated that they were not. Even though 46% (537) of the on-line respondents stated that they were unemployed, 87.5% (1013) reported that they were skilled. Only 2.7% (31) admitted to being unskilled.[17] The state education had clearly instilled within them a level of confidence that may prove the Achilles' heel for Saudi development.

7.3. THE SAUDI YOUTH BULGE: THE INVISIBLE HALF

7.3.1. Education Culture and Fundamentalism

Prokop, (2005) argues that the educational policy and societal constraints exclude half of the population (the female half) from working in anything other than a very narrow range of careers.[18] This is a result, she suggests, of changes to the educational strategy which started in the early 1970s, when the priority was for expansion of facilities and increased numbers of schools over improvements to the quality of teaching and revision of the curriculum. Yamani, (1996) states that during the 1960s and 1970s (during the reign of King Faisal), women enjoyed greater freedom of social mobility, education and job opportunities although this was reversed following the Iranian revolution and the two Gulf wars.[19] More recently the greatest impediment to the development of wider career paths for women, and for their greater general emancipation, may be that suggested by al-Gasim and reported by al-Rasheed -- and later confirmed in this author's own interview with him.[20] He argues that confusion exists between what is Islamic and what is culturally and traditionally situated, and that the religious and the social must be segregated if women are to play a more prominent role in Saudi society. Fakhro, (1990) suggests that whilst 'women in Saudi Arabia might be considered the most deprived in the GCC states', their segregation in employment offers 'some professional

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[17]Survey conducted by this author during 2012.
[18]Prokop, (2005) in Aarts and Nonneman, (eds) (2005) p63. House, (2012) p155.
[19]Yamani, (1996) p278. From personal experience of living in the Eastern Province throughout the 1970s, this author confirms a greater level of social freedom existed at that time whilst freedom of expression was more constrained.
[20]Al-Rasheed, (2010) p269, and this author's interview with Abdulaziz al-Qasim, Riyadh. 18 May 2013.

advantage since there is no competition from men for such jobs.'[21] Those viewing from outside of the Kingdom might see the limitations of career opportunities for females as a waste of national resources or as House, (2012) suggests 'wasting their talents which could be used to develop society.'[22] Clearly the Kingdom's females are committed to education since when 'calculated as a combination of the hours invested in those who drop out or repeat classes and those who graduate, it took an average of eighteen pupil years to produce a male graduate of general education, as opposed just fifteen to produce a female graduate.'[23] The reform agenda for women though championed by King Abdullah confronts social and religious conservatism, but change to the roles that Saudi women experience is essential 'to allow the kingdom to transform itself into a world-class economic power and, in doing so, fulfill Qur'anic calls for complete productivity.'[24]

However, this author's interviews with a broad range of Saudi society produced conflicting results regarding the desire to see further reform in education and for women taking an accelerated path towards equality.[25] Whereas a minority demonstrated a modernist approach, the overwhelming response was in favor of the place of women remaining much as it has been for generations. Giddens argues that whilst 'universal suffrage is full of contradictions...education alone can smooth out these antagonisms.'[26] He continues that it is important that the objective of public education is 'not a matter of training workers for the factory or clerks for the warehouse but citizens for society. The teaching must therefore consist essentially of moral instruction; to sever minds from selfish views and material interests, to replace a vanishing religious piety by a kind of social piety.'[27] Nowhere could this author find evidence within Saudi Arabia's youth bulge of any erosion of religious faith or piety. Furthermore young Saudi males support the status quo, and in some cases appeared

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[21]Fakhro, (1990) pp41-2.
[22]House, (2012) p73.
[23]Saudi Arabia A Country Study, Federal Research Division. (undated).p134
[24]Kechichian,(2013) pp216-7.
[25]The role of women in education and Saudi society was addressed in every formal interview carried out in Saudi Arabia by the author and in less formal conversations 2012-2014.
[26]Giddens, (1986) pp90-2
[27]Ibid.

more religiously devout and culturally conservative than their parent's generation. Few Saudi

males agreed with Mill 'that the subordination of one sex to the other was fundamentally

wrong.'[28] Moreover, some of the staunchest supporters of traditional values were women

themselves. An interviewee cited a conversation that he had with his wife on female

fundamentalism and women's views on social change. She suggested that her husband would

be shocked at the strength of fundamentalist views held by a significant number of women in

Kingdom. She described her own experiences at University, where she observed self-styled

female mutaw'a targeting young women who wore decorated abayas they deemed un-

Islamic,[29] the offending decorations being sprayed with black aerosol paint. The young

women would suffer abuse throughout their ordeal, accused of straying from Islam and

succumbing to Western decadence.[30] Their fate they were told would surely see them cast

into the 'fires of hell'.[31] Yamani, (1996) identifies such groups of female fundamentalists as

self-appointed guardians of strict Islamic values whose 'mission is to fight corruption and

Westernization in Saudi Arabia.'[32] She suggests that the second Gulf War served to divide the

female population into liberal and fundamentalist camps. Whilst some were emboldened by

the events of the war to seek greater freedoms for women through actions such as the driving

demonstrations, this created a backlash from those who sought refuge in Shari'a. Female

fundamentalists may be identified through their extreme ways of dressing with full veil and

complete covering even in the domestic environment. Their clothes worn below the abaya are

severe, as any bright colours are considered 'seductive' and therefore 'the work of the devil.'[33]

Le Renard refers to the modest mode of dress demanded by 'the official fatwa required by the

Council of Senior Ulama, as a model of Islamic femininity because those who promote it do so

mainly in the name of Islam.'[34] Marx Ferree argues that the study of repression of women's

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[28]Mill, (1869/2000) p7.
[29](i) Mutaw'a, Guardians of the faith and morality to enforce a strict Islamic code upon citizens. (ii) Abayas, black shapeless cover-all garment worn by women for modesty.
[30]Interview with Abdullah, husband of observer of female mutaw'a behavior in High School and University. Riyadh, 01 September, 2014.
[31]Yamani, (1996) p278.
[32]Ibid.
[33]Ibid.
[34]Le Renard, (2014) p29.

movements has been peripheral to the mainstream of social movement theory, but views the omission as a missed opportunity for a better understanding of the subject as a whole. Halliday, (2005) argues that 'education is the key to development and participation in the global economy. The participation of women is not only a means of making use of half of society's human resources, but is also the most effective way of reducing population growth.'[35] Marx Ferree suggests the term 'soft repression' to differentiate between non-violent repressive coercion and the more aggressive forms of the male-dominated power of state oppression.[36] Ménoret's field work in Riyadh in 2005 identified a concomitant aggressive split within male youth society in which 'Islamists were accusing "secularists" of treason and "secularists" were in turn pointing the finger at the Islamists "extremism"'.[37] Yamani describes the female fundamentalist movement as covering the wide social and economic spectrum of Saudi society. Whilst many of the leading figures are wealthy academics and writers, mostly university educated, they reject all the trappings of modern Western culture as un-Islamic. Through seeking the purity of Shari'a, and through the broadcasting of their extreme views, they have demonstrated the ability to alienate both the religious establishment and liberals alike.[38]

7.3.2. Educational Change Confronts Conservative Opposition

In spite of social and cultural conservatism change is visible across the Kingdom.[39] In 2014 Saudis can be seen in jobs that twenty years before would have been unthinkable. Most visibly Saudi males can be observed working at supermarket check-outs, but what is even more dramatic is the recent appearance of females in those same roles, albeit serving only families.[40] On 21 May 2014, 40 young women were appointed by the Ministry of the Interior to process the passports of women at the King Abdulaziz Airport in Jeddah, evidence that the government

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[35]Halliday, (2005) p318.
[36]Marx Feree, (2005) pp141-2.
[37]Ménoret, (2014) p36.
[38]Yamani, (1996) p278.
[39]This author's personal observation of changes across the Kingdom from 1973 to 2015.
[40]As observed by this author, Saudi females can now be seen serving customers in stores such as Carrafour, Panda and IKEA in Riyadh.

is progressively widening the range of career opportunities open to females. In the private sector the number of females employed had risen from 55,000 in 2009 to 400,000 by April 2014.[41]

The opportunities for Saudi Arabia's youth bulge to exploit their full potential (and to avoid slipping into drugs crime and terrorism) are largely dependent upon the quality of the education they receive. What follows is a review of some historical setbacks to progress in education, and of more recent changes that have taken place across the Kingdom in recent history. Particular attention is given to the reforms that followed 9/11 and especially those since King Abdullah ascended the throne in 2005.

Citing a Ministry of Planning report from 1985, Niblock and Malik, (2007) quantify the changes within the educational system in the Kingdom during the period 1970-1985.[42] From this they present statistics that demonstrate that during this period the number of schools for boys increased by a factor of three whilst schools for girls increased by a factor of 15 (albeit from a relatively small number). In other areas of Saudi education the increases were even more dramatic. In primary schools the roll increased by a factor of 5, it was by a factor of 12 at intermediate level and it exploded by a factor of 40 in higher education.[43] However, the view expressed by Niblock and Malik aligns with that expressed by Prokop, that in spite of this massive investment, the graduates of the Saudi education system remained ill prepared for integration into the workplaces of the private sector. Many of the graduates had come through the religious universities, which provided a poor grounding for careers outside of the government bureaucracy. Prokop cites figures for young people graduating from universities for the four-year period from 1995 to 1999. She illustrates that of the 120,000 graduates less than 2% graduated in technical subjects.[44] It would appear that most young graduates have preferred to enter the government sector but this itself has a saturation point beyond which it

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[41]Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2013 Human Rights and Democracy Report. Corporate Report, Saudi Arabia-Country of Concern. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/saudi-arabia-country-of-concern .
[42]Niblock and Malik, (2007) p82.
[43]KSA-MOP (1985b) pp154-61, cited in Niblock and Malik, (2007) p82.
[44]Prokop, (2005) in Aarts and Nonneman, (2005) p77.

would appear that no more can be absorbed. In spite of this saturation, and perhaps in response to concerns over potential unrest over the Arab Spring, the King created 60,000 new law enforcement jobs in the Ministry of Interior, thereby achieving the double benefit of putting a large number of young men into work whilst bolstering the security apparatus of the Kingdom.[45] Okruhlik, (2004) reports that by the early 1990s, 25% of all university students were studying Islamic theology and that this generation of graduates went on to fill the ranks of civil institutions including the police and mutawwain, as judges and as imams of the Kingdom's mosques.[46]

Prokop contends that by 2005 the Saudi youth bulge was still poorly prepared by the State's education system to enter the workforce, and therefore able to play any meaningful part in the future development of the Kingdom. This was a consequence she argued, of governmental policy of over-investment in religious education to the detriment of teaching more practical skills. She argues that this is because 'Islam continues to be the main legitimating source for the al-Saud family.'[47] However, she acknowledges that regimes have a price to pay for harnessing religion to political legitimacy since the Saudi Government's 'strong identification with Islam invites the regime's opponents to use it as a standard by which to judge their rulers.'[48] Consequently, given the high level of religious content in the educational curriculum at all levels, it does not come without risk. Education may, as Wu Ting Fang suggested, be a double edged sword. It may be turned to dangerous use if not properly handled.[49]

7.3.3. Mecca 1979: A Blue-Print for Regression

The emphasis on religious teaching across education in more recent times Prokop argues can be traced back to concessions made to Islamists following the siege of Mecca. This incident

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[45]Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia, 18 March 2011. http://www.saudiembassy.net/press-releases/press03181101.aspx
[46]Okruhlik,(2004) in Wiktorowicz,2004, p254.
[47]Prokop, (2003) Chatham House. *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* Vol. 79, No.1 (Jan., 2003) p77
[48]Ibid.
[49]Wu Ting- Fang. Malaccan Chinese diplomat 1842-1922. Executive Summary, *Understandingthe Brain: The Birth of a Learning Science. (*2007) Centre for Educational Research and Innovation. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

had started on the first day of 1400H[50] led by Juhayman Al-Otaibi. These rebels 'demanded a return to the Islamic society of their pious forefathers (*as-salaf as-Salih)',* whilst further demanding the severing of links with Western regimes especially that of the United States.[51] Hegghammer identifies the Mecca insurgents as Jihadi-Salafi, but in the absence of a clear definition of what exactly the term means draws on the work of Kepel and Lia to identify three political identifying features. In this literature Jihadi-Salafis are viewed as the most extreme and violent of the Islamic groups, and they are viewed as aligning with the Wahhabi doctrine whilst rejecting the 'ikhwani ideology and discourse of Sayyid Qutb and the Muslim Brotherhood.'[52] Gause, (2009) argued that 'like his Ikhwan forebears, Juhayman saw the western influence allowed in Saudi Arabia, by the al-Saud as central to their lack of religious legitimacy.'[53]

Prokop identifies the take-over of the Grand Mosque in Mecca as the '… first serious Islamist challenge to the al-Saud regime.'[54] Lackner however reports significant unrest and attempted coups in the 1960s, which whilst driven by a nationalist agenda nevertheless posed a significant threat to the regime.[55] The Ulama had long worked in partnership with the al-Saud family since the original alliance between religious scholar, Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab and the ruler of ad Dir'iyya, Muhammad ibn Saud in 1744/5.'[56] However, the events of November 1979 demonstrated to the al-Saud regime the dangers emanating from the relationship between the Ulama, and the group led by their rebel protégé Juhayman. Lacey cites Prince Turki bin Faisal; 'They [the religious sheikhs] knew them all well. The so-called Mahdi had been a pupil.'[57]

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[50]20 November 1979.
[51]Steinberg, (2005) in Aarts & Nonneman, (2005) pp 27-30. See also Coll, (2004) p28.
[52]Hegghammer, Jihadi-Salafis or Revolutionaries? On Religion and Politics in the Study of Militant Islam, pp251-256.http://hegghammer.com/_files/Hegghammer_-_jihadi_salafis_or_revolutionaries.pdf
[53]Gause, (2009) in Ayoob, M. and Kosebalaban, H. (eds) (2009) pp136-137.
[54]Prokop, (2005) in Aarts, & Nonneman, (2005), p77.
[55]Lackner, (1978) p102.
[56]Steinberg, (2005) in Aarts, & Nonneman, (2005) p14 and Ménoret, (2005) p48.
[57]Lacey, (2009).p31.

Paradoxically, the regime's response to the uprising was to reinforce its religious credentials through a retreat from its programme of modernization, and to undertake a re-Islamification of Saudi society. The Ulama had demanded a reinvigoration of Wahhabi values and an end to bida' (unworthy innovation) that had so unsettled the conservative traditionalists.[58] Al-Mahdi, (1990) regarded 'the age of the rightly guided caliphs exemplary because of their direct contact with the Prophet and the purity of the early community's faith.'[59] Arguing that the principles of freedom, justice and equality were now enshrined in democratic governance, he exhorted Muslims to return to the values 'produced fifteen centuries ago.'[60] In as much as there had been a dilution of the purity of the faith during the rule of the Umayyad (661-750) and 'Ab-basid (750-1258), so too bida' of the 20th century was to be resisted lest it have the same effect.[61]

7.4. THE SAUDI RESPONSE TO THE YOUTH BULGE CHALLENGE

7.4.1. The Plan

Between the times that the Saudi government silently adopted Juhayman's doctrine, the events of 9/11, and the onset of domestic terrorism, the Kingdom's youth bulge was born and grew up to become a major problem for the government. Citing the Seventh Development Plan from Saudi Arabia's Ministry of Planning, Prokop reports that during the mid-1980s, over 60% of the population was under the age of 20. One-hundred-thousand young people had graduated from the schools and universities each year in search of jobs but unemployment was between 10% and 30%.[62] However, by 2011, 5.187 million students were in general education, and 390,800 male and female students graduated annually from secondary schools

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[58](i)Lacey, (2009) p50. (ii)The term 'unworthy innovation' from Eickelman and Piscatori, (1996) p34.
[59]Al-Mahdi, (1990) p197 cited in Eickelman and Piscatori, (1996) p34.
[60]Ibid.
[61]Ibid.
[62]Prokop, (2005) in Aarts, & Nonneman, (2005) (eds) p77.

with a resultant 1.2 million in Higher Education.[63] Consequently the need for a solution for placing these graduates into employment was even more acute.

Drawing on more recent data to support the measures being taken to counteract the negative issues impacting the youth bulge of the Kingdom, the Ninth Development Plan identified within its third general objectives, 'Reducing unemployment rate among the national workforce from around 9.6% in 2009 to about 5.5% by the end of the Plan in 2014'.[64] Neither of these figures appears to be unduly high to fit a model for youth bulge theory, or at such level that they are a likely cause of civil unrest amongst the youth bulge or to become a potential cause of terrorism. These figures differ significantly from the levels reported by Prokop reported above. This raises the issue of reliability of statistics and society's confidence in the credibility of what is published. Statistics with their origins in the work of La Place, Poisson, Gauss, Quetelet and Galton are defined as 'the assembly and mathematic analysis of numerical data which requires description and inference.'[65] The Ministry's Achievements of the Plan (Chapter 5) reports the progress in terms of 'expanded employment opportunities, to 4.4 million in 2012' for graduates from education, rather than in terms of percentage unemployment. It includes only a list of statistical sections and notes but the statistical data is no longer retrievable.[66] Durkheim tells us that 'the task of watching over the education of the young…falls within the province of the central body. As a result the body develops. Statistical services keep it up to date with all that is happening in the innermost parts of the organism.' [67] Saudi Arabia's centralized collection of large-scale statistical data originated in an agreement from 1974 labeled JECOR (US-Saudi Joint Economic Commission). Flynn (2011) suggests that this Saudi-funded commercial intelligence was as valuable to U.S. companies wishing to exploit Saudi markets as it was to the Saudi government itself.[68]

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[63]Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Ministry of Economy and Planning. Achievements of the Developments Plans. Facts and Figures. Version 30. 2013. Chapter 5 Human Development (Education, Health and Social Services).
[64]Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Economy and Planning. Brief Report on the Ninth Development Plan 1431/32-1435/36 p24.
[65]Jary and Jary, (1999) p654.
[66]Ministry of Economy and Planning. Facts and Figures. Achievements of the Development Plan. Version 30, 2013.
[67]Durkheim, (2014) p173.
[68]Flynn, *The Middle East Journal*. Volume 65, Number 4, Autumn, 2011 p3.

Presently, various ministries including Labour, Civil Service, and Economy and Planning, all collect (often conflicting) statistical data. Flynn, (2011) citing Lipman, (2005) reports that in the 1970s statistics were simply 'manufactured in the Ministry of Planning.'[69] Considerable skepticism persists even today across the Saudi population regarding the authenticity of statistics produced by the state.[70] This came up in many interviews conducted by this author during field work in the Kingdom. In two such typical interviews, interviewees expressed very little faith in Government statistics. They doubted the effectiveness of the mechanisms that collected data and the system that then interpreted it. They stated that the Ministries had a tendency to present information in such a way as to portray a more acceptable picture to their masters.[71] However, they did not consider that their government was unique in operating this practice.

7.4.2. The Planned Objectives for Education and Subsequent Employment

2014 is the last year of the Ninth Development Plan, which is itself the latest in a series (the first published forty years ago), and part of a strategic plan that will run until 2024.[72] The Plan was produced in both Arabic and English with no perceivable significant differences in content between the two, belaying any potential criticism that the English Language version might have prepared for an 'international' readership.[73] Within its final (fifth) theme 'raising the competitiveness of the national economy and national products at a domestic level,' education and youth unemployment feature prominently.[74]

Chapter 22 of the Ninth Development Plan, *Development of Human Resources* sets out in detail the Educational strategy, objectives, policies and targets throughout all levels of education from Kindergartens, to Higher and Vocational Education. It emphasizes the importance of education both for the youth and the development of Saudi society.

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[69]Lippman, (2005) p174.
[70]Champion, (2003) p196.
[71]Interviews with Abdulgarda, Riyadh 01 September 2013 and Saeed al Otaibi, Al Khobar, 12 September 2013.
[72]Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Economy and Planning. Brief Report on the Ninth Development Plan 1431/32-1435/36 p8.
[73]Comparisons made by Abu Fawz an experienced professional translator who made random comparisons of English and Arabic version of the Ninth Development Plan. September 2014.
[74]Brief Report on the Ninth Development Plan 1431/32-1435/36 p11.

Significantly, it records that as of 2008, 28% of the Saudi population was in education and that the Government demonstrates its commitment to education by the allocation of appropriate budgets.

The government claims success for its educational policy against the measure of increased enrolment both in terms of percentages and actual numbers of students. By 2008 primary school enrolment was at 4.72 million, with nearly half of these students being female. This increase in numbers is attributed within the report to a shift in the approach and the commitment of Saudi families to education, and in particular to the education of their daughters. Nevertheless, research by al-Munajjed, (1997) revealed that many young women remained illiterate, or at least poorly educated, as a result of their father's reluctance to send them to school in case that education gave them independence of thought and a reluctance to marry early.[75]

In discussions with educators during the course of field work within the Kingdom, this author noted that almost every teacher and administrator within the State educational system expressed concern over the size of classes they had to deal with.[76] However, the issue of the link between class size and quality of education is contested academic terrain. Biggs, (1993/1998) noted, 'large class size, apparent authoritarianism, and exam-orientation may co-exist, and changing one aspect (e.g., class size) may need concomitant changes in other aspects of the system.'[77] Furthermore, Biggs, (1998) argues that authoritarianism is basic to the matter of class size.[78] This author's description of Hattie's, (2005) hypothesis to teachers from various Saudi schools and then seeking to establish their preferences produced consistent results.[79] When offered the option of large classes with well-behaved students or a

[75]Al Munajjed, Booz and Co. Ideation Centre, (2009) p10.
[76]Interviews in Riyadh with Ahmed and Ayman, Jordanian and Egyptian Nationals and Secondary School Teachers in State Sector Riyadh, May 30, 2013. Naif and Abdulrahman, Saudi Nationals and Secondary School Teachers in State Sector Riyadh, May 29, 2013, Group interview with teachers, IPC School, Al-Khobar 14 May 2013.
[77]Biggs, cited in Hattie, (2005). The Paradox of Reducing Class size and Improving Learning Outcomes. *International Journal of Educational Research,* 43, 387-425, pp 416-417.
[78]Biggs, Learning from Confucian Heritage: So Size Doesn't matter? *International Journal of Educational Research.* 29 (8) (1998) pp 723-728, p730.
[79]Hattie, (2005) The Paradox of Reducing Class size and Improving Learning Outcomes. *International Journal of Educational Research,* 43, 387-425, pp 416-417.

small class with a single disruptive student, most of those interviewed chose the former, though research by Finn et al (2003) suggested that 'small classes can help especially when students are withdrawn, inattentive or disruptive.'[80] More recent research carried out in two schools in Jeddah by Bahanshal, (2013) on the effect of large classes for English Language teaching concluded 'that class size has a significant role in the teaching and learning process.'[81] In the Jeddah schools wherein Bahanshal's research was conducted, class numbers ranged between 35 and 50. Government statistics indicate that student/teacher ratios and class sizes are at their lowest outside of major cities. For example Qasim is recorded as having a ratio of 9:1 with average class sizes of 17, Asir with ratios as low as 9:1 with class sizes of 19, whilst Baha had ratios of 7:1 with class sizes of 15. Against this, data on Tabuk near the border with Jordan showed it as having the highest student teacher ratio at 13:1 with class sizes of 24. Riyadh with reported ratios of 11:1 and class sizes of 23 was nearer to the reported national average of 11 and 22. The reason given for the lowest ratios is that the Ministry of Education provides educational facilities within small catchment areas and villages throughout the Kingdom and consequently there are not many children in those areas to educate.

In an interview conducted by this author in the Nejd region, a School Principal with over 25 years in the State educational system was skeptical of the MOE statistics.[82] He argued he had never experienced class sizes as low as 22 in urban areas and the claims simply did not reflect reality. From his experience classes sizes of 36 were the norm and did not get split until they reached 50. He believed that high class numbers contributed to what he referred to as a 'domino effect', which ended with poorly-educated disgruntled youth and resultant social problems. Whilst enrolment in classes might reach 50, in practice the situation was actually quite different. Absenteeism in the state educational systems persists at such high levels that classes only rarely achieve 100% attendance levels, with absenteeism regularly at 25% with some students only attending during examination time. In the 'for profit' private sector 30%-

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[80]Finn, Pannozzo, and Achilles: The "Why's of Class Size": Student Behavior in Small Classes. *Review of Educational Research.* Fall, 2003, Vol. 73, No 3, pp321-368, p 352.
[81]Bahanshal, The Effect of Large Classes on English Teaching and Learning in Saudi Secondary Schools. *English Language Teaching;* Vol. 6 No 11: 2013.
[82]Interview with Abu Faisal, 17 February 2014. Saudi High School Manager with experience in Saudi state and for-profit systems.

40% absenteeism is common, and during the first week and the last week of term most students do not attend school. This is evident in large towns as school traffic levels drop off as students stay away.[83] The cause of absenteeism in schools is clearly identified by the school manager as a lack of interest, work ethic, and self-discipline in boys, with teachers having no powers to enforce discipline in poorly maintained facilities. Male children are spoilt by their mothers from an early age and are consequently resentful of any form of discipline, resulting in them being difficult to control within schools.[84] All this he argued, contributed to the unsocial behavior of the youth bulge, but he stressed that he did not think that this is what had led them to terrorism. That he felt resulted from impressionable young men being ensnared by extremists for their own end.

7.4.3. Saudi Islamic Education for the 21st Century: A Blueprint for Employment or a Lost Generation?

We have seen that there have been accusations from outside of the Kingdom that its education system had led its youth bulge into terrorism, and eventually to 9/11 and beyond. Prokop argues that the link forged by Western academics and journalists is reductionist, but concedes that it sits well with the philosophy of 'with us or against us.'[85] According to a School manager changes were made shortly after 9/11 to the religious materials in the curriculum and to the method of delivery. Whilst a self-confessed conservative, he believed that there should be no reasonable grounds now for critics to allege that the Saudi educational curriculum would cause young men from the Kingdom's youth bulge to slip into religiously-inspired terrorism. He continued that Islam and associated religious education remained at the very core of the Saudi being and that is the way the people wished it to remain.[86] Consequently, within the curriculum there has been no reduction in the time spent on religious studies, but the emphasis had shifted to preparing students for work in the private sector. This interviewee stated that the curriculum was 'excellent' with the appropriate emphasis on religion,

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[83]This author's experience of observing situation in Al-Khobar, Dhahran, Khamis Mushayt and Riyadh 1973-2015.
[84]Interviews with educators Majed, Abu Faisal and Saud, Riyadh, 16 January 2014. See Patai, (2002) p31.
[85]Prokop, (2005) p57. She cites 'The ABC of Hatred' *New York Times,* 3 June 2004. 'A Nation Challenged: Education; Anti-Western and Extremist Views Pervade Saudi Schools', *New York Times,* 19 October 2001, or *The Boston Globe,* 13 January 2002.'
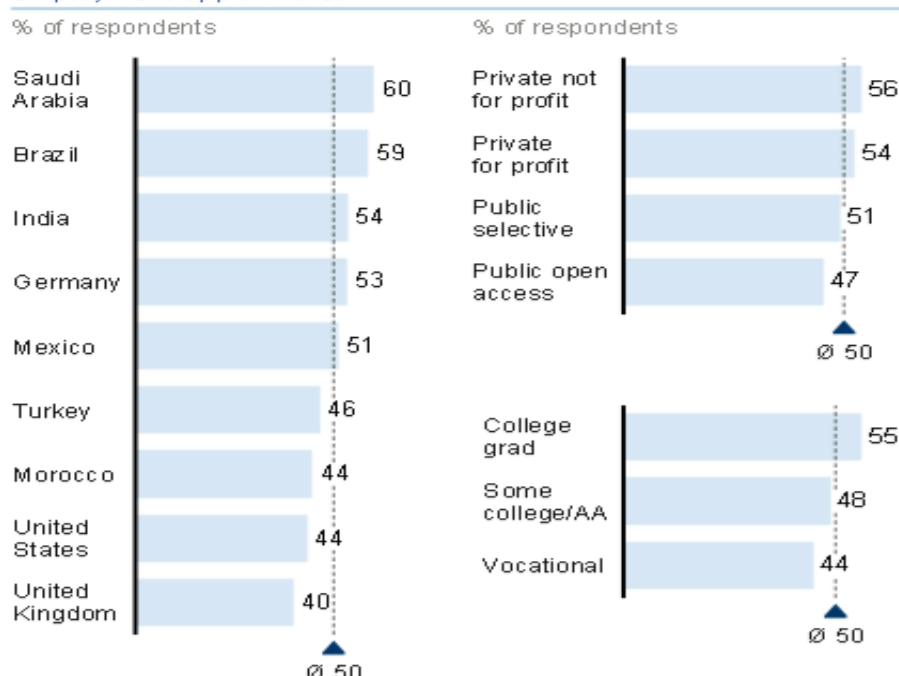[86]This feeling was expressed in most interviews conducted by this author throughout the duration of this research.

mathematics, physics and chemistry. The success he argued could be measured against the numbers of successful Saudi students in higher education across the world during the last ten years. Nevertheless, he continued that in spite of updated curricula, many young people still lack any real desire to succeed at school, as they saw it as wasted effort that was not going to get them an acceptable job. In the State School system, boys have the option of following the 'Scientific Route' or 'Religious route', perhaps more clearly termed Science and Humanities.

Exhibit 26

Only half of youth believe that their post-secondary studies improved their employment opportunities

Students who believe their postsecondary studies improved their employment opportunities[1]

% of respondents		% of respondents	
Saudi Arabia	60	Private not for profit	56
Brazil	59	Private for profit	54
India	54	Public selective	51
Germany	53	Public open access	47
Mexico	51		Ø 50
Turkey	46	College grad	55
Morocco	44	Some college/AA	48
United States	44	Vocational	44
United Kingdom	40		Ø 50
	Ø 50		

1 My post-high-school education improved my chances of getting a job.

SOURCE: McKinsey survey, Aug-Sept 2012

Whilst nearly three times as many boys now opt for Science over Humanities and Religion, he reported that those opting for the religious route are generally much more committed to their studies, as demonstrated by better attendance and their commitment to learning to recite the Quran from memory.[87] He added that in every year-group there would invariably be a small core of students for whom Islam is their total preoccupation. He stated that unemployment is

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[87]A target of the Ninth Development Plan 2010-2014 is 'Expanding the science track so that its graduates constitute 60% of all secondary school graduates by the end of the Ninth Plan. 22.1.5.4. *Targets*. Ninth Development Plan.

the greatest fear for all Saudi youth. However, research by McKinsey and Co. concluded that Saudi Arabia's youth have the greatest belief that post-secondary education will assist them in securing worthwhile employment.[88] McKinsey's finding conflicts with the responses to this author's own survey. Of those surveyed by this author, 90% expressed frustration at the employment situation in the Kingdom and the opportunities open to them, and of those respondents 99.2% had high school education whilst nearly 75% had bachelor or higher degrees.[89]

7.5. DISCIPLINE: THE LACK OF IT AND ITS IMPACT ON SOCIETY

7.5.1. General Case Studies

Up until 2003 discipline in Saudi boys' schools was harsh, with corporal punishment permitted.[90] However, in line with Durkheim's philosophy that it is 'dehumanizing'[91] the policy on the enforcement of strict discipline was withdrawn, a decision lamented by staff in the front line of Saudi education.[92] Consequently enforcement of discipline in schools has become increasing difficult, with regular reports of violence against teachers.

In June 2006, students seriously assaulted a teacher in Uhd Rafeeda for giving them 'fail' grades.[93] In March 2009 a teacher in Taif was attacked and seriously injured by a student after being punished for habitual lateness.[94] Again in Taif, teacher Bilal bin Rabah was seriously injured in an assault by students in November 2014.[95] In December 2013, the Principal of the Prince Khaled Al-Faial Secondary School for Boys in the al-Fursha district of Abha was stabbed with a khunja[96] and seriously injured by a student.[97] On September 16 2013, a teacher in Jazan died after being stabbed by a student at the Athwan School in Bani Malik and on September 30 of the same year, another teacher was murdered after being struck on the head with axe by a

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[88]See Exhibit 26 above, McKinsey Survey, August-September 2012.
[89]See appendix A to this thesis. Survey on Employment.
[90]Sasson, (2009) Growing up Bin Laden, p.86-87.
[91]Pickering, (1999), Durkheim and Foucault, Perspectives on Education and Punishment, p40.
[92]Interview with Abu Hameed, Riyadh, 10 October, 2013 and interviews with Haroon and Abdullatif, staff of boy's school Riyadh area, Riyadh 09 October 2013. See Pickering (1999) in Cladis (ed) (1999) p40.
[93]Arab News, 17 June 2006, http://www.arabnews.com/node/286372
[94]Arab News, 10 March 2009.
[95]Arab News, 11 November 2014.
[96]Khunja, the traditional Arab curved dagger.
[97]Report from Al Watan newspaper 03 December 2013.

student in al-Baha.[98] On March 12, 2014, a British instructor was shot three times by a student at Saudi Development and Training in Riyadh.[99]   And in late-May 2014, several students attacked a teacher at a school in the al-Mujamma area of Riyadh leaving him seriously injured.'[100]

7.5.2. Case Study: State Schooling and Sectarian Divides

Bassam (23) is a former student at a State school in Dhahran who progressed to train as an aircraft technician.[101] The middle son with 16 siblings, his father was a military officer who had married three times. This interviewee stated that his parents were supportive of education, but with 17 children and a demanding job his father had to rely on the self-discipline of the older children who in some cases let him down. Unlike some other schools in the area which had up 50 student per class this Aramco-built school had around 20-24 when all students attended. Egyptian teachers were good but unpopular due to their imposition of strict discipline. Conversely, most Saudi (Sunni) teachers were unmotivated, regularly not turning up for the class or, when they did, simply giving students passages to read and then the questions and answers for examinations. Physics and chemistry teachers were predominantly Shia, and hated by the students for simply being Shia, even though they took the most interest in the students.[102]   As an example of this sectarian hatred, a Shia teacher's car was attacked by students, the tyres slashed and windows broken. The next morning the teacher did not return with the police but came, driving the same car, flying a black flag and invited students to do it again as he now had insurance. The students retreated from further confrontation as this teacher was in very good physical shape and they feared retribution.[103] Herein we find what Gamson, (1992b) referred to as 'the three necessary components for a collective action frame: injustice, agency and identity. People must have a sense of an unjust situation that must be

[98]Arab News, 04 December, 2013.
[99]This author's interviews with SDT staff, Riyadh following the shooting of Taff Ellis on 12 March 2014.
[100]Arab News, 30 May 2014.
[101]Interview with Bassam, 23 year old Saudi technician, Riyadh, 01 February 2015.
[102]Schwartz, (2002) p75 argues that 'Wahhabis had an extraordinary hatred of Shi'ism…bile against the Shi'as has remained a constant throughout Wahhabi-Saudi history.'
[103](I)This interviewee stated that the Shia teachers were usually in very good physical shape as body-building was a major pre-occupation with Shia men in the Sehat and Qatif region. (ii) Shia in the Eastern Province have little faith in a Sunni police force.

corrected, a sense that they can have an effect on changing it, and an identification of who is responsible for the problem (an "us" and a "them.").'[104]

According to the interviewee, although the students all hated Shia they harbored no animosity against the foreign other because they lived in Dhahran which had a significant Western presence since the 1940s when Aramco Dhahran was known as 'American Camp.'[105] Whilst none of his friends had shown any inclination towards violence to foreigners, he stated that they all believed that 9/11 was a conspiracy in which the US and Israel were involved, and that the Twin Towers collapsed due to controlled explosions. Friedman, laments that this view was widely shared 'across the Arab-Muslim world ever since September 11' and that America had not won their 'hearts and minds.'[106]

7.5.3. Behavioral Issues

Interviewees from the front line of Saudi education lamented the passing of a time when students could be disciplined, and whereas previously expulsion would have been seen as a punishment and a disgrace, many students now actively sought to be free of the constraints of school life through demonstrating persistent bad behavior. The discipline issue has clearly been of concern to the Ministry of Education. New regulations came into force in 2013 that included exclusion from classes for a month and the requirement for extra religious and life skill classes for offenders.[107] The strategy of exclusion would not seem well-thought-out given the existing level of truancy.

Due to disruption in class, some families enroll their children as students in State schools but then pay for home tuition rather than sending them to school. In an interview one parent told this researcher that teachers could not control a minority of violent and disruptive students and others students suffered as a result, so he took his son to school only for the

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[104]Gamson, (1992b), cited in Meyer, Whittier and Robnett, (2002) p249.
[105](i) Vitalis, (2009) xxxv. (ii) See also Wynbrandt, (2010) pp191-196 for origins of Aramco and Dhahran.
[106]Friedman, (2003), p120.
[107]Arab News. 26 May 2013. http://www.arabnews.com/news/452967

examinations.[108] What to some is a necessity others see as elitism. In a tweeted response to an article about student violence against teachers, it was argued that 'the main reason children are taught at home is so that they can feel superior over others.'[109] One teacher from a boys' school in Al-Khobar talked about low-morale amongst staff in state schools, and compared the classroom environment to 'stepping into a lions' cage without a whip.'[110] Society at large, appears angry with the Ministry of Education 'at its regulations and bylaws that patently do not do enough to protect teachers,'[111] a paradox when arguably society should better control its children and teach them values of respect for others.

Staff appear to believe that most students feel that, even if armed with a university education, their chances of getting a job of choice are remote.   Consequently many students live for today in preference to the rigors of academic study. In an article in December entitled 'Why do students assault their teachers?' Saleh Ziyad concludes that the problem lies within the educational system.[112]   In a response to the article a respondent, argues 'that school management does not suspend any student for misbehaving with teachers but they suspend teachers if they say anything to defend themselves from students.'[113]   A study by the King Fahad Security Academy Research Centre revealed that 10% of secondary-school students in Riyadh, Jeddah and Dammam demonstrated aggressive and violent behaviors resulting in physical, psychological and sexual assaults. Assaults in schools in urban areas were more prevalent than in rural areas.[114] Following yet another assault on a teacher in al-Hasa, the Minister of Education stressed the importance of discipline within schools and vowed to ensure that the Ministry would take up the issue of assaults with the appropriate authorities. A Saudi social worker, Abdulmalik al-Zoubi, attributed the rise in assaults on teachers to 'poor

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[108]Author's interview with Abdulkaliq, parent who has his son home schooled. Dhahran, 10 December 2013.
[109]Saudi Gazette, 28 December 2013, Tweeted response by Abu Ahmed to Saleh Ziyad report (al-Sharq).
[110]Interview with Secondary School teacher, Al-Khobar, 09 December 2013.
[111]Saudi Gazette, 27 December 2013. (Saleh Ziad, Al-Sharq).
[112]Ibid.
[113]See footnote 107.
[114]Arab News, 19th May 2014.

family upbringing and inexperience of teachers.'[115]   However, research in the field by this author found that the reason for poor and violent behavior runs deeper than suggested by al-Zoubi above.

7.6. INTERNAL DISSENT: THE ISLAMO-LIBERAL CHALLENGE[116]

Al-Rasheed, (2007) writes that 'Wahhabi social conservatism is often held responsible for terrorism directed against the West' and 'the events of September 11 brought about new dimensions in the controversy surrounding Wahhabiyya.'[117] Furthermore, she suggests that most observers would attribute the cause of young men from within Saudi Arabia's youth bulge taking up jihad against kufirs, to being what they were taught within the Saudi school system.   Even from within Saudi Arabia itself, there is criticism of the school curricula and of those that teach it.

El Sakran and al-Gasim's attack on the religious curricula, presented at Medina, identifies various aspects which they argued could incite the students to violence against non-Muslims:[118] e.g.:

The polytheists' blood and money are halal (allowed). (Monotheism curriculum - secondary third level legislative section - 12).

Whoever says there is no God but Allah and Mohammad is the Messenger of Allah and does not leave the worshipping the dead and affection to the shrines, his blood and money are not prohibited. (Monotheism curriculum - secondary third level - legislative section - 18).

Those (who fall into Shirk), Allah has allowed his blood, money and family for the People of Monothesim, to take them as their slaves, as they left his worshipping. (Monotheism curriculum - secondary third level-legislative section -13).[119]

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[115]Arab New, 11 January 2015. http://www.arabnews.com/saudi-arabia/news/687701 and Gorman-Smith and Avery (1999) Family Factors and Youth Violence, in Flannery and Huff, (eds.) (1999) Youth Violence, p231.
[116]The term Islamo-Liberal from Lacroix, (2011) p247.
[117]Al-Rasheed, (2007) pp 9-11.
[118]El Sakran, and al-Gasim. Copy of paper given to this author by al-Gasim.

The authors argue that the language used within the curriculum through such phrases as shown above divert Saudi youth away from tolerance of and peaceful coexistence with other people and, by implication, potentially into violent jihad.[120] They express concern regarding the curriculum's coverage of 'contemporary intellectual trends,' whereby students were guided to resist more thoughtful lines of enquiry. An example used to demonstrate this refers to national and international relations and cooperation through cultural, economic and political means-- the concept of Arab union, contemporary Arab literature and cultural research projects.[121] However the curriculum portrayed a very negative image of any form of Arab nationalism, describing it as:-

Nationalist thinking drops religion from its consideration…yet it considers religion as an obstacle in the way of nationalism. (Hadith curriculum - secondary second level - legislative section - 205).

Belonging to ignorant parties and ethnic nationalism, is expiation and apostate from the religion of Islam. (Monotheism curriculum - secondary third level - legislative section 74).

In their conclusion El Sakran and al-Gasim reiterated that the religious curriculum was not fit for purpose. They called for a comprehensive review and overhaul, to enable the student to understand better what is expected of him. They called for the removal of those aspects that incited intolerance and hatred, and advocated promotion of values that are ethical, and an educational curriculum that would create socially responsible citizens in a modernizing Islamic society.

A report from Freedom House, (2006) also critiqued the curricula within the Saudi state system. This later report reinforced the findings of El Sakran and al-Qasim and demonstrated

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[119]Slavery in the Islamic world (i). 'The Qur'an accepts the institution of slavery. The Qur'an frequently uses the phrase ma malakat aymanukum "that which is yours to possess."' Forough Jahanbaksh, Islam and Religious Modernism in Iran. (1953-2000) (2001) (Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East and Asia;) (Vol. 77) and Lewis, B, (1990) Race and slavery in the Middle East, pp78-79, Marmon, (ed) (1999) Slavery in the Islamic Middle East. See also Markoff, (1996) p21 for how social movements in slave-owning in 19th century achieved the abolition of slavery.
[120]El Sakran, and al-Gasim, Religious Curricula. Where is the Defect? A Reading in the Jurisprudence of Dealing with the Other, Reality and Civilization in the Curricula, pp 6-9.
[121]ibid.

that 'the descriptions of the "other" –Muslim Deviants, Polytheists and Infidels in these Islamic studies textbooks do not comport with the picture of moderation and tolerance … These books continue to reflect a curriculum that inculcates religious hatred towards those that do not follow Wahhabi teaching.'[122] They expressed concern of the export of this ideology given that between 1981 and 2006 Saudi Arabia had spent US\$ 75 billion to indoctrinate the youth of external Sunni Muslim nations.

House, (2012) outlines that following 9/11 and the consequent external pressure for educational reform, Prince Abdulaziz bin Sattam advocated a strategy of 'more, rather than less' religious education in the curricula. He argued that only through teaching Islamic law could the hearts and minds of Saudi Arabia's youth be won and that the only way to show terrorists that what they were doing was wrong was through the persuasive force of 'the right religion.'[123] In this we hear echoes of the sacred and the profane, which Durkheim identifies as 'the central principles of a sociological theory of religion and …the most distinctive element of religious life.'[124]

7.7. Educators: The Most Valuable - The Least Valued

Whilst acknowledging curriculum changes that took place after 9/11, weak links in the education delivery chain appear to persist. Since teaching staff in the Kingdom enjoy neither status nor salaries that reflect the importance of the job that they perform, they do not receive the level of recognition given to those, for example in engineering, where Saudi graduates use the titles of Engineer before their names.[125] It was stated during this author's interview with a teacher that those in the profession are respected by Saudi society only for their qualities as a good human beings, and good Muslims, but never as a good educators.[126] Conditions of service for teachers are poor, so consequently the medical and engineering professions attract

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[122]Freedom House, (2006) Saudi Arabia's Curriculum of Intolerance. With excerpts from Saudi Ministry of Education Textbooks for Islamic Studies. Center for Religious Freedom of Freedom House. With the Institute for Gulf Affairs. Washington DC: https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/CurriculumOfIntolerance
[123]House, (2012) pp131-2
[124]Morrison, (2013) p424. See also Ashencaen Crabtree and Williams, (2010) in Mazawi and Sultana, (eds.) (2010) p202.
[125]It is common for engineering graduates to be addressed by the title 'Engineer.''
[126]Interview with Saudi High School teacher, Riyadh, 14 March 2013.

the highest caliber of graduates. With a career in education not an attractive option the admission criterion is flawed. For the academic year 2013/2014, classroom teachers in the State system received salaries starting at SR 8,600 (US$ 2293) per month, with an annual increment of SR 400 (US$ 107). Many supplemented this through private tuition outside of school hours.

However, in some of the 'for profit' private boys' schools, salaries are significantly lower than in State schools. An example from the Najd Province shows salaries paid to the Egyptians and Jordanians teachers of SR 2,100 (US$ 560) a month.[127] This is barely subsistence levels given the cost of living, and inflation in Saudi Arabia.[128] These expatriate teachers survive by living in poor residential areas and providing private tuition adding SR 1,000 (US$267) per month during the academic year. It was here that this author found men with loyalty to the Muslim Brotherhood, in groups that supported each other. As Hamid, (2011) described the Brotherhood as 'a State within a State,'[129] and as Dawisha, (2013) described it was engaged in 'nationwide charitable work and social welfare,'[130] here was as a microcosm of that 'sleeping giant.'[131] The Saudi staff members all received a similar salary level of SR 2,050 (US$ 549). However, Saudi teachers in private education receive a subsidy from the Government of SR 3,000 (US$ 800) per month. The poor remuneration for the Saudis and inequality in salary levels between Saudis and Other Nationals frequently results in a lack of motivation in both groups of teachers and an aggressive, intolerant attitude to students from the staff. Nevertheless, in this school expatriate teachers remained on contract for up twenty years, which indicates that the economic situation in their home countries is even harsher than in Saudi Arabia.

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[127]Interview with Egyptian and Jordanian/Palestinian High School teachers 15 March 2013, Riyadh.
[128](i)Inflation in the Kingdom during 2013 is quoted as 3.96% by the Ministry of Finance. Source:
http://www.arabnews.com/news/467279
(ii) During 2008 inflation peaked at 9.9%. 2009-5.1%. 2010-5.35%, 2011-5.0%, 2012-4.55%.
http://www.gdpinflation.com/2013/07/inflation-rate-in-saudi-arabia-from.html
Frontline, Interview with Shadi Hamid, 09 &12 February 2011. http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/revolution-in-cairo/interviews/shadi-hamid.html
[130]Dawisha, (2013) p162.
[131]Wickham, (2013) p157.

7.8. A PLAN FOR IMPROVEMENT

7.8.1. The Plan and Tatweer

The Ministry of Planning's Ninth Plan claims that the King Abdullah Public Education Development Project, (Tatweer) 'is a cornerstone of institutional and organizational development.' It identifies four core programmes.[132]

(i)   To modify and adapt the curriculum to meet the needs of a technical and scientific age.

(ii)   To re-qualify teachers.

(iii)   To update and improve information technology resources and tuition.

(iv)   To introduce and broaden the scope of extra curricula activities and hobbies to create better Saudi citizens.

The plan stresses that 'Raising the quality of education is the most important and most challenging issue for the Ninth Development Plan.'[133] Whilst the financial resources to meet this challenge have been allocated, Saudi State Schools remain with outdated, inadequate facilities, and demotivated teachers and students, and all require a more complex solution than just money. Whilst some schools such as those built by Aramco are high-quality, many others are rented and poorly maintained, with few resources for sport or extra-curricular activities.[134] Within state education, levels of skepticism are such that it will take a great deal to convince staff to believe they are experiencing a paradigm shift. If the teachers, administrators and students remain unconvinced of the overall quality of Saudi state education, the downward spiral will continue.

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[132]King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Development Project, authorized by Royal Order Number 1087/m (2007). Royal Decree M/75 licenses Tatweer, the holding company. Ninth Development Plan. 2010-2014, 391-392.
[133]Ibid.
[134]Interview with Saudi educator, 05 February 2013, Riyadh.

7.9. HIGHER EDUCATION IN SAUDI ARABIA: A FUTURE FRUSTRATION OR WORSE?

7.9.1. At Home

Following September 11, 2001, development of Saudi education became a government priority with expansion of programmes of Higher Education both in the Kingdom and abroad. By 2014 666,475 students were enrolled in Saudi Arabia's universities, but unless the education they receive prepares young people for employment this investment will be wasted.

During the period of the Eighth Plan, 152 new colleges were opened along with 12 university teaching hospitals and 12 universities, including the all-girl Princess Noura bint Abdulrahman University in Riyadh. To meet the tuition needs of this ever expanding intake of students to the new universities and colleges, a corresponding rise in faculty members in Higher Education has been necessary. By 2014 university teaching staff in the State sector numbered 41,927,[135] and full Saudization of executive and leadership roles, was a declared target of the Ninth Plan.[136] Mazawi, (2008) outlines the differing 'policy trajectories' taken by Saudi Arabia on one hand and other GCC countries on the other, with the GCC member states ' granting a greater share to campuses directly established by foreign universities.'[137]

However in spite of the Government's commitment to massive investment in Higher Education, all is not well within Saudi Arabia's universities according to Jawar, (2013).[138] She argues that university administrators take a very short-term view and want instant results, which in the longer term will do little to promote the knowledge based society that a post-rentier economy Kingdom will require. Leaders in business argue that universities neglect research and development to the detriment of Saudi commerce.[139] Furthermore Jawar alleges that 'Saudi Academia is awash in internal politics, fear, apathy, and jealousy, which stifle

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[135]Ministry of Higher Education (2014) University Statistics.
http://he.moe.gov.sa/en/studyinside/universitiesStatistics/Pages/faculties.aspx
[136]Ninth Development Plan, 22.2.5.4. p417.
[137]Mazawi, (2008) in Davidson and Smith, (2008) Higher Education in the Gulf States, pp63-64.
[138]Arab News, Thursday 14th February 2013.
[139]Niblock and Malik, (2007) p165.

intellectual growth.'[140]   She argues that University Administrators place such unreasonable demands to teach on their faculty members that they simply have no time to carry out the research they joined academia to undertake. Amri, (2011) identifies the weakness in the system arising out of centralized bureaucracy, and divisive conditions of service for Saudis and the high numbers of expatriates in faculties. Rewards packages favor the indigenous staff with resultant demotivation of the majority. Some specialties are offered to males only, thereby raising issues of 'social justice.'[141] Saudi female academics with experience of life in the West or East Asia are reluctant to enter a world where they will not enjoy academic or personal freedom.[142]   If Saudi academics forsake academia or the Kingdom itself, Saudi youth and society will be the losers.

7.9.2. Abroad

Since 2005 the King Abdullah Foreign Scholarships Programme has sent young men and women to study abroad. By November 2013, 47,000 graduates from universities outside of the Kingdom had returned home and a further five-year phase was approved by the King (to run until 2019) which will provide up to 120,000 more scholarships. In 2012, over 71,000 Saudi male and female students were studying in the United States representing 48.8% of the total students enrolled on the King Abdullah Scholarship Programme.   A further 74,519 (51.2%) were studying elsewhere in the world. Additionally, over 40 U.S. Companies are offering internships to Saudi students.[143] This factor of education abroad will be the most significant catalyst for change in the Kingdom according to one interviewee.[144]

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[140]Arab News, 14th February 2013.
[141]Al-Amri, 2011, *Journal of Higher Education Theory and Practice Vol.11 (4) 2011.*
[142]Arab News, 14th February 2013.
[143]Ministry of Higher Education. Saudi Arabian Cultural Mission to the United States.
[144]Interview with Abu Saad, senior professional, Riyadh, 20 January 2015.

7.10. Technical and Vocational Training in Saudi Arabia

Successful national development calls for an appropriate mix of skills to meet the diverse needs of a developing society. In Saudi Arabia it will also call for a shift in thinking and cultural norms. Not all those skilled jobs require degree-level education, but can be better served by a more practical technical and vocational training to diploma level. In Saudi Arabia the priority remains to meet the requirements of the labour market by providing an indigenous skilled workforce, thereby reducing youth unemployment and dependence upon expatriate labour. Criticism by potential employers of the quality of young people wishing to enter the private sector labour market has been attributed to failure of the education system. According to Niblock and Malik, (2007) and Hertog, (2010), the Saudi private sector demands a workforce with greater technical and practical skill than is presently produced by the educational system.[145] To meet this demand, the responsibility for the provision of skills training transferred to the Technical and Vocational Training Corporation (TVTC) in 2007 having previously operated from within the Ministry of Labour.[146]

An example of a successful vocational scheme is that undertaken by BAE Systems and SDT in support of the Royal Saudi Air Force at the King Faisal Air base at Tabuk and the King Faisal Air Academy.[147] There young Saudi trained as aircraft maintenance technicians under the Saudi National Technical Training Programme in support of the national agenda for Saudization.

The Ninth Development Plan states that females were offered opportunities to learn technical skills as the programme works towards meeting the needs of the labour market. However, closer examination of the statistics show that 191,000 new male entrants entered into training in 2004, but only 19,000 females started training. Whilst the male entry doubled by 2008, the female entry rose by only 2,000 to 21,000. Furthermore whilst the ratio of trainer to trainee improved marginally over the same period for males in technical colleges from 1/16 to 1/15,

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[145]Niblock and Malik, (2007) p229, and Hertog, (2010) p256.
[146]Ninth Development Plan 2010-2014. 22.3.1. p418.
[147]See Shoult, (2006) Doing Business in Saudi Arabia p442.

and in Industrial Vocational Institutes from 1/10 to 1/8, for those in Higher Technical Institutes for Girls the ratio deteriorated from 1/25 to 1/35. In 2008 the capacity failed to meet the demand since only 34% of males applying to join the programme for technical training could be accommodated and for young women this figure was a mere 8%. Under the Eighth Plan only half of those applying to join the vocational programme were successful in being accepted into training.   Consequently an objective of the Ninth Development plan was for the introduction of new technical colleges for male students and higher technical institutes for girls, and colleges for technical training across the regions.

7.11. CONCLUSION

Education with its secondary aim of eliminating radicalization remains contested terrain, even though increased investment should better prepare Saudi Arabia's youth bulge for the demands of the labour market, whilst detracting them from straying into deviant ways. However, unemployment remains a concern for all, particularly for half of the population, within a country divided over what the role of women should be.   The changes in Higher Education at home, and the large numbers of students on the King Abdullah Scholarship Programme studying in the United States, should go some way to changing the attitudes and perceptions that Saudis have of the West and that Americans have of Saudi Arabia. However, we have seen that the vast majority of the Saudi youth bulge did not take the road to terrorism even before 9/11, and yet in spite of massive investment and educational reform we still receive reports of young Saudis joining DAESH. The question then remains did the reform measures taken to eradicate terrorism address the wrong problem? If the numbers who went to jihad in the 1980s and 1990s were numbered in thousands, those who took to terrorism were numbered in hundreds, yet today those who have gone to Iraq and Syria number about 4000 and we see chaos in the Levant and DAESH-inspired murder on the streets of the Kingdom, we must ask what has changed? Did the required solution need to be much more

surgical?   Did Saudi Arabia, bullied by the West, set-off chasing America's imaginary villain

instead of their own?

CHAPTER 8

THE SAUDI YOUTH BULGE - AN ENIGMA

'The Youth of a Nation are the Trustees of Posterity.'[1]

8.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews issues that are important to the Saudi youth bulge, and seeks to gauge their mood whilst gaining a clearer understanding of what life is like for these young people who make up nearly seventy per cent of the population, and upon whom the Kingdom's future depends.[2] It explores issues that affect them with the aim of understanding what influences young lives, and what it means to be Saudi in 2015, and also seeks factors that might alienate young people from society. It is dealt with in three main subsections: of employment, youth culture, and ofland and housing. The first looks at both employment and the impact of unemployment, the government/private sector divide, and the contentious issue of expatriate workers comprising a third of the total population. It considers the expanding role of young women coming into the job market and the challenges this brings and considers the expectations that young Saudis have from work and issues of motivation. The second sub-section looks at a broad range of issues confronting young people and how they deal with these, along with how both males and females exist within a segregated society. The final section explores issues of housing and land, since next to concerns over unemployment this is one of the greatest concerns for Saudi youth. It investigates why land prices are so high, and why in a country where the population is not taxed, many remain unable to buy their own home. Underpinning this chapter, is the continuing quest to attempt to identify those factors that have enticed a few into terrorism whilst the majorityhave not been. A broad series of interviews by this author with young people across the Kingdom and review of Saudi current

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[1]Benjamin Disraeli, 1804-1881.
[2]Arab News, 06 June 2015.See also Murphy, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Middle East Programme Winter 2. 2011, Saudi Arabia's Youth and the Kingdom's Future, p1. http://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/saudi-arabia%E2%80%99s-youth-and-the-kingdom%E2%80%99s-future-winter-2011

affairs reveals that their priorities outside of the all-important family unit and their Islamic faith are for a good job, security, housing and a good marriage. Yamani, (1997) stated 'the prophet Mohammad (pbuh) brought a message of love and tolerance that is very much part of our present lives….We must ensure that this message is never altered by our human weakness, for its purity is essential to our balance and satisfaction as individuals and as society.'[3] The next two decades were to test the strength of Saudi society as its image was besmirched by small numbers of its youth bulge. Consequently, herein we explore the issues and culture of youth within the complex framework of a modernizing Saudi society, as it seeks to rebuild its image on the international stage.

8.2. EMPLOYMENT

8.2.1. The Spectre of Unemployment - Discontented Youth and the Arab Spring

A paper from the G20 identifies Saudi Arabia's employment challenges as high-youth unemployment, the lack of competiveness between Saudis and expatriates, and under-utilization of human resources, specifically only 20.1% of women of working age being in employment.[4] According to this author's interviewees, employment for young people is the most pressing of the issues confronting the Saudi youth bulge and for their parents also.[5] Whilst on a daily basis they may be confronted by images of war with DAESH in the north and the Houthis of Yemen in the South, for those that do not have work, concerns over employment are ever present and the most personal. For those who are educated, yet unemployed and largely dependent upon parents, they exist in an economic and social dimension of frustration.[6] This author's interviewees state that unemployment is simply a major part of an even bigger problem within society for Saudi youth, because they have little

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[3]Yamani, (1997) To be a Saudi, p154.
[4]G20 Employment Plan, 2014 : Saudi Arabia. https://g20.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/g20_employment_plan_saudi_arabia.pdf Arab News, 03 September 2015. Jobs for women top priority. http://www.Arabnews.com/saudi-arabia/news/800866
[5]Interviews with: (i) Ahmed, Sulaiman and Faisal (late 20s) private sector professionals, Riyadh, 15 January 2013. (ii) Thamer, project manager, age 32, Riyadh 16 January 2013.
[6]Author's interviews with Hamed, Ahmed, Mutlaq and Rashid, unemployed graduates educated in the US and Canada, Riyadh 12 February 2014.

to do outside of work and if they have no job the problem is exacerbated. For the unemployed, depression is commonplace and these are those people most likely to fall susceptible to crime, drug abuse and religious extremism.[7] Allat and Yeandle, (1992) argue that during the years between childhood and adulthood 'personal lives and public arenas intersect', and it is during this period that 'the effects of the conjuncture are heightened.'[8] Honwana uses the term *Waithood* for the period that young people experience whilst being young adults but remaining dependent on their parents as a result of lack of employment opportunities. With their inability to acquire those necessities of adulthood, their own homes, marriage, and recognition as an adult and a full citizen, means that they cannot become independent adults in their own right. Crediting Singerman, (2007) and Dhillon and Yousef, (2009) as the originators of the concept of *Waithood*, she argues that the fault does not lie with the youth themselves but is a consequence of 'a break down in the socio-economic system' and 'what is broken is the social contract between the State and its citizens.'[9] She concludes that 'this generation in waithood appears to be losing fear and openly defying dictatorships, autocratic governments and political repression.'[10]

Whilst revolution may have been the reaction to repression and economic deprivationin other Arab countries after 2010, al-Tamamy (2014) argues that for Saudi Arabia the Arab Spring was 'merely a milestone' along with many others experienced since the first Gulf War since it has been a 'Kingdom in transition through evolution not revolution.'[11] So what exactly is it that has made Saudi Arabia exceptional? Why did Saudi Arabia's youth not rise up against their rulers in the wake of events in across the Arab world? Al-Rasheed, (2014) seems to argue that perhaps Saudi youth are not as exceptional, or as disinterested in politics as might first

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[7]Author's interview with Abdullah, 24, graduate from USA, unemployed, being treated for depression with history of drug abuse. Riyadh, 04 October 2013. See also Ministry of Health Portal, Combatting Drug Addiction.
http://www.moh.gov.sa/en/HealthAwareness/Campaigns/Antidrug/Pages/default.aspx
[8]Allat and Yeandle, 1992, p.1.
[9]Honwana, "Waithood": Youth Transitions and Social Change. Response to Syed Mansoob Murshed and Honwana, A., 2013. International African Institute (IAI) – Lugard Lecture 2013, p.26.
[10]Ibid.
[11] Al Tamamy, (2014) Saudi Arabia and the Arab Spring: Opportunities and Challenges of Security, in Furtig, (2014) Regional Powers in the Middle East, p192.

appear.[12] She argues that discontent within the Kingdom's youth presents an even greater challenge to the Saudi government than open revolution. She reports on social media postings of young people both male and female voicing their frustrations, couched within a framework of Islamic rhetoric attempting to emulate the legitimacy afforded by a religious foundation as claimed by government. She describes how they openly display their identities as they call for a share in the Kingdom's prosperity and openly mock the Ulama. Consequently, that there are elements of dissent across the Kingdom is irrefuteable and there for all to see since social media presents a platform upon which all may air grievances or simply express opinions. However, an important question is how this dissent may be quantified and measured and does it present any real threat to the state and equilibrium of society? Just how many of the Kingdom's youth want dramatic political change? This author's research within the Saudi Arabia as late as the first quarter of 2016 does not reveal any widespread levels of revolutionary inclination. In interviews with young Saudi males they expressed no desire for radical or violent change.[13] Most drew attention the stability of monarchies through the region during the Arab Spring and how this system of government suited their society better than any other. All mentioned affection and in some case declared a love for the late King Abdullah and an appreciation for his steadfast attempts to reduce corruption. Some did state that they believed that had King Fahd been on the throne during the last decade that protests may well have been more overt. Support for the triumvirate of King Salman, Crown Prince Mohammed bin Naif and Deputy Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman appears unwavering with the military and the people firmly behind them. Their decision to go to war against the Houthis in Yemen and DAESH along with a quest for regional hegemony and leadership of the Islamic world sits comfortably with the Saudi people as of Spring 2016. One interviewee suggested that he believed that prior to the Arab Spring perhaps as many as 20% of the Saudi youth might have identified with movements for radical change though had little idea of what

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[12] Al-Rasheed, Al-Monitor, 09 April 2014, Marginalized Saudi Youth launch virtual protests. http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/04/saudi-protest-youtube-social-media-economy.html
[13] Interview with young employed Saudi males Riyadh, 17 & 18 February and 4 March 2016.

the alternative to the al-Saud dynasty might be. Now he ventured that support for that had all but disappeared. Timing was everything and all could see how the euphoria of the uprisings faded with the reality of post and counter-revolutionary times and the misery that followed. As one interview stated, 'we saw what happened elsewhere and dissidents who criticize from outside the Kingdom offer no viable alternative, we are not ready for Western style democracy and we don't want that anyway, so what do they have to offer us? Before the failure of the Arab Spring some people here did take notice to Saudi voices from outside, but what impact they had, has vaporized.'[14] Another interviewee passionately argued, 'we see the chaos in the Levant, and the refugees migrating into Europe, see how they are blocked at national borders, have nothing, no future, their children drowned crossing the Mediterranean or starving on the march and we want none of that. Life may not be perfect for us Saudis but it is not bad for most of us. For us family unity is everything and we have no wish to see them broken up and displaced by civil war and for what? Democracy? It did not work in Egypt Tunisia and Iraq and Syria are in ruins, why does anyone think it will work here?'[15]

Kabeli (2014) argues that it is misguided to attempt to compare the states of the Arab Spring with those in the Gulf Region.   He argues that they are totally different both historically and economically. The primary challenges are not from outside the Kingdom but are those internal economic challenges confronting the youth.[16] He identifies that the 'youth start to feel helpless and hopeless as reality drives them further away from their hopes and aspirations.'[17] He suggests that a further threat comes from the Saudi tendency to compare their own economic situations with those of their neighbours throughout the Gulf Cooperation Council area. They see the achievements of the governments of the UAE and expect similar standards of living. Kabeli argues that to achieve this aspiration demands a radical restructuring of the Saudi economy and efficient public administration system to put new laws and policies into

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[14] Interview with Ahmed, Professional 20s 06 March 2016. Riyadh.
[15] Interview with Abdulrahman, Professional, 07 March 2016. Riyadh
[16] At the date of this article, 30 January 2014, Saudi Arabia was not at war with the Houthis in Yemen and its support of the Syrian Opposition had not then escalated into open war with DAESH (ISIL) Islamic State in the Levant.
[17] Kabeli, 30 January 2014, Saudi Arabia faces more immediate threats than Arab Spring. http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/security/2014/01/arab-spring-threat-saudi-arabia.html#

operation. He continues that those suggesting an imminent Arab Spring in Saudi Arabia do not understand 'the reality of the street.'[18] He further suggests that the real threat comes from the facing the realities of required economic reform. What he infers but does not explicitly state is that economic reform and comparable standards of living to those across the GCC will demand that reform is not just of economics but of society. In an ultra-conservative society that may prove to be a price too high for most Saudis to pay.

It is unsurprising that that the Saudi youth bulge is frustrated and confused since the issues of employment within Saudi Arabia are complex and riddled with contradictions and paradoxes. With a saturated government sector, private enterprise reluctant to employ its own nationals in spite of an aggressive government programme of Saudization, the role of 'wasta'[19] in the allocation of job opportunities, to an ever-increasing expatriate population, the picture is one of confusion. Habermas projects a theory of social evolution to counter Marx's argument that 'outside Europe oriental societies are stagnating.'[20] Habermas challenges the level of importance that Marx places upon the economy as the 'base of society,' instead arguing that it 'may shift between different institutions including the family and state',[21] and in Saudi Arabia the family and state predominate. Whereas Marx envisages humanity in terms of units of labour, Habermas defines the weakness within Marx's philosophy as being that labour alone is incapable of bringing about social change. That can only be done through human agency, since the ability to communicate is a prerequisite for all actions including 'revolutionary groups, political parties, armies or whatever.'[22]

Youth bulge theory is predicated in part on a lack of economic opportunities,[23] and for most of the youth of Saudi Arabia this means jobs. Assad and Roudi-Fahimi, (2007) identify that

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[18] Ibid., p2. n.b. This is probably a fair representation of the Sunni majority but less so of the mostly Eastern Province Shia minority. See Foreign Affairs, 13 October 2013, Bradley, Saudi Arabia's Invisible Hand in the Arab Spring.
[19] Wasta, system of influence, by which jobs or other sought-after requirements are distributed through patronage. Those disadvantaged through lack of access to wasta, argue this is corruption.
[20] Edgar, (2006) Habermas, p63.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid., p64.
[23] Urdal, 2004, The Devil in the Demographics: The Effect of Youth Bulges on Domestic Armed Conflict 1950-2000. p8. Urdal, 2005, A Clash of Generations, p612. Urdal and Hoelscher, (2008), Urban Youth Bulges and Social Disorder: An Empirical study of Asian

throughout the MENA region unemployment rates are the highest in the world as a result of the youth bulge, and more women joining the workforce[24] but the extent of the Saudi unemployment problem and the accuracy of reporting of related statistics is contentious. The International Monetary Fund reports that official Saudi employment statistics may be distorted by various factors including, for example, large numbers of illegal expatriate workers.[25] What is clear is that there is no universal agreement on what the unemployment rate really is. One source argues that Saudi Arabia's unemployment problem is 'a ticking time bomb,'[26] with another seeing it as 'a major challenge for the new King Salman.'[27] Conversely, the Chairman of Asharqia Chamber, Abdulrahman al-Rashid, argues that the Saudi unemployment rate is exaggerated, citing that when interviewing for 800 jobs, 90% of the 7000 applicants were already in employment.[28]

In interviews with both young men and employers, it was clear that both these groups believe the unemployment across the Kingdom to be higher than the figures released by the Department of Statistics and information shown below in Figure 8.1.[29] A Human Resources Director with an international corporation suggested that the figures might be a reasonably accurate representation from data received but expressed doubts whether the Government was able to obtain accurate statistics due to the private sector's attempts to obscure Saudization levels.[30] He further suggested that even if the figures were correct, he suspected that many of those employed were not happy in the jobs they were obliged to take.

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and Sub-Saharan African Cities p18. Population Media Center, 07 January 2014. Is Youth Bulge a Crucial Determinant of Stability? https://www.populationmedia.org/2014/01/07/is-youth-bulge-a-crucial-determinant-of-stability/

[24]Assaad and Roudi-Fahimi, (2007) Population Reference Bureau. Youth in the Middle East and North Africa: Demographic Opportunity or Challenge. http://www.prb.org/pdf07/youthinmena.pdf

[25]International Monetary Fund. IMF Country Report No. 13/230, Fleischaker et al, 24 June 2013. Selected Issues. https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2013/cr13230.pdf

[26]Muftah.org 09 September 2013, Unemployment in Saudi Arabia: A Ticking Time Bomb. http://muftah.org/unemployment-in-saudi-arabia-a-ticking-time-bomb/ IMF https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2013/cr13230.pdf

[27]International Business Times, 23 January 2015, Saudi Arabia's Youth Unemployment Problem Among Many New Challenges for King Salman. http://www.ibtimes.com/saudi-arabias-youth-unemployment-problem-among-king-salmans-many-new-challenges-after-1793346

[28]Arab News, 09 January 2014, Saudi unemployment rate is 'exaggerated.'

[29]Interviews with Majed, Saud, Abdullatif and Omar, Senior private sector executives Riyadh 04 December, 2014.

[30]Interview with Salah, HR Executive, Riyadh 07 June 2015.

8.2.2. Case Study: Technical Training and the Impact of Social Media

In early 2015 a contractor was instructed to recruit 500 young High School graduates to fill a technician training programme for Tornado aircraft maintenance at Dhahran.[31] Through the use of standard recruitment methodology, advertising in the national press and the company's own website, 1,400 candidates were identified with varying standards of education. Disappointed at the level of response, the customer undertook an alternative approach to test the market. A small in-house team of two young Saudis took to social media and results were as astonishing as they were instantaneous. Within days, 49,242 applications were received and this figure finally rose to over 52,000. Not only were the numbers unexpected but the quality and educational standards of many the applicants were very high with large proportion having English language skills (IELTS) of 5.0 and above, meaning that little language training was required.[32]

This result demonstrates a number of things. First, there are large numbers of young high-school graduates looking for jobs, which questions official low unemployment statistics. Second, social media is clearly the way to reach out to the Saudi youth and even major corporations need to adapt if they wish to remain competitive in the search for the best talent. The failure of the recruitment campaign outlined above is not without precedent. The Training and Recruitment Centre at the Riyadh Chamber of Commerce and Industry reported in June 2014 that it had on its books 11,751 job vacancies within 70 private sector companies.[33] Whilst starting salaries ranged from SR 4,000 to SR 10,000 in a wide range of disciplines including engineering, accountancy and finance, hospitality, customer service, security and marketing, only 1,760 applications were received. This reluctance on the part of young Saudis was reported by an 'economics expert', as a result of job seekers holding the perception that

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[31]Tornado is a front-line strike aircraft which forms a significant part of the RSAF's air-defence capability.
[32]British Council http://takeielts.britishcouncil.org/find-out-about-results/understand-your-ielts-scores
[33]Arab News, 16 June 2014. http://www.arabnews.com/news/587506

these jobs and salaries did not match their capabilities, aspirations, or educational qualifications,[34] but perhaps as identified above recruitment methodologies may be flawed.

What the social media recruitment campaign clearly illustrates is that 'Saudi Arabia is no longer quite 'the closed country it used to be,' nor is the 'mudir syndrome' as all pervasive as it was.[35] In an interview with Saudi aircraft technicians, the discussion explored why such huge numbers of young men would apply for skilled, technical but nevertheless blue collar jobs given the statement above.[36] The answer was unanimous and unequivocal. It was all about money. A Saudi technician working for that international aerospace corporation company earns more than a newly-qualified doctor working in State hospitals, and whilst the medical profession afforded status, these young men could be earning significant salaries barely eighteen months out of high school.[37] This short-case study demonstrates the power of social media across the Kingdom and that this generation of young people now also have a medium by which to have their voices heard. *Twitter* has been adjudged to be 'an essential and irreplaceable artery of life,' across the Kingdom since it offers greater freedom as a reporting platform than available 'through traditional media outlets.'[38] This generation is more outspoken than any in Saudi history and technology had given it the platform. However, young job seekers are not the only ones taking advantage of social media to air their views. Schanzer and Miller, (2012) report that various activists have had their accounts blocked by the state, whilst *Twitter* announced that 'it would initiate country-specific 'tweet' censorship in countries with different norms of the freedom of expression and might find it difficult to operate incountries such as Saudi Arabia.[39] Three years on from *Twitter*'s statement of 2012, it remains a platform for youth, Ulama and activists alike.

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[34]Ibid.

[35]Champion, (2003) p17. See Patai, (2002) p207.

[36]Interview with Saudi aircraft technicians, Riyadh 02 July 2015. These young men did not see technical blue-collar jobs as a hurdle to marriage so long as salaries were high. See Arab News, 26 April 2015, Why young Saudi turn down blue-collar jobs. Http://www.arabnews.com/news/737901

[37]Aircraft technicians earn around SR 18,000 per month ($US 4,800) upon qualification and assignment. See Castells (2010) p239, The Transformation of Work.

[38]Arab News, 30 January 2014 reports on social media research carried out at University of Bedford by Saudi Masters Graduate Abdullah al-Rakf.

[39]Schanzer and Miller, (2012) pp46-47.

8.2.3. Nationalization, Saudization to Nitaqat

According to Viola, (1986) the term 'Saudization' became part of the vocabulary of economics in the late 1970s,[40] however, this author states from experience that it was a term in general use as early as 1973.[41] On 11 June 2011, the Ministry of Labour announced the new Saudization programme as a declared strategic objective for the Saudi government, and is has become a challenge for the private sector[42] as the government acknowledged the importance of employing its youth bulge.[43] It is publicly supported by such organizations as Saudi Aramco who offer their suppliers a '10% premium' for a minimum Saudization rate with a target of 45% by 2016.[44] However, not all in the private sector share the government's enthusiasm for Saudization and the high labour cost associated with it. A Riyadh entrepreneur confided that his company paid family members token salaries to bolster the company's Saudization quotas

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[40]Viola, (1986) Human Resources Development in Saudi Arabia: Multinationals and Saudization, p77.
[41]Author's personal experience of working on Saudization programmes from 1973.
[42]Saudi Gazette, 12 June 2011. http://www.saudigazette.com.sa/index.cfm?method=home.regcon&contentid=20110612102830
[43]Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 01 October 2012. Ministry of Labour Highlights Importance of Saudi Employment Strategy, http://www.mofa.gov.sa/sites/mofaen/ServicesAndInformation/news/GovernmentNews/Pages/NewsArticleID96997.aspxSee also Jordan, (2011) p77.
[44]Saudi Aramco: Saudization, http://www.saudiaramco.com/en/home/opportunities/contracting-services/saudization.html

معدل البطالة ربع السنوي (15 سنة فأكثر) حسب الجنس

Quarterly Unemployment Rates (15 years and Above) by Sex

		الجملةTotal			سعودي غير Non_Saudi			سعوديSaudi		
		جملة Total	إناث Female	ذكور Male	جملة Total	إناث Female	ذكور Male	جملة Total	إناث Female	ذكور Male	
	First Quarter	**5.7**	19.8	3.2	**0.5**	0.9	0.4	**12.2**	34.0	6.9	الربع الأول	
	Second Quarter	**5.6**	20.8	2.8	**0.2**	0.3	0.2	**12.1**	35.1	6.4	الربع الثاني	
2012	Third Quarter	**5.5**	21.3	2.7	**0.1**	0.1	0.1	**12.1**	35.7	6.1	الربع الثالث	2012
	Fourth Quarter	**5.4**	21.2	2.6	**0.1**	0.2	0.1	**12.0**	35.7	6.0	الربع الرابع	
	First Quarter	**5.8**	22.1	2.9	**0.4**	1.7	0.2	**12.0**	34.8	6.3	الربع الأول	
	Second Quarter	**5.7**	21.4	2.8	**0.3**	1.1	0.2	**11.8**	34.0	6.2	الربع الثاني	
2013	Third Quarter	**5.6**	20.7	2.8	**0.2**	0.6	0.1	**11.7**	33.2	6.1	الربع الثالث	2013
	Fourth Quarter	**5.5**	20.1	2.8	**0.2**	0.6	0.1	**11.5**	32.1	6.1	الربع الرابع	
	First Quarter	**6.0**	22.3	3.0	**0.7**	2.0	0.6	**11.8**	33.3	6.0	الربع الأول	
	Second Quarter	**5.9**	21.9	2.8	**0.5**	1.4	0.4	**11.8**	33.0	5.9	الربع الثاني	
2014	Third Quarter	**5.7**	21.6	2.8	**0.3**	1.0	0.2	**11.7**	32.8	5.9	الربع الثالث	2014
	Fourth Quarter	**5.7**	21.4	2.7	**0.3**	1.0	0.2	**11.6**	32.5	5.9	الربع الرابع	

Figure 8.1. Source: Central Department of Statistics and Information

and to ensure that they stayed in the 'Excellent' or 'Green' sector of the Nitaqat programme,[45] even though the Ministry of Labor warns companies that they risk fines of up to SR 100,000 and two years in prison if prosecuted.[46] The programme requires all qualifying companies to employ at least 30% Saudi nationals in their workforce, a legal requirement unpopular with the larger private sector companies. Those that fail to comply and fall within the yellow and red bands, suffer penalties in regard to the issue and transfers of workers' visas and renewal of iqamas.[47] Young interviewees stated that they were bitter that their own people put profit before the welfare and development of the Kingdom's youth, with 87% of young people surveyed agreeing that most expatriates were employed in preference to Saudis because they were cheaper.[48] Malik and Niblock's (2005) argument that the Saudi government's policy to force the private sector to employ more Saudis is flawed as a long-term strategy may in part, be credible. For example, the SR 60 billion Saudi gold and jewellery market is reported to be collapsing due to a lack of skilled workers[49] following the requirement for 100% Saudization of the industry[50] and much of it has already transferred to Dubai.[51] However, Malik and Niblock appear to overlook that the objective of nationalization has as much to do with social issues and culture as it has with economics.[52] Their suggestion for Saudis and expatriates to compete for work under the same terms and in effect increase the cost of expatriate labour appears naïve, overly ambitious, and viewed only from the perspective of economists, lacking any real understanding of Saudi culture. A decade on and their suggestion that improvements may come about for expatriate labour 'naturally by allowing more scope for labour organization' is totally unrealistic, and as far away in 2015 as it was then a decade ago, since Western solutions do not always fit the Oriental model. Champion, (2003) suggests that Western academics

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[45]Interview with Abu Yasser, partner in medium sized family company, 26 October 2014. Riyadh. For detail on Nitaqat programme, see Saudi Hollandi Capital. Labour and the Nitaqat programme: Translation of Nitaqat – Range, Scope. http://shc.com.sa/en/PDF/RESEARCH/Labor%20and%20The%20Nitaqat%20Program.pdf
[46]Arab News, 29 October2013. http://www.arabnews.com/news/469195
[47]Iqamas – residence permits.
[48](i)Interviews with Saad, Saeed, Mohammed, part time security guards, part time taxi drivers, university students. Riyadh March 11 2014. (ii) On line Survey results 62.02% strongly agreed, 25.52 partially agreed.
[49]In on-line survey 87.48% stated they were skilled.
[50]Arab News, 16 June 2014, Less Saudization urged to retain glitter in gold. http://www.arabnews.com/news/587516 See also Coates Ulrichsen, (2011) in Davidson (ed) pp 63-88, p76-77.
[51]Interview with Zareef, Pakistani goldsmith, now employed as driver. Riyadh, 11 August 2013.
[52]Malik and Niblock, (2005) Saudi Arabia's Economy in Aarts and Nonneman, (2005) p108.

generally fail to understand the complexities of 'organic interactions between Saudi society, *Muwahhid* Islam*,* Arabian *asabiyya* tribalism and extended family network, and the importance of traditions and between all these and an authoritarian, religio-political ruling family.' Similarly, Patai states:

> 'In order properly to evaluate what Middle Eastern cultures will *"willingly accept"* from the embarrassingly rich storehouses of Western civilization, a better and sounder understanding ofMiddle Eastern culture *must first be acquired…* In brief, the only way in which *the Gordian knot of resistance* to Westernization in the Middle East *can be unraveled* is that of studying the Middle East, *of obtaining a fuller picture* of its traditional culture, a better understanding of *the processes of change taking place* in it at present, and a *deeper insight* into the psychology of human groups brought up in Middle Eastern culture.'[53]

Niblock and Malik, (2007) report the attitude of Saudi private sector employers to the employment of Saudis in their workforce.[54] They cite a (1996) report from Saudi Development and Training[55] that outlines the reason why the private sector prefers to employ expatriate labour as being due to their compliance, cost and work ethic. However as Patai argued above, it is necessary to understand the Middle East and in this case Saudi Arabia in particular or as an earlier author stated:

> 'Do not try to do too much with your own hands. Better the Arabs do it tolerably than you do it perfectly. It is their war, and you are to help them, not to win it for them. Actually, also under the very odd conditions of Arabia, your practical work will not be as good as, perhaps, you think it is.'[56]

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[53]Patai, (1971) Society Culture ad Change in the Middle East, p406.
[54]In on-line survey 66.67 % agreed that the Government should force the Private sector to employ more Saudis and 21.99% partially agreed.
[55]Now BAE Systems SDT.
[56]World War I Document Archives: The Arab Bulletin, No. 60, 20 August 1917, T.E. Lawrence 27 Articles.

As in everything in Saudi Arabia, issues surrounding employment are complex and rarely as they may seem. The Minister of Labour, Adel Fakeih announced that Nitaqat had been instrumental in reducing unemployment rates among Saudis from 12.4% to 11.7% in the third quarter of 2013, with more than a million having their salaries raised by SR 3,000 or more.'[57] However, a study commissioned for the 6th Riyadh Economic Forum (9-11, December 2013) showed that 78.7% of private sector companies are situated in the 'white category' for Nitaqat, therefore needing only to employ one Saudi whilst expatriates constitute 84.5% of the total workforce.[58] Just three months later the Ministry of Labour reported that 87% of private sector companies fell outside of the Nitaqat programme, and consequently 1.7 million private enterprises were excluded with only 265 included. A 6% rise in just three months indicates either a failing programme or inaccurate data. Nevertheless, by February 2015 Nitaqat was heralded as a success, having brought down unemployment to 11.7% (5.9% for men and 32.5% for women).[59] In terms of numbers of people this equates to 258,000 men and 392,000 women, but again the figures are contentious since there appears to be discrepancies between the number of people counted as unemployed and those that claim Hafiz[60] job seekers benefits which some see as a gift from the King.[61]

The views on the Kingdom's youth on the issue of unemployment, appropriate employment and expatriate labour seems paradoxical, as most seem to resent the presence of expatriates and aspire to take over the better jobs, whilst content to have jobs that they do not want, done by foreign labour, so long as these are confined to work sites and closed camps.[62] This is a view reflected in Yamani's interviews where she identified increasing resentment of expatriates by Saudi youth, which she stated was manifested in 'antagonism and racism,'[63] and Clarke, (2003) states that 'the word "race" has been associated with ideas of inferiority and

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[57]Arab News, 26 December 2013. 'Fakeih: Nitaqat leads to hike in salaries for Saudis.'http://www.arabnews.com/news/498656
[58]Arab News, 26 November 2013. 'Nitaqat.'http://www.arabnews.com/news/483301
[59]Arab News, 16 February 2015. 'Saudi jobless rate down to 11.7%: Nitaqat pays off.'http://www.arabnews.com/news/705241
[60]In on-line survey 81.23% stated Hafiz should be paid until a suitable job is found.
[61]Arab News, 27 November 2013.' Hafiz being abused by educated idle women.'http://www.arabnews.com/news/483821
[62]Interviews with Ahmed, Sulaiman, Yasser, Abdullillah, Mansour, Nasser, trainees, Riyadh 04 June 2014.
[63]Yamani, (2000) p147. See Kumar, (2012) pp41-42 in which she argues that racism has been ever present in the US and that 9/11 simply increased the level of Islamaphobia.

superiority, hierarchy and persecution.'[64] These views are often further reflected on comments

blogs to articles published in Saudi newspapers.[65] An article about the programme *Jobs on Air*

transmitted on al-Danah network reported that a single episode offered 3,000 job vacancies

for both male and female Saudi youth.[66] It further offered opportunities for young people to

start their own businesses through linking aspiring entrepreneurs with sponsors. In an on-line

employment survey carried out by this author, 66.84% of 1152 respondents said they would

consider starting their own business funded through an interest free loan from the

government.[67]

8.3. YOUTH IN A SEGREGATED SOCIETY

8.3.1. Issues for Saudi Females

Saudi society is segregated, 'built around tribal and Islamic affiliations', whilst being 'a unique

mix between religion and culture.'[68] This presents its own challenges to both genders as they

seek their own identities within the constraints of the expectations of family and society, and

young Saudi men and women find their own ways to be happy in one of the world's most

closed societies.[69]

Hamdan, (2005) argues that issues regarding women's education and social and political issues

are inextricably linked, and impact Saudi society as a whole. She takes perhaps an unexpected

view of the impact of women's education, arguing that rather than promote the emancipation

of women it 'serves as a force for conservation.'[70] She continues that the educational system

reinforces 'class and gender structures and conforms to socio-economic and political

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[64]Clarke, (2003) p12.
[65]Saudi Gazette, 06 January 2014,
http://www.saudigazette.com.sa/index.cfm?method=home.regcon&contentid=20140106191592
[66]Arab News, 01 March 2015. '3,000 vacancies to be available in next episode of Jobs on Air.'
[67]This author's on-line employment survey 82.31% of respondents stated they were qualified to take over a job from a Western expatriate whilst only 3.71% said they were not.
[68]Al Hareth et al., Review of Women and society in Saudi Arabia. *American Journal of Educational Research,*2015, Vol 3. No.2, 121-125.
[69]Ballen, Terrorists in Love (2011) p4. See also Ahmed, (2002) Discovering Islam: Making Sense of Muslim History and Society, p154.
[70]Hamdan, Women and Education in Saudi Arabia: Challenges and Achievements. International Education Journal, 2005, 6 (1), 42-64, p60.

expectations and control mechanisms.'[71] Le Renard's research in Riyadh appears to reveal differing results. She describes how this generation has been freed by education from marriage 'at fourteen or fifteen' and a life of illiteracy as experienced by many of their mothers' generation.[72] This author's own research discovered a generation of women full of enthusiasm for what they were doing, although most of these interviewees were employed. They demonstrated a determination to excel and created their own space through common interests such at literary clubs and business. It was striking that all female interviewees loved to read, one saying she aimed to read sixty books a year whereas young men expressed little interest in reading literature.[73] Similarly they all loved to go to work, for the social interaction, and the professional satisfaction of contributing to society whilst pushing back the barriers of social norms. Finally, they welcomed the financial independence that employment gave them, along with the satisfaction of being able to contribute in less well off families and contribute zakat.[74] Two young interviewees explained how they were jointly supporting a seven-year-old Syrian girl in a Bekaa valley refugee camp and how they wanted to help with her education. This, they said, made going to work even more worthwhile and that this sponsorship was much more personal than simply contributing to funds which are probably managed by corrupt officials.[75] Crompton and Sanderson, (1990) suggest that 'cultural beliefs about gender and work will obviously have an important impact on women's and men's employment,' and the belief that men are superior to, or should dominate women, underpins much vertical segregation,'[76] and throughout the Kingdom the view persists that women's primary role is that of good wife and mother.[77]

In a discussion over how unemployed young women spent their time, interviewees stated that unemployment did appear to cause various health issues, from depression to obesity and

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[71]Ibid.
[72]Le Renard, (2014) A Society of Young Women p10. See Davidson, (2008) Higher Education in the Gulf: a historical background. p36.
[73]Telephone interview with Ibtisam age 23 single and employed by a large Saudi Company 26 July 2014.
[74]Zakat, charitable donation normally 2.5% of salary. See www.islamic-relief.org and www.zakat.org/
[75]Interview with Nadia and Nouf, cousins mid 20s employed in a medium sized company. Riyadh 02 June 2014.
[76]Crompton and Sanderson, (1990) p 36
[77]This author's interview with Abu Yasser, Senior executive, father of three daughters educated in US and Canada.

smoking-related problems.[78] Within their extended families they felt that young women were more susceptible to depression than their male relations, although they did not think that the problem was of any great magnitude, a conclusion largely supported by scientific research.[79] Obesity they felt was a bigger problem, as bored young people over-eat and suffer weight-related health problems, particularly from over-consumption of carbonated drinks and fast-food.[80] Research at the Princess Noura University in Riyadh identifies that 95.4% of young women students eat fast food and nearly 80%, at least once a week.[81] Fast food is the single biggest revenue generator of all food sectors in Saudi Arabia with a market share of SR 16.5 billion.[82] Further research at the same university identifies regional differences in levels of obesity and excess weight peaking at 65.4% in the Eastern region of the Kingdom,[83] and with diabetes affecting 20.5% of the adult population in 2014 (3.8 million in terms of numbers).[84]

Interviewees stated they felt there was an increase in the number of young women smoking to relieve boredom and stress.[85] The press reported that in a survey conducted by King Abdul-Aziz University in Jeddah states that 65% of secondary school girls smoke.[86] The same report cites a similar survey carried out at Najran University which it claims reported that a third of the Saudi population smoke regularly. This author's own review of that Jazan report reveals significant discrepancies between the press report and that published by the university. The Jazan university states the figure as 16.8% overall, 25.6% for males and 4.6% for females.[87]

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[78]72.27% of people surveyed strongly agreed that unemployment contributed to depression and mental health issues. 20.8% partially agreed.
[79]See Alibrahim et al., *Journal of Public Health in Africa,* Vol. 1, No. 1 (2010) Gender and Risk of Depression in Saudi Arabia: A Systematic Review and Meta-analysis. p3.
http://www.publichealthinafrica.org/index.php/jphia/article/view/jphia.2010.e7/html_11
[80](i)Al-Malki et al., *International Journal of Obesity*. (2003) 27, 134-139, Overweight and Obesity in Saudi females of childbearing age. Only 10.17% were not overweight or obese. http://www.nature.com/ijo/journal/v27/n1/full/0802181a.html   (ii)Obesity Research Center, (i) Obesity in Saudi Arabia 23.6% women, 14% men (ii) Overweight 28.4% women, 30.7%, men. (2007 data). http://www.obesitycenter.edu.sa/Patients---Public/Obesity-in-Saudi-Arabia.aspx
[81]Trends of fast food consumption among adolescent and young adult Saudi girls living in Riyadh.
http://www.foodandnutritionresearch.net/index.php/fnr/article/view/26488
[82]Euromonitor International, October 2014. Country Report, Fast-Food in Saudi Arabia. http://www.euromonitor.com/fast-food-in-saudi-arabia/report
[83]Al-Qauhiz, J *Egypt Public Health Assoc.* 2010; 85 (1-2): 45-59. Obesity among Saudi Female University Students: Dietary Habits and Health Behaviours.http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/21073847
[84]International Diabetes Federation, Middle East and North Africa. Diabetes in Saudi Arabia 2014.
https://www.idf.org/membership/mena/saudi-arabia
[85]Interviewees as at note 59.
[86]Arab News, 08 February 2015. 65% of secondary school girls smoke. http://www.arabnews.com/saudi-arabia/news/701331
[87]Mafouz et al., 26 April 2014. Tabacco use among University students of Jazan Region: Gender differences and Associated factors. tthp://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4036415/

A further study by the University of Dammam reports 8.6% of female students as smokers.[88] Whilst the report concludes that smoking is increasing among Saudi female college students the problem does not appear to be as serious as reported by the press.

Finally, in this segregated society things are not always quite as they might seem. Whilst within Saudi families reputation is everything, it appears that the barriers of segregation can be breached. Interviewees confided they knew of friends who risked meeting secretly with young men in coffee shops whilst always fearing that the staff, suspecting that the couple were not married, would call the Hai'a[89] to claim a SR 200 reward.

8.3.2. Issues for Saudi Males

And so we move to the other side of the gender divide, and to explore the society of young men. Ménoret in collaboration with al-Otaibi, (2010) direct us to the 'Politics of Deviance' and the 'Politics of Dissent,'[90] introducing readers to 'taf'hit' the practice of 'drifting cars.'[91] In this they graphically portray this dangerous pastime which is reported as being second only to soccer as the favorite spectator sport of Saudi's youth bulge.[92] Al-Otaibi and Ménoret attribute this practice to what they term 'political protest' emanating from the 'social and economic situation' which youth experience.[93]

Ménoret, (2014) further develops the theme of taf'hit in what he terms 'street terrorism' or 'car terrorism' in *Joy Riding in Riyadh*, a poetically framed narrative, narrowly-focused on those within the underclass of Saudi society who undertake extreme maneuvers, frequently in stolen or hired cars.[94] In praise of this book Caton, (2014) states, 'anyone interested in male gender and sexuality in the Middle East, urban studies, urbanized Bedouin and youth culture must

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[88]Koura, et al., J Family Community Med May-Aug; 18 (2): 63-68. Smoking patterns among female college students in Dammam, Saudi Arabia.
[89]Religious Police, - Committee for the Promotion of Virtue and the Elimination of Vice.
[90] Otaibi and Ménoret, (2010) Rebels without a Cause: A Politics of Deviance in Saudi Arabia in Herrera and Bayat, (2010) Being Young and Muslim.
[91]Ibid., p80. Also see Cole, (2014) p115 for parallel between Saudi drifters and Tunisian youth complaining of lack of entertainment and cultural events and working-class young soccer fanatics (Ultras) and their confrontations with authority.
[92]Al-Ammar, Arab News, 03 November 2014.
[93]Otaibi and Ménoret, (2010).
[94]Ménoret, (2014) Joyriding in Riyadh, p147.

read this book.'[95]   Ménoret's treatment of the male gender and sexuality issues in this sub-culture of Saudi society is probably ground-breaking, whereas his conclusions to what he terms 'Street Politics' are more contentious.[96]   He argues that joyriding (drifting) became externally politicized through subjection to scientific research, condemnation by religious authorities and public security agencies, and 'in the public's eyes with the young generations' collective suicide.'[97] The latter appears to echo Durkheim; '…the mutual reactions of men in assembly may transform a gathering of peaceful citizens into a fearful monster,'[98] as drifters and fringe groups challenge social norms.

Ménoret's second point links drifting and political protest as a reaction to a repressive state and pervasive surveillance.   He argues that drifting's popularity, high risks, excitement, and inevitable martyrs, bestows upon it an image of rebelliousness.   What is at issue is whether this youthful rebelliousness is overt political rebellion as Ménoret argues, or simply a youth sub-culture arising from the vacuum of alternative recreational pursuits.[99]   Earl, (2004) suggests that 'movements broadly construed can create and be created by subcultures, as subcultures engage dominant cultures in contention over signs, signification and material conditions,'[100] but Ménoret offers a different view, suggesting that politicization creates for drifters 'a state within a state.'[101]   However, none of this author's interviewees (including those who operate within the drifting community) agreed with his view and one interviewee argued it is simply 'the devilment of bored Shabab that it is like a drug, an obsession for both those that drift and those that watch.'[102]   Furthermore, drifting is not the exclusive pursuit of the underclass of Saudi society as it is often portrayed.   For example, in 2013 three young naval

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[95]Caton,(2014) in Ménoret (2014) Joyriding in Riyadh, rear cover.
[96]This author's discussion with Ménoret, Abu Dhabi, 28 March 2013.
[97]Ménoret, (2014) p177.
[98]Durkheim, (2002) Suicide, p77. Large groups of drifter's followers create fear and danger to those caught up in the crowd, e.g. this author's own experience when confronted with many hundreds of cars fleeing the police at Janadriyah early morning 30 June 2014 and other occasions on Takkassussi.
[99]Arab News, 03 November 2014. Ibrheem al-Ammar suggests the cause of 'tafeet' as excessive pace of modernization and Saudis lack of alternative interests in hobbies and art. http://www.arabnews.com/news/654081
[100]Earl, (2004) The Cultural Consequences of Social Movements in Snow, Soule and Kriesi (2004) p518.
[101]Ménoret, (2014) p177.
[102]Interview with Majed, professional 12 March 2015, Riyadh. Shabab Arabic for youth 'lads'.

officers were arrested for drifting cars in Riyadh, and a number of educated professionals have admitted to having had periods within the drifting community.[103]   They echoed Ménoret's joy and exhilaration 'to drive fast, to break the law …to have given me a sense of invulnerability I had never experienced before.'[104]

For his third explanation for the politicization of drifting, Ménoret argues that drifters 'had agency in their own right, and they actively criticized the production of space in Riyadh … they pointed to the overwhelming importance of real estate and car imports in making the city. The networks of power continuously engineering Riyadh's car-based suburbia were on their minds and they often formulated sharp critiques of al-Saud nepotism.'[105]   He had painted a picture earlier of the drifters as 'tufush,'[106] of a poorly educated 'lower class youth ...the Riyadh underclass', and of 'Bedouin rebellion' against an uncaring state apparatus.[107]   Thorborn, (2013) considers underclasses to be not just a 'phenomenon of economic significance' but 'it is tied up with the dysfunctionality and instability of poor families in rich countries...'[108] It was the opinion of this author's interviewees that most of this uneducated underclass would be incapable of linking their economic deprivation to such an elevated intellectual plane and consequently the link was considered at best, tenuous.[109] Interviewees expressed the opinion that most of the uneducated Bedouin might know the name of the King, but beyond that their knowledge of Saudi politics would be vague.[110]

Part of this drifting community that Ménoret identifies, are an underclass, the Darbawiya,[111] and much of what he describes does apply to members of this second-level sub-culture. He

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[103]Interview with military General 15 January 2015.
[104](i) Author's interview with Fawaz, Ahmed and Abdulrahman, middle class drifting fans. 08 April 2015. Riyadh. (ii) See Ménoret, (2014) Joyriding in Riyadh p4.
[105]Ménoret, (2014) p177.
[106]'Tufush a feeling of emptiness and worthlessness' experienced by rural migrants into the city. Ménoret, (2014) p146.
[107]Ibid., pp146-147.
[108]Thorborn, (2013) The Killing Fields of Inequality, p172.
[109]See notes 77, 78 and 79 above.
[110]Interview with Sultan, Ahmed, Abdulrahman, young professionals, 13 May 2015. Riyadh.
[111]Saudi Punks, the People of the Road.

uses of the word 'street terrorism'[112] but one of this author's interviewees argued that they are 'worse than terrorists' and present a real danger to the community, and need to be dealt with because, armed and dangerous, they care nothing for authority.[113] It is widely believed that these young mencome from poor uneducated families, cling to tribal values and paradoxically glory in their lack of education and anti-social behavior. For them there is pride in remaining unclean, to wear the cheapest clothes and to hide their identities behind their shumaghs. Using their cars as symbols of aggression and flagrant use of firearms sets this fringe 'punk' group outside of the mainstream drifting culture. Their 'bad-boy, punk image'[114] is completed with their use of drugs and locally-produced alcohol, with the Darbawiya drink being Mirinda, an orange carbonated drink, drunk hot, with Weed[115] and Captagon[116] the drugs of choice.[117] Whilst the image of the Darbawiya may be of young underprivileged men rebelling against society, as so often happens, in Saudi Arabia things may not be as they first appear. Evidence was found by this researcher of middle-class young men with good jobs assuming alter-egos, adopting the dress and habits of Darbawiya and joining their 'wolf packs'[118] but returning to normality and their pristine thobes and Levi jeans the following morning.[119]

In treating the Darbawiya as a fringe sub-culture and the drifting community as related but separate, the views of this author and Ménoret diverge. Whilst Ménoret attributes the phenomenon of the dangers of drifting to overt political protest,[120] this author's view is that it is something quite different, more akin to the 'grotesque realism' of carnival in the world Bakhtin's Rabalais with all its irreverence for authority, the mocking of the 'church police', and

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[112]Ménoret, (2014) p147.
[113]Interview with senior military officer, 26 June 2014. Riyadh.
[114]Description of Darbawiya by interviewee Majed, 02 July 2015. Riyadh
[115]Marijuana.
[116]Captagon, amphetamine.
[117]Author's interview with person familiar with Darbawiyah, July 12 2015.
[118]'Wolf-pack' expression attributed to Ahmed, young professional with experience of Darbawiya, interview with this author, 16 July 2015, Riyadh.
[119]Author's interview withSatam who knows airline employees who take on Darbawiya alter-egos, Riyadh, 13 July 2015. Reference to Levi jeans; something anathema in the Darbawiya sub-culture. Thobe the traditional Saudi white robe.
[120]Ménoret, (2014) p 177. See also Bayat, (2007) p63.

grotesque imagery of death,'[121] an all too regular tragedy of drifting.[122] In a country where Islam is all-encompassing drifting, much as Rabelais' carnival, 'is the people's second life,'[123] in that it 'celebrates liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order,'[124] and that its 'images of folk culture are absolutely fearless and communicate this fearlessness to all.'[125] The drifters' use of the shumagh to mask their identity has parallels in Rabalais' carnival where the importance of 'the theme of the mask …is related to transition, metamorphoses, the violation of natural boundaries, to mockery and familiar nicknames.'[126] Finally Rabelais' carnival with its 'long and complex pageants and processions,'[127] is an experience those who have been swept along in wild movement of hundreds of drifting spectators from one location to another will readily recognize.[128]

Cars are not the only vehicles that Saudi youth use for thrills. Although a much smaller group than drifters, motor cyclists experience the thrill of riding high-powered motor cycles in dangerous traffic conditions. An interviewee described how his group equipped with high-powered motorcycles would meet at the weekends and ride out on the roads through the desert.[129] Riding in town was considered too dangerous as other youths would open car door with the intention of knocking the rider off the motorcycle. However, after several years of riding as a group, the interviewee's group was infiltrated by a 'rougher' sub-group. On a ride through the outskirts of Riyadh, an occupant of a car opened a door with the intention of unseating the biker who drew a 9mm automatic pistol that was strapped to his leg and fired shots through the back window of the car and rode off. The interviewee then gave up motorcycling and sold his bike.

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[121]Bakhtin, (1984) Rabalais and his World, p19, 7 p50.
[122]Ménoret, (2014) p152. Seven youth were killed by an out-of- control drifting car.
[123](i)Bakhtin, (1984) p8. (ii)Ménoret, 2014, p141, states 45% of all students and 10% of total Saudi population are involved in 'joyriding- drifting'.
[124]Bakhtin, (1984) p10.
[125]Bakhtin, (1984) p39.
[126]Ibid., pp39-40.
[127]Bakhtin, (1984) p5.
[128]Author's experiences of being swept along in drifting processions.
[129]Interview with Mishal, professional and former biker, 07 February 2015. Riyadh.

Young Saudis with little opportunity for the sort of entertainment that might be experienced by their neighbours throughout the Gulf States, often revert to extreme and dangerous pastimes. A Sunni interviewee recounted how he and two friends living in Dhahran infiltrated Shia society in Qatif through dressing like Shia, adopting specific mannerisms and joining gymnasia. This lasted for several months until two of the boys (all around age 18) became bored with the charade. However, by this time a member of the group had met a Shia girl, formed a relationship and eventually entered into a Mut'a marriage.[130] Shortly after the start of this arrangement, the girl's family discovered the relationship and his sect and the young Sunni barely escaped alive.

8.4. SOCIAL ISSUES

8.4.1. Drugs and the Consequences

Throughout Saudi society drugs are a major problem, and the Ministry of Health acknowledge the dangers posed by drug abuse attributing the rise to a wide range of causes from poverty, broken homes and parental neglect to unemployment and extraordinary wealth.[131] In discussions between this author and parents of Saudi teenagers it was conceded that significant pressure is put on some young people insome families to excel in school examinations, and as a result some turn to drugs, particularly Captagon[132] whist studying.[133] Due to major smuggling organizations targeting Saudi Arabia, the Kingdom has carried-out one of the highest levels of amphetamine seizures, with an average of 13,000 kilograms seized annually peaking at 17,000 kilograms in 2009.[134] In the ten months to September 2015, 11.6 million amphetamine capsules, 13,157 kg raw heroin and 188kg of street-ready heroin, along

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[130]Mut'a a fixed term relationship, meaning enjoyment, pleasure, delight. http://www.al-islam.org/muta-temporary-marriage-in-islamic-law-sachiko-murata/four-pillars-muta
[131]See note 5 above.
[132]Captagon - Fenethylline. Pubchem Open Chemistry Database, http://pubchem.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/compound/fenethylline
[133]Interview with Ahmed and Abdulkareem, parents of teenagers, 08 April 2014. Riyadh. See also Arab News, 15 May 2015, 'Parents pressure to score high drives students to drug abuse.'http://www.arabnews.com/featured/news/747061
[134]UNODC World Drug Report 2014, p49.. https://www.unodc.org/documents/wdr2014/World_Drug_Report_2014_web.pdf

with 52 machine guns, 584 pistols and 28,460 rounds of ammunition were seized whilst 2,237 traffickers were arrested.[135]

The Saudi justice system deals ruthlessly with those involved in the trafficking of drugs and according to Amnesty International more than half of executions carried out in 2014 were for drug-related offences.[136] In a series of interviews with young men, the issue of death sentences for drug offences was discussed and all supported the death penalty and public executions for the most serious crimes. However, they were more ambivalent on the execution of 'mules', expressing the general feeling that 'it is not a fair world', because the 'big criminals remain untouched, but that it does send out a message.'[137] An interviewee recalled an incident involving a Pakistani family which had worked for a generation on his uncle's farm, with the children growing up in Saudi Arabia. A son, age 19 visited relations in Pakistan and on his return was arrested at Jeddah airport for carrying heroin internally. Following due process the youth was beheaded.[138] Whilst to those observing from outside the Kingdom the idea of public execution may seem barbaric, it needs to be seen from within the context of a country that has the Qur'an as its constitution.[139] The Qur'an calls for the ultimate punishment for 'murder or spreading mischief in the land,' although allowing scope for forgiveness and the 'payment of blood-money.'[140] One interviewee stated that outsiders simply do not understand Saudi culture. Without capital punishment things 'would get out of hand because here people kill too easily.'[141]

[135]Arab News, 02 September 2015. 'War on drugs pays off: 2,237 traffickers held; arms seized.'http://www.arabnews.com/featured/news/800486
[136]Amnesty International report that over 90 people were executed in Saudi Arabia in 2014. https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2015/04/the-ultimate-punishment-saudi-arabia-ramps-up-beheadings-in-the-kingdom/ This author has yet to meet a Saudi male who does not support public capital punishment.
[137](i) Interviews with Bandar 23, Abdulmohsin 22, Abdullah 24. 11 June 2015. Riyadh. (ii) See also Stockman 02 March, 2015. http://www.dw.com/en/pakistani-drug-mules-face-beheading-in-saudi-arabia/a-18289008 (iii) 87 people were executed in Saudi Arabia in 2014, more than half for drug related offences. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/may/26/saudi-arabia-passes-execution-total-2014-88th-death
[138]Interview with Abu-Naif, 20 July 2014, Riyadh.
[139]Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia, Washington D.C. Basic Law of Governance. No .A/90 27 Sha'ban 1412 (01 March 1992) Chapter 1, General Principles, Article 1. 'The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a Sovereign Arab Islamic State. Its religion is Islam. Its constitution is Almighty God's Book, The Holy Qur'an and the Sunna (Traditions of the Prophet PBUH).' https://www.saudiembassy.net/about/country-information/laws/The_Basic_Law_Of_Governance.aspx
[140]Qur'an Surah 2. Al-Baqarah Part 2, verse 178. See also OCADP.org The role of the death penalty in the Qur'an, http://www.ocadp.org/the-role-of-the-death-penalty-in-the-quran.html
[141]Interview with abu Turki, 09 June 2015.

8.4.2. Magic and Superstition

In the same way as many may seek a literal interpretation of the Qur'an as detailed above, Yamani's research (2000) with young people revealed an upsurge in the belief in '*amal* (witchcraft) and *hasad* (the evil eye).[142] This author's own research with young people on this issue produced interesting results considering Saudi Arabia's youth have been born into a technological age. Interviews produced largely consistent answers to the question of to what extent these phenomena were part of culture and belief. Typical answers were: '90% believe in Jinns,'[143] to 'most people believe in Jinns'[144] and 'most believe in Jinns but some may not admit it.'[145] All were clear on what Jinns were and that they were real since the Qur'an confirmed their existence:

> *And indeed. We created man from dried (sounding) clay of altered mud. And the Jinn, we created aforetime from the smokeless flame of fire.* Al-Hijr 15. 26-27.[146]

8.4.3. Domestic Terror and Tragedy

Whilst drugs and drifting present a very real threat to the youth of the Kingdom another long-term, self-inflicted problem leaves few families unaffected.[147] Ansari et al, (2000)[148] report that between 1971 and 1997, 66,914 people died as a result of road accidents in the Kingdom. Road accident victims accounted for 81% of all deaths in Ministry of Health hospitals and 20% of the beds were taken by the same group.[149] By 2011, road accident victims accounted for 30% of all hospital admissions,[150] with 7,153 deaths and 68,000 injuries.[151] With the death rate

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[142]Yamami, (2000) p121. She cites the Qur'an, *Surat al-Falaq* (the Dawn) No.113, verse 5. Translation: 'and from the evil of an envier when he envies.' http://quran.com/113/5 See Giddens and Pierson (1998) pp110-111 for discussion on differences between modernity and knowledge, superstition and ritual.

[143]Interview/discussion on Jinns with Yazeed, (age 23) 10 July 2015, Riyadh.

[144]Interview/Discussion on Jinns with Mohammed, age 56, 10 July 2015, Riyadh.

[145](i) Interview/discussion on Jinns with Ahmed, age 29. 14 July 2015, Riyadh. (ii)See Valentine, (2015) p24.

[146]IslamCan.com All about Jinns, http://www.islamcan.com/Jinn-stories.shtml See also Tafseer al-Razi (1149-1209). Debate on Jinn's Existence, p79 and ibn Uthaymeen (1925-2001) Collection of Fatwas Chapter 4, p232.

[147]This researcher observes that few Saudi families remain untouched by the tragedy/loss through road accidents.

[148]Department of Neurosciences, Riyadh Armed Forces Hospital.

[149]Ansari et al, (2000), Causes and effects of road traffic accidents in Saudi Arabia. Public Health (2000),114: 37-9 February 2000. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/12530381_Causes_and_effects_of_road_traffic_accidents_in_Saudi_Arabia

[150]Arab News, 08 May 2015. 'SR 13bn spent on road accident victims.'http://www.arabnews.com/news/743966

[151]Arab News, 17 March 2013. 'The War on our roads.'http://www.arabnews.com/news/445120

through road accidents at 252 per million, it is eight times that of the U.K.[152] 27% of road

accidents and deaths occur in the Makkah region and 28% in Riyadh, with 598,300 accidents

reported in 2012.[153] Such is the gravity of the situation with a fatality every hour, of every day

and the death rate almost doubling since 2003, that the Council of Ministers approved a

'National Strategic Plan for Traffic Safety.'[154] This includes such measures as speed reduction

through the Saher speed camera and automatic number plate recognition system, although

this appears to have only very limited success.[155]

8.5. HOUSING AND LAND

8.5.1. The Youth Bulge and Housing

Next only to employment in importance to the Kingdom's youth bulge is the desire to own

their own home, an aspiration which for many remains unattainable.[156] This is a long-standing

problem and a decade ago it was highlighted that government policies failed to deal with

issues of land and home purchase financing.[157] It is widely acknowledged that a housing crisis

exists within the Kingdom,[158] with only 30% of Saudis owning their own homes against a world

average of 70% and 45% in UAE.[159] The housing problem is compounded by multiple factors

including a population increase in the 20-34 age group of 2.7%,[160] a shortage of affordable

housing, an inadequate mortgage system, increasing prices, a supply and demand gap, and

rising land prices, with two-thirds of the Kingdom's population concentrated in Jeddah/Mecca,

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[152]Ibid.

[153]Gulf News 02 March 2012. 'Saudi statistics say car accidents happening every second.'http://gulfnews.com/news/gulf/saudi-arabia/saudi-statistics-say-car-accidents-happening-every-second-1.1297765

[154]Saudi Gazette 10 September 2013 'National traffic plan aims to cut accident rates.'http://www.saudigazette.com.sa/index.cfm?method=home.regcon&contentid=20130910179941

[155]This author's own experience of driving daily in Riyadh.

[156]Interviews with Faisal, age 23, Abdullah, age 24, Administrators, 20 April 2015, Ahmed, age 32, Project Manager, 20 April 2015, Abu Salah, Private sector employee, age 41, 21 April 2015, all Riyadh.

[157]Al-Dosary, (2005) A Comparative Analysis of Affordable Housing in Saudi Arabia. Presentation to Low Cost Building Systems in Urban Settlement Symposium. 16-19 May, 2005. Amman, Jordan http://faculty.kfupm.edu.sa/CRP/asdosary/Download/Comparative-Analysis-Affordable-Housing.pdf

[158](i) Jafria News, 23 March 2013. 'Majority of Saudi citizens face housing crisis.'http://jafrianews.com/2013/03/23/majority-of-saudi-citizens-face-housing-crisis/ (ii) MEED, Issue No. 13, 26 March -1 April 2010. 'Housing Crisis looms in Saudi Arabia.'http://www.meed.com/sectors/construction/real-estate/housing-crisis-looms-in-saudi-arabia/3104147.article

[159]K-Corp Special Report, February 2013. 'Housing the growing population of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia,'p2. http://jieg.org.sa/data/modules/contents/uploads/infopdf/2040.pdf

[160]Samba Report Series 01 December 2010. Saudi Arabia's Housing market: Structural issues, Financing, and Potential, p4. http://www.samba.com.sa/GblDocs/saudi_arabia_housing_market_eng.pdf

Riyadh and Dammam/al-Khobar/Dhahran.[161] A result is that many young Saudi remain living with parents well into their thirties. One aspect of the government's recovery strategy is to develop areas away from the major cities and itis investing US$ 27 billion into Rabigh and Jizan, whilst Madinah is receiving US$ 7 billion and Hail US$ 8 billion.[162] Given the impact of the war in Yemen and attacks by the Houthis on Jizan, it is inevitable that development there will slow until peace is restored to the border region.[163] Even so it is likely that young people will wish to buy property close to where they work and near family, and therefore the demand is likely to remain concentrated on the three main population centres.

Unlike in some other countries, domestic housing has not attracted house builders of a national scale, with the 90% of the construction carried out by small local builders using expatriate labour.[164] In spite of the Government's efforts to ease the housing crisis, many citizens remained frustrated by the lack of progress, with many having waited in excess of 15 years for a government loan. An interviewee described that in the early days of the Real Estate Development Fund which started operation in 1974-75,[165] loans were readily available with minimal waiting time, but that has gradually become progressively longer to the point where 15 years has become the norm. The maximum loan of SR 300,000 was increased to SR 500,000 when a major package of housing reform was made around the time of the Arab Spring.[166] However, SR 500,000 remains insufficient for most properties in the low to middle-range real estate market except in the regions.[167] As anywhere, location dictates the price, so whilst SR 500,000-SR 750,000 may buy a substantial home in the outlying provinces, on the fringes of Riyadh the average price of a home described as 'cozy' is around SR 1.3 million leaving a shortfall of SR 800,000 for those wanting to buy, assuming they wait for the loan to

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[161]Ibid., p2 & p5. Dhahran, al-Khobar and Dammam have gradually merged into a single city. p8 and this author's observation as resident of Dhahran/al-Khobar from 1973-2007 and regular visits since.
[162]Ibid., p12.
[163]Reuters, 03 July 2015. 'Yemen's Houthis attack Saudi Arabia's Najran and Jizan.http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/07/03/us-yemen-security-houthi-idUSKCN0PD2E920150703' See also Ehteshami & Murphy, (2012) p83.
[164]K-Corp, February 2013, p6 and this author's observation of house building across the Kingdom.
[165]SAMIRAD Real Estate Development Fund http://www.saudinf.com/main/e31.htm
[166]Middle East Monitor, 28 February 2014. 'Saudi Arabia's Housing Predicament.'
https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/articles/middle-east/10030-saudi-arabias-housing-predicament
[167]Interview with Abdulqaliq and Faisal, middle-managers, Riyadh 22 July 2015.

materialize.[168] Whilst apartments may be available for less than the SR 500,000 loan, the government will offer no more than the cost of that apartment for what is a once in a life-time opportunity. The average home in Saudi Arabia costs around SR 700,000 which is nearly ten times the average annual salary. According to Mona Abu Sulayman, 'Saudi Arabia is a rich country but we do not have rich citizens. Even the middle classes can typically own a home after they are fifty.'[169]

In 2011 in response to the crisis a new Ministry of Housing was established, and under cover of a royal decree, SR 250 billion[170] was allocated for building half-a-million new homes, and with that came expectations.[171] However, financing remains a major hurdle for prospective home owners as a result of the lead time for loans and the lack of the enactment of mortgage laws of July 2012, plus the introduction of a completely new 'infrastructure' of 'an entire credit and financing eco-system.'[172] Nevertheless, in 2012 lending stood at SR 99,596 million with SR 23,008 million approved for that year,[173] and as a result discussions take place amongst the Kingdom's population regarding where these vast sums of money might have gone, with the inevitable debate over fears of corruption.[174] In 2015 demand continues to outstrip supply, with developers supplying the higher end of the market building properties priced at over SR 1 million, whilst the demand is from those who want property in the SR 500,000-SR 750,000 range.[175] However, therein lies a further difficulty, as the average monthly salary for those (the majority) working in the government sector is only SR 5,200 with an average across the working population of just SR 6,000,[176] and whilst the demand is for property in this price range, for most it remains unaffordable.

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[168]Interview with Tariq, 40, Administrator, Riyadh, 11 July 2015.
[169]EY. Housing the Growing Population. Jeddah Economic Forum 2013, Post Forum report p5.
[170]SR 250 billion = US$ 66.66 billion approximately.
[171]Interview with Majed, 41, project manager, 21 July 2015. Riyadh.
[172]O'Kane, (2013) Saudi Real Estate, Law and Practice, p2
[173]Real Estate Development Fund. Central Department of Statistics-Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency (2012).
[174]Discussions with this author on the housing crisis with Abdullatif, Ahmed, young junior staff (private sector) Fahd and abu-Faisal, middle managers, 20 July 2015, Riyadh.
[175]K-Corp, February 2013, p6.
[176]Samba, 2010, p5. The World Bank state income per capita as US$ 26,340p.a. (SR 8231 per month) as at 2014.
http://data.worldbank.org/country/saudi-arabia#cp_fin

A new on-line loan application system from REDF has streamlined the process but has brought with it its own problems and critics. To overcome the issue of prioritization the Ministry introduced a merit system whereby points are awarded for certain criteria in-part aimed at helping those on low incomes. In spite of the intent, it has created further discontent. The highest priority goes to those earning just SR 3,000 a month (US$ 800) but would require them to repay at the rate of SR 1,600 per month. Not only would this leave the borrower with insufficient funds to live on, it also contravenes the policy of asking no-one to pay more than a third of monthly income in repayments.[177]

8.5.2. The Problems with Land

The issue of land stands at the heart of the Saudi housing crisis. Prime building land held back from the market for long-term investment and owned by the richest in the Kingdom artificially inflates land prices, as these plots are unavailable to the average Saudi.[178] Interviewees state that princes vie to be the richest as money equates to power, and the belief is that even the King cannot control these people, for it is as Habermas argues 'the traditional classes rooted in land ownership…still hold significant power.'[179] Some princes are mocked on social media for their greed for land. For example: the following was posted about Prince Mishal bin Abdulaziz: 'Kitab al Shabuk–min Jizan ila Tabuk' translated as 'Everything fenced from Jizan (Yemen Border) to Tabuk' (on the Northern borders). Even members of the Royal Family have made public jibes about the prince's land interests. Throughout the major cities one can see large tracts of land, walled-in and gated, but totally untouched inside.[180]

In 2013 Housing Minister al-Dhuwaihi called on owners of white land to "build or sell" threatening that the government would compulsorily purchase land held and not released for

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[177]Al-Monitor, 31 January 2014. 'Saudi Arabia's Housing Crisis.'http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/business/2014/01/saudi-arabia-housing-policies-failed.html#
[178]K-Corp, (February 2013) p11.
[179]Interview with Abdul al G'. Administrator (36) 18 December 2013 and see Arato and Cohen, (1994) Civil Society and Political Power, p226.
[180]This author observes walled-in land daily whist driving through Riyadh.

home building.[181] He further added that the military would give-up land it did not need for the social good. However, the general public seemed to have little faith in the promises made by the Minister.[182] It would seem to the skeptical youth of the Kingdom that the government would be powerless to overcome vested interest in land and this belief seems to have been well founded. Two years on and the promised half-million new homes had not materialized, culminating in the dismissal by new King Salman of Housing Minister al-Duwaihi, who was replaced by Essam bin Saeed.[183] A month after his appointment the Ministry of Housing announced plans for a tax on white land and reporting agencies welcomed the move, with one predicting that that house prices might halve.[184] Interviews carried out by this author with young people with an interest in seeing property prices fall, indicated they had little confidence that the tax would resolve their problems in getting their own home.[185] The general consensus was that land prices had peaked and levelled out and that owners of white land were now looking for even better investments. Even though land constituted half of the cost of a house[186] they were not confident that the land tax would become a reality or that it would affect house prices to the extent that they would now be able to buy. It is clear that despite the initiative to alleviate the housing crisis and to furnish the Saudi youth bulge with one of its greatest desires, it has met with resistance from vested interests. It remains to be seen whether King Salman can succeed and build upon what his predecessor started.

In conclusion, land has always been of major importance in the Kingdom, with even the most senior Ministers having to resort to novel approaches to acquire it even when for the common good. A former Minister of Industry and Electricity resorted to Bedouin custom to get land for his Ministry by greeting Prince Sultan bin Abdulaziz with the approach 'say it is granted,' which

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[181]Arab News, 28 April 2013. 'Build or Sell: owners of vacant plots warned.' Http://www.arabnews.com/news/449597 Minister stated that 70% of land in cities is vacant and held for investment.

[182]See note157 above plus interviews with Ahmed and Salah Administrators, 24 & 27, 30 April 2013 Riyadh.

[183]Reuters, 12 March 2015, 'Saudi replaces housing Minister after King vows to address shortage.' http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/03/12/saudi-housing-idUSL5N0WE0BZ20150312

[184]Arabianbusiness.com 25 March 2015. 'Saudi housing costs to halve with new land tax' http://www.arabianbusiness.com/saudi-housing-costs-halve-with-new-land-tax-586779.html

[185]Interviews with Abu Saad, Sulaiman, Abdulgardah, Ahmed, enlisted military personnel in 20s and 30s, 20 April 2015. Waleed, Abdulrahman, and Mohammed, Bank employees, 21 April 2015.

[186]Thomson Reuters Zawya 15 April 2015. 'Saudi land tax to drive down prices.'https://www.zawya.com/story/Saudi_land_tax_to_drive_down_house_prices-ZAWYA20150415060229/

custom dictates cannot be refused.[187] Through this approach, novel even in Saudi society, he acquired the land between Riyadh and Al-Kharj for a new industrial city. However, it demonstrates the scale of the land problem and the lengths to which even the most senior Ministers have to resort to find solutions.

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[187] Al-Gosaibi, (1999) Yes, (Saudi) Minister) p124.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

Now this is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end.

But it is perhaps, the end of the beginning.[1]

9.1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis is the culmination of research that sought to evaluate youth bulge theory and to identify what recalibration might be necessary whilst posing the research question: *'Does Saudi Arabia's Youth Bulge constitute a threat to domestic and international security?'* However, it has been just as important that it could be established why the very large majority of Saudi Arabia's youth bulge did not take that path and this thesis has consequently explored those aspects to reinforce the answer to the main research question. That question was supplemented by five hypotheses which framed the exploration of theory and praxis throughout this thesis. It should be noted that in the period since this research project started in October 2011, the security situation in the Middle East has deteriorated significantly. When the idea for this research was conceived it was largely based on what had happened a decade before, of 9/11 and the domestic terrorism that Saudi Arabia had suffered at the hands of some members of its youth bulge. From 2004, the Kingdom had entered a period of relative calm as threats had been eliminated by Saudi security services, various reforms had been implemented and the vision of Al-Qaeda as a threat to international security lay largely in the minds of those in the West, particularly Americans.[2] However, as Syria lapsed into civil war, Iraq slipped into sectarian violence and DAESH (Islamic State) appeared like a vengeful Jinn[3] to fill the power vacuum in the Levant in seeking their own perverse, capricious model of Sayyid Qutb's vision of an Islamic caliphate. Consequently the stability of Saudi Arabia lapsed into

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[1]Winston Churchill: Speech at the Mansion House 10 November 1942.
[2]Gerges, (2011)The Rise and fall of Al-Qaeda, p5.
[3]See Qur'an Surah, 72. Al Jinn. Part 29, v6.

uncertainty as some young Saudis rallied to the black flag with some returning to the Kingdom to attack their own people.

9.1.1. Structure of the Concluding Chapter

This closing chapter is in four parts: First it reflects briefly on the value of social movement theory as the foundation of the thesis, and on the methodology of Durkheim and Habermas as the conceptual and philosophical guides and mentors to this author. The second part of this chapter summarizes the in-depth research moulded around the research hypotheses as an answer is sought to why when some young Saudis have turned to terrorism, the vast majority have not and will conclude with the answer to the research question. The third part will evaluate the contribution this research makes to the literature and consider any potential objections to the thesis. The last part of this chapter will suggest potential avenues for further research.

9.1.2. Theory and the Philosophical Mentors

This section which reflects upon the theoretical approach adopted for the thesis along with the direction afforded by Durkheim and Habermas, opens on a note of caution regarding the potential limitations of Western centric theory when superimposed onto the Oriental model. In this regard, Fandy, (2001) argues that 'current social theory has limitations in dealing with religion and politics and, more specifically, Islam and politics.'[4] He bemoans the fact that having lived for half his life in the Arab world and then for the other half studying it from the United States he is 'left pondering the question of to what degree the "Arab" in Arab and Middle Eastern Studies in the United States corresponds to the "Arab" in the Arab world.'[5] He continues that modernization theory and dependency theory are much favored by the Western academy but that each has serious limitations. He suggests that modernization theory promotes Western cultural hegemony, marginalizing Arab culture, tradition and

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[4] Fandy, (2001) Saudi Arabia and the Politics of Dissent p14.
[5] Ibid.

treating religion as outdated and attempting to replace it with Western style secular democracy. He concludes that the Iranian religious based revolution brings modernization theory into serious question in the context of the Arab world. He further argues that dependency theory is equally flawed. In simple terms, his contention is that dependency theory is overly simplistic in so much as it fails to address the complex interdependence of politics and religion. Dependency theory fails to appreciate the centrality of religion in Arab society, instead favoring the 'material world.'[6] Western interference in under-developed countries is according to Fandy, held accountable by dependency theorists for many of those countries' problems. Having lived more than half my life in Saudi Arabia, I share Fandy's misgivings in regard to the efficacy of Western based theory for the Arab world. However, acknowledging that nothing is perfect, Social Movement theory is adjudged to provide the most appropriate foundation for this thesis. Edwards, (2014) argues that social movement theory is valuable for the study of terrorism which features prominently in this research project. She examines the part played by youth in international and domestic terrorism,[7] describing how the study of violence and terrorism can be placed within the social movement context by 'invoking three factors: the interaction between a social movement and its political environment (political opportunities); organizational splits, factions and counter-movements (mobilization processes); and the social construction of violence against civilians as an appropriate tactic (cultural framing).'[8] Reinforcing this support for the validity of social movement theory in the study of terrorism, Gunning, (2009) reports on the trend by which theorists favoring social movement theory are increasingly superimposing it upon politically motivated violence.[9] However, given that this thesis has broader coverage than terrorism alone, social movement theory is supported on four pillars, of rentier state, youth bulge, terrorism and feminist theory, the latter because until now females have been largely ignored in theory relating to youth bulge. Review of the literature is built upon a similar framework.

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[6] Ibid., p15.
[7] Edwards, (2014) Social Movements and Protest, p190. See also Gunning ((2009) Social movement theory and the study of terrorism, in Jackson et al, (2009) Critical Terrorism Studies, pp156-157.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Gunning, (2009) Social movement theory and the study of terrorism, in Jackson et al., (2009) Critical Terrorism Studies, p156-157.

Durkheim was chosen as one of two major influences on the thought relevant throughout this thesis for the value he brings to the study of education, religion and his scientific approach to suicide. Giddens (1978) describes how Durkheim favored practical application of social scientific enquiry, functionalism in the pursuit of social scientific progresses by recasting …traditional philosophical problems in a more empirical light', particularly for 'moral or ethical issues.'[10] Durkheim's work on religion and the need for separation of it from other phenomenon leads us through discussion of the sacred and profane and to the role of Islam in Saudi society. It includes the belief in the power of magic which again directs us to the Jinn in Islam, a widely held belief in Saudi Arabia, a contemporary paradox in Kingdom of a technologically orientated youthful population.[11] His writing on education is particularly relevant with its reference to the its relationship with the State and the difficulties encountered in so much as changing curricula does not necessarily change beliefs and how education is taught. He argues for the power of education and for changes to curricula to ensure that it is fit for purpose and how it may be necessary to change teachers for real reform to take place.[12] These issues are directly relevant to the problems identified following 9/11 and will be considered in greater detail as hypotheses are re-examined.

In turning to Habermas to augment the theoretical underpinning of religion, education and terrorism, we benefit not simply from what he has to tell us but from the debate engendered around what he argues, when taken up by other scholars.[13] We saw in Chapter 3 that Evert, (1991) argued that Habermas' methodology centered upon resolution of the empirical/normative division with the objective of bringing theory and praxis closer together. Viewing modern religions, including Islam as having their origins in the Axial age, Habermas promotes the idea that modernization will release people from the constraints of tradition and religion whilst rejecting the functionalist view that religion exists to serve a basic human need.

[10]Giddens, (1978) Durkheim, pp14-15.
[11]Jarir Bookstore Riyadh offers a wide range of books on ways to cure people of various afflictions, some believed to have been caused by the 'evil eye,' described by one interviewee Abdullah (23) as 'a books of spells.' Riyadh 16 July 2015 and this author's visits to Jarir Bookstore Riyadh, 18 & 25 July 2015.
[12]Durkheim on Politics and the State, (1986) Giddens, (ed) pp176-178.
[13]See Milbank, (2013) Feeling against Fanaticism p340 and Bernstein, (2013) Forgetting Isaac, pp 161-162 in Calhoun et al, (eds.) (2013) Habermas and Religion.

However, according to Mendieta and Vanantwerpen, (2011), Habermas has adopted a post-secular position having acknowledged that religion has not vaporized as a result of modernization and in some cases has been reinforced. In the case of Saudi Arabia, religion and modernization appear to exist in two totally independent dimensions and Islamic faith remains at the very core of Saudi society.[14] Habermas adds valuable insight to the debate on terrorism arguing against the wisdom and legitimacy of Bush's declaration of 'war on terrorism.'[15] He questions the strategic wisdom of Bush's 'call to arms'[16] arguing that such a declarations bestows upon al-Qaeda a political legitimacy to which it can claim no right. He further argues that 9/11 heralded a new era that demands a different approach to international law, a return to the ideas of the Enlightenment, of Kant's world citizen and a cosmopolitan perspective.[17]

9.2. THE HYPOTHESES REVISITED

This sub-section addresses each of the five original hypothesis in turn, briefly reviewing the relevant evidence obtained from this author's research and will conclude whether each has been proven or not.

9.2.1. Hypothesis 1

The Saudi educational system is responsible for turning out terrorists.

This was an allegation made by Western media and American academics and even critics from within the Kingdom immediately following 9/11. From Chapter 6 we saw that Blanchard, (2009) had stated that 9/11 had given rise to widespread criticism that the Kingdom's educational policies had created the circumstances that fostered terrorism and had subsequently failed to deal effectively with battle-hardened disillusioned jihadis returning from the war zones of Afghanistan, Chechnya and Bosnia. He added that in the immediate

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[14]Observation by this author. See also Huntington, (1996) p77.
[15]See Lock-Pullan, (2010) Challenging the Political Theology of America's 'War on Terrorism,' in Fisher and Wicker, (2010) Just War on Terrorism, p38, and Hasting Dunn, Bush, 11 September, and the Conflicting Strategies of the 'War on Terrorism.' *Irish Studies in International Affairs,* Vol. 16 (2005) pp11-33.
[16]Graham, et al., A call to Arms at the End of History: A discourse-historical analysis of George W. Bush's declaration of war on terror, *Discourse and Society*, (2004) Vol.15 (2-3): 199-221, pp203-208. http://das.sagepub.com/content/15/2-3/199
[17]Hoffe, (2006) Kant's Cosmopolitan Theory of Law and Peace, p14.

aftermath of 11 September 2001, Saudi-American relations deteriorated to a level not seen since King Faisal's 1973-1974 oil embargo. The Saudi government was confronted with an assault on its educational system and curricula not just from outside the Kingdom but from certain quarters within. Freedom House reported that a major shift occurred in U.S. foreign policy as it sought reform of the Saudi educational system. Clearly within the wide circles of U.S. security organizations there was a belief that the Saudi education system was guilty of turning out terrorists.[18]

Certain facts are irrefutable: 15 of the 19, 9/11 hijackers were Saudi, and they had been educated by the Saudi educational system. The question is did that educational curricula and/or educators radicalize these young men to such an extent that they believed that what they were doing was jihad which would guarantee those places in Heaven, and why was America their chosen target? In the years following 9/11, the Kingdom suffered attacks on foreign residents and Saudis alike perpetrated by al-Qaeda which added further criticism from inside the Kingdom that the religious education was responsible. Saudi newspapers carried articles asking 'have we helped create these monsters,' whilst drawing parallels between 9/11 and events that followed Mecca 1979.[19] Saudis are a private and proud people and their response to external criticism of their educational system was to offer up a vigorous defence. The *Letter to the West* co-authored by a wide group of Saudi academics argued that no nation had the right to interfere in the education of another and that was appropriate for students in the West was not necessarily appropriate of young Saudis. Behaving much like family defending one its own against attack from outside, so did it seek to deal with the issue privately and within the confines of that family of the nation. For example al-Qasim, former judge, lawyer and former member of the Sahwa, as a contributor of *A Letter to the West - A Saudi View*, vigorously defended the Saudi curricula to an external audience. However, in a document for presentation internally, identified multiple aspects within the religious curricula

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[18]Freedom House (2006) Saudi Arabia's curriculum of Intolerance.
[19]Arab News, 05 May 2004.

that he argued engendered hostility towards those of other faiths and in so doing risked the ire of conservative factions. So in spite of a spirited defence of the religious curricula against external attack there was clearly concern that this could have been a contributory factor in the radicalization of young Saudis. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that the Saudi government ordered a significant overhaul of the religious curricula and expanded programmes to educate students overseas.

A major argument put forward by this researcher's interviewees of all ages has been that if the educational system turned out terrorists, why then did not all those people like themselves who had been educated in Saudi Arabia, turn to terrorism? If the fault lay with the educational system, why were those terrorists numbered in hundreds rather than millions? This would appear a reasonable argument, but evidence within this thesis suggests that given some of the content within the curricula may well have incited students to intolerance, it is probable that a small number of individuals were influenced by what they were taught by radical teachers and then when confronted with other events in their lives were susceptible to influences that swept them along the terrorist path. Consequently, the hypothesis 'The Saudi educational system is responsible for turning out terrorists,' remains largely unproven but it is most probable that it was a factor in the radicalization of a few but even in those cases, was probably not the sole factor. However, given that 25% of the Kingdom's budget has been committed to education, yet recently there has been stream of young men leaving for jihad and there has been a resurgence of violence at home, we are left with the question did U.S. critics identify the wrong cause of 9/11 and did Saudi Arabia need a much more surgical solution to the problem of preventing its youth from straying into terrorism?

9.2.2. **Hypothesis 2**

Unemployment, and particularly unemployment of 3ʳᵈ and subsequent sons, is a factor in the radicalization of young Saudi men.

We saw from Chapter 8 that unemployment is the most important factor in the lives of those young Saudis who do not have jobs and the G20 identifies the unemployment as one of the Kingdom's most pressing challenges. Young Saudis are not so very different from youth elsewhere in the world and their needs and aspirations are just as Maslow projected in his theory of motivation.[20] We have further seen that unemployment brings depression and from the work of Merari et al., (2009) with imprisoned Palestinian terrorists, that depression is a major factor in that group that became the ultimate 'fire and forget missile,'[21] the suicide bomber. The issues of employment within the Kingdom are complex with combinations of factors not found elsewhere. There remain multiple paradoxes of a saturated government sector, a private sector reluctant to employ its own nationals, whilst a third of the total population is comprised of foreign workers, with Saudization programmes driven from the top and resisted from below. Complex issues are intertwined within this Gordian knot of employment, from legacies of slavery, tribal custom, availability of suitable employment and the impact of unemployment upon marriage opportunities. Survey results indicated that over half of the respondents felt that it was harder for third, fourth and fifth sons to find a job and very few strongly disagreed.[22] Amidst all this there has been scant evidence to prove a link between unemployment and Saudi terrorism as case studies have revealed that some terrorist had been previously employed whist others had moved into terrorism directly from High School or the early part of university education, whilst we saw in Chapter 5 from an interview carried out by this researcher with a relation of two of the 9/11 hijackers that they were from

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[20]Goble, (1970) The Third Force: The Psychology of Abraham Maslow, p51.
[21]See Defence Update, Operational Limitations of Fire and Forget Missiles. http://defense-update.com/features/du-2-07/helicopters_3gen_missiles.htm
[22]Online survey results, 28.89% strongly agreed, 23.39% partially agreed. Only 4.04 strongly disagreed and 12.73% partially disagreed.

an extraordinarily rich family.[23]   Recent terrorist incidents in the Kingdom indicate that the average age of a suicide bomber is twenty whilst some of those arrested in 2015 have been as young as fifteen and sixteen.   Nevertheless, thus far there is little conclusive evidence to confirm Heinsohn's theory of youth bulge that where there is a large youth population with high unemployment that these factors will lead to civil unrest and terrorism nor is there convincing evidence that third or fourth sons are most likely to stray into radicalized violence. Urdal and Hoelscher, argue that 'large urban male youth bulges do not seem to equate to high levels of youth frustration and exclusion... Furthermore, large urban male youth populations do not seem to increase the risk of disturbance more even in the context of low secondary education opportunities, or after the expansion of tertiary education that could cause a rapid increase in the number of highly educated youth with limited employment opportunities,'[24] but Urdal, (2012) does suggest that education and economic opportunities are central to pacification of youth bulges.[25]   This author's own research finds that education is indeed central to the issue of youth bulge but there is little within the Saudi case study to indicate the answer can be found in economic or relative deprivation theory for as Hamid, (2008) argues that if that were the case, terrorists would be drawn from ranks of Chinese rice farmers or from Mexico's shanty towns.'[26]   Nevertheless, when Peterson, (2002) lists nine concerns of Saudi citizens, all relate in some way to economic issues.[27]

In conclusion, Hypothesis 2, *Unemployment, and particularly unemployment of 3rd and subsequent sons are a factor in the radicalization of young Saudi men* is not proven.

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[23]Interview with relation of Wail and Waleed Al-Shiri, hijackers of AA 11 which impacted the North Tower on 9/11.See 9/11 Commission Report p92 & p95.
[24]Urdal and Hoelscher, (2009) p17.
[25]Urdal, (2012) p9.
[26](i) Meijer, (2005) lists those arrested or killed 14 June 2003 in Mecca belonging to the 'Khalidyya Cell'. Of these the average was just 19 years with some as young as 15. Given their age and national origin, Chadian, Malian and Egyptian, economic factors may have played a part in their radicalisation. See also Urdal, Population Resources and Political Violence. A subnational Study of India 1956-2002. P. 612 Appendix D. (ii) See Hamid, (2008) p57.
[27]Peterson, (2002) pp54-56.

9.2.3. Hypothesis 3

The Muslim Brotherhood infiltrated the Saudi education system half a century ago and their doctrine and ideology percolated throughout the Saudi educational system resulting in turning young men towards terrorism.

This thesis has shown that there is clear evidence that the Muslim Brotherhood were welcomed into Saudi Arabia and retain support in certain quarters even today as Haykel, (2015) states 'the Brotherhood has many sympathizers in Saudi Arabia.'[28] However, the question that remains is whether half a century later it was the doctrine of the Brotherhood that inspired those who planned, organized and acted out 9/11 and today inspires young Saudi men to martyrdom in the pursuit of the normative religious ideal that Qutb sought.

Lacroix, (2011) argues that there existed a certain alignment between the programme of Islamic modernization embarked upon by King Faisal in the 1960s and the ideology or the Muslim Brotherhood who fled repression in Egypt and having been granted refuge in Saudi Arabia were absorbed into the schools and universities.[29] Consequently for those fleeing Nasser, the timing was fortuitous since as Rouleau, (2002) states; their numbers ran into thousands, [30] whilst Brachman, (2009) saw in this group a 'reinvigorated Ikhwan' where 'no country would welcome them more with open arms than Saudi Arabia.'[31] Ayoob and Kosebalaban, (2009) confirm that when Saudi Arabia's educational system was young, the Muslim Brotherhood became teachers at all levels of education so they were able to subtlely promote their ideology throughout Saudi education to those who were most impressionable. Bowen, (2012) states that they 'had been the driving force behind political Islam for decades,'[32] whilst Brotherhood educators exposed young Saudis the ideology of the movement's leading thinkers including Qutb.'[33] We saw in Chapter 5 that Piscatori, (1986)

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[28]Haykel, (2015) Saudi Arabia in Transition, p333.
[29]Lacroix, p43.
[30]Rouleau, (2002) Trouble in the Kingdom. http://www.foreignaffairs.com/print/58042
[31]Brachman, (2009) p24.
[32]Bowen, (2012) p181.
[33]Ayoob and Kosebalaban, (2009) p49.

described Qutb as a man at odds with Western values who was equally critical of Muslims who showed any inclination towards the attractions of a secular society arguing that these people would need to be removed before the Brotherhood could move to the next stage of overcoming the unbelievers.[34] Kostiner, (2008) states that Brotherhoodhad brought with them into the Kingdom an intense dislike of all things Western,'[35] and Kepel, (2002) argues that their influence became globalized as their students from elsewhere in the Islamic world took with them the Brotherhood's teaching as they graduated from universities from as early as 1961.[36] Alaolmolki, (2009), reports that Qutb's time in the United States, led him to 'demonize modernity.'[37] Qutb saw the threat to his view of the purity of Islamic culture, because American cultures in the 1960s was contrary to traditional Islamic values,'[38] whilst Pyszczynsk et al., (2007) argue that for the Brotherhood, modernization poses a challenge to the established Islamic order.'[39]

There is conclusive evidence within this thesis that the Muslim Brotherhood was welcomed into Saudi Arabia and made the realm of education their own. We have seen that aspects of the religious curricula over which the Brotherhood had influence in its earliest days contained teachings that encouraged intolerance of other religions and peoples and incited the student to violence and rejection of modernization. But the question remains if the religious curricula and the Muslim Brotherhood are guilty turning young men to terrorism, why did only a relatively small number stray? The evidence gathered with a view to proving or rejecting the hypothesis results in a qualified conclusion. This author argues that the Muslim Brotherhood did indeed infiltrate the Saudi educational system half a century ago with the view to promoting their ideology to a receptive student audience and some remain today. It is most probable that Qutb became an inspiration for jihadis, bin-Laden, al-Qaeda, and those that

[34]Piscatori, (1986) p105.
[35]Kostiner, (2008) in Frisch and Inbar, (eds) (2008) p76.
[36]Kepel, (2002) p51.
[37]Alaolmolki, (2009) pp12-15.
[38]Pyszczynski, Solomon and Greenberg, pp157-158 cited in Mazarr, (2007) p85.
[39]Ibid.

followed.[40] It is also probable that today that same ideology influences those following the black flag of DAESH but these are a second or third or even fourth generation who have been so influenced. This latest generation of terrorists, are moulded less by the modernised educational system but by those who were influenced by education in the past and those descendants that remain. In effect, time is diluting the influence of the Brotherhood in the Saudi education system, but ideologically inspired puppet-masters continue to pose a threat to susceptible young men and the Kingdom at large. Consequently the hypothesis is adjudged to be proven but with reservations.

9.2.4. Hypothesis 4

The execution of Sayyid Qutb is a crucial factor in his elevation to martyrdom, his influence on radical Islamic thought and the promotion of anti-America feeling across the Middle East that resulted in 9/11 and beyond.

Adopting the ideology of ibn Taymiyya, (1263-1328) of strict adherence to Muslim principles Qutb called for jihad against infidel occupation of Muslim lands, even by 'people of the book.'[41] Sidahmed and Ehteshami, (1996) suggest that the Cold War and fears of Communism benefitted the Muslim Brotherhood with 'assistance and funding' being provided by 'Saudi Arabia and its allies,' and experience has proven that 'mainstream groups are not necessarily immune to the violent tactics associated with extremist groups.'[42] A common theme of a relatively small group of young impressionable men with perverse ideas of what it means to be Muslim and seeking martyrdom runs through this research project. It was suggested to this author that the problem that Saudi Arabia experiences today was probably conceived in Egyptian jails by the Muslim Brotherhood in the 1950s and 1960s where Sayyid Qutb wrote of an America he had seen and did not like and called for the Umma to rally to a pan-Islamic

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[40]Gerges, (2009) p4.
[41]Schwartz, (2002) p5. People of the Book - Jews and Christians.
[42]Sidahmed and Ehteshami, (1996) p7 & p11. For more on concerns over Communism in the Gulf and the Cold War see Ehteshami, (2013) p27.

caliphate.[43] There is a strong case to argue that a radical Qutb courted martyrdom and was executed as much for what he wrote as what he did. He knew that in calling for the 'vanguard' to lead to the overthrow of the traditional enemies of Islam, the Christians and Jews that he would first have to overcome those Muslims corrupted by 'Western-inspired barbarism.'[44] Evidence points to the fact that Qutb actively sought martyrdom in the full knowledge that his death by the Nasserite regime would erode its legitimacy. Weston, (2008) states that shortly before Qutb's execution Nasser sent Saddat to offer a pardon and the post of Minister of Education and all that that was required to secure his freedom was a signed letter requesting a pardon. Even when his family begged him to agree, Qutb refused stating 'my words will be stronger if they kill me.'[45] In life he was an annoyance but in death he would be an inspiration to Islamists for generations to come, and so it came to pass. Qutb's short term objectives were also clearly realized since his execution resulted in world-wide protest and condemnation of the Egyptian regime and 'Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Zaydan from Saudi Arabia berated the unjust verdict on Qutb.'[46] Calvert, (2010) states that Qur'anic texts regarding jihad are contradictory, arguing in that in various texts it calls for radically different action from non-confrontation, to defensive strategies to all-out war. He directs us to one of the 'sword verses,'[47] that calls for the Umma to fight all those who do not share their faith and this is the position adopted by those young Saudis that rally to the flag of DAESH and now pose a very real threat to their homeland and beyond.

The current propaganda broadcast by DAESH[48] echoes the teaching of Qutb and is resulting in a significant upsurge in recruitment to their cause by young Saudi men. On 19 July 2015, the Ministry of the Interior reported that 431 members of DAESH have been arrested in the Kingdom. They had neutralised cells 'with diabolical plans,' which operated independent of each other and which were targeting diplomatic missions and security forces. A camp at

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[43]Interview with abu Salah, Professional (age 40), Riyadh, 10 July 2014.
[44]Calvert, (2010) p2, & Mitchell, (1993) p141.
[45]Weston, (2008) p364.
[46]Yousef, (2009) Sayyid Qutb: A Study of his Tafsir, p70.
[47]Calvert, (2010) p221.
[48]From Dabiq, DAESH on-line magazine and sites such as Daashi Waftikher, Ba't Almonia, Jonoon Alistishhad, Julaybib Jazrawi, Ghorbah 4, Taiwilblim and Hizam Nasif. Information published by MOI through Saudi Press Agency and Arab News.

Sharourah near the Yemen border had been used for training and those arrested included Saudis, Egyptians. Syrians, Jordanians, Algerians, Nigerians and Chadians,[49] and most of the Saudis were under the age of 24.[50] Whilst six terrorists were killed during the operation 37 security force personnel and civilians were also killed and 120 injured.

In the pursuit of an Islamic caliphate, probably inspired by Qutb, it has been established that Saudi terrorists come from all levels of society and educational levels and a picture emerges of a microcosm of any typical military unit in so much as al-Qaeda and later, DAESH recruited a well-educated officer corps, logisticians, and foot soldiers culminating in units having the necessary range of skills required to conduct para-military operations. As Tilly, (2004) suggests: 'Even when they organize in opposition to existing governments, specialists in coercion typically adopt forms of organization, external connections and sources of supply resembling those of government-employed specialists.'[51] Qutb incited the Umma to overthrow the 'oppressors … for oppression is even worse than killing' and to 'fight them until there is no more oppression, and submission is made to God alone.'[52] DAESH today and al-Qaeda before them have taken on the mission bequeathed them by Qutb but with a level of barbarity that may even have appalled Qutb himself. Some recruitment takes place within Islamic universities where frequently students study for no more than one academic year before moving on to their perverse interpretation of jihad. It would appear that the less well educated are radicalized by manipulative men in or around certain mosques or perhaps more today by the internet recruiters.

However, the extent of problem may be exacerbated and exaggerated by the media both within and external to the Kingdom. Seib, (2005) argues that the media have significant impact on the perceptions of 'a mass audience' and that they fall short in the quality of their reporting

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[49]Arab News, 21 August 2105 reported that 2 Chadian members of Al Qaeda had been executed in Jeddah for the murder of French citizen Lauent Barbot (2004).
[50]Interview/discussion with Azzam, 22 August 2015, Riyadh. See also Miejer, (2005) pp307-311 for nationality and age parallels with al- Qaeda terrorists from 2003.
[51]Tilly, C., Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists. *Sociological Theory,* Vol.22, No.1, Theories of Terrorism: A Symposium, (Mar 2004)p6.
[52]Qutb, (2003) In the Shade of the Qur'an Vol 1, pp251-252.

on Saudi Arabia, failing to understand the complexities of the Kingdom's politics and the nuances of its Islamic and internal culture.[53]   He claims that the media are given to lazy sensationalist reporting since 'understanding Saudi Arabia requires knowing something about Saudi Arabia and this is where the Western news media, as well as many parts of the education system, do a poor job.'[54]   From there he suggests that it is only a short journey from the media's 'one-dimensional' treatment and use of 'journalist or pedagogic shorthand' to an association between Saudi Arabia, Islam and terrorism.[55]

This author concludes that the news of the execution of Sayyid Qutb broadcast to an audience throughout the Islamic world and beyond propelled him from the position of disillusioned academic and radical Islamist, to a purposeful self-inflicted martyrdom that had an impact probably beyond even what he could have envisaged. Given that he and his doctrine appear to have been the inspiration for those perpetrators of 9/11 and radically inspired violence since, it is arguable that had he not scorned a pardon, or if Nasser had decided on a less provocative course of action, there may have been no 9/11, no Bush war on terror, no al-Qaeda and DAESH and the Middle East might today be a more peaceful place. Consequently, the hypothesis that: *The execution of Sayyid Qutb is a crucial factor in his elevation to martyrdom, his influence on radical Islamic thought and the promotion of anti-America feeling across the Middle East that resulted in 9/11 and beyond,* is argued to be proven.

9.2.5. Hypothesis 5

Youth bulge theory is inadequate in its present form because it is overly orientated towards the study of civil war, failing to offer an adequate theoretical framework for the type of violence perpetrated by members of the Saudi youth bulge and moreover requires recalibration to take account of Saudi exceptionalism.

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[53]Seib, News Coverage of Saudi Arabia's Response to Terrorism in Saudis and Terror in Al-Bishr, (ed) (2005) p351.
[54]Ibid.
[55]Ibid.

In defining youth bulge theory Urdal, (2006) argues that 'exceptionally large youth cohorts, the so-called "youth bulges," make countries more susceptible to political violence,'[56] and that the theory that youth bulges contribute to political violence, terrorism and civil war, receives wide support in the academy. He elaborates by stating that youth bulges provide the source of expendable manpower resources need to support all three types of violence and unemployment may be a factor in increasing the risk of violence in youth bulge situations. Furthermore, as economic deprivation increases in tandem with an increase in higher education so too does the 'risk of terrorism but not rioting.'[57] We saw from earlier in this thesis that Collier and Hoeffler, (1998)[58] favour economic factors as primary causes of political violence although they concentrate on the broader subject of civil war rather than the type of terrorism that has been perpetrated by Saudis. Through their research they also identify other causes for political violence and civil war, including what they term 'ethno-linguistic fractionalization,'[59] whilst just touching on youth bulge as a factor in passing. In a paper from 2002[60] they again look to the causes of civil war and conclude that 'greed' is a more powerful motivator to political violence than 'grievance' but again make only passing reference to youth bulge when identifying the impact of education enrolment on youth bulge opportunity cost of joining armed resistance. Whilst widely regarded as leading theorists on political violence and civil war, their work, by their own admission attracts 'considerable challenge and debate'[61] such as that from Nathan, (2005) arguing that Collier and Hoeffler's 'findings are unreliable and their conclusions are unjustified …because they do not analyse civil war and rebels'[62] In a yet later work, Collier and Hoeffler, (2006) argue for a 'feasibility hypothesis' wherein they conclude that where the conditions exist for civil war it will break out irrespective of

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[56]Urdal, (2006) *International Studies Quarterly* (2006) 50, 697-629, p607.See also Cabras, A. (2010) NATO Parliamentary Assembly, Mediterranean and Middle East Special Group Annual Report: The Implications of The Youth Bulge in Middle East and North African Populations.http://www.nato-pa.int/default.asp?SHORTCUT=2342
[57]Ibid.
[58]Collier and Hoeffler, (1998) *Oxford Economic Papers* 50 (1998) 563-573, p563.
[59]Ibid., p571.
[60]Collier and Hoeffler, (2002) Greed and Grievance in Civil War CSAE WPS/2002-01, and (2004) *Oxford Economic Papers,* 56: 563-95.
[61]Collier, Hoeffler and Rohner, CSAE WPS/2006-10 Beyond Greed and Grievance:p19. See also Collier, Hoeffler and Rohner, (2007) in Sandler & Hartley, (eds) (2007) pp711-719.
[62]Nathan, September 2005 Crisis States Development Centre, Discussion Paper no. 11, pp22-23.

'motivations.'[63] Barely two weeks before 9/11, Fearon and Laitin, (2001) wrote that states that are vulnerable to 'insurgency, or rural guerrilla warfare' are those that emerged as empires faded. They define insurgency as 'a mode of military practice that can be harnessed for various political agenda.'[64] Whilst they listed a wide range of countries which they suggested were susceptible to such insurgency, Saudi Arabia was not on their list, primarily because they prioritized poverty and economic factors as the best predictors of political violence.[65] Taking a different approach, Bachrach et al., (1970) argue that 'participation is the chief means by which the poverty-stricken can acquire the power, authority and influence they need to advance their economic and social status,'[66] but economic deprivation was not what motivated 9/11 and what followed.

Whilst we started by considering youth bulge theory and its efficacy in explaining the Saudi youth bulge and why some of these young people turned to terrorism, it is apparent that the discussion is readily deflected into the mainstream research channels of causes of civil war, some of which may be relevant to Saudi Arabia's youth bulge and it links to terrorism, but much of it is not. However, it does offer a broad exploratory framework for discussion and analysis and therein lays its value. However, through studying the work that has been carried out on civil wars we are able to illustrate the deficiency in the literature on the type of violence that youth bulges have carried out in terrorist related incidents and more specifically that which young Saudis have perpetrated both home and abroad. McGuire, (2007) talks of culture driven conflicts and 'Islamicist and psycho-terrorist threats,' that reverberates with echoes of Huntington, (1993),[67] who himself argues that; 'these youth provide the recruits for Islamic organizations and political movements.'[68] If he was to update the Clash of Civilizations nearly two decades on, he would probably need to add, 'and these feed the Islamist organizations

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[63]Collier, Hoeffler and Rohner, CSAE WPS/2006-10 Beyond Greed and Grievance, p20.
[64]Fearon and Laitin, 20 August 2001, Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War pp27-28.
[65]Ibid, p28.
[66]Bachrach,et al., (1970) p201 in Bachrach and Baratz (1970) p201.
[67]McGuire, (2007) Economics of Defence in a Globalized World, in Sadler and Hartley (2007) Handbook of Defence Economics p640.
[68]Huntington, (1996) p118.

inspired by the martyrdom of Qutb to create an Islamic caliphate through all violent means.'[69]

Urdal, arguably the leading academic in the field of youth bulge theory argues that the work of Huntington, (1996), Goldstone, (2001), Fearon and Latin, (2003) and Collier and Hoefller, (2004) is flawed because of the way they measure youth bulges.[70]   Urdal favours a measurement rubric of 15-24 year old compared to the total adult population aged over 15. However, such preoccupation with measures indicates a potential flaw in the use of quantitative methodology in the study of youth bulge. Whilst it may be valuable for the macro-level of analysis it lacks the flexibility needed for an in-depth understanding of complex human conditions.

This author concludes that existing Youth bulge theory is inadequate in its present form because it is overly orientated towards the study of civil war. It fails to offer an adequate theoretical framework for the type of violence perpetrated by members of the Saudi youth bulge and moreover requires further recalibration to take account of Saudi exceptionalism. This is not to say that youth bulge theory has no value, it has considerable value at a global macro-level and data drawn from specific country studies all contributes to a better understanding of causes of civil war. However, 9/11 and the violence that was experienced in Saudi Arabia did not constitute civil war within the conceptual framework constructed by Sambanis, (2004).[71] This final hypothesis is proven.

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[69]This author's suggestion for update to Huntington's (1996) The Clash of Civilizations.
[70]Urdal, (2006) p615. See also Table 1.1. of this thesis.
[71]Sambanis, What is Civil War? *Journal of Conflict Resolution,* Vol. 48, No. 6. December 2004, 814-858.

9.2.6. The Research Question….and the Answer.

The Research Question asked: Does Saudi Arabia's Youth Bulge constitute a threat to domestic and international security?

The Answer is: It most definitely does not…..**BUT** three to four thousands of them most definitely do and as Fearon and Laitin, (2001) state the impact that 'just 500 to 2000 active guerrillas can make for a long running and highly destructive internal war.'[72]

9.3. CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE AND POTENTIAL OBJECTIONS TO THE THESIS

9.3.1. The Contribution to Knowledge

Whilst it has been demonstrated that the body of knowledge on youth bulge theory is as extensive as it is contentious, and that written on Saudi Arabia is as voluminous as it is repetitive, little that has been written prior to this thesis that relates specifically to Saudi Arabia's youth bulge, that is specific to its impact on domestic and international security. This thesis therefore goes some way to addressing that shortfall in the literature. Furthermore, whilst much that has been written on the Kingdom is of varying quality, much is more than five years out of date and with the fast moving events in the Middle East no longer represents an accurate picture of how things are in late 2015.[73] Events are moving at such a pace that even the most recent work would benefit from constant updating.[74] The objective of this thesis to fill that gap in the literature has largely been achieved and it is believed that this thesis will be useful to academics and Saudi Arabia watchers alike.

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[72]Ibid., p28.
[73]See: Safran, (1988); Wiison and Graham, (1994); Peterson, (2002); Cordesman, (2003); Aarts and Nonneman, (eds) (2005); Chai, (2005); Ménoret, (2005); Craze and Huband, (eds) (2009); Nagunian, (2009); Yamani, (2009); Hegghammer, (2010); Hertog, (2010); Al-Rasheed, (2002, 2010); Lacroix, (2010).
[74]See Elliott House, (2012); Hammond, (2012); Lippman, (2012); Al-Rasheed, (2013); Gerges, (2014); Haykel, Hegghammer and Lacroix, (2015).

9.3.2. Potential Objections to Thesis

This thesis has critiqued some of the work that has been produced on Saudi Arabia over the past thirty years and authors are jealous of their contribution to knowledge. However, few authors with work published on Saudi Arabia have in-depth understanding of the Saudi people and one should never assume that simply having the ability to speak Arabic bestows upon a researcher a deep understanding of an enigmatic people. It is likely that some may take issue with what is written here and that it would likely have the potential for some lively debate and some has already taken place.[75] Every effort has been made to faithfully represent all information that has been shared with this author by interviewees and those with whom I have had the privilege to have many hours of discussion on all things Saudi and beyond over several years. Every attempt has been made to faithfully and accurately report research findings and if anywhere it has fallen short, then the responsibility is mine and mine alone.

9.4. Potential for Future Research

As stated above, events in and around Saudi Arabia move at a considerable pace and just as earlier literature is time bound and requires updating, so will the same fate will befall this thesis. Today, it is current, as up to date as it can be, but soon its value will also erode with time. Consequently, the potential for future research in this field lies with those who will take up the challenge to continue where this thesis ends. Ideally this will come from researchers who not only have an interest in Saudi Arabia and issues of security but also care about the youth of the Kingdom and seek to faithfully represent their hopes, fears and aspirations. As Saudi Arabia expands its programmes of Higher Education both at home and abroad there is potential for young Saudis to rise to the challenge of research in this field, this time offering the academy a view through Arab and Islamic eyes rather than from the West. Finally, I return to Fandy, (2001) and the concerns he and I share. He recounts that having spent most of his life studying the Arab world he is 'struck by what little relevance Western theory has to the

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[75]Meeting with Ménoret, 28 March 2013, Abu Dhabi.

world of the Arabs.'[76] The solution to that rests with a new generation of young Arab political

and social scientists, for them to create theory that is appropriate to the Arabs and Arabia.

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[76]Fandy, (2001) p14.

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Photographs

Photograph depicting Four Schools of Sunni Jurisprudence Separated at the Kabah, Mecca.

Photograph taken from the book: Al-Kashf Almobdee, p98.

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ANNEX A to Thesis:

Recalibrating Youth Bulge Theory

Saudi Arabia's Youth and the Threat to Security

September 2015

Record of Attacks carried out across the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia by followers of Extremist Ideology November 2014 - September 2015

ANNEX A

Record of Attacks carried out across the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia by followers of Extremist Ideology November 2014 - September 2015

04 November 2014 at Dalwa, al-Ahsa, nine Shia were shot dead and 13 injured by masked gunmen on Ashoura.[1] 2 policemen and 3 terrorists were killed in follow-on raids in Al-Shaqra, Qassim Province and other cities across the Kingdom. The Ministry of the Interior stated that the terrorists received orders from Islamic State outside of the Kingdom. They named them as follows:

Abdullah al-Sarhan (Saudi) - previous criminal record.

Khaled al-Anazi (Saudi) - previous criminal record.

Marwan al-Thafar (Saudi) - previous criminal record.

Tariq al-Maimani (Saudi) - no previous criminal record.

Abdullah al-Anazi (Saudi) - killed by police.

Sami al-Motari (Saudi) - killed by police.

Salem al-Morri (Qatari) - killed by police.

Source Ministry of Interior, Saudi Press Agency.[2]

30 January 2015. American citizen shot in al-Ahsa[3]

Early April 2015.[4] Mohammed al-Agaily (born 14 September 1976) was employed by BAE Systems as a Data Entry Specialist at Prince Sultan Air Base, al-Kharj from 20 February 1999. In 2010 he left for a year of unpaid leave with his family to study in Australia[5] but appears not to have returned to Riyadh until sometime in 2014. Upon his return he left his wife and daughter and went to Syria. An interviewee stated that al-Agaily's brother had received news from Syria

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[1] Asoura, Shia day of remembrance for Husain bin Ali killed, at the Battle of Karbala, 680 (AD).
[2] Arab News, 25 November 2014. IS behind Al-Ahsa attack.
[3] Al-Arabiya, Saudi Arabia: Gunfire wounds American in Al-Ahsa.
[4] There is no official confirmation of the date of death, just the call to his brother from Syria.
[5] Al-Agaily studied at Langports English language College. Letter from Suzie Morrow Student Services Manager 08 June 2010.

of his brother's martyrdom. Given the limited time between al-Agaily's return from Australia and his departure for Syria, it would appear that he was radicalized whilst in Australia.[6]

08 April 2015. Two police officers were murdered in a drive-by shooting in Eastern Riyadh.[7] On 24 April 2015 Mohammed Abdulrahman Abu Niyyan (23) was arrested for the killing. Under interrogation he confirmed that he and Nawf bin Sharif Samir al-Onaizi had been recruited by DAESH and paid to carry out attacks on security forces. Onaizi was arrested on 28 April 2015 after a gun battle at a desert camp at Ramah. Police had received information regarding his whereabouts following the posting of a SR1 million reward.[8] The Ministry of the Interior state that DAESH strategy is to discourage recruits from travelling to Iraq and Syria, instead encouraging them to carry out lone-wolf attacks inside Saudi Arabia.[9]

08 May 2015. A policeman was shot dead in south Riyadh. On 19 May it was reported that an un-named terrorist had been arrested by GIP agents[10] in al-Rabwah, Riyadh.[11]

22 May 2015. A Saudi, Salih bin Abdulrahman Salah al-Ghishaami (20) entered the Shia, Ali ibn Taleb mosque in al-Qadeeh, Qatif in the Eastern Province, and detonated an explosive device in a suicide attack aimed at inciting sectarian violence. 21 worshipers were killed and over 100 injured.[12] DAESH claimed responsibility and published a picture of the bomber under the name of Abu Amer al-Najdi.[13]

The following youths were arrested as alleged members of the cell that planned and carried out the al-Qadeeh attack. The Ministry of Interior has yet to release further details regarding backgrounds of education and employment. Articles in Sabq, al-Arabia and al-Madina

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[6]Interview, Riyadh 29 April 2015 with person involved in dealing with the documentation related to al-Agaili's death.
[7]Arab News, 08 April 2015. 2 Saudi police shot dead in Eastern Riyadh. http://www.arabnews.com/featured/news/729521
[8](i)Varghese, 28 April 2015. http://www.ibtimes.co.in/riyadh-shooting-saudi-police-arrest-wanted-isis-jihadi-following-gun-battle-630643 (ii) Saudi Gazette, 28 April 2015, Manhunt leads to arrest of terrorist. http://www.saudigazette.com.sa/index.cfm?method=home.regcon&contentid=20150428241963
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[12]The Express Tribune 24 May 2015. Suspects in Saudi suicide bombing to face justice: King. http://tribune.com.pk/story/891511/suspects-in-saudi-suicide-bombing-to-face-justice-king/
[13]Saudi Gazette, 22 May 2015. Several casualties in Qatif mosque explosion. http://www.saudigazette.com.sa/index.cfm?method=home.regcon&contentid=20150522244683

e-newspapers indicate that these arrested youths are aged between 15 and 27.[14] During interrogation many referred to the Prophet's Hadith entitled, 'The Hadith of end of times religious outlaws.'[15]

There will come towards the end of time, a people who will be young in age, having reckless and deficient intellects, they will speak the words of the best of creation, yet they will pass though Islam just as an arrow passes through a target.[16]

Muhammad bin Hamad al-Humidi

Muhammad bin Hamdan al-Mutairi

Osama bin Ali al-Othman.

Aseed bin Othman al-Dewish

Dakeel Shabeeb al-Dossari

Muhammad bin Ibrahim al-Hamdan

Salah bin Sa'ad al Sunidi

Saleh bin Ibrahim al-Nami

Muhammad bin Abdulaziz al-Roba'a

Saleh bin Muhammadal Saui "al Anazi (age 15)

Ahmedbin Abdullah al-Essa

Sulaiman bin Abdulaziz al-Roba'a

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[14]Sabq, al-Arabia and al-Madina newspapers.
[15]Salih al-Jami (no. 7883) by al-Albani.
[16]Ibid.

Essam bin Sulaiman al-Dawood

Muaad bin Abdulmohsen al-Zamil

Abdullah bin Sulaiman al-Faraj

Abdurahman bin Fahad al- Twijiri

Abdullah bin Abdulrahman al-Talq (age 15)

Abdullah bin Mishal al-Kathiri

Abdullah bin Abdulaziz al-Saui "al-Anazi" (age 16)

Abdullah bin Abdulaziz al-Hathal.

The subject of the end of times (eschatology) is central to Islamic belief as the fifth article of faith. In the end of days Jesus Christ has a significant part to play in Islam as the Messiah returns to defeat Dajjal the antichrist. Dajjal will be 'young with twisted, contracted hair and a blind eye… he will appear between Syria and Iraq and would spread mischief right and left.'[17] Whilst many moderate Muslims appear to believe that the return of Christ may come as earlyas 2022, anticipating end of time appears to play a major part in the motivation for Saudi youths seeking to join DAESH. However, the U.S. State Department reports that ISIS state in their own releases that they find difficulty in recruiting 'informed Muslims because Islam makes them tend towards life and their community', whilst finding their most fruitful recruiting grounds among those young men 'they call losers**,** ignorant about their Islamic faith and marginalized by drugs, alcoholism, crime, mental illness or recent life-changing events.'[18] It would appear that these young men are readily convinced that the end of time will come as early as 2015 or 2016 when they, the Muslims 'defeat Rome at al-Amaq or Dabiq two places

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[17]Islam and World events. What does Islam believe about the End Times and Death? http://www.truthnet.org/islam/Islam-Bible/4Islambeliefs/ See also, Lacoste, (1984) Ibn Khaldun on the Caliphate and the AntiChrist, p166.
[18]Huffington Post, 24 February 2015. Muslims predict Jesus will defeat ISIS, beginning in 2015. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/dr-david-liepert/muslims-predict-jesus-def_b_6725486.html

close to the Syrian border with Turkey.'[19] It is for this reason that DAESH's on-line recruitment and propaganda tool is entitled 'Dabiq.' It seeks to entice and entrap impressionable young men to be part of the army that will defeat the infidel at the end of days: It invites young men to become soldiers in the cause that will see Islam conquer the world.

> "You will invade the Arabian Peninsula, and Allah will enable you to conquer it. You will then invade Persia, and Allah will enable you to conquer it. You will then invade Rome, and Allah will enable you to conquer it. Then you will fight the [false messiah], and Allah will enable you to conquer him."[20]

30 May 2015.   A 20-year-old Saudi, Khaled al-Wahbi al-Shemari, disguised as a woman attempted to enter the Anoud mosque in Dammam.[21] He detonated an explosive belt he was wearing killing himself and three others. Following the attack the Ministry of the Interior released the names of 16 suspects wanted in connection with this incident and the attack in Qatif the previous week. Rewards of SR 1 million were offered' for information leading to the arrest of a single suspect, SR 5 million for more than one and SR 7 million for information leading to the government thwarting a terror operation.'[22]

[19]McCants, 03 October 2014. The Brooking Institute: ISIS Fantasises of an Apocalyptic Showdown in Northern Syria. http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/markaz/posts/2014/10/03-isis-apocalyptic-showdown-syria-mccants
[20]Dabiq Issue 2 in English The Flood, p44. https://azelin.files.wordpress.com/2014/07/islamic-state-e2809cdc481biq-magazine-2e280b3.pdf
[21]Arab News, 31May 2015. Alert security averts catastrophe. http://www.arabnews.com/news/753781
[22]Arab News, 04 June 2015. Interior Ministry names suspects in Dammam mosque bombing. http://www.arabnews.com/news/756271

List of 16 Wanted in Connection with Bombing of Eastern Province Mosques, June 2015:

Ibrahim Yousef Ibrahim Al-Wazzan

Ahmed Salem Ahmed Al-Halif Al-Ghamdi

Bassam Mansour Hamad Al-Yahya

Hassan Hamid Hassan Al-Waibari Al- Shammari

Hassan Faraj Al-Qarqah al-Qahtani

Saeed Falah Ayedh Al-Rashid

Sultan Abdulaziz Ali Al-Husseini Al-Shihri

Swailem Al-Hadi Sweillem Al-Qai'qai' Al-Ruwaili

Abdulrahman Ali Al-Bakri Al-Shihri

Abdulrahim Abdullah Omar Al-Mutlaq

Abdulhadi Moaedh Al-Qahtani

Faisal Mohammed Saeed Al-Hamid Al-Zahrani

Mohsen Mohammed Al-Otaibi

Mohammed Sulaiman Rahian Al-Saqri al-Anzi

Mohamed Awadh Saeed Al-Fahmi Al-Zahrani

Hisham Fahd Mohammed Al-Khudair

26 June 2015. Fahad Suleiman al-Gabbaa, a 23-year-old Saudi with no previous criminal record but radical religious views, left Riyadh on the evening of 25 June and flew to Bahrain.[23] In the

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[23]Arab News, 30 June 2015. Kuwait mosque bomber 'had no criminal record.' http://www.arabnews.com/saudi-arabia/news/769561

early hours of the next morning he flew onward to Kuwait where he was taken by Abdulrahman Sabah Eidan Saud, an illegal, to the al-Imam al-Sadeq mosque where he detonated an explosive belt, killing 27 worshipers and injuring 227 others.[24]

03 July 2015. Security forces engaged a group of young Saudi terrorists in Taif during which an officer of the Ministry of the interior was killed. DAESH flags, weapons and computers were seized. The MOI stated that the group was targeting 'houses of God.'[25]

07 July 2015. Three brothers, Majed and Mohammed and one unnamed al-Zahrani, were arrested by security forces who alleged that they drove into Kuwait with the explosives for the mosque bombing hidden in a cool box.[26] The explosives were of the same type as used in the Qatif and Dammam mosque bombing and had entered Saudi Arabia from Bahrain.[27] Majed was arrested in Taif, whilst Mohammed was arrested after a gun battle with police in Khafji near Saudi Arabia's border with Kuwait. The third brother was arrested in Kuwait and extradited to Saudi Arabia. A fourth brother is presently with DAESH in Syria.[28]

16 July 2015. Abdullah al-Rasheed murdered his uncle Colonel Rashid Ibrahim al-Safyan. Al-Rasheed had lived with his mother in the same building in Riyadh as the guest of his uncle. After the killing, al-Raheed took his uncle's car to the Ha'er Maximum Security Prison in southern Riyadh and detonated explosives in a suicide attack. Family members report that he had graduated from High School and had been unemployed for a year, but other than noticing 'a change in his behavior… they could not see anything beyond that.'[29] This murder and suicide bombing took place just months after DAESH called on young converts to stay at home and attack security forces and Westerners. In a DAESH video aired by *al-Jazeerah* two Saudi

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[24]Al Bawaba News, Kuwait, 28 June 2015, Kuwait identifies mosque bomber as Saudi national. http://www.albawabaeg.com/57083
[25]Ibid.
[26]Arab News, 07 July 2015, 3 Saudi brothers in net for Kuwait bombing. http://www.arabnews.com/featured/news/772996
[27]Iran-daily.com 13 July 2015, Explosives for Kuwait mosque bombing came from Bahrain: Suspects. http://www.iran-daily.com/News/122108
[28]Arab News, 07 July 2015.
[29]Saudi Gazette, 18 July 2015. 'Al-Raheed shot his uncle four times and knifed him ten times.' http://www.saudigazette.com.sa/index.cfm?method=home.regcon&contentid=20150719250795

members of DAESH are shown calling for people to murder friends and relations who are members of the security forces or the military.[30]

28 July 2015. Three police officers fired upon in Al-Jesh Village in Qatif Area. One officer Sami al-Harbi was killed and two other officers were injured.[31]

13 August 2015. An attack on the Special Emergency Forces Mosque in Abha (Asir Province) demonstrated a shift in DAESH tactics. This was an attack on a Sunni mosque that targeted Special Forces trainees and soldiers at Thursday, Zuhr (noon) prayers. Saudi, Yousef bin Sulaiman Abdullah al-Sulaiman, (21) was identified as the suicide bomber. 11 members of the anti-terrorism force were killed along with 4 Bangladeshis employed in the centre.[32] The attack was claimed by a previously unknown affiliate group of DAESH, calling itself Hijaz Province of Islamic State.[33]

04 September 2015. Sergeant Ali al-Habeebwas killed in a terrorist attack on a security facility in Abqaiq. The assailant, Nawaf Manahi Shabib al-Otaibi, was cornered in a building in the industrial part of the city. Called upon to surrender he refused, and as he was thought to be wearing an explosive belt was killed by security forces.[34]

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[30]Video clip shown by al-Jazeerah. Video viewed with Azzam, Riyadh, 19 July 2015. See Bell, (2005) p37.
[31]Saudi Gazette, 29 July 2015: Policeman shot dead in Qatif.
http://www.saudigazette.com.sa/index.cfm?method=home.regcon&contentid=20150730251942 Author's interview with Abu Abdullah, cousin of murdered policeman, 02 August 2015, Riyadh.
[32]Ministry of the Interior reported in Arab News, 15 August 2015.
 MOI names martyrs and villain in Asir mosque attack. http://www.arabnews.com/featured/news/788306
[33]Al-Arabya 07 August 2015. Islamic State claims responsibility for Saudi mosque bombing.
http://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/news/2015/8/7/is-claims-responsibility-for-saudi-attack
[34]Arab News, 05 September 2015, Sergeant slain in terror attack. http://www.arabnews.com/saudi-arabia/news/801836

ANNEX B to Thesis:

Recalibrating Youth Bulge Theory

Saudi Arabia's Youth and the Threat to Security

September 2015

(i)   Maps showing regions of Islamic Jurisprudence.
(ii)   Photograph depicting Four Schools of Sunni Jurisprudence separated at the Kabah, Mecca.

ANNEX B

(i)   Maps showing regions of Islamic Jurisprudence

https://religionandmore.wordpress.com/tag/law-2/
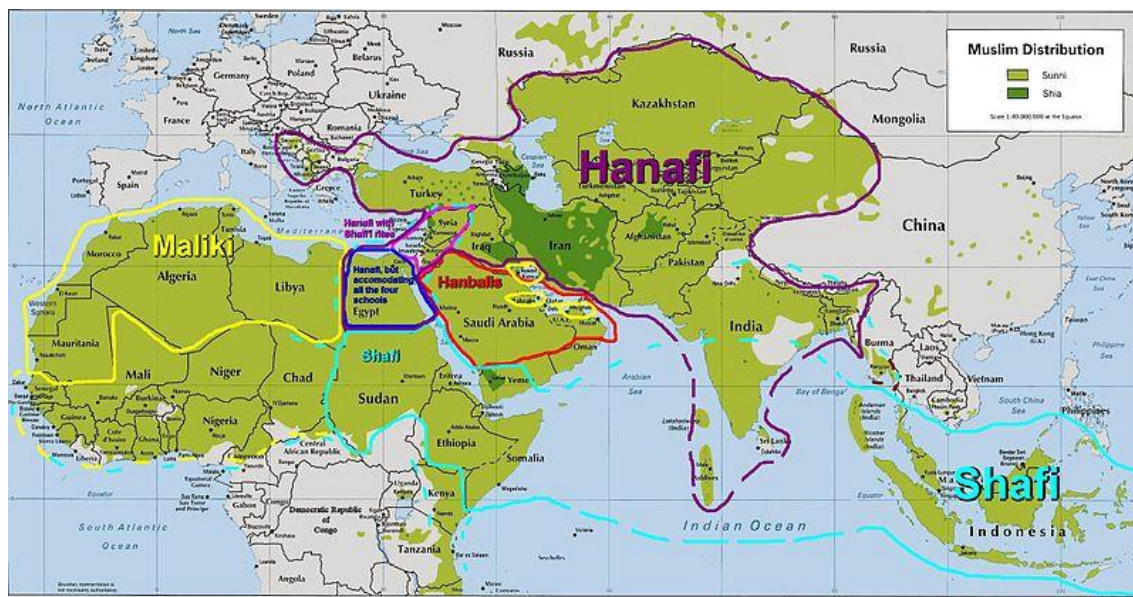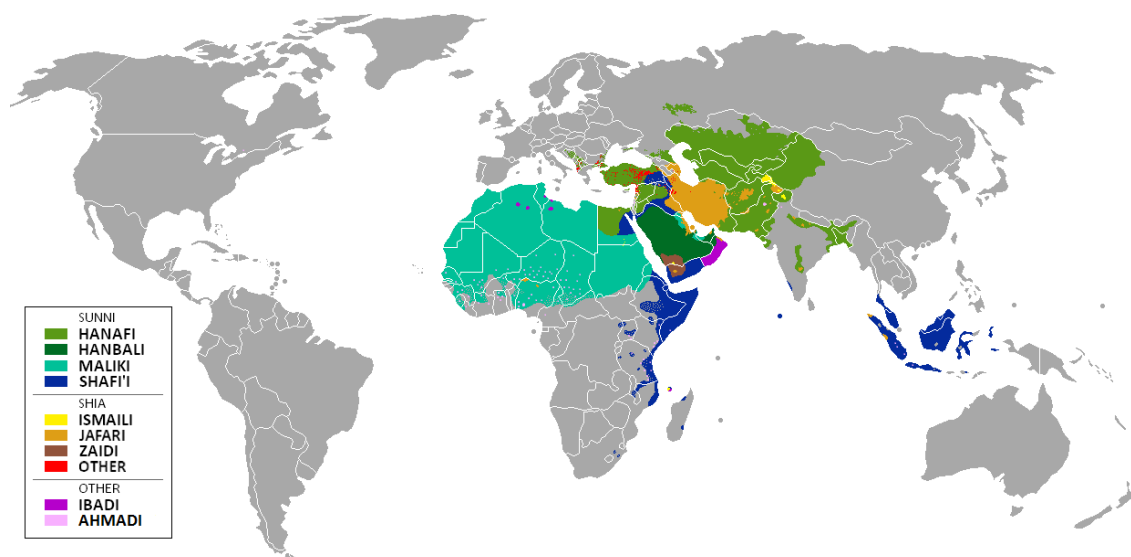
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanafi#/media/File:Madhhab_Map3.png

Map showing the Sunni/Shia divide in the Middle East

http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/the-middle-east-divide-between-sunni-and-shia-explained-in-one-map-a6797796.html

(ii)   Photograph depicting Four Schools of Sunni Jurisprudence Separated at the Kaabah, Mecca.

المقامات الاربعة حتى عام ١٣٧٦هـ

الشافعي ② المقام الحنفي ③ المقام المالكى ④ المقام الحنبلى

Photograph taken from the book: Al-Kashf Almobdee, p98.
Author: Sheikh Muhammed Al Faqih, first ed. 2002, Dar Al Fadilah Publishing.

ANNEX C to Thesis:

Recalibrating Youth Bulge Theory

Saudi Arabia's Youth and the Threat to Security

September 2015

Employment and Education Survey

Kwik*surveys*

Survey end-date: 30 November 2012

Number of responses: 1196

To gather date on the views that Saudi Arabia's youth bulge hold on education and employment, a survey was carried out using social media and email. Forty-three questions were posed and one thousand, one hundred and ninety-six responses were received.

Quick Report

How old are you?ما عمرك؟

	15 - 20	20-25	25 - 30	30 - 35	Over 35 أكثر من	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	64 (5%)	287 (24%)	339 (29%)	261 (22%)	223 (19%)	93.36	1174
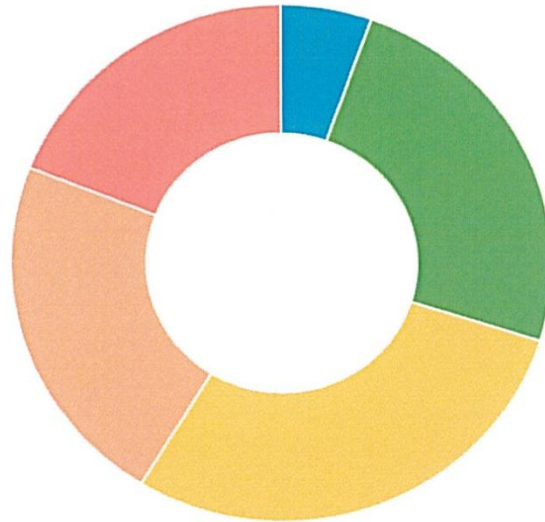
●15 - 20 ●20-25 ●25 - 30 ●30 - 35 ●Over 35 أكثر من

هل أنت ذكر أو أنثى؟Are you male or female?

	● Male ذكر	● Female أنثى	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	741 (63%)	429 (37%)	156	1170

● Male ذكر   ● Female أنثى
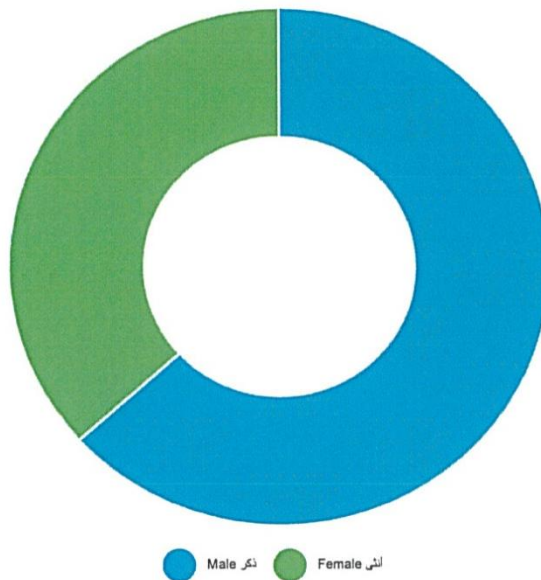
In which part of the Kingdom do you live?من أي منطقة في المملكة تسكن؟

	Riyadh Province منطقة الرياض	Mecca Province منطقة مكه المكرمة	Medina Province منطقة المدينة المنورة	Qassim Province منطقة القصيم	Tabuk Province منطقة تبوك	Jezan Province منطقة جازان	Najran Province منطقة نجران	Northern Border Province منطقة الحدود الشمالية	Asir Province منطقة عسير	Eastern Province المنطقة الشرقية	Western Province المنطقة الغربية	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	602 (51%)	155 (13%)	25 (2%)	67 (6%)	28 (2%)	10 (1%)	10 (1%)	24 (2%)	40 (3%)	185 (16%)	29 (2%)	166.31	1175

Riyadh Province منطقة الرياض   Mecca Province منطقة مكه المكرمة   Medina Province منطقة المدينة المنورة   Qassim Province منطقة القصيم

Tabuk Province منطقة تبوك   Jezan Province منطقة جازان   Najran Province منطقة نجران   Northern Border Province منطقة الحدود الشمالية

Asir Province منطقة عسير   Eastern Province المنطقة الشرقية   Western Province المنطقة الغربية
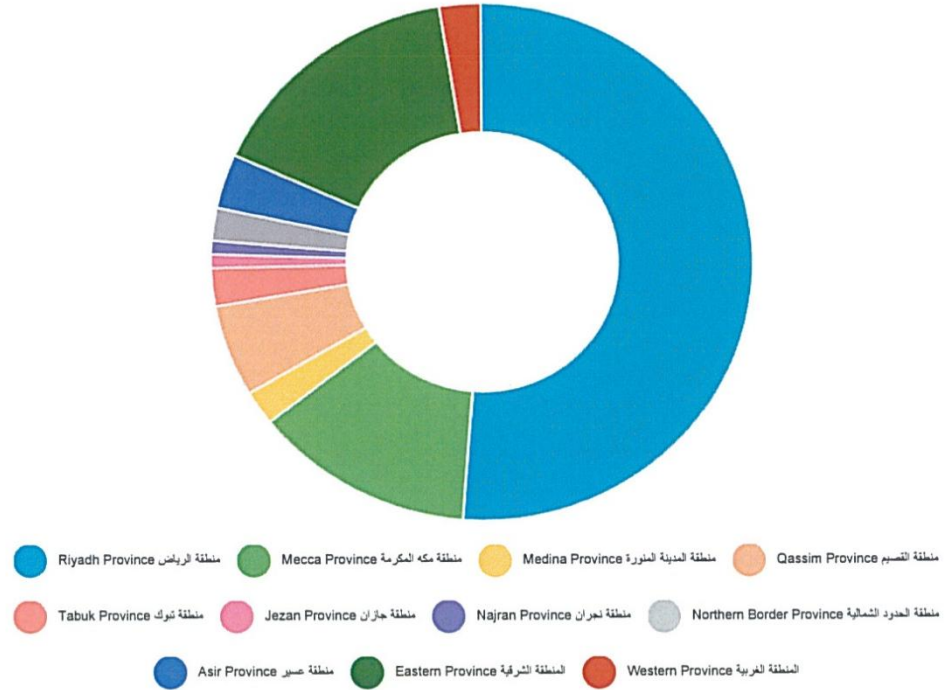
ما هو مؤهلك العلمي؟?What is your level of education

	Elementary ابتدائي	High School ثانوي	University Bachelors بكالوريوس	University Masters ماجستير	Doctorate/PhD دكتوراه	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	10 (1%)	304 (26%)	726 (62%)	112 (10%)	16 (1%)	268.16	1168

● Elementary ابتدائي ● High School ثانوي ● University Bachelors بكالوريوس ● University Masters ماجستير ● Doctorate/PhD دكتوراه
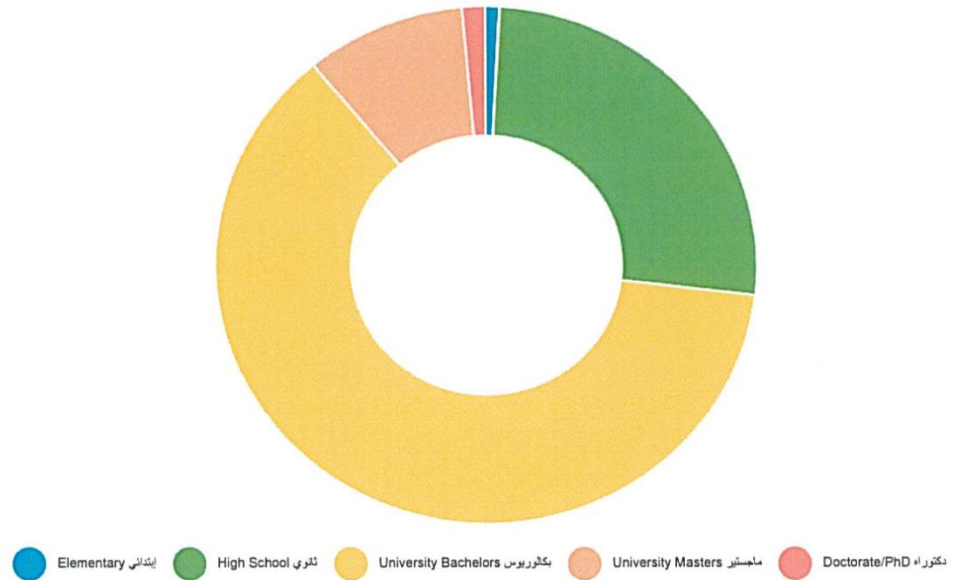
هل لديك وظيفة و تقبض راتب؟?Do you have a job and receive a salary

	Yes نعم	No لا	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	631 (54%)	537 (46%)	47	1168

● Yes نعم ● No لا
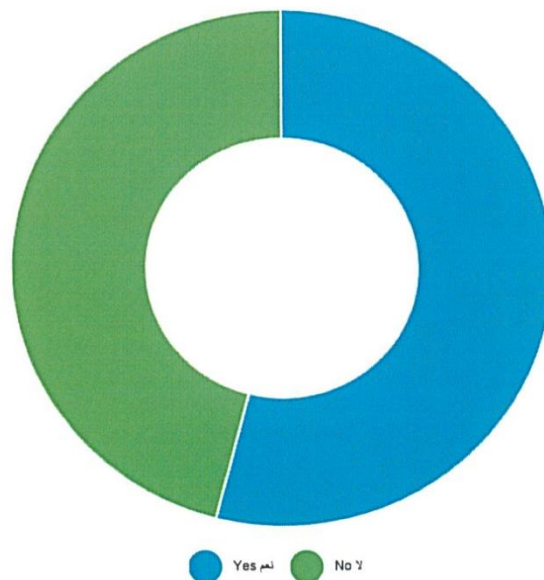
إذا كنت غير موظف, ما هو ?If you were to be/are unemployed, in which sector would you look for a job
القطاع الذي تريد أن تتوظف فيه؟

	Government sector Job وظيفه حكومية	Education وظيفة في التعليم	Private sector job وظيفة في قطاع أهلي	Any sector أي قطاع	Not applicable, I have a job. أنا موظف حاليا	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	256 (24%)	88 (8%)	107 (10%)	192 (18%)	403 (39%)	114.17	1046

● Government sector Job وظيفه حكومية   ● Education وظيفة في التعليم   ● Private sector job وظيفة في قطاع أهلي   ● Any sector أي قطاع

● Not applicable, I have a job. أنا موظف حاليا
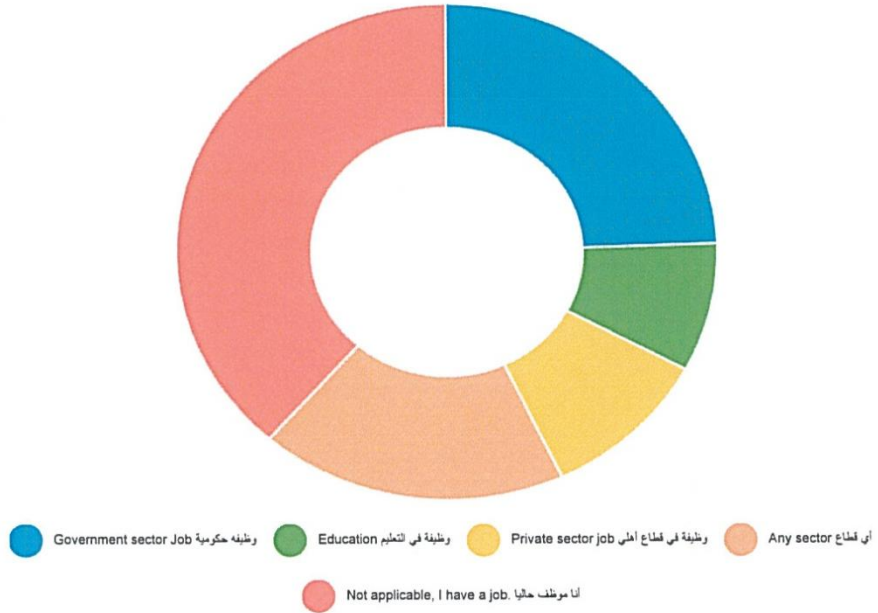
هل ستقبل بوظيفه بمرتب 5000 ريال شهريا؟؟Would you work for a salary of SR 5,000 per month?

	Yes. نعم	No. لا	I am not sure. غير متأكد	I would if I did not have a job already. سأقبل إذا لم يكن لدي وظيفة	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	371 (33%)	247 (22%)	92 (8%)	420 (37%)	126.78	1130

Yes. نعم   No. لا   I am not sure. غير متأكد   I would if I did not have a job already. سأقبل إذا لم يكن لدي وظيفة
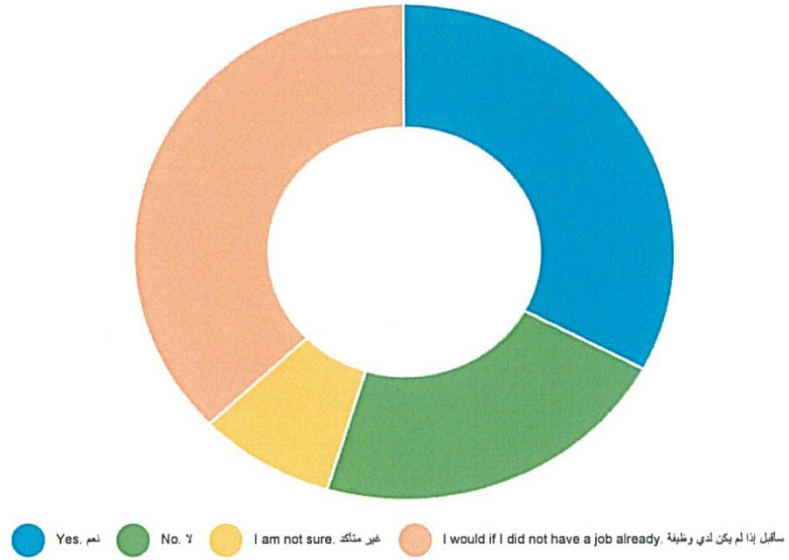
إذا كنت غير موظف، فكم المدة اللتي قضيتها بدون ?If you do not have a job, how long have you been unemployed
وظيفة؟

	Less than 3 months أقل من 3 أشهر	3-6 Months 3 بين - 6 أشهر	6 months-12 months بين 6 - 12 شهر	More than 1 year أكثر من سنة	More than 2 years اكثر من سنتين	Not applicable because I have a job أنا موظف حاليا	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	83 (8%)	66 (6%)	75 (7%)	79 (8%)	302 (29%)	422 (41%)	139.41	1027

🔵 أقل من 3 أشهر Less than 3 months   🟢 3-6 Months بين 3 - 6 أشهر   🟡 6 months-12 months بين 6 - 12 شهر   🟠 More than 1 year اكثر من سنة

🔴 More than 2 years اكثر من سنتين   🩷 Not applicable because I have a job أنا موظف حاليا
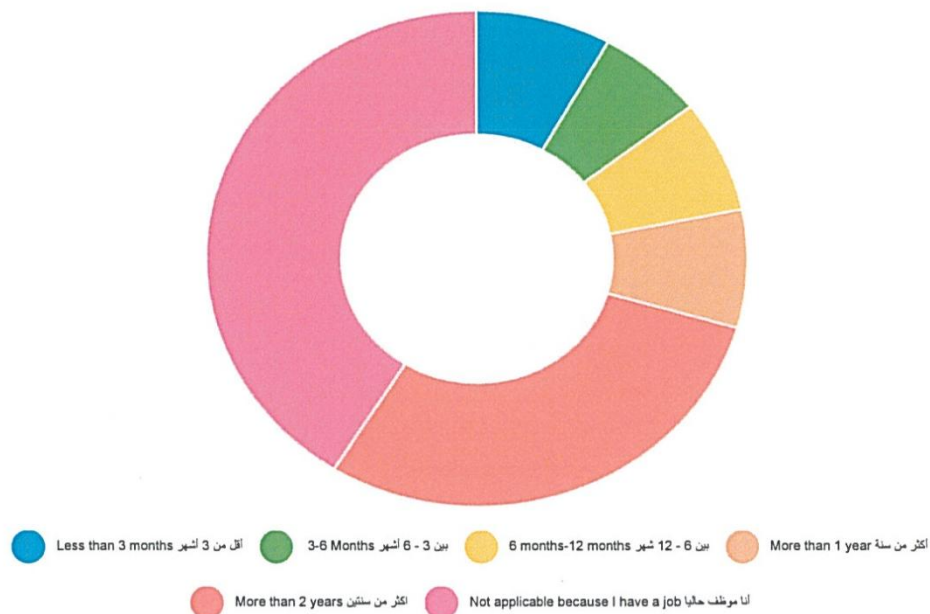
هل ستقبل أي نوع من الوظائف؟؟Would you accept any sort of job

	I would accept any sort of job سأقبل أي نوع من الوظائف	I would accept most types of Job. سأقبل أغلب أنواع الوظائف	I would not do certain types of job whatever the salary. مهما كان الراتب هناك أنواع من الوظائف لن أقبلها	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	124 (11%)	431 (40%)	534 (49%)	174.15	1089

- I would accept any sort of job سأقبل أي نوع من الوظائف
- I would accept most types of Job. سأقبل أغلب أنواع الوظائف
- I would not do certain types of job whatever the salary. مهما كان الراتب هناك أنواع من الوظائف لن أقبلها
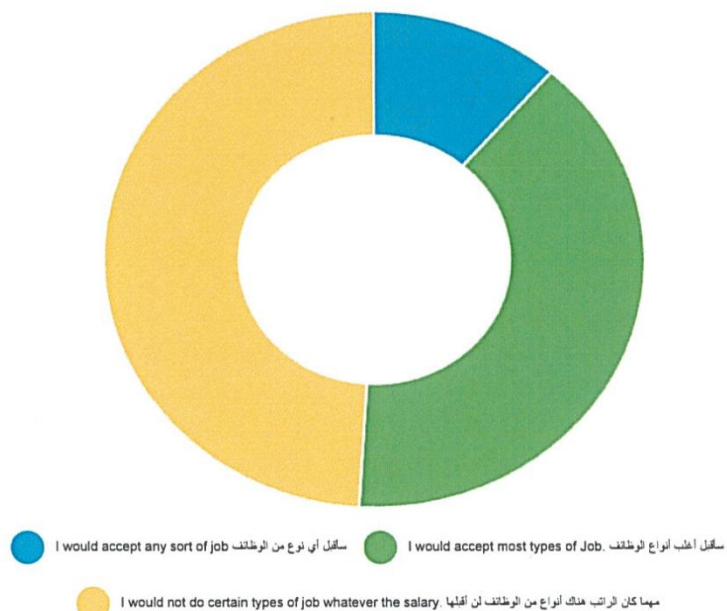
هل تمنعك عاداتك القبلية من القيام بوظائف معينة؟؟Does your tribal custom prevent you from doing certain jobs

	Yes نعم	No لا	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	563 (49%)	592 (51%)	14.5	1155

- Yes نعم
- No لا
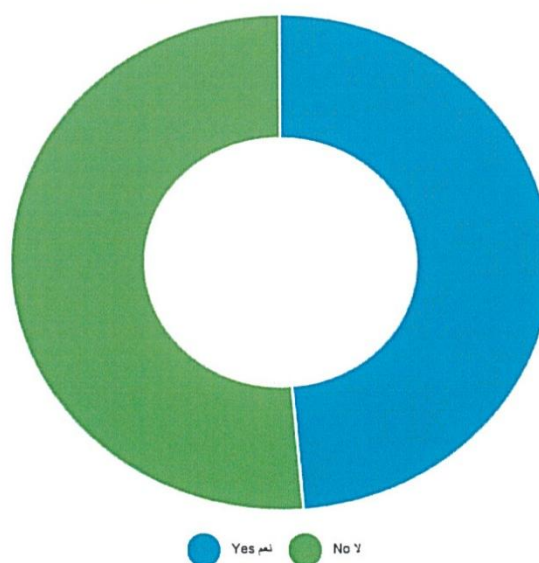
هل توافق على أنه يجب تمكين Do you agree that females should be able to work in a broader range of jobs?
الإناث من العمل في مجموعة أوسع من الوظائف؟

	I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة	I partially agree. أوافق	I am not sure. غير متأكد	I partially disagree. غير موافق	I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	408 (35%)	296 (25%)	168 (14%)	133 (11%)	158 (14%)	104.35	1163
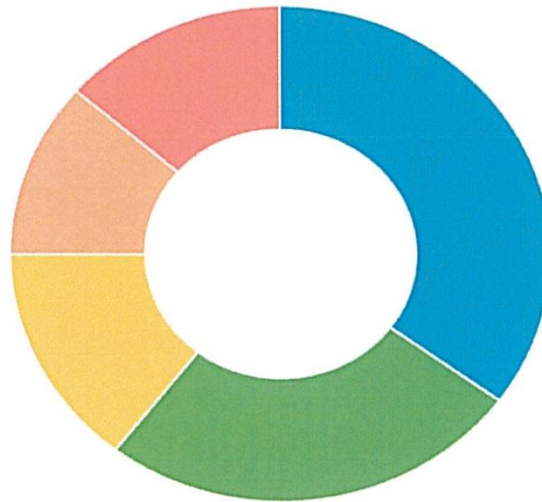
أوافق بشدة I strongly agree.   أوافق I partially agree.   غير متأكد I am not sure.   غير موافق I partially disagree.   أرفض بشدة I strongly disagree.

Do you agree that by increasing the number of females in the workforce it will make it even harder
هل توافق على أن زيادة عدد الإناث في القوى العاملة سوف تجعل من الصعب للذكور بأن يجدوا وظائف؟for males to get jobs?

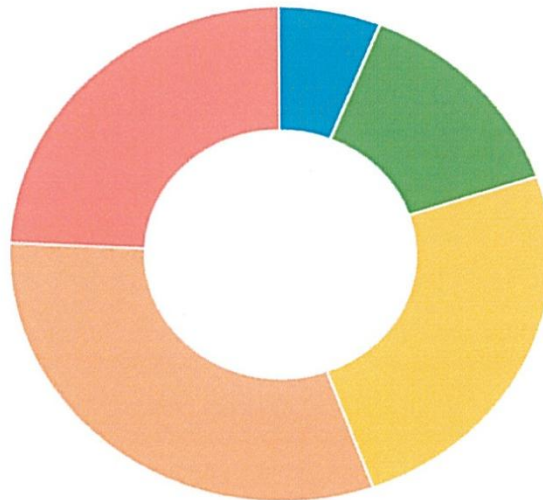|	I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة	I partially agree. أوافق	I am not sure. غير متأكد	I partially disagree. غير موافق	I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	162 (14%)	199 (17%)	333 (29%)	310 (27%)	156 (13%)	74.9	1160
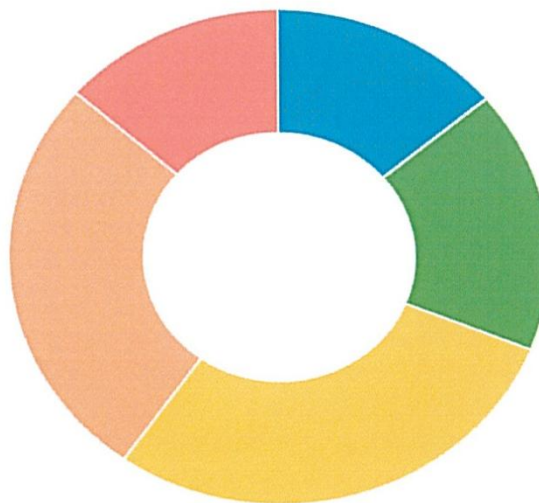
أوافق بشدة I strongly agree.   أوافق I partially agree.   غير متأكد I am not sure.   غير موافق I partially disagree.   أرفض بشدة I strongly disagree.

كيف حصلت على وظيفتك الحالية؟؟How did you get your present job

	Through advertisement in newspaper/internet من الإعلانات في الجرائد والإنترنت	Through friends or family من الأصحاب أوالعائلة	Through university career days من خلال يوم الوظيفة في الجامعة	Other أخرى	I don't have a job. لا أمتلك وظيفة	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	113 (10%)	241 (21%)	44 (4%)	263 (23%)	496 (43%)	155.07	1157

Through advertisement in newspaper/internet من الإعلانات في الجرائد والإنترنت   Through friends or family من الأصحاب أوالعائلة

Through university career days من خلال يوم الوظيفة في الجامعة   Other أخرى   I don't have a job. لا أمتلك وظيفة
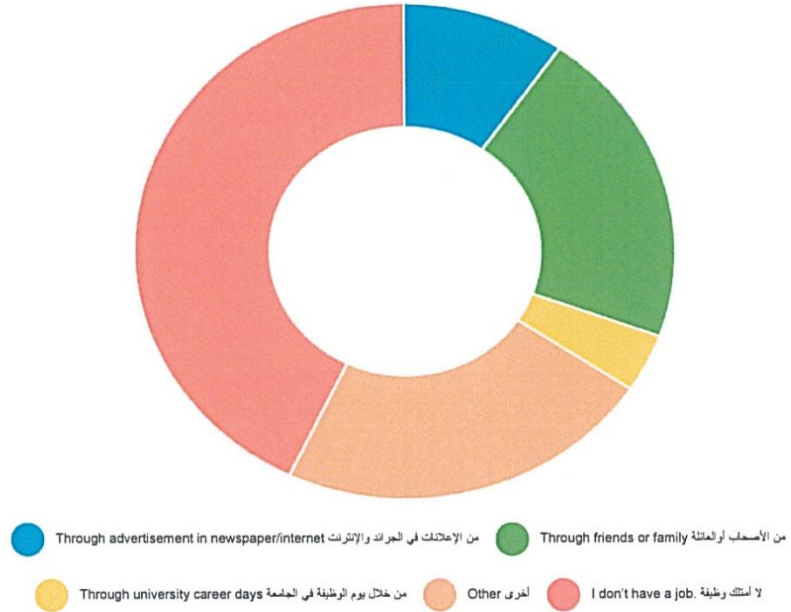
Do you agree that young unemployed people in the Kingdom should benefit from receiving Hafiz
هل توافق على أن الشباب العاطلين عن العمل في المملكة يجب أن يستفيدوا من تلقي دفعات برنامج حافز؟payments?

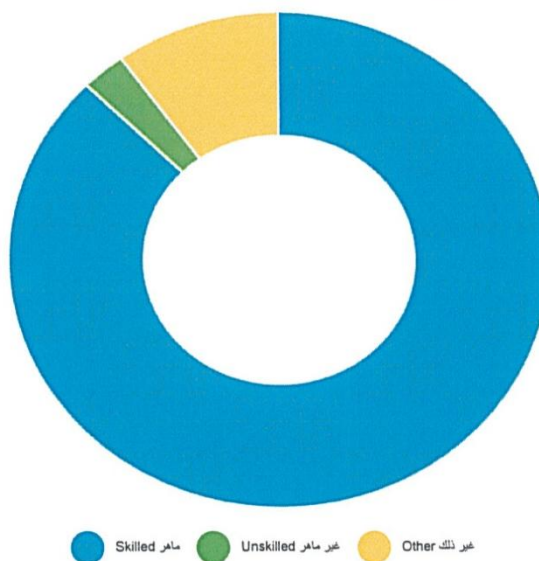|	I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة	I partially agree. أوافق	I am not sure. غير متأكد	I partially disagree. غير موافق	I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	648 (56%)	269 (23%)	123 (11%)	73 (6%)	52 (4%)	220.9	1165
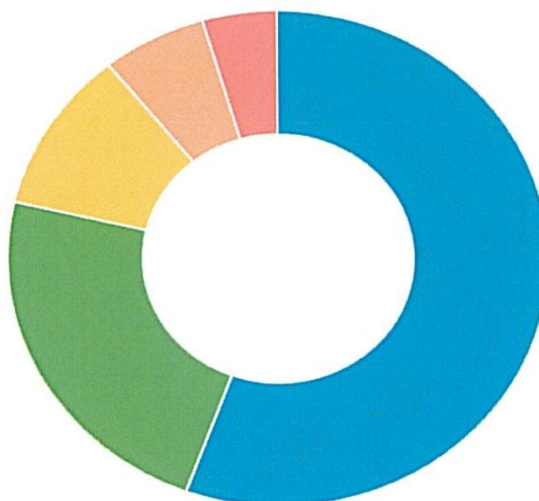
● I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة   ● I partially agree. أوافق   ● I am not sure. غير متأكد   ● I partially disagree. غير موافق   ● I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة

هل توافق على أن دفعات برنامج حافز تساعد الناس Do you agree that Hafiz payments help unemployed people?
العاطلين؟

	I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة	I partially agree. أوافق	I am not sure. غير متأكد	I partially disagree. غير موافق	I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	493 (42%)	258 (22%)	209 (18%)	124 (11%)	79 (7%)	144.5	1163
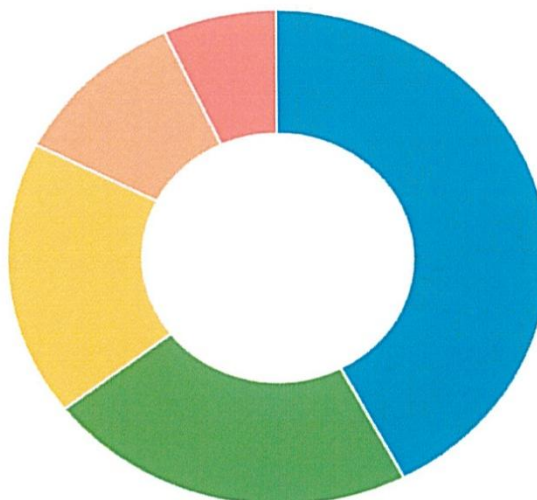
● I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة   ● I partially agree. أوافق   ● I am not sure. غير متأكد   ● I partially disagree. غير موافق   ● I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة

إلى متى تعتقد أن دفعات برنامج حافز يجب ان تستمر؟? For how long do you think Hafiz payments should continue?

	● 1 Year سنة	● 2 Years سنتين	● 3 Years ٣ سنوات	● Until a suitable job is found حتى إيجاد وظيفة مناسبة	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	107 (9%)	59 (5%)	51 (4%)	939 (81%)	375.89	1156

● 1 Year سنة   ● 2 Years سنتين   ● 3 Years ٣ سنوات   ● Until a suitable job is found حتى إيجاد وظيفة مناسبة
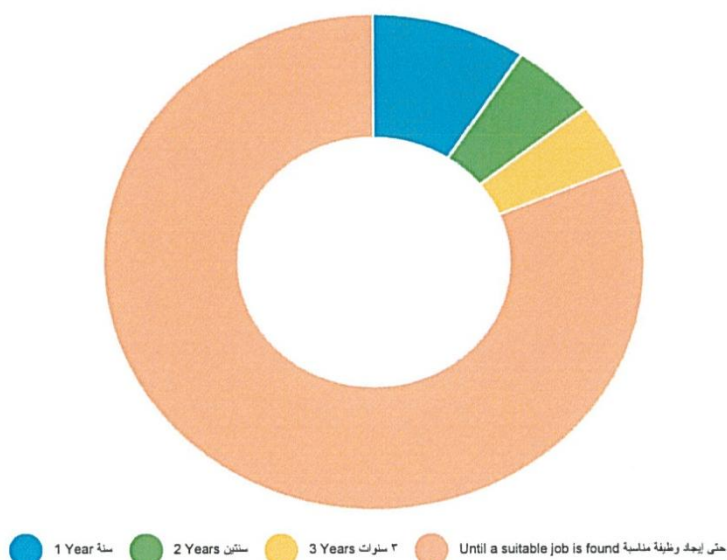
هل جميع اخوانك عاملين أو ما زالوا طلاب؟? Are all your brothers either employed or still in full time education?

	● All of them جميعهم	● Most of them بعضهم	● None of them لا أحد	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	321 (28%)	665 (57%)	179 (15%)	204.04	1165

● All of them جميعهم   ● Most of them بعضهم   ● None of them لا أحد
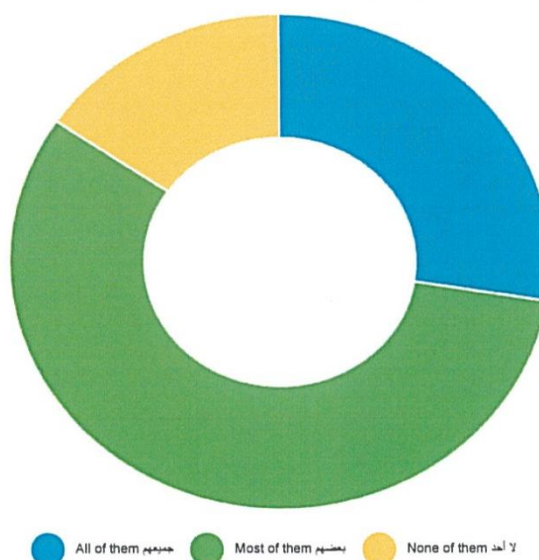
Are all your sisters (who wish to work) either employed or still in full time education? هل كل أخواتك
(اللذين يرغبون بالعمل) عاملات أو طالبات؟

	All of them جميعهم	Most of them بعضهم	None of them لا أحد	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	255 (22%)	500 (43%)	399 (35%)	100.53	1154

All of them جميعهم   Most of them بعضهم   None of them لا أحد
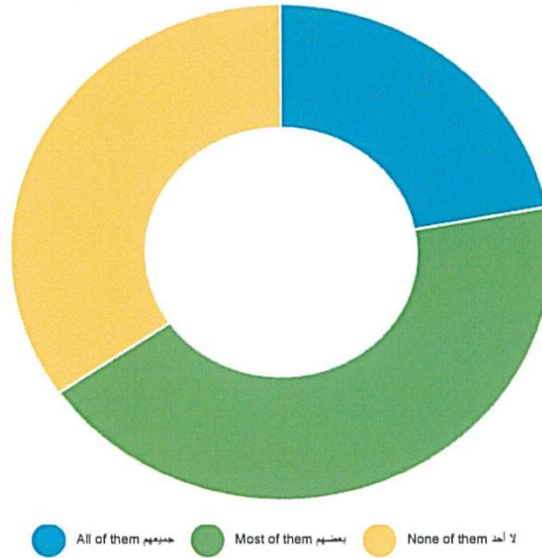
Do you think you are qualified to take over a job from a Western Expatriate? هل تعتقد أنك مؤهل لتولي وظيفة
يشغلها أجنبي غربي؟

	Yes نعم	No لا	I am not sure غير متأكد	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	954 (82%)	43 (4%)	162 (14%)	404.33	1159
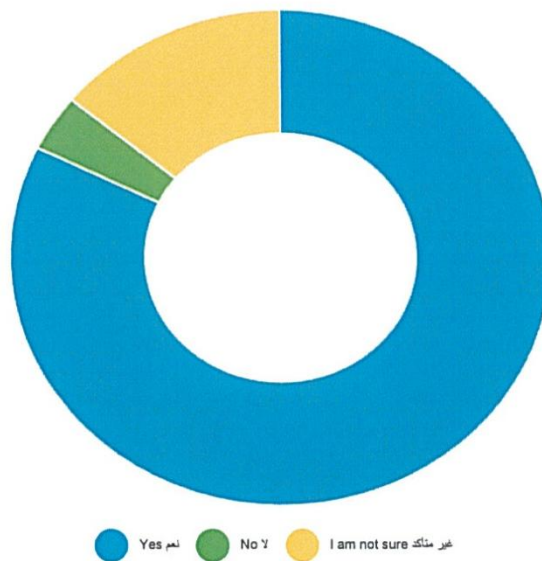
Yes نعم   No لا   I am not sure غير متأكد

Do you agree that wasta affects your chance of getting a job and prevents equal opportunities? هل توافق على أن الواسطة تؤثر على فرصتك في الحصول على وظيفة، وتمنع تكافؤ الفرص؟
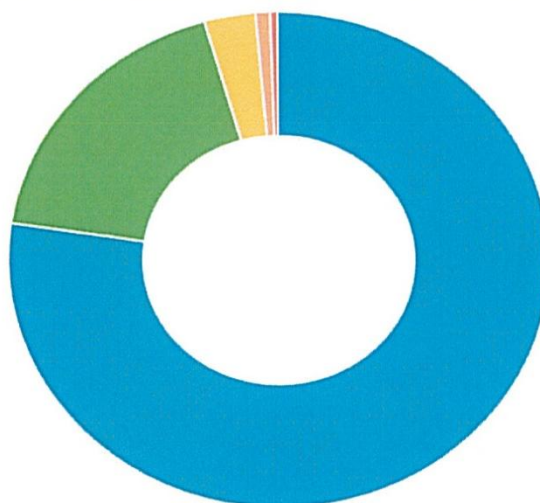
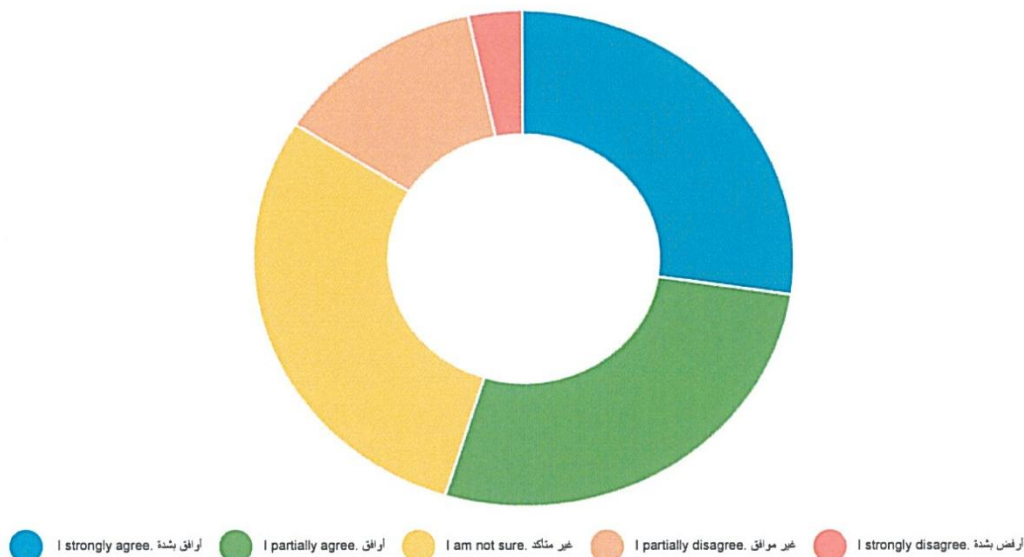|	I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة	I partially agree. أوافق	I am not sure. غير متأكد	I partially disagree. غير موافق	I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	859 (74%)	219 (19%)	66 (6%)	13 (1%)	5 (0%)	322.6	1162
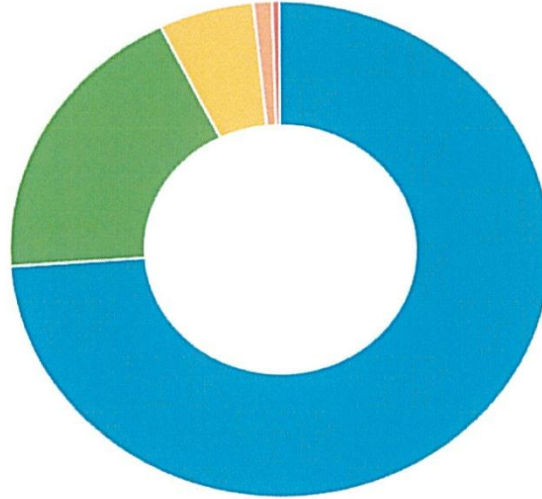
● I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة ● I partially agree. أوافق ● I am not sure. غير متأكد ● I partially disagree. غير موافق ● I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة

Do you agree that the processes for getting a job are fair and reasonable? هل توافق على أن طريقة الحصول على وظيفة هي عادلة و معقولة؟

	I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة	I partially agree. أوافق	I am not sure. غير متأكد	I partially disagree. غير موافق	I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	71 (6%)	161 (14%)	286 (25%)	363 (31%)	282 (24%)	103.48	1163

● I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة ● I partially agree. أوافق ● I am not sure. غير متأكد ● I partially disagree. غير موافق ● I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة

هل ستقبل بنفس وظيفة والدك؟؟Would you do the same job as your father?

	🔵 Yes نعم	🟢 No لا	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	581 (50%)	570 (50%)	5.5	1151

🔵 نعم Yes   🟢 No لا
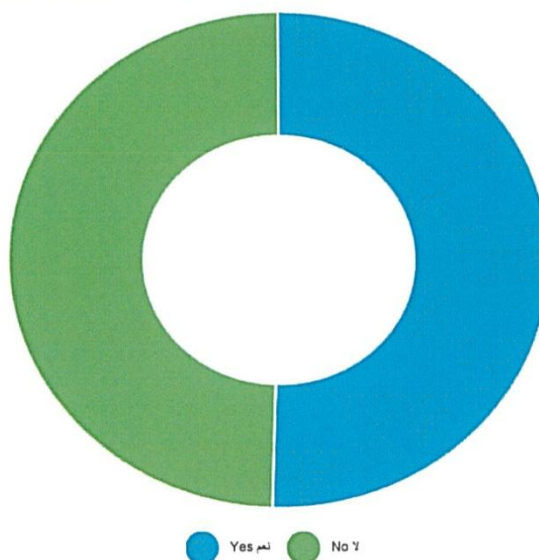
هل انت ماهر أو غير ماهر؟؟Are you skilled or unskilled?

	🔵 Skilled ماهر	🟢 Unskilled غير ماهر	🟡 Other غير ذلك	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	1013 (87%)	31 (3%)	114 (10%)	444.65	1158

🔵 Skilled ماهر   🟢 Unskilled غير ماهر   🟡 Other غير ذلك

هل تفضل وظيفة مدنية أو عسكرية؟؟Would you prefer civilian job or military job?

	● Civilian. مدنية	● Military. عسكرية	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	1106 (96%)	47 (4%)	529.5	1153

● Civilian. مدنية   ● Military. عسكرية
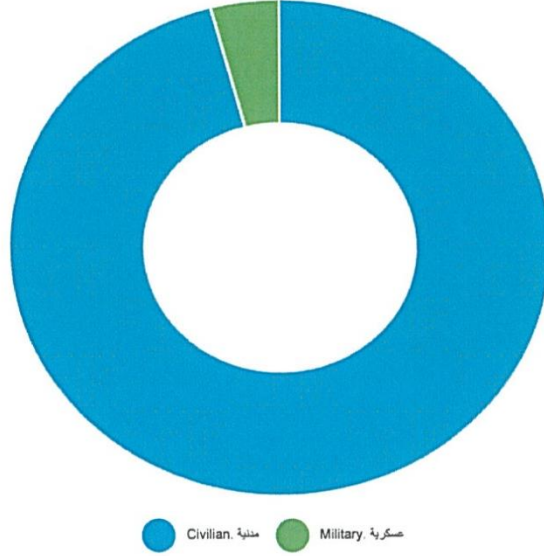
Do you agree that it is harder for younger members (e.g. 3rd , 4th, and 5th sons) in the family to find
a job?؟هل تتفق على أن هناك صعوبة على الإخوة الصغار (الإبن الثالث والرابع) في العائلة في الحصول على وظيفة

	● I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة	● I partially agree. أوافق	● I am not sure. غير متأكد	● I partially disagree. غير موافق	● I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	336 (29%)	272 (23%)	360 (31%)	148 (13%)	47 (4%)	118.39	1163

● I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة   ● I partially agree. أوافق   ● I am not sure. غير متأكد   ● I partially disagree. غير موافق   ● I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة
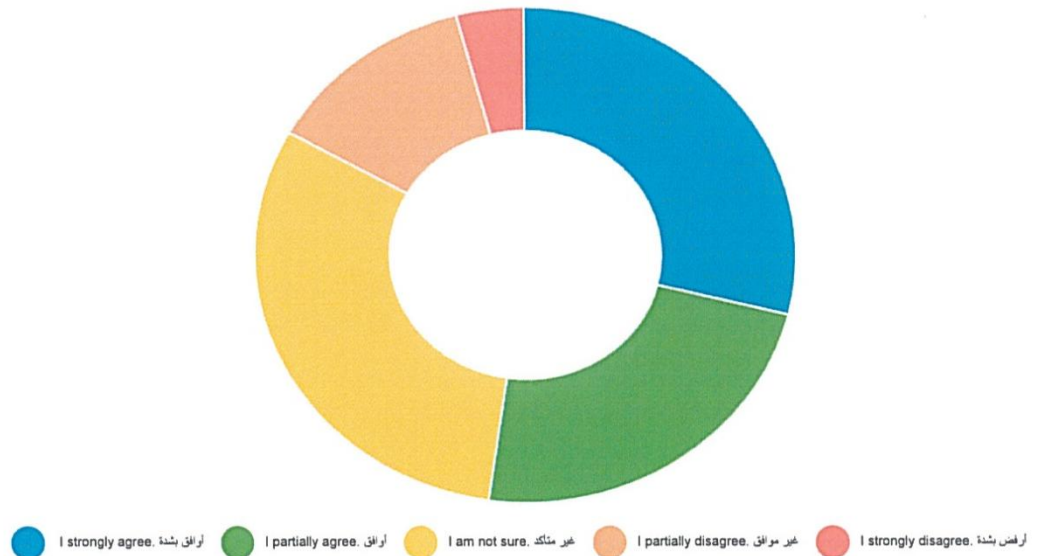
Do you agree that the education that young people receive in school in Saudi Arabia properly prepares them for further education at university so that they can qualify to get a job? هل تتفق على أن التعليم اللذي يتلقاه الشباب في المدارس في المملكة العربية السعودية يعدهم بشكل صحيح لمواصلة التعليم في الجامعة حتى يتمكنوا من التأهل للحصول على وظيفة؟

	I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة	I partially agree. أوافق	I am not sure. غير متأكد	I partially disagree. غير موافق	I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	47 (4%)	142 (12%)	192 (17%)	415 (36%)	365 (31%)	137.92	1161
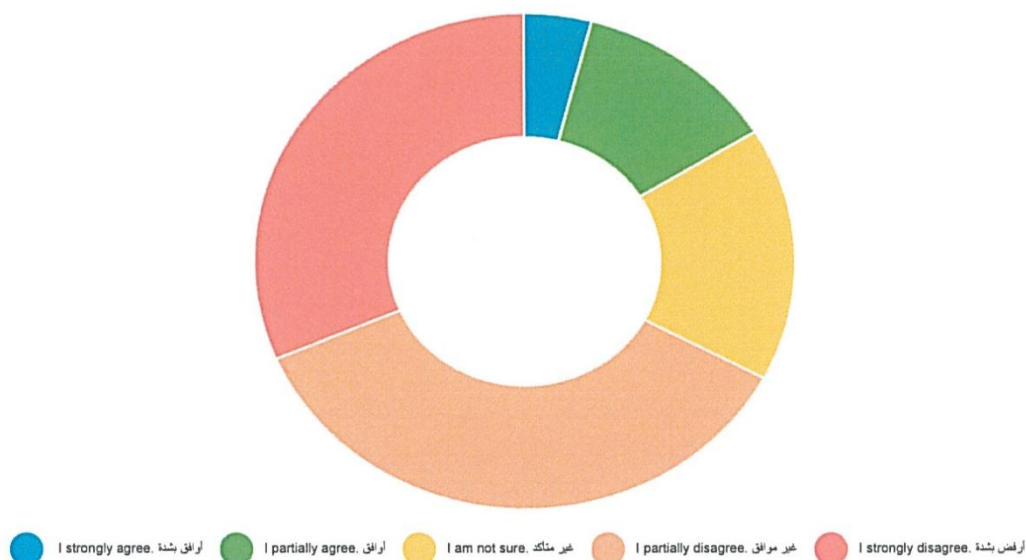
I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة   I partially agree. أوافق   I am not sure. غير متأكد   I partially disagree. غير موافق   I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة

Do you agree that there needs to be improvements made to the education system to make it fit for
purpose and to better prepare young people for work? هل توافق على أن هناك حاجة إلى ادخال تحسينات على نظام
التعليم لجعله مناسبا لغرض إعداد الشباب للعمل؟

	I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة	I partially agree. أوافق	I am not sure. غير متأكد	I partially disagree. غير موافق	I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	896 (77%)	197 (17%)	42 (4%)	17 (1%)	5 (0%)	339.4	1157
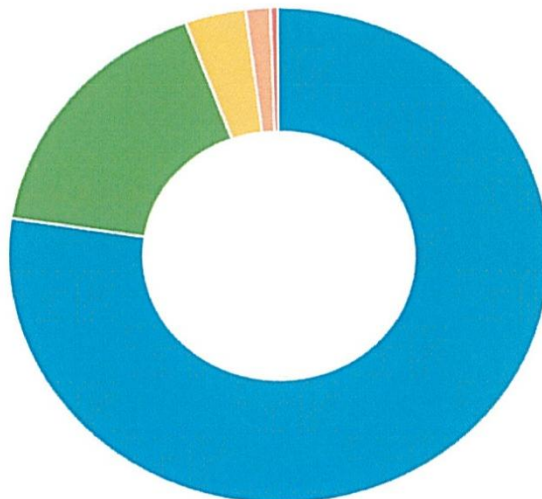
● I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة   ● I partially agree. أوافق   ● I am not sure. غير متأكد   ● I partially disagree. غير موافق   ● I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة

Do you agree that there needs to be more emphasis on teaching technical skills and science in
هل توافق على أن هناك حاجة إلى مزيد من التركيز على تعليم المهارات الفنية والعلمية في المدارس السعودية؟؟Saudi schools

	I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة	I partially agree. أوافق	I am not sure. غير متأكد	I partially disagree. غير موافق	I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	891 (77%)	210 (18%)	35 (3%)	10 (1%)	5 (0%)	338.93	1151

● I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة ● I partially agree. أوافق ● I am not sure. غير متأكد ● I partially disagree. غير موافق ● I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة
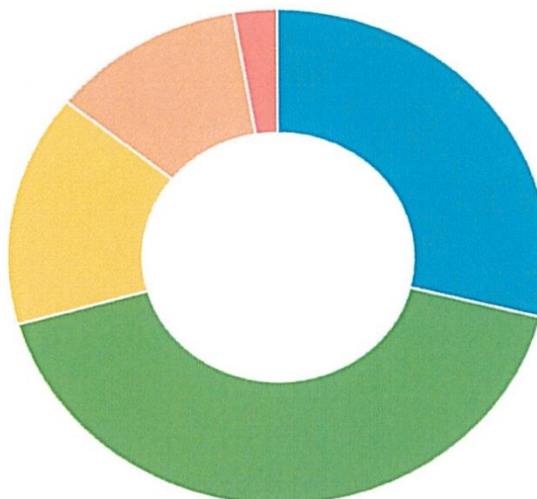
Do you agree that students who have graduated from universities abroad have a better chance of
getting a good job than those who have studied in the Kingdom? هل توافق على أن الطلاب الذين تخرجوا من
الجامعات في الخارج لديهم فرص وظيفية جيدة أفضل من أولئك الذين درسوا في المملكة؟

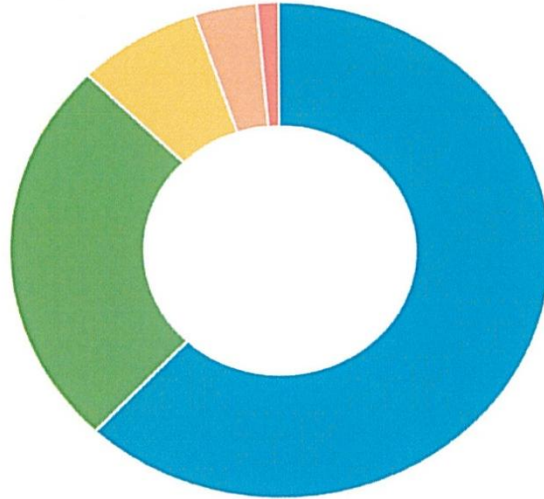|	I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة.	I partially agree. أوافق.	I am not sure. غير متأكد.	I partially disagree. غير موافق.	I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة.	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	316 (27%)	317 (27%)	339 (29%)	147 (13%)	37 (3%)	119.14	1156

● I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة.   ● I partially agree. أوافق.   ● I am not sure. غير متأكد.   ● I partially disagree. غير موافق.   ● I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة.

How frustrated are you by the employment situation in the Kingdom and opportunities open to
إلى أي مدى انت محبط من وضع التوظيف في المملكة والفرص المتاحة لك؟?you

	Extremely frustrated محبط جدا	A little frustrated محبط قليلا	Not at all frustrated. غير محبط	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	624 (54%)	414 (36%)	109 (10%)	211.44	1147

Extremely frustrated محبط جدا • A little frustrated محبط قليلا • Not at all frustrated. غير محبط
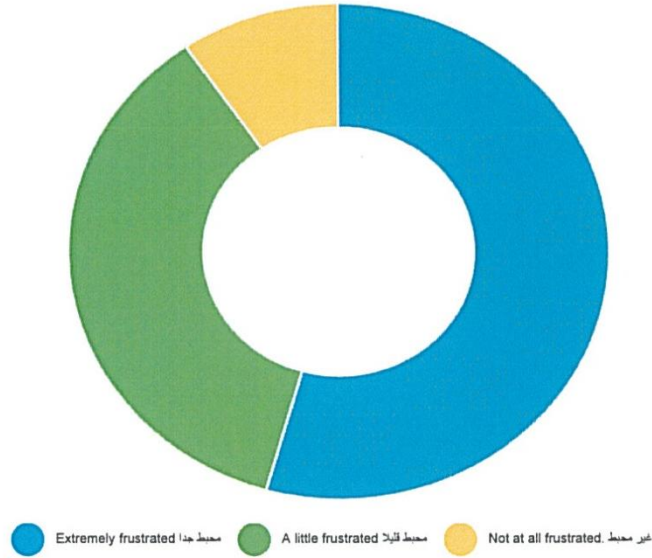
Does your family employ domestic staff/driver from outside the Kingdom? هل عائلتك توظف عاملين أو سائقين أجانب؟

	Yes نعم	No لا	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	643 (56%)	508 (44%)	67.5	1151

Yes نعم • No لا
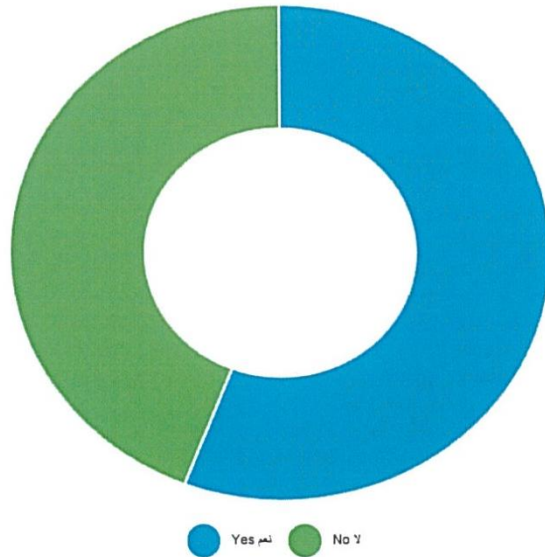
هل توافق على؟ Do you agree that unemployment in the Kingdom contributes to crime and drug usage?
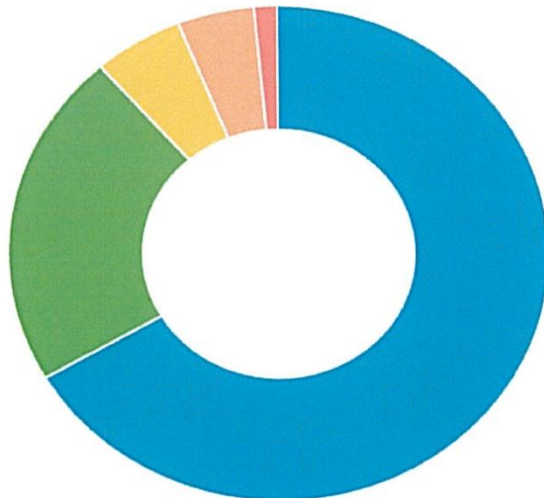أن البطالة في المملكة تسهم في الجريمة واستخدام المخدرات؟

	I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة	I partially agree. أوافق	I am not sure. غير متأكد	I partially disagree. غير موافق	I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	838 (73%)	232 (20%)	57 (5%)	17 (1%)	8 (1%)	314.4	1152

● أوافق بشدة. I strongly agree.   ● أوافق. I partially agree.   ● غير متأكد. I am not sure.   ● غير موافق. I partially disagree.   ● أرفض بشدة. I strongly disagree.
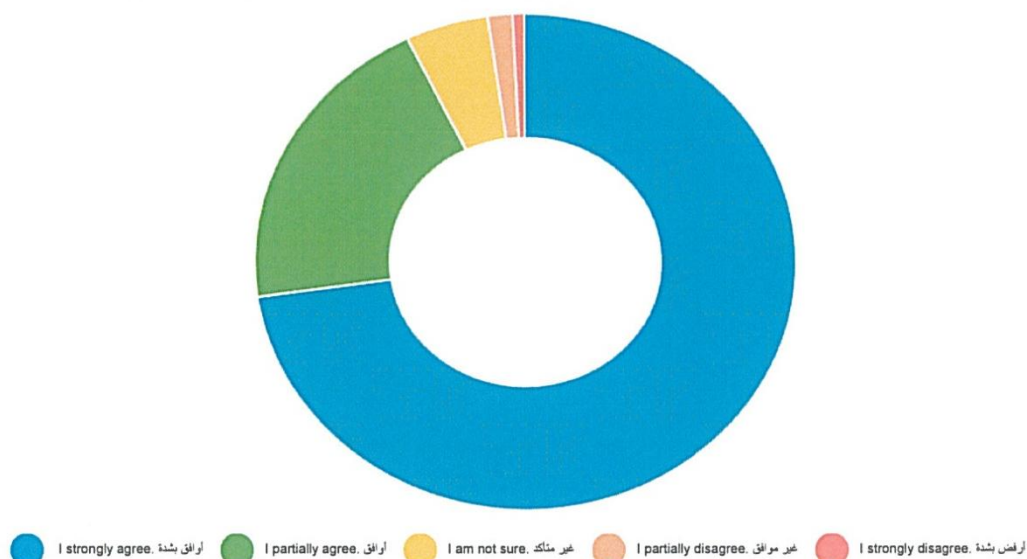
Do you agree that unemployment threatens the security in the Kingdom? هل توافق على أن البطالة تهدد الأمن في المملكة؟
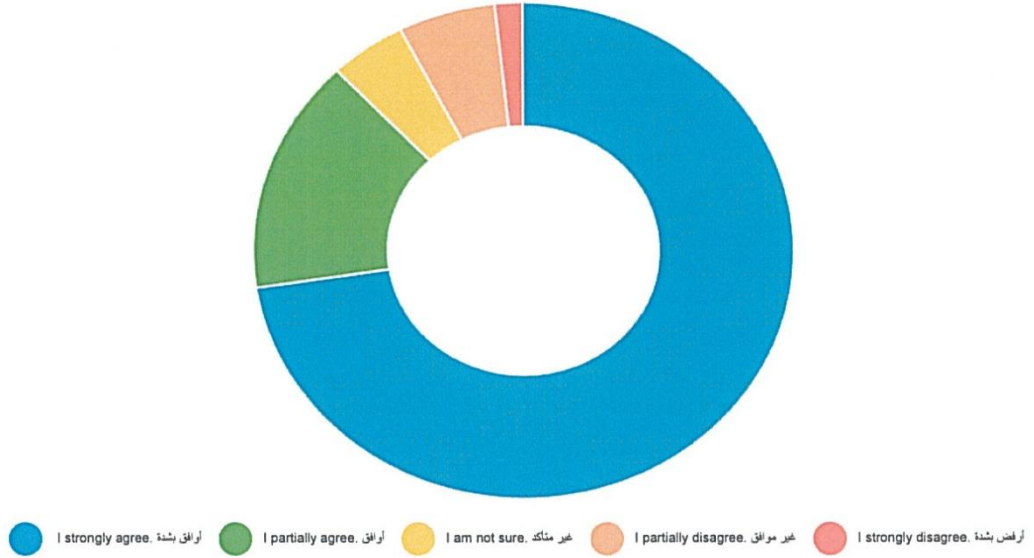
	I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة	I partially agree. أوافق	I am not sure. غير متأكد	I partially disagree. غير موافق	I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	830 (72%)	236 (20%)	59 (5%)	21 (2%)	8 (1%)	310.56	1154
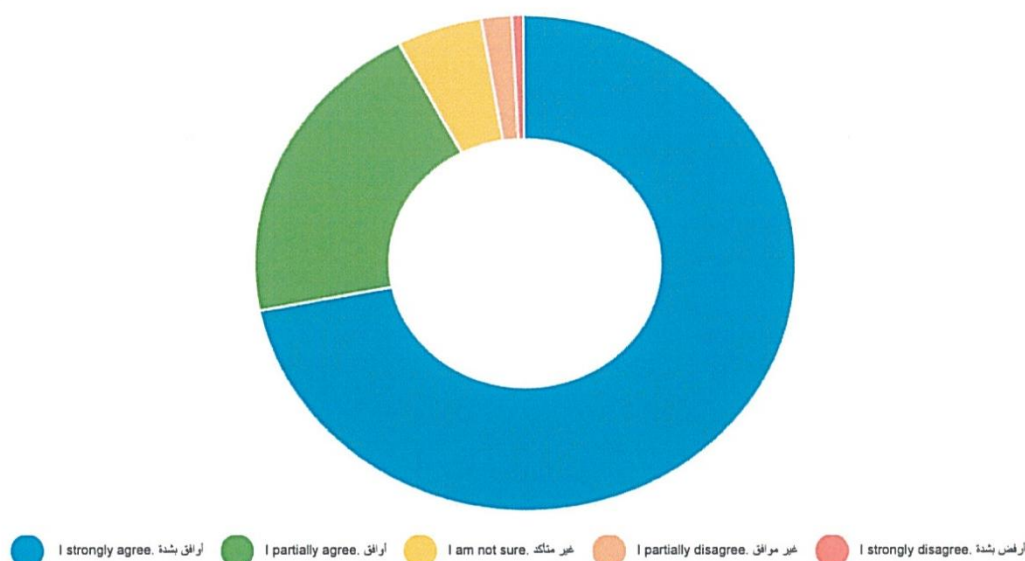
● أوافق بشدة. I strongly agree.   ● أوافق. I partially agree.   ● غير متأكد. I am not sure.   ● غير موافق. I partially disagree.   ● أرفض بشدة. I strongly disagree.

Do you agree that unemployment in the Kingdom results in delays to young people being able to
هل توافق على أن البطالة في المملكة تسهم في تأخير الشباب عن الزواج؟?marry

|	I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة	I partially agree. أوافق	I am not sure. غير متأكد	I partially disagree. غير موافق	I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	964 (83%)	162 (14%)	23 (2%)	4 (0%)	2 (0%)	371.29	1155
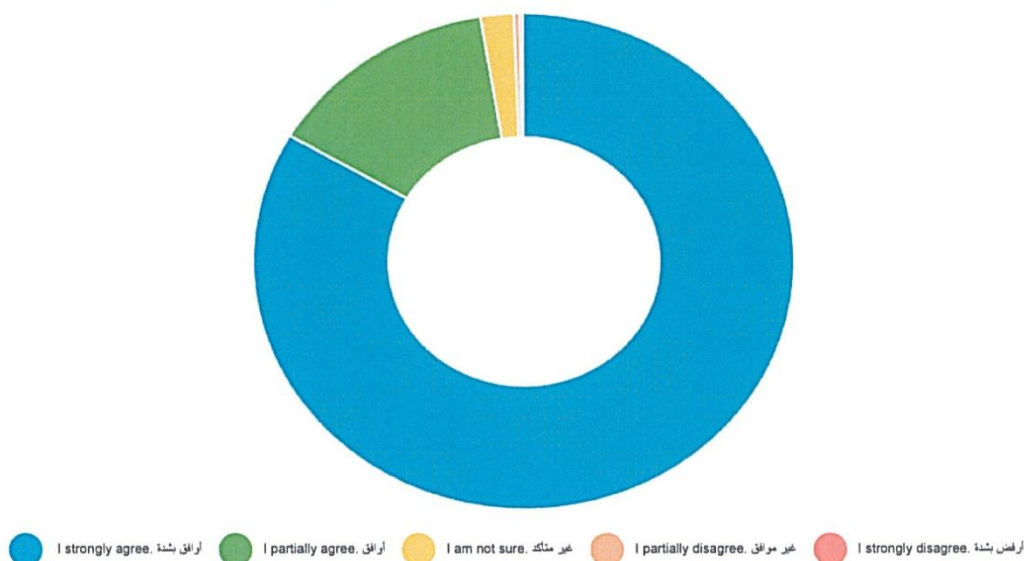
● I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة   ● I partially agree. أوافق   ● I am not sure. غير متأكد   ● I partially disagree. غير موافق   ● I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة

Do you agree that unemployment in the Kingdom contributes to depression, mental health issues

هل توافق على أن البطالة في المملكة تسهم في الاكتئاب ومشكلات الصحة العقلية وعدم تقدير الذات؟؟

and lack of self-esteem?

	I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة	I partially agree. أوافق	I am not sure. غير متأكد	I partially disagree. غير موافق	I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	834 (72%)	240 (21%)	64 (6%)	11 (1%)	5 (0%)	313.39	1154
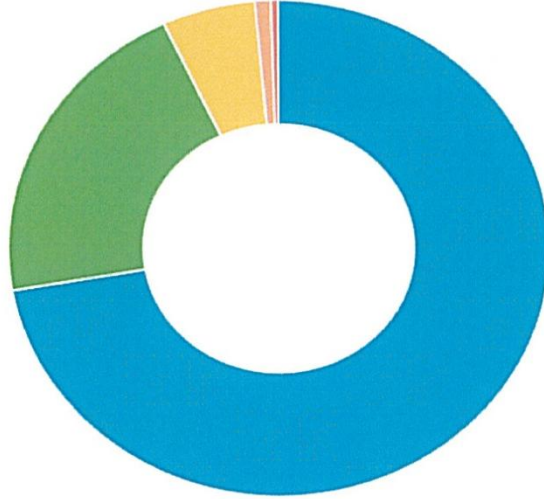
I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة   I partially agree. أوافق   I am not sure. غير متأكد   I partially disagree. غير موافق   I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة

Do you agree that the high level of unemployment is the Kingdom is a result of too many young
people applying for too few jobs? هل توافق على أن ارتفاع مستوى البطالة في المملكة هو بسبب أن عدد كثير من الشباب
يتقدمون لعدد قليل من الوظائف؟

	I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة	I partially agree. أوافق	I am not sure. غير متأكد	I partially disagree. غير موافق	I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	475 (41%)	258 (22%)	190 (16%)	166 (14%)	64 (6%)	137.16	1153

أوافق بشدة .I strongly agree   أوافق .I partially agree   غير متأكد .I am not sure   غير موافق .I partially disagree   أرفض بشدة .I strongly disagree
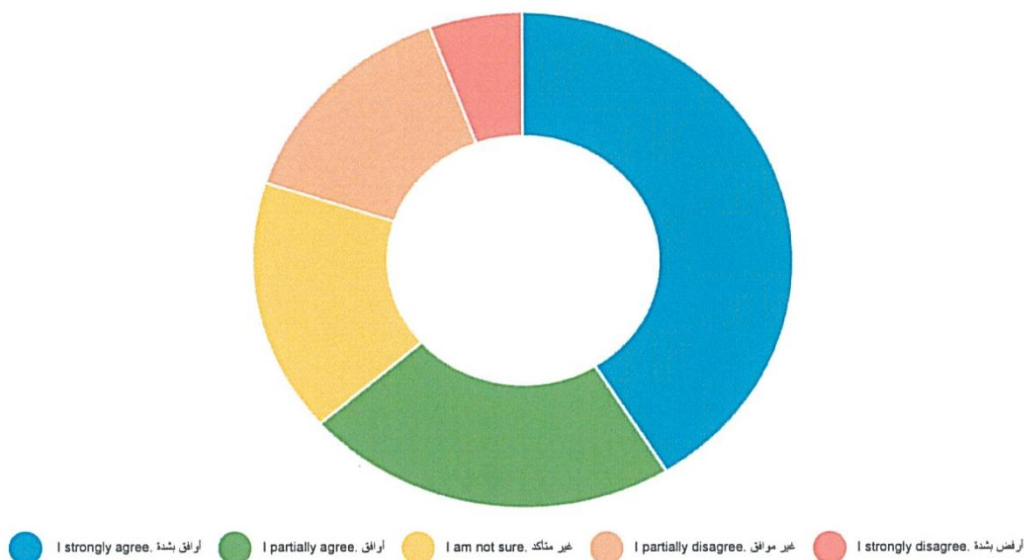
Do you agree that one of the greatest challenges in the Kingdom is not just to find jobs for our young people, but to find socially acceptable jobs? هل توافق على أن واحدة من أكبر التحديات في المملكة ليست فقط العثور على وظائف لشبابنا، ولكن العثور على وظائف مقبولة اجتماعيا؟

	I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة	I partially agree. أوافق	I am not sure. غير متأكد	I partially disagree. غير موافق	I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	334 (29%)	482 (42%)	175 (15%)	134 (12%)	30 (3%)	159.09	1155

● I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة ● I partially agree. أوافق ● I am not sure. غير متأكد ● I partially disagree. غير موافق ● I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة

Do you agree that the Private sector employs very few Saudis because foreign labour is cheaper?هل توافق على أن القطاع الخاص يوظف عدد قليل جدا من السعوديين بسبب أن العمالة الأجنبية أرخص؟

	I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة	I partially agree. أوافق	I am not sure. غير متأكد	I partially disagree. غير موافق	I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	717 (62%)	295 (26%)	86 (7%)	43 (4%)	15 (1%)	262.04	1156

I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة   I partially agree. أوافق   I am not sure. غير متأكد   I partially disagree. غير موافق   I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة

Do you agree that the Government should force the Private sector to employ many more Saudis? هل توافق على أن الحكومة ينبغي أن تجبر القطاع الخاص على توظيف عدد أكثر من السعوديين؟

	I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة	I partially agree. أوافق	I am not sure. غير متأكد	I partially disagree. غير موافق	I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	770 (67%)	254 (22%)	62 (5%)	53 (5%)	16 (1%)	281.96	1155

I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة   I partially agree. أوافق   I am not sure. غير متأكد   I partially disagree. غير موافق   I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة

هل توافق على ضرورة خلق المزيد Do you agree that more jobs should be created in the Government sector?
من فرص العمل في القطاع الحكومي؟

	I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة	I partially agree. أوافق	I am not sure. غير متأكد	I partially disagree. غير موافق	I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	838 (73%)	177 (15%)	53 (5%)	67 (6%)	19 (2%)	308.18	1154

I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة   I partially agree. أوافق   I am not sure. غير متأكد   I partially disagree. غير موافق   I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة

Do you agree that the plan to charge companies SR 2,400 a year for every expatriate because
these companies employ less than 50% Saudi staff, will aid Saudization?　هل توافق على أن الخطة لفرض
رسوم على الشركات (2400 ريال) سنويا عن كل عامل اجنبي في الشركات اللتي توظف أقل من 50٪ من الموظفين سعوديين، سوف تساعد
على السعودة؟

	I strongly agree. أوافق بشدة	I partially agree. أوافق	I am not sure. غير متأكد	I partially disagree. غير موافق	I strongly disagree. أرفض بشدة	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	343 (30%)	230 (20%)	345 (30%)	126 (11%)	110 (10%)	101.2	1154
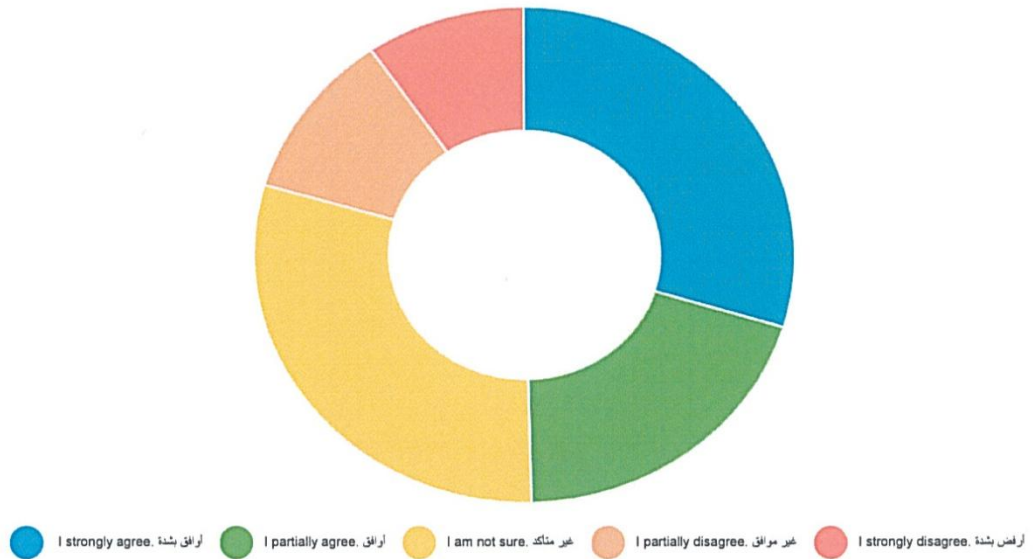
What do you think the retirement age should be for people working in the Government Sector? ماذا تعتقد يجب أن يكون سن التقاعد للعاملين في القطاع الحكومي؟

	50 years 50 سنة	55 years 55 سنة	60 years 60 سنة	65 years 65 سنة	I am not sure غير متأكد	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	401 (35%)	265 (23%)	221 (19%)	152 (13%)	117 (10%)	99.39	1156

50 years 50 سنة   55 years 55 سنة   60 years 60 سنة   65 years 65 سنة   I am not sure غير متأكد
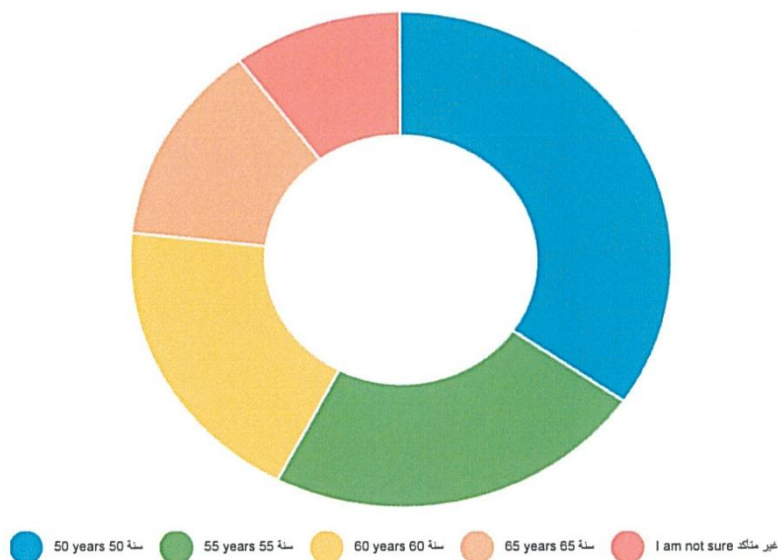
Would you consider starting your own small business through an interest free loan from the Government? هل ستفكر في البدء في انشاء مشروع تجاري صغير خاص بك عن طريق القروض الحكومية اللتي تمنح بدون فائدة؟

	Yes نعم	No لا	Standard Deviation	Responses
All Data	770 (67%)	382 (33%)	194	1152

Yes نعم   No لا

384
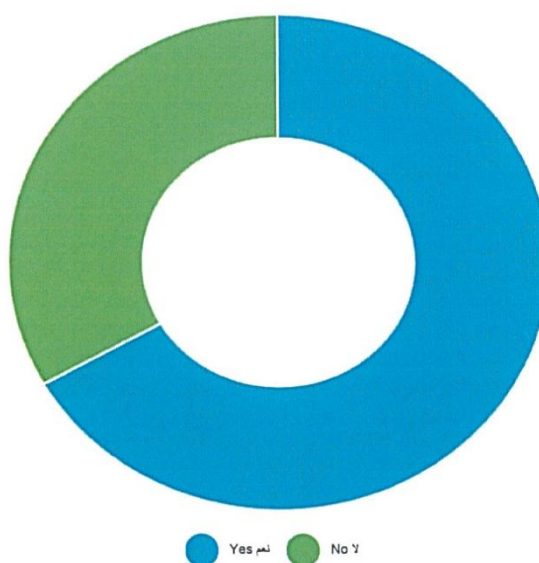
ANNEX D to Thesis:

Recalibrating Youth Bulge Theory

Saudi Arabia's Youth and the Threat to Security

September 2015

Employment and Education Survey

Distributed as hard copies

Survey end-date: 30 November 2012

Number of responses: 243

To gather date on the views that Saudi Arabia's youth bulge hold on education and employment, a supplementary survey using hard copies was carried out, in addition to that identified at Annex C. This was in response to requests from some respondents that they would prefer to complete hard copies given that the survey was complex with forty-three questions posed. It was also useful to make comparisons and cross-check the results from the on-line survey which used identical questions. Three hundred and twenty-five survey forms were distributefd across three locations, Riyadh, Tabuk and Dhahran/Al Khobar/Dammam. Two hundred and forty-three completed forms were returned to this researcher.

Q1   How old are you?
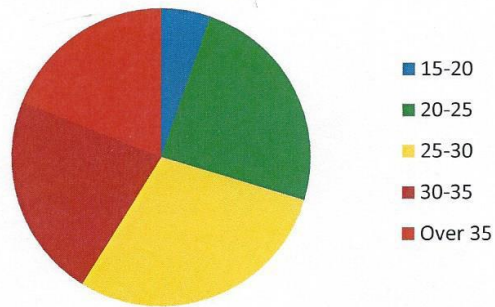
	No	%
■ 15-20	13	5.35
■ 20-25	59	24.28
■ 25-30	71	29.22
■ 30-35	54	22.22
■ Over 35	46	18.93

Q2   Are you male/female?
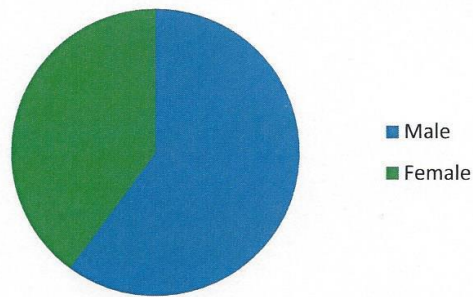
	No	%
■ Male	146	60.08
■ Female	97	39.92

Q3   Which part of the kingdom do you live?
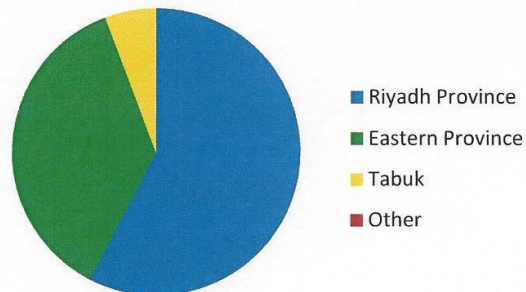
	No	%
■ Riyadh Province	140	57.61
■ Eastern Province	89	36.63
■ Tabuk	14	5.76
■ Other	0	0

Q4 What is your level of education?
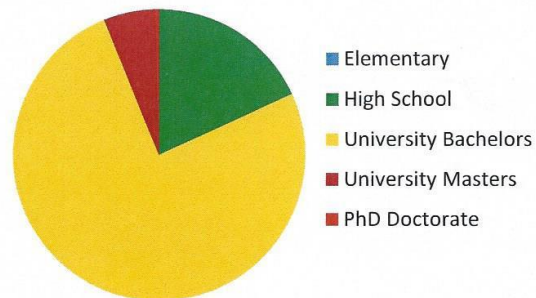
	No	%
■ Elementary	0	0
■ High School	44	18.11
■ University Bachelors	184	75.72
■ University Masters	14	5.76
■ PhD Doctorate	1	0.41

Q5   Do you have a job and receive a salary?

- Yes
- No
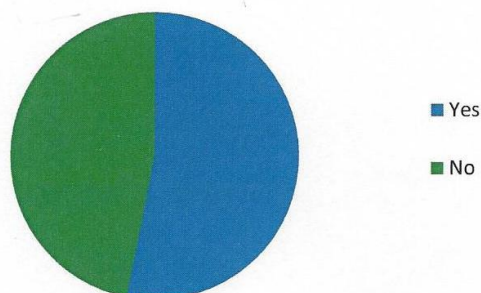
	No	%
	129	53.09
	114	46.91

Q6   If you were to be/are unemployed, in which sector would you look for a job?
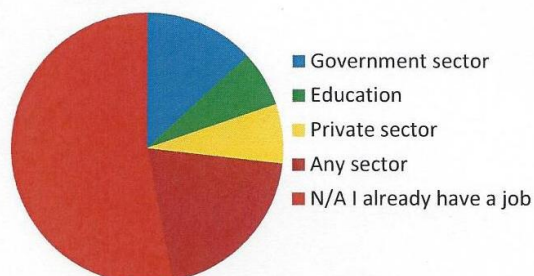
- Government sector
- Education
- Private sector
- Any sector
- N/A I already have a job

	No	%
	32	13.17
	16	6.58
	17	7.00
	49	20.16
	129	53.09

Q7   Would you work for SR 5,000 per month?
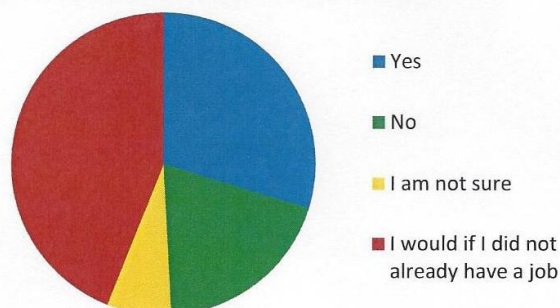
- Yes
- No
- I am not sure
- I would if I did not already have a job

	No	%
	87	35.80
	57	23.46
	20	8.23
	79	32.51

Q8   If you do not have a job how long have you been unemployed?
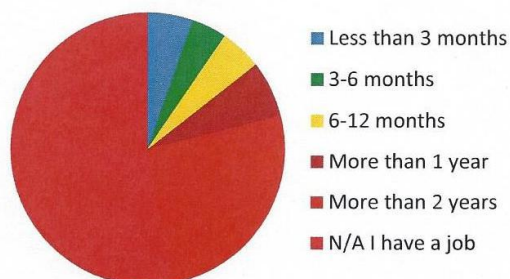
- Less than 3 months
- 3-6 months
- 6-12 months
- More than 1 year
- More than 2 years
- N/A I have a job

	No	%
	13	5.35
	10	4.11
	12	4.94
	16	6.58
	63	25.93
	129	53.09

387

Q9   Would you accept any sort of job?
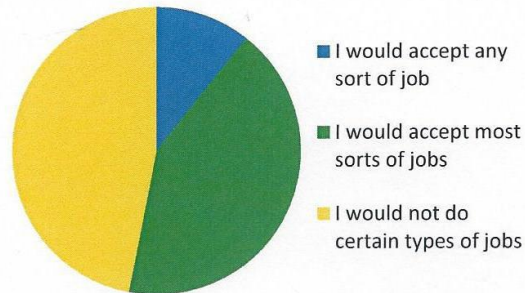
- I would accept any sort of job
- I would accept most sorts of jobs
- I would not do certain types of jobs

	No	%
	26	10.70
	103	42.39
	114	46.91

Q10   Does your tribal custom stop you from doing certain jobs?

- Yes
- No
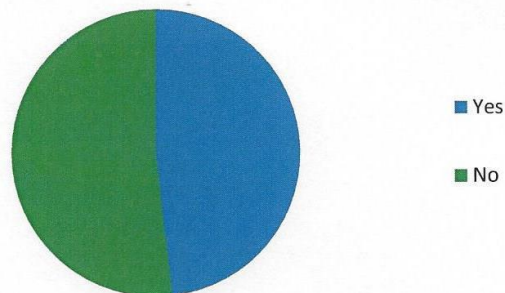
	No	%
	117	48.15
	126	51.85

Q11   Do you agree that females should be able to work in a broader range of jobs?
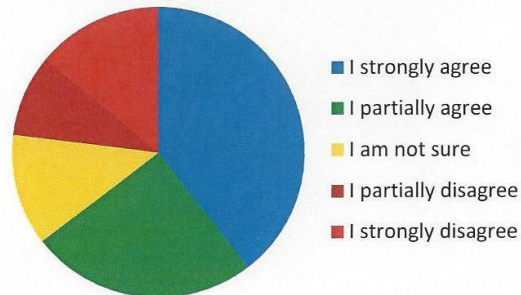
- I strongly agree
- I partially agree
- I am not sure
- I partially disagree
- I strongly disagree

	No	%
	96	39.51
	61	25.10
	30	12.35
	22	9.05
	34	13.99

Q12   Do you agree that by increasing the number of females in the workforce it will make it even harder for males to get jobs?
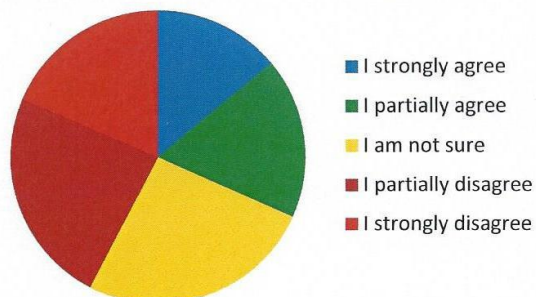
- I strongly agree
- I partially agree
- I am not sure
- I partially disagree
- I strongly disagree

	No	%
	34	13.99
	43	17.69
	63	25.93
	58	23.87
	45	18.52

388

Q13   How did you get your present job?

	No	%
🟦	24	9.88
🟩	47	19.34
🟨	7	2.88
🟥	51	20.99
🟥	114	46.91
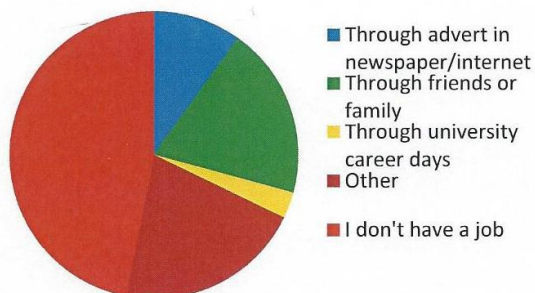
Legend:
- 🟦 Through advert in newspaper/internet
- 🟩 Through friends or family
- 🟨 Through university career days
- 🟥 Other
- 🟥 I don't have a job

Q14   Do you believe young unemployed people in the Kingdom should benefit from receiving Hafiz payments?
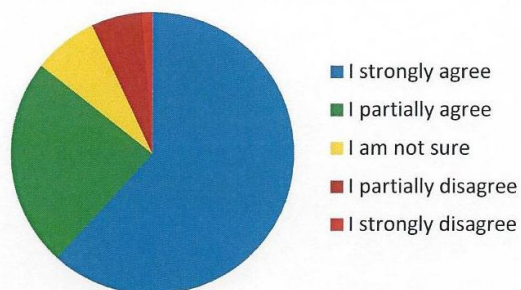
	No	%
🟦	150	61.73
🟩	58	23.87
🟨	18	7.41
🟥	14	5.76
🟥	3	1.23

Legend:
- 🟦 I strongly agree
- 🟩 I partially agree
- 🟨 I am not sure
- 🟥 I partially disagree
- 🟥 I strongly disagree

Q15   Do you agree Hafiz payments help unemployed people?
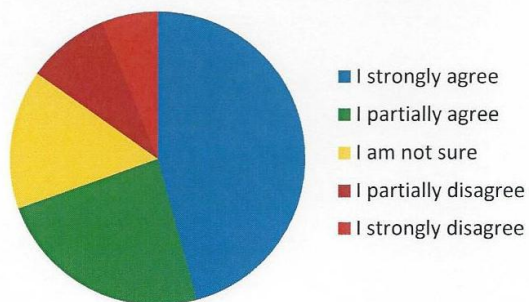
	No	%
🟦	111	45.68
🟩	58	23.87
🟨	37	15.23
🟥	22	9.05
🟥	15	6.17

Legend:
- 🟦 I strongly agree
- 🟩 I partially agree
- 🟨 I am not sure
- 🟥 I partially disagree
- 🟥 I strongly disagree

Q16   For how long do you think Hafiz payments should continue?

	No	%
🟦	18	7.41
🟩	10	4.11
🟨	8	3.29
🟥	207	85.19

Legend:
- 🟦 1 year
- 🟩 2 years
- 🟨 3 years
- 🟥 Until a suitable job is found

389

Q17 Are all your brothers either employed or still in full time education?

	No	%
	61	25.10
	134	55.15
	48	19.75
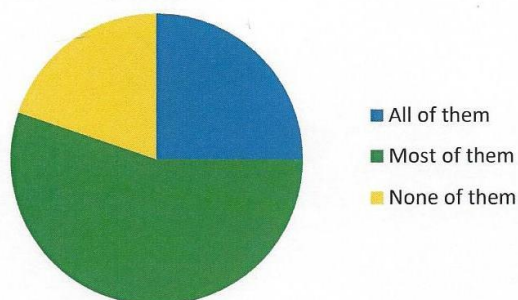
- All of them
- Most of them
- None of them

Q18 Are all your sisters (who wish to work) either employed or in full time education?

	No	%
	48	19.75
	91	37.45
	104	42.80

- All of them
- Most of them
- None of them

Q19 Do you think you are qualified to take over a job from a Western Expatriate?

	No	%
	206	84.77
	9	3.71
	28	11.52

- Yes
- No
- I am not sure

Q20 Do you agree that wasta affects your chance of getting a job and prevents equal opportunities?

	No	%
	189	77.78
	42	17.28
	11	4.53
	1	0.41
	0	0
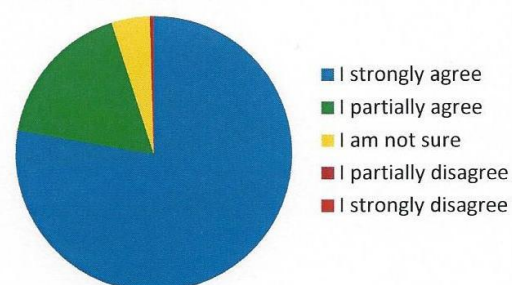
- I strongly agree
- I partially agree
- I am not sure
- I partially disagree
- I strongly disagree

Q21 Do you agree that processes for getting a job are fair and reasonable?

- I strongly agree
- I partially agree
- I am not sure
- I partially disagree
- I strongly disagree

	No	%
	8	3.29
	18	7.41
	62	25.51
	68	27.98
	87	35.81

Q22 Would you do the same job as your father?

- Yes
- No
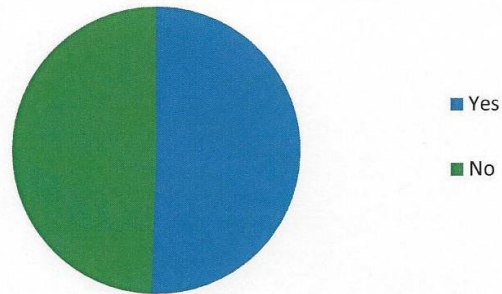
	No	%
	123	50.62
	120	49.38

Q23 Are you skilled or unskilled?
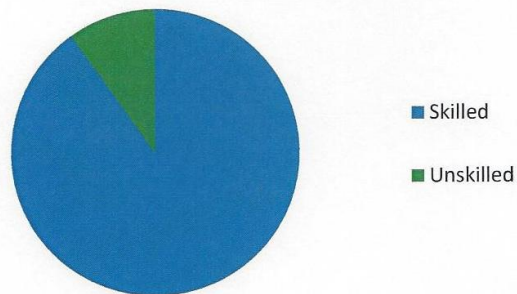
- Skilled
- Unskilled

	No	%
	219	90.12
	24	9.88

Q24 Would you prefer a Civilian or Military job?

- Civilian
- Military

	No	%
	232	95.47
	11	4.53

391
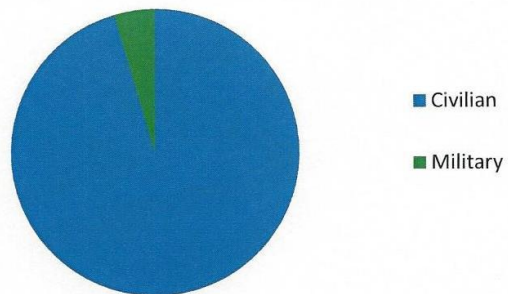
Q25 Do you agree it is harder for younger members (e.g. 3rd, 4th & 5th sons) in the family to find a job?
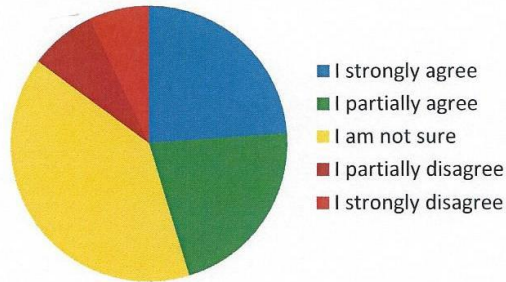
- I strongly agree
- I partially agree
- I am not sure
- I partially disagree
- I strongly disagree

	No	%
	58	23.87
	52	21.40
	97	39.92
	19	7.82
	17	6.99

Q26 Do you agree that the education that young people received in school in Saudi Arabia properly prepares them for further education at university so that they can qualify to get a job?
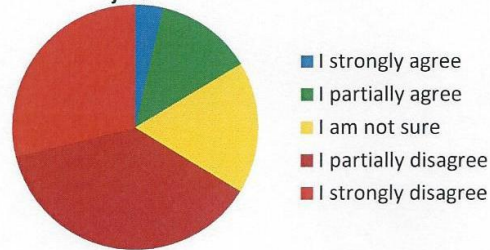
- I strongly agree
- I partially agree
- I am not sure
- I partially disagree
- I strongly disagree

	No	%
	9	3.70
	31	12.76
	42	17.28
	91	37.45
	70	28.81

Q27 Do you agree that there needs to be improvements made to the education system to make it fit for purpose and to better prepare young people for work?

- I strongly agree
- I partially agree
- I am not sure
- I partially disagree
- I strongly disagree

	No	%
	203	83.54
	18	7.41
	19	7.82
	3	1.23
	0	0

Q28 Do you agree that there needs to be more emphasis on teaching technical skills and science in Saudi schools?

- I strongly agree
- I partially agree
- I am not sure
- I partially disagree
- I strongly disagree

	No	%
	195	80.25
	38	15.64
	7	2.88
	3	1.23
	0	0

**Q29** Do you agree that students who have graduated from universities abroad have a bettter chance of getting a good job than those who have studied in Kingdom?
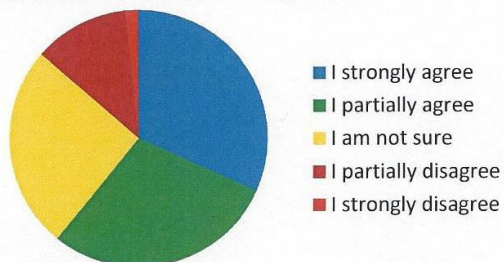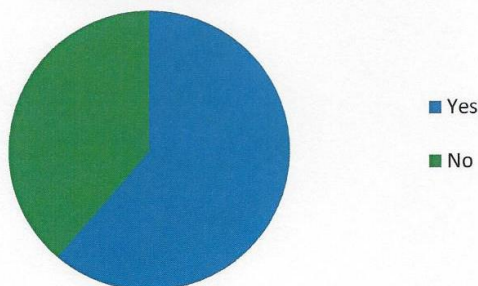

- I strongly agree
- I partially agree
- I am not sure
- I partially disagree
- I strongly disagree

	No	%
	77	31.69
	71	29.22
	62	25.51
	29	11.93
	4	1.65

Q30 How frustrated are you by the employment situation in the Kingdom and opportunities open to you?
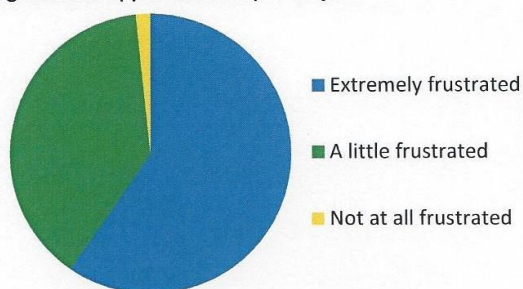
- Extremely frustrated
- A little frustrated
- Not at all frustrated

	No	%
	145	59.67
	94	38.68
	4	1.65

Q31 Does your family employ domestic staff/driver from outside the Kingdom?

- Yes
- No

	No	%
	149	61.32
	94	38.68

Q32 Would you agree that unemployment in the Kingdom contributes to crime and drug usage?
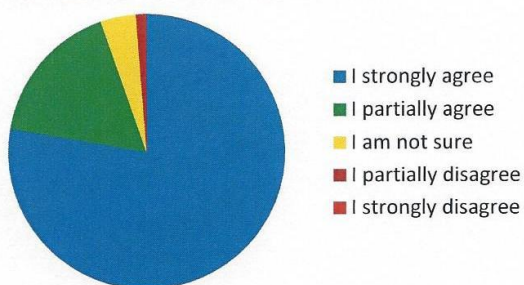
- I strongly agree
- I partially agree
- I am not sure
- I partially disagree
- I strongly disagree

	No	%
	189	77.78
	41	16.87
	10	4.12
	3	1.23
	0	0

Q33 Do you agree that unemployment threatens the security of the Kingdom?
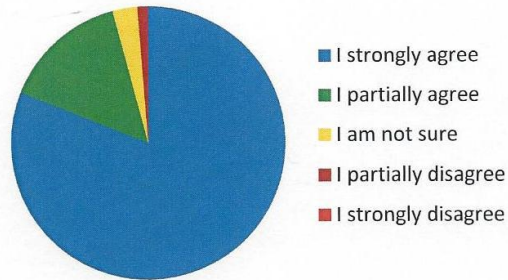
	No	%
■ I strongly agree	197	81.07
■ I partially agree	36	14.82
■ I am not sure	7	2.88
■ I partially disagree	3	1.23
■ I strongly disagree	0	0

Q34 Do you agree that unemployment in the Kingdom results in delays to young people being able to marry?
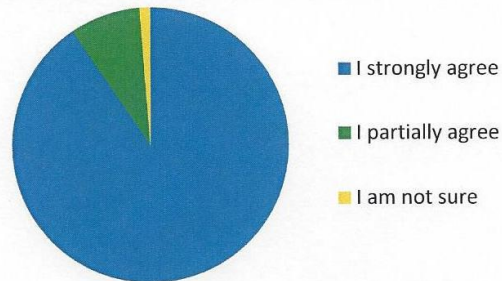
|	No	%
■ I strongly agree	220	90.54
■ I partially agree	20	8.23
■ I am not sure	3	1.23

Q35 Do you agree that unemployment in the Kingdom contributes to depression, mental health issues and lack of self-esteem?
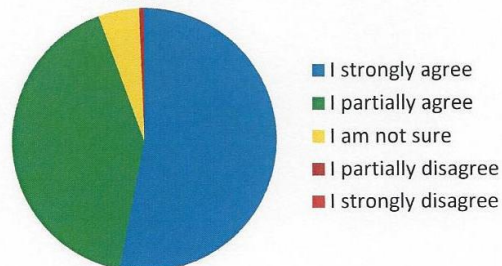
	No	%
■ I strongly agree	182	74.90
■ I partially agree	42	17.28
■ I am not sure	17	7.00
■ I partially disagree	2	0.82
■ I strongly disagree	0	0

Q36 Due you agree that high levels of unemployment in the Kingdom is a result of too many young people applying for too few jobs?
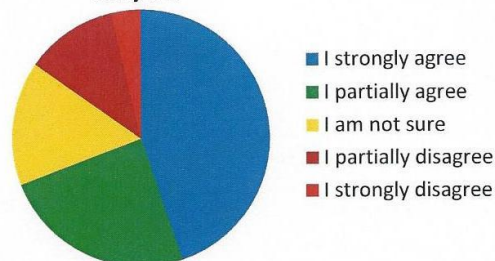
	No	%
■ I strongly agree	109	44.86
■ I partially agree	59	24.28
■ I am not sure	38	15.64
■ I partially disagree	28	11.52
■ I strongly disagree	9	3.70

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**Q37** Do you agree that one of the greatest challenges in the Kingdom is not just to find a job for our young people but to find socially acceptable jobs?
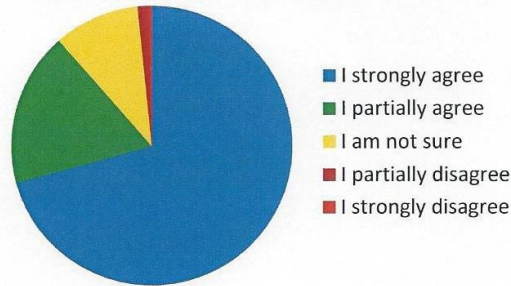
- I strongly agree
- I partially agree
- I am not sure
- I partially disagree
- I strongly disagree

	No	%
	70	28.81
	97	39.92
	57	23.45
	13	5.35
	6	2.47

Q38 Do you agree that the Private sector employs very few Saudis because foreign labour is cheaper?
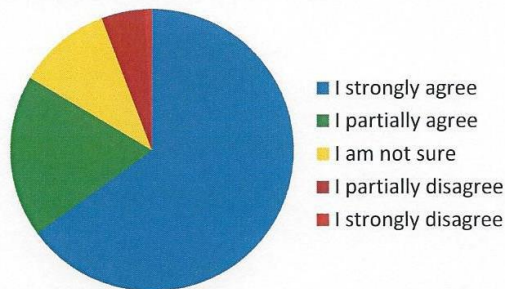
- I strongly agree
- I partially agree
- I am not sure
- I partially disagree
- I strongly disagree

	No	%
	158	65.02
	45	18.52
	26	10.70
	12	4.94
	2	0.82

Q39 Do you agree that the Government should force the Private sector to employ many more Saudis?

- I strongly agree
- I partially agree
- I am not sure
- I partially disagree
- I strongly disagree

|	No	%
	172	70.78
	43	17.70
	24	9.88
	3	1.23
	1	0.41

Q40 Do you agree that more jobs should be created in the Government sector?
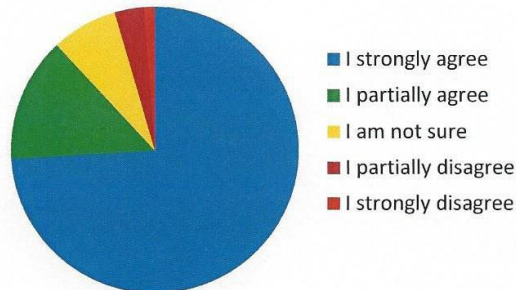
- I strongly agree
- I partially agree
- I am not sure
- I partially disagree
- I strongly disagree

	No	%
	180	74.08
	34	13.99
	18	7.41
	8	3.29
	3	1.23

395

**Q41 Do you agree that the plan to charge companies SR 2,400 a year or every expatriate because these companies employ less than 50% Saudi staff, will aid Saudization?**
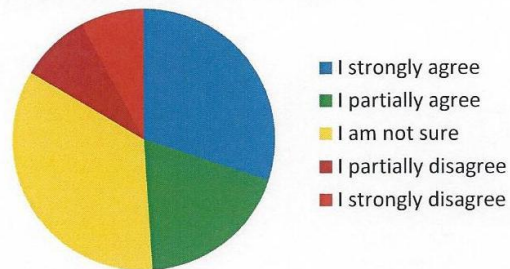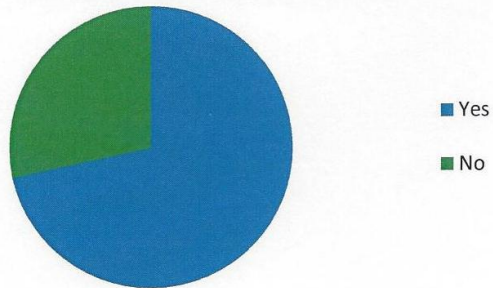
- I strongly agree
- I partially agree
- I am not sure
- I partially disagree
- I strongly disagree

	No	%
	73	30.04
	46	18.93
	84	34.57
	21	8.64
	19	7.82

Q42 What do you think the retirement age should be for people working in the Government sector?
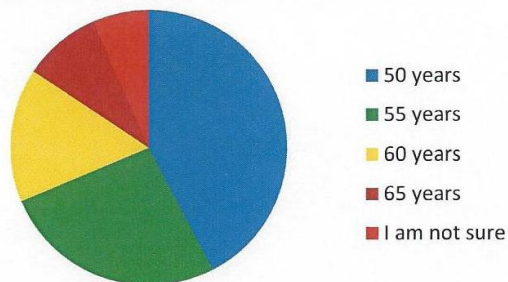
- 50 years
- 55 years
- 60 years
- 65 years
- I am not sure

	No	%
	103	42.39
	64	26.34
	38	15.64
	22	9.05
	16	6.58

Q43 Would you consider starting your own business through an interest free loan from the Government?

- Yes
- No

	No	%
	174	71.60
	69	28.40

396