

CHAPTER III

OPENNESS POLITICAL SYSTEM AND DEMOCRATIZATION NEED IN THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

In this chapter, the author will explain the open political system in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Besides The King, various other actors are able to influence policymaking. Ulemas and Crown Prince are actors who are always involved in the state policy-making process. Also, the author will explain the External Factors and Internal Factors which influence the birth of the open political policy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

A. External Factors of The Openness Political System in Saudi Arabia

1. Globalization in The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

The world is now increasingly progressing and modernizing. Human civilization continues to experience real changes and has brought people towards a sophisticated life. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is not immune from the impact of globalization. Even the so-called nightmare is when Saudi Arabia is confronted with the Arab Spring, although in the end, Saudi Arabia can pass it.

The influence of the impact of globalization and the response needed to deal with it, the country's economic development, population growth, and the pressure of the workforce provide changes in the context and character of sovereign countries such as Saudi Arabia. The absence of the democratic process in policymaking in the

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia created a condition of government autonomy without community involvement in decision making. Autonomy formed vertically is connected to the head of government and the small circle as decision makers. Some agencies in the government do not working good while others work quite effectively.

Suryo Ediyono in his journal entitled *Reforming the Cultural System in Saudi Arabia* during the reign of King Abdullah explained that reform is a change that is carried out with limited coverage and in a time that is neither fast nor slow. Culture is anything that is acquired by humans as individual members of society which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, laws, customs and other habits. So it can be said that social reform in Saudi Arabia is a change made by the King of the country of Saudi Arabia at the request of the people of Saudi Arabia which includes knowledge, economics, morals, law, customs, and other habits.²⁶

When observed, all countries are experiencing and facing globalization, and each country has a different way of dealing with it. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia certainly realizes that globalization should not be avoided but must be faced, by reforming both the cultural, political, social, economic and so on reforms. By carrying out reforms, it hoped that Saudi Arabia could survive against the current of globalization which threatens the existence and existence of the kingdom.

²⁶ Suryo Ediyono. *Reformasi Sistem Kebudayaan di Arab Saudi Masa Pemerintahan Raja Abdullah*. Jurnal dalam <http://millati.iainsalatiga.ac.id/index.php/millati/article/download/1084/738> Diakses pada tanggal 1 January 2018, Pukul 21.54 WIB.

The idea of reform initiated by Muhammad bin Salman (SBM) could respond to as a manifestation of the Saudi kingdom's concern for their economic fields. Oil and gas are the primary commodities that have been supporting the country so far. Oil prices are getting weaker and international economic competition is increasing. Various efforts have been made by SBM to carry out reforms to face globalization.

However, when looked back, social reforms in Saudi Arabia had already been carried out by King Abdullah. He was so aware that the primary challenge of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia was the demands of the people who wanted change. The government cannot avoid or even turn away from globalization. The government is required to be able to realize the wishes of the people. What the government can do is the ability to manage the demands of the people, hoping to remain in the corridor and not become a boomerang for the kingdom.

This condition is indeed very closely related to the next policy, namely the application of an open political system in the era of King Salman's administration. Globalization itself can interpret as a demand, namely an influence from the international community. On the other hand, it is globalization that causes people in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia to begin to see the outside world or begin to realize that outside their territory the world has developed so much that they need a change where the outside world experiences these changes.

Globalization and reform are very closely related, especially in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The government of Saudi Arabia cannot underestimate the current of globalization. They say that globalization is a new weapon in the western world that must be owned by Saudi Arabia. Globalization is also inseparable from regional conditions in the Middle East. The fierce economic and political competition in the Middle East requires Saudi Arabia to dare to face it and even has to be a winner among others.

The Crown Prince, Prince Mohammed bin Salman, was used to the current of globalization, even though he greatly influenced by globalization. However, the people in Saudi Arabia do not yet believe that globalization will be able to deal with without being supported by the government. From this case, it can understand that the government must be present to accompany the people or even provide the need for the people to face globalization. MBS realizes that his kingdom must adapt to the wishes of its people. The government of Saudi Arabia must begin to provide space for the changes desired by its people.

Globalization can be said to be the cause of the birth of an open political system policy in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Globalization is the cause of the demands of the people of Saudi Arabia. Globalization is the cause of government policy for reform. The author will explain in more detail the application of open political system policies in the next chapter by using the political system approach by David Easton.

2. Democratization and Arab Springs Phenomenon

One of the external factors of the application of an open political system in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia is to anticipate the phenomenon of the Arab Spring. The term 'The Arab spring' is a term which in 2011 emerged as a label for expressing civil resistance movements against the government that occurred in several Middle Eastern countries. The issue of The Arab Spring has become a remarkable phenomenon for the study of the Arab world lately. This phenomenon encourages political experts to look back and evaluate their views on the Middle East.

The Arab Spring shows that for many Muslims, democracy is an appropriate way to create an ideal state. Tunisia and Egypt, are two countries that have toppled their dictatorial leaders, Ben Ali and Husni Mubarak. Both countries have also held elections. Even Egypt has held two elections in 2011 and 2013. Tunisia became the first country to face democracy with the election of president Habib Bourgiba. Bourgiba politically limits military, political movements, supports the Tunisian workers' movement, and carries out a secular political vision. It is true that if there are things that cannot negotiate in Islam, the separation between religion and government is a big agenda in the Arab Spring. The revolution in 2011 was not the same as the revolution that took place in Iran in 1979 which made religion the basis and purpose of the revolution. Unlike the Ayatollah Komeini in Iran, Egypt and Tunisia are not places to present Islam as justification for specific actions. Religion becomes plural and open to democracy.

The Arab Spring is a phrase that shows how Islam finds its new form in the political arena. It does not mean Islamism is gone. The wave of protests that occurred contributed to the creation of religious diversification which put Islamists in a set of religious actors among others. Egypt and Tunisia did not undergo a revolution that overthrew two dictators without drafting a replacement. Elections have held, and parliament has created. This new movement is not easy to change because of the nuances of the remaining protests and is still present in the efforts of the two countries to build their new country system. As has happened in Afghanistan and Iraq, Islamic movements from various regions will be concentrated and operate in an arena that is supposed to be democratic but does not create democracy and legitimacy in the eyes of society. Elections in Tunisia and Egypt in 2011 have shown that no Islamic political party can monopolize the expression of 'Islam' in politics.

The phenomenon of democratization in the Arab Spring is undoubtedly also a challenge for Saudi Arabia, considering that Saudi is also a country targeted by western culture, especially by countries that are hostile to Islam. Moreover, the kingdom of Saudi Arabia has increasingly experienced domestic political instability due to the emergence of opposition to the appointment of Crown Prince since 2010, even to this day, namely the appointment of Mohammed bin Salman as Crown Prince of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. However, what's interesting about Saudi Arabia is that they can survive in the Arab Spring attack.

Saudi Arabia remained stable and stable amid the turmoil that occurred. Even Saudi Arabia is not much different. Saudi Arabia is a non-democratic country whose government is exclusive and is not accommodating to private views. According to the results of the study, Saudi Arabia is the fifth-ranked non-democratic country out of 165 countries in the world. It is included in 55 countries in the Authoritarian Regimes category.²⁷ However, he seemed unaffected by the development of this phenomenon even though it was geographically close to countries experiencing civil resistance. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia does not seem to face a direct challenge to its power.

In simple terms, the author concludes that The Arab Spring does not affect political stability in Saudi Arabia because the government of Saudi Arabia can manage three potential sources for its legitimacy. *First*, the Government can build legitimacy with the support of ulama who continue to support and strengthen government power. *Secondly*, the support of the ulama provided the legal authority for the government to establish structural legitimacy which was controlled by the royal family so that political stability maintained. *Third*, oil wealth owned by Saudi Arabia is an economic and strategic factor in building prosperity in Saudi Arabia which then encourages people's compliance due to the achievement of this prosperity. At the same time, the oil wealth is a bargaining tool for Saudi Arabia against the pro-Arab Spring international political interests, including the US.

²⁷ Economist Intelligence Unit, Democracy Index 2010 Democracy in Retreat, p. 3-8.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia holds a strategic position towards economic and international political sustainability. With its oil, it is useful to demand the role of the US to guarantee its stability. Saudi Arabia's domestic political stability is a vital indicator of international economic and political stability. The US, which has an interest in its hegemonic ambitions, is unable to escape the political snare of oil used by Saudi Arabia. Thus, it is clear that the external factor of the birth of the open political system policy is because the Saudi Arabian government seeks to anticipate the Arab Spring phenomenon. By implementing a more open political system, it hoped that the people of Saudi Arabia would be better prepared to face the next Arab Spring which could happen again.

B. Internal Factor

1. Home : The Role and Effect of Wahabi Scholars in Making Policy in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

In his journal Hasbi Aswar entitled *The Effect of Ulama in Politics in Muslim Countries*, The Journal of Islamic Studies and International Relations explains that Ulama is important actors who cannot underestimate in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ulama are believed to be the heirs of the prophets and have the depth of knowledge related to Islam both the knowledge of the Koran, the hadith and other branches of Islamic science. The existence of scholars in Islamic countries becomes the controller of the authorities in exercising their power. Rulers in Islamic countries are obliged to carry out Islamic law in each of their policies. The ulama guarantees

that the authorities remain on the road. Ulama do not have the power to overthrow the rulers if the rulers deviate from Islamic teachings. However, the position of the ulama as a role model for the people and the binding symbol for the community has made the ulama able to change the ruling regime by influencing the community's obedience to the authorities through fatwas and their teachings.²⁸

Furthermore, Hasbi explained that Ulama could legitimize the government and help maintain the stability of the government. In the kingdom of Saudi Arabia, scholars and the government have pledged to support one another. Until now the ulama, in this case, the ulama on the council of senior scholars and muftis remained loyal in providing support to the government. As evidenced in the long journey of the kingdom, scholars were able to provide support for the stability of the country through the power of their fatwas. Even when clerical figures are standing opposite the mufti, the power of the fatwa will make them silence. With the fatwa of senior scholars, the government can eliminate any political rights that have the potential to undermine the stability of the kingdom. This study confirms that Islam and scholars are essential actors in international relations in Muslim countries and should not underestimate.²⁹

²⁸ Hasbi Aswar, *Pengaruh Ulama Dalam Politik Di Negara Muslim*, *The Journal of Islamic Studies and International Relations*. Jurnal dalam https://www.researchgate.net/publication/308029097_Pengaruh_Ulama_Dalam_Politik_di_Negara_Muslim_Studi_Kasus_Arab_Saudi Diakses pada tanggal 1 Januari 2019, Pukul 22.58 WIB.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

In connection with the degradation of the role of ulama in Islamic power, Hasbi included a description by Feldmen that³⁰

The core claim for continuity relies on a set of related observations. First, in the traditional Sunni constitutional order, the shari,,a was a transcendent, divine source of law interpreted exclusively by the scholars; but in the late Ottoman period, and in the constitutional orders that prevailed through most of the Sunni world after World War I, the shari,,a became instead a set of rules defined and applied by authority of the state.

In many cases, the jurisdiction of the shari,,a shrank to encompass only matters of family law. Second, the scholars went from quasi-autonomous keepers of the law to, at best, dependent state functionaries. At worst, the scholars turned into purely religious figures irrelevant to adjudication or governance more generally. Third, as a result of the first two changes, the scholars ceased to be necessary to legitimate the existing government.

The relationship between scholars and kings in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a relationship that requires each other. Hasbi said that the Ulama needed the authority of the Saudi government to spread and safeguard Wahhabi Islamic

³⁰ *Ibid.*

teachings and the Saudi government needed ulama to maintain government stability and provide fatwas on policies made by the Saudi government.³¹

Hasbi also explained that the position of Saudi clerics changed with the entry of modernization ideas in the structure of the Saudi government. The formation of state bodies makes the Ulama's political function diminish even the ulama enter in part of the country's structure by only being responsible for specific fields related to religious activities such as da'wah, education, and justice. While for public policy, the government has full authority to make policies.³²

Hasbi published an article from Madawi Rasheed explaining that three important mechanisms became the instrument of senior ulama in maintaining political stability in the Saudi kingdom, namely, the use of the concept of Hijrah, takfir and Jihad, along with its description:³³

- 1) The concept of Hijrah is used by Saudi clerics to invite Muslims outside the Saudi region to migrate or migrate to Saudi territory because other regions, including the Ottoman territories, are considered to be infidel territories which must abandon. Including not allowed Muslims to live in areas that do not allow to implement Islamic teachings properly.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

- 2) The concept of Takfir is used to label infidels or has come out of Islam for people who are different from official opinions issued by the Saudi government. In the 18th century, the takfir fatwa was the primary driver of Saudi expansion into areas controlled by the Ottoman Turks. At present, this concept is also used to blacklist actors or groups that conflict with Saudi rule. Saudi involvement in supporting the invasion of Iraq against Saddam also supported by the fatwa of Saudi clerics who had defeated Saddam Husain because of his Baathis ideology.
- 3) The concept of Jihad is used to fight groups or parties that have given the stamp of infidelity on them. This jihad became an instrument of expansion of the Saudi government especially in the era of consolidation of Saudi power.

Hasbi further explained that for senior scholars and Saudi muftis, they expressly condemned and forbade any actions or provocations carried out to destabilize the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Anti-government protests are a conspiracy of the enemies of Islam to spread instability and to destroy the east-central Muslim countries. The actions taken by these Muslims were only to divide the people despite their aim to fight for freedom, democracy, and equality.³⁴

³⁴ *Ibid.*

As an essential entity to safeguard Islamic teachings and government partners in the Saudi Arabian kingdom, ulama (councils of senior clerics and muftis) have a significant role in maintaining stability and supporting government efforts to create stability in Saudi Arabia. In the context of responding to the domino effect of the phenomenon of Arab Spring, Senior Ulama and Mufti Supporting the government to reduce various demonstrations that took place by criticizing all those who protested and opposed the government as acts that violated Islamic teachings and divided the Ummah.³⁵

The senior ulama council calls on all people to maintain integrity and unity in society and jointly oppose everything that contradicts such matters, such as injustice, oppression, and hatred of truth. Senior scholars call for mutual advice - advice, mutual understanding and cooperation in truth and piety and preventing crime and hatred. So as long as the Saudi rulers it still based on the Quran and the Sunnah, they must be obeyed and may not conduct demonstrations to demand repairs because they can lead to riots and divisions of the people. This attitude, according to the fatwa, is a form of obedience to the schools/traditions of the pious predecessors / Salafis and their followers from the past until now.³⁶

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

2. Overseas : Jamal Khashoggi Cases

One of the hottest news in 2018 was the emergence of a murder case of one of the senior opposition journalists from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia who was allegedly killed by the Saudi Arabian kingdom in Turkey, Jamal Khashoggi. As for the allegations that continued to be rejected by the kingdom of Saudi Arabia, they stated firmly that they were not involved in the killing of the Khashoggi. Of course this is one of the most shocking cases considering the results of the investigation prove that Khashoggi's murder was neat and planned.

Heinous murder of journalist Jamal Khashoggi, conducted at the Saudi Arabian Consulate in Istanbul Turkey on October 2, 2018, caused international condemnation. Khashoggi is a strong critic of foreign policy and guarantees of freedom of expression in Saudi Arabia. During this time, Khashoggi made harsh and profound criticisms of the practice of government and the behavior of the family of the Saudi King. Furthermore, Khashoggi has criticized the step of reform carried out by the Crown Prince, Prince Mohammed bin Salman, which he believes is not serious and full of controversy.³⁷

The Khashoggi case was a hindrance to Saudi reform efforts pioneered by Crown Prince Prince Mohammed bin Salman. With Vision 2030, Saudi Arabia is carrying out domestic economic and social reforms aimed at making the country's

³⁷ Adirini Pujayanti, Pusat Penelitian Badan Keahlian DPR RI, *Tewasnya Jamal Khashoggi Dan Implikasinya Bagi Hubungan Luar Negeri Arab Saudi*, Vol. X, No.21, Tahun 2018. Hal.7.

economy more open, diversifying the country's economy in the non-oil sector, and building moderate Saudi society. There are a number of targets that have been announced so that Saudi Arabia is equal to the moderate countries of the Gulf region such as the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, and even European countries.³⁸

As de facto leader of Saudi Arabia, Prince Mohammed bin Salman presents himself as a reformist figure. The conducive climate he created helped attract the interest of businesses to invest in Saudi Arabia. But after Khashoggi was killed, Saudi Arabia's position in the international world was cornered, the credibility of Crown Prince Prince Mohammed bin Salman as a doubtful modernist figure, even considered to be the murderer. Meanwhile, the success of the Turkish government proves the murder of Jamal Khashoggi at the Saudi Arabian Consulate in Istanbul, further cornering the position of the government of Saudi Arabia.³⁹

One of the internal factors that increasingly supports the implementation of an open political system in the Saudi Arabian regime is the killing of Jamal Khashoggi. Given that the international community sees Saudi Arabia as not open to the international community. Of course this makes Saudi Arabia increasingly feel that there is a need to improve the quality of the open political system that has been implemented.

³⁸ *Ibid.* Hal.8

³⁹ *Ibid.* Hal.8

C. Democratization Need in The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

1. Political Reformation in The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

Democratization is a process that begins with the collapse of an authoritarian regime, the institutionalization of the rules of the game following the principles of democracy, and the consolidation of a democratic regime. The transition process from the collapse of authoritarian regimes to the establishment of democratic systems is called a transition period. The phenomenon of the demand to democratize political life in the Middle East can now be seen in three dimensions of discussion, namely domestic, regional and global. Islamic movements that want political change such as the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, An-Nahda in Tunisia, Al-Ishlah in Yemen, Hamas in Palestine, and Hezbollah in Lebanon its growth is outside the country's corridors. These movements have an organizational discipline that binds its members that even the country's formal institutions have difficulty controlling.

Ikhawanul Muslimin for example, even though this organization designated as a forbidden movement in Egypt since the era of Gamal Abdul Nasser in the 1950s, but in reality, the Brotherhood still exists today. Hamas, for example, grew and developed beyond the control of the Palestinian Authority as a product of the 1993 Oslo agreement. This movement even succeeded in shifting Fatah's dominance in the 2006 elections. The same thing also happened in Lebanon when Hezbollah acted as a country within the country because this organization had information transformation that occurred in the Middle East at the political level, creating what is known as

political community, a group humans, among members of which are bound by common symbols, work together to realize their goals.

This community is trying to regulate themselves with democratic rules so that they are not alienated. In other words, they are trying to democratize their political life without having to wait for formal (state) institutions. Arab Spring is a phenomenon of mass movements that indeed want to acknowledge the existence of parties outside the country to live more freely and get what their right is.

For the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, democratization is indeed not a new thing to watch out. Since long ago, the Government of Saudi Arabia has been aware of the threats and challenges of democratic countries which without knowing their time continue to spread their understanding of liberalism, especially in Saudi Arabia. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia needs a solution that can prevent democratization and at the same time be able to protect the kingdom. The solution was to begin to open royal politics by implementing an open political system policy.

There is no change in the system of government in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and only that has changed which the political system that was previously so closed, has transformed into a much more open political system. Thus it is hoped that it will be able to maintain the stability of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Besides, the reforms in the political field carried out by Saudi Arabia are by allowing the presence of women in various fields, including signing one of the best women in Saudi Arabia

to become the minister of state. Women's representation in parliament both in the center and in the provinces in Saudi Arabia also proves that they are slowly reforming in the political field.

2. The presence of Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman Al Saud (MBS) in the Politics of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

Unlike the traditions of other kingdoms in the world that appointed children of kings to become crown princes, the tradition of the succession of kings in Arabia revealed to the younger brother of the previous king. In the Salman era, the crown prince was Muqrin bin Abdulaziz, the youngest child of Abdulaziz bin Saud. When Abdulaziz was still alive, he recognized Muqrin as his son. However, after Abdulaziz died, Muqrin's half-brothers sued the origin of the Yemeni people, which meant not the descendants of Muhammad bin Saud and Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab. Another accusation is that the status of Muqrin's mother is not a legitimate wife.

Abdulaziz once said that a king should not be a child of a stranger. Among Abdulaziz's 22 wives, the majority were not Arabs, so the number of children who qualified to become kings was reduced. The mother of Bandar bin Abdulaziz is Moroccan, while the mother of Muqrin and Hidhlul is a Yemeni. Meanwhile, the mothers of Mishal, Mitab, Talal, and Nawaf were Armenians.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Panji Haryadi. *Peran Muhammad Bin Salman Terhadap Perubahan Pilar Kenegaraan Arab Saudi*. Jurnal Dalam <https://ic-mes.org/jurnal/index.php/jurnallCMES/article/download/16/20/> Diakses pada tanggal 1 January 2019, Pukul 17.08 WIB.



Picture 1.3. Crown Prince Mohammed Bin Salman Al Saud

Muqrin's weak position made King Salman freely remove his position as crown prince and appointed Muhammad bin Nayef, Salman's nephew who came from the Sudairi clan. So after that, Salman made a further maneuver, raising his son, Mohammed bin Salman as the crown prince by moving Muhammad bin Nayef.⁴¹

In 2017, Muhammad bin Salman (MBS) was appointed crown prince by his father, Salman bin Abdulaziz. Throughout Saudi Arabia's history, this has never

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

happened. Usually, the crown prince is the brother of a ruling king. SBM is the 7th son of Salman from his third wife named Fahda binti Falah bin Sultan Al Hithalayn. Salman's decision supported by 31 of the 43 members of the Saudi Arabian succession commission.⁴²

MBS then conducted a series of internal policies, including:

- 1) MBS arrested some princes on charges of corruption, including Walid bin Talal, the wealthiest person in the Middle East, and Mitab bin Abdallah, commander of 100,000 troops of al-Haras al-Watanī, a military division specifically protecting the kingdom.
- 2) MBS has resisted extreme understanding by arresting around 20 scholars who are considered extremists, including the prominent imam, Salman al-Odah and Awad al-Qarni.
- 3) MBS made changes in the kingdom's economic policies by triggering the concept of Vision 2030. An essential point in Vision 2030 is economic diversification so that oil is expected to be Saudi's primary source of income no longer.

Crown Prince Muhammad bin Salman sought to return Saudi Arabia to moderate Islam and called for global support to turn the hardline-leaning Saudi kingdom into an open society that empowers citizens and captivates investors. SBM stated that

⁴² *Ibid.*

Saudi Arabia had become an ultra-conservative country in the last 30 years, and according to him, it was not normal. He alleged that the birth of the rigid doctrines of the clergy to the community was a reaction to the Iranian revolution.⁴³

Mohammed bin Salman's presence as Crown Prince in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia brought new dynamics to the politics of Saudi royal government. The United States also awaited his long-awaited presence by King Salman as his successor because SBM was so close to Washington. The Prince Mohammed bin Salman is influencing the politics of government and the policy-making process in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

D. Output Units

1. Saudi Vision 2030

The first Output Unit or the result of implementing an open political system policy is the birth of a grand plan in the form of a program known as Saudi Vision 2030. On April 25, 2016, Deputy Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman announced Vision 2030. Saudi Vision 2030 has 3 important pillars in it, namely, A Vibrant Society, Thriving Economy, and An Ambition Nation. A Vibrant Society or a dynamic society meant here is that Saudi Arabia wants to strengthen its human resources, based on the fact that the wealth of a country does not only lie in natural resources, but the real wealth of a country lies in human resources. The existence of

⁴³ *Ibid.*

Saudi Arabia as the heart of the Arab and Islamic world also encourages the royal government to strengthen the people of Saudi Arabia to remain in Islamic principles which become their national identity that has been rooted and must strengthen.⁴⁴

Thriving Economy or economic development is the focus of this vision. Oil and gas are essential pillars in the economy of Saudi Arabia, but in this case, Saudi Arabia will carry out economic development in the long term and sustainably by releasing its dependence on oil and gas and diversifying the economy. The need to diversify the economy in Saudi Arabia to expand investment as an additional sustainable sector.

The last pillar is the national ambition of the state, which is the awareness of the state that it is necessary to streamline all its ranks in a bureaucratic manner. The kingdom has clarity on high-value transparency and accountability. Transparency and accountability are felt to be indispensable in government control, especially control of projects that have a significant and high impact on the economy of Saudi Arabia. The main focus of the vision of Saudi Arabia in 2030 oriented to the economic development of Saudi Arabia.

In simple terms, there are four points that are the focus of the economic program contained in Saudi Vision 2030: opening up opportunities for developing economies in the Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) sector, opening economic

⁴⁴ B.A. Albassam, „Political Reform in Saudi Arabia: Necessity or Luxury?’Middle East Studies Online Journal, Vol. 3, No.6, 2011.

opportunities in business, utilizing opportunities for strategic positions, and the last seen lately is investment in the long-term economy.⁴⁵

Goals of Vision 2030. For each of the three pillars of Vision 2030; a vibrant society, a thriving economy, and an ambitious nation. The Kingdom has charted 18 measurable goals to be achieved by the year 2030:⁴⁶

- 1) More than double the number of Saudi heritage sites registered with UNESCO
- 2) Increase capacity to welcome Umrah visitors from 8 million to 30 million per year
- 3) Increase household spending on cultural and entertainment activities from 2.9 percent to 6 percent
- 4) Increase the share of individuals exercising at least once a week from 13 percent to 40 percent
- 5) Have three Saudi cities be recognized among the Top 100 cities in the world
- 6) Raise Saudi Arabia's ranking on the Social Capital Index from 26th to 10th

⁴⁵ Artikel dalam "Arab Saudi Setop Kecanduan Minyak, Sudirman Said Lihat Peluang", <http://ekbis.sindonews.com/read/1104380/34/arab-saudisetopkecanduan-minyak-sudirmansaid> Diakses pada tanggal 1 January 2019, Pukul 19.53 WIB

⁴⁶ Saudi Embassy. Saudi Arabia : Political, Economic, And Social Development. 2017. On https://www.saudiembassy.net/sites/default/files/WhitePaper_Development_May2017.pdf Diakses pada tanggal 1 January 2019, Pukul 20.54 WIB.

- 7) Increase in average life expectancy from 74 to 80 years
- 8) Increase private sector contributions to Gross Domestic Product from 40 percent to 65 percent
- 9) Raise Saudi Arabia's ranking on the Global Competitiveness Index from 25th to among the Top 10 nations
- 10) Increase foreign-direct investment from 3.8 percent of GDP to the international average of 5.7 percent of GDP
- 11) Rank Saudi Arabia among the Top 15 largest economies in the world from its current position of 19th
- 12) Increase the assets of the Public Investment Fund from SAR 600 billion to over SAR 7 trillion (\$160 billion to over \$2 trillion)
- 13) Increase localization of the oil and gas sectors from 40 percent to 75 percent
- 14) Increase women's participation in the workforce from 22 percent to 30 percent
- 15) A lower rate of unemployment from 11.6 percent to 7 percent
- 16) Increase contributions of small and medium enterprises from 20 percent to 35 percent of GDP
- 17) Increase share of non-oil exports from 16 percent to 50 percent of non-oil GDP

It could conclude that Saudi Vision 2030 is a result of the adoption of an open political system policy in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Saudi Vision 2030 is a real effort made by the government of Saudi Arabia in order to prepare Saudi Arabia to face the future. It hoped that both the Government and the Community would continue to be able to work together in maintaining the Kingdom at any time. Saudi Vision 2030 is also evidence that Saudi Arabia will not forever rely on the oil sector. Saudi Arabia will develop advanced human resources, a modern society, a strong economy, and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia that remains strong.

2. Cultural Reform and Gender Equality in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

Another output unit that succeeded the analysis writer, Saudi Arabia, slowly began issuing policies that directly or indirectly changed the face of Saudi Arabia. Policies such as first Saudi Arabia's media, opening cinemas, providing scholarships, opening universities, etc. are forms of reform and change. Also, the most explicit policy is a policy to equalize gender, even though it has not fully implemented.

On Media sectors, Saudi Arabia will increase the number and variety of cultural and entertainment activities with the aim of opening dedicated venues to showcase our citizens' myriad talents. The Kingdom will review our regulations to simplify the establishment and registration of amateur, social, and cultural clubs. Saudi Arabia will launch and provide the necessary financial support for "Daem," a national program to enhance the quality of cultural activities and entertainment. The

program will create a national network of clubs, encourage the exchange of knowledge and international experiences, and promote better awareness of a wide range of hobbies and leisure activities. By 2020, there will be more than 450 registered and professionally organized amateur clubs providing a variety of cultural activities and entertainment events.⁴⁷

The politics of government are also experiencing developments in Saudi Arabia. It saw from the holding of the first general election for women in order to elect members who will sit in the City Government Council. Of course, is a sign of the continuation of political reform in one of the Gulf countries that have been considered conservative. The first election for women held in December 2015. Election organizers said that around 130,000 women are registering as voters. King Abdullah decided to allow women to take part in elections. He said women in Saudi Arabia had shown a position to express their opinions and suggestions adequately.⁴⁸ The involvement of women in politics is not intended to bring down, reduce or seize power from the hands of men, but is intended to be equal partners of men.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Saudi Embassy. *Saudi Arabia : Political, Economic, And Social Development*. 2017. On https://www.saudiembassy.net/sites/default/files/WhitePaper_Development_May2017.pdf Diakses pada tanggal 1 January 2019, Pukul 20.54 WIB.

⁴⁸ Bbc. 2015. Perempuan Arab Saudi akan gunakan hak pilih untuk pertama kalinya. www.bbc.com

⁴⁹ Siti Musdah Mulia, *Muslimah Reformis Perempuan Pembaru Keagamaan*. (Bandung: Mizan, 2005), h. 275.

Women in Saudi Arabia were first appointed Deputy Ministers. The woman is Dr. Noura Al-Fayez appointed as deputy minister for the education of girls, the first to hold ministerial appointments.⁵⁰ Al-Fayez's appointment shows that he believes in women becoming partners in society and emphasizes that women will integrate into society. Then women will soon become members of the Shura Council.

Saudi Arabia also implements a scholarship program to send young Arabs to study abroad at different universities around the world, both undergraduate or postgraduate education. This program offers funds for tuition fees and lives up to four years. On September 26, 2017, the Saudi Arabian government issued a driving license for women. They are also permitted to join the military and intelligence services and come to the sports arena. Also, the Saudis also began to build cinemas throughout the country. The Saudis also plan to build an entertainment city in the style of Disney Land in Qiddiya, near Riyadh.⁵¹

Saudi scholars also relaxed Women's dress rules. The tradition of abaya and black hijab for Saudi women is a product of the fatwa of previous Wahhabi clerics who were members of the Sahwa. However, finally in February 2018, Sheikh

⁵⁰ Admon Y. dan Y. Carmon. "Reform in Saudi Arabia Under King Abdullah (part I)". The Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), Inquiry and Analysis Series Report, no. 519, 2009.h.3

⁵¹ Panji Haryadi. *Peran Muhammad Bin Salman Terhadap Perubahan Pilar Kenegaraan Arab Saudi*. Jurnal Dalam <https://ic-mes.org/jurnal/index.php/jurnalICMES/article/download/16/20/> Diakses pada tanggal 1 January 2019, Pukul 17.08 WIB.

Abdullah al-Mutlaq, a member of the Senior Ulama Council, said that Muslim women must dress modestly, but that does not mean having to wear an abaya.

Saudi women have experienced significant changes taking place regarding women's rights. Majelis Shura, one of the most respected advisory bodies in Saudi Arabia, consists of 20% of women. Saudi women are also entering a new world of work. In supporting and presenting professional skills, the pioneers exchange knowledge and tirelessly work to face the opening and development of SMEs (Small or Medium Enterprise Businesses) Combining technology, capability, information and bringing it to success. Saudis, which reach 50% of all graduates at the university, have the right to achieve economic freedom and innovate in engineering.⁵²

Thus, it is clear that another Output Unit or the result of an open political system in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is the emergence of various other policies which also contribute to reforming and changing social and political conditions in Saudi Arabia. The author can conclude that besides Saudi Vision 2030, there are other policies on a small scale that have succeeded in changing the face of Saudi Arabia as an output of open political system policies.

⁵² Samar Fatany, *Saudi Women Towards a New Era*,(Ghainaa: Publications, 2007),h.45.

Picture 1.4. Women in Saudi Arabia Driving



Picture 1.5. For the first time women in the Parliament of Saudi Arabia

