

Comparing the role of the middle class in political development (democracy) of Turkey and Saudi Arabia

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Abstract: The term of Middle class is one of the common terminology in humanities especially, sociology and political science. Although it is not long time since the composition have emerged in books, articles and academic circles, very sensitive and important role of this class in society transformation has caused researchers and politicians pay particular attention to it. So there is three classes in society, the classes who possess accumulated capital, the low class who are in challenge to satisfy their necessary needs and finally the middle class who earn their living without trouble but not involve in accumulating great capital. Thus, in democracy progression, it can be said that because of their special position, middle class use third class emotion as a pressure factor and upper class wisdom as a prudent or reconcilable factor. So in the paper, we try to examine the middle class role in the process of political development and more detailed explaining of political power and democracy establishment as a method that paves the way for people more collaboration in governance, particularly in two countries of Saudi Arabia with a traditional and hereditary and Turkey with relatively democratic structure.

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1. Introduction

The relationship between political power and social classes is very complex and better understanding of society political life enjoys special places; political power can be divided into social and governmental power, accordingly in order to examine transformation in political layer, changes in social power and the manner of its transforming into political power which is as a main political power basis among middle class must be addressed (Haggard Stephan and Robert R. Kaufman, 1992). Class analysis is one of the theoretical approaches in the study of politics and society. In the beginning, classification (layering) was used by scholars and statesmen to determine patterns of political struggle and social transformation. In fact, one ways that lead us to understand the social structure is analyzing the layout and class structure in society. In the context of social class layout, most of the scientists have divided social groups into three categories: upper class, middle class, lower class, among these middle class will be compartmentalized old and new middle class. Upper class can be included royal family, nobilities, military and economic elite, capitalists and senior scientists. Middle-class consists of bureaucrats, professionals, petty bourgeoisie, merchants and ... And lower-class comprises workers, the unemployed, farmers and nomads.... The emergence of the middle class in various social and political arenas is so important that most of the thinkers know it as an underlying in forming new societies and one of the fundamental prerequisite elements in democratic

society. Thus, relatives to the middle-class are recognized as democracy pioneers and economic, political and social development leaders in communities (Mackey, Sandra (1996).

1.1. Significance of middle class in political development (democracy)

Larok argues that middle class consists of several groups, all of them have common feature namely they are not involved nor in worker neither in ruling class (Gelvin, James L. (2008) Shakirva has written: Middle class is part of society which is placed between the upper and lower classes and characterized by high level of union, income, proprietorship, intellectuality, talent and significant skill in work (Daniel Bertaux, & Thomson, Paul.1997). In Most theories about class, the evident aspect on middle class is its critical role in the advanced new capital development. Middle class member are known by three outstanding features: education, advanced technological and executive skills and significant autonomy in working process (Moore Barrington.1966). Apart from this, they are beneficial actor in social procedures with powerful motivation to joint to new social movement (Wright, Erik Olin.1997). New middle class plays a central role in transforming social-democrat and above them worker unity organization. In Most theories about class, the evident aspect of new middle class is its critical role in the advanced capitalism development. Middle class members are known by three outstanding features: education, advanced technological and executive skills and significant

autonomy in working process, apart from this, they are beneficial actors in social procedures with powerful motivation to joint to new social movement. New middle class plays a central role in transformations social-democrat and above them in labor union organization. The upper class possess concentrated capital and lower class deals with challenges in satisfying their essential needs, middle class is referred to the groups that subsist ordinarily without trouble and not involve into accumulating great capital. If all definition is acceptable without exception, it seems the middle class have greater impact of social-political transformation: Because the upper class usually knows social order as a preserver for its position which is desirable and since plunging in accumulating wealth and power to exploit it most of the time does not allow it to think about reformation, it is natural for the upper class not to follow social structure transformation and even protest against it. Despite the lower class is likely the most beneficiary from this reformation, it is relatively deprived from achieving to reformist theoretical and practical freeness because of immersion into supplying its minimum demands. But the middle class inevitably deals with reformation thinking and necessities because in one hand it is not under the pressure of supplying the necessities and concern for satisfying his stomach due to his relative richness and is not fully hired by economy and cannot concentrate and accumulate unlimited wealth due to its relative poverty, on the other hand also because of his cultural and administrative jobs which is concentrated in this class(Grant, J. Andrew (2001)). Therefore, the most primitive societies have been detectable in the absolute absence of middle class. So that it is not wrong if we say the history of new culture and civilization is a history for emerging and expanding the middle class. The new class thinks to invent an instrument to be as a castle toward this devastating attack in order to preserve itself against arbitrary and occasionally libertine actions of upper class which primarily characterized by concentrating power or wealth and predominated on the political governance. So that democracy with separation principle, or in louder word, powers division, representative system and ruling the law documented by majority votes and preserving the minority right was founded by middle class. Middle class involving in democracy will not last here, but the class ensures the most competent elements for establishing democratic system due to its own specifications and above mentioned reasons the upstream and downstream are contradictorily have less share in thought in public sense and reform thought in special sense. So because of it not only the selected representatives, executive, justice force agents and

senior officials but also aware and selector voters, of course not the voters who comes to ballot box in weak or incomplete democracy or those who vote for promises and threat or influenced by other one without sufficient ware and consciousness, are belonged to middle class. On this basis, we can accept that developing middle class is a laying plot for political development and its restriction encourage power accumulation and political power concentration, by eliminating middle class in society, the lower class with two descriptions of relative deprivation from scientific education and being troubled in economic struggle for exist will be defenseless against upper class with two public descriptions of power and wealth concentration. Denial of education make the lower class's culture static, weak, introverted and unable and weaken its survival of noneconomic sensitiveness. So that, If the top class does not incline to monopolize political sovereignty, basically there will be no option except this; because power sharing needs the middle class whose scientific education and economic freeness allow it to think and select. If the classes will be authorized to share the upper class' wealth or power, the third class is willing to share the wealth, while the middle class prefers the power to be shared. In other word, the middle class valorize the freedom originally meanwhile knows it as a mediator to achieve economic balance, while the weak class is more prepared to grant its political right instead of ensuring their economic necessities. A third category is sensitive to the concentration of wealth in the first class and middle class is sensitive to the concentration of power in this class. So for the reason the middle class is principally and habitually want to peaceful reformation of political structure and if it fails in achieving the goal, it has to stimulate and encourage third class toward a social revolution whose main motive is to change the manner of wealth sharing and if changing political structure is desired, it will be along to this goal. This is why the lower layers tend to socialism and top layers more incline to liberalism. Both of them seek justice, but one sees justice in the sharing wealth and other knows it in sharing power. One persists on the threat associates with not distributing the wealth properly and the other focus on disadvantages of not proper distributing of power. An important point is that both transformations are inevitably done by middle class, with differences that in one of them it is necessary to stimulate the lower class and bring them into the scene and to release their great potentials and in the other it is not true. Either way, the original intentions of the middle class is political reformation and in turn social and legal reform, and ultimately, the economic

and cultural development and progress (Mahony, Pat & Zmroczek, Christine.1997).

2.1. History of social classes and Democracy in Turkey

Despite the constructing of landholding in Turkey was in the a major part of Ottoman Empire era based on the independent landowners and without large landowners, but by integrating in the world system from the beginning to the end of the nineteenth century, the rich landlords emerged in some parts of the country though they are never more powerful than Iranian landowners and predominant to farmers. Although Ottoman society was based on farming, handcrafting, ranching and trade until the nineteenth century, its ethnic labor division was different from the identical communities. Balkan Christians, Anatolian Turks and Arab Muslims were sedentary farmers. Albanians, Kurds, Turkmen and Arabs were nomadic ranching; Greeks, Armenians and Christian Arabs who were mostly Lebanese residents were trading as well handcrafting was common in Istanbul and in the control of Muslims. Ottoman reformation was conducted in king Selim, Mahmoud II, and Abdulhamid era could not create a basis for a powerful Turk bourgeoisie and integrating in the world system and strong competition with international powers weakened the power of the bourgeoisie which was concentrated in the hands of ethnic minorities. The young Turks revolution in 1900s and duration of their governance till 1916 was a kind of attempt to create Turk bourgeoisie but by defeating the empire in First World War and occupying the Ottoman by winners the vision of Bourgeoisie was never realized. Thus, the Ottoman Empire at the end of the nineteenth century with a strong commercial and industrial bourgeoisie was weak class that was focused on ethnic minorities. Although Young Turk Revolution of the 1900s and its duration until 1918 was a kind of attempt to create national Turk bourgeoisie, by failure of Ottoman Empire in World War I and its occupation by victorious powers, the Turks bourgeoisie dream was not realized. More importantly, at the late of 19th century and in the process of interchanging the ethnic groups between Turkey and Greek, a kind of ethnic cleansing was done in Turkey and suddenly the country was evacuated of the minorities who shaped the main body of commercial and industrial bourgeoisie. Workpeople 's weakness was resulted from the Turkish industrial bourgeoisie because of which there was no space for workers' production. Thus, when Atatürk won the Turkish Independence War, only had landowners' force was formed in the middle of the nineteenth century and a very weak bourgeoisie. As tariff trade rules was being established in Iran till 1928, the rules were existed in

Turkey until 1929. From this year onwards, Kemal government by ridding from tariff trade achieved more freedom in economic interventions. The critical condition of world system in this year and the years afterward had weakened the landholders who were dependant to exporting farming materials, so that Kemal government found the only faced powerful class force weakened. Atatürk applied statism policy and governmental centered planning and state interventions to industrializing because of lacking national bourgeoisie for proceeding modernization planning and landholders' weakness to prohibiting state actions. And simultaneously spread his own party authoritarianism sovereignty- Republican People's Party. The number of workers in Atatürk era (1920s and 1930s) was not enough to be able to withstand against the Atatürk government. According to the coalitions of army forces, bureaucrats and landowners at the beginning of the Republic, and the lack of industrial development that can promote labor force, it was natural that the workers had no power to have organized participate in politics. While the Kemalist thought that by removing Ottoman Sultan, and foreign capital, class conflict between Turkish societies would be omitted and other class organizations would not be needed at all. Atatürk era policy and their continuances during the presidency of Ismat İnönü made severely the landowner, private sector and workers dissatisfied. A class of state bureaucrats, mainly belonging to the People's Republican Party took the affairs administration and presumed no force against them. But World War II changed the situation completely. Economic crisis resulting from the war had two evident effects. First, a group of big businessmen in war inflationary conditions gained a great wealth. In wartime demands for producing Turkey goods will increase and the price of imported goods in inflationary conditions were very profitable. Therefore, the layer of commercial bourgeoisie but powerful arose in Turkey and demanded a greater share in economic policy-making and political power. Secondly, the government attempts to transferring villagers for forced labor in mines and most importantly the "capital tax" to raise the funds for the war. The law was passed on 11 November 1942, it was decided that the tax be laid on for the wealth derived from trade and was tax-free in the past. Their capital was also assessed by the experts. Those who pay no taxes were taken to concentration camps. Most of the business tax receipt from merchandises among religious and ethnic minorities and most of the traders who were overtaxed were eliminated. Many foreigners thought this tax is a kind of opposition and this effort encouraged the fleeing of the capital and the other hand the weakened the non-Muslim

bourgeoisie. As a result of enforcing the law, a climate of mistrust was shaped toward Turkish state and economy. After the end of the war, the World system was changed completely. Turkey took the shelter of west for sake of Soviet territorial claims and became a member of NATO in 1952. Americans also tried to reconstruct Europe and needed Turkey as a food crops producer to supply Europe and European product markets. Various pressures powered by the new bourgeoisie, the landowners who export agricultural crops and U.S.A for transiting to multi-party democratic system were on Ismet Inonu's government. Finally, the pressure led to create a multi-party system in 1946 and democratic elections in 1950 (Przeworski, A .1997). Turkish landowners and independent farmers that remembered the years of Ataturk rule, the Republican Party or policies of transferring surplus from agricultural sector to industrial sector-by fixing the governmental purchase price of agricultural products and increasing investment in the industry-in new world system conditions inclined to open markets and increase their share in economic policy-making, are severely supported multi-party democracy and accompaniment with democratic dialogue governed during the after war years. Agricultural modernization program were closely followed during the years 1950 to 1954 reflected place of the same landowners in the state and of course the world system demands. More wonderful that Turkey democrat party in three sequential parliamentary elections during the years of 1950, 1954 and 1957 won by assisting independent farmer's vote and the farmers who are predominated by great landholders as well decreasing the votes in 1957 election referred to people abstain from the party (Barkey Henri J..2010) Turkey industrial bourgeoisie which had been grown under the support and sovereignty of Ataturk era governmental bureaucracy, supported democrats in 1950 election, however the Menderes state did not continue the industrializing policy in the manner of Ataturk statism and as stated the economic policy was based on little bourgeois agriculture. This half-ripe bourgeoisie strictly needs ex-government supports via granting loans, foreign exchange credit, import and export permits. By Issuing Import licenses by state could be benefit about millions of pound for each person and by granting kinds of credit and other support controlled the political action of this class. Turkish agriculture in the early 1950s was boomed due to the good weather, market for Turkish products (because of Europe needs and Korean War) and not saturating the cultivated lands, but become lethargic since the middle of this decade. Thus the government found the currency supply weakened and industry financing was faced with difficulties.

Importing was again controlled and among dissatisfaction raised from commercial bourgeoisie and pervious discontentment of industrial bourgeoisie from democratic state, Menderes backed up farmers to ensure filling his ballot box (Barkey Henri J.2010). All of industrial bourgeoisie, Bureaucratic and economic middle class, and workers in the late 1950s were democratic dissidents and just the farmers and landowners still supported democratic elections. Bourgeoisie, middle class and the labors was sure that Menderes' state relied on a large number of farmers and using paternalistic development policies saturated with economic rents to landowners and independent farmers can defeat any other political process in election ballot and so there was no resistance against the military coup and overthrowing the Adnan Menderes' government in 1960. Even university professors, students and other groups of middle-class who were the major supporters of the Democrats in the 1950 elections became the main force of opposition against the Menderes government in 1960. Bourgeoisie and middle class democracy demander were not in unequal position to landowners and farmers. Landowners, Turkey bourgeoisie and middle class had supported the Adnan Menderes selected democratic state but the economic conditions and world system pressure creates harmony between state diplomacy and landowners or independent farmers' demand, as a result 2 years after Turkey democrat party had won, dissatisfaction of industrial bourgeoisie and middle class started. At this stage, landowners were still associated with democracy and sure about their victory in election ballot box.

3.1. Middle-class status in Turkey current situation

Clearly, there is a relationship between military weakening as consequences of civil society empowering and strengthening the democracy bases in the Turkey (Davutoglu Ahmet.2012). A social-political sphere with just division of income and wealth and active civil society organizations (CSO) and consciousness middle class is the best guarantee for democracy and freedom in a country like Turkey. First, it must be admitted that the reforms of the past decade which was conducted by empowering of the AKP was not the first and mere step in the democratization process in Turkey (Richard Weitz, 2012). It should not be denied that the Justice and Development Party create revolutionary and unprecedented reforms in the country. However, if the economic and social- political infrastructure was not founded at the beginning of the 1980s, the Justice and Development Party, as part of the political superstructure, would not succeed in implementing these enormous reforms. Investigations indicated that the number of civil organization in Turkey was

60931 by 2000 which grew 235% more than 1990. The number increased to 90930 till 2011 that show a 45% grow to 2000. According to statistics, in 2011, nearly 8 million people in Turkey become the members of these organizations. Although these numbers and statistics seem satisfactory, it is not sufficient in comparison to other developed countries. For example, the number of civil society organizations is 2.1 million in Germany and 1.4 million in France. In the United States the number is 7 million. Thus we can say that neither the state nor the political parties can ensure the democracy in country because developing and advancing civil society and consequently middle class growth, through which people can authorize and influence on their own destination, is the best back up and guarantee to realize democracy in a country. Saudi political structure and formation of the middle class

Important features of the Saudi Arabia political system include the authoritarianism, traditional oligarchic and patriarchal, king assignment, conservative sheiks assembly, Saudi family, independent judiciary, a severe limitation for the institution, civil activists, new middle class, the corrupt advocator-follower relationship between government and tribal elders, clerics and traditional merchants, monopolization in governmental key positions in the capital and provinces to Saudi Arabian major princes, Saudi's family economic corruption, Saudi family's perpetuated embezzlement to oil increased revenues, severe government repression, the fierce intelligence and security forces across the country and so on. In Saudi political system, king mainly makes strategic decisions. The executives is responsible only towards the king, of course ministers' accountability to appointive advisory council has been accepted since 2005 onwards, however they should be accountable toward king; cabinet are more consultative role rather than determinative. In practice, there is a kind of force integration rather than force separation and all matters are substantive to the king. The judiciary is independent of the king and Supreme Judicial Council is composed of 12 chief justices, all of which are installed and removed by the king. King possess the crude oil and all economic financial resources and perfectly supervised all governmental and non-governmental institution and offices, absolute control of governmental assets by king make him not to know himself accountable toward publics. Sheikhs House is mere controller of Shah, of course it often has conservative and non-challenging characteristic for political, religious and financial joint. Saudi oligarchic and authoritarianism political system has been faced to this mal-condition by exposing and mobilizing the social and political challenges behalf

of practitioners, thought and political movement belonging to new middle class since the second half of the 1980s. Relatively quantitative and qualitative fast growth in this class and its associated components, perhaps for the first time, has confronted this highly conservative state with a relatively strong opposition for the recent decades. It should be noted that the Gulf War and its afterward political and economic crises was influential on powerfulness and increasing political courage in revealing state political challenges. Saudi government was forced for the first time in this context that to give up to some even limited political reforms. By studying historical changes and classic revolutions in recent century, perhaps we can say that the middle class is the most effective classes. New middle class strongly supported the new social movements like the student protest movement, civil rights, feminist, environmentalists, disarmament, and, during the recent decades. Thus, the political developments and protest and reformist movements either in developed countries or in developing countries without addressing the role of this class will be imperfect. Since establishing the Saudi government in 1932 based on religious and political unity, the government has been the most authoritarians and conservative royal governments Arab Middle East. Saudi political system has been based on political and religious patriarchy since its beginning and has continued to this day. In general, several important factors were involved in Saudi family government include unity and political or religious ties between the House of Saud, Ulema and Wahhabi doctrine, mutual bonds between the clan and tribal leaders, political repression, strengthening civil traditional institutions, such as market, clergy and tribes, preventing a new civil institution empowerment, developing the links of clientelism between the government and its affiliated institution members from private sector, intelligential strong repressive systems and foreign powers support of the clan. In recent decades due to social changes in the fields of education, communication, urbanization, and like that, the new middle class in Saudi society has experienced increased quantitative and qualitative growth. Since the second half of the 1980s, especially from the 1990s onwards, the class confronts the Saudi government with significant challenges and political and social criticism; the challenges on one hand widen the people political and social awareness toward the government, inefficiencies and corruption and on the other hand, have led to some even limited political reforms. Although the members and groups belonged to the class are not integrated in Saudi Arabia they are allied on the necessity of political reform, building democratic institutions, strict

fighting with corruption, independence of judiciary, separation of forces and the like.

4.1. The new middle class and political challenges in Saudi government

One of the new features of Saudi society is the quantitative expansion of the new middle class which is considered as a product of socioeconomic modernization program since the 1970s afterward. According to a survey, the proportion of the new middle class to population was increased from 2 percent to 11 percent in the late 1980s. The quantitative and qualitative growth (enjoying awareness and thought or attitude transformation) of the class make it to emerge as a most important transforms and reformist social force and increase his political weight over the time by a significant rate. Saudi government since the second half of the 1980s has been faced by the political challenges and serious criticism from new middle class. During the recent decades, civil and political groups and practitioners among this class has been emerged as a most important critic and opposition of Saudi government during their social political life, it can be said the class is the main important source of challenges and imposing political and weakening pressure for political legitimacy of the Saudi royal family. This class is almost significantly able to emit the political and social life of community's from political stagnation and static pressures, and under its pressure the government was forced to do some limited political reforms. The middle class was the source for emerging three new social-political, protest and critical flow in the Saudi society, which include: a) liberalist intellectuals b) Reformist Islamists believed to new interpretations of traditional religions, and c) The Shiite Muslim reformer and critic (Farsy, Fouad.1982, Hopwood, Derek (ed.). 1972).

5.1. The new middle class and the Islamic movement, the origins of reform in Saudi Arabia

Growing the middle class in Saudi Arabia, although non-integrated and somewhat imbalanced and quantitatively wide was caused the traditional network of government accept the limited political reforms. The spectrum supported Islamic awakening and demanded reorganizing the Saudi kingdom based on Islamic state. The social stream attacked the liberals for their secular desires. However, many weakening preachers after his release from prison in late 1990 abandoned their radical policies, ignore the corruption and violation of citizens' civil and political rights and support the status quo against the social reformist thought. Since the late of 1990, the liberal or new Islamist flow has emerged in middle class, the flow fought and operate in media and political area and was the other source in creating political and legitimacy challenges against the government. Inside

the flow, there are two spectrums of political and social reformist, the member of the flow are mostly high educated. Social reformists are the serious critics of religious and social conservatives and know the social changes more essential than political changes and believe that by lack of fundamental religious social, political changes will lead to disastrous results. From their point of view, the social and political awareness and social changes is preferred to political changes and common religious manners and formats can be removed just by social reconstruction. The political reformists' origin is Islamic vigilance movement. To provide an Islamist progressive theory and design civil society, public participation and democracy within the framework of Islamic law, the group demands significant reconstruction of country social and political life, a constitutional monarchy, electoral institutions, separation of powers, freedom of expression, gender equality and recognizing Shiite rights. In general, all Islamic movements in the past two decades, despite the differences are common and agreed in some important issues: the opposition to Saudi Arabia's dependence on America, oppositions to issues such as social injustices, government officials' corruption, the deviation from true Islam and human rights abuses, the new middle class, despite the tendency toward modern Western democratic values emphasized on political independence in their foreign policy and has targeted the conservative relations between America and Saudi government. The members and groups belonging to the class had targeted the conservative beliefs and traditional and tribal relationships and in contrast support the civil relations and interest and the necessity to expand participative and active citizen, the new educated people do not believe the tradition-tribal legitimacy basis and protest to government authoritarian and supersession, they demand to substitute constitutional monarchy system to authoritarian monarchy, democratic reforms and multi-party system, despite of Saudi state attempts to recruit a significant part of this class in governmental offices, they were critic of Saudi authoritarian and conservative government due to their academic education, political awareness and democratic attitudes and beliefs, dissatisfaction among members of this class against violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms was one of the roots of the political challenges and the legitimacy of Saudi government. Economic corruption is another source of new middle class's objection against the Arabia government. Increased oil revenues in Saudi Arabia, is an important factor in the perpetuation of authoritarian rule.

Saudi state views oil revenues as Saudi royal incomes, the state creates and expands the kind of

advocator-follower clientelism relationship with tribal elders, wahhabi clergies and traditional markets along stabilizing Saudi royal family by using oil revenues. State ensure their political support and back up by distributing oil revenues between them to remain immune from their political challenging. New middle class strongly object to the corrupt relationships and give or takes and know it as a sign of political illness. According to International Transparency record, Saudi Arabia is among those countries with high levels of corruption. Another source of opposition among new middle class is very low levels of political freedom. According to statistical data, the kingdom is already an undemocratic country. In divisions from the valid statistic- research centers the grades 1 - Represents the rule of law and the exemption of political prisoners, the score 2 - Represents democratic and legal rule with the lowest political prisoners, grades 3 - Represents the high number of political prisoners, the score 4 - Represents the torture and killing the Political prisoners and score 5 – Represent the most horrible regimes. Saudi Arabia with the score of 3 is among the countries with high political prisoners.

Table 1: dividing countries in terms of democracy and non-democracy level

countries features in terms of score from 1 to 5	Score from 1 to 5
Indicates the rule of law and exceptions of political prisoner	Score 1
Indicates the democratic and legal rule with the lowest political prisoners (Turkey)	Score 2
Indicates the high number of political prisoners (Saudi Arabia)	Score 3
Indicates the torture and political murdering	Score 4
Indicates the most horrible regimes	Score 5

High growth of unemployment and rising military spending were the other source of new middle-class protests against the government of Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia since 2005 has faced the challenge of high unemployment level of 15%. According to the "International Research Institute on Peace» Saudi Arabia spent \$ 38 billion in military procurement equivalent to 6/2 percent of the world's shopping, is ninth in the world rankings. Between 8 to 11 percent of gross domestic product is devoted to military procurement which is a very high figure in Saudi Arabia. In 1995, the country's arms imports relative to total imports was 31/3 per cent. The huge increase in military purchases encounters the country with high political and economic challenges and external massive debts, after the Persian Gulf War. According to other statistics, the percentage of state expenditures grow as a result of enhancing in public

spending in Saudi Arabia are: 1980 (7/15), 1984 (34/4), 1988 (34/2) and 1992 (3/32). Internet has been a main channel and source of protest and challenges to data exclusivity in Saudi government since the second half of the 1990s onwards. Although public access to the Internet was started since the end of January 1999, the internet has been used by militants related to the new middle class since before namely from 1994 for political struggle. "Committee for Defense of Legitimate Rights," was the first organization affiliated to the class that used the Internet for political struggle for the first time. In 1996, the chairman of the committee, Sadan faghihe (surgeon) constructed the Committee's website in London and managed it. Although the Saudi regime blocked and filtered the political and pornographic sites, Internet users can access to political information and disclosures via internet through the proxy. However although we can say that during the recent decades, we visited quantitative and qualitative growth of new middle class influenced by structural changes and reconstructive process and the class glowed significantly, due to perennial tribal and traditional context and lack of cooperation between social body and intellectual body, the class did not enjoyed the serious, qualitative and quantitative support of mass thought to fight to government and realizing the reformist demands completely. Additionally, the level of education and political social awareness of the masses are not high and largely obey their tribal elders. So in this context we can say that the social reformist forces were not backed up by public opinion and social body. New middle class could partially create common shared strategies and purposes between the different thought aspects include moderate Shiite and Sunny Islamist and partially the Islamist inclined to liberals, the matter is apparent in their notions and complains. However the evidence shows that they are not completely solid and government creates a gap between them and prohibiting the cohesion among them by responding to more moderate political flow, thus they relatively satisfy the limited reformations. Generally, the affiliated members to the new middle class as activists to some extent could convince Saudi government to be respondent. If they play their role continuously and fulfill above conditions, this class may be an avatar of non-secular democracy and in the future of Saudi society and increase the reformation level.

2: Discussion

Democratization or transmission to democracy and role of middle class is one of the important issues that have been paid attention to it from the past and especially after the 11th September and great Middle East plan. Today, according to

globalization and multiplicity of interactions among the nations and human societies, the democracy dialogue is in people mind so that can be opposed clearly and even the most dictator countries attribute themselves to democracy and named their government as democrat to prevent internal and external pressures.

Thus in summarization, we should say the ending cold war have two effects of international systems; the first one the free market economy has no rivals and more or less permeated to governments as the best economic system, secondly, end the competition between ideologies and opening international politic system space and political space among the states. The issue expanding **new middle class** in most of the countries during the two decades, as well as provide protesters with a new space to follow their demands free from the bipolar ideological wars. Expanding new middle class after political-social-economic transformation after the years of Cold War, revealing a new slot in the post-Cold War space, government attribute the opposed groups to East or West camps and suppressed the challenging movements severely, increasing the penetrability level in region governments due to formation and expansion of satellite nets and covering political suppression of the states at regional and global level and enhancing the charge of these suppressions especially after establishing Aljazira net, increasing expansion of internet and virtual space in regional countries and overall the growing popularity of democracy and democratization waves after cold war and increasing the Arab powerful sovereign rulers' expenditures led to people protests increase and have an integrated shape in virtual civil society. New middle class due to its especial nature never resort to force and applies the tools of peaceful protests and demonstration such as taking refuge to precede their goals. Starting new changes in Arabic Middle East can be affected by growing new middle class influenced by structural changes in international system after cold war and spreading the globalization. The changes increase the role of non-governmental actors and penetrability in states internal or external sovereignty as well forming cooperation model among the countries influenced by international risks became new and serious. Spreading the globalization speeds up the changes. All the factors cause the area of political-social groups will be opened without the consideration of cold war as well as the economical growth in countries and awareness and literacy in global level intensified the new middle class formation. Growing

of the factor is the main cause of future transformations in 21st century which the recent transformation of Arab Middle East region is its advent sight and its perspective cannot be predicted now but it is forecasted to be accelerated in future.

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