

PSCI 4028 003
Islam and Development in the Comparative Perspective
Spring 2008

Professor Thomas Pepinsky
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Class Time and Location

Tuesday and Thursday
3:30 – 4:45
Ketchum 234

Office Hours

Monday
1:00 – 3:00
Ketchum 102

Overview

This class is an in-depth survey of economic development and political power in the Muslim world. The world contains well over one billion Muslims, and the majority of them live in conditions of economic hardship if not abject poverty. Yet this underdevelopment exists alongside glimpses of modernity and prosperity in Dubai and Kuala Lumpur, amidst astounding natural resource wealth, and despite widespread popular dissatisfaction with incumbent governments. In this course, we will study the political economy of the Muslim world in order to make sense of the varying development trajectories of Muslim-majority countries.

The first part of the course is theoretical, centering on political debates that surround the issues of economic development and politics in the Muslim world and beyond. We will consider the many potential sources of underdevelopment in the Muslim world, from dependency to corrupt political regimes to the “resource curse.” In particular, we will ask if Muslim countries are really any different from their non-Muslim neighbors in terms of development challenges and development successes. We will also consider why non-democratic regimes remain so prevalent in the Muslim world, and examine war and conflict as potential causes and consequences of underdevelopment.

The second part of the course shifts to an empirical discussion of countries around the Muslim world. We will see just how much variation exists in development and democracy in the Muslim world, and we will ask why countries such as Turkey have been comparatively successful while countries such as Somalia have performed so poorly. We will also evaluate whether or not these concrete cases confirm or challenge the theoretical perspectives that we explored in the first half of the class. Because of time limitations, we will not be able to discuss all Muslim majority countries in depth, but our review will take us from West Africa through the Middle East to South and Southeast Asia.

NB: This is *not* a class about terrorism, the Arab-Israeli conflict, Middle Eastern history, the war in Iraq, or Islamic theology. We will certainly consider these topics throughout the course, but they will inform our discussions rather than dominating them.

Requirements

Prerequisites: This is an advanced course. Students wishing to enroll in this class must have taken Introduction to Comparative Politics or a related foundational course in development studies, sociology, or political science. The course assumes basic knowledge of geography and world history. Students who find themselves lost during lectures or class discussions should see me during office hours *immediately* (i.e., not right before the midterm). To ensure fruitful class discussions, enrollment will not exceed 25 students.

Class Format: The class is a lecture/seminar meeting twice a week. Students should arrive to each class *already having done the readings for that class*, and afterwards, review the readings in the context of the class discussion. Class attendance and readings are not substitutes. I will not post lecture notes online. Students are expected to participate regularly in class.

Grading: Your final grade is composed of the following three parts.

Map quiz:	5%
In-class group presentation:	5%
3 response papers:	5% each
Class participation:	10%
24-hour take-home midterm examination:	25%
Research paper of 15-20 pages:	35%
In-class paper presentation	5%

The goal of the map quiz is to ensure that you have a basic familiarity with the geography of the Muslim world. Class participation helps to show me that you are doing the reading and are engaging in the subject material. Your response papers do much the same. Your midterm examination will contain short answer questions and essay questions. You will likely have a choice among several options for each category of question.

In the second half of the course, students will be responsible for leading discussion of the readings. You will be divided into small groups early in the semester, and will work together to create a presentation of the materials for a group of countries. There are seven groups of countries, so your groups will contain either three or four students. I will discuss this further during our second week of class.

You may choose one of two topics for your final research paper. CHOICE 1: Compare two (or more) Muslim countries and explain different trajectories of economic development. CHOICE 2: Compare two (ore more) Muslim countries and explain different histories of Islamic political movements. I encourage you to select countries other than those that we discussed during class, in particular countries such as Mali, Algeria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Syria, and Bangladesh. You may also study Islam and development in countries such as Russia, Nigeria, India, or the Philippines that have large Muslim minorities. If you like, you may pick one (and only one) country that you studied for your class presentation. I will discuss the paper assignment in more depth during our second week of class.

Readings: Our readings will come from a series of online articles and one book. The reading load is substantial: on average, you can expect two to three articles or book chapters per class.

The book is available from the CU Bookstore. The methodologies employed in our readings range from ethnographic studies and comparative history to statistical and mathematical models of politics.

Grading Policies: Make-up exams will only be given in the case of sickness (requiring a doctor's note), family emergency (requiring a Dean's note), or religious observance (requiring prior approval from the instructor). There are no exceptions. The paper is due in class on May 1. Late papers will lose one full letter grade. Papers later than 24 hours will receive a grade of 0/100. There are no exceptions.

Grade Appeals: Students who believe that a grade does not affect their performance can always dispute their grades. All grade appeals should be made in writing. Students will write a brief memo explaining why they should have received a higher grade on that assignment. This should be done in a week after the grade is announced, and submitted after class or in office hours. I will respond to you in writing and address each of your concerns.

Cheating and Plagiarism: Cheating or plagiarizing will be treated according to the University regulations which will be strictly observed. All students of the University of Colorado at Boulder are responsible for knowing and adhering to the academic integrity policy of this institution. Violations of this policy may include: cheating, plagiarism, aid of academic dishonesty, fabrication, lying, bribery, and threatening behavior. All incidents of academic misconduct shall be reported to the Honor Code Council (honor@colorado.edu; 303-725-2273). On both the papers and on the exams, violation of the academic integrity policy will result in a failing grade for the class and appropriate non-academic sanctions (including but not limited to university probation, suspension, or expulsion). For more information on the Honor Code, please see www.colorado.edu/academics/honorcode/ and at for definitions of cheating and plagiarism, please see www.colorado.edu/policies/acadinteg.html. For information on how to cite materials properly, please consult Joseph Gibaldi, *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers* (New York: MLA), or visit the Writing Center.

Students with Disabilities: According to the Americans with Disabilities Act, students with disabilities should ask for "reasonable and timely" accommodations. These accommodations can be extended if you are a student with a disability and are registered with the Office of Services to Disabled Students. Please refer to www.colorado.edu/disabilityservices or contact 303-492-8671, Willard 322 for information. University regulations on this issue will be strictly observed. Students needing such accommodations will see me in the first two weeks of the semester either during my office hours or after class, and submit to me a letter from Disability Services. All communications on this subject will be made in strictest confidence.

Religious Observances: Campus policy regarding religious observances requires that faculty make every effort to reasonably and fairly deal with all students who, because of religious obligations, have conflicts with scheduled exams, assignments or required attendance. Students in this situation can ask for "reasonable and timely" accommodations. Please review the syllabus closely and try to find out whether you have time conflicts with any of the assignments. You will do so in the first two weeks of the semester and inform me about your concerns either during my office hours or after class. Full details are at www.colorado.edu/policies/fac_relig.html.

Classroom Behavior: Students and faculty each have responsibility for maintaining an appropriate learning environment. Students who fail to adhere to such behavioral standards may be subject to discipline. Faculty have the professional responsibility to treat all students with understanding, dignity and respect, to guide classroom discussion and to set reasonable limits on the manner in which they and their students express opinions. Professional courtesy and sensitivity are especially important with respect to individuals and topics dealing with differences of race, culture, religion, politics, sexual orientation, gender, gender variance, and nationalities. See www.colorado.edu/policies/classbehavior.html and www.colorado.edu/studentaffairs/judicialaffairs/code.html#student_code. Students will treat one another with respect and courtesy. I will ask disruptive students to leave the class.

Discrimination and Harassment: The University of Colorado at Boulder policy on Discrimination and Harassment, the University of Colorado policy on Sexual Harassment and the University of Colorado policy on Amorous Relationships apply to all students, staff and faculty. Any student, staff or faculty member who believes s/he has been the subject of discrimination or harassment based upon race, color, national origin, sex, age, disability, religion, sexual orientation, or veteran status should contact the Office of Discrimination and Harassment (ODH) at 303-492-2127 or the Office of Judicial Affairs at 303-492-5550. Information about the ODH, the above referenced policies and the campus resources available to assist individuals regarding discrimination or harassment are at www.colorado.edu/odh.

Other Policies: Students will turn off cell phones in class. This includes text messaging. The penalty for visible text messaging or audible cell phone rings is one percentage point per offense. If this remains a problem, I reserve the right to change the policy to one percentage point per offense for the entire class.

Office Hours: I encourage students to see me during office hours with any questions or comments. I hold office hours for two hours every week, on Monday from 1:00 to 3:00. If you wish to speak with me during office hours, please sign up on the sign-up sheet that I have placed on my office door.

Texts

Timur Kuran. 2004. *Islam and Mammon: The Economic Predicaments of Islamism*. Princeton University Press. (hereafter "Kuran.")

All other readings are book chapters and articles, which I have placed on e-reserve. You can access them from home or from the library with your ID and password at libraries.colorado.edu/screens/coursereserves.html. Articles not on reserve are available online from the journals themselves. You can access these articles online by following the directions from libraries.colorado.edu/search~S2.

Course Outline

Week 1 Introduction: Fundamentals and tools of analysis

Jan 15: Introduction and housekeeping; where do Muslims live?

Jan 17: What is Islam? What is development? How do we study politics?

- Fred M. Donner. 1999. "Muhammad and the Caliphate." In John Esposito, ed., *The Oxford History of Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1-61.
- Vincent J. Cornell. 1999. "Fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. In John Esposito, ed., *The Oxford History of Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press. 63-105.
- Kuran. ix-xvii, 1-37.

Week 2 Sources of underdevelopment in the Muslim world; MAP QUIZ

Jan 22: MAP QUIZ; How poor is the Muslim world?

- Kuran. 121-147.

Jan 24: Four sources of underdevelopment: religion, politics, structure, endowments,

- William Easterly. 2001. *The Elusive Quest for Growth: Economists' Adventures and Misadventures in the Tropics*. The MIT Press. 217-239.
- Kiren Aziz Chaudhry. 1993. "The Myths of the Market and the Common History of Late Developers," *Politics and Society* 21(3).
- Michael Ross. 1999. "The Political Economy of the Resource Curse." *World Politics* 51(2): 297-322.

Week 3 Democracy and authoritarianism

Jan 29: Types of authoritarianism; types of democracy; degrees of authoritarianism

- John Esposito and John Voll. 1995. *Islam and Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press. 11-32
- Steven Fish. 2002. "Islam and Authoritarianism." *World Politics* 55(1): 4-37
- Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr. 2005. "The Rise of 'Muslim Democracy'," *Journal of Democracy* 16(2): 13-27.

Jan 31: Causal mechanisms

- Fareed Zakaria. 2004. "Islam, Democracy, and Constitutional Liberalism," *Political Science Quarterly* 119(1): 1-20.
- Steven Ryan Hofmann. 2004. "Islam and Democracy: Micro-Level Indications of Compatibility." *Comparative Political Studies* 37(6): 652-676.
- Daniel Brumberg. 2005/2006. "Islam Is Not the Solution (or the Problem)," *Washington Quarterly*. Available online at http://www.twq.com/06winter/docs/06winter_brumberg.pdf.

Week 4 Economic development and the rise of political Islam

Feb 5: Economics of religion; rational extremism

- Daniel Chen. 2005. "Club Goods and Group Identity: Evidence from Islamic Resurgence during the Indonesian Financial Crisis." Working paper, University of Chicago. Available online at http://home.uchicago.edu/~dlc/papers/ClubGoods_GroupIdentity.pdf.
- Robert Pape. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 97(3).

Feb 7: Odious regimes; secular states and religious oppositions

- Kuran (82-120)
- Bernard Lewis. 1990. "The Roots of Muslim Rage." *The Atlantic Monthly*. Available online at <http://www.cis.org.au/Policy/summer01-02/polsumm01-3.pdf>.
- Philip Khoury. 1983. "Islamic Revivalism and the Crisis of the Secular State in the Arab World," in Ibrahim Ibrahim, ed., *Arab Resources: The Transformation of a Society*. Croom and Helm. 213-236.

Week 5 Globalization and development

Feb 12: Economic perspectives on globalization; labor mobility and remittances; OPEC

- Kuran. 55-71.
- Toby Dodge and Richard Higgott. 2002. "Globalization and its Discontents," in Toby Dodge and Richard Higgott, eds., *Globalization and the Middle East: Islam, Economy, and Politics*. Royal Institute of International Affairs. 13-35.

Feb 14: The globalization backlash; the fascinating case of the hajj

- Maha Azzam. 2002. "Between the Market and God," in Toby Dodge and Richard Higgott, eds., *Globalization and the Middle East: Islam, Economy, and Politics*. Royal Institute of International Affairs. 151-168.
- Benjamin R. Barber. 1995. *Jihad Versus McWorld: How Globalism and Tribalism are Reshaping the World*. Ballantine Books. xi-20, 155-168, 205-216.

Week 6 Conflict and development

Feb 19: PAPER TOPICS DUE TODAY; civil wars; roving bandits and looting; domestic extremists; preview of Somalia, Afghanistan, and Lebanon

- Mancur Olson. 1993. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." *American Political Science Review* 87(3).
- Robert Bates. *Prosperity and Violence: The Political Economy of Development*. W.W. Norton. 50-83.

Feb 21: International war; power politics and foreign aid; preview of Egypt and Indonesia

- Patrick M. Regan. 1995. "U. S. Economic Aid and Political Repression: An Empirical Evaluation of U. S. Foreign Policy." *Political Research Quarterly* 48(3).
- Etel Solingen. 2007. "*Pax Asiatika* versus *Belli Levantina*: The Foundations of War and Peace in East Asia and the Middle East." *American Political Science Review* 101(4), 757-780.

Week 7 Theory wrap-up; midterm

Feb 26: Wrap of theory: why is Islam associated with underdevelopment?

Feb 28: EXAM DISTRIBUTED IN CLASS. No lecture or discussion. Pick up your exams and ask clarification questions. Exams must be placed in my mailbox no later than 24 hours after class ends.

- No readings assigned this week, study for your exam.

Week 8 Successes(?): Turkey and Malaysia

Mar 4: Atatürk's legacy; generals and politics; persistent inflation; the AKP and the EU

- Ziya Öniş. 2004. "The Political Economy of Turkey's Justice and Development Party." Working paper, Koç University. Available online at http://home.ku.edu.tr/~zonis/ONIS_JDP_Rev.pdf.
- Zülküf Aydın. 2004. *The Political Economy of Turkey*. Pluto Press. 25-56, 179-221.

Mar 6: "Positive discrimination;" ethnic politics and the economy; successful ISI?

- Edmund Terence Gomez and Jomo K.S. 1999. *Malaysia's Political Economy: Politics, Patronage, and Profits*. Revised edition. Cambridge University Press. 10-32, 117-138.
- Raymond L.M. Lee. 1988. "Patterns of Religion Tension in Malaysia." *Asian Survey* 28(4).

Week 9 Disasters: Somalia and the Sudan

Mar 11: The political economy of starvation; Operation Restore Hope; Islamists in Mogadishu versus the transitional government in Baidoa

- Abdi Ismail Samatar. 1992. "Destruction of State and Society in Somalia: Beyond the Tribal Convention." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 30(4). 625-641.
- Ken Menkhaus. 2004. *Somalia: State Collapse and the Threat of Terrorism*. Routledge. 15-48.

Mar 13: Religion, ethnicity, the economy, and civil wars in the Sudan

- John L. Esposito and John O. Voll. 1996. *Islam and Democracy*. Oxford University Press. 78-101.
- Scott Strauss. 2005. "Darfur and the Genocide Debate." *Foreign Affairs* 84(1).

Week 10 Friends and enemies: Pakistan and Afghanistan

Mar 18: The drug war; the Soviet invasion; the Taliban's political economy; post-Taliban reconstruction

- Barnett R. Rubin. 1999. "The Political Economy of War and Peace in Afghanistan." Available online at http://www.eurasianet.org/resource/regional/rubin_on_afgistan.html.
- Ahmed Rashid. 2000. *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia*. Yale University Press. 1-30, 82-104, 128-156.

Mar 20: Interrupted democracy; development issues amidst steady growth

- Husain Haqqani. 2005. *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 1-50, 131-157, 199-260.
- William Easterly. 2003. "The Political Economy of Growth without Development: A Case Study of Pakistan." In Dani Rodrik, ed., *In Search of Prosperity: Analytic Narratives on Economic Growth*. Princeton University Press.

Week 11 Petro-states: Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States

Apr 1: Oil rents; foreign sources of domestic stability; guarding the Holy Sites

- Guido Steinberg. 2005. "The Wahhabi Ulama and the Saudi State: 1745 to the Present." In Paul Aarts and Gerd Nonneman, eds., *Saudi Arabia in the Balance: Political Economy, Society, Foreign Affairs* New York University Press 11-34.
- Steffen Hertog. 2005. "Segmented Clientelism: The Political Economy of Saudi Economic Reform Efforts." In Paul Aarts and Gerd Nonneman, eds., *Saudi Arabia in the Balance: Political Economy, Society, Foreign Affairs* New York University Press. 111-143.
- Kiren Aziz Chaudhry. 1989. "The Price of Wealth: Business and State in Labor Remittance and Oil Economies," *International Organization* 43(1).

Apr 3: Modern monarchies in Kuwait, Bahrain, and Dubai?

- F. Gregory Gause. 1994. *Oil Monarchies: Domestic and Security Challenges in the Arab Gulf States*. Council on Foreign Relations Press. 1-76.

Week 12 Secular Arab states: Egypt, Jordan, and Tunisia

Apr 8: Arab socialism from Nasser through Sadat; crisis and liberalization?; the Muslim Brotherhood

- Mark N. Cooper. 1982. *The Transformation of Egypt*. Johns Hopkins University Press. 16-34, 247-259.
- Elizabeth Picard. "Arab Military in Politics," in *The Modern Middle East*, ed. Albert Hourani et al. Berkeley: University of California Press. 551-578.
- Mona El-Ghobashy. 2005. "The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37(3): 373-395.

Apr 10: The political economy of the Hashemite Kingdom; repression and reform in Tunisia

- Curtis R. Ryan. 2002. *Jordan in Transition: From Hussein to Abdullah*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner. 15-63.
- Eva Bellin. 2002. *Stalled Democracy: Capital, Labor and the Paradox of State-Sponsored Development*. Cornell University Press. 11-46, 144-157.

Week 13 Hotspots: Iran and Iraq

Apr 15: Development under Hussein; reconstruction after Hussein

- Phebe Marr. 2003. *The Modern History of Iraq*. Second edition. Westview Press. 139-192, 261-302.
- Juan Cole, 2003. "The United States and Shi'ite Religious Factions in Post-Bathist Iraq," *Middle East Journal* 57(4):543-566.

Apr 17: What type of economy does an Islamic Republic create?

- Jahangir Amuzegar. 1993. *Iran's Economy under the Islamic Republic*. I.B. Tauris. 3-25, 43-48, 85-91, 140-147, 310-325.
- Adnan Mazarei, Jr. 1996. "The Iranian economy under the Islamic Republic: institutional change and macroeconomic performance (1979-1990)." *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 20(3), 289-314.
- Abbas Milanie. 2005. "U.S. Foreign Policy and the Future of Democracy in Iran." *The Washington Quarterly* 28(3), 41-56.

Week 14 Outliers? Senegal, Indonesia, and Central Asia

Apr 22: The world's largest Muslim country; development before, during, and after authoritarianism

- Robert W. Hefner. 2000. *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*. Princeton University Press. 26-36, 72-93, 167-213.
- Michael T. Rock. 1999. "Reassessing the Effectiveness of Industrial Policy in Indonesia: Can the Neoliberals be Wrong?" *World Development* 27(4), 691-704.

Apr 24: West African political Islam; post-communist Muslim communities

- Pauline Jones Luong. 2004. "Politics in the Periphery: Competing Views of Central Asian States and Societies." in Pauline Jones Luong, ed., *The Transformation of Central Asia: States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence*. Cornell University Press. 1-26.
- J.S. Trimingham. "The Phases of Islamic Expansion and Islamic Culture Zones in Africa." In I.M. Lewis, ed., *Islam in Tropical Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 99-111.
- Leonardo A. Villalón. 1995. *Islamic Society and State Power in Senegal*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1-14, 39-75.

Week 15 Presentation of student papers

Apr 29: Presentation of student papers

May 1: Presentations continued; wrap-up and final thoughts; PAPERS DUE IN CLASS

- No reading assigned; work on your papers and presentations