

Elite Origins of Democracy and Development in the Muslim World

Michael T. Rock and Soli Özel

First published 2024
by Routledge
4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2024 Michael T. Rock and Soli Özel

The right of Michael T. Rock and Soli Özel to be identified as authors of this work has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-032-44867-1 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-032-45068-1 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-003-37523-4 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003375234

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Newgen Publishing UK

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>xii</i>
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	<i>xiii</i>
1 Introduction	1
1.1 <i>Cracking the Muslim World's Democracy and Development Puzzle</i>	1
1.2 <i>Theoretical Considerations</i>	7
1.3 <i>Plan of the Book</i>	19
References	27
2 Egypt	36
2.1 <i>Prelude to Egypt's Autocracy and Underdevelopment</i>	36
2.2 <i>Origins of Elite Conflict during the Rise of Egyptian Nationalism</i>	38
2.3 <i>Elite Conflict Turns Violent after Nominal Independence</i>	41
2.4 <i>Elite Conflict Metastasizes: Free Officers and the MB</i>	44
2.5 <i>Elite Conflict: Failure to Create a Pro-Growth Coalition</i>	48
2.6 <i>Elite Conflict and the Collapse of Democracy and Development</i>	55
2.7 <i>Summing Up</i>	60
References	72
3 Indonesia	77
3.1 <i>Preview of the Turn from Elite Disunity to Elite Unity</i>	77
3.2 <i>Elite Origins of Indonesia's Developmental Autocracy</i>	81
3.3 <i>Constructing the New Order and Its Legacy</i>	89
3.4 <i>Elite Unity and Democratization</i>	93
3.5 <i>Comparing Egypt and Indonesia</i>	101
References	114

x	<i>Contents</i>	
4	Malaysia	121
	4.1 <i>Preview: From a Developmental Democracy to a Developmental Autocracy</i>	121
	4.2 <i>Colonialism Sets the Stage for Ethnic Elite Conflict</i>	124
	4.3 <i>Malay Elites: An Emerging Islamic-Oriented Developmental Autocracy</i>	132
	4.4 <i>Malaysia: A Developmental Autocracy and Islamic Polity</i>	140
	<i>References</i>	153
5	Turkey	159
	5.1 <i>Making Sense of Elites' Political and Economic Choices</i>	159
	5.2 <i>Elites and the Legacy of the Kemalist Transformation Project</i>	166
	5.3 <i>Democratic Elites Favor Majoritarianism and Economic Populism</i>	172
	5.4 <i>The 1980 Coup: A Return to Democracy and Development</i>	175
	5.5 <i>Religious Elites Sustain Majoritarian Politics and Defeat a Tutelary State</i>	177
	5.6 <i>Slouching Toward Autocracy and Economic Crisis</i>	185
	<i>References</i>	200
6	Conclusions	205
	6.1 <i>Comparing the Cases</i>	205
	6.2 <i>Impact of External Developments</i>	212
	<i>References</i>	228
	<i>Index</i>	232