HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE MUSLIM WORLD

2008 U.S.-ISLAMIC
WORLD FORUM
Human Development Task Force

SABAN CENTER

at BROOKINGS

CONVENER:
Hady Amr

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY:
Katherine Marshall
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THE DOHA DISCUSSION PAPERS provide testament to the opportunity for renewed dialogue between the United States and the Muslim world. Written specifically for the U.S.-Islamic World Forum's three task forces, they have been edited and compiled into separate volumes on Governance, Human Development and Social Change, and Security. The Doha Discussion Papers bring together the major papers and responses that frames each of the task force discussions. They include as well a summary of the off-record discussions at each of the task force sessions held at the U.S.-Islamic World Forum.

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The annual U.S.-Islamic World Forum held in Doha, Qatar, brings together key leaders in the fields of politics, business, media, academia, and civil society from across the Muslim world and the United States. The Forum seeks to address the critical issues dividing the United States and the Muslim world by providing a unique platform for frank dialogue, learning, and the development of positive partnerships between key leaders and opinion shapers from both sides. It includes plenary sessions, smaller task force discussions focused on key thematic issues like governance, human development, and security, and initiative workshops that bring practitioners from similar fields together to identify concrete actions they might jointly undertake.

The theme of this year's Forum was "New Directions," as 2008 presents, for both the United States and the Muslim world, an opportunity to chart a new path in their relationship. Opened by H.E. Hamad bin Jassim bin Jabr Al-Thani, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the State of Qatar, the Forum featured keynote addresses by Afghan President Hamid Karzai, former Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, Turkish Foreign Minister Ali Babacan, and U.N. Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad. Plenary sessions focusing on various aspects of the future of U.S.-Muslim world relations included such luminaries as former CENTCOM commander Admiral William J. Fallon, Chairperson of the African Union Commission Alpha Oumar Konaré, Palestinian chief negotiator Saeb Erakat, Egyptian televangelist Amr Khaled, Muhammadiyah chairman M. Din Syamsuddin, *Time* columnist Joe Klein, former Palestinian Foreign Minister Ziad Abu Amr, Senator Evan Bayh (D-Indiana), former National Security Advisor Sandy Berger, former Assistant Secretary of State Susan Rice, Council on Foreign Relations President Richard Haass, and former Assistant Secretary of Defense Peter Rodman.

At this year's Forum, we detected a marked change in tone from previous years—a sense that with the upcoming change in U.S. administrations and new political developments on a number of fronts, there was an opportunity for both the United States and the Muslim world to turn the page and write a new chapter in our mutual relations.

On behalf of the entire Saban Center at Brookings, we would like to express our deep appreciation to H.R.H. Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al-Thani, the Emir of the State of Qatar, for making it possible to convene this assemblage of leaders from across the Muslim world and the United States. We are also appreciative of the support and participation of H.E. Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassim Bin Jabr Al-Thani. Thanks goes as well to H.E. Mohammed Abdullah Mutib Al-Rumaihi, Foreign Minister's Assistant for Follow Up Affairs; Abdulla Rahman Fakroo, Executive Director of the Permanent Committee for Organizing Conferences; Malik Esufji, Director of Protocol, and the entire Ministry of Foreign Affairs staff for their roles in ensuring the successful planning and operation of the meeting. Finally, we would like to thank Hady Amr, Peter W. Singer and Shibley Telhami for convening the Task Forces, as well as Aysha Chowdhry for her hard work in editing these volumes.

Sincerely,

Ambassador Martin Indyk
Director
Saban Center at Brookings

Dr. Stephen R. Grand
Fellow and Director
Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World

FOREWORD

Since 2002, the BROOKINGS PROJECT ON U.S. RELATIONS WITH THE ISLAMIC WORLD has been convening conferences and forums in Qatar in partnership with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the State of Qatar. I have been honored to be part of those discussions since the very beginning, initially as a participant, then a session convener, and now as a fellow at the Saban Center and convener of a task force that focuses on human development and social change within the U.S.-Islamic World Forum.

Since 2002, I have sat in the very same rooms for this debate, watching the discussion transform itself first from confrontational to reconciliatory, and now, to productive and cooperative. Although differences remain, a sense of desire for tangible participation has entered the dialogue.

The creation of the task force on human development and social change represents an opportunity for partnership on areas of common ground.

The initial discussion in our task force this year was to examine the linkages between economic development, political development, democracy and social stability in the Muslim world, and examine why this matter should be important to the Unted States and the broader international community. To set the stage, we brought together the Minister of Social Development from Jordan, a country that has made dramatic strides in recent decades, and a renowned American scholar, Francis Fukuyama.

The second part of the discussion focused on a tangible effort proposed by myself and Ms. Katherine Marshall of the World Bank and Georgetown University to create a more sustained focus on human development across the Muslim world and examine differences across the various sub-regions through the creation of a Muslim world human development report. For sure, some found this idea provocative. But Ms. Dalia Mogahed of Gallup provided exceptionally thoughtful reactions to the proposal, discussing how the polling she had managed for Gallup showed that the idea may very well make a lot of sense.

For the final part of the discussion we brought together two development practitioners, one from Jordan, Ms. Soraya Salti of Junior Achievement Worldwide, and one from the United States, Mr. Bill Reese of the International Youth Foundation. They found remarkably common causes in the priorities for empowering youth in the region.

We hope that this year's dialogue will yield the fruit of more careful attention and study of human development across the Muslim world. Already the idea is beginning to permeate other institutions and discussions, from the heart of Arabia to Washington, D.C.

By the time the U.S.-Islamic Forum convenes in 2009, there will be a new president in Washington, and an opportunity to reboot the U.S. relationship with the Muslim world. I firmly believe that the discussions that have been taking place since 2002 in Doha under the auspices of the Saban Center at Brookings, and the relationships that have developed over these years, can play a decisive and constructive role in transforming the quality and the tone of the relationship between the Untied States and the Muslim world. As someone who, from childhood, has spent a significant proportion of my life in both the United States and the Muslim world, and has spent virtually my entire professional career working across that divide in some way, I can say that never before has there been a more urgent need to transform U.S.-Muslim world relations for the better.

—Hady Amr
Fellow, Saban Center at Brookings
Director, Brookings Doha Center

Human Develoment Task Force Attendees

Chair

Hady Amr, Fellow, Saban Center Brookings
Director, Brookings Doha Center

Presenters

Hala Bsaisu Lattouf, Minister of Social
Development, Jordan

Francis Fukuyama, Bernard L. Schwartz
Professor of International Political Economy,
Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International
Studies, United States

Katherine Marshall, Director, Development
Dialogue on Ethics and Values, World Bank,
United States

Dalia Mogahed, Executive Director, Center
for Muslim Studies, The Gallup Organization,
United States

William Reese, President and CEO, International
Youth Foundation, United States

Soraya Salti, Senior Vice President – MENA,
Junior Achievement Worldwide, Jordan

Attendees

Martin A. Apple, President, Council of Scientific
Society Presidents, United States

Akram Baker, Managing Director, Brandicate
Consultants, Germany

Ronald Bruder, Founder and CEO, Education
for Employment Foundation, United States

Elizabeth Daley, Dean, School of Cinematic Arts,
University of Southern California,
United States

Rola Dashti, Chairperson, Kuwait Economic
Society, Kuwait

Vishakha N. Desai, President, Asia Society,
United States

Hasan Salah Dweik, Executive Vice President,
Al-Quds University, Palestine

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of Behavioral Social Sciences and Education,
National Research Council, United States

L. Michael Hager, President, Education for
Employment Foundation, United States

Barbara Ibrahim, Director, John D. Gerhart
Center for Philanthropy and Civic Engagement,
American University in Cairo, Egypt

Hassan Jaber, Executive Director, Arab
Community Center for Economic and Social
Services (ACCESS), United States

Amr Khaled, Chairman, Right Start Foundation
International, Egypt

Mohammad Maghrabi, Lead Singer, G-Town the Palestinian Hip Hop Makers, Palestine

Kristina Nelson, Consultant, Egypt

Walter F. Parkes, Producer, *The Kite Runner*, United States

Heba Raouf Ezzat, Professor of Political Theory, Cairo University, Egypt

Keith Reinhard, President, Business for Diplomatic Action, United States

Salman Shaikh, Director for Policy and Research, Office of H.H. Sheikha Mozah, Qatar

Sakena Yacoobi, Executive Director, Afghan Institute of Learning, Afghanistan

Human Development in the Muslim World:

Transformation for a Common Future

Hady Amr
Katherine Marshall

Hady Amr is currently a fellow in Foreign Policy Studies at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at Brookings and is the founding director of the Brookings Doha Center. Throughout his two decade career, he has been based in a half-dozen Muslim-majority countries and territories from Sub-Saharan Africa, to the Balkans, to the Middle East and traveled to 20 Muslim-majority countries. Amr has engaged with governments and NGOs both on action programs and research related to human development—economic, social and political. He was the lead author of major reports on subsets of the Muslim world, including the groundbreaking "The State of the Arab Child," and "The Regional Statistical Report on the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 2," as well as "The Situation of Children Youth and Women in Jordan," for UNICEF. Amr was an appointee at the Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies at National Defense University and a Senior Advisor to the World Economic Forum. He was born in Beirut, Lebanon, and raised in Greece, Saudi Arabia, and the United States. Amr earned his M.A. in Economics from the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University.

Katherine Marshall is a senior fellow at Georgetown University's Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs and has worked for over three decades on international development, focusing on issues facing the world's poorest countries. She has advised the World Bank for nearly 34 years and heads the World Bank's Development Dialogue on Ethics and Values, a non-profit working to bridge faith and development. She is a member of the World Economic Forum's Community of West and Islam Dialogue, and serves on the board of trustees for Princeton University, Council on Foreign Relations, the international selection committee for the Niwano Peace Prize, and the Fez Forum. Her recent publications include *Development and Faith: Where Mind, Heart and Soul Work Together*, and *The World Bank: From Reconstruction to Development to Equity*. She received a B.A. in History from Wellesley College, an M.A. from Princeton University, an M.P.A. from Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School.

INTRODUCTION: DOES EXAMINING MUSLIM WORLD HUMAN DEVELOPMENT MAKE SENSE?

What does the concept 'human development' suggest? And why might it be important in U.S.-Muslim world relationships?

'Human Development' is very much a product of evolving thinking about international development and human progress, more broadly. From the 1950s through to the 1970s, the central paradigm guiding most efforts to lift countries out of poverty was 'economic development', with operational links above all to state planning and investment in infrastructure. Thus large infrastructure projects were the early hallmarks of development institutions like the World Bank. However, by the 1980s underlying assumptions had begun to change and the post Cold War era stood old paradigms on their heads. The former jargon of first, second and third worlds no longer makes sense and 'north and south' is almost as problematic. In essence, both key thought leaders and people working on the ground shifted their emphasis to human beings as both engines and beneficiaries of development. The concept of 'human development' increasingly took center stage.

Early, sketchy notions about human development have taken on new dimensions and texture, and today the concept involves an elaborate and complex set of ideas and objectives, with human capacity and social cohesion at the core. Human development stands today as the central development paradigm. Within that construct, the fate of the poorest countries has emerged as a central global concern (exemplified in the Millennium Declaration of September 2000), etched by worries that the prospects of the world's very poorest citizens are inextricably bound up in the parallel challenges of fragile or failing states—several, like Afghanistan, Somalia, Niger and Chad, in the Muslim world.[1]

There is also today a special spotlight on the Muslim world, driven often in the first instance by more classic security concerns. In the wake of 9-11, Americans reacted swiftly with prolific theories as to the causes of terrorism, especially in the Muslim world. Now, more than six years later, the original American puzzled question "Why do they hate us?" seems a cliché. Despite countless analyses, answers seem quite unsatisfying and consensus is at best fragile. Some American analysts posited that American values of freedom and democracy were the target, yet opinion surveys across the Muslim world and even statements from Osama bin Laden himself make quite clear that the 9-11 terrorists were not out to attack America for its freedom and liberal lifestyle; if that were their goal, one statement said clearly, they would have attacked Sweden.[2] Others, looking to polling data for evidence, cite American foreign policy as the source of frustration driving terrorism in the Muslim world.[3]

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[1] Paul Collier, Oxford University and formerly World Bank, published an influential book, *The Bottom Billion,* in 2007, in which he argues that while 85% of the world is getting ahead, the "bottom billion" of humanity, living largely in failing or weak states, is falling further and further behind. Many of these people live in the Muslim world.

[2] Statement by Osama bin Laden broadcast by Al Jazeera news station in October 2004. Transcript excerpts on the BBC. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3966817.stm

[3] Foreign Policy and the Center for American Progress, "The Terrorism Index," Foreign Policy Index, July/August 2006, available at < http://web1.foreignpolicy.com/issue_julyaug_2006/TI-index/index.html > ; PEW Global Attitudes Project, "Islamic Extremism: Common Concern for Muslim and Western Publics," July 13, 2005, available at < http://pewglobal.org/reports/display.php?ReportID=248 >; PEW Research Center, "American Public Diplomacy in the Islamic World," PEW Research, February 27, 2003, available at < http://people-press.org/commentary/display.php3?AnalysisID=63 >; PEW Research Center, "The Great Divide: How Westerners and Muslims View Each Other," PEW Research, June 22, 2006, available at < http://pewglobal.org/reports/display.php?ReportID=253 >; PEW Research Center, "America's Image Slips, But Allies Share U.S. Concerns Over Iran, Hamas," PEW Research, 2007, available at < http://pewglobal.org/reports/display.php?PageID=825 >.

Still others see poverty and bad governance in the Muslim world and the attendant frustration as the driving motives of terrorists.[4] Many focus on the role of expanding satellite television and the Internet that thrust painful contradictions between lifestyles of the poor and often conservative, and those of the rich and often liberal, in the faces of so many people; eventually humiliation reaches a point where some lash out, violently. In a nutshell, the motives are complex and interwoven; central to an individual's human behavior is not only how an individual views himself, but also how others view the individual, and finally how the individual perceives the other's view of himself.[5]

In these thickets of debates, it is worth highlighting the significant common ground linking America and the Muslim world. It offers real promise that working together with other leading international players to improve the human condition across the world in general, including the Muslim world, is possible and vital. And improving the human condition is what America's ideals are all about. "Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" are not just hollow words; they embody the ideals that are the foundation of America's aspirations, not only for itself but for citizens around the world.

Thus human development has broad and highly relevant significance. Human development is a concept that embraces enhancing the quality of life for the whole person; it encompasses the key dimensions of economics, health, education and qual-ity of life. It extends also to concepts of freedom, government accountability, and the environment. Thus it involves both the more conventional development goals of poverty alleviation and education and health, and the broader goals of creating the legal framework for good governance, thus empowering human beings to be all they can be.

These goals go to the essence of American ideals. While America has not always lived up to its ideals (from the scourge of slavery, to the decimation of Native American societies, to the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, to Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib, America has fallen short), Americans strive to fulfill and live by the ideals embodied in the nation's foundational documents.[6] With religion so much at the center of the public square, it is also worth recalling that the goal of improving the human condition is also a central tenet of major world religions, including Judaism, Christianity and Islam.[7] So, at an ideological level, there is much agreement.

Since the early 1990s, the world's leading development organizations, under the umbrella of the World Bank Group and the United Nations, have embraced the concept of human development and highlight the concept in many of their annual publications.

Indeed, on the foundation of analysis conducted by Nobel Prize-winning economist Amartya Sen, human development both in its narrower sense (as-

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[4] Larry Diamond, "Winning the New Cold War on Terrorism: the Democratic Governance Imperative," Institute for Global Democracy Public Policy Paper Number 1, <http://www.911investigations.net/IMG/pdf/doc-267.pdf>.; Wazir Jahan Karim, "Extremism, Poverty, and Terror," Academy of Socio-Economic Research and Analysis (ASERA), September 11, 2006, available at <http://www.aseraint.net/upload_files/9/Extremism%20Poverty%20and%20 Terror.pdf >.

[5] Omar Amanat, "Humiliation and Violence," available at <http://www.softicom.net >.;Jon Anderson, "New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging Sphere," ISIM Newsletter, available at <http://faculty.cua.edu/anderson/Pages%20from%20newsl_5.pdf>; Also, Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life,* Doubleday Anchor Books, Garden City, NY, 1959.

[6] Agence France-Press, "Poll Lays Bare American Foreign Policy Fears," Common Dreams news center, 2005, available at < http://www.commondreams.org/ headlines05/0803-02.htm >; Also Meg Bortin, "Survey Finds Deep Discontent With American Foreign Policy," The New York Times, November 18, 2005, available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/11/18/national/18pew.html?_r=2&oref=slogin&oref=slogin>; Also, Anne-Marie Slaughter, *The Idea that is America: Keeping Faith with Our Values in a Dangerous World,* Basic Books, 2007

[7] Syed Imtiaz Ahmad, "Principles of Self Development in Islam," ISNA, February 10, 2003, available at <http://www.islamonline.net/english/ Contemporary/2003/11/article01.shtml>; Syed World Health Organization, "Women in Islam and her role in development," February 10, 2003, available at <http://www.emro.who.int/dsaf/dsa312.pdf>.

sessing gross national product per capita, life expectancy, literacy, etc) and more broadly defined (freedom to vote in meaningful elections, efficient and non-corrupt government, the quality of the environment, media freedom), has taken on important operational significance. Sen argued in his 2000 book *Development as Freedom*, "Freedoms… are not only the primary ends of development, they are also among its principal means." Development should be seen as a process of expanding freedoms. "If freedom is what development advances, then there is a major argument for concentrating on that overarching objective, rather than on some particular means, or some chosen list of instruments." To achieve development, he argues, requires the removal of poverty, tyranny, lack of economic opportunities, social deprivation, neglect of public services, and the machinery of repression.[8] Sen's thinking provided the seed for UNDP's ambitious and continuing studies of human development. It underpins a focus today on "human capabilities" as the core of developing human potential.

The human development situation varies widely across the Muslim world. UNDP's 2006 *Human Development Report* which examines human development across 177 countries,[9] shows a picture of sharp contrasts; human development in the Muslim world ranges from Niger and Mali, which rank bottom at 177th and third from bottom at 175th respectively (both countries are about 90% Muslim), to Kuwait and Brunei which are ranked 33rd and 34th from the top respectively—both oil-producing countries, Kuwait, (the native population of which is almost exclusively Muslim) and Brunei (which is two thirds Muslim), just below Portugal and the Czech Republic.[10]

This cursory glance suggests two striking observations. First, none of the 50-60 majority Muslim countries are in the top tier of the list. Second, none of the Muslim countries at the top or the bottom of the list seem to be producing the most acts of terror. The countries of origin of the famous 9-11 hijackers, who were Egyptian, Lebanese and Saudi, rank in the middle range, 111th, 78th and 76th respectively. Some might posit that this lends some credence to the argument that as the human condition improves above from the most miserable conditions, the potential for humiliation and its response also increases. Clearly, to make such an argument in a convincing manner would require an enormous amount of empirical work.

There are persuasive arguments that poverty does not cause terrorism—and we, the authors, largely embrace that view. However, there is ample evidence to suggest that the links nonetheless bear careful exploration and should not be dismissed. What is far less controversial, is that multiple and complex links tie the level and trajectory of human development to social stability and welfare.

This discussion paper aims expressly to provoke debate. Is there a clear consensus on human development priorities for the Muslim world? Is it important or possible to examine links between human development and security? Can a research agenda for human development priorities in the Muslim world be fleshed out? Is a research program on human development in the Muslim world needed or, possibly, a Muslim world human development report (MWH-DR)? And what is the role of the international community, from the international development organizations to the United States, in the process? What are practical examples for how civil society and govern-

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[8] Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, Anchor Publishing, August 15, 2000.

[9] The 2006 UNDP Human Development Report does not rank or provide much assessment of Iraq or Afghanistan due to the scarcity of data in those countries.

[10] Figures on the percentages of populations that are at least nominally Muslim vary. For the purposes of a single source, this paper has chosen the CIA Fact Book. According to the CIA Fact Book, Niger is 80% Muslim, Mali is 90% Muslim, Kuwait's native population is almost entirely Muslim but because of guest workers the figure used is 85%, Brunei 67% ishttps://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html.

ments in both the Muslim world and elsewhere can work together? If there is common ground around a research agenda, could a coalition be built to move it forward in various forms?

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT: ITS RELEVANCE AND DIMENSIONS

The consensus that has emerged around human development is both strong and significant. It reflects the broader consensus about the importance of human well-being as the leading measure of social progress and, though less well articulated, calls for a focus on human dignity and links development to human rights. Human development focuses on the quality of life and what the UNDP calls a "process of enlarging choices." Human development, taken in its broadest and richest sense, also embraces the concepts of human freedom and development of the human spirit, as well as good governance.

For decades, indeed millennia, institutions created by human beings have focused on improving the human condition. The founding teachings of the world's leading religions, including Islam, call on its followers to engage in poverty elimination through charitable giving, and treating others with the same fairness and justice with which one would want to be treated.[11] And throughout the 20th century a long litany of efforts have aimed to transform society and thus better the human condition. They have ranged from American government programs during the Great Depression, to the Marshall Plan after World War II, to the efforts of non-profit organizations like Save the Children and Catholic Relief Services, to the widespread social programs of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, Hizb'Allah in Lebanon, and the efforts underway in the GCC to create major institutions to reduce disparities in

human development like the Islamic Development Bank based in Jeddah and the UAE-based Mohammed bin Rashid al-Maktoum Foundation.

Previous research on human development is both expansive and impressive and has been undertaken by the leading institutions in the international system—the World Bank, UNDP and UNICEF—and advanced by key thinkers like Paul Collier and Amartya Sen (cited above).

Taking stock of development systematically is widely appreciated as useful for providing both solid analysis and a "map" of what is happening. In the mid-1970s, the World Bank launched a series of annual "World Development Reports" (WDRs) aimed at reviewing the state of the world's "development." These reports, which quite rapidly took on the status of flagship, seminal documents, focused both on statistical economic and social reporting, summarizing and ranking indicators like gross domestic product, economic growth and industrial investment, and human welfare, highlighting literacy rates, life expectancy, infant mortality, and, increasingly, the status of women, and in-depth exploration of major topics like poverty or health. They built on World Bank data systems which supported various rankings of countries.

The WDRs, however, came in for criticism because of their focus on economic dimensions. Thus, UNDP, under the leadership of Mahbub ul Haq, Amartya Sen, and others, launched in 1990 a parallel and rather competitive series of reports called the "Human Development Report", which also included the "Human Development Index" (HDI). The goal was to shift the paradigm towards much greater emphasis on the human condition, both through a different competitive ranking of countries and through analysis of key issues. In fairness

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[11] In an October 13, 2007 "Open Letter and Call from Muslim Religious Leaders to His Holiness Pope Benedict signed by 138 Muslim scholars they enumerate the commonalities between Islam and Christianity. One of the two central points was commonality on what the Prophet Mohammad Said "None of you has faith until you love for your neighbor what you love for yourself." (*Sahih Muslim, Kitab al-Iman, 67-1, Hadith* no.45.*)* And the words of Jesus Christ that one should first worship God… "And the second, like it, is this 'You should love your neighbor as yourself.' There is no other commandment greater than these." (Mark 12:31).

to the decades of work by the World Bank, the acclaimed and pioneering HDI has some symbiotic relationships with the WDRs, and its major variables include several that are part of World Bank traditional measures, notably gross domestic product, life expectancy, adult literacy, and education enrollment ratios. The HDI mantle has been carried and extended by various UN agencies, including notably UNICEF, and by other organizations and individuals. There are many variations on the format, perhaps most significant individual country reports on human development.

A significant development of the process was a series of Arab Human Development reports between 2002 and 2005, inspired and supported by UNDP and largely led by intellectuals from the Arab World.

There has been no systematic look along these lines at the "Muslim World." There are plenty of good reasons—the "Muslim world" is hard to define, cuts across traditional geographic groupings, and poses complex challenges for how to look at non-Muslim majority countries with significant Muslim populations, notably India and China but also Europe and the United States. Nonetheless, there are so many question marks about the situation of human welfare and, above all, about possible common solutions that emanate from Muslim identity, that a new and special lens on Muslim world human development offers interesting potential.

For the "Muslim world," however defined, the status of its human development ranges from the bottom of the HDI in Africa to just below the top tier in the oil-producing states. Given the foundational ideals of poverty alleviation present in Islam (and other leading world religions), is it not incumbent upon leaders from the Muslim world—be they from government, business, academia and NGOs—to work to improve the state of human development

for their own populations? And to do so, do they not need more study of present conditions and investment in research on the best ways forward? Can a common consensus be forged that brings in religious leaders and broader civil society (both often marginalized in prior discussions), that a central pillar of justice is a much sharper focus on alleviating poverty, growing the economy, and creating an educated and free population? And once certain countries like Brunei, Kuwait and Qatar progress towards higher HDI rankings, is it not natural for them to share both lessons and wealth with their neighbors, who are also, for the most part, part of the Muslim world? Given the overarching political dynamics in the world today, isn't it now time for the leaders of the Muslim world to come together to examine their common challenges and find solutions together for their common problems?

But then, why should the broader international community—including the United States—focus particularly on human development in the Muslim world? Perhaps the answer lies in part in the vital effort to bridge the deep divides that seem to yawn ever wider between United States and Muslim world perceptions of each other. Whether or not one buys into the thesis that poverty is linked to terrorism, making a focused and visible investment to improve the human condition in the Muslim world could go some way to ease the high state of political tension between the Muslim world and the West. This might help improve security for all. One thing that is certain is that when both Americans and residents of the Muslim world are polled about the proper role of America and/or the broader international community in the Muslim world, the answers that they all agree upon are that the Unted States should be primarily involved in alleviating poverty, and investing in education. This clearly links three of the key components of the HDI, GNP, education and literacy—and, in addition, it provides a foundation for helping in situations of natural disasters.[12]

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[12] Daniel Yankelovich, presentation to February 2006 U.S.-Islamic World Forum in Doha, Qatar, also published in *Foreign Affairs,* May/June 2006, http://www.cfr.org/publication/10466/tipping_points.html.

The year 2008 represents an opportunity to pivot the direction of the world. Dramatically higher oil revenues are accruing to advanced oil exporters, many of them Muslim world states; some are already at advanced stages of development and can afford to invest these windfalls in the human development of their neighbors, much as America did in Europe with the Marshall Plan after World War II. The United States, the world's leading power, will elect a new president. One of the defining features of our age—along with global warming, the rise of China and the scourge of the nexus of war, failed states and poverty—is America's and the West's relationship with the Muslim world. If we are fortunate, the election of a new president could "re-boot" the United States relationship with the Muslim world just at a time when the funds are available to transform the human and social situation across the Muslim world. What is needed if this is to happen is good analysis, definition of options, and a vision of what can be done across this vast region.

Taking Stock: Human Development in the Muslim World

The primary goal in examining human development in the Muslim world is not to analyze and report on the correlation of religious denomination and human development per se, though some might seek to establish such links, appropriately and inappropriately. Rather, the goal would be to examine the socio-economic and human development conditions in which those who identify or are identified as Muslims live with a view to generating better ideas to improve human welfare. The report would make no effort to characterize the extent of religiosity and faith; there would be no measure or reflection upon how devoted Malaysians or Moroccans, Iranians or Indonesians, Bahrainis or Bangladeshis are to their faith. For this report. their nominal adherence to—and identification with the—Muslim faith is what counts.

The challenge is complicated both by the great diversity of the Muslim world and by the fact that no country is truly 100% Muslim (official statistics notwithstanding). OIC members themselves range from countries reporting close to 99.9% Muslim down to 20% Muslim. Twelve states report their population as 99% Muslim but this is open to question insofar as it implies belief, always hard to measure. There is also the question of how to treat the legions of Muslims living outside of OIC States, for example in India (140M, 13%), Ethiopia (31M, 31%), Russia (21M 15%), China (20M, 1.5%), Tanzania (13M, 35%), Congo-Kinshasa (6M 10%), the United States (4.5M, 1.5%), the Philippines (4.4M, 5%), and France (4.2M, 6.9%), just to name the most significant minority Muslim populations. Two alternative approaches seem reasonable. The report could take OIC countries as its focus, regardless of the share of Muslim population. An alternative would be to focus on countries with high shares of Muslim population, for example those countries with a threshold of at least 40%, or perhaps as much as 55%. Both approaches would omit all the countries outside the OIC. Is this valid? No report on this or many other groups can be perfect. After all, contained within the acclaimed Arab Human Development Report are large groups of people, be they in Morocco, Lebanon, Iraq or Sudan, who feel that they are not Arab. Nonetheless, the general construct is useful. The goal here would be to report on the development context of Muslim-majority, or at least how mostly-Muslim country populations live, grow and develop. For the mega-state of India, perhaps, in time, data could be included of Muslim-majority states within India.

A final, but important challenge is the perennial data problem. Data for many indicators are poor, particularly those relating to human freedom, or, importantly, religious belief. For example, the range for the Muslim population of Bosnia seems to be from 40% to 58%, and estimates vary for other countries and regions, particularly where religious affiliation carries political connotations.

Indeed, the report would likely meet skepticism on various fronts, and some may well question whether a "Muslim World Human Development Report" makes sense. In the 1990s the idea of an Arab Human Development Report met a mixed response. After all, what do Mauritania, the Comoros Islands, Lebanon and Kuwait have in common? The answer: They are all, at least nominally, members of the League of Arab States. The answer for the MWHDR could be the same—all are OIC members, or have a significant Muslim population. Given the sharp focus on issues of alliance and tension between the Muslim world and "the West", a positive exploration of the potential commonalities within the global Muslim community does indeed make sense.

Despite significant challenges, we are convinced that this could be a valuable exercise. Social and political science—or at least the media in the name of those professions—has many conjectures about the links between poverty, human development, and terrorism. In the post-9/11 world, this is generally taken to mean the links among poverty and terrorism among Muslims—not Basque separatists or the Irish Republican Army. The MWHDR would not strive to answer questions about those links per se, but it would shed light on a specific set of countries, examining them both individually and collectively, and comparing them to global averages, developing world averages, and other developing country averages.

A Youth Focus

In many countries across the Muslim world, challenges faced by educational systems and high and stubborn unemployment converge in a dangerous nexus, cited time and time again by the region's youth as problem number one. Young people are keenly aware of opportunities and opulent life styles elsewhere, lying beyond their grasp, whether in the West, or among elites of their own countries. Some want in. Others condemn what they see as

decadence. A small minority is humiliated and then angered. With about half the population across this vast region in their early twenties or younger, an enormous effort is needed to create the jobs to keep them satisfied, inspired and hopeful, instead of disgruntled and resentful, in a fast-changing world where it is easier and easier for the disadvantaged segments of the world to feel the lack of opportunity and inequality on a daily basis. In a rapidly globalizing world, can economies provide the jobs—enough good jobs—and prepare young people for them, as the massive youth cohort demands?

A first step is to understand the portrait and the dynamics behind it better. Depending on how one slices it, there are about 1.4 billion Muslims, including those living inside and outside Muslim-majority countries, and also about 1.4 billion citizens of mostly Muslim countries, Muslims and non-Muslims alike. The Muslim world population continues to grow quickly, much faster in some areas than others. Sex and age structure vary. Total fertility rates vary, for example from lows of slightly over two children per couple in Tunisia, to astronomical levels of over seven children per couple in places like Yemen. A Muslim World Human Development Report would spotlight these issues, examining differences across and within regions.

The top priority for developing human capabilities across the Muslim world is arguably education. Each passing day brings new evidence of how critical education is for a productive future, across all societies—future jobs, family welfare, community relations, and individual fulfillment are all directly tied to quality education, and the bar of performance is rapidly rising. Standards acceptable ten years ago no longer meet the test today. The Muslim world as a whole lags behind world averages on many, if not most, dimensions of educational performance, ranging from quality pre-school through advanced scientific research. Education is also a critical factor in social cohesion, at community, national, regional, and global levels. And

fourth, while it is easier to proclaim a commitment to education than to fulfill it, nonetheless educational reform and achievement of excellence in education are doable propositions that generally unite different sectors of societal leadership. There are extraordinary leadership initiatives on education in the Muslim world to build upon.

The case for the importance of education barely needs to be made, but steadily mounting evidence of the links between education and social progress across the board deserve to be stressed time and time again, starting with poverty and ending at innovation and achievements in research and scientific progress. Worth special note are: (a) compelling data showing that education of girls has large multiplier effects, especially at the secondary level; (b) rapid strides in effective use of technology in classrooms; and (c) less conclusive but equally important evidence of links between quality education and social stability and cohesion. No economy or society in today's world can succeed economically or socially without an educated population, meaning universal primary and increasingly universal secondary education, high-quality programs that are widely available, and strong tertiary education. Without a big push on the educational front it is hard to envisage a positive future for any community or society.

Special challenges of education across the Muslim world are not hard to identify at an aggregate level: note, for example then-Finance Minister Gordon Brown's comments at a June 2006 conference on Islamic Finance and Trade: "I was shocked to learn that while Muslims constitute 22% of the world's population, almost 40% of the world's out-of-school children are Muslims. In Pakistan alone there are nearly 8 million children not in school, in Bangladesh nearly 4 million, and over 1 million in Mali, a total of more than 40 million Muslim children who

do not go to school. So I know you will agree with me that it is one of the world's greatest scandals that in total, 110 million children do not go to school. Yet for $10 billion a year we can meet our promise and provide education to all these children."[13] The educational attainment gaps, however, need much more careful mapping and, still more, concerted efforts to bridge them, across all communities within the Muslim world. Among known features are the wide diversity of education systems and wide disparities in access and performance. Special focus on the poorest countries, especially the Sahel, the Horn of Africa, Pakistan and Bangladesh is needed because they lag so far behind other communities.

Working through education for global citizenship can seem a Pablum comment, but it is a central challenge of our time and no more so than in working purposefully to build social cohesion in multireligious and multiethnic societies. There are negative and positive sides: the negative is the necessary work of expunging negative stereotypes and narratives across all school programs. The positive face is the challenge of working to ensure that all schools, public and private, secular and religious, work purposefully to instill accurate knowledge about other communities and about civic responsibilities.

Several special challenges could be explored. In many countries, large swathes of elites attend expensive private education institutions, sapping political support for general education. Elsewhere, making higher education more effective and participatory, and integrating technology into the classroom come to the top of the agenda. Particularly in Africa, school enrollment and literacy rates are so low that the primary challenge is simply getting more than half of children to school. In some societies, education systems are poorly calibrated to the labor market. High school and even college graduates do not find the jobs they had dreamed of; they might

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[13] http://www.britainusa.com/sections/articles_show_nt1.asp?d=0&i=41084&L1=0&L2=0&a=42049.

even have been better off if they had undertaken vocational education. In still other countries, the vocational training system itself is so poorly supported that it is depressing to enter, so outdated that even if a student enters a field that is needed in the labor market the training is irrelevant, or so poorly calibrated with the market that the vocational education system is graduating students in area X when they are needed in area Y. Entrepreneurship is often stifled either by example, or by bureaucracy.

What is key is that in a rapidly globalizing world, knowledge itself, and more importantly critical thinking, are required human assets for youth to have a successful future. The proposed MWHDR could shine a spotlight on issues and potential and hopefully contribute to the major initiative underway to take giant steps towards world class education across the Muslim world. This effort would benefit from a cross-regional study of both best practices, and recipes for disaster.

The Governance Context

The MWDHR would need to address several themes that involve governance. Four developments in public discourse offer a sound foundation for analysis and reflection about the complex of issues around the general topic: (a) firmer consensus about links between rule of law, stability, prosperity, and understandings of social justice; (b) an explosion of available data with comparative and competitive indices of widely different areas, for example participation and perceptions about corruption and freedom; (c) active public dialogue about what civil and human rights mean in terms of different forms of democratic institutions, participation and empowerment; and (d) increasing focus on the role of communication, including particularly the media.

Less positively, the term governance continues to be used to apply to very different topics, ranging from freedom of information and press, individual judicial rights and freedom, honesty in administration (thus corruption), and intergroup relations. In practice, each of these issues is relevant for human development, though in very different ways across different countries and societies. Public discourse about governance issues related to the Muslim world is particularly fractious, laden with preconceptions, and missing solid factual information. Absent is a sense of the wide variations in actual situations, and practical tools that allow concerted forward progress.

For human development in the Muslim world context, the most immediate and pertinent issues are those elements of governance that relate to translating programs into action (efficiency, transparency, accountability), and exploration of different models that underpin more active participation and empowerment, especially for youth, women, and other excluded groups.

This is an area where a MWHDR could, while navigating shoals of sensitive topics (corruption and freedom are rarely uncontested) make a material contribution. It could establish the facts regarding legal and administrative barriers and identify their relevance to human development programs; highlight the priority areas for action to address capacity constraints; feature best practice examples of functioning civil society and public programs; and introduce a comparative framework that could both encourage cooperation and competition.

Discussion of governance issues would lead naturally to two emerging issue areas: entrepreneurship and the natural environment (water resources, land degradation, coastal pollution, air pollution and greenhouse emissions, and urbanization). On entrepreneurship, the report could probe indicators of competitiveness, the atmosphere for small and medium business, and indicators of creativity such as patents secured. It could again review best practice and point to emerging consensus regarding obstacles.

On environment, the MWHDR could again work both to develop and work towards consensus on various benchmarks of progress, with particular reference to their obvious human development links (ties to education, health, and legal progress).

RELIGION'S PLACE

Islam would be a critical element of the backdrop of the Muslim World Human Development Report, and in many respects its unifying theme. Addressing the topic thoughtfully could present complex and sensitive issues, but it also affords an opportunity to increase knowledge and affirm positive elements of this remarkable faith and culture. Central underlying questions would be: what are features of Muslim majority societies that are conducive to human development; what are obstacles? And, above all else, what aspects and elements could, through more purposeful and thoughtful engagement, accelerate progress and enhance the quality of progress? Potential areas of focus include the role of faith-inspired social organizations, as well as understanding better both traditional forms of charity and social support and the newer emerging Muslim world philanthropy. The role of Muslim education also merits exploration.

The reentry of religion into the public square is a fact of 21st-century life, perhaps nowhere more than the Muslim world. Yet analysis and discourse are often distorted and contorted. Likewise, the links between faith and development have too often been ignored, whether in terms of faith-inspired organizations and their work in development, or the more underlying issues of values, incentives, and social justice objectives that draw on faith and religious beliefs.

An exploration of the links between human development and faith would be one of the more demanding and important aspects of the MWHDR. It also poses the question of participation in the process of report preparation, as this could offer opportunities to reach out to groups that are cur-

rently rarely engaged in development discourse. Instrumentally, the role of Muslim world faith inspired organizations, global (like Islamic Relief and the Aga Khan Development Network), national, and local could be explored with emphasis on their education, health, and welfare roles. Large and very diverse organizations are active and a reasonable hypothesis is that their inputs, because they are fragmented with weak networks and even spotty recognition, do not "add up" as they could and should. The role of religious leaders and their approach to human development issues would be explored (a prominent and positive example is the engagement of imams in several countries on the issue of HIV/AIDS). The role of waqf foundations in supporting schools and hospitals would be explored. The positive contributions of Islam in its focus on knowledge and learning could serve as a basis for discussion. Specific areas for attention would include religiously run schools, the potential roles of Islamic finance (especially microfinance, with its promise as a major tool for women's empowerment), and approaches to gender relations (including promising best practice examples of women's empowerment within Muslim communities).

WOMEN'S PLACE

Many observers of the Muslim world and the issues it faces focus on gender disparities. One widely held view is that gender inequalities play a significant part in slowing social and economic progress and constitute an important human rights challenge. A counter view is that what is often described as separation of men and women does not in itself amount to discrimination, and works to preserve both cultural traditions and strengthen families. Debate over these issues is fractious and rarely productive. Complicating the issue are important gaps in knowledge about facts on the ground and perceptions of people, and the wide diversity of legal, social, and economic conditions in different countries and communities.

The MWHDR could make important contributions to dialogue on this topic in the first instance by presenting a clear factual picture. This could cover basic and accepted indicators of family well being, including maternal and child health. It could also bring together indicators of education (formal and to the degree possible informal), both qualitative and quantitative. Interesting trends in higher education could be explored. And it could explore indicators of work force participation, including in small- and medium-size enterprises. Finally it could look at comparative data on participation, including both civic engagement and political representation.

The report could also explore developments in different regions and countries on women's roles and rights. The example of the Moroccan reforms of family law, the Malaysian and Indonesian experience, and West African examples, as well as Turkey, Egypt and Jordan could be highlighted as could relevant experience with newer tools such as gender budgeting.

The report could reflect the experience of civil society organizations led and run by women, including both secular organizations and informal, often religiously inspired entities.

CONCLUSION: PARTNERSHIP WITHIN THE MUSLIM WORLD AND WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES

This paper has outlined the various challenges facing the Muslim world in the domain of human development, and made the case for a new Muslim World Human Development Report that could provide the basis for stronger cooperation across the vastly different regions of the Muslim world, as well as cooperation between the various segments of the Muslim world and the international community, including the United States.

While many institutions exist within various segments of the Muslim world and institutions overlap, like the League of Arab States, the Asian Development Bank or ASEAN,[14] few institutions have a mandate that covers the Muslim world as a whole. Certainly, the OIC, established in 1969, is a central actor, as is the Jeddah-based Islamic Development Bank, established in 1975. These institutions provide a basic framework for the development of a research agenda that could assess Human Development across the Muslim world and might, in turn, inspire new actions, institutions and partnerships to improve Human Development across this vast and diverse region.

What is clear is that during this age of globalization, with the rise of China, Europe and the United States, for the Muslim world to be able to hold its own, at least sub-sets of the Muslim world must join together to tackle the challenges facing humanity. Shared experiences across the region are indeed relevant if only in inspiration. While some countries across the Muslim world look at Dubai and Qatar—not just in the Arab world but more broadly—as successful experiments to improve the human condition, others, including those in the Arab world, look to Malaysia as a success story to emulate. All the while, we must not forget the states struggling to maintain even the most basic conditions for life—security, food and water—like Afghanistan, Iraq and Somalia.

Similarly, in this age of globalization, the extent to which the paradigm of "common security for a common future" takes hold across the globe—from Washington to Brussels, to Beijing to Riyadh, Cai-

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[14] Of the ten member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, three are Muslim-majority states: Brunei, Indonesia and Malaysia, and many of the others have sizeable Muslim populations, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

ro, and Jakarta—the more successful the world will be at mitigating political conflict. In the middle of a decade of political tension between the Muslim world and America, a common project that they and the international community could undertake together, without reservation, is human development in the Muslim world.

The areas of cooperation can and should initially focus on the core areas of the Human Development Index—education, economy and health—which are also the areas that the ordinary populations of the United States and the Muslim world feel are appropriate to work on together. But in time, and with trust built, exploration could expand to the more delicate and culturally sensitive areas of human freedom and governance.

As a first step, however, a deeper analysis of the cross-cutting issues across this diversified region, bringing together the leading minds and institu-

tions to examine the challenges, identify the obstacles and chart opportunities could be an initial step forward.

A partnership between leading international organizations, existing organizations like the OIC or the IDB and regional research institutions could be a good place to start. The basic premise would be an examination of how the Muslim world itself can better promote its own human development—in partnership with the outside world. The prosperity of the peoples of the Muslim world stand to benefit—and so too, through partnership with the outside world, does the relationship between the Muslim world and the international community, including the United States. The people from Mauritania, to Egypt, to Pakistan and Malaysia deserve a better future with better human development, and a process of "enlarging choices," among which is a better quality of life, more human freedom, and better relations with each other and the rest of the world.

ANNEXES

Annex (a). "The Muslim World"

In pursuing a Muslim World Human Development Report, a first challenge would be defining the "Muslim world." This annex lists countries that could potentially be included. It lists countries in two categories: (a) members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC); and (b) additional countries that could be included.

OIC has 57 member states, ranging in size from Indonesia, the largest with 220M people, to countries like the Maldives with just a few hundred thousand. They also range from countries that are virtually 100% Muslim like Afghanistan or Yemen, to those which are only 1% Muslim like Gabon, which presumably joined to be part of the club. Other countries with large Muslim populations—like India with 140M (14%), Ethiopia with 31M (33%), and Russia and China with 21M (15%) and 20M (2%) respectively, are not part of the OIC. Bosnia-Herzegovina is overall 40% Muslim but is effectively divided in half, with a Muslim-majority half.

If only national disaggregated data were available, a practical approach to treating the Muslim world might use as an approximation, initially, the OIC Member States, minus those states which are less than a certain percentage Muslim. If the percentage were one-fifth, (20%), it would exclude OIC members Cameroon, Gabon, Guyana, Mozambique, Suriname, Togo, and Uganda. If it were 40%, it would also exclude Benin, Cote d'Ivoire. If 50% were used, Guinea-Bissau and Kazakhstan also would be excluded. Arguments could be made for any of these cut-offs, or for using the OIC as a whole. The authors suggest that the 40% or 50% cut off seems most reasonable, perhaps with the addition of the federated half of Bosnia. The report could focus on those countries, with additional reporting to a lesser degree of detail on the other OIC states, plus those other countries with substantial Muslim populations. Down the line, for those countries with detailed data on sub-national levels like India or China, Muslim majority districts could be brought into the report.

How valid is this approach? The issues are explored in the text; however, keep in mind that the UNDP *Arab Human Development Report* covered countries like Mauritania, Sudan and Morocco, which could be considered to be less than half ethnically Arab. Nonetheless, the report has been accepted. A Muslim World Human Development Report could also be accepted despite rough edges in definition.

* Sources include:

OIC members from: http://www.oic-oci.org/
Population Size: UNDP *2006 Human Development Report:* http://hdr.undp.org/hdr2006/
Average Muslim Population: CIA Fact Book: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html.

THE "MUSLIM WORLD"

OIC Member States with Muslim Populations Above 50%

Name	Population* (millions)	Muslim* %	Number of Muslims *E3	Name	Population* (millions)	Muslim* %	Number of Muslims *E3
Afghanistan	28.6	99%	28.3	Maldives	0.3	100%	0.3
Albania	3.1	70%	2.2	Mali	13.1	90%	11.8
Algeria	32.4	99%	32.1	Mauritania	3.0	99%	3.0
Azerbaijan	8.4	93%	7.8	Morocco	31.0	99%	30.7
Bahrain	0.7	81%	0.6	Niger	13.5	80%	10.8
Bangladesh	139.2	83%	115.5	Nigeria	128.7	50%	64.4
Brunei-Darussalam	0.4	67%	0.3	Oman	2.5	75%	1.9
Burkina-Faso	12.8	50%	6.4	Pakistan	154.8	97%	150.2
Chad	9.4	53%	5.0	Palestine	3.6	84%	3.0
Comoros	0.8	99%	0.8	Qatar	0.8	78%	0.6
Djibouti	0.8	99%	0.8	Saudi Arabia	24.0	100%	24.0
Egypt	72.6	90%	65.3	Senegal	11.4	94%	10.7
Eritrea	4.2	50%	2.1	Sierra Leone	5.3	60%	3.2
Gambia	1.5	90%	1.4	Somalia	8.0	100%	8.0
Guinea	9.2	85%	7.8	Sudan	35.5	70%	24.9
Indonesia	220.1	86%	189.5	Syria	18.6	90%	16.7
Iran	68..8	98%	67.4	Tajikistan	6.4	90%	5.8
Iraq	28.1	97%	27.3	Tunisia	10.0	98%	9.8
Jordan	5.6	92%	5.2	Turkey	72.2	100%	72.1
Kuwait	2.6	85%	2.2	Turkmenistan	4.8	89%	4.3
Kyrgyz	5.2	75%	3.9	United Arab Emirates	4.3	96%	4.1
Lebanon	3.5	60%	2.1	Uzbekistan	26.2	89%	23.3
Libya	5.7	97%	5.5	Yemen	20.3	99%	20.1
Malaysia	24.9	60%	15.0				

OIC Member States with Muslim Populations Below 50%

Name	Population* (millions)	Muslim* %	Number	Name	Population* (millions)	Muslim* %	Number
Benin	8.2	24%	2.0	Kazakhstan	14.8	47%	7.0
Cameron	16.0	20%	3.2	Mozambique	19.4	18%	3.5
Cote D'ivoire	17.9	39%	6.9	Suriname	0.4	20%	0.1
Gabon	1.4	1%	0.014	Togo	6.0	20%	1.2
Guinea-Bissau	1.5	45%	0.7	Uganda	27.8	12%	3.4
Guyana	0.8	10%	0.1				
Total OIC Member Population							**1401.1**
Total OIC Member Muslim Percentage & Population						**80%**	**1125.9**

Other Countries with Large or Substantial Contiguous Muslim Populations							
India	1,037.0	14%	140.0	Congo (Khinshasa)	60.0	10%	6.0
Ethiopia	93.9	33%	31.0	USA	300.0	1.5%	4.5
Russia	140.0	15%	21.0	Phillipines	88.0	5%	4.4
China	1,333.3	1.5%	20.0	France	60.9	7%	4.2
Tanzania	36.6	35%	12.8	Bosnia-Herzegovina	3.9	40%	1.6
Substntial Muslim Populations Outside OIC							**245.5**
Total Muslim Population Studied							**1371.4**

ANNEX (B) POTENTIAL TABLE OF CONTENTS OF MUSLIM WORLD HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORT

Background
- Why this report
- Defining Human Development: The main three thematic areas that would be examined are the political, the social, and the economic.

The Muslim World
- Defining the Muslim world.
    - o   OIC & non-OIC populations
- Data problems
- Comparing the Muslim world to the rest of the world and the developing world
- Major sub-divisions within the Muslim world: The Arab world, Sub-Saharan Africa, Muslim Asia
- Demography: population growth, age pyramid, urbanization, migration

Human Capital
- Education
    - o   Enrollment, spending, results and differences within and across societies
- Science
    - o   What are the latest science achievements and discoveries in the Muslim world?
    - o   Is the study of science encouraged in Muslim countries?
    - o   What are the numbers of students who study in science fields?
    - o   Output indicators
- Health
    - o   Spending, Results and differences within and across societies

The Economy
- Economy
    - o   General economic performance and trends
    - o   Any regional blocs (ex. OPEC)? How well do they do? Any possible regional blocs?
    - o   Factor Productivity
    - o   Per capita income levels
    - o   Levels of liberalization monetary policies in Muslim countries
    - o   Exchange rate and inflation levels, as well as highlighting overall monetary fiscal policies in Muslim countries (if there is one)
    - o   Poverty levels
    - o   Employment levels
    - o   Private investment projects

- Technology
    - o Output indicators
    - o Internet usage
    - o Information, knowledge and technology

The Environment: Physical, Social, Human Freedom & Technology
- Environment
    - o Spending, results and differences within and across societies
- Freedom and Human Rights
    - o Human rights index
    - o Freedom ratings?
- Governance
    - o Trends
    - o Types of governments
    - o Civil society
    - o Prevalence of NGOS
    - o Media?
    - o Political participation
    - o Major civil, political rights and freedom
    - o Levels of activism
- Religious discourse
    - o The role of religious institutions
    - o The role or religion in society at large

Women
- Women's empowerment
    - o Women's educational levels
    - o Women's literacy vis a vis men
    - o Religion and women
    - o Culture and women
    - o Socialization
    - o Work levels
    - o Family, tradition, patriarchy and women
    - o Equality in law
    - o Involvement in civil society

Partnerships
- Partnerships within the Muslim world
- Global partnerships
- Challenge of terrorism affecting progress
- The way forward

ANNEX (C) POTENTIAL INDICATORS FOR A MUSLIM WORLD HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORT

The following are typical measures of human development and are drawn from the UNDP Human Development Reports and the World Bank's World Development Report. The Muslim World Human Development Report would be done in partnership with a major international development agency like the aforementioned. Other sources of data on freedom or religion would also be sought.

- Population, growth, sex ratio, urban, proportion Muslim
- Population growth over 50 years
- Life expectancy break downs
- Infant and child mortality and maternal mortality
- Immunization rates
- Environment, cultivation, forestation, renewable water resource
- Energy consumption and production and per capita and total carbon emissions
- Literacy and enrollment rates
- Fields of study including vocational training
- R&D & ICT. Spending, results and connectivity
- Economy size and growth
- Unemployment, youth, women
- Government corruption and bureaucracy ratings
- Freedom of the press (freedom house?)
- Political stability
- Women and political participation
- Ratification of various conventions
- Government spending on health, education, R&D, etc.
- Extent of monopoly in major business... telecommunications
- GNP per capita
- Various composite HDI indicators

Remarks on Hady Amr and Katherine Marshall's

Human Development in the Muslim World: Transformation for a Common Future

Dalia Mogahed

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Muslim Human Development: Priority and Partners

The need for a Human Development Report for the global Muslim community could not be greater. According to research Gallup conducted in more than 35 countries that are predominantly Muslim or have sizable Muslim populations, no topic is more pressing and top-of-mind than human development.

When respondents were asked to describe what they admired least about the Muslim world, our researchers heard often about issues of slow development, corruption, economic stagnation, and political suppression. When asked to describe their dreams for the future, the most frequent response was not violent jihad, but better jobs, as well as better educational opportunities for their children—as one respondent put it, "a life of dignity."[1] For these reasons, the suggested emphasis on youth and education is exactly what is needed.

The proposed constructive engagement of faith principles and practices will also dramatically increase the chances of success because many Muslim men and women see Islam as their society's greatest asset and the key to its progress. When respondents were asked to describe what they most admired about the Arab and Muslim worlds, our researchers heard responses such as "people's sincere adherence to Islam."[2] Not surprisingly, when Gallup asked these respondents what the Muslim world could do to improve its own situation, many mentioned faith as a key component to development.[3]

This emphasis on faith, however, should not be misunderstood as a desire to isolate from the West. Asked what they admire most about the West, Muslims around the world told Gallup that above all

else, it was technology, followed by responsive and accountable government, the rule of law and freedom of speech, as well as a strong work ethic—in other words, many of the things they said their own societies lacked. In fact, the two attributes respondents most often associated with the Muslim world were "attachment to their spiritual and moral values is critical to their progress" and "eager to have better relations with the West." This suggests that not only is development the No. 1 priority for many Muslims, but that far from desiring isolation from the West, many are eager to share the expertise of their European and American counterparts, especially in areas seen as culturally neutral, such as technology and business management.

The Role of the United States

The proposed role of the United States is vital. Paradoxically, the United States is the object of the most admiration and the most animosity of any country in the world. This is especially the case among those surveyed in majority or significantly Muslim countries. The aspects that respondents say they admire about the West they most strongly associate with the United States in particular. A partnership on human development would go a long way in alleviating the now familiar perception of a deep double standard between America's espoused values and its actions toward Muslims. One respondent in Saudi Arabia suggests, "Change the fact that countries in the Western world try to dominate the Islamic world rather than improve it."

When asked what the West could do to improve relations with the Muslim world, two responses dominated. The first focused on respect: Moderate views toward Islam and Muslims, respect Islam,

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[1] The Gallup World Poll: 2005-2006
[2] "Ordinary Muslims" Gallup Special Report, Mogahed
[3] The Gallup World Poll: 2007

and stop thinking of Muslims as inferior. The second response focused on enabling self-reliance: economic development and the new global leadership currency—jobs. What better way to address both issues than to partner on development?

Moreover, contrary to conventional wisdom, neither side wants to close itself off from the other. Despite expressing a great deal of pessimism about the state of the relationship between Muslim and Western communities, more people in the United States and majority Muslim nations around the world said that greater interaction between Muslim and Western communities is a benefit than said it is a threat. This includes 70% of Americans, 52% of Egyptians and 62% of Iranians.[4]

The greatest challenge will be to truly foster the spirit of partnership in a project in which one side is perceived (reasonably) by both parties as vastly ahead of the other and could easily slip into the position of "parent" or cultural imperialist. To avoid this risk, the report makes a number of sound recommendations. What follows expands, emphasizes, and adds to these.

RECOMMENDED APPROACHES

Co-Creation: From the beginning, engage stakeholders in defining criteria for measurement to promote ownership and therefore action rather than defensiveness. These stakeholders include development leaders on the ground as well as business, religious, and political leaders, including opposition groups.

Partnership, not Paternalism: Though the focus is majority Muslim societies, one objective of the partnership could be to identify and reapply best prac-

tices globally. For example, micro-financing began in a Muslim community, but it may have applications in the United States among its impoverished communities. "Islamic Finance" is another concept that enjoys a small but growing appeal among non-Muslims in the West. Both sides must go into the partnership ready to teach and learn from each other. In addition, any mechanism that promotes intra-Muslim cooperation and knowledge transfer will be welcomed.

Human Wholeness: An assessment of human development must include not only the wellness of the physical body, but of the heart and spirit as well. While emotional well-being is much harder to measure, incorporating it will be vital to a report on the "human development" of a community bound by nothing except an idea whose center is the spirit. This can be achieved through survey research using for example the Gallup Well-Being Index. It includes a respondent's level of hope and optimism, as well as self-reported positive and negative experiences.

Working Smart for Gender Justice: Gender "parity" has become the favorite touchstone of development, and its absence is framed as the *cause* rather than the *symptom* of broader stagnation. This approach should be seriously reconsidered. Muslim women, like Muslim men, say their most pressing issues include economic development and political reform. According to Ronald Inglehart, who has studied global values for decades through the World Values Survey, human development in almost any society begins with economic modernization and development, which in turn demands the integration of women into the workplace, which in turn brings about cultural change — not the other way around.[5]

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[4] "Islam and the West: Annual Report on the State of the Dialogue" The World Economic Forum 2007
[5] Inglehart, R. & Welzel, C. (2005). *Modernization, culture change and democracy: the human development sequence*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

While there is certainly a need to improve women's status globally, focusing primarily on gender issues while dismissing more basic needs such as stability, economic improvement, and political rights ignores not only the natural sequence of societal development, but more importantly, the stated priorities of Muslim women themselves. Their priorities, not those of their advocates, should be the guidepost for any advocacy that has Muslim women's interests at heart.[6]

A Note about Language: Many Muslims, especially Western Muslims, are uncomfortable with the term "the Muslim world" because they believe it signifies a Muslim "otherness," as if they were from "another world." It also can be perceived to exclude Western Muslims. Other terms such as "Muslim populations around the world" or "the global Muslim community" may be more appropriate.

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[6] Esposito, J.L. & Mogahed, D. (2007). *Who speaks for Islam?: What a billion Muslims really think.* New York: Gallup Press.

Human Development Task Force Summary of Discussions

This summary was prepared by Rim Hajji

THE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE TASK FORCE focused on the major human development challenges facing the Muslim world and how this affects political development and social change. Central was the notion that each nation should find its "own path" towards development.

SESSION 1:

The first session, "Joint Development and Common Security," focused on the linkages between human development and political development, democracy and social stability. It also addressed why the international community, and the United States specifically, should care about human development in the Muslim world. There was a particular focus on youth, given that about half the region's population was in their early twenties or younger.

The common themes from the session included:
- recognizing the importance of "home grown" solutions that suit the Muslim world;
- identifying the complex meanings of "security;"
- supporting civil society in creating an environment conducive to reform and democracy;
- harnessing the power of the youth bulge and developing mindsets and institutions that empower youth;
- understanding the diversity of educational challenges;
- acknowledging the importance of the role and status of women;
- accepting that each nation should find its "own development path" and
- knowing that imposing foreign values would be detrimental.

The task force acknowledged that NGOs and non-state political actors were seeking to provide services to an extremely underserved populations, and that some had the potential to become increasingly popular, relative to existing regimes. Participants from across the Muslim world opined that the United States could not be a credible actor in human development unless it restored to the Palestinians dignity and possibilities for development.

SESSION 2:

The second session explored three major questions: First, would a "Muslim World Human Development Report" make sense? Second, what are the priorities for nations at different stages of development? Third, what would be the best intellectual and political framework for the creation of such a report?

Although there was substantial support for creating a Muslim World Human Development Report, some participants wondered if the diverse parts of this vast region made sense to connect. Nonetheless, it was felt that a report based on a quantitative, facts-based approach, that was value-neutral, with strong leadership from leading thinkers from across the Muslim world, could have a significant impact on policy makers worldwide. Participants suggested a Muslim World Human Development Report should focus on basic education, while also examining health care, innovation, rule of law, governance, freedom, religion, women and the environment.

SESSION 3:

The third session was dedicated to youth and society. Half of the Muslim world is under the age of 23 and a large percentage is unemployed. During the session participants tried to address two main questions: First, how can we empower a generation of youth to be critical thinkers and enter the global economy? And second, what is the role of technology and new media for youth and society?

It was noted that the priorities to empower youth include:

- ensuring access to quality education and increasing the opportunities for learning;
- building employment, entrepreneurial and life skills for youth;
- preparing them to lead healthy lives and make informed decisions; and
- promoting them as leaders in positive social change.

The lessons learned from past experiences include: focusing on public-private partnerships; giving specific attention to older youth; promoting the teaching of life skills; and acknowledging and replicating successful models.

Public-private partnerships were seen as valuable because they: harness the unique experiences of each economic sector to meet the needs of youth; can "unlock" resources; identify gaps between education and employment; and can yield long-term policy reforms that improve the socio-economic environment.

Older youth require education because unemployment affects both privileged and under-privileged youth and the absence of life-skills becomes increasingly apparent at that age. Programs addressing this transition need to engage the business community for scalability so that the "youth bulge" can become a "youth bonus" for countries.

Finally, it was acknowledged that the key life skills that transform lives are: team work and communication, time management, self confidence, creative and critical thinking, problem solving, people management, conflict management, and taking responsibility.

PROJECT ON U.S. RELATIONS WITH THE ISLAMIC WORLD

THE PROJECT ON U.S. RELATIONS WITH THE ISLAMIC WORLD is a major research program housed within the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution. The project conducts high-quality public policy research, and convenes policy makers and opinion leaders on the major issues surrounding the relationship between the United States and the Muslim world. The Project seeks to engage and inform policymakers, practitioners, and the broader public on developments in Muslim countries and communities, and the nature of their relationship with the United States. Together with the affiliated Brookings Doha Center in Qatar, it sponsors a range of events, initiatives, research projects, and publications designed to educate, encourage frank dialogue, and build positive partnerships between the United States and the Muslim world. The Project has several interlocking components:

■ The U.S.-Islamic World Forum, which brings together key leaders in the fields of politics, business, media, academia, and civil society from across the Muslim world and the United States, for much needed discussion and dialogue;

■ A Visiting Fellows program, for scholars and journalists from the Muslim world to spend time researching and writing at Brookings in order to inform U.S. policy makers on key issues facing Muslim states and communities;

■ A series of Brookings Analysis Papers and Monographs that provide needed analysis of the vital issues of joint concern between the United States and the Muslim world;

■ An Arts and Culture Initiative, which seeks to develop a better understanding of how arts and cultural leaders and organizations can increase understanding between the United States and the global Muslim community;

■ A Science and Technology Initiative, which examines the role cooperative science and technology programs involving the United States and the Muslim world can play in responding to regional development and education needs, as well as fostering positive relations;

■ A "Bridging the Divide" Initiative which explores the role of Muslim communities in the West;

■ A Brookings Institution Press Book Series, which aims to synthesize the project's findings for public dissemination.

The underlying goal of the Project is to continue the Brookings Institution's original mandate to serve as a bridge between scholarship and public policy. It seeks to bring new knowledge to the attention of decision-makers and opinion-leaders, as well as afford scholars, analysts, and the public a better insight into policy issues. The Project is supported through the generosity of a range of sponsors including the Government of the State of Qatar, The Ford Foundation, The Doris Duke Charitable Foundation, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratories, and the Institute for Social Policy Understanding. Partners include American University, the USC Center for Public Diplomacy, Unity Productions Foundation, Americans for Informed Democracy, America Abroad Media, and The Gallup Organization.

THE SABAN CENTER FOR MIDDLE EAST POLICY

THE SABAN CENTER FOR MIDDLE EAST POLICY was established on May 13, 2002 with an inaugural address by His Majesty King Abdullah II of Jordan. The creation of the Saban Center reflects the Brookings Institution's commitment to expand dramatically its research and analysis of Middle East policy issues at a time when the region has come to dominate the U.S. foreign policy agenda.

The Saban Center provides Washington policymakers with balanced, objective, in-depth and timely research and policy analysis from experienced and knowledgeable scholars who can bring fresh perspectives to bear on the critical problems of the Middle East. The center upholds the Brookings tradition of being open to a broad range of views. The Saban Center's central objective is to advance understanding of developments in the Middle East through policy-relevant scholarship and debate.

The center's foundation was made possible by a generous grant from Haim and Cheryl Saban of Los Angeles. Ambassador Martin S. Indyk, Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies, is the Director of the Saban Center. Kenneth M. Pollack is the center's Director of Research. Joining them is a core group of Middle East experts who conduct original research and develop innovative programs to promote a better understanding of the policy choices facing American decision makers in the Middle East. They include Tamara Cofman Wittes, a spe-

cialist on political reform in the Arab world who directs the Project on Middle East Democracy and Development; Bruce Riedel, who served as a senior advisor to three Presidents on the Middle East and South Asia at the National Security Council during a twenty-nine year career in the CIA, a specialist on counterterrorism; Suzanne Maloney, a former senior State Department official who focuses on Iran and economic development; Stephen R. Grand, Fellow and Director of the Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World; Hady Amr, Fellow and Director of the Brookings Doha Center; Shibley Telhami, who holds the Sadat Chair at the University of Maryland; and Daniel Byman, a Middle East terrorism expert from Georgetown University. The center is located in the Foreign Policy Studies Program at Brookings, led by Brookings Vice President Carlos Pascual.

The Saban Center is undertaking path breaking research in five areas: the implications of regime change in Iraq, including post-war nation-building and Persian Gulf security; the dynamics of Iranian domestic politics and the threat of nuclear proliferation; mechanisms and requirements for a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; policy for the war against terrorism, including the continuing challenge of state-sponsorship of terrorism; and political and economic change in the Arab world, and the methods required to promote democratization.