

PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN IBN KHALDUN'S ECONOMIC THOUGHT

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Abstract

Muslim countries often in world conferences relating to sustainable development team up with non-Muslim countries, following principles that may or may not have legitimacy in terms of their social and cultural beliefs. Policy on alien principles may fail. Can Muslim Countries have their own principles to guide them in achieving sustainable development? This article focuses on the nature of pursuable development in the economic model of Ibn Khaldun. The author cursorily examines Ibn Khaldun famous work *al-Muqadimmah*, as well as the interpretations of his work offered by contemporary scholars. This article reinterprets those views and concludes that the economic growth theory of Ibn Khaldun suggests sustainable development if one opts for a moderate rate of integrated development. Ibn Khaldun's theory of development runs towards the same direction as that of Basic Needs, Dematerialisation, and de-growth in our time. Overconsumption, corruption of morality, and the greed for luxury are recognised the indicators of fall of civilisations which are taken here to be the indicators of unsustainable development. His views can guide Muslim countries in drafting development policy and also can be used by educators for promoting sustainable development in Muslim Countries.

Keywords: Ibn Khaldun, development, sustainability model.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Sustainable development is demanded now because the progress in the last few centuries has caused depletion of land resources. On one hand, now, due to scarcity of land resources, global forces demand conservation and sustainability, on the other, free market forces dislike such restriction, in developed and developing countries. There is opposition to the concept as well as alternative theories are proposed for successful and fair realisation of the sustainable development.

Should Muslim countries adhere to free market principles, by allowing themselves follow the footsteps of developed countries, in pursuit of unfettered development, resulting in depletion of resources further, or submit to the demand of

developed countries pay for their environmental sins, thus, remain poor and condemned. Muslim countries in international debates on sustainability currently team up with non-Muslim countries, following principles that may or may not have legitimacy in terms of their social and cultural beliefs. It is, thus, possible that the policy on development may fail, if it were alien, or not in line with beliefs of the society. To avoid failure, this article seeks to find guiding principles in Islam that can be used by Muslims in drafting their policy on development as well as promoting it so that compliance with such a policy will not only be legal obligation but also have moral support.

This article briefly examines the principles of sustainable development as explained by western writers. It also reviews the work of a Muslim scholar Ibn Khaldun (1332?-1406 AD) which may contain development principles in Islam. The discussion in the article therefore will begin with stating the background and basic ideas of sustainable development, consisting sections on its definition, and its critique. This will be followed by a discussion on development as explained by Ibn Khaldun and its interpretation by contemporary scholars, including this author. The article will end with a summary of principles of sustainable development, deduced from Ibn Khaldun's views that need to be used by Muslim countries in planning their development activities.

1.1 The Background

The concept of sustainable development seems to be the creature of western civilisation in the very recent history. After world war two, free market and consumer based economic development consistent with individual and political freedoms and socio-economic improvements for the majority of people, especially in developed and developing countries was promoted and pursued by International Organisations, such as the UN, IMF, and the World Bank (Aguirre, 2002). In the 1970s focus was on productive agriculture and industrialisation. Then, it was shifted to 'education, nutrition, health, sanitation, and employment for the poor'. As a result of dissatisfaction over the effect of development projects, which did not benefit those who needed them the most, the United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Index was created, which used 'health and education measures together with Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to calculate an overall index of development success' (Harris, 2000). By late 80s and early 90s three major threats to civilisation were singled out: the erosion of soil, the deterioration of ecological systems and the rapid depletion of oil reserves - each adversely affecting food prospects. Poverty, population explosion and

environmental destruction were the issues in which many developing countries were still caught. Poverty eradication in poor countries and sustained development in the developed ones, were thought to put increased pressure on the already constrained natural resources (Glasby, 1995; Harris, 2000). It was this realisation that made many countries to uphold the concept of sustainable development.

1.2 The Definition

The concept of sustainable development has evolved as time passed by. It was initially defined as "the development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). This utopian vision (Oldfield and Shaw, 2002) was enforced by the Triple Bottom lines of Agenda 21 (i.e., integrating economic, and social development with environmental protection), as recognised in Rio 1992. Michell (1994) explained sustainable development in its fundamental themes as: (1) satisfaction of basic human needs, achieving (2) equity and social justice, (3) social self-determination and cultural diversity, (4) maintaining ecological integrity and biodiversity, (5) integrating environmental and economic considerations.' UN agencies considered sustainable development to include human rights, giving all people the right to advancement of economic, social, cultural and political conditions, bundled in 'the quality of life' entitling all to a life of dignity and respect in a society (Hathaway, 2003). The recent thought is that sustainability promotes inclusivity, diversity, and integration of environment, society, government and businesses through partnership for efficient use of natural resources (Fergus and Rowney, 2005; Kleine and von Hauff, 2009).

1.3 The Critique of the Concept

Though universally accepted, environmentalist groups, poor nations, anthropologists may not agree with rich, democratic capitalist nations on

approaches to sustainable development for several reasons. This was even clear from the disagreement among the participants of world conference in 1989 and 1992 (Mitchell, 1994) and the current Copenhagen Climate Summit, 2009 (Guardian, 2009).

First of all, tension exists because sustainability conflicts with capitalism. The opponents of sustainability see this concept inapplicable in a neoliberal society (Krueger and Gibbs, 2007). Free market by itself is incapable of achieving sustainable development (Magel, 2001). Sustainability thrives on ethics derived from social, environmental and political necessity while capitalism strengthens itself by excluding all other values (See Rogers, 2000). Globalised capitalism has resulted in eco-degradation (Liodakis, 2000) while the socio economic deprivation of the majority is evident in countries who has received development aid. On principles, sustainability requires equitable economic growth. Capitalism however cares less about the democratisation of resources. Capitalism allows utilitarian economics where utility achieved by few is acceptable even though it does not benefit the majority. The economic downturn of 2008 clearly supports the misfortune of the masses as a result of free market economy.

A nationalist system may abhor capitalism and thus may consider sustainability as a tool used by global capitalist system to curtail the socio-economic liberties of third world countries. Nationalist systems may on the other hand pursue unfettered development in disregard to the interests of non citizens.

In both capitalist and nationalist systems the interests of humanity as a whole and fair participation of the target groups without harming humanity now and later seem to be marginalized.

Second, the concept of sustainability is vague and thus ineffective. It is possible to have a not well thought policy of sustainable development with reverse effects, and adverse consequences (Cobb Jr and Daly., 1994; Oldfield and Shaw, 2002; Fergus and Rowney, 2005). The

ineffectiveness of the concept is clear as the status of the majority and the poor is still unchanged, and corrupt governments, elites, and corporations have emerged while wealth has become concentrated in few (Harris, 2000).

Third, mistrust is another factor. For western policy makers and their international organisations, sustainability is a Eurocentric world-system concept that brings change through conflict (Choudhury and Silvia, 2008), birth control or depopulation (see Glasby, 1995; Aguirre, 2002; Anderson, 2002), growth containment in poor countries (Kleine and von Hauff, 2009), control of world resources (Veon, J., 2004), and economic discrimination. Refusal to transfer technology, non availability of affordable green technology, and the focus of international aid on low income generating agricultural activities, as well as focus of Agenda 21 on the global infrastructure for the management, counting, and controlling all of the world's resources, are examples of the true purpose of the developed countries. This idea may also be supported by concentration of current wars in various poor and developing countries, where smart weapons (!), with depleted uranium warheads, have caused not only mass destructions to the life of millions but also damaged environment and will have adverse effect on the life of future generations.

To make sustainability universally accepted, there is clearly a need for answering these questions: In the balancing act of keeping harmony between environment and humankind, what is to be prioritized, in whose interest and in the expense of what? Who shall take responsibility? Is it equitable to hold nations such as Maldives responsible for the wrongdoing of someone else such the old and new industrial countries? Is sustainability really needed? If the answer is in affirmative, then should the industrial countries subsidise and share relevant resources and technology with poor nations equitably and adequately? Agreement on these issue is difficult as the Copenhagen Climate Summit 2009, (Guardian, 2009) brought the divide and conflicting interests to the fore.

Based on compromise and sincerity, there is need for development of a holistic humanistic approach which is in the interest of each human-being regardless of geographic, cultural, and racial affiliations. Is there any framework that can be adopted by all citizens of earth regardless of being in the North or South? It is this why more creative thinking about sustainability is urgently needed (Crane and Swilling, 2008).

One has to observe the basic principle of sustainable development (i.e. a development that meets the needs of present generation without compromising the needs of future generations to meet their own needs) all the times in the evolution of the theory of sustainable development. In line with this principle, the Chilean economist Manfred Max-Neef (1992) who has made distinction between needs and satisfiers of needs 'suggests nine basic human needs: subsistence, protection/security, affection, understanding, participation, leisure, creation, identity/meaning and freedom'. He argues that the indicators of poverty will not be the 'haves' in abundance rather what one 'does not have'. One may have all that is in American Dream yet may feel life is empty and meaningless (Terry, 1999). This perspective can serve as a basis for changing mindset about sustainable development especially those who promote de-growth (Club of Rome, 1972) and dematerialisation. Similar approach is taken by other Latin American who considered improvements in quality of life to no longer depend on material economic growth, but rather on non-material growth. This is called by Gallopin, (2003) dematerialisation. In Germany attempt is made to understand dematerialisation by plotting the gross domestic product (GDP) per capita growth against growth in "total material requirements" per capita for a range of developed economies. Sustainable development from this perspective means substantially reducing the quantity of primary material inputs into production and consumption processes.

The importance of creative thinking about sustainability is not in the complexity of an

idea, but to seek legitimacy that would have popular support. Such legitimacy should be sought in Muslim society too, who need it the most, not only because they are largely forming the poor and developing world, but also because their religious concerns need to be taken into account, if one is serious about effective application of sustainable development. Do Muslims have such principles of sustainability at the first place? The following section is an attempt to find an answer to this question.

2.0 A MUSLIM PERSPECTIVE ON DEVELOPMENT

Against the views of Lewis (2002), who blames Islam for lack of development, economic growth is never prohibited in Islam. Equitable and fair development goes hand in hand with the teaching of Islam. Islam has its own economic order (Islamic and democratic); it is neither laissez faire nor totalitarian (Chapra, 2006). It is thus not in harmony with Communism or Capitalism. Unlike these two, Islam tolerates other systems for non-Muslims, in a Muslim country. While the former proved its failure despite being anti religious, capitalist principles proved their failure in 2008, and should there were no strong military, international solidarity of capitalist systems, and capital was not created from the thin air in USA and England, it would have followed the course of Communism. The latter is under pressure not only from Islamic economic system, which is apparent from the writings of one of the capitalist propagandist (Kuran, 2004a; 2004b), but also the masses around the world are beginning to revolt against it simply because it serves the few who are rich at the expense of the majority. It is perhaps due to its inbuilt attributes of exclusion of weak, individualism, and greed. The events of financial havoc in USA and Europe, and the standing aviation to the anti capitalist leader in the Copenhagen Climate Summit, 2009 (Guardian, 2009) are two events indicating the dissatisfaction of masses with the capitalist system.

Platteau (2008) may disagree with Lewis (2002), for he takes notice of the complex interactions and feedback effects between agents and structure, where cultural and institutional change is possible. He identifies the reason for lack of progress and growth in Muslim countries to be 'a long tradition of despotism and insufficient competitiveness with the advanced part of the Western world, coupled with an adverse international environment tainted by a vicious regional conflict at the heart of the Middle East'. Add to this the long period of hostile colonialism as compare to countries such as India, Philippines and the like.

Divide of equating progress and development with greedy capitalism unrestrained by law, culture, and ethics, the writer of this article believes that Islamic model of economic growth has proved its success during history as has been asserted by Chapra (2006). Pryor (2007), against his agreement with Kuran (2004a; 2004b) has found that 'currently there is no special Muslim economic system; moreover, few economic institutions are uniquely Muslim, and religion does not appear to be a useful explanatory variable' for the lack of development. Yet, Islamic financing which is yet to become truly Islamic did not follow the western banks in the recent crisis. The Vatican has rightly admitted that West can learn from Islamic Financial system (Totaro, 2009) to restore trust between clients and banks and more so due to its ethical and prudent principles for economic growth. Have the process of development in Islamic countries, if any, was carried out by their governments and foreign actors, in a manner not hostile to Islamic culture, the results would have been different. Iran and Malaysia provides some examples of such progress. This being said, a model of economic growth, by Ibn Khaldun, compatible with sustainable development is examined below.

3.0 THE PRINCIPLES OF DEVELOPMENT IN ISLAMIC THOUGHT OF IBN KHALDUN

Ibn Khaldun's scientific work, available in Europe since 1810 AD, (Rabi', 1967) and studied by many scholars of various disciplines, has undisputedly impressive mark on modern economics and economic development.

The origin of the theory of economic growth is traced to Ibn Khaldun (Boulakia, 1971; Desomogyi, 1997). He preceded Adam Smith in the theory of labour as a purchase price or commodity, Karl Marx in necessary and surplus labour, and David Ricardo in arbitrarily choosing gold and silver as an 'invariable' unit of measurement and as a commodity' though Ibn Khaldun may not be as clear as Karl Marks and Ricardo. The main economic concepts he has discussed include: value, growth, distribution, 'development, money, prices, public finance, business cycles, inflation, rent, benefits of trade' (Soofi, 1995) and political economy (Boulakia, 1971). Other ideas of this Muslim scholar comprise supply and demand analysis and price interdependence, GDP calculation, 'demand difference in two different countries as the basis for the existence of international trade, people's desire and government spending' as 'the variables affecting aggregate demand, and product scarcity, and production cost' as the variables affecting aggregate supply (Beik and Arsyianti, n.d.). 'One of the most prominent contributions of Ibn Khaldun to economics is his theory of income, expenditure, and multiplier which establishes Ibn Khaldun as a precursor to Malthus, Khan, and Keynes' (Soofi, 1995). Once Ronald Reagan, the American President of a time, erroneously (Nagarajan, 1982) quoted him on less taxes and more revenue, which surprisingly is still the ideology of the Conservatives in the USA. One still can think that Ibn Khaldun's political economy on small government, less taxes, more revenue and consumer based economy has strong grip on American mindset (see Nagarajan, 1982).

Ibn Khaldun was a Muslim first and a scientist second. His conclusions are based on real facts of his time the majority of which were moulded by Islamic way of life. As such, his role in economics and development should not be seen to violate either religious laws or scientific dogma, and thus his works can be called both Islamic as it is scientific. It is this reason why this article is dedicated to study his analytical model of economic cycle which has striking resemblance of present concept of sustainable development. There he discusses economic growth and development as one of foundations for the rise and fall of civilisation. This article will highlight elements of development and economic growth in the given model before it explores it in the context of sustainability.

3.1 Ibn Khaldun's Model of Economic Development

As analytical historian Ibn Khaldun saw the rise and fall of civilisations due to several factors as listed by Chapra (2006). According to Ibn Khaldun, Chapra stated, (a) 'the strength of the sovereign (al-mulk) does not materialize except through the implementation of the Shariah', and (b) 'the Shariah cannot be implemented except by the sovereign (al-mulk)'. Additionally, (c) 'the sovereign cannot gain strength except through the people (al-rijal)', (d) 'the people

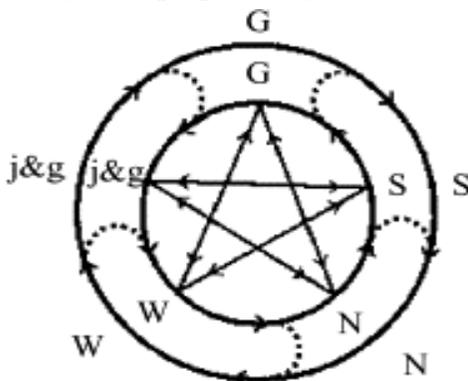


Figure 1: Interrelationship of variables of economic growth and the chain reaction thereof, (Source: Chapra, 2006).

cannot be sustained except by wealth (al-mal)', (e) 'wealth cannot be acquired except through

development (al-imarah)', and (f) 'development cannot be attained except through justice (al-adl)'. Ibn Khaldun universalised that (g) 'justice is the criterion (al-mizan) by which God will evaluate mankind', for which (h) 'the sovereign is charged with the responsibility of actualizing' (Ibn Khaldun, 1967).

Chapra (2006) has interpreted this advice in a multidisciplinary model with dynamic character. It consists of socio-economic and political variables, which include "the sovereign or political authority (G), beliefs and rules of behaviour or the Shariah (S), people (N), wealth or stock of resources (W), development (g) and justice (j), in a circular and interdependent manner, each influencing the others and in turn being influenced by them (Figure:1). The operation of this cycle may take place through a chain reaction over a long period of three generations" or almost 120 years within which 'political moral, institutional, social, economic, demographic and economic factors may interact with each other over time, which may lead to the development and decline, or the rise and fall, of an economy or civilization'.

Chapra (2006) summarizes his views relating to the above model as follow:

"the development or decline of an economy or society does not depend on any one factor, but rather on the interaction of moral, social, economic, political and historical factors over a long period of time. One of these factors acts as the trigger mechanism and, if the others respond in the same direction, development or decline gains momentum through a chain reaction until it becomes difficult to distinguish the cause from the effect."

3.2 Reinterpretation of the Model

The models derived by Chpara (2006) can be simplified as: a strong economic development requires (i) collective entity (state), (ii) rules and regulations, (iii) law enforcement institutions, (iv) people, (v) wealth or economic empowerment, (vi) development, (vii) justice, and (viii) moral legitimacy. These eight

components may be compressed into four: (a) a collective authority represented by State institutions (b) the rule of law, (c) the people, (d) wealth and development, (e) justice and (f) moral legitimacy.

Giving mere economic sense, one may explain the model as follows: the strength of State or society or economy (interpreting State to mean the political collective including also its laws, and institutions or the society that has State as such or a sort of national economy propelled by State and society) depends on people's support, and their support depends on their sustenance. People's sustenance depends on their access to wealth while access to wealth depends on participation in the development. Participation in development can be achieved if it is based on justice founded on legal and moral principles (Figure: 2).

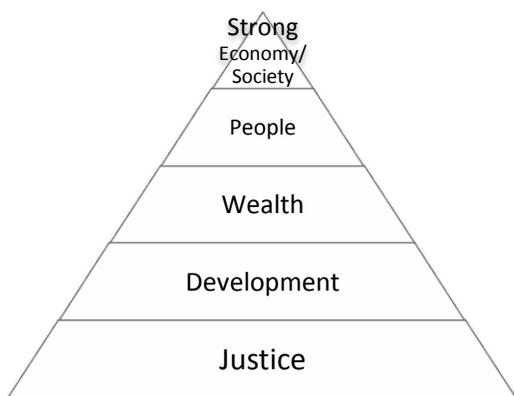


Figure 2: Core interdependent components of economic growth

People play a central role in development because the 'rise and fall of the civilisation' depends on their prosperity or 'misery' (Chapra, 2006). People are the cause of economic growth only if they have an incentive to participate in the economy (Ibn Khaldun, 1967). Such incentive is identified to be the wealth which they can use for their sustenance.

National economic growth is achieved if people are rewarded, by gaining wealth. Wealth is gained through productivity i.e. labour and development. In the analysis of Ibn Khaldun they are interdependent. Man delivers his labour if it can benefit him. Profits are made through

labour which can be used for sustenance and saving its surplus. Diversification of labour and its specialization is possible in a well-regulated market, where people can exchange and fulfil their needs; 'the greater the specialization the higher will be the growth of wealth' (Chapra, 2006), as industry and crafts will thrive. Ibn Khaldun's theory of cooperation could be realised in today's corporate and cooperative entities. He thought that one cannot satisfy all his needs on his own. He must cooperate for this purpose with others in the society to meet their needs and that of others. This will also lead to surplus wealth, which can be used for purchase of luxuries including, elegant goods, houses, cloths, use of servants, and carriages (Ibn Khaldun, 1967). This will be possible if access to wealth is open to all people.

Justice is cardinal for development. Development activities include trade, agricultural, industrial, and construction. Participation in all such development activities by all groups of people according to sound understanding of Ibn Khaldun's model should be fair and just. If so, and as wealth is an incentive for people to participate in the development activities, wherever and whenever there are opportunities for development, people will grab them immediately after they are available. Equal access to such development opportunities will attract citizen and non citizens, scholars and artisans, labour and capital. All will be motivated by profit and wealth and all will be sought for their investment, advice, skill, and services (See Ibn Khaldun, 1967).

Ibn Khaldun's writing indicates both free market and welfare State on one side, and economic growth by private sector and State on the other. In terms of free market, the above paragraph shows that economic growth can be achieved if it is left to market forces and private sector. He warned the State against getting involved in trade and market activities. Similarly, he encouraged public spending. Public spending on administration, to say at least, will provide economic opportunities and promote trade and industry. This consequently

will generate more revenue and more growth or development. This will attract skilled and unskilled labour as well as scholars from far and near. Population will grow which will result in higher skilled and intellectual capital as much as it can create a larger market. There will be then higher demand for goods and services. Industrial development will be promoted, income will rise, and science and education will be popular among citizens. This will act as catalyst to further development (Ibn Khaldun, 1967). One can infer the idea of welfare State from his view on more revenue which generates more taxes which the government can then spend it on the welfare of the citizens. Wealth, Ibn Khaldun said, does not grow by saving it in safes but to be spent on peoples' welfare.

The broad interdependence of state, law, people, wealth, development and justice is the recipe of successful economic model where free market can thrive. But free market alone is neither a guarantee to a prosperous, strong, and developed society, nor can it necessarily generate economic success. Society ruled by just law and regulations can control, correct, manipulate free market. Ibn Khaldun has recognised the importance of capital, for development, in labour and its surplus profits as well as cash generated through public spending. All three will make free market grow. He encouraged state to pay attention to the welfare of people, perhaps because he has realised that labour alone cannot be the means of sustenance, and economic empowerment. What a strong and prosperous society is if a section of it is forced to starvation, and idleness.

So far, the above interpretation and reinterpretation of Ibn Khaldun's views point to an economic development through free market which one will presume to demand constant growth. Is such an understanding of his views acceptable? Are there any clues concerning principles of sustainable development? The answer to this is sought in the next section.

4.0 PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN IBN KHALDUN'S MODEL

Chapra (2006) is silent about sustainable economic development. This section, therefore, attempts to find principles that can be viewed to be compatible with contemporary principles of sustainable development.

Despite the assertion of Fergus and Rowney (2005) Lumley and Armstrong (2004) that the theory of sustainable development, in the west, is found to the political economy of John Stuart Mill (1806 – 1873 AD) and Adam Smith (1723-1790), the roots of this type of development are traced to the political economic thoughts of Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406 AD).

Ibn Khaldun recognises civilisation to consist of organisation and cooperation. In addition to the lack of these two, during the five stages of rise and fall of civilisation, he identified overconsumption and over population as the main curve point for the decline of civilisation. Other elements of sustainability can also be traced as will be explained in the course of this discussion.

The above is clear from the advice of Ibn Khaldun, provided we understand his ingredients for the rise of civilisation to imply the causes of economic growth or development and the factors causing the fall of civilisation to mean the causes of unsustainability. The triple actions, (social and economic development along with protection of environment) as well as cultural and the elements of good governance can be seen to have been fore-stated by him 600 years ago. Chapra (2006) acknowledged that Ibn Khaldun has 'adopted a multidisciplinary and dynamic approach to show how the interrelated relationship of social, moral, economic, political, historical and demographic factors leads to the rise and fall of societies'. This integration is the basis of sustainable development today. But, it is cautioned that Ibn Khaldun thoughts may not be well expressive on these points; nevertheless, assistance is

sought from the general tenets of Islam as he makes Shariah and principles of justice and morality the guiding principles of his theory of economic growth.

4.1 Economic Sustainability

Economic sustainability is understood from the overall model and his vision about the rise and decline of civilisations, the factors causing decline, the long cycle of rise and fall, and the integration of economic and social values. Before discussing other issue a brief description of the rise and fall of civilisation as conceived by Ibn Khaldun will be helpful to understand the principles of economic sustainability in his model.

The rise and fall of civilisations according to Ibn Khaldun depends on strong State to implement law through institutions and rule of law, people, wealth, development and justice. This in terms of economic growth, its sustainability, and decline can be summarised as: at the beginning, less is spend on army, and tax revenues are saved, and the surplus is spent on state expenditure, State officials and others. These lead to consumption which in turn attracts skilled and professionals. Trade, industry and construction activities increase. As a result, trade craft and industrial produce are promoted, sold and purchased by government officials and other wealthy people. A consumer economy is established which is accelerated by high urbanization, and over-consumption. Then, scarcities develop. This leads to unsustainable city, as prices go up causing slump in demand and thus in less production. 'The prices of necessities tend to rise faster than those of luxuries, and prices in urban areas rise faster than those in rural areas. The cost of labour also rises and so do taxes. These lead to a further rise in prices, which creates hardship for people and leads to a reversal in the flow of population. Development declines and along with it does prosperity and civilization' (Ibn Khaldun, 1967). As result fewer revenues are generated and more taxes are imposed. Depopulation and less development cause the state to collect fewer taxes. It begins to 'impose more and more

taxes and also tries to gain excessive control over all sources of power and wealth'. As the State begins to be unable to collect more taxes it will be unable to spend on development. This will force deep depression and thus eventually it will result in the collapse of the civilization (Ibn Khaldun, 1967). Muhsin (quoted by Karatas, 2006) summed the opinion of Ibn Khaldun after the decline of the civilisation as: men 'motivated by hunger they fight for mere existence, and like the primordial man who fought out of the same motive, they display the beast in man, and return to the life of beast.'

The main points of Ibn Khaldun, for growth, according to Karatas (2006), which may guide the State on development, are integrated. They include: (a) 'the establishment of property rights and freedom of enterprise, for a country with relatively poor property rights will stay poor forever'. (b) 'Rule of law and the reliability of the judicial system for the establishment of justice as the lack of justice eradicates' the human species. (c) 'The security of peace and the security of trade routes'. (d) 'Lower taxation and less bureaucracy in order to increase employment, production and revenues'. (e) 'No government involvement in trade, production and commercial affairs and no fixation of prices by government' while prohibition of monopoly by 'anyone in the market'. (f) 'Stable monetary policy and independent monetary authority that does not play with the value of the money'. (g) 'Promotion of larger population and a larger market for greater specialisation'. (h) 'A creative education system for independent thinking' and behaviour and (i) 'a collective responsibility and internal feeling for the setting up of a just system to encourage good deeds and prevent vice'.

The economic development of Ibn Khaldun contains elements of today's sustainable development. The latter is referred to the availability of opportunities for securing income for the sustenance of one's own and his family, in local market, trade, industry and agriculture, as well as international economy in light of social development (Hathaway, 2003), continuous production of goods and service

whereby a balanced government expenditure is maintained, external debt is paid, and sectoral imbalance is avoided (Harris, 2000). The first part of Ibn Khaldun vision will call for equitable participative economic development of citizens or any urban resident. Public and private spending in a consumer economy provides economic opportunities which can be taken by those who are capable of providing goods and services. As long less tax is imposed and government spending continues, market economy can be sustained. People not only can secure income for their and their family's sustenance through industry and local and international trade, but also have surplus especially if they join efforts cooperatively. While continues production is implied from Ibn Khaldun's theory, nevertheless, moderation seems to be a condition for expenditure (See Ibn Khaldun, 1967).

Ibn Khaldun proposed economic growth through consumption and market economy and also welfare economy. Naturally he saw no State monopoly over power, resources and trade which by itself creates a participative, equitable, and democratic economy. One should not expect him to think of thinking about sectoral imbalances or foreign debt. These are too advanced a thinking for his time, though less expenditure on army gives a clue on prudent public spending.

Ibn Khaldun in his analysis was looking for long term economic growth. A short term peak in his eyes was of that of a natural growth of man in his life (Ibn Khaldun, 1967), the same as the current long term economic and political billows at 39+ 4 years (Mallmann and Lemarchand, 1998). The cycle for rise and fall of a civilisation in Ibn Khaldun's eyes was a period of three generations (i.e. 120 year: Chapra, 2006). This long cycle of civilisational rise and decline requires the knowledge of the very fundamental non-capitalist principle of sustainable development i.e. meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs.

Such needs are implied by his opposition to overconsumption. As he warns about the decline, within the given billow, one will look for growth beyond the period of three generations.

Ibn Khaldun spoke of rise and decline alone from which sustainability can be inferred. In the context of rise and fall, he also spoke about needs and luxury which are relative to the changing conditions of time and space. These will imply economic sustainability. Growth or development will refer to the movement from object poverty to abundance; while at the bottom will lay movement upward for sustenance and on the top for luxury and abundance. Since he identified the causes of decline, it will imply that development has limits. In other words, constant growth and development coupled with overconsumption strains resources that can lead to a situation where everyone will fight for his/her survival. This is exactly what sustainability is intended to avoid in a global sense today. To visualise the concept of sustainability one has to recognise the promotion of development for sustenance and decent quality of life at the top. Struggle and development for obtaining unlimited luxury needs to be avoided. In the course of development, one has to pass through several vertical boundaries, starting from absolute poverty, less poverty, no poverty, and luxury or abundance that has no limit. Since unlimited growth is unsustainable, there is need for permitting decline if the bar reaches the level of abundance. Maintenance of reasonable

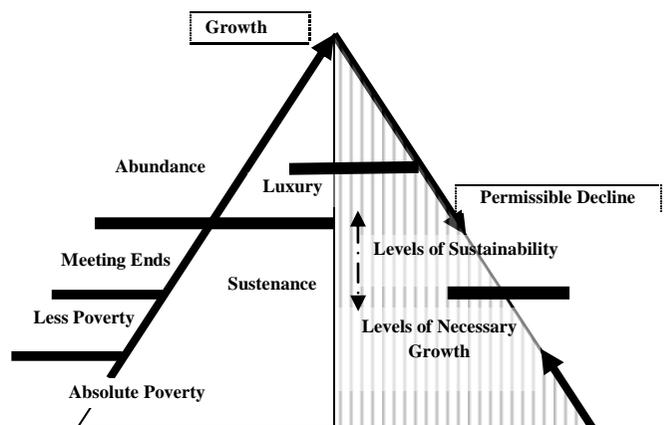


Figure 3: Levels of Growth and Sustainable development

abundance may be tolerated after the curve towards decline, but not below the poverty line. Sustainability will be secure as long income of citizens remain above poverty line (Figure 3)

Ibn Khaldun's Model does not offer suggestion for how to avoid the decline of civilisation. Yet, he identified over-urbanisation and excessive demand for goods to lead to the scarcity of resources and eventually, high taxes, and state monopoly over power and resources (tyranny). He was clear that these will finally cause economic decline due to expensive living in the city, over taxation and decrease in profit margin. This will further lead to less income, more poverty and lack of sustenance. As a historian, his advice presumably would be to avoid such conditions. In other words, sustain production and economic growth as long as it does not lead to the emergence of the causes of decline.

Ibn Khaldun did not consider development or sustainability to be achievable unless it is sought in an integrated manner. Development will take place, he thought, if there are low rates of taxes, life and property are secure and where one can lead healthy life in a harmony with surrounding physical environment (Ibn Khaldun, 1967). He considered economic hardship or struggle for abundance the cause of moral decline among the urbanites, and at the same, such a decline a symptom of economic decline. To elaborate further on this point, the integration of economic development and its sustainability with other factors such as social, cultural and moral as well as legal, political, and institutional developments will be examined in the Ibn Khaldun analysis.

4.2 Social and Cultural Sustainability

Ibn Khaldun's vision of development is comprehensive. He spoke of ideal leaders who share pride and benefit with his followers. He integrates economic growth (Ibn Khaldun, 1967) with social and cultural forms of development. To him, they are interdependent on one another, which can enrich and be enriched by State institutions, law, people, economic growth and

justice. As a whole, it can cause the true welfare of people, which is essential to the survival of the civilization. People can be understood as a totality, not one, or a class and a section thereof. Otherwise, the rise of civilisation or its sustainability will be at risk. This is clear when he considered large activities in a large market, or the utilisation of incentives and facilities provided by government and tool that will generate larger incomes. This will consequently cause more surplus, and investment in tools. As a result of all these he thought greater development and thus great wealth will be achieved (Ibn Khaldun, 1967). People in this sense can be happy and attain growth if they have moral, social, political and demographic backing. Without such a backing economic growth and its sustainability may be doubted (Ibn Khaldun, 1967).

Ibn Khaldun advised the state that wealth grows when it is 'spent for the well-being of the people', and for removing their hardships (Chapra, 2006). Public spending contributes to the welfare and prosperity of people which in turn strengthens the state, by giving it a good reputation which may attract skilled and professionals to the nation. He considered education, health care moral and spiritual wellbeing, as factors causing more economic growth (Ibn Khaldun, 1967). A development without the above advantages to the poor is considered unsustainable development.

Social development in the eyes of Ibn Khaldun should be one that conforms to the principles of justice. His view on justice is all encompassing and includes social as well as distributive justice. While distributive justice demands the State to distribute wealth, social justice requires democratisation of resources and provision of equal opportunities to all citizens. Both of these principles are clear in his writing. When Ibn Khaldun prescribed public spending on the well being of people he must have looked at the role of *zakat*, *waqf* and *sadaqah* in addition to that spent from the treasury. They are means to empower the poor and the weak economically through direct aid and assistance. Ibn Khaldun also apprehended principles of social justice

whereby the citizens will be able to seek education, learn about their culture, to live as their culture and religion require it, and to look for economic opportunities that can be actualised according to their rational and religious beliefs. This is clear when he spoke of people to be the first pillar for the rise of civilisation and economic growth. He did not restrict it to a group or a class of people. He also did not exclude any group from economic growth or a trade and skill. He recognised labour as a tool of productivity through which one should have equal access to the means of sustenance. He equated the taking of one's property to injustice. Discrimination would be an obstacle to the economic growth of a civilisation. Ibn Khaldun not only would have asked for equal opportunity to acquire such means but would have equally asked for protection of such rights and penalty against the transgressors for their wrongdoings against the rights of others without any sort of discrimination.

The rise and fall of civilizations is dependent on not only economic growth but also on 'moral, institutional, psychological, political, social and demographic factors through a process of circular causation extending over a long period of history' (Ibn Khaldun, 1967), a three generations or around 120 years, when he considered economic sickness in the cyclical billow to be checked at or after 40 years.

4.3 Environmental Protection

Sustainable development integrates the well-being of humans with the well-being of the earth. It is about the sustainability of its resources, or maintaining a 'stable resource base, avoiding over-exploitation of renewable' and 'depleting non-renewable resources' for the purpose of 'continual rejuvenation and availability of natural resources for future generations (Harris, 2000; Hathaway, 2003).

Ibn Khaldun has realised the significant relation and effect of ecosystem on economics (Beik and Arsyianti, not dated), however, not on the role of environmental protection as much as

emphasised today. He recognised environment as one of the catalysts of economic growth. He recognised scarcity of resources to be caused by the harsh conditions of environment. In his opinion, migration of skilled and intellectual group will be realised if there is a 'healthy physical environment amply provided with trees and water and other essential amenities of life' (Ibn Khaldun, 1967). Gordon (2001) contended that Ibn Khaldun 'place water for consumption first in the list of resource whose negligence made many Arab cities of the past to fall very easily to ruins, inasmuch as they did not fulfil all the natural requirement of a town'.

The basic ideal of conservation is implicit from the very beginning, as Ibn Khaldun recognised people the central focal point of the rise and fall of civilisation. This taken with variable of wealth creation, which tend to lead to over exploitation of resources, together with the pursuit of excessive luxurious life by citizens in a consumer economy that leads to self destructive civilisation, make responsible states think seriously about conservation of resources for the future of its people. This implied idea about conservation has both local and universal applications.

The above chain of events leading to the decline of economic growth and thus to the down fall of civilisation according to Ibn Khaldun is the creation of man. His thought read with the nature of man, especially greed and arrogance, affirms this conclusion. As Shari'ah is one of the components in his analysis, Ibn Khaldun may have taken it for granted that his reader should make reference to the central role of man in his prosperity or downfall. Al Qur'an is clear on this point: "God does not change the condition of a people until they change their own inner-selves" (al-Qur'an, 13:11) and that "Corruption has appeared everywhere because of what people have done" (al-Qur'an 30:41). The latter verse clearly highlights the cause and effect principle in the human worldly affairs and thus human attributes such as greed, pride, conspicuous consumption, prodigality, and other related immoral activities in Shari'ah that result in overconsumption, can clearly be

understood to lead to scarcity of resources. The effect of social values on environment is clear from his writing. The immoral behaviour would ultimately lead to unsustainable practices and hence to the downfall of humanity. Yet, all these can be avoided if a good government were to lead the country. Does Ibn Khaldun have a criterion for good governance? This needs further examination.

4.4 Good Governance and the rule of law

A state that has 'participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive governance system' which also follows the rule of law (UNESCAP, 2007) is said to have good governance. The lack of good government impedes development (Morita and Zaelke, 2005), while its presence is an imperative (UNECA, 2001) which facilitates overall development (The World Bank, 1992), and is key to social stability, legal certainty, investment, economic efficiency and growth that are prerequisite or the necessary foundations of sustainable development (Santiso, 2001; Morita and Zaelke, 2005).

The above criteria fall short of Ibn Khaldun's theory of governance. To him civilisation needs organisation and cooperation. His bias against monarchy is based on lack of cooperation from citizens which in fact is one of the grounds of declining civilisation. To him only cooperation or recognition of government by citizens can save civilisation. The UN criteria seem to fill this void. These principles can play significant role both in national and international sustainability regimes.

Ibn Khaldun can be seen to seek social order in five ways: the three factors influencing the rise and fall of civilisation: the ruler, the law, and principles of justice. In addition, he seems to have recognised the role of moral values as well as informal mechanism for justice. All these five values can be considered as components of good governance recognised by a state.

The three factors of Ibn Khaldun's model (i.e., government, law, and justice) can be related to the above indicators of good governance. He has recognised the three factors influencing the economic wellbeing of the society, and ultimately the rise and fall of civilisation. The three of them are the prerequisites of a functioning State for protecting human rights and economic growth.

Ibn Khaldun has recognised the need for a strong government based on law. While the strength of government is dependent on law, the enforcement of law itself is dependent on government (Ibn Khaldun, 1967). Among the three types of government (i.e., found on lustful ideals, rational rules, and Shari'ah) he seems to have preferred one that is based on Shariah. He called it khilafah. He has chosen it because it was the best forms of governance in his eyes. In Khilafah there is a framework for an efficient, effective, participatory (consultative and might be consensus oriented), transparent and accountable governance. In line with Shariah, and in addition to Khilafah, Ibn Khaldun has stressed on good rulership, which is equivalent to gentleness. Otherwise he has considered it to be tyrannical and harsh, which will make people 'fearful, depressed, and seek to protect themselves by means of lies, ruses and deception' (Ibn Khaldun, 1967).

Law, and justice, in a Muslim society are part of Shariah. The latter commands the 'doing of good and prohibits the doing of what is evil and destructive' (Chapra, 2006). It is the law and moral code, accepted by Muslims as a legal system that upholds justice and equity. Justice is the basis of Shari'ah. The latter, thus, by necessity, should be equitable and inclusive system. Otherwise, it will be unjust, which is the cause of destruction of human civilisation. Shariah protects religion (belief), life, intellect, progeny, and property of the citizens. Based on these, both criminal and civil rights and obligations of citizens are clear which indicate both predictability and certainty of rules. As Muslims accept Shari'ah as their legal system, legitimacy of law and the government enforcing it are also present. Two way system of social

engineering exist: A citizen will avoid 'socially harmful behaviour, ensure justice, and enhance solidarity and mutual trust among the people' (Chapra, 2006). The state, in addition to defence, has 'to ensure justice', fulfilment of 'contracts, removal of grievances', fulfilment of 'needs and compliance with the rules of behaviour. In other words, the State must do things that help people carry on their lawful businesses more effectively and prevent them from committing excesses and injustices against each other'. It will play active role in empowerment of citizens, regulation and monitoring of social and economic activities including transport and highways, trade and business, and food and currency markets. These are the things which are needed for promoting development (Ibn Khaldun, 1967).

To make sure justice is carried out, in addition to State's institutions and judiciary, Ibn Khaldun proposed informal mechanism that can resolve disputes outside courts. To him, 'justice in the comprehensive sense cannot be fully realized without *asabiyyah*' (social solidarity). It 'provides protection, makes possible mutual defence as well as the settlement of claims and performance of all agreed activities' (Chapra, 2006). It helps create mutual trust and cooperation among citizens, (Ibn Khaldun, 1967). This informal institution will provide for the formation of civil society and independent monitoring agencies in the interest of citizens.

The role of moral value is clearly recognised by Ibn Khaldun. He has warned the State against immoral activities, which can be considered the indicators of economic decline. He has listed such activities, which include 'immorality, wrongdoing, insincerity, and trickery, for the purposes of making a living, lying, gambling, cheating, fraud, theft, perjury, and usury' (Ibn Khaldun, 1967). He has further said that as civilisation reaches its peak and high urbanised population emerges, immorality becomes part and parcel of the urbanised society. This will lead to their decline. Such a statement reminds the government, its servants, and the citizens to recognise a moral duty to follow the law.

A government with the above attributes will have the quality of good governance. Being Islamic in nature it will be based on principle of consultation (Shura). It will be participative, accountable and transparent. Economic growth will be people-centric and based on political pluralism, tolerance, and solidarity. There will be more chances for accessibility to government services that are probably more efficient and responsive, especially in the way development is carried out.

To sum up, Ibn Khaldun has envisaged a system of law and justice enforced by a State, which in Chapra (2006) words would contribute to the moral and material uplift of individuals, development-friendly institutions, moral values, proper climate for change, a 'morally-oriented political system where the Khalifah (caliph) is elected by the people' ruled in keeping with the decisions of the Shura (advisory council), and is accountable before the people'. This system thereby will 'ensure justice, dignity, equality, self-respect and sharing of the benefits of development by all, particularly the poor and the downtrodden. It would establish rule of law and, sanctity of life, individual honour, and property'. This is to say it would be a human rights based governance.

5.0 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND REAL ESTATE

Ibn Khaldun's theory can be understood to have called for moderate development. This has positive effect on both land management and administration as well as on real estate development and management. In the case of the former, the theory of Ibn Khaldun can contribute to a policy aiming at achieving moderate GDP growth through its land management strategies. Land Administration system will benefit directly if the advice of Ibn Khaldun is applied to the land administration policy, institutional set up, legal framework for land tenure and land use controls and development of land markets and its products.

Such a system then will be expected to be fair to all, people centric, transparent, subject to the rule of law, simple and affordable as well as efficient and effective. For the purpose of land development and management the principle of moderate growth will contribute to moderate exploitation of resources, moderate profit making, and care for the needs of present and future generation of people who are likely to be affected by such practices. Construction and maintenance activities will be driven not by maximum profit making but also care for environment and socio-economic needs of other people. This does not mean that private sector cannot make more profits. If the public sector is convinced to have moderate national GDP growth cash and financial incentive will be provided for development and management companies as a reward for their compliance with principles of sustainable development.

6.0 SUMMARY

Ibn Khaldun's writings on rise and fall of civilisation can be divided into two: the causes of development and the causes of fall. Some points regarding the former are very identical to current views for economic and social development as well as good governance. The latter however is not clear, but sustainable development can be inferred. The indicators of fall seem to be greed for luxury, corruption of morality, and tyranny. The negation of these factors by analogy will be the indicators of sustainable development.

Some of main principles of sustainable development are remarkably clear from Ibn Khaldun thoughts. They include: the integration of economic growth with that of social, and cultural, as well as with strong legitimate participative government, good governance and rule of law, and justice. On environmental protection and continued growth his thoughts are not clear. Environmental protection is not recognised in the sense of today. The significance of water and the plantation of trees are considered by Ibn Khaldun as one of the factors of development, as it can attract skilled

foreigners who can then help in economic growth. Nevertheless, his writing clearly implies sustainable growth as a limit to a continuous development, divide of principles of justice, equity, culture, and socio-political interests. This, in turn, reduces strain on natural resource and obsession with profit making. His idea of needs and sustenance as opposed to luxury and the effect of over consumptions in the decline of a civilisation is fundamentally relevant to present derive of international environmental groups in the Southern hemisphere. The purpose of new theories (i.e., satisfaction of basis needs, de-growth and dematerialisation, discussed early, is to take out pressure from the scarce natural resource, by not being overexploited. Ibn Khaldun's principles of development, viewed from sustainability perspective, come to the same end.

Ibn Khaldun viewed the State to be 'neither a *laissez faire* State nor a totalitarian State. It is rather a State which ensures the prevalence of the Shariah and serves as an instrument for accelerating human development and well-being' (Chapra, 2006). It is about a functioning State that is people centric, based on human rights, principles of justice, rule of law, and morality. As such, economic growth is envisioned to be possible if a strong State with institutions function according to just laws and moral code of ethics. Both legal and moral legitimacy is required for the State and the law on the abovementioned principles. This is considered a means to people's recognition of the law and thus the possibility of peaceful society where the State and the citizen are law-abiding and the rule of law prevails with independent judiciary, to which both the ruler and the ruled are equally subjected. Ibn Khaldun, therefore, viewed State to be accountable, and transparent, responsible for its action and permissive to the masses to participate in decision making according to the principles of shura.

Ibn Khaldun urged the State not to involve itself in trade even though allows it to regulate it. He envisions an independent judiciary which

recognises civil contracts, and enforces public law impartially in accordance to the rules of Shari'ah. Let the citizens conduct trade and business with less interference from the state. This is considered essential for economic growth.

In brief, Ibn Khaldun has to be considered one of those writers who have a foresight that has been materialised only after 600 years. His thoughts can be used by educators in educating public as well as on university level in Muslim Countries for promoting sustainable development and moderate consumption. This will convince the policy makers and the public to treat the concept not alien to their own values.

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