

THE ISLAMIC GIFT ECONOMY: A BRIEF CONCEPTUAL OUTLINE¹

by
Adi Setia²

Introduction

The Islamic Gift Economy (IGE) can be envisioned as an integrative economic system based on the operative principles of cooperation (*ta'āwun*), mutual consent (*'an tarādīn/murādātin*) and partnership (*mushārahah*), and these are in turn founded on the principal ethics of *rahmah* (mercy), gratitude (*shukr*), generosity (*karam/ihsān*) and moderation (*tawāzun/iffah*), *khilāfah* (trusteeship). IGE's foundational psychocosmological outlook is expressed in the belief that (i) *the natural and cultural resources of the world are abundant* while (ii) *the material needs, wants and desires of human beings are limited and should be limited*.

The natural and cultural resources of the world seen as blessings and bounties from the Merciful Creator (*ni'am/ālā' al-Khāliq*) are abundant and even unlimited in principle because *wa in ta'uddū ni'matalLāhi la tuḥsūhā*: “if you would count the bounty of Allāh you cannot exhaust it.”³ Viewed in the light of belief (*īmān*), these resources are gifts and favours (*ālā'*) from the realm of transcendence to which the human ethico-cognitive response is gratitude (*shukr*) which in turn results in contentment (*qanā'ah*), hence man will take according to his need but not his greed, for because of abundance there is no anxiety over scarcity that feeds greed (*ṭama'*) and accumulation (*takāthur/jam 'al-mal wa ta'diduhu*).⁴ Moreover, *shukr* itself becomes an existential state of being generative of abundance (*ziyādah*) both material and spiritual, for *la'in shakartum*

¹ This is a revised, extended and fully documented version of the original paper delivered in power point format at three separate *waqf* workshops in Johannesburg, Durban and Capetown, organized by the National Awqaf Foundation of South Africa (NAFSA) between August 1 to August 8 2009. My thanks are due to the many committee members of NAFSA who have made my 10-day visit so enjoyable and fruitful, especially to Mr. Zeinoul Abedien Cajee, NAFSA's founding Chief Executive Officer, for his gracious invitation to me to be guest-trainer at these wonderful workshops in which I was able to share and exchange my views on *waqf* and the Islamic gift economy with many ulamas, intellectuals, professional business people and civic society activists. The original paper and related articles are published for limited circulation in the booklet, Adi Setia & National Awqaf Foundation of South Africa, *Islamic Gift Economy and Selected Articles, and Waqf Institutions* (Durban, South Africa: Friday Forum, 2009).

² Associate Research Fellow, Institute for Mathematical Research (INSPERM), Malaysia. Email: adisetiawangsa@gmail.com.

³ *Ibrāhīm*: 34. All translations of Qur'anic verses based on Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur'an: Text and Explanatory Translation* (Makkah: Muslim World League, 1977).

⁴ *al-Takāthur*: 1; *al-Humazah*: 2.

la'azidannakum = “verily, if you give thanks, I will indeed give you more.”⁵ Thus by definition, Islamic economics is an *economics of abundance*, and *never* an economics of scarcity.⁶

Seen however in the secular darkness of disbelief and ingratitude (*kufri*) these resources will be cut off from their transcendent, spiritual source, and hence restricted to their limited, purely quantitative level of being, hence man will view these resources as limited and scarce, *despite its actual abundance*, and they will then engage in mutual, unending competition over them out of anxiety over their perceived scarcity: *al-shayṭānu ya'idukum al-faqrā wa ya'murukum bi al-fahshā'i wa Allāhu ya'idukum maghfiratan minhu wa fadlan* = “the devil promises you destitution and enjoins on you lewdness, but Allāh promises you forgiveness from Him with bounty.”⁷ Without belief, man will, out of anxiety, take these resources according to his greed (*tama'*) without any sense of recognition as to their true, transcendent source, which in turns results in ingratitude (*kufri al-ni'mah*) and hence loss of contentment, leading to an existential state of perpetual anxiety and endless yearning: *wa la'in kafartum inna 'azābī la shadīd* = “but if you are thankless, then indeed my punishment is dire.”⁸ It interesting to note in this respect that the Australian economist, Clive Hamilton, has referred in his book to this state of perpetual anxiety and endless yearning that is never satisfied as a disease called *Affluenza: When Too Much is Never Enough*,⁹ though he wasn't at all referring to the Islamic perspective on the situation, which in itself is of some significance since then there's much hope for what my friend Faizel Katkodia has referred to as a cross-cultural “convergence on commonalities”¹⁰ in the quest toward finding common solutions to the common problems of humankind.

Thus, Muslims, if they are sensitive to the Worldview of Islam,¹¹ cannot agree with the standard secular definition of economics that more or less say that it is the

⁵ *Ibrāhīm*: 7.

⁶ As a matter of fact, some futurist western thinkers are already thinking, in their own way, along these lines of abundance, as in Barry Carter, *Infinite Wealth: A New World of Collaboration and Abundance in the Knowledge Era* (Boston: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999).

⁷ *al-Baqarah*: 268.

⁸ *Ibrāhīm*: 7.

⁹ (Crow's Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2005). His other book along this line of analysis is *The Growth Fetish* (Crow's Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2003), which, from the Islamic point of view, would be the fetish or obsession with *takāthur/jam' al-māl* = growth/wealth accumulation. See also his interesting *The Mystic Economist* (ACT Australia: Willow Park Press, 1995).

¹⁰ Recent personal communication by email. He is in fact planning a doctoral study to elaborate further on this “convergence.”

¹¹ On this, see Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *Prolegomena to the Metaphysics of Islam: An Exposition of the Fundamental Elements of the Worldview of Islam* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 2001); and his important *Islam and Secularism* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1993). Cf. Serge Latouche, *The Westernization of the World* (London: Polity Press, 1995).

study of “the allocation of scarce, limited resources to fulfill the unlimited desires of man.” This is because this and similar definitions of economics in the standard textbooks¹² used throughout the world are based on two basic mistaken and largely unexamined, dogmatic assumptions, one cosmological and the other psychological. The cosmological assumption, as implicit in the phrase “limited resources,” is that nature is purely material without a transcendent source of being and renewal, and hence it must be a closed system and hence finite and limited. The psychological assumption, as implicit in the phrase “unlimited desires,” makes a claim about the nature of man, that he is limited to his physical self without deeper spiritual substance and higher aspirations, and hence he lives only to realize his material desires and to create new desires, thus leading, from the Islamic point of view, to his seduction into “rivalry in worldly increase” as the only goal of his purely temporal life: *alhākum al-takāthur ḥattā zurtum al-maqābir* (“rivalry in worldly increase distracts you until you visit your graves”).¹³

In contrast, Muslims believe that (i) both nature and culture and their resources have a transcendent source of being, regeneration and renewal, and hence natural and cultural resources are not limited in respect of that transcendent source of renewal and regeneration, but rather they are abundant: *wa ātakum min kulli mā sa’altumūhu* = “and He gives you of all that you ask of him;”¹⁴ and that (ii) man’s self is both physical and spiritual in which the physical serves the spiritual,¹⁵ hence man voluntarily limits his material desires through cultivating the self-discipline of *zuhd* (spiritual detachment and economic downshifting) in order that he might better realize his higher and truer spiritual desires or aspirations, or pursue his material needs only in the context of higher, more encompassing non-material needs. Thus man’s material needs and wants are limited by virtue of his own self-realization of his higher, spiritual (i.e., intellectual, ethical and moral) calling, which transcends the temporal life of the world: *bal tu’thirūna al-ḥayāta al-dunyā wa al-ākhiratu khayrun wa abqā* = “Indeed, you prefer the life of the world, but the Hereafter is better and more lasting.”¹⁶

This foundational Islamic cosmo-psychological outlook has deep and far reaching implications for how we should understand and engage both Islamic and

¹² Such as N. Gregory Mankiw, *Principles of Economics*, 3rd ed. (Mason, Ohio: Thompson South Western, 2004), 4, where he says that economics is “the study of how society manages its *scarce resources*.” Another popular textbook is Paul A. Samuelson & William D. Nordhaus, *Economics*, 18th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005), 4, where they say that “economics is the study of how society uses *scarce resources* to produce valuable commodities and distribute them among different people,” and that “given *unlimited wants*, it is important that an economy makes the best use of its *limited resources*.” (all emphases added).

¹³ *al-Takāthur*: 1—2.

¹⁴ *Ibrāhīm*: 34.

¹⁵ As elaborated in Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Nature of Man and the Psychology of the Human Soul: A Brief Outline and Framework for an Islamic Psychology and Epistemology* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1990).

¹⁶ *al-A‘lā*: 16—17.

Western economics. Muslims need to be critically and creatively self-conscious about these two cosmo-psychological principles in order to formulate an authentic, *integrative* Islamic economic system that is viable in the contemporary age, namely one that is autonomous and can stand and prosper on its own principles while in constructive engagement with the West, instead of one that is coopted, wittingly or unwittingly, into the mainstream, neoliberal economic system, as is largely the case with what currently goes by the name of Islamic Banking & Finance (IBF).¹⁷ This foundational consideration brings us to the notion of the Islamic Gift Economy and the manner in which we should go about defining it and outlining its general conceptual and operative parameters.

Defining the Islamic Gift Economy (IGE)

For our limited, reflective purpose here, the Islamic Gift Economy¹⁸ (IGE) can be provisionally defined as: *the sharing, by mutual giving and receiving, of natural and cultural abundance to fulfill warranted¹⁹ human needs*. But since the world and humankind are not only material but more fundamentally they are also spiritual and have higher spiritual significance, therefore the definition of IGE can be further refined as: *the sharing, by*

¹⁷ For some critiques, see Muhammad Saleem, *Islamic Banking: A \$ 300 Billion Deception* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris, 2006); idem, *Islamic Banking, A Charade: Call for Enlightenment* (Charleston, NC: Book Surge, 2006); cf. Timur Kuran, *Islam and Mammon: The Economic Predicaments of Islamism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004). In this regard I especially recommend the excellent, scholarly analysis by Mahmoud A. El-Gamal, *Islamic Finance: Laws, Economics and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), who shows (pp. xi—xii) that “despite the good intentions of its pioneers, Islamic finance has placed excessive emphasis on contract forms, thus becoming a primary target for rent-seeking legal arbitrageurs. In every aspect of finance—from personal loans to investment banking, and from market structure to corporate governance of financial institutions—Islamic finance aims to replicate in Islamic forms the substantive functions of contemporary financial instruments, markets, and institutions,” and proposes “reorientating the brand name of Islamic finance to emphasize issues of community banking, microfinance, socially responsible investment, and the like.”

¹⁸ The word ‘economy’ originally referred to “household management” (*tadbīr al-manzil*), and the primary duty of the householder is to ensure that the resources and revenues of the household, tangible and intangible, are managed prudently so that all the needs, material and spiritual, of the members of the household are met in such a way that none is marginalized, especially the weaker members, such as babies, young children, the handicapped, the elderly, including even pets and animals and plants of the household. In classical Islamic system of philosophy, *tadbīr al-manzil* comes under the division *al-ḥikmat al-‘amaliyyah* or practical philosophy. The definition of the IGE given here is a conceptual elaboration of this original meaning in the light of the Worldview of Islam.

¹⁹ Obviously for Muslims, “warranted” here would refer to what is warranted in the Islamic ethico-moral system of values, as encapsulated in the *Maqāṣid al-Sharī‘ah* (Objectives of the Divine Law), and not to what finds warrant in subjective human whims and fancies leading to runaway consumerism; see Adi Setia (forthcoming), “The Significance of the *Maqāṣid al-Sharī‘ah* for Directing Research in the Natural and Social Sciences.”

mutual giving and receiving, of natural and cultural abundance to promote material and spiritual well-being.

This definition of the IGE will be operationalized in practice by a systematic, integrative revival of the mechanisms of religious, social and commercial exchange as formally embodied in the traditional *fiqh* of *ibādat and mu‘āmalah*, such as *zakāt* (obligatory charity), *waqf* (endowment), *ṣadaqah* (voluntary charity), *hibah* (gift giving), *farā'id/irth* (estate division), *wasiyyah* (bequest), *qard ḥasan* (goodly personal loan), *ariyyah* (lending something for use), *ijārah* (renting and hiring), *ja‘alah* (job wages), *maḍārabah* (venture capital or financing a profit-sharing venture) and *mushārah/sharikah* (business partnership).²⁰ Here the foundational notion of the ‘gift’ (*ṣadaqah, hadiyah* or *hibah*) is significant, for a deep-reflection on the above-mentioned religious, social and commercial exchange mechanisms will show that they have less to do with taking than with giving, and hence, ultimately more about serving communal/public rather than individual/private interests. As a matter of fact, even the so-called individual ‘private interest’ that is served in strictly commercial exchange, is inseparably embedded in the larger fabric of communal ‘public interest’, for it is a principal axiom of Islamic law that public, communal interest has precedence over private, individual interest.

To illustrate this point, let us look at the institution and mechanism of *farā'id/irth* (the Islamic law of inheritance and estate division) for example. Because of this law even the most greedy and accumulative of people will be compelled at the end of his life to redistribute his accumulated wealth amongst members of his *extended* family, such that at the end of the day he gives away, in a *redistributive* manner, very much more than what he has actually used of his hard-earned wealth. Another case in point is the august institution of *zakāt*, which ensures that the urgent, material needs of the most vulnerable members of the community are immediately taken care off through a system of obligatory giving by its relatively more well-off members.²¹

Even in the various formal systems of commercial exchange, such as the business partnership (*mushārah/sharikah*) and the venture capital (*maḍārabah/qirād*), the basic, underlying governing vision is the *mutual giving*, of capital by the investor, on the one hand, and of skill, by the entrepreneur, on the other hand, to a *common* business enterprise, and the *mutual sharing* of the risks that go together with the benefits inherent in that common enterprise. This governing vision of *mutuality, participativeness* and *partnership*, or *common interest* instead of self-interest, can be contrasted to the

²⁰ Translations of these terms into English have largely followed those given in Nuh Ha Mim Keller, trans. & ed., *Reliance of the Traveller: A Classic Manual of Islamic Sacred Law*, new ed. (Beltsville, Maryland: Amana Publications, 1997).

²¹ A serious study in English is Farishta G. de Zayas, *The Law and Institution of Zakāt* (Kuala Lumpur: The Other Press, 2003).

generally one-sided affair in conventional banking (including so-called ‘Islamic’ banking) in which capital is merely rented out by one party, say the bank, to another, the businessman/entrepreneur, through elaborate mark-up instruments, thus ensuring guaranteed returns to the bank without at all obliging it in anyway to participate in the risks inherent in the enterprise, risks which are borne exclusively by the businessman/entrepreneur.

Even informal, social giving or general voluntary charity and alms giving (*ṣadaqah*) has been institutionalised in Islam into a system called *waqf* (charitable endowment). Through the formal, legal system of *waqf*, a normally one-off gift is transformed a particular kind of charitable capital that indefinitely generates either revenue or usufruct or both which perpetuates for its specified beneficiaries the benefits of that initial act of giving. Thus *waqf* is also called *ṣadaqah jāriyah*²² = ‘perpetual charity’, an “ongoing” charity that is always current, whose benefit always flows out to the beneficiaries as long as the original charitable corpus stands or is maintained. In the *waqf* (literally, to retain, to restrain, to reserve) system, private wealth is voluntarily *retained and dedicated* for the perpetual, free provision of public goods and services in order to serve the larger, public interest of the community, in the hope of generating perpetual spiritual reward to the *wāqif* or endower, who takes to heart the Qur’ānic admonishment: *lā tanālū al-birra ḥattā tunfiqū mim mā tuḥibbūna* = “you will not attain to piety until you spend of that which you love.”²³

In contrast, neoliberal privatization is a system in which public wealth is retained (or *enclosed*, hence the so-called “enclosure of the commons”) and dedicated for the provision of private profit in which the larger communal interest is only of an *ad hoc*, marginal and incidental consideration, despite sweet-sounding rhetorics and elaborate technical jargon to the contrary.²⁴ In the case of *waqf* we have the “pouring-out” economy, whereas in the case of privatization we have the “trickle-down” (i.e., cream for the rich, crumbs, if any, for the poor) economy. On the one hand we have the Islamic Gift Economy (IGE), and on the other hand we have the Neoliberal Scoop Economy

²² See *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, ḥadīth #4199 in the commentary of al-Imām al-Nawawī, *al-Minhāj Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj*, 18 parts in 10 vols., including Index vol. (Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 2000/1421), pt. 11, vol. 6, pp. 87; see also the following ḥadīths #4200, #4201 and #4202 in the Chapter of *Waqf*.

²³ *Āl ‘Imrān*: 92.

²⁴ In a personal communication, Mohamed Elmeadawy points out that multinational corporations, driven by expansionism, growth and profit maximization, not only dominate strategic services of the nation in question and drain public money into their pockets, but also the people end up by *not receiving the service at all*; for the corporations, after buying at fire-sale prices promise quality services that they price at a range beyond what most of the poor can afford, and so the people can’t pay and hence can’t get the service, as was the case with water privatization in Bolivia in 1999 and later on in South Africa; see, for instance, David A McDonald, and Greg Ruiters, *The Age of Commodity: Water Privatization in Southern Africa* (London: Earthscan, 2005).

(NSE). Since as Muslims (or as decent human beings) we can't have both, we better then think carefully which of the two systems we want to have, develop and implement, at the communal, national, regional and global levels of exchange.

It is in the nature of giving, gifting and the gift that ultimately nothing is actually given away never to return to the giver. As a matter of fact, the giver, instead of being impoverished, stands to benefit as much as if not more than the receiver, in both material and spiritual terms, for, indeed, if everyone gives then every one receives, and none is left out, and everyone is embedded and is participative in the material and cultural life of the community: *wa mā tunfiqū min khayrin yuwaffā ilaykum wa antum lā tuzlamūn* = “and whatsoever good thing you spend, it will be repaid to you in full, and you will not be wronged.”²⁵

The universal ethical principle of reciprocity (*tabādul, ta'āwun, tarādīn, murādāh, mushārahah, jazā' al-iḥsān bi al-iḥsān*) underlies the gift culture of traditional Islamic societies, including traditional, non-westernized cultures in general.²⁶ This principle of reciprocal giving and receiving is enshrined in the Qur'ānic verse: *hal jazā' al-iḥsān illā al-iḥsān* = “is the recompense of goodness aught save goodness?”²⁷ In a community in which everyone gives, everyone receives also, and most times, everyone receives in return much more than what he or she has given out in the first place, hence none is left out, none is marginalized or alienated or ostracized, but everyone *belongs*, as a way of truly humane living well expressed in the South African traditional sociocultural concept of *ubuntu*. As Justice Mahomed Jaybhay explains it:

In South Africa the culture of ubuntu is the capacity to express compassion, justice, reciprocity, dignity, harmony and humanity in the interests of building, maintaining and strengthening the community. Ubuntu speaks of our interconnectedness, our common humanity and the responsibility to each that flows from our connection....Ubuntu means that people are people through other people....It not only describes human being as “being-with-others,” but also

²⁵ *al-Baqarah*: 272.

²⁶ See the famous study by the French sociologist Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (London: Routledge, 1990). For a good insight into the intimate link between the gift and the *economy of abundance* instead of scarcity, see Marshall Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (London: Routledge, 2003); see also in this regard his seminal article extracted from that book, “The Original Affluent Society,” accessible at <http://www.primitivism.com/original-affluent.htm>. For a forceful debunking of the “self-interestedness” conception of human nature in modern economics, see also his *The Western Illusion of Human Nature* (Cambridge: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2008).

²⁷ *al-Raḥmān*: 60.

prescribes how we should relate to others, i.e. what “being-with-others” should be all about.²⁸

The Nature of the Gift

Before we go on, it is good for the enhancement of our critical understanding of the meaning and practice of mutual giving and receiving if we go further into analyzing the nature of the gift, both conceptually and culturally. I think it is best that we do this by looking at the various forms of giving, or rather, “gifting,” in the traditional communities which many of us still live in, or identify with, or have learnt about. Maybe I can start by giving my own experience of traditional gifting in Malaysia, my home country (as encapsulated in the term *gotong royong* = “mutual helping”), and we’ll also listen to some of the inspiring examples of the giving and gifting culture in South Africa where I visited recently on the generous invitation of its non-governmental (or rather, civic societal) National Awqaf Foundation (NAFSA)²⁹ to talk and exchange views and experiences on this very topic of giving in its various forms, tangible and intangible, especially in the form of *waqf*.

Now, the significance of *waqf* for the tiny yet relatively affluent South African Muslim minority (roughly 1.8—2% of population of almost 50 million), is that its beneficiaries need not be restricted to Muslims but can include non-Muslims, especially the economically marginalized majority black African population. Hence *waqf* is one of the most effective ways by which affluent South African Muslims can give back to the land on which they found their prosperity and thereby embed themselves firmly into the larger South African cultural landscape as indigenous sons and daughters of the soil.

We can also invoke some of the many, high quality formal academic, specifically anthropological, studies that have been undertaken on the culture of gifting in both historical and contemporary times, in both Muslim³⁰ and non-Muslim societies.³¹ We

²⁸ Justice Mahomed Jaybhay, “The Spirit of *Ubuntu*,” in *Awqaf Insights* (2007/1428), 10—12, on 10—11.

²⁹ See their website, www.awqafsa.org.za.

³⁰ For some case studies of the Islamic Gift Economy, see Benjamin Soares, *Islam and the Prayer Economy: History and Authority in a Malian Town* (University of Michigan Press, 2005). See also Benjamin Soares, “The Prayer Economy in a Malian Town” (https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/dspace/bitstream/1887/9400/1/ASC_1293978_001.pdf). For the Mamluk gift economy and the role of pious endowments within it, see Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1215-1517* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); also Michael Bonner, Mine Ener and Amy Singer, eds., *Poverty and Charity in Middle Eastern Contexts* (New York: SUNY, 2003); Amy Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem* (New York: SUNY, 2002); Holger Weiss, ed., *Social Welfare in Muslim Societies in Africa* (Stockholm: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2002).

can even invoke some clear-cut instances of the gift economy so evident in aspects of American frontier life by which the “West was Won” by pioneer families and communities. As a matter of fact, I am particularly fond of the classic children book (actually, it is for all ages) *Little House on the Prairie* by Laura Ingalls Wilder,³² as a rather good, inspiring resource in regard thereof.

The Gift & the Problem with Islamic Banking & Finance

Contemporary discourse on Islamic economics is too narrowly focussed on issues related to Islamic banking and finance (IBF), whereas Islamic Economics, by definition, involves also domains of exchange other than the purely financial or commercial or market-driven. As a matter of fact, it can be shown from Islamic economic history and the formal *fiqh* of *mu‘āmalah* that by far the major domain of exchange in an Islamic economy is the voluntary, devotional and communal one, involving the operative mechanisms of *zakāt*, *ṣadāqah*, *waqf*, *hibah*, *qard ḥasan*, *hadiyah*, *farā’id/mirāth*, *wasiyyah*, including non-monetary lending and borrowing of tools and facilities, and reciprocal non-financial exchange of skills, services and expertise, and even goods. I think that it can be argued quite empirically that these non-market exchange mechanisms were in fact just as, if not more, efficient in the just, equitable allocation of natural and cultural resources to those who needed them most.

One fundamental problem with current IBF, as pointed out by Meera, Larbani, Cook and many others, is its adherence to the Fractional Reserve Banking (FRB) model also adhered to by conventional, usurious banks by which deficit-based money is created as credit as a multiple of the capital base in accordance with the capital requirements set out by the Bank of International Settlements (BIS) in the 1988 Basel Accord.³³ So we have a situation in which an Islamic bank may be fully compliant *on paper* with the basic principle of loss and profit sharing in its business relations with customers, but the fact remains *at bottom* that the bank is funding its investment through fiat money it creates out of nothing thanks to the usurious FRB principle. According to Cook, “this reality is at best not made clear by Islamic banks and is at best deliberately obscured,” and thus he concludes that “Islamic banking as currently practised is an Islamic veneer on an un-Islamic reality.”³⁴ As Meera and Larbani elaborates:

³¹ For a brief, general analysis of the gift economy, see Gifford Pinchot, “The Gift Economy,” in *In Context*, no. 41 (Summer 1995), accessible at <http://www.context.org/ICLIB/IC41/PinchotG.htm>. A book length treatment in the context of modern industrial societies is David J. Cheal, *The Gift Economy* (London: Routledge, 1988).

³² Special read aloud edition (New York: Harper Collins, 1981).

³³ Chris Cook, “21st Century Islamic Finance,” in *Awqaf Insights* (2007/1428), 18—19.

³⁴ Chris Cook, “21st Century Islamic Finance,” in *Awqaf Insights* (2007/1428), 19.

Fractional reserve banking (FRB) is the basis of the present day monetary systems. In most countries, Islamic Banking and Finance too operates under this principle....FRB has effects on the ownership structure of assets in the economy, and that this effect violates the Islamic principles of ownership....money creation through FRB is creation of purchasing power out of nothing which brings about unjust ownership transfers of assets in the economy, to the bank effectively, paid for by the whole economy through inflation. This transfer of ownership is not based on human effort by taking on legitimate risks and neither with the knowledge nor the consent of the initial owners. These violate the ownership principles in Islam and tantamount to theft. It also has the elements of *riba*. On the same basis, Islamic governments should not create fiat money since this is equivalent to taking assets of the people, rich and poor alike, forcefully without compensation. It is, therefore, important that Shariah scholars come up with a fatwa on both the fiat money and the fractional reserve banking system. Such a fatwa is urgent and pertinent before Islamic banking and finance, that operate under these systems, takes a course that may prove to be difficult to reverse later. The Islamic economic and finance system cannot be founded upon a money system that is fundamentally equivalent to theft and *riba*.³⁵

Another problem in the current obsession with IBF is what has been called the *murābahah* (rent-seeking) syndrome,³⁶ which is the emphasis on loan- or debt-financing (even though this may be “asset-backed”³⁷) by means of elaborate mark-up instruments

³⁵ Ahamed Kameel Mydin Meera and Moussa Larbani, “Ownership Effects of Fractional Reserve Banking: An Islamic Perspective,” in *Humanomics*, vol. 25, no. 2 (May 2009), 101—116. See also Ahamed Kameel Mydin Meera and Moussa Larbani, “Seigniorage of Fiat Money and the *Maqasid al-Shari’ah*: The Unattainableness of the Shari’ah,” in *Humanomics*, vol. 22, no. 1 (2006); and idem, “Seigniorage of Fiat Money and the *Maqasid al-Shari’ah*: The Compatibility of the Gold Dinar with the *Maqasid*,” in *Humanomics*, vol. 22, no. 2 (2006).

³⁶ Tarik M. Yousef, “The *Murabaha* Syndrome in Islamic Finance,” in Clement M. Henry and Rodney Wilson, eds. *The Politics of Islamic Finance* (Edinburg: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 63—80.

³⁷ As elaborated by, for instance, Mufti Muhammad Taqi Usmani, *An Introduction to Islamic Finance* (New Delhi: Idara Isha’at-e-Diniyat, 1999), 18—22, though he admits (on page 151) that “*Murabahah* is not a mode of financing in its origin. It is a simple sale on cost-plus basis.” He then proceeds to place strict

to ensure lucrative, risk-free profit on the part of the financing institution regardless of the economic situation of the borrower or the financial performance of the borrowing enterprise. This predilection for loan-/debt-financing results in the systemic marginalization of equity-financing (*qirād*, *muḍārabah*) and financing by means of the business partnership (*shirkah*, *mushārah*) in which the financing institution or investor provides (i.e., *gives* instead of lends) capital and *participates* in the conduct and outcome of the enterprise, which is thus seen and treated as a truly *common* enterprise.

To my limited knowledge (especially since I have taken a serious interest in economic issues only last year), there is only one Islamic banking group in the whole world that is exclusively devoted to equity-financing or venture capital financing,³⁸ while the rest is mainly devoted to conventional *murābahah*, rent-seeking instruments, with venture capital (*qirād*), business partnership (*sharikah*), and the goodly loan (*qard ḥasan*) thrown in only as an afterthought to justify the label “Islamic.” Even when it comes to equity-financing, as in the case of that particular bank or rather venture capital investment company, the question arises as to whether the investment portfolio is spread out more or less evenly over both up-scale projects yielding high returns and medium- to small-scale ones yielding relatively low returns, or concentrated on the up-scale ones. If the latter then it is no better in essence than conventional western venture capital firms whose motivation is mainly very high profit margins over the short and medium terms, with little or no concern for contributing to, and participating in, the larger communal well-being in which a particular enterprise is located.

In contrast, Islamic venture capital would be one whose investment portfolio is more or less evenly spread out over both market-driven and *community-driven* productive investment projects. In this way equitable allocation and reallocation of productive wealth are built into the general business culture in which the focus is not on financial growth *per se* but, much more importantly, on communal wellbeing and cohesion. Such a way of doing business will still make money and generate moderate profit and even moderate growth over time up to a certain size beyond which a part of the company would break off and become a separate, autonomous entity, thus preempting over-accumulation and over-concentration of capital and wealth in the hands a few individuals or organizations.

The ideal company or corporate organizational structure would then be a management- *cum* employee-owned enterprise instead of the present conventional

conditions on it for it to be legally valid (pp. 151—154) and says (p. 153) that “It should be noted with care that *murabahah* is a border-line transaction and a *slight departure* from the prescribed procedure makes it a step in the prohibited area of interest-based financing.” (last italics mine).

³⁸ Venture Capital Bank, set up in 2005, claims itself to be the first Islamic investment bank in the GCC and MENA region to specialise in venture capital; see its website, <http://www.vc-bank.com>.

structure in which ownership is largely vested in far-away absentee investors or shareholders (financially headquartered and coordinated for the most part at Wall Street) who don't really care a damn about the enterprise except as a disembodied, money-making machine. So while the Islamic Gift Economy (IGE) willingly *participates* in the well-being of the community, the Wall Street Scoop Economy (WSSE) deliberately *free-rides* parasitically on communal wealth and sucks it dry (which explains the recent system-wide financial and economic melt-down in the United States).

Rethinking Money, Finance & Economics

Of course, if we think along these radical (i.e., values-based-going-to-the-root-of-the-problem) lines, then we obviously have to rethink the concepts of 'bank' and 'banking', including the mutually related concepts of 'money', 'cost', 'benefit', and 'profit', the concepts of the 'firm' and the 'corporation', employer-employee and management-owner relationships, the organization of labor and commerce, and ultimately the concepts of 'economics', 'growth', 'wealth' and 'development', including the largely unexamined concept of the GDP/GNP (Gross Domestic Product/Gross National Product) as a measure of well-being which has been so hegemonic over our economic thinking for the past five decades or so.³⁹

It is beyond the scope of this general revisioning to go into these rethinkings in any detail. I myself have started researching these rethinkings only recently and am still in the process of critically synthesizing them into a coherent, viable whole that can at once engages conventional economics leading to a positive *counter-economics* and yet be grounded in our worldview, tradition and history. But if we have more intellectuals, researchers and ulamas joining hands and minds in doing systemic rethinking of these foundational *mu'āmalah* issues, then eventually something positive will bear fruit, intellectually and operationally, in the very near future, *in shā Allāh*. By way of example, I believe everyone should seriously consider Chris Cook's very sound and practical ideas on "21st Century Islamic Finance," based on various forms of "debt-free asset-based

³⁹ The basic problem with the GDP is that it does not differentiate between costs and benefits, and hence it sees both as *productive* output. Alternatives to the GDP include ISEW (Index of Sustainable Economic Welfare) and GPI (Genuine Progress Indicator), see "Progress," and "Genuine Progress Indicator," in *Adbusters* (August/September 2009), 33—35. For an alternative to the GNP, see Clifford W. Cobb & John B. Cobb, Jr., *The Green National Product: An Alternative to Gross National Product* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1994). In the small Buddhist country of Bhutan, the state uses its own homegrown holistic Gross National Happiness (GNH) to replace the GNP. I believe Muslim countries should follow suit!

finance” and “mutual interest-free deficit-finance or credit” that are “entirely consistent with the values underpinning Islam.”⁴⁰

It should also be pertinent to say here that this manner of systemic rethinking has been taking place for some time amongst the more conscientious economic and social thinkers and intellectuals of the West, such as Karl Polanyi,⁴¹ E. F. Schumacher,⁴² Kenneth Boulding,⁴³ Bill McKibben,⁴⁴ Herman Daly,⁴⁵ Howard Zinn,⁴⁶ Noam Chomsky⁴⁷ and Hazel Henderson,⁴⁸ including Mark Anielski (with his interesting book, *Economics of Happiness*),⁴⁹ many of whose proposed solutions are in harmony, at least in spirit, with the Islamic imperatives of giving, gifting, sharing, temperance, moderation, justice, mutuality and gratitude, as these were realized in the long history of our socio-economic institutions.

Muslim economists, including intellectuals, policy makers, *fuqahā'* and ulamas in general, should make it an aspect of their communal obligation (*fard kifāyah*) to take a deep, critical interest in these constructive trends toward an alternative or counter-economics, and contribute a proactive, systemic and creative Islamic viewpoint to the global post-economic discourse. One important aspect of this communal intellectual obligation would be for ulamas, researchers and intellectuals to work together to rearticulate traditional Islamic economic ethics⁵⁰ in contemporary terms, and then to systemically work out the implications of this ethics for what is actually happening on

⁴⁰ Chris Cook, “21st Century Islamic Finance,” in *Awqaf Insights* (2007/1428), 19—20; see also idem, “Limited Liability Partnerships as Development Mechanisms,” in *Awqaf Insights* (2007/1428), 23—26.

⁴¹ Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957).

⁴² Ernst Freidrich Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered* (New York: Harper, 1989); see also his *Good Work* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979).

⁴³ Kenneth E. Boulding, *The Meaning of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964); see also his *Beyond Economics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968).

⁴⁴ Bill McKibben, *Deep-Economy: The Wealth of Communities and the Durable Future* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2007).

⁴⁵ Herman. E. Daly, *Beyond Growth: the Economics of Sustainable Development* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997); see also Herman Daly, John B. Cobb, Jr. & Clifford W. Cobb, *For the Common Good: Redirecting the Economy toward Community, the Environment, and a Sustainable Future* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994).

⁴⁶ *A People's History of the United States* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980); see also the new, abridged teaching edition (New York: New Press, 2003).

⁴⁷ Noam Chomsky, *Profits over People: Neoliberalism and Global Order* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 1999).

⁴⁸ Hazel Henderson, *Beyond Globalization: Shaping a Sustainable Global Economy* (West Hartford, Connecticut: Kumarian Press, 1999).

⁴⁹ Mark Anielski, *The Economics of Happiness: Discovering Genuine Wealth* (Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers, 2007); cf. the important book on the intrinsic relation between civil happiness, civil society and civil economy, and how that relation was subverted, by Luigino Bruni, *Civil Happiness: Economics and Human Flourishing in Historical Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

⁵⁰ For instance, the economic ethics of al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī (d. 443/1060) as nicely summarized in Yasien Mohamed, *The Path to Virtue: The Ethical Philosophy of al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī, An Annotated Translation, with Critical Introduction, of Kitāb al-Dharī'ah ilā Makārim al-Sharī'ah* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 2006), 375—414.

the ground now in the modern economy. Thus the IGE outlined here can be the basis of a comprehensive, long term Islamic Economics Research Program (IERP) leading to the eventual reclaiming and reviving of our civilizational heritage in the economic domain of life.

And so, in tandem with the growing worldwide trend *away* from the Scoop *toward* the Gift economy, leading eventually to a future of *global conviviality*,⁵¹ Muslims today should remind themselves (through the works of Professor Murat Cizakca for instance)⁵² that they *do* have a 1,000-year civilizational track record in developing a successful and prosperous *global gift economy*, and that they should start revisiting, reviving and reliving that track record,⁵³ both for their own well-being and for the well-being of humanity at large, and both for today and for the future: *wa jaʿalnākum shuʿūban wa qabāʾila li yataʿārafū* = “and We have made you nations and tribes that you may be acquainted with one another.”⁵⁴

wa man yashkur
fa innamā yashkuru li nafsihī

and whosoever gives thanks,
he gives thanks for the good of his soul.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Ivan Illich, *Tools for Conviviality* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973). See also, Abdullah Sharif, *Creating a World that Works for All* (San Francisco: Berret-Koehler Publishers, 1999).

⁵² Murat Cizakca, *A History of Philanthropic Foundations: The Islamic World from the Seventh Century to the Present* (Istanbul: Bogazici University Press, 2000); idem, *A Comparative Evolution of Business Partnerships: The Islamic World and Europe, with Specific Reference to the Ottoman Archives* (Leiden: Brill, 1996); idem, “Ottoman Cash Waqfs Revisited: The Case of Bursa 1555—1823,” in *Foundation for Science, Technology and Civilization Limited* (June 2004), 1—20. See also the many articles downloadable from his personal website.

⁵³ As is happening in Egypt for instance; see Daniela Poppi, “From Religious Charity to the Welfare State and Back: The Case of Islamic Endowments (*waqfs*) Revival in Egypt,” in *EUI Working Papers*, RSCAS No. 2004/34, 1—12.

⁵⁴ *al-Hujurāt*: 13.

⁵⁵ *Luqmān*: 12.