

Assessing Socio-Economic Development based on *Maqāṣid* al-Sharī‘ah Principles: Normative Frameworks, Methods and Implementation in Indonesia

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Abstract

Despite calls to expand and implement the concept of Maqāṣid al-Sharī‘ah, it has been rarely utilized in economics and development studies. This paper fills this gap and proposes a framework to assess socio-economic development of Muslim societies based on the maqāṣid principles. It is argued that human wellbeing/poverty is a central theme in the historical deliberations of maqāṣid and should be the same when using it to frame policies to resolve development challenges in current Muslim world. Drawing insights from the discourses on happiness, quality of life and multidimensional poverty based on the capability approach pioneered by Amartya Sen, the paper reviews a number of operational indicators and multidimensional poverty indices. It then proposes a simple, linear and decomposable multidimensional Maqāṣid al-Sharī‘ah based poverty index encompassing five dimensions of wellbeing/poverty consistent with the maqāṣid perspective. The index is subsequently applied to evaluate the welfare changes amongst the recipients of zakāh in Indonesia by using data collected through a survey conducted covering 685 households living in Jakarta, Indonesia. While the study found that zakāh institutions have the expected positive contribution in reducing poverty amongst the poor, it also provides a workable example of how Maqāṣid al-Sharī‘ah principles can be implemented in assessing impacts of socio-economic policies in Muslim societies.

Keywords: *Maqāṣid* al-Sharī‘ah, multidimensional poverty, human development, zakāh institution, impacts of zakāh in Indonesia.

JEL Classification: D6, I3, O12

KAUJIE Classification: B5, H47, N5

1. Introduction

Maqāṣid is presumably one of today's most important intellectual means and methodologies for Islamic studies, particularly in Islamic jurisprudence (Auda, 2008). Outside this area, however, it is rarely discussed in contemporary Islamic scholarships. This is presumably related to the difficulties in translating the concept into workable developmental models and policies (Kasri, 2012). As such, even though there have been persistent calls to expand and implement the concepts of *Maqāṣid* al-Sharī'ah to economic and development studies particularly considering underdevelopment and poverty persistently exist in most of contemporary Muslim countries (Al-Sufi, 2013; M. U. Chapra, 2008; Mirakhor & Askari, 2010), the concept is rarely applied in such studies.

With this perspective, the paper discusses the basic concepts of *Maqāṣid* al-Sharī'ah as the foundation to translate them into appropriate development models and policies. Based on the similarity and significance of works in developing the *maqāṣid* principles, it is argued that human wellbeing/poverty is one of the central themes in the historical deliberations and should be the same when using it to frame policies to resolve development challenges in current Muslim world. Considering that increasing wellbeing and reducing poverty are also the main development objectives, it subsequently develops a general framework to assess socio-economic development status of Muslim countries in the light of *maqāṣid*. It also provides a workable example to show how this framework can be implemented in evaluating the wellbeing changes of Muslims in Indonesia.

Following this introduction, the paper is structured as follow. Section two discusses the basic concepts related to *Maqāṣid* al-Sharī'ah while section three reviews the concepts of poverty/wellbeing. Based on the literature review, a general framework for assessing socio-economic development of Muslim societies is developed in section four. A simple, linear and decomposable multidimensional *Maqāṣid* al-Sharī'ah based poverty index is also briefly discussed. In section five, the index is subsequently applied to a case study which evaluates the welfare changes amongst the recipients of *zakāh* in Indonesia. Primary data collected through a survey conducted in 2011 covering 685 households living in nine cities of Greater Jakarta Metropolitan area in Indonesia is used to carry out this exercise. The final section concludes the study and notes some remarks for future research.

2. *Maqāṣid* al-Sharī'ah and Human Wellbeing/Poverty

2.1. Basic Concepts and Classifications of *Maqāṣid* al-Sharī'ah

The term '*Maqṣid*' (plural: *Maqāṣid*) literally means a purpose, intent, objective, principle, goal or end. *Maqāṣid* al-Sharī'ah could therefore be literally defined as the

objectives, purposes, intents, ends or principles behind the Islamic law or Islamic rulings (Ashur, 2006) or the higher objectives of the law giver (Al-Raysuni, 2005). Some scholars also refer *Maqāṣid* al-Sharī‘ah as ‘people’s interests’ (*masalih*; singular *maṣlahah*).¹ These interpretations are slightly wider than the literal meaning and reflect the ‘interest for humanity’ in the meaning of *Maqāṣid* al-Sharī‘ah (Auda, 2008).

Maqāṣid al-Sharī‘ah is normally classified according to levels of *maṣlahah*, beginning with the essentials (*daruriyyah*), the needs (*hajiyyah*) and the luxuries (*tahsiniyyah*). The essentials or primary interest can be defined as things which are vital to human survival and wellbeing, such that their ‘destruction’ will jeopardize a normal order of life in society.² The needs or complementary interest (*hajiyyah*) can be seen as benefits which seek to remove severity and hardship that do not pose serious threats for the survival of normal life.³ Meanwhile, the luxuries or embellishment (*tahsiniyyah*) can be regarded as things that seek to attain refinement and perfection in the conduct of people at all level of achievement (Kamali, 2008).⁴

Recently, following some critics regarding the ‘inability’ of the *maqāṣid* approach to cope with complexities of time and solve current problems of the *ummah*, dimensions of the ‘classical’ *maqāṣid* have been extended into various

¹ For example, Imam al-Juwayni uses the term *al-maqasid* and public interest (*al-masalih al-ammah*) interchangeably (Auda, 2008). Imam al-Ghazali places *maqasid* under what he called as ‘unrestricted interests (*al-masalih al-mursalah*), which is agreed by his followers al-Razi and al-Amidi (al-Raysuni, 2005; Abu Sway, 1996). Meanwhile, al-Qarafi links *maslahah* and *maqasid* through a fundamental principle in which “a purpose (*maqsid*) is not valid unless it leads to the fulfilment of some good (*maslahah*) or the avoidance of some mischief (*mafsadah*)” (Auda, 2008:20).

² It is often classified into what preserves one’s faith, soul, wealth, mind and offspring. In relation to this, adultery, alcohol or wine-drinking and intoxicants are banned in Islam as they pose threats to the protection and wellbeing of family (off-spring) and the integrity of human intellect (soul and mind) respectively. Islam also bans thefts, monopoly, hoarding of wealth (*rikaz*), *riba* and *gharar* transactions to protect the human wealth. The preservation of faith is also a necessity for human life, albeit probably more in the afterlife sense because Islam perceives life as a ‘comprehensive’ journey in the world and the hereafter (Kamali, 2008).

³ With respect to ritual worship (*ibadah*), for example, Sharī‘ah has granted many concessions (*rukhas*) such as shortening of prayers and opening of fast for the sick and traveller in order to make things easier for Muslims. In daily ‘worldly’ life (*muamalah*), examples of this need are marriage, trade and means of transportation. Although Islam encourages and regulates these activities, the lack of any of these needs is not a matter of life and death especially on an individual basis. However, if the shortage becomes widespread and jeopardizes people’s life, they could be considered as necessities and thus move from the level of complementary interests to the level of necessities.

⁴ This is reflected in the use of, among others, perfume, jewellery, stylish clothing, beautiful homes and sporty cars. These things are important and perfecting human life, although in a lower priorities than the essentials and the needs. They also serve as further signs and proofs for God’s endless mercy and generosity towards human life.

aspects (freedom, human rights, etc.) and particular scopes (based on rulings, scope of people, etc.) (Auda, 2008). The ‘new’ *maqāṣid*, however, have some similarities and differences with the classical perspective particularly in relation to human wellbeing/poverty as will be discussed in the next section.

2.2. *Maqāṣid* Principles and Human Wellbeing/Poverty

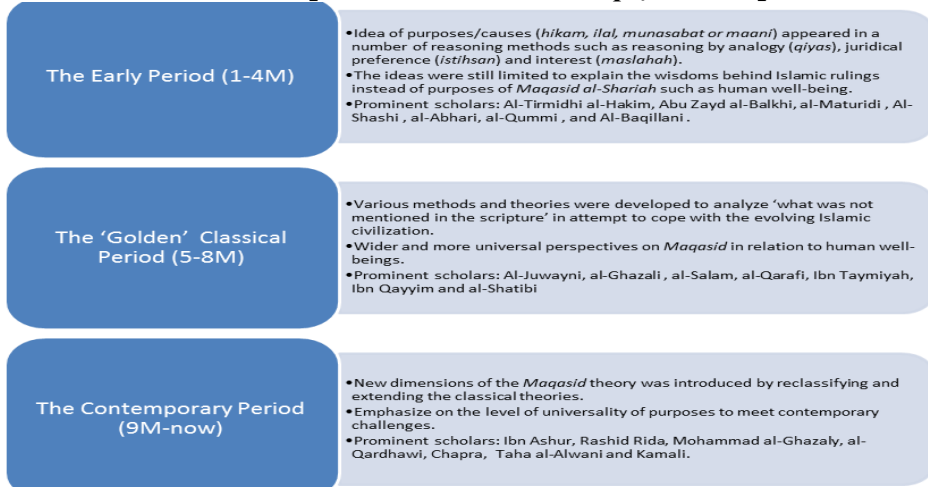
The historical development of *maqāṣid* principles can be generally classified into three milestones (Kasri, 2012), as illustrated in Figure 1. First, the early *maqāṣid* period developed by jurists during the first four Islamic centuries (1-4 AH). In this period, works on *maqāṣid* was dominated by attempts to survey and find ‘wisdoms-behind-rulings’ from the scripture and not directly to the wellbeing objectives. Despite that, most of the wisdom discussed was closely related to important aspect of human wellbeing.⁵ Second, the major *maqāṣid* period lasted from the fifth to the eight of Islamic century (5-8 AH). This is the ‘golden’ period where Islamic scholars really devoted their time and attention to develop appropriate juristic methods and subsequently construct fundamentals of the *maqāṣid* principles in which human wellbeing/poverty became the focus.⁶ Finally, the contemporary period (from 9AH-now, but especially from 13th Islamic century onwards) which is marked by extensions of the ‘classical’ principles of *maqāṣid* based on the complexities of time and the need to reform the current Islamic world including in economic and development dimensions.⁷

⁵For example, al-Tarmidzi al-Hakim wrote *Kitab al-Salah wa Maqasiduna* (the Book of Prayers and Their Purposes) in which the wisdoms and spiritual ‘secrets’ behind each of the prayers rituals (such as ‘confirming humbleness’ as the *maqsid* or purpose behind glorifying God’s with every move during prayers (*takbeer*) or ‘focusing on one’s prayers’ as the *maqsid* behind facing the direction of the *Ka’bah*) are discussed. Abu Zayd al-Balkhi wrote a book dedicated to *maslahah* called *Masalih al-Abdan wa al-Anfus* (Benefits for Bodies and Souls). This book explains how Islamic practices and rulings contribute to human’s health, physically and mentally, which are important aspects of human wellbeing. Other example is a more comprehensive volume of 335 chapters written by al-Qummi, which ‘rationalize’ believing in God, Prophets, heavens as well as the wisdoms behind prayers, fasting, pilgrimage, charity, and other moral obligations (al-Raysuni, 2005; Auda, 2008).

⁶Imam al-Juwayni was probably the first scholar that introduces a theory of ‘levels of necessity’ which later inspired his followers to develop the *maqasid* principles (Auda, 2008). However, the most influential works on *maqasid* during this period are probably the works developed by al-Ghazali with his ‘order of necessities’, al-Shatibi and his postulate ‘*Maqasid* as fundamentals’ and Ibn Taimiyyah and Ibn-Qayyim who calls for ‘what Sharī’ah is all about’ (Al-Raysuni, 2005). Some of the relevant works/citations will be mentioned later in this section.

⁷Ibn Ashur, for instance, emphasized purposes dealing with the ‘nation’ (*ummah*) instead of those dealing with individuals. Rashid Rida included ‘reform’ and ‘women’s rights’ in his theory of *maqasid*. Al-Qardhawi embraced the need “to preserve true faith, maintain human dignity/rights and build a more cooperative world” (Auda, 2008). More recently, Chapra emphasized that the ultimate objective of all

Figure-1
Three Development Milestones of *Maqāṣid* Principles



Source: Kasri (2012)

Based on the similarity and significance of works in developing the *maqāṣid* principles, it is argued that human wellbeing/poverty is a central theme in the historical deliberations of *maqāṣid*. This is particularly reflected in the writings and conceptualizations of *Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* during the classical and contemporary period. Al-Ghazali, for instance, formulated that, “The objective of the Sharī'ah is to promote the wellbeing of all mankind [emphasize added], which lies in safeguarding their faith (*din*), their human self (*nafs*), their intellect (*'aql*), their posterity (*nasl*) and their wealth (*māl*)” (In M. Chapra, 2000:118). Ibn Taymiyyah believed that “Islamic law came to realize and enhance human well-being [emphasize added], and to minimize and neutralize sources of harm and corruption...” (in Al-Raysuni, 2005: 28:34). Ibn Qayyim, the student of Ibn Taymiyyah, added that, “Islamic law is all about wisdom and achieving people’s welfare [emphasize added] in this life and the afterlife. It is all about justice, mercy, wisdom and good.”(in Auda, 2008:20-21). Meanwhile, Al-Shatibi specifically wrote *Kitab al-Maqāṣid* which essentially suggest that the fundamentals of Islamic jurisprudence are definitive in nature and founded on the law’s universals (objectives) included in the essentials (*daruriyyah*), exigencies (*hajiyyah*) and embellishments (*tahsiniyah*). Furthermore, based on an inductive method rooted in the Qur’an, he contended that the essential objectives can be observed in five

Islamic teaching is to be a blessing for mankind, which could only be fulfilled by promoting the real well-being (*falah*) of all people on earth (Chapra, 2008).

dimensions namely religion (*dīn*), human life (*nafs*), progeny (*nasl*), material wealth (*māl*) and human reason (*‘aql*) (in Al-Raysuni, 2005:28).

It is also notable that most of the scholars have recommended relatively similar methods to achieve the objectives namely through opening access (promotion) of human wellbeing and protection/prevention of the things that could harm achievement of the objectives. Al-Ghazali suggested that, “Whatever ensures the safeguard of these five [objectives], serves public interest and is desirable” (In M. Chapra, 2000:118). Al-Izz ibn Abd al-Salam argued that Islamic law basically consists of two interests, namely either interests that prevent what would cause harms or achieve what would bring benefits (in Al-Raysuni, 2005:30-32). Similarly, al-Qarafi wrote about ‘opening the means to achieving good ends’ which could be interpreted as opening access to realize human wellbeing (in Auda, 2008:20). Meanwhile, al-Shatibi contended that Islamic law is aimed to preserve the essential interests by preserving their existence and protecting them from annihilation (in Al-Raysuni, 2005:107-109).

While the human wellbeing goal is also acknowledged by contemporary scholars, in the past few decades attention has been given to other purposes such as freedom and justice which is strongly relevant in the context of Islamic revivalism (Auda, 2008). Nevertheless, in today’s context where poverty and underdevelopment are the main development challenges faced by most Muslim nations,⁸ promoting the real wellbeing and reducing poverty can be considered as one of the important goals. Indeed, it is mentioned that the ultimate objective of all Islamic teaching is to be a blessing for all mankind, which could only be fulfilled by promoting the real wellbeing (*falah*) of all people on earth (M. U. Chapra, 2008:1-3). Thus, increasing human wellbeing or reducing poverty is arguably a central higher purpose of *Maqāṣid* al-Sharī‘ah according to the contemporary scholars.

Somewhat unsurprisingly, the central theme of *maqāṣid* (i.e. increasing human wellbeing or reducing poverty) has also become the main development objective since the past few decades (Iqbal, 2002; Mirakhor & Askari, 2010; World Bank, 1990).⁹ This is presumably due to the fact that developing world, including the Muslim countries, have persistent poverty and even getting poorer overtime (Chen

⁸ More than half a billion of the world’s poor is Muslim and live under abject poverty with incomes below US \$2 a day (Obaidullah, 2008). Most of them have very limited of access to education and healthcare facilities as well as lived with poor housing and poor sanitation facilities (Ahmed, 2004).

⁹ In this study, the term increasing wellbeing and reducing poverty are used interchangeably and sometimes simultaneously as they basically have similar essence.

& Ravallion, 2008; Iqbal, 2002; Obaidullah, 2008a) albeit various attempts have been done to alleviate poverty since the 1990s (Booth & Mosley, 2003).

Before proceeding to the next section, it is worth noting that effective poverty alleviation policies may not be feasible without clear concepts of poverty/wellbeing that can be consistently measured (Sirageldin, 2000; World Bank, 2001). Thus, it is important to clearly understand the conceptualizations of poverty/wellbeing prior to developing appropriate framework to measure it based on new perspectives such as the *maqāṣid* principles. These are the main focus of the next sections.

3. Review of Conventional Concepts of Poverty/Wellbeing

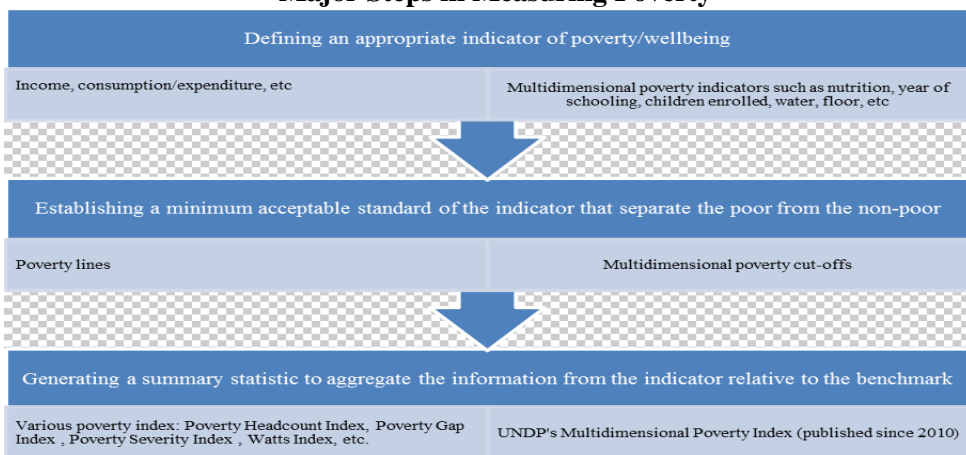
In contemporary poverty/wellbeing studies, there are two major approaches to the definitions and measurements of poverty. The first approach is the narrow approach to poverty, which considers poverty simply in material/monetary terms. Under this approach, poverty is typically measured by comparing individuals' income/consumption with some defined thresholds (poverty line) below which they are considered to be poor. With this approach, aggregate poverty index such as the headcount index and the poverty severity index are widely used to represent the poverty conditions (Ravallion, 1994). The second broader approach goes beyond the traditional monetary measure and includes possession of specific types of consumption goods/services such as shelter, healthcare and education as the basic needs. This approach implies that a household without access to the basic entitlements indeed lives in poverty (Haughton & Khandker, 2009; Townsend, 1985; Yunus, 2007). The Human Development Index (HDI) is often seen as a representative measure of poverty under this approach (Sudhir Anand & Sen, 1997).

More recently, discussion within the second approach has been extended into the capability approach. Pioneered by the works of Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen, it is argued that poverty/wellbeing comes from the capability to function in a society. Specifically, poverty arises when people lack key capabilities which leave them with 'deficiencies' and inadequate resources to exist in a society (see, for instance, Sudhir Anand & Sen, 1997; Sen, 1993, 2005). Such deficiencies include, among others, low incomes, low education, poor health, insecurity, low self-confidence, a sense of powerlessness and the absence of rights such as freedom of speech (Robeyns, 2005). Furthermore, poverty is seen as deprivation of capabilities and lack of multiple freedoms that people value or have reasons to value (Alkire, 2007). Viewed in this way, capability poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon that largely depends on people's norms and values. Under this approach, the Multidimensional Poverty

Index (MPI) launched by the United Nation in 2010 is generally seen as a representative measure of multidimensional poverty (Alkire & Deneulin, 2009).

Following the conceptualizations above, Figure 2 illustrates three main steps typically taken to measure poverty and compares the approaches commonly used in the current conventional poverty studies. Although this framework is generally applied in measuring the monetary poverty (Alkire & Foster, 2007), it is increasingly being utilized to develop the multidimensional poverty measures under the capability approach (Comim & Qizilbash, 2008). However, as multidimensional poverty is a relatively new concept in economic and poverty studies, the framework is not strictly applied in the discipline (Alkire & Foster, 2011; Ravallion, 2011) and a number of other issues need to be considered in assessing poverty across the multiple dimensions.¹⁰

Figure-2
Major Steps in Measuring Poverty



Source: Author’s summary from various sources

¹⁰ According to Alkire (2007), there are a number of important issues require consideration to assess poverty across the multiple dimensions. The issues include, (i) how to choose the domains or dimensions; (ii) how to choose relevant indicators for the domains and related capabilities; (iii) how to model the interaction among indicators and among dimensions; (iv) how to set relative weights for each dimension and indicator; (v) how to aggregate or compare across individuals or groups; (vi) how to aggregate across dimensions or, alternatively, to perform rankings and comparisons; and (vii) how to incorporate freedom and agency into multidimensional capability poverty measures. Discussions on these issues are still on-going until now.

In defining the appropriate indicator of poverty under the first perspective, the choice is normally between income and consumption/expenditure.¹¹ Each indicator has strengths and weaknesses.¹² Therefore, the choice of an appropriate welfare indicator must eventually be adjusted to the research objectives (Haughton & Khandker, 2009). As for the multidimensional poverty, theoretically there are unlimited options for the poverty/wellbeing dimensions and indicators (Alkire, 2002). As such, the choices of the most appropriate indicators have been a subject of on-going debate amongst the proponents. It is notable, however, that taking account of people's norms/values is considered as an appropriate method in selecting the dimensions and indicators of poverty/wellbeing (Alkire, 2007).¹³

In policy perspective, an interesting aspect of the aforementioned debate is the 'limits' to the number of dimensions and indicators used for constructing the multidimensional poverty index. On one hand, some scholars - including Amartya Sen, the pioneer of the capability approach- believe that there is no 'fixed list' of capabilities to go with the general capability approach. This is primarily due to the impossibility of compiling a list that could be used for every purpose and that is unaffected by the importance of different capabilities. As a result, the capabilities should be selected in light of the values of the referent population and the purpose of the study (Sen, 2004).¹⁴ However, other scholars, such as philosopher Martha Nussbaum (2003), argue that such a condition has created problems for policy-makers trying to focus their attention on fighting poverty. She also contended that the specification of one 'list' of domains or central capabilities is necessary to ensure that the content of the capability approach carries a critical force and therefore the

¹¹ There are a number of other indicators such as calories consumed per person per day, food consumption as a fraction of total expenditure, nutritional status and observer assessment. However, they are rarely used in calculating (monetary) poverty.

¹² Given the limited number of income sources, it is normally easier to measure income than consumption. Nevertheless, it is also likely to be underreported. In contrast, while some expenditure is not incurred regularly, expenditure as a whole is usually easier to recall and less understated than income (Haughton and Khandker, 2009).

¹³ It is noted by Alkire (2007:7) that in the practical applications of the capability approach and related multidimensional [poverty] approaches, the methods of identifying capabilities or poverty dimensions are surprisingly straightforward. Most researchers draw implicitly on five selection methods, either alone or in combination, based on (i) existing data/convention, (ii) assumption of what people do/should value, (iii) public 'consensus', (iv) on-going deliberative participatory processes and (v) empirical evidence from multidisciplinary studies regarding people's values.

¹⁴ Despite that, Sen (2004:80) said that "I have nothing against the listing of capabilities but must stand up against a grand mausoleum to one fixed and final list of capabilities".

possibility of the ‘wrong’ freedoms being prioritized and expanded could be minimized.¹⁵

Despite the on-going debate, literature generally suggests that there are a number of indicators commonly used in empirical studies related to multidimensional poverty (see Appendix 1). The indicators are drawn not only from poverty/wellbeing studies, but also from sociology, anthropology, psychology/psychometric, philosophy, culture/behaviour as well as quality of life and happiness studies. Some notable dimensions and indicators frequently used in the studies are indicators related to life and/or health (food, nutrition, housing, clothing, access to healthcare services, water, sanitation, etc.), education (literacy, basic education, years of schooling, children enrolled, etc.), economic aspects (work/employment, working conditions, economic security, etc.), religion/spiritual aspects (transcendence-creativity, transcendence peace with God, morality, religious observance, etc.) and other social/family indicators (marriage, children, peace, harmony, participation in/attachment to local community, personal liberty and freedom, etc.).

Furthermore, in establishing a poverty standard, a poverty line is commonly used as a benchmark. In monetary poverty analysis, a poverty line could be technically defined as the level of income/expenditure needed for an individual/household to escape poverty.¹⁶ Thus, it could be considered the minimum income/expenditure required for meeting the basic needs (Ravallion, 1998).¹⁷ With respect to multidimensional poverty analysis, there are two general approaches to determine the poverty threshold. One approach is to use a particular (yet somewhat ad-hoc) poverty cut-off point based on researcher’s judgement, while another approach is to directly ask the poor whether they are deprived in a particular dimension of wellbeing or not.

¹⁵ Nussbaum (2003:33) strongly argued that “capabilities can help us to construct a normative conception of social justice...only if we specify a definite set of capabilities as the most important ones to protect. Sen’s ‘perspective of freedom’ is too vague. Some freedoms limit others; some freedoms are important, some trivial, some good, and some positively bad. Before the approach can offer a valuable normative gender perspective, we must make commitments about the substance”

¹⁶ A poverty line is usually (and officially) defined for an individual. However, since poverty studies are mostly conducted on the household level, the common approach is to construct one per capita line for all individuals and adjust the line with household composition or size. This implies that a household poverty line could be generated by multiplying the per capita line with the household size. For further discussion, see Ravallion (1998).

¹⁷ The current literature also recognizes the so-called ‘subjective’ poverty line constructed by directly asking people about their poverty line. In practice, the self-rated measure is often used as a complement to the more traditional ‘objective’ poverty lines.

Under the multidimensional poverty analysis, the first approach is used by Mack and Lansley (1985) who identified people as poor if they were poor in three or more out of 26 deprivations. It is also utilized in UNICEF's Child Poverty Report 2003, as mentioned by Gordon et al. (2003), in which a child is called deprived if he/she suffers in two or more dimensions of poverty. Quite recently, a more general (yet somewhat normative) "dual cut-off" method of identification has been introduced and employed in the construction of the UNDP's Multidimensional Poverty Index (Alkire & Foster, 2011). With this approach, a person is defined as poor if he/she is deprived in two to six out of 10 of the MPI's indicators (UNDP, 2010).¹⁸ The second approach, which directly asks the poor about their poverty/wellbeing status, is mostly used in psychological/psychometric, happiness and behavioural studies. Examples of such studies are the studies on identification of multidimensional poverty in Germany (Van Praag & Ferrer-i-Carbonell, 2008) and Luxemburg (Fusco & Dickes, 2008).

Once the poverty/welfare measure and the poverty benchmark are determined, aggregate poverty measures can be constructed. Under this approach, the aggregate statistics include poverty index such as Poverty Headcount Index, Poverty Gap index, Poverty Severity Index and Watt Index.¹⁹ As for multidimensional poverty, there have been recent attempts to aggregate various dimensions of poverty into a single composite index called the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI).²⁰ Developed from the 'counting' method initially proposed by Atkinson (2003) and Bourguignon and Chakravarty (2003), the MPI is basically the product of the multidimensional poverty headcount (the proportion of people who are multidimensionally poor) and the average number of deprivations each multidimensionally poor household experienced (the intensity of their poverty) in three dimensions and 10 indicators with equal weights.

¹⁸ In a recent publication, Alkire and Foster, who developed the Multidimensional Poverty Index, admit that "The choice of k could therefore be a *normative one* [emphasis added], with k reflecting the minimum deprivation count required to be considered poor in a specific context under consideration" (Alkire and Foster 2011:483).

¹⁹ For more discussion on the index, see Haughton and Khandker (2009).

²⁰ Some studies consider the Human Development Index (HDI) and the Human Poverty Index (HPI) introduced by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 1990 and 1997 respectively as multidimensional poverty indices. However, when the indices were launched, they were never meant to represent the multidimensional poverty concept. Rather, HDI is "a composite index that takes into account three types of deprivations" (UNDP 1990:5), which is closer to the broad approach to poverty. Meanwhile, HPI is a composite index based on several parameters known to influence human capabilities (UNDP 2006). Only recently have the indices been "re-categorized" as multidimensional poverty indices. Despite that, as emphasized in the UNDP's 2010 Human Development Report, HPI has recently been replaced by the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) (UNDP 2010:95).

More recently, however, it has been pointed out that a single aggregate index is not appropriate and can never be a sufficient statistic of poverty under the multidimensional nature of the approach. Indeed, it is suggested that a credible set of multiple indices such as ‘health poverty’ or ‘education poverty’ be developed rather than a single-composite multidimensional poverty index (Ravallion, 2011). Given the on-going debates, it is anticipated that the method(s) for aggregating the multidimensional poverty measure will continue to be refined in the future (Alkire, et al., 2011).

In addition to the issues above, some other issues might need to be considered prior to assessing multidimensional poverty/wellbeing. An important issue is modelling the interaction between dimensions and indicators of the poverty/wellbeing measure. The choices range from linear relationship to non-linear relationships,²¹ and require rigorous examinations prior to model the measure (Alkire, 2007). Other issue is setting the relative weight for each dimension and indicator. While most studies and current indices (such as HDI and MPI) use equal weight for each dimension and indicator (Atkinson, 2003),²² it is possible to utilize unequal weight provided that appropriate justifications are made.²³ If cross-country comparison becomes one of the measurement objectives, it is necessary to think about the method to aggregate the individuals and subsequently compare or perform the rankings of the index/measures generated (Alkire, 2007). Finally, data availability also needs to be taken into account if global comparison is aimed from the measurement results (Haughton & Khandker, 2009).

4. General Framework for Developing a *Maqāṣid* al-Sharī‘ah Based Multidimensional Poverty Measure

Following discussion in the previous sections, at least three stages are needed to construct a *maqāṣid*-based multidimensional poverty/wellbeing measure. The stages are (i) defining poverty/wellbeing indicators (i.e. choosing the dimensions and indicators) suitable with the *maqāṣid* perspective, (ii) defining the relevant poverty/wellbeing threshold, and (iii) constructing an appropriate *maqāṣid*-based multidimensional poverty/wellbeing measures.

²¹ Examples of the non-linear relationships are the equations representing the poverty severity index and the Watts index. For detailed discussion of the index, see Haughton and Khandker (2009).

²² See also Technical Note 4 in Human Development Report 2010 (UNDP, 2010) and Alkire and Foster (2011).

²³ For example, economic dimension of HDI might have a higher weight than education dimension if there are strong reasons (such as gaining more importance worldwide due to economic recovery, etc.) to do so.

In the first stage, it is argued that the *maqāṣid* principles -particularly those advocated by al-Ghazali and al-Shatibi- provide relevant guidance in selecting the appropriate poverty/wellbeing dimensions. To recall, the classical scholars have recommended the safeguarding of five main dimensions of human wellbeing, including faith (*dīn*), human self (*nafs*), intellect (*‘aql*), posterity (*nasl*) and wealth (*māl*) as the main objective of Sharī‘ah. In contemporary time, the dimensions could be interpreted into religious/spiritual, health, education, family/social and economic dimensions.

The Ghazalian/Shatibian maxim is considered as an appropriate framework to examine multidimensional aspects of human wellbeing for at least two main reasons, including (i) its relevance to current situation in the Muslim world where poverty and backwardness persistently exist most notably in the past few centuries, and (ii) its approach which limit the poverty/wellbeing dimensions into five dimensions such that policy makers could focus their attentions and resources to the aspects.²⁴ Furthermore, from a technical perspective, it is notable that a measurement is easier when it involves relatively limited number of concepts. In this respect, despite its limitations, human wellbeing as measured by the five levels of necessities is relatively easier to measure than those described under an unlimited or open-ended list of human wellbeing indicators as prescribed by other scholars particularly Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Qayyim.²⁵ In a more practical context, it is also more useful to be able to say useful things of what happening and thereby contribute to or at least inspire policy making with the useful empirical findings²⁶ while keeping ‘alternative’ discourses alive.

It is also contended that the *maqāṣid* principles left the most suitable operational indicators for the Muslim society to determine according to the current conditions and norms/customs (*‘urf*) of the people. In Islamic studies literature, this ‘method’

²⁴ This is similar with the perspective of Nussbaum who contended that the specification of one ‘list’ of domains or central capabilities is necessary to ensure that the content of the capability approach carries a critical force and therefore the possibility of the ‘wrong’ freedoms being prioritized and expanded could be minimized.

²⁵ This is similar with the position of Amartya Sen in the debate of operationalizing the capability approach.

²⁶ In relation to this, in an article on the revolutions that occur within economics, a prominent British economics John Hicks acknowledges that economists’ need for a focus. “In order that we should be able to say useful things about what is happening, before it is too late, we must select, even select quite violently. We must concentrate our attention, and hope that we have concentrated it in the right place. We must work, if we are to work effectively, in some sort of blinkers” (1983: 4; quoted from Alkire 2007:115-116).

has been practiced not only by the classical scholars but also by the Prophet (pbuh) and the companions (Mattson, 2003). However, it is notable that the *maqāṣid* principles suggest that human wellbeing could be achieved through opening access (promotion) and protection of the essentials from potential harms such that people have abilities to exist in society and ultimately have a meaningful life and achieve *falah*. This implies that access and ability should be the focus of the indicators. Based on this consideration, suitable indicators could be selected from a bunch of indicators presented in the earlier table. Examples of such indicators are also presented in Table

In the second stage, an ‘Islamic’ poverty threshold needs to set up to determine a measure that can distinguish the poor from the non-poor. In this respect, as discussed earlier, current literature on multidimensional poverty suggests that the threshold could be either determined based on researcher’s judgment or determined based on people’s perception (i.e. by directly ask the poor whether they are deprived in a particular dimension of wellbeing or not). However, it seems that up to now there is no strong consensus regarding the most suitable multidimensional poverty threshold including the methods to generate it. Indeed, the choice of the threshold is relatively normative and usually determined by the objectives of the study. As such, bearing the purpose of constructing the Islamic poverty measure, a *maqāṣid*-based multidimensional poverty could adopt one of the strategies above in setting a poverty line.²⁷

In the final stage, a *maqāṣid*-based multidimensional poverty measures can be constructed once the dimensions/indicators and poverty/wellbeing threshold are selected. However, as mentioned in the previous section, currently there seems to be no widely acceptable measure of multidimensional poverty/wellbeing. Indeed, debates are still on-going on whether to use a single-composite multidimensional poverty index (such as the MPI) or a multiple composite poverty indices (such as health poverty index or education poverty index). While both methods have their strengths and weaknesses, it appears that the most suitable method for aggregating such measure is determined by the purpose of constructing such index.²⁸

²⁷ It is realized that some Muslim scholars have discussed the minimum living sustenance in the context of eligibility to pay and receive *zakāh*. Specifically, *zakāh* must be paid if the assets reach a certain amount of *zakatable* assets, usually in excess of the basic needs of those subject to paying *zakāh*, known as *niṣāb*. This minimum amount is usually calculated in terms of money. For example, based on the hadith narrated by Abu Mas’ud, al-Thauri suggested that the minimum income required for satisfying the basic necessities of eating and living for a day and a night is around fifty *dirhams* of money (in al-Qardawi, 2000). Therefore, it is more suitable in assessing monetary based measure of poverty instead of the multidimensional measure.

²⁸ On one hand, proponents of MPI argue that a single-composite index is powerful in directing attentions of policy makers regarding poverty conditions of nations (see, for instance, Alkire and Santos

Table-1
Examples of Operational Indicators for a *Maqāsid*-based
Multidimensional Poverty Measure

Dimension	Element (Operational Indicator)
Health: Access and ability to meet basic needs and become (physically) healthy	1. Consumption
	2. Access to healthcare
	3. Awareness of health
	4. Frequency of sickness
Education: Ability to access education and be knowledgeable	5. Access to school
	6. School attendance
	7. Basic knowledge from schooling
	8. Academic/school achievement
Economy: Access and ability to earn income and sustain a living	9. Skill
	10. Employability
	11. Income
	12. Purchasing power
Faith: Access and ability to know and practise one’s religion	13. Savings
	14. Prayers and fasting
	15. Islamic/Qur’anic studies
	16. Charity (<i>sadaqah</i>)
Social: Access and ability to manage a family that is Islamic and well-functioning in society	17. <i>Hajj</i> (great pilgrimage)
	18. Better future for family
	19. Harmony
	20. Un-Islamic or anti-social activities
	21. Participation in community activities

Moreover, in relation to the technical model, it is argued that a simple linear model with equal weight amongst the dimensions/indicators is preferable than the others. This is particularly due to its simplicity and easy methods of calculation. This has proven to be the case with the widely used poverty headcount index, poverty gap index and poverty severity index in the literature of monetary poverty.²⁹ As such, an aggregate single-composite linear model of *maqāsid*-based multidimensional poverty index is proposed. Such a general model could be generally formulated as follow.

2011). However, others argue that it is a single-composite index cannot give sufficient information for policy makers to direct their resources and solve the dimensional poverty problems (see, for instance, Ravallion 2011). Thus, each party seems to have solid arguments to defend their positions in which the purpose of constructing the index becomes their main concern.

²⁹ For more discussion on the index and their advantages, see Haughton and Khandker (2009).

$$\text{Equation 1} \quad \text{MSMPI} = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n H + Ed + R + Ec + S$$

In which MSMPI is *Maqāṣid* al-Sharī'ah Multidimensional Poverty Index; n is the weight for each dimension/indicator, which is assumed to be equal for each dimension and indicator (i.e. $n=1/5$);³⁰H, Ed, R, Ec and S are the weighted average value/score of poverty/wellbeing in health, education, religious/spiritual, economic and social dimensions respectively.³¹ Note that the model could be static (i.e. only measure wellbeing condition in one time period) or dynamic (i.e. measure wellbeing conditions in two period or the changes in the conditions) depending on purposes of study and data availability.

With a similar method, a set of multiple linear indices could be constructed for each of the poverty/wellbeing dimension.

$$\text{Equation 2} \quad H = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n X_i$$

In which H is *maqāṣid*-based poverty index in health dimension, which is derived from an equally weighted score of the indicators ($X_i, i = 1 \dots n$) constructing the index. This general formula could be used to generate a multiple set of poverty/wellbeing index in other dimensions (i.e. Ed, R, Ec and S). As such, the aggregate-composite index (from equation 1) is basically decomposable into five composite indices for each dimension of poverty/wellbeing. Furthermore, it is possible to do other decomposition (by group of people, location, etc.) provided that the subgroups data is available.³²

5. Implementation of MSMPI in Indonesia

5.1. Data and Methods

To provide an illustration for the implementation of the *maqāṣid*-based multidimensional poverty index, this study uses information collected from a survey

³⁰ Equal weight was given to each indicator/dimension since there is no strong justification to prioritize one variable above the others. This method has been adopted in many studies, resulting in the Human Development Index and other similar development indices (Sudhir Anand & Sen, 1997; Anto, 2009; Dar & Otiti, 2002).

³¹ The value/score could be generated either from researcher's judgment or people's perceptions discussed earlier.

³² For example, if socio-demographic profiles of respondents (age, gender, education, occupation, income group, etc.) are available, the index could be decomposed according to those characteristics.

of 685 households receiving *zakāh* assistance in nine cities³³ of the Greater Jakarta Metropolitan area of Indonesia in 2011. The group is selected mainly because they are all Muslims households, mostly poor and have received *zakāh* assistance for around a year such that it is possible to analyze their poverty/wellbeing changes after receiving the assistance by using the *maqāṣid* framework. Furthermore, the Greater Jakarta area was selected to enable a more focused and rigorous analysis. The primary data was collected in 2011 by utilizing the clustered random sampling method which enabled collection of 685 valid (sampling) responses from 5605 population.³⁴

A questionnaire based survey (interview-administered questionnaire) sought information on socio-demographic profiles³⁵ and perceptions regarding the changes in the households' poverty/wellbeing conditions after (with) receiving *zakāh* assistance.³⁶ Using the framework discussed above, the poverty/wellbeing changes are analysed in five dimensions (i.e. health, education, religion, economic and social) suggested by the Ghazalian/Shatibain *maqāṣid* principles covering 21 indicators developed from the existing literature (see again Table 2). The indicators used in the economic dimension, for instance, are mostly adopted from Allardt (1993) and Rahman and Ahmad (2010) with the focus to access and ability to earn income and sustain a living for the family. Meanwhile, the social indicators are taken from studies such as those by Ahmed (2002) and Narayan, Chambers et al. (2000).

³³ The cities include Jakarta Utara (North Jakarta), Jakarta Timur (East Jakarta) Jakarta Pusat (Central Jakarta), Jakarta Barat (West Jakarta), Jakarta Selatan (South Jakarta), Depok, Tangerang, Bogor and Bekasi.

³⁴ With the clustered random sampling method, the primary data is collected randomly (i.e. based on a table of random sampling) and sequentially according to the households' city of residence. The list of *zakāh* recipients was obtained from seven large Indonesian *zakāh* organizations willing to participate in this study. There were around 5605 households receiving *zakāh* assistance in Greater Jakarta in 2011. From the list, around 700 of the households are randomly selected by using the sampling method. However, only around 685 of the data (questionnaires) were valid for further analysis. Despite that, analysis with 685 samples should be enough because literature suggests that to achieve 99% confidence level and 5% margin error only around 600 samples are needed (Bartlett, 2001).

³⁵ The main information asked includes socio-demographic profile of head of household (age, gender, marital status, education and occupation) and household size.

³⁶ Ideally, two-round of survey (i.e. before and after) must be conducted to collect the data with an experimental study design. However, due to time and budget constraint, it was decided to conduct one survey asking conditions in two period of time. This method has been implemented by, among others, Jehle (1994) and Beik (2010) to measure the changes of poverty amongst *zakāh* recipients in Pakistan and Indonesia.

Furthermore, to measure the perception, an itemized rating³⁷ on the scale of 1-6 was utilized.³⁸ Score 1-3 reflect negative changes (extremely worse, worse and slightly worse), meanwhile score 4-6 reflect positive changes (slightly better, better and extremely better). As such, any scores above 4 suggest that respondents experience wellbeing improvement or poverty reduction. This implies that the score of 4 is the cut-off point for the multidimensional poverty measure.

Once the data were obtained, this study constructed a single-composite *maqāsid*-based multidimensional poverty index for each of the poverty dimension (see equation 2). As recommended in literature, the multiple set of index is viewed as the most appropriate representation of the multidimensional nature of poverty (Ravallion, 2011). However, it also calculated an aggregate measure for all wellbeing/poverty dimensions (see equation 1) which is suggested as useful for focusing the attention of policy-makers regarding the importance of the findings (Alkire et al., 2011). The results are presented in the next section.

5.2. Main Findings and Discussions

Generally speaking, descriptive statistics of the respondents reveal that most of the poor households receiving *zakāh* assistance in Greater Jakarta Indonesia were those led by someone relatively young, female, married, uneducated and mostly not working (see Table 2). Additionally, the household size was relatively large with an average number of 5.1 members. These results are hardly surprising since the profiles are the typical characteristics of poor people in Indonesia (Alisjahbana & Yusuf, 2003).

Further results suggest that most of the households received some sort of education assistance (43.5%) from the *zakāh* organizations. The assistance is usually provided for the children in the household and given in terms of scholarships (for tuition fee), school supplies and other school related expenditure. Additionally, economic assistance and social assistance were received by around 26.7% and 22.3% of respondents respectively. The economic assistance is given in many forms including working capital (cash and non-cash/in-kind) assistances. Meanwhile, healthcare assistance was received by only around 7.45% of the households.

³⁷ An itemized rating is a rating of a subject matter (degrees change, etc.) in which numerical scales with various points (usually between 3-10 point scales, as needed) are provided for each item so that the respondents can choose the appropriate number suitable for their conditions.

³⁸ An even-numbered rating (scale of 1-6) is used to avoid neutral and biased answers.

Table-2
Profile of Respondents (*Zakāh* Recipients)

Variable	Frequency	Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Age			
15-45	433	63,21	63,21
46-64	226	32,99	96,2
>64	26	3,8	100
Total	685	100	
Gender			
Female	499	72,85	72,85
Male	186	27,15	100
Total	685	100	
Marital status			
Single parent	257	37,52	37,52
Married	428	62,48	100
Total	685	100	
Highest education			
Not going to school	97	14,16	14,16
Elementary School	199	29,05	43,21
Junior High School	158	23,07	66,28
Senior High School	213	31,09	97,37
College/University	18	2,63	100
Total	685	100	
Occupation			
Not working	328	47,88	47,88
Informal Sector Labor	91	13,28	61,17
Trader/Small-Businessman	194	28,32	89,49
Employee	60	8,76	98,25
Others	12	1,75	100
Total	685	100	
Types of <i>Zakāh</i> Assistance			
Economic	183	26,72	26,72
Education	298	43,5	70,22
Healthcare	51	7,45	77,66
Social	153	22,34	100
Total	685	100	

The estimated *Maqāṣid* al-Sharī'ah Multidimensional Poverty Index (MSMPI) is reported in Table 3. In aggregate level, the estimated index has a score of 4.12. Since the value is higher than four, it can be concluded that the wellbeing of the households have slightly increased after receiving *zakāh* assistance. In other words, the households' poverty has decreased due to the contributions of *zakāh* institution.

However, the aggregate-composite index cannot tell which dimensions actually have the poverty reduction impacts of *zakāh*. As such, the table also reports the decompositions of the aggregate index.

Table-3
Results of the *Maqāsid*-based Multidimensional Poverty Index (MSMPI)

Dimension of Poverty/Wellbeing	Obs.	MSMPI	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Health	677	4.20	0.73	2	6
Education	581	4.55	0.79	2	6
Religion	297	4.06	0.74	2	6
Economic	466	3.65	0.76	1.4	6
Social	90	4.16	0.67	2.75	6
<i>Average</i>		<i>4.12</i>			

It is shown that the households have enjoyed slightly higher wellbeing (or slightly lower poverty) in four out of five wellbeing/poverty dimensions as the MSMPI scores are all above the cut-off points of four. The highest welfare enhancement is found with respect to education dimension (score 4.20), followed by health dimension (score 4.20) and social dimension (score 4.16). Meanwhile, the smallest poverty reduction is found in relation to economic dimension (score 3.65).

Further examination for each of the wellbeing dimensions is summarized in Table 4. It is apparent from the table that the highest wellbeing improvement was experienced in the educational dimension. On average, around 87.34% of the respondents mentioned that the household's wellbeing in terms of children's school attendance, literacy, school achievement and access to school had increased significantly after the receipt of support from the *zakāh* institutions. Amongst the indicators, the most positive changes were felt in relation to school attendance and literacy (i.e. ability to read and do mathematical calculations), which seem to be particularly related to the educational assistance provided by the institution.

In contrast, the smallest poverty reduction impact was felt in the economic dimension. Only 53.92%, or slightly more than half, of the households expressed positive changes in wellbeing. Specifically, purchasing power and savings were found to be the measures in which most of the households had reported deterioration in their daily lives, as indicated by the large proportions of negative changes. However, in terms of skills, employability and income, improvements were actually more prevalent. It is therefore suggested that, although the households have

experienced improvement in their economic resources (i.e. the first three indicators), for some reasons the positive changes could not be translated into higher economic outcomes (i.e. purchasing power and savings).

Table-4
Specific Changes in Multidimensional Poverty Measure

Poverty Measure/Indicator	N	Negative changes (not-improved/poorer)		Positive changes (improved/less poor)	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Health Dimension					
Food consumption	684	166	24.27	518	75.73
Access to health service	677	183	27.03	494	72.97
Health awareness	684	102	14.91	582	85.09
Quality of health	683	138	20.2	545	79.8
<i>Average</i>			21.60		78.40
Education Dimension					
School access	599	89	14.86	510	85.14
School attendance	597	63	10.55	534	89.45
Literacy	585	70	11.97	515	88.03
School achievement	595	79	13.28	516	86.72
<i>Average</i>			12.67		87.34
Religious/Spiritual Dimension					
Praying and fasting	682	52	7.62	630	92.38
Islamic/Qur'anic study	674	127	18.84	547	81.16
Charity	672	171	25.45	501	74.55
Hajj	299	208	69.57	91	30.43
<i>Average</i>			30.37		69.63
Economic Dimension					
Skill	663	210	31.67	453	68.33
Employability	660	263	39.85	397	60.15
Income	684	253	36.99	431	63.01
Purchasing power	559	363	64.94	196	35.06
Savings	562	320	56.94	242	43.06
<i>Average</i>			46.08		53.92
Social Dimension					
Future	663	111	16.74	552	83.26
Harmony	681	67	9.84	614	90.16
Anti-social behavior	94	36	38.3	58	61.7
Community activity	672	127	18.9	545	81.1
<i>Average</i>			20.95		79.06

Overall, the findings suggest that *zakāh* institution have successfully reduced the poverty condition of the household receiving *zakāh* assistance in Greater Jakarta

Indonesia from 2010 to 2011. The largest poverty reduction is felt in education dimension, while the smallest reduction is experienced in economic dimensions. This result is an expected result from the institution of *zakāh*, which add empirical evidence regarding the positive contribution of *zakāh* institution in reducing poverty in Muslim countries. Additionally, in the context of this study, it provides a workable example on how *Maqāṣid* al-Sharī‘ah principles could be implemented in measuring socio-economic policy results in Muslim societies.

From policy perspective, the findings have at least three implications. Generally speaking, first, negative changes (i.e. higher poverty) in each indicator provide a ‘clue’ for the government and relevant institutions regarding the area that need their supports. Similarly, positive changes indicate that policies in the areas are relatively successful in increasing the recipients’ welfare. Second, *zakāh* institutions have provided valuable contributions that increased education wellbeing of the recipients. Accordingly, government needs to learn and perhaps collaborate with the Islamic social institution to further improve the model. Third, it is evident that the poor’s economic outcomes (i.e. purchasing power and savings) did not change significantly although their economic resources (skills, employability and income) have increased. This implies that the current economic system might not in favour of the poor. All these implications should be of concern by the government and other relevant institutions.

6. Concluding Remarks

Despite calls to expand and implement the concept of *Maqāṣid* al-Sharī‘ah to frame policies aimed to resolve current development challenges in Muslim world, it has been rarely utilized by Muslim scholars. This paper, therefore, attempts to translate the *maqāṣid* principles and proposes a general framework to assess socio-economic development of Muslim societies based on the principles. It also provides a workable example on how the *Maqāṣid* al-Sharī‘ah principles could be implemented in assessing socio-economic policy results in Muslim societies.

Despite the attempts, it is realized that the general framework provided could be improved in many ways. The current study focuses on the translation of the *maqāṣid* principles in choosing dimensions/indicators for constructing a simple linear multidimensional poverty index based on the Islamic perspective. It did not focus, however, on the technicalities to generate alternative forms of models or test the model specifications/properties that could best reflect the multidimensional poverty/wellbeing in Islamic countries. Cross-country comparison is also another issue not addressed in this paper, since it is focused on comparing the

poverty/wellbeing changes in one group of people overtime. These are some of the area of research that could be investigated in further studies to further advance research on contemporary applications of *maqāṣid*.

Appendix-1

Multidimensional Poverty/Wellbeing Indicators

No	Dimensions/Indicators	References
1	Nutrition, shelter, health, mortality rate, education, political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, security	Sen (1993; 1996, 1999)
2	Life; bodily health; bodily integrity; senses, imagination and thought; emotions; practical reason (education); affiliation; other species; play; control over one's environment	Nussbaum (2003)
3	Relatedness, transcendence-creativity, rootedness, sense of identity and individuality, the need for a frame of orientation and devotion	Fromm (1955)
4	Input-output (nutrition, water, air); climate balance with nature (clothing, shelter); health; community; symbolic interaction and reflection (education)	Galtung (1980)
5	Life; knowledge (understanding and education); meaningful work and play; friendship and other valued kinds of human relationships; authentic self-direction; transcendence 'peace with God' or some non-theistic but more-than-human source of meaning and value	Finnis (1980)
6	Nutritional food/water, protective housing, work, physical environment, healthcare, security in childhood, significant primary relationships (marriage), physical security, economic security, safe birth control/childbearing, basic education	Doyal and Gough (1991)
7	Having economic resources, housing, employment, working conditions, health, education; attachments/contacts with local community, family and friends, associations, colleagues, etc.; self-determination, leisure-time (social) activities, meaningful work and opportunities to enjoy nature	Allardt (1993)
8	Longevity, infant/child mortality, preventable morbidity, literacy, nourishment, personal liberty and freedom	Anand and Sen (1994)
9	Health/nutrition/sanitation/rest/shelter/security; literacy/basic intellectual and physical capacities; positive freedom or autonomy; negative freedom or liberty; understanding or knowledge; participation in social life	Qizilbash (1996)
10	Material wellbeing (having enough food, assets and work); bodily wellbeing (being and appearing well, health, physical environment); social wellbeing (being able to care for, bring up, marry and settle children, peace, harmony, good relations in the family/community); security (a physically safe and secure environment, lawfulness and access to justice, confidence in the future); psychological wellbeing (peace of mind, happiness, harmony, spiritual life and religious observance, freedom of choice and action)	Narayan et al (2000)
11	Morality, food, family, friendship, material resources, intelligence, romantic, relationship, physical appearance, self, income, housing, social life	Biswas-Diener and Diener (2001)
12	Health (nutrition/food, child mortality); education (years of schooling, children enrolled); Living standard (cooking fuel, toilet, water, electricity, floor and assets).	Alkire and Santos, in UNDP (2010)

Source: Author's summary from the listed references.

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