

COVID-19: An Opportunity to Re-Think Islamic Economics

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ABSTRACT. This brief comment begins in section 1 by making some observations on the lead paper, highlighting the need to have some comparative data with regards to the impact of COVID-19 on OIC countries and to have analyses to see if there were any similarities or differences in countries that had Islamic economics and finance reforms. Section 2 of the paper discusses the need to re-think the approach taken in presenting Islamic economics and the possible impact this would have in dealing with the post COVID-19 economy. It is important to realize that Islamic economics must be seen as a 3-sector economy, in which private, public, and not-for-profit sectors have their role to play. In addition, a new decision-making model is needed, one that goes beyond individual self-interest and takes into consideration ‘others’ in one’s choices, i.e., decisions that have a social impact. It is also imperative that we bring Islamic banking and finance in-line with the bigger development agenda that takes into concern the well-being of all others. Much more serious research is needed to translate ideas developed in the 1970s and early 1980s into workable models.

KEYWORDS: Re-thinking Islamic economics, Social impact, Re-alignment of Islamic finance.

JEL CLASSIFICATION: B5, H5, I3, Z0

KAUJIE CLASSIFICATION: G24, H12, H21, I23

1. Introduction

The JKAU: Islamic Economics should be congratulated for taking the initiative to invite a discussion on Islamic economics in the time of COVID-19. I also read with interest the article written by Abdelhafid Benamraoui (2021) who attempted to start the discussion by situating the discussion forum within the global context in his article entitled ‘The world economy and Islamic economics in the time of COVID-19’. My brief comments in this discussion forum will basically consist of two main sections. After this introduction, the next section will make some general observations regarding the paper written by Benamraoui and possibly add some points that could be food for thought for further research. The third section will then present some thoughts on selected issues that have been on my mind for a while now, but never went beyond some general verbal discussions with colleagues. COVID-19 and its impact on work and social life have provided the added motivation to pen down a few thoughts about the need for Islamic economists to re-evaluate and re-think the discipline. The various financial and economic crises over the last four decades, that I have been aware of, have provided some space for discourse to re-align Islamic economics, especially its banking and finance branches. More self-evaluation is needed.

The current COVID-19 pandemic with its impact not only on the economic well-being of people – but also their health, social interaction, education, employment, sports, recreation and entertainment, as well as travel and hospitality spheres of life – have had a profound effect on life as we know it. While some conspiracy theorists have called into question the entire turn of events for the last 10 months or so, the more than 50 million people who have contracted the disease and the more than 150 thousand deaths, as of November 2020, have been a ‘real and sad’ experience for family and friends. We do not lose anything by taking the events as real, by accepting that it is truly happening, irrespective of its causes. We acknowledge that it has had a profound effect on humanity and we try to see how this crisis provides an opportunity for us to re-look at how we approach Islamic economics and how we can use this crisis to ‘re-boot’.

2. Some Observations on the Main Article

Benamroui’s article covers the following. In section 2, he discusses the effects of COVID-19 on the world economy and financial markets. Section 3 of his paper discusses government economic measures introduced due to the COVID-19. Section 4 focuses on the corporate financial measures brought about as a result of COVID-19. In section 5, he discusses the proposed solutions to the effects caused by COVID-19 in the light of Islamic economics. Conclusions and future directions of research in this area are mentioned in section 6 of his paper. My comments on his paper are as follows:

(i) The last 10 months have seen an explosion of data and information regarding COVID-19 and its impact on life as a whole. Benamraoui tries to narrow down the impact to a few economic indicators, nearly all being negative, indicating a worsening scenario for the world economy. Industrial production, GDP per-capita, and stock markets have all fallen, while poverty and unemployment have both increased. The one ‘bright spark’, according to the author, is that Islamic equities have performed not as bad as conventional equities – hence, an important point that he takes up later. It would have been very useful if an attempt was made to see the comparative impact of COVID-19 between the world as a whole, the OECD countries, and the developing world, against the OIC countries. Information from the latest Global Islamic Economy Report (GIER) 2020/21 (DinarStandard, 2020, p. 10) indicates that while all countries will see a contraction in their economies with the global rate being -5.2%, the advanced economies will contract by -7%, while OIC countries are expected to have a -2.5% contraction. Has this anything to do with Islamic economics/economy, or certain features in these countries representing Islamic economics? That would be a good area for further research.

(ii) Governments all over the world responded to COVID-19 by increasing transfer payments to their citizens, assisting companies with ‘employment’ subsidies, as well as tax breaks and incentives for up to 12 months. According to the GIER 20/21 (Dinar Standard, 2020, p. 10), as of June 2020, USD 11 trillion worth of stimulus packages have been introduced

by governments. Unlike Keynesian remedies, the budget deficits and extra government spending in 2020 will not see any positive multiplier in the short-run. Hence, what we have is a focus for the longer term. What we have are government schemes that have tried to keep the ‘engine idling’, or at least to ensure that it can start when the time comes for the recovery to begin. Again, it would have been very useful if there could have been some comparison between measures done in OIC countries to what was being put forward globally. A specific look at some Islamic economic initiatives that were taken in OIC countries, if any, would have been very relevant. However, data availability and access to this data may have been difficult to obtain. One interesting Indonesian effort in August 2020 was to put forward a Sharī‘ah economics initiative and what was done and could be done to tackle the impact of COVID-19 in the various sectors that make up the *halāl* economy⁽¹⁾. Similar information needs to be obtained from all OIC countries or Muslim societies, especially those that are being framed from an Islamic perspective.

(iii) As far as the corporate sector is concerned, there is a clear divide between the MSMEs (micro-small-medium enterprises) and the large enterprises, multi-nationals and transnationals, or even large government linked companies (GLCs). Besides those who are in the informal sector or self-employed, the former (MSMEs) have been the most vulnerable, requiring government schemes to keep them afloat and to provide incentives to keep workers employed, even if it meant wage cuts and reduced working hours. In this regard, the present writer, together with colleagues, introduced an Islamic microfinance/entrepreneurship program with CSR (corporate social responsibility) funds from an Islamic bank in Malaysia called I-Taajir. Just as the ‘*tājjir*’ (entrepreneurs) started to develop their microenterprises, COVID-19 struck in March 2020. The impact was devastating to more than 90% of them and they had to rely on the transfer payments and welfare programs introduced by the government.

On the other hand, the bigger enterprises have the capacity to withstand economic downturns – if they choose to. For this, governments are required to persuade these companies to keep their employees on the payroll. In surveys carried out in Malaysia in May/June 2020, it was clear that most large companies and GLCs were able to survive without retrenching workers for at least 6-9 months.

As a whole, it is estimated that spending in the ‘Islamic economy’ (the GIER defines 6 major areas, i.e., *halāl* food, Islamic finance, Muslim friendly travel, modest fashion, pharmaceuticals & cosmetics, and media & recreation) has contracted by 8% between 2019 and 2020 (DinarStandard, 2020, pp. 2-3). However, certain sectors were also hit harder than others, such as travel and tourism related businesses. There is a real challenge to small enterprises in these sectors to stay afloat. Even bigger hotels have been facing very tough times. In Malaysia, there were opportunities for those with liquid assets to purchase real estate, including hotels, at relatively low prices. On the other hand, some sectors such as pharmaceuticals and health services have done quite well. In Malaysia, some companies in the rubber glove and personal protective equipment products have actually made windfall profits. There are always winners, even in a crisis.

(iv) When discussing Islamic mechanisms and solutions, Benamraoui mentions the usual list of options such as *zakāh*, *waqf*, the absence of *ribā* (interest), as well as the PLS (profit and loss sharing) mechanism. In addition, the behavioral norms of Islam such as being honest, generous, and upholding justice will enable Islamic economics to play a meaningful role in reducing the impact of COVID-19. Islamic banking that utilizes Sharī‘ah compliant instruments ‘directly linked to the real economy’, would mean that Islamic banking and finance is more stable and benefitting to human well-being rather than promoting mere financial transactions. Some figures are also quoted showing that Islamic equities have actually performed better than conventional equities over the last 12 months. This section would have benefitted tremendously by trying to include actual data from various Islamic economics and finance practices over the last year. Again, the GIER estimates that Islamic finance will remain stagnant at USD 2.88 trillion in 2020 (DinarStandard, 2020, p.3).

(1) International webinar organized by Ikatan Ahli Ekonomi Islam Indonesia, or the Indonesian Islamic Economists Association, entitled “Recovery of the Indonesian Economy Post (COVID-19): The Role of Islamic Economics”, August 20, 2020. A first draft of a book has already been completed.

The section would then have not just been limited to some ‘should be’s’, but would have been able to critically analyze if these Islamic alternatives were actually practiced and if they showed positive results. However, as the paper was focusing on a general ‘global scene’, it is possible that the author left this part out for comments and discussion. For this, the next section tries to present some thoughts for consideration.

3. COVID-19 and The Opportunity to Re-Boot Islamic Economics

As mentioned in the introduction, there have been crises in the past that have provided the opportunity for Islamic economics to ‘make a difference’ and to re-boot. For example, the 2008 sub-prime mortgage crisis did lead to Islamic economists arguing that there was a fundamental flaw in the existing conventional system, i.e., it promoted greed and allowed – actually glorified – risk transfer and risk shifting. It also allowed an opportunity to show that the existing Islamic banking system – despite being predominantly a Shari‘ah (read legal) compliant ‘replica’ of debt-based conventional banking – did perform better in facing the crisis.

Criticism towards the debt-based banking system also opened-up the discourse on presenting different types of Islamic banks (such as social banks), and to promote non-banking institutions and Islamic finance as a whole, or maybe even to de-emphasize the role of banking and finance and focus more on the real economy. There has been a proliferation in research on Islamic microfinance and the institution of *waqf* over the last 15 years or so when, before that, the focus was on financial instruments for banking and topics on *zakāh*.

This development, while welcome, is moving at a very slow pace as the old system and framework are still very difficult to shake. A simple example is the passing of the Islamic Financial Services Act (IFSA) in 2013 (gazetted 22nd March 2013; Government of Malaysia, 2013) in Malaysia, and a strong political will by the central bank of Malaysia to promote the investment account platform as the default account for Islamic banking. However, there was strong resistance from some industry players – some would say, justified – that led to it withering away, especially with the change of some Islamic banking leaders at that time. One of the concerns was that those who put

their money in Islamic banks needed to be informed that there was no automatic guarantee to their funds as this was the case in an investment platform, unlike the guarantee of all savings deposits in Malaysia (to a certain limit). However, this did not exclude the possibility of third-party guarantees.

COVID-19 provides another opportunity to push for genuine reforms that not only focus on Islamic banking and finance, but that go deeper and wider to the very approach that can be taken when presenting Islamic solutions. In fact, the obsession among those promoting Islamic alternatives to overly concentrate on reforms in the banking and finance spheres as well as the fixation with the monetary side of economics, is a great mystery to me. While there is general agreement that Islamic economics (and finance) wants to focus on the ‘real economy’, however, often all roads seem to lead back to money and banks. It is as if we cannot imagine life without banks. We even try to steer discussions of *zakāh* and *waqf* – both better seen as socio-economic institutions – under the rubric of banking and finance. Hence the suggestions to set up *zakāh* banks and *waqf* banks. Below are some thoughts – presented in no order of priority – that I hope will allow us to move away from this relatively narrow mind-set and develop a genuine holistic reform agenda.

3.1 COVID-19: Re-Emphasizing the Islamic Economy as a Three Sector Economy⁽²⁾

In the 1970s, pioneer Islamic economists used to present Islamic economics as comprising of the private sector, the public sector, and the third-sector (voluntary sector/not-for-profit sector) – all of which interact with each other to provide goods and services in society. Pioneering work in this regard was presented by scholars such as Mahmoud Abu Saud, Khurshid Ahmad, M.N. Siddiqi, M.A. Mannan, M. Umer Chapra, to name a few, followed by the scholarly articles coming out from the Journal of Islamic economics based at the King Abdul Aziz University as well as works published by the Islamic Research

(2) I would like to thank K.S. Jomo for sending me the article entitled *Changing the narrative: Economics after Covid-19* by Carolina Alves and Ingrid Harvold Kvangraven (2020), who argue that heterodox economics allows us to enrich our understanding of economics and to help build a stringer framework post COVID-19.

and Training Institute (IRTI), Islamic Development Bank (IDB), which were instrumental in presenting this ‘three-sector’ economy.

It was also re-affirmed that while the market plays an important role in the economy, it is not sacred. There is a designated role for state intervention to ensure that there is no unfair monopoly or abuse taking place, as well as a specific Shari‘ah sanction for the state role, including the public goods role that one finds in economics. In addition, in Islamic economics, quite a bit of this public goods scope used to be provided by the third or voluntary sector and was commonly termed social goods. The institution of *waqf* is probably the most significant institution in this regard.

Markets, while important, are not perfect. Markets are only as good as the agents in them and the values and rules that govern them. Trying to envision markets as being separate from societies they are embedded in, and the over-reliance on ‘methodological individualism and quantitative modelling’, has exposed the inherent weakness and inability of the free-market mantra to resolve the challenges in ‘provisioning’ due to COVID-19 over the last 8-10 months (Alves & Kvangraven, 2020, pp. 150-151). Mainstream neoclassical economics posits the centrality of general equilibrium, perfect competition, and the values of *homo economicus*, and all the deviations from this are imperfections and deviations that need to be ‘corrected’.

While some early writings in Islamic economics did question the rationality of the economic agent ala neoclassical economics, this seems to have become an almost forgotten agenda in Islamic economics. With COVID-19 and the impact it has made on ‘normal’ market decisions, it provides a great opportunity to re-visit the Islamic view of the individual, society, and state. Instead of designating a ‘minimal’ role for the state, (i.e., to rectifying market imperfections), we should be talking about the appropriate role of the state. In addition, rather than just mentioning the third sector in passing, we should also be putting forward a more active contribution for the third-sector and to integrate this third sector into our macroeconomic framework. Much more work needs to be done in this regard.

3.2 An Islamic Economy is All About a Balanced Economy

The term used in Arabic to denote economics is *iqtisād*. In the Qur’ān, the term *iqtisād* is used in the context of being ‘moderate’ in one’s faith, i.e., a balance in our beliefs and in our life practices. If *iqtisād* denotes moderation, then immediately one could contrast this to the idea of ‘maximization’ that is at the heart of modern neoclassical economics. However, rather than maximization per se, one could also ask ‘what exactly is being maximized’, i.e., the rule could be maintained if we were dealing with a profit function that was already adjusted for all Islamic values and norms. In the early 1990s, Zubair Hasan (1992) very eloquently put this down in probably what has become the standard accepted position, i.e., if we want to continue to use the existing tools of analysis of calculus and differentiation, we need to work with our own profit functions that represent ‘Islamic decision-making’. Unfortunately, not much development has taken place at the theoretical level to translate this central idea into our Islamic decision-making models.

In contemporary jargon, one now finds the phrase ‘steady state economy’ to denote an economy that balances between economic growth and population growth; an economy that does not produce beyond its ecological limits. To this, one could add, that economic growth should also be balanced with its distribution. Growth must go hand in hand with equity in order to maintain balance. In current discourse, one could very easily bring in the sustainable development agenda and the sustainable development goals (SDGs) of the United Nations. Despite being a more holistic agenda for human well-being, the SDGs still do not recognize the central role of religion in development. The various 16 or 17 goals discussed generally, make no mention of how religion can contribute positively to the attainment of the SDGs. Yet, for a large percentage of the population of the world, religion is still a very central institution and factor that must be given its rightful place.

This is where Islamic economists should continue the good work done to develop the discourse on development frameworks and to put forward measurements and benchmarks that are more in-line with the

Islamic view of development. Work has been done to develop *maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* frameworks and indices to measure development, but much more can and should be promoted. Developing this *maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* framework was an important focus area in IRIT (besides numerous conferences and workshops, and various articles published in *Islamic Economic Studies*, see Ali & Hasan, 2014).

One could see a double prong approach taken. On the one hand, we could talk about how Islam and the *maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* dimensions can be related to the SDGs. On the other hand, one could also develop a framework that depicts the dimensions of development according to the *maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* and then see how the SDGs fall into this framework. While the latter would seem more 'authentic', I think works on the former would also help to develop a more holistic and balanced approach to Islamic economics.

Besides the severe health impacts, COVID-19 also slowed down economic activity, increased unemployment, and even increased poverty levels in many countries. However, it also improved certain pollution levels, traffic jams, etc. In some ways, the COVID-19 pandemic has given us an opportunity to re-look at what we want. Many webinars and online seminars talked about 'restructuring the economy', to go back to sectors that had been marginalized in many countries such as agriculture, especially food agriculture. As news of a vaccine is now coming through, what will happen to all these discussions about restructuring? Will they be forgotten and will we eagerly go back to 'business as usual'?

Islamic economics cannot be merely about allocation of scarce resources. It must also address the more fundamental question of equity and of distribution, and for this, we have to go beyond just focusing on the individual agent and the market as the sole allocator of resources. As Fahim Khan (2018, chapter 11) has rightly argued, the 'beyond market' dimension has to be addressed, since not all decisions are made in the market nor are they able to.

3.3 Going Beyond Individual Self-Interest – Social Impact Economics is Islamic Economics!

The increasing discourse of sustainable development as well as the UN SDGs has created an intellectual environment that has seriously questioned the individual

profit-maximization models in economics. As stated earlier, while pioneer Islamic economists did present this in the 1970s, it ceased to be discussed by the 1990s. Somehow or rather, it seemed as if 'everyone agreed' that individual profit maximization models were acceptable, despite acknowledgement that the profit function would be different, i.e., it should reflect all Islamic legal and ethical requirements. However, what these requirements were and how they would modify the profit maximization decision making models, was never seriously addressed.

In the last 15 years or so, as more and more discussion was pushing conventional discourse to recognize social-impact or green economics or ethical investment, the earlier discourse on economic decision-making models returned to the fore. One also saw a proliferation of writings and theses written on the not-for-profit sector and in areas such as *waqf*.

A new Islamic economic decision-making model needs to be put forward, where decisions are made not only for individual self-interest and benefit, but that incorporates others and that has social impact. Colleagues like Asad Zaman have clearly made good contributions in this regard (see his very informative blog at asadzaman.net that contains online lectures and papers/articles on various areas of Islamic economics).

There is also a relatively rich literature written on interdependent utility functions that could provide some lessons in developing the decision-making models that represent Islamic norms. I have made a brief reference to the interdependent utility function models that were put forward in the 1970s by conventional economists as well as connecting it to the circular economy-social finance nexus in my upcoming chapter (see Haneef, in press).

3.4 Re-Alignment of Islamic Banking and Finance to Islamic Economics Goals

Islamic economics, banking, and finance must be re-aligned to its roots, i.e., to Islamic economics. In the 1970s, pioneer Islamic economists always saw Islamic banking as part of an Islamic economic system, a system that wanted to establish socio-economic justice. However, by the late 1980s and early 1990s, the huge demand for 'ribā' free financing led to the establishment of 'interest-free banking'. The ideas of

the pioneer Islamic economists were not able to be transformed into practice, mainly because the existing banking institutions were debt-based institutions. Hence the PLS arrangements mentioned by Benamraoui gave way to the more familiar debt-based instruments such as *murābahah*. To justify the debt path taken, we were introduced to the '*tijārī*, *siyāsī*, and *ijtimā'ī*' (business, political, social) division of the Islamic economy, and that Islamic banks were a '*tijārī*' (business) institution not a charity or *ijtimā'ī* (social) institution. Hence, it needed to think about its shareholders. At first glance, one would think that this makes sense. However, this fails to promote the proposed modification in decision-making given in section 3.3 above.

Three decades on, there is such a big change in our intellectual environment. Stakeholder models now dominate, CSR practices of profit-making entities are expected, and people no longer talk about mere PLS vs. *murābahah* instruments, but now ask 'what have Islamic banks done for the well-being of the society'. It has recently even been very fashionable to talk about the role of commercial IBs (Islamic banks) in achieving SDGs or about commercial IBs supporting 'social finance' activities, i.e., giving funds to those previously considered to be 'unbankable'. In addition, there are other types of financial institutions – such as development financial institutions (DFIs) in Malaysia – that have more than just a financial intermediary role. 'Banks' such as the SME Bank and Agro Bank are examples of DFIs that are also mandated with development objectives. In the above examples, to develop small and medium enterprises, and to develop the agriculture sector, including food agriculture; something that has received renewed interest during the COVID-19 period. Hence, the whole idea that even the *tijārī* (business) sector should make decisions that include social impact is now gaining ground.

Rather than banks, there has also been more interest in talking about the capital market and how it can be mobilized to help achieve socio-economic well-being. 'Socially responsible *sukūk*' or 'social impact *sukūk*' have been designed and introduced in various countries with the goal being that Islamic finance should have a social impact rather than just being

profit seeking. Again, in the case of Malaysia, Khazanah has successfully issued SRI *sukūk* aimed at funding 'trust' schools having goals and KPIs (key performance indicators) that emphasize 'social impact'. A study done by Syed Marwan (2018) clearly indicated the huge potential for more SRI *sukūk* to help finance socio-economic development that could have commercial gain, but one that also had social impact, utilizing innovative financial contracts and support from both institutional and retail 'investors' (see also Marwan & Haneef, 2019). While this is a good start, it is still early to conclude that commercially motivated Islamic banking and finance will move to a more social role.

4. Concluding Comments

We can no longer continue to accept the narrow mainstream dominant 'economics' paradigm that tries to reduce everything to analyses of markets. We need to have more in-depth comparative studies regarding the condition of Muslim communities and the challenges faced as well as how Islamic economics has tried to uplift the hardships faced. Sadly, not enough such work is available. While there have been Islamic economic packages and programs put forward, these need to be evaluated. More importantly, there is a need to think seriously about our approach to developing Islamic economics. Genuine and critical interaction between our Islamic heritage and modern knowledge is needed to help develop contemporary Islamic economics. The central goal of Islamic economics must be to establish socio-economic justice for all. There is a need for Islamic finance to re-align itself to its mother discipline, Islamic economics, and for Islamic economists to realize that we can benefit from the various schools of economics – subjecting all of them to a critical evaluation from our Islamic worldview. Moderation, balance, and caring for others have to be part of our economics to replace the greed and maximizing self-interest focus of mainstream conventional economics and finance. COVID-19 with its devastating disruption globally, allows us another opportunity to re-evaluate our discipline. Let us take this opportunity and ensure that Islamic economics can offer better options for humanity.

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كوفيد-١٩: فرصة لإعادة التفكير في ماهية الاقتصاد الإسلامي

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أستاذ، قسم الاقتصاد، الجامعة العالمية الإسلامية بماليزيا

المستخلص. يبدأ هذا التعليق الموجز في القسم الأول بإبداء بعض الملاحظات على الورقة الرئيسية، مع تسليط الضوء على أهمية الحصول على بعض البيانات المقارنة فيما يتعلق بتأثير كوفيد-١٩ على دول منظمة التعاون الإسلامي وذلك بغرض إجراء تحليلات لمعرفة ما إذا كانت هناك أي أوجه للتشابه و/أو الاختلاف بين الدول التي لديها مساهمات في الاقتصاد الإسلامي وتقوم بإصلاحات مالية. يناقش القسم الثاني من الورقة الحاجة إلى إعادة التفكير في النهج المتبع في تقديم الاقتصاد الإسلامي والتأثير المحتمل لذلك في التعامل مع اقتصاد ما بعد جائحة كوفيد-١٩. من المهم أن ندرك أن الاقتصاد الإسلامي يجب أن يُنظر إليه على أنه اقتصاد ثلاثي القطاعات؛ حيث يقوم القطاع الخاص والعام وغير الربحي بدور مهم. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، هناك حاجة إلى نموذج جديد لصنع القرار؛ أنموذجًا يتجاوز المصلحة الفردية "الصَّرفَةَ" ليأخذ في الاعتبار "الآخرين" في خيارات المرء؛ أي الأخذ بعين الاعتبار البُعد الاجتماعي في القرارات الاقتصادية والمالية. ومن الضروري أيضًا أن تتماشى الصيرفة بشكل خاص والتمويل الإسلامي بشكل عام مع جدول أعمال التنمية الأكثر شمولاً؛ أي النموذج الذي يأخذ بعين الاعتبار رفاهية "الجميع" بشكل متوازن. علاوةً على ذلك هناك حاجة إلى مزيد من البحث الجاد لترجمة الأفكار التي تم تطويرها في السبعينيات وأوائل الثمانينيات من القرن الماضي إلى نماذج قابلة للتطبيق.

الكلمات الدالة: إعادة التفكير في الاقتصاد الإسلامي، الأثر الاجتماعي، إعادة مواءمة التمويل الإسلامي.

تصنيف JEL: B5, H5, I3, Z0

تصنيف KAUIIE: G24, H12, H21, I23