HAD Humanitarian Academy for Development

Research Paper

Towards an Islamic Philosophy of Consumption

Martyn Rush

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This research was commissioned as part of the Action on Climate & Consumption Project, funded by the KR Foundation.

Martyn Rush is a DPhil Candidate in Oriental Studies at Wolfson College, Oxford and a Postgraduate Fellow at the Humanitarian Academy for Development (HAD).

This paper is commissioned by the Humanitarian Academy for Development (HAD).

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Glossary

Ayat: (lit proofs or signs) verses of the Qur'an

Adl: the Qur'anic word for 'justice'

Coloniality: a system where colonial powers exercise epistemic, as well as military or economic, hegemony

Fatawa: plural of fatwa, a legal ruling for a particular context

Fiqh: the body of Islamic legal rulings

Haram: an area of a town or city set aside for sacred purposes

Hima: a traditional Islamic legal device for setting aside land as a reserve

'Ibadah: Islamic worship, or relating to Islamic worship

Islamicate: areas where Muslims are culturally dominant

Khilafah: the name given to human vicegerency over the earth

Khutab: plural of khutbah – Friday sermon

Maqasid: the Arabic term for higher aims, goals

Maqasid al-Shari'ah: higher aims and goals of the Islamic path

Maslahah: an Islamic legal concept denoting the 'common good'

Mizan: a Qur'anic term denoting balance, harmony

Muhtasib: the one who accounts, a supervisory position in past Islamicate societies

Mu'amalat: a phrase in contrast with 'ibadah', denoting worldly affairs

Shari'ah: often misunderstood as 'Islamic law', more accurately denotes 'path', 'way'

Shirk: polytheism, associating others with God

Tawhid: an Islamic term for monotheism, or 'oneness' of God

Tayyeb: 'good', virtuous – distinct from, but related to, 'halal' (legal)

Ulama: scholars of religion in Islam

Ummah: a construct denoting transnational unity of Muslims

Usul al-fiqh: the sources used to derive Islamic legal rulings and principles

Usulliyun: the people of 'usul' – the scholars of legal philosophy in Islam

Waqf (pl. Awqaf): an Islamic legal institution denoting a foundation

Wudhu: ritual ablutions performed before prayers

Zakah: ritual charity given by Muslims

Zuhd: asceticism, simple living

Towards an Islamic Philosophy of Consumption

Introduction

This paper is intended to reconsider consumption and sustainability from an Islamic perspective. In particular, it sets out to first establish a *'radical reform'* methodology in order to analyse the question, and then sets about applying this lens to the issue of sustainable consumption. In doing so, it establishes first the interpretative frame, a subsequent re-reading of the sources, and a brief reconsideration of the history of encounters between Islamic societies and the question of consumption. It then suggests a toolkit for Muslims and activists alike to join the fight for a more just, ecologically balanced world in harmony with creation.

Part One: 'Radical Reform' and the *maqasid* of liberation

The world is facing unprecedented challenges, being brought to the brink of destruction by a nexus of capitalism, colonialism and consumerism. Muslim communities have the moral duty and the philosophical tools not to adapt to this oppressive reality but to transform and overcome it in the name of ethical liberation. This requires radical reform, this requires questioning the sources - *usul-ul-fiqh* and the aims – *maqasid-al-shar'iah* – of Islamic legal philosophy. Before doing this, it is important to establish the cosmology and the two books of the universe - how the Book of Nature relates to the Book of Scripture. Once established, we can begin to extract *maqasid* and begin the work of dismantling consumerism; of reorienting ourselves in not just a sustainable way, but one that establishes justice.

I. Framing the discussion

An Islamic response to the issue of consumption must first begin by discussing the objectives of the response, and the sources for those objectives.

To any social, political, philosophical or ethical challenge, the response of the reformer could be to either to adapt or transform. Whereas adaptational reform would aim to take the dominant, contemporary form of consumption and translate it - perhaps modified, mediated or moderated, perhaps tempered by Islamic principle, precedent or example – into the Islamic idiom or symbolic reference, transformational reform aims to question, understand, critique and transform. The aim is not to Islamise consumption, but to interrogate its basis, its assumptions, its very operation, from the standpoint of emancipatory ethics and a hermeneutics of liberation.

This involves framing a new geography of *fiqh* (Islamic law). Rather than simply using the traditional procedures and hierarchy of sources to produce updated rulings to adapt Islamic sciences to the new reality, transformation requires re-engaging and re-forming the fundamentals and assumptions behind the science of *usul al-fiqh* (sources, or foundations of Islamic law). A new geography involves redrawing the boundaries of legitimate sources of fiqh, including the scriptures– the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet – being supplemented and clarified by the knowledge of the Universe and its physical, human and social sciences. This 'reconciliation' of the spiritual and the critical allows for a further awakening of Islamic thought, an integrated process upon which the ethical goals and higher objectives (*maqasid al-Shari'ah*) can be drawn; the lens constructed through which the issue of consumption can first be viewed, and then disrupted, and surmounted.

II. Redefining the Way - on Maqasid al-Shari'ah

If Shari'ah is best translated as 'the path', or 'the Way', then *maqasid al-Shari'ah* is the derivation and formulation of the goals, the objectives of that journey. It has been described as finding 'the means and wise purposes (of) the Lawgiver' (Al-Raysuni 2005: xxii).

The Maqasid objectives are those which Islamic laws aim and bend towards, and from which views on consumption must be extracted, constituting a philosophy of *fiqh*. Working to find the principles of *Maqasid* became a priority in the centuries after the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH – Peace Be Upon Him), when the laws remained but the spirit and principle was becoming dimmer, and hence more contested. Al-Juwayni (d. 1085) was one of the first scholars to attempt a categorisation of the goals of the law, which his student Al-Ghazali (d.1111) elaborated. Al-Ghazali formulated the five classical categories, and stated that the goals of Islamic law should be the protection of religion, life, progeny, property and intellect. Yet these objectives are the result of human reason, reflection and history, and must be reconsidered in a radically new context of social challenge. The reconsideration of the *maqasid* is key to a radical reform of *usul al-fiqh* and must come from both knowledge of the scriptures, and knowledge of the universe.

III. Towards a radical cosmology

The earliest Meccan verses of the Qur'an invoke nature as proof of God – be it in water and desert; trees and mountains; the sun, the moon and their appointed courses. Nature is described as in a constant state of prostration and worship towards its Creator; all of nature is enchanted, speaking to the glory of God. There is therefore an in-built and pre-existing obligation of humankind to respect nature, to use with caution, and with purpose. The signs and proofs in nature should induce our minds to reflection, reformation and renewal. The Prophet elaborated, declaring the earth as the mother of the believer, the whole earth as a mosque and space of ritual purity. This concretises a radical view of natural resources and landscapes as holy and sacred by default.

This notion is inseparable from the central Islamic principle of *tawhid* (oneness of God). Whilst the full, radical, *political* implications of *tawhid* will be discussed in due course, belief in God's oneness and the connectedness of creation mandates a commitment by believers and scholars to understand, as well as protect, nature.

Indeed, the central Islamic creedal statement, 'there is no god, but God' (la ilaha ilallah) calls on believers to renounce the lesser idols of self, ego, money and power in order to connect with creation and creator. This struggle to connect through meditation and contemplation, this self-liberation, is described as the greatest struggle of all.

Only by grasping the concepts of an enchanted nature and a connected *tawhid* can the concept of *khilafah* (stewardship) be broached. Many works on Islam and Ecology make reference to the concept of *khilafah* (see, for a review of the literature on this topic, Rush:2018). It builds on the *tawhidi* concept that all that is heaven and earth belongs to God, and humankind can only play the role of steward or vicegerent[1]. Faith in God is rewarded with trust over the land and its resources. Yet part of the trust, part of the command, the condition of *khilafah* is to work towards unlocking the spiritual knowledge within[2]. True *khilafah* in this reading, can only come through knowledge of the One and meditation of the purposes of the Way, the *maqasid al-Shari'ah*. It is greed and arrogance which causes disruption and irresponsibility when placed in a position of *khilafah*. In this sense, it is less a management role, and more of a spiritual experience, informed by social, economic and political justice.

The concept of *khilafah* then, rather than being the traditionally conceived license for human sovereignty over earth, is a radical responsibility which balances God, self, and nature; there is no *khilafah* without *tawhid* and a commitment to connecting fully, not just with a dynamic and worshipful nature, but with the true purposes of the One, and the Way.

IV: The two books

As has been discussed, a radical reform of fiqh means re-assessing the usul (foundations) of fiqh. The classical scholars interested in the question, the *usuliyyun*, those who first grappled with applying the message and the way to rapidly changing circumstances began to make distinctions – between, for example, laws concerning *'ibadah* (worship), and mu'amalat (social affairs).

Whereas everything was forbidden until proven otherwise for *'ibadah*, they reasoned, for social affairs, all was allowed until proven to be forbidden. This distinction opens up a space for radically questioning the political, economic and social expressions of the unchanging Islamic spiritual firmament.

The example of Medina under the Prophet's rule provides the key example in the Islamic sources of this process. In Mecca, the Revelation had set over-arching calls to justice, equality, radical social liberation and reconnection with the one God. The early verses had been exhortative and declamatory, setting the ethical agenda for emancipation; the tearing down of oppressive regimes and unjust hierarchies, a revolutionary call to establish social and spiritual justice. Once in Medina, and in power, the Prophet's task was to apply these principles to specific rulings and distinct cases. The Medinan Revelations guided the Prophet to implement the goals in a specific time and place. The aim of Muslims today should be to replicate not specific laws themselves, but rather the spirit, the aim, the liberatory movement of the principles to a radically altered context.

The *mu'amalat/ibadah* distinction and the Medinan example both provide tools for implementing fundamentally reconsidered and reformulated Islamic thinking to the issues of today. Yet it is important too to note that the sources of the principles are two 'books' of Revelation – the scriptural (the Qur'an and the Sunnah) and the natural (including, but not limited to, ecology, psychology, sociology and economics). The aforementioned radical cosmology exalted by the early *surahs* reveals a constant dialogue between the written book *al-kitab al-mastur* and the natural book, *al-kitab al-manshur*. The concept of the two books is a constant motif of the Qur'an, which urges believers to reflect on the proofs of nature as well as the proofs of the text. The two books are in constant dialogue, each, in the Qur'anic worldview, proving each other, and the existence of a merciful God. The Qur'an calls for the promotion of good, and the protection from evil – the *maslahah* (common good); just as the beneficence of nature benefits human beings, whilst its abuse and degradation harms human life. In aims and objectives, the two books reinforce each other.

The two books, the two revelations are to be read by scholars and *usuliyyun* as Qur'anic text and natural context. Only with thorough and detailed knowledge of both could a scholar, or campaign, party or organisation completely understand the ethical demands of an issue and begin to consider a response. This mediation involves bringing the text together with the natural, human and social environments it exists in. The context (*al-Waqi'*) should be fully understood as a source of law, a necessary reference point that must be considered in legal deliberations and implementations. Not only the sciences of nature, the experimental sciences, but also the social sciences must be integrated into the process of understanding the texts, extracting principles, and proposing the way forward. This represents a huge challenge, as the complexity of modern social phenomena call for vast fields of expertise that are more for Islamic scholars themselves to master and wield.

The solution lies in accepting scholars of science as *'ulama'* (scholars) in their own right. This allows for specialising and deep knowledge in the social and scientific contexts that can be brought together with the deep knowledge of scripture – the *'ibadat* with the *mu'amalat*, the written book, and the book of nature, *ulama* of theology and *ulama* of human sciences. This is one of the keys to transformational reform, with economists, lawyers, sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, critical theorists, and democratic, community organisations form part of the *ulama* complex, with joint responsibility for issuing *fatawa* (rulings), deciding on *khutaba* (sermons), and the aims and goals, and struggles, of religious communities.

In the context of sustainable consumption, then, a radical reformist approach would take the over-arching ethics fixed by the Qur'an and bring them into dialogue with the latest, deepest findings of economics, ecology and social science to produce critical, transformational rulings.

V: Conclusion

It has been established through this opening passage that a radical reform lens can be adopted and act as a helpful tool which provides the means to tackle a contemporary topic such as consumption. It begins with Cosmology, before emphasising the importance of the two books. This work will demonstrate the 'two texts' approach, by putting the relevant scriptural passages together with a consideration of the context and *ulama* of science how these goals are to be achieved in challenging and overcoming the destructive wake of consumer capitalism through spiritual, individual, communal and political action.

Part Two: Approaching the two books: sources of radical reform

'If the whole ocean were ink for writing the words of my Lord, it would run dry before those words were exhausted' – 18:109

'If all the trees on earth were pens and all the seas, with seven more seas besides, (were ink), still God's words would not run out: God is almighty and all wise.' – 31:27

It has been shown in the preceding section on *Maqasid al-Shari'ah* that the sources for transformational reform of any issue – including sustainability and consumption – must arise out of an ethic of liberation, a radical reform, and a use of the two books – the Qur'an and the Book of Nature. Before going on, and adopting this approach to the Qur'an and revealing a Qur'anic picture of sustainable consumption, it is important to refer to some important mitigations and limitations. The Qur'an represents a holistic worldview. To isolate topics, such as consumption, is inherently perilous – the Qur'anic system is a totality, a complete moral system, revolving around God and Humankind, heaven and hell, good deeds and sin, accountability and free-will, and so on. Intrinsic themes run throughout the Qur'an – such as the call for justice (4:58, 4:135, 16:90, 55:9, 57:25). An assumption of this paper will be that justice – social, economic, political – is the aim. There are other fundamental narratives that are ubiquitous in the Qur'an – such as ingratitude, corruption, of heedless, arrogant communities and unjust cities falling and being replaced (6:133, 7:4, 21:11, 22:45, 30:8, 32:26, 54:18, 54:23, 54:33, 54:41, 69:91) which, although not a focus of this section should be forefront in the mind; especially if, as some secular scientists predict, climate change will destroy the capacity for human life, whilst the Earth will go on.

Arguably the most important theme is humankind's humility before the power, beneficence and mercy of God (22:73, 32:27, 35:11, 41:39, and many more). Important ritual elements – such as fasting, *zakah*, hajj and prayer are a major part of the holistic system; as are prohibitions on *riba* (interest) in the modern capitalist system. There are lots of papers to be written on these aspects of the Qur'anic worldview and their statements on sustainability. Yet the approach taken here is to focus on seven key concepts – consumption itself, wealth, property, food, exploitation, class and capitalism – concepts chosen through dialogue between the Qur'an and the books of (social) science, and the concepts which relate most closely to the matter at hand; to take these concepts and apply the *radical reform* approach and see what the Qur'an could tell us about our situation, and possible solutions.

Qur'an and Consumption

There are a number of *ayats* from the Meccan surahs which directly broach the question of consumption. One of the more direct ways is to condemn waste and the wasteful. 'So when (the plants) bear fruit, eat some of it, paying what is due on the day of harvest, but do not be wasteful: *God does not like wasteful people*.' (6:141). There is condemnation for those who 'squander great wealth' (90:6) in opposition to those who spend their wealth alleviating suffering and poverty. Elsewhere, God reveals that 'if (He) were to grant His plentiful provision to (all) His creatures, they would act insolently on earth, but He sends down in due measure whatever He will, for He is well aware of His servants and watchful over them' (42:27). In a Medinan surah, a practical implication is given to waste and squandering – not to use up the resources of another, in this case an orphan, hastily, before they can rightfully claim it (4.6). The greatest condemnation is given in the Meccan *Surah al-Isra*, where people are warned to 'Give your relatives their due, and the needy, and travellers – do not squander your wealth wastefully. The wasteful are the brothers of Satan, and Satan is most ungrateful to his Lord' (17:26-7).

As well as wastefulness, extravagance and ostentation is condemned. 'Children of Adam' are told to 'dress well whenever you are at worship, and eat and drink (as We have permitted) but not be extravagant: God does not like extravagant people.' (7:31). There are multiple references to people, and communities who 'exceed all bounds' (51:53, 80:42, 96:6) an all-encompassing designation for those who transgress social, cultural, religious and natural limits. In a telling Medinan verse, 'flaunting your finery' is a reminder of a lapse into pre-Islamic, pagan ways (33:33). A Prophetic supplication is included to remind believers to pray for forgiveness for 'our sins and our excesses.' (3:147).

The value of consumption – of goods, materials, clothes, other items – is constantly contrasted with the value of good deeds storing up reward in the next life. There are many references to the lack of wisdom and foresight of those who prefer the life 'of this world' compared to that of the next in both Meccan (16:30, 17:18, 18:46, 20:60, 20:76, 29:64, 46:20, 75:20, 79:37-8, 87:16) and Medinan (8:67, 33:28, 76:27) surahs. Chasing and consuming the goods of 'this world' has a direct, inter-dimensional, inter-temporal link to the prospects of reward and punishment in the next life, and by implication, virtue and corruption in this world.

A contrast is drawn between the wasteful and those 'who spend their wealth in God's cause' (of whom more below), who 'are like grains of corn that produce seven ears, each bearing a hundred grains. God gives multiple increase to whoever He wishes: He is limitless and all knowing' (2:261). Although it would be reductive, and a diminishment of the horizon of possibility, to apply this verse solely as a justification for *sustainable* consumption, it rather points the way to a larger concept – spending in the way of God, spending justly – with time, and all forms of capital - social, cultural, political and symbolic – is God's recommendation. As shall be shown, so many aspects of the world system today, food commodity chains, private property, and capitalism itself, do not represent justice.

So far, the Qur'an has warned against waste, extravagance and chasing the goods of this world, and recommended spending in the way of God and social justice. This is reflected and indeed elaborated by the evidence of the current world situation. Consumption of food, transport and energy for housing consists of 70-80% of the environmental impact of consumption (Tukker et al:2006, p17). The planet cannot cope with the current level of waste, inefficiency and extravagant consumption pattern of the affluent countries that this represents (Gabriel and Lang:2006, p23). The wasteful effects of over-consumption are vast and destructive (Durning:1992, p51). The massive material footprints of nations and international trade flows include massive amounts of waste and unused but discarded materials and resources (Wiedmann:2015, p6272). The brief history in this paper will show how consumption can occur across history to show class position and exhibit status. The Qur'anic injunctions against waste and extravagance are not only severe, but entirely applicable to the current situation. They must be read with the *Maqasid* in mind. If the protection of nature, life and peace are the highest principles identified, they rule out immoderate consumption, greed and extravagance.

The Qur'an and Wealth

A major theme in the Qur'an is the corrupting effect of wealth. A punishment is described for 'those corrupted with wealth' in *Surah al-Mu'minun* (23:64). Wealth is a test (72:16-17), an idea commonly used today to justify the wealth of individual Muslims, yet in a separate Meccan surah, God is described as giving wealth in certain situations to the *unrighteous* (74:12) and living in luxury is described as almost synonymous with denying the truth (73:11). Those who ignore orphans, do not encourage each other to feed the poor are also the ones who 'love wealth with a passion' (89:18-20), again linking wealth with a general lack of moral probity in the Meccan period. It could be said that wealth is a tool, that can be used for good, if it could be attained without exploitation or injustice – to fellow humankind or nature - an increasingly doubtful proposition.

In the Medinan period, surfeits of wealth were clearly a larger problem as many verses, as well as decrying wealth as a corruption (34:34-37, 43:23) and a test (64:15), also cite wealth as a distraction (24:37, 62:11, 63:9) from God or good deeds. Moreover, the believers are constantly reminded in the Medinan period to 'give from what they have been given' (2:3, 13:22, 32:16, 35:29, 42:38, 57:10, 63:10, 64:16). The shallowness of wealth as a signifier of virtue is revealed as Pharaoh wonders why Moses did not have 'gold bracelets' (43:53). Wealth should not be 'eaten up wrongfully, nor use(d) to bribe judges' (2:189) showing that the Qur'an was aware of the possibilities of wealth distorting law and politics. Ultimately 'excessive love of wealth' (100:8) is one of the signs of humankind's ingratitude to God. Taken together, wealth should be a transient event in life, and should be constantly recycled into charity and good deeds, and alleviating the suffering of the poor.

The injunctions and warnings against wealth are so severe as to raise the question of whether accumulating wealth is ever advisable, especially as ensuring its sources are licit and ethical is almost impossible to guarantee (see below). The brief history shows the role of wealthy at all times – even in the pre-modern age – in driving consumption practices. Today the concept of having wealth is on a global scale – the average wage in the UK puts someone in the top 0.79% of the world's wealthiest by income. The average person in such an 'industrialised' country consumes five times as much energy as the world average (Seymour:2017). The top 8% of the world population, by income, are responsible for 50% of the world's emissions (Battistoni:2014, p2). The concept of 'wealthy' therefore, is a global one, wealth a more diffuse concept. The latter statistic adds new meaning to the corrupting influence of wealth – corrupting of nature, of the earth, and of the planetary boundaries. Therefore, one must perhaps reclassify the nature of wealth, and re-read the Qur'anic injunctions and warnings more against the average Western consumer, who, although structurally encouraged, even forced, to consume over and above the world average, is obliged to consider the warnings and ensure that all is being done to minimise their impact, their 'corruption'. 'Wealth is a test'.

The way of passing the test could be said to lie in individual piety or personal, privatised consumer decisions, but Muslims are required to join greater collective efforts for liberation and systemic change (see the toolkit, below).

In an age where profits from consumption are extracted by the labour of others, using the resources of others, and marketed at below 'real' cost-price to still others, with the overall effect being the destruction of the planet, the accumulation of wealth may well be becoming an obsolete concept within an ethical, liberatory framework of the Qur'an. This puts not only life, nature and peace as the main objectives – all under threat by the accumulation of wealth – but also equality, welfare, justice, solidarity. These higher goals, given the desperate state of the planet and the severe consequences on the poor, must overcome any residual loyalty to the concept of private wealth, individual freedom to accumulate and exploit, and even property itself.

The Qur'an and Property

Related to the discussion of wealth is the question of property, intimately tied up in the discussion over sustainability and climate change. Meccan surahs warn those who back-bite and 'who amasses riches, counting them over,' (104:2), or who 'amasses wealth and hoards it' (70:18). Believers should not be 'competing for more', which distracts them and puts them at risk of the judgment (102:2-7). Pagans in Mecca are condemned for reserving cattle and crops for themselves (6:138).

There is sharp criticism in the Medinan period for those who failed to give up their property for the sake of striving for justice, or were grudging in even giving up a portion of it (47:36-38). The sacrality of property and the placing of its importance above the larger cause of striving for God and his Messenger is judged harshly. In Mecca, moreover, God had told the story of Moses, and Pharoah. Pharoah, and his entourage, who had stored up property but had acted in a 'criminal' way, had his property seized and given to others to inherit (44:25-28).

This becomes relevant for sustainability and the environment when one considers the role of private property in fostering climate change and ecological damage. Having vast properties which are used for unsustainable purposes without democratic control or redress is part of the problematic of modern capitalism. There is no 'Planet B', and the effects of climate change are shared around the globe, despite emanating from a particular industrial plant or from a certain livestock ranch. Ironically, the defenders of the liberal institution of property have failed to allow for the 'tragedy of the commons' they decry in more collectivist politics.

The Qur'an therefore provides examples of the overriding of property rights when justice and striving for good is at stake; examples of property being seized from the tyrannous and given to the righteous; and of warnings to believers not to store up property. These can be read alongside the more radical demands of the ecological justice movement, which calls for a programme of communal property to be unfolded. Putting land and resources under democratic control ensures that those most affected by the ill-effects of their use are able to steer their management towards the collective, rather than the private good. Rights of access could still be maintained for those for whom the land is vital (Burkett:2006, p312). Moreover, they ensure that indigenous groups and locals, who have the most intimate and expert connection with their local ecosystems and webs of nature are empowered to serve and protect them (Burkett:2006, p314), rather than multinational corporations or nation states who are increasingly buying up the land of poorer countries. Indeed, 'some (analysts) see common property as the key to the sustainable management of the global commons' (Burkett:2006, p314). As with wealth, the lower order concern in the liberatory maqasid schema for protection of belongings should not overcome the larger principles of life, nature and peace.

Meat and the Tayyeb in the Qur'an

Food consumption is one of the most important nodes of consumption and arguably the most important front in the fight for sustainability. And on this front, the most crucial battlefield is that of meat, and its mass consumption. As has been noted, practices of meat consumption are some of the most important performances and identity-formers in the Muslim experience. The contest over what is considered *halal* and the initiatives to grow *tayyeb* food, linked with wider eco- and organic movements is one of the seminal struggles of the Muslim world, and much hangs in the balance, given the sheer volume of Islamicate meat consumption, and the role of sacrifice in Muslim rituals.

In the Meccan revelations, believers are repeatedly told that meat is permissible. 'Why should you not eat such meat (over which God's name has been pronounced) when God has already fully explained what He has forbidden you, except when forced by hunger?' (6:119). Yet repeatedly thereafter, it is reiterated how important it is that food is also *tayyeb* as well as halal. The tribes of Israel were instructed to *'eat the good things we have provided for you'* (7:160), whereas the Meccans were told to *'eat of the good and lawful things God has provided for you and be thankful for his blessings, if it is Him that you worship'* (16:117 – which is followed by a list of what is *haram* or forbidden), whereas Moses and Aaron were told to *'eat good things and do good deeds.'* (23:71). In Surah al-Baqara, the address is to 'people' in general, to *'eat what is good and lawful from the earth,'* and further for believers to *'eat the good things We have provided for you, and be grateful to God, if it is Him that you worship'* (2:168-172).

A lot hinges on a definition of good. It has been seen in both anthropological fieldworks and case studies what Muslim communities and individual Muslims imagine to be *tayyeb* meat. It is an unstable concept – it could mean local, wholesome; or hygienic, safe; or organic, ethical; even, although all too rarely, green and sustainable. Yet even these concepts of *tayyeb* are severely tested by the gravity of the situation, with meat consumption at the vanguard of climate chaos. Context, referring to the Book of Nature and science, is crucial. Annual meat consumption has increased fivefold since 1950, with average meat consumption per capita now 40kg, whereas it was 17kg in 1950 (Dauvergne:2008, p139). Part of the reason for this is that prices do not account for the sheer devastation meat production wreaks on the planet (Dauvergne:2008, p147). In 2000, 21% of all grains went to feeding livestock for consumption – when around a billion in the world were malnourished (Dauvergne:2008, p148). It took 11 calories of energy – in fossil fuels, food miles, fertilisers and other inputs – to create 1 calorie of beef (Dauvergne:2008, p149) with mass deforestation of the Amazon to make way for ranchland (Dauvergne:2008, p152-3). It is difficult to argue the *goodness* of consuming meat in this context.

Further, meat consumption required 2.5 times more energy, 2.9 times more water, 13 times more fertiliser and 1.4 times more pesticides than a vegetarian diet (Akhtar:2012, p125). 4.3kg of CO2 is emitted for every 1kg of chicken, versus 0.92kg for every 1kg of soybeans (Akhtar:2012, p125). All of this needs to be borne in mind when considering whether even the most organic, hand-reared, corn-fed meat can genuinely be considered *tayyeb*. For the planet to stand a chance of surviving, an immediate 40% reduction in meat consumption in developed countries has been urged by a *Lancet* study, down to a maximum 90g a day (Akhtar:2012, p125). This, of course, would be straight forward if the 'real' cost of meat was passed on to the consumer, rather than hidden in environmental damage, exploited labour and so forth. The true economic cost of a $4 burger, it has been calculated, is closer to $100, once all the externalities and ecological costs have been built-in (Wilson:2014, p37). A rigged market has created artificially high demand.

A switch by Muslim producers – and consumers - to the true economic cost is a just and urgent demand, and should form part of halal certification. At a time when there is still mass malnourishment and the poorest zones of the world are being buffeted and assaulted by the effects of climate change, raises the question of whether meat can be *tayyeb*, whether it can ever be sustainable for the mass market of billions. It is, of the *maqasid* priorities, life itself that is under threat, and must be protected against mere preferences or lower-order lifestyle choices.

No 'adl, no mizan (no justice, no balance) – the case of exploitation

Once again, the Qur'an calls for justice as well as balance (55:7-9). Consuming sustainably is not simply about saving the planet, but establishing justice, and ensuring that the poor are not exploited, that the oppressed are not damaged by the effects of climate change. Satan makes 'foul deeds seem alluring' (16:63), and this might be an explanation for how alienated the modern consumer is from the effects of the consumption of, say, a smartphone, on the oppressed of the earth. The believer is reminded in the same surah that 'God commands justice' (16:90). There is hell in wait for the oppressor (78:21-2), or those who may not be the cause of someone's need, but fail to help them (107:2). It is communities, societies, *classes*, populations, that will be called to account, for the sum of individual actions (45:26).

In contrast to this, one of the best deeds a believer can do is free a slave, cited as the 'steep path' in *Surah al-Balad* (90:13-17) and echoed in *Surah al-Baqara* (2:177). Today's modern slavery sees people working in appalling conditions in workshops across the world to produce the consumer goods bought in the affluent countries of the world, and increasingly elsewhere, at artificially low prices due to the forcibly depressed costs of labour.

For the oppressed and the exploited, however, God has a promise, the promise given to those groaning under Pharoah's yoke – 'We wished to favour those who were oppressed in the land, to make them leaders, and (inheritors), to establish them in the land' (28:5-6). It is incumbent on the believer to free the oppressed, yet structurally, it is in God's plan too.

It is time to bring to these *ayat* the book of social sciences. It has long been noted that there is a democratic deficit in consumption, a power imbalance between the consuming North and the producing South, (Miller:1996, p4-8). Workers in producing countries have no say over what consuming countries will demand, and no means by which to resist their will, despite the local damage it could cause. This is why consumption is the cause 'of massive suffering and inequality' (Miller:1996, p33), the context that must be brought to God's warnings against oppression. Everyday choices – switching on a light-switch, opening a fridge door – 'cumulatively, all these individual acts of consumption - like raindrops in a typhoon - must have consequences.' (Dauvergne, 2008: xi). The bad deeds are 'made alluring' by a process of distancing; the massive separation between consumption and feedback that shields the Western consumer from the impact of his or her consumption decisions (Princen:2002, p104).

This is a function of neo-colonialism, of modern day imperialism (Seymour:2017). The impact of the affluent countries' quest for resources means 'that the oil and gas frontier, the aluminium frontier, the copper frontier, the eucalyptus frontier and palm oil frontiers, the shrimp frontier, the gold frontier, the transgenic soybeans frontier... are advancing into new territories' in territories of the poorer, less powerful countries (Martinez-Alier:2002, p10-1), and indigenous groups are further dispossessed and join the ranks of the oppressed and exploited (Martinez-Alier:2002, p11).

The areas where climate change hits hardest, mostly poor, less developed countries, reaping whirlwind sowed by the 'most' developed, has been vividly described as the *Tropic of Chaos (*Parenti:2011). As our brief history shows- consumerism was born of colonialism – it could not have begun without the rich store of resources and land that could be expropriated by force in the New World; and now, with a great deal of continuity, it could not be sustained without offshoring the greatest of its effects (Dauvergne:2008, p11-2).

Unsustainable consumption in the modern world therefore carries with it a level of oppression and exploitation, and in the moral universe of the Qur'an - especially with the lens of equality, justice, solidarity and welfare - is impermissible. The equivalent of freeing a slave or liberating someone from bondage could be to release a factory worker or miner from the demand to mine coltan or build smartphones, or, once again, to use consumer power to ensure a 'fair' price which might reduce corporate profits, but ensure fair wages and true compensation for the environmental damage caused.

Socio-economic systems and *Tawhid*

It is clear from the research so far that a genuinely sustainable policy must take account of inequality and the systems of privilege and hierarchy, whether globally or within countries. The massive inequalities that see citizens of the richer countries consume unsustainably whilst plunging the rest of the world into climate chaos cannot be just, and nor can the massive siphoning of wealth from the Global South to the Global North which disallows any opportunity for poorer countries to even *mitigate* the effects of climate change and plan for sustainability.

The Qur'an is replete with verses urging believers to give to the poor: 'Give relatives their due, and the needy, and travellers – do not squander your wealth wastefully.' (17:26) Those who do not help ('feed') the poor are warned of judgment (74:44, 90:13-17).

Neglect or contempt for the poor is presented as a precursor to ruin (68:24). In Medinan surahs, the message is repeated – the Children of Israel were told to 'be good to your parents and kinsfolk, to orphans and the poor; speak good words to all people; keep up the prayer and pay the prescribed alms' (2:83). Further, 'those who have been graced with bounty and plenty should not swear that they will (no longer) give to kinsman, the poor, those who emigrated in God's way' (24:22). Those granted paradise will be those who 'give food to the poor, the orphan, and the captive, though they love it themselves.' (76:8-9).

In terms of *socio-economic structures*, the nature of ruling-class power is revealed through the story of Pharaoh – 'as masters in the land you have the power today, but who will help (you) against God's might if it comes upon us' (40:29). The Prophet Salih warned his people not to obey the rulers – 'do not obey those who given to excess, and who spread corruption in the land instead of doing what is right.' (26:151-2). Finally, the Qur'an dedicates the final surah to 'the people' (114). Ali Shari'ati read this as 'masses', reading the surah, 'Say: I seek refuge with the Lord of the masses, the King of the masses, the God of the masses…' (114:1-3), opening the way to a hermeneutic approach which reveals the Qur'an to not just advocate transfer to the poor and the amelioration of their condition, but structural support against corrupt and iniquitous systems, the likes of which have been swept away before, or refuse to obey those who are bringing the planet to the brink of cliff-edge catastrophe.

As we have seen, this is redolent of the situation facing us with sustainability and the climate crisis. The global system is such that not only are the costs and harms spread unevenly, but islands of affluence exist which allow their inhabitants to believe real progress is being made.

As Dauvergne wrote, 'The unequal globalisation of the costs of consumption is putting ecosystems and billions of people at risk. Many living within small worlds of prosperity, however, end up seeing more progress than peril around them, pointing to better environmental practices and technologies, to energy-efficient appliances, greener architecture, organic foods.' (Dauvergne:2008, p19). With 5% of the world's population using 25% of the world's resources, it is not simply that the affluent lifestyles would be radically unsustainable if adopted by the poorer regions of the world, but more that such lifestyles are necessarily built upon the poorest of the world – 'When it comes to climate change, it's even worse than the numbers suggest: Western nations outsource a huge percentage of emissions to the places that increasingly produce our goods' (Battistoni:2014, p2).

Moreover, even fairly conventional theories of sustainability have recognised the need for a more equal society to guarantee future sustainability and cope with the problem presented by greater economic growth and consumption. Tim Jackson calls for 'a different form of social organisation – a more equal society' as the only way to reduce consumption (Jackson:2017, p71). Much of consumption is tied up in social and cultural signification, identity formation and class power. A more equal society where people had no imperative to compete in such terms – 'in which social positioning is either less important or signalled differently' would be a clear outcome, even necessary condition, of building a sustainable world. Or, perhaps, a society where people competed only 'to do good deeds' (2:148). Equality, Tim Jackson relates, would have greater benefits too – drawing on the work of Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett in the *Spirit Level*: equality would reduce health problems, alienation and crime (Jackson:2017, p71).

As the literature review demonstrates, a commitment to equality, or at least 'equity', is referenced by many writers on Islamic Economics, environmental and sustainability issues (Ahmad:1997, Iqbal:2005, Hasan:2006, Aburounia:2006, Hashim Brown:2013) – however, the structural implications of this are not confronted.

For Ali Shari'ati, *tawhid* could only mean a classless society (Dabashi:1993, p129-130) - hierarchy, with nobility, aristocracy, or today's Silicon Valley tycoons, perhaps, can only lead to shirk (polytheism). It can certainly lead to unsustainable consumption. A more equal society unites the liberal wing of the environmental movement and the radical reformist Islamic thinkers. For the *maqasid* outlined – if overcoming class society is what is required for the salvation of the planet, the protection of the lives of the poor, and advancing of peace; if it can draw on the stated goals of equality, solidarity, justice and welfare, it becomes not just a goal to be aimed at, but perhaps *the*, solution to the problem of sustainability.

The Qur'an and Neoliberalism

It is not noted often, but the Qur'an was revealed around 1200 years before the onset of capitalism. Any pro-capitalist orientation projected onto the Qur'an is, by its very nature, a constructed and necessarily political one. As has been shown, the Qur'an is damning of systems of oppression and exploitative ruling classes. Often this is told through the archetypal story of Pharaoh – 'domineering in the land and prone to excess' (10:83). Moses notes Pharaoh's 'splendour and wealth in this present life' and supplicates for God to 'obliterate their wealth' (10:88). Pharaoh refuses to change despite clear signs that his behaviour is leading to destruction (20:56), and sets aside wealth for idolatrous pursuits (16:56), and is a tyrant who 'exceeds all bounds' (44:31). As the most frequent dialogue in the Qur'an, the Pharaoh/Moses dialogue has often been used as a metaphor or analogy for struggle against dictatorships – for example in the Egyptian and Iranian Revolutions. Yet today, under the conditions of capitalist modernity – when power is decentred, diffused, yet omnipresent – it could be time to see Pharaoh as a metaphor for an unjust and destructive *system*.

Certainly, in Medinan verses, the believers are warned about the distractions and pitfalls of enterprise. The *Quraysh* were conducting their usual commercial operations, earning massively, yet God reassured Mohammad – '(Prophet), do not be deceived by the disbelievers' (lucrative) trading to and fro in the land: this is only a brief enjoyment, after which Hell will be their home – a miserable resting place!' (3:196). The Muslims themselves are warned against the potential for distractions from prayer presented by trading (62:9). Yet, even further, the Qur'an specifically mandates that wealth should not just 'circulate among those of you who are rich' but be given instead to 'God, the Messenger, kinsfolk, orphans, the needy, the traveller in need' (59:7), advocating the breaking up of any emerging commercial caste. Importantly for the modern context, Muslims are told to trade only by 'mutual consent' (4:29), a warning, it seems, against unequal exchanges, predatory capitalism and neo-colonialism.

However, the strongest condemnation of the logic of capitalism, and the most important for sustainable consumption, is the injunction for Muslims to 'give full measure'. In *Surah al-Shu'ara,* the Prophet Shu'ayb warns his people – 'give full measure: do not sell others short. Weigh with correct scales: do not deprive people of what is theirs.' (26:181-183). An entire Meccan surah is dedicated to *al-Mutaffifin*, 'those who give short measure': 'woe to those who give short measure, who demand of other people full measure for themselves, but when it is they who weigh or measure for others give less than they should,' (83:1-3).

When applying this command to the world, to the Book of Science, the text to the context, it must be assessed what is meant by giving short measure today. The concept of externalities is a familiar one to environmental economists – as was seen with meat, the massive costs associated with consumer production and resource extraction are externalised, passed on to the poor, or subsidised by taxpayers to ensure lower prices to Western consumers whilst retaining huge profits for multinationals (Martinez-Alier:2002, p24-5

'The fact that raw materials are cheap and that sinks (for pollution) have zero price is not a sign of abundance but a result of a given distribution of property rights, power and income.' (Martinez-Alier:2002, p252). The victims of this process – the exploited workers, or those living in 'tropics of chaos' and bearing the destruction caused by consumption – are not receiving 'full measure' for their labour, or their land, or their lives.

The economy is presented as a system of markets, prices, exchanges. Whilst an economics textbook may project the idea of this being the mere co-ordination of sovereign consumers and traders making rational choices and maximising their utility for the benefit of all, in reality markets have very little to do with freedom and everything to do with power. In fact, markets 'are relations of power maintained every day by constant interventions' (Caliskan:2010, xi). The examples cited in a recent study of commodity chains show how prices for cotton from Egypt and Turkey are set not by a supply/demand curve, but rather from the day-to-day 'confrontation' of 'multiple relations of domination between genders, generations, classes, and human and nonhuman actors' (Caliskan:2010, p188-189), a construction, a crystallisation of power dynamics. The resources are extracted and the harms are exported – 'some parts of the earth - places like Africa and the Arctic - are having to pay a disproportionate share of the costs of rising consumption as the globalisation of corporations, trade, and financing shifts, intensifies, and casts ecological shadows into more remote regions.' (Dauvergne:2008, xii). This failure to pay the full cost of the value extracted; the fixing of markets through fiat and power is the vital modern context for the *al-Mutaffifin*, the corporations and networks of finance and capital which refuse to pay 'full measure'. It has been called 'shading' by secular environmental writers – obscuring the true cost (Princen:2002, p104). The proposed solution to this – of which more in the later toolkit – is for full measure to be paid; massive reparations and compensation for environmental damage already wrought through unequal exchanges, a huge repatriation of wealth from the North to the South (Martinez-Alier:2002, p227-8).

One of the major questions in the sustainability movement is whether capitalism is morally, structurally capable of reducing consumption patterns (Luban:1998, p113). Certainly, it is essential that it does so. Regardless of one's opinions of capitalism, commerce and trade, even if one was to agree that it is a politically neutral process, 41% of the resources extracted today are for trade (Wiedmann:2015, p6275), with around 70 billion tonnes of raw materials being extracted annually – 10.5 tonnes per person on earth – the highest level in history (Wiedmann:2015, p6274-5). It is this extraction, processing, trafficking and consumption that is driving the planet to the brink. The value of trade is set to rise threefold by 2030 (Dauvergne:2008, p9). Capitalism has driven the planet to a crisis point (Angus:2010, p160). Rather than the 'Anthropocene', which neatly elides responsibilities, this era of planetary change should more appropriately be called the 'Capitalocene' (Kunkel:2017, p23). 'The question of modern humanity's past and future ecological trajectory can't be intelligently posed except as a question about capitalism.' (Kunkel:2017, p24).

Therefore, the Qur'an's view and- it has been argued - incompatibility with capitalism is not an academic question, but one of humanity's survival. Put simply, 'either capitalism solves the crisis, or it destroys civilization' (Parenti:2011, ch.16), making the analogy with Pharaoh almost exact. A global, systemic Pharaoh requiring a global, collective Moses to resist.

Conclusion

It is important to tie these Qur'anic threads together and understand how they relate to an Islamic view, or rather ethic, of consumption. Overconsumption, greed, extravagance are condemned; wealth is heavily circumscribed and discouraged; property can, in some cases should, be given up for the greater good.

Also extracted are calls for radical reductions of meat consumption and the payment of its true cost, even the cessation of its *tayyeb* status; the disavowal of exploitation and the promise of liberation to the oppressed; the encouragement of equality and a classless society; the condemnation of the logic and mechanisms of capitalism. Therefore the Qur'an, in its holistic worldview, and in the context of its greater themes of justice and *tawhid*, provides a systematic understanding of both the practical, pragmatic and systemic response to consumption. The striving for sustainability includes individual, communal and political actions. That it is incumbent on us is undeniable; that our communities – however broadly or narrowly defined – will be called to account for the destruction we have allowed – or resisted - is certain.

Part Three: A brief history of consumption in Islam

Introduction

In order to change the present, or the future, it is often necessary to have recourse to the past. Many of those who call environmental change or sustainable consumption recall a past history of Islam where they did things differently. This 'myth of the fall' (Miller:1996, p28) is common in literature on consumer culture– that there was a golden age before consumerism that we simply need to return to. This brief history has the aim of firstly outlining a Prophetic view on consumption, but also emphasising that, post-Karbala, consumption practices need to be framed in systemic terms and are defined by economic systems. It will argue too that colonialism, capitalism and consumerism are tied together. To overcome these structures in the name of sustainable consumption it will be necessary to bring about wider systemic change and disrupt the logic of an unsustainable system.

Medina and after: consumption in the Prophetic universe

Al-Ghazali's work *Ihya Ulum ad-Din* (Revival of the Religious Sciences) was, like all religious work, written for the demands of its present (Al-Ghazali:1992, FN.6). Yet the proofs and arguments presented are all from Prophetic example, and thus despite having been written 500 years after the *hijra*, the work has helped enshrine our view of life in Medina under the Prophet, our approach to hadith, and - due to the influential section on 'Curbing the two appetites' – shaped orthodox views on consumption ever since. Refracting these principles and pronouncements to the peculiar dynamic of consumption today brings the radical possibility of re-moralising and re-enchanting economic transactions; placing the acts and processes of consumption in their cosmological and spiritual context. Yet there is a familiar risk – that by isolating and extracting something we now discretely demarcate and label 'consumption' from its rooted, connected, web of associations and out of a holistic view of the Good Life we engage in reductionism or decontextualization; of imposing the demands of the modern on Medina; or, perhaps worse, imagining a pristine Medina which can speak to the modern world, unmediated. Therefore the Sunnah of the Prophet will be approached cautiously, first through al-Ghazali's frame, and then allowing for some reflections on the wider collections.

For al-Ghazali, the consumption of food was part of a wider system of good and evil. 'Greed for food is a destructive evil,' with the stomach being a 'container of greed and the breeding ground of disease and disasters' (al-Ghazali:1993, p69)

Curbing the 'two appetities' – desire for food and lust – guarded the believer against the agents of destruction (al-Ghazali:1992, p31). The greatest pain afflicting man was the 'lust of the stomach' (al-Ghazali:1992, p32), as it was the evil that facilitated greater evils – leading to 'intense desire for ostentation and wealth, to all kinds of envy and greed,' (al-Ghazali:1992, p32-3). Over consumption of either food or other pleasures, 'give(s) rise to the evil of deception, boastfulness, excessiveness and ostentation' (al-Ghazali:1992, p33). The demands of the stomach must be resisted. Here, al-Ghazali preaches the dangers of overconsumption as a practical issue – leading one to wantonness and heedlessness – but also as a moral evil, leading to decline in turpitude and righteousness; of how individual greed can spill over into social and structural harms.

The believer is encouraged to spend less, and live simply, which has ten major benefits, one of the principal ones being that it leaves more surplus to give to charity (al-Ghazali:1993, p78) as well as being a healthier option, warding off diseases. (al-Ghazali:1993, p78). This is part of wider recommendation of *zuhd* (asceticism). The Prophet, al-Ghazali reports, instructed his followers to 'put on old cloth, fill up half of your belly with food and drink as it is a portion of prophet-hood' (al-Ghazali:1993, p69). Fasting is the Prophetic way, bringing Prophets closer to God, (al-Ghazali:1993, p73). There are other injunctions to use hunger as a way to soften oneself. However, it is not to be read as a justification for poverty, but rather a moral choice of the sated and the satisfied to reduce overall consumption voluntarily. There can be no compulsion in religion; and poverty is the greatest form of compulsion.

The Prophet himself, al-Ghazali relates, had no fixed meal times or stable measures of food (al-Ghazali:1993, p85), implying that food was eaten when it was available and that it often was not.

The Prophet insisted that hunger and thirst were ways to knock on the door of Paradise (al-Ghazali:1992, p39) and that ultimately, God loved those who ate less, slept less, and rested less (al-Ghazali:1992, p45). The question of consumption is thus both a moral and a practical one. It was both statutory and advisory to voluntarily consume less, and doing so built moral character and closeness to the divine.

When tentatively exploring the wider books of Sunnah, these principles can certainly be constructed out of the canon. Of the six canonised Sunni books of hadith, three – *Sahih Muslim, Tirmidhi and ibn Majah* - have been organised with a discrete section on *zuhd*. The poverty of the Prophet is also related. He and his family were not able to have bread for three successive days *(Muslim 55:30)* and often had only dates and water *(Muslim 55:33*). Whether this was desirable or due to circumstance is clarified by a supplication the Prophet made to keep his family sustained at subsistence level *(Muslim 55:23)*. Consuming the bare minimum and living humbly can be read as one of the examples the Prophet set.

Another ethical principle outlined in the Sunnah is the intention of acquisition of goods or wealth. It seems like nothing, however small should be accepted with the intention of greed or avarice *(Bukhari 24:70, Bukhari 24:76)*. Once again, possessions and sustenance form part of either a functional process to worship and fulfil obligations, but also part of a moral system of restraint and self-denial, self-cultivation. Other motives for accepting material gain are looked down upon. Once attained, material wealth cannot be wasted or squandered, with money being spent incorrectly being identified by the *sahaba* as synonymous with the wastefulness denounced by the Qur'an *(Al-Adab Al-Mufrad 25:4).*

Food consumption itself is part of a larger ritual process of worship, with detailed examples to follow in order to open, close and conduct the process of eating and consuming. Once again, almost all six Sunni books have special sections on the Sunnah of food – not just types of food or permissible items but how to eat in a worshipful manner in keeping with the Prophet's austere but grateful example.

The emphasis is on reducing consumption, eating moderately, if not frugally or minimally, and placing the consumption of food and other commodity items into a moral transaction which can heal or harm the heart, restore or degrade the soul, or bring one closer or further to God. So far, in both al-Ghazali's frame and the episodic review of the Sunnah scriptures themselves, the Prophetic message is supra-historical, rising above the material, ideal and ideational. These are the ideal forms of consumption that humankind should try and summon and emulate, to translate to their specific contexts.

Yet it is also important to raise the question of politics, or at least, justice. In order not to negate the holism of the Prophetic message, over-arching concepts such as social justice must be read into the discrete element one is attempting to isolate. An entire book of the *Al-Adab Al-Mufrad* is dedicated to the perils of injustice. From today's vantage point, it is perhaps even more clear the interconnectedness of consumption with justice, and the effects of consumptive practices on the oppression of the poor of the world, and therefore the countless Prophetic references to come to the aid of the oppressed *(e.g. Bukhari 46:5, 89:13, 46:4, Muslim 45:75, Tirmidhi 33:98*) are actively relevant to the question of consumption. In this manner, the ideas of consumption can be translated into history. Yet an examination of this history reveals how politics, economic structure and systems of exchange attenuate and press upon the image of the pristine message.

No Golden Age – Consumption in the pre-Modern Islamicate

It is important to note that widespread, quantitative or documentary evidence for patterns and behaviours of consumption in 'pre-modern' or 'early modern' societies are fragmentary and episodic (Faroqhi:2000, p25-8). This is a major lacuna in the political and economic thought of the time (Appleby:2003, p31-2), not being viewed as a discrete category or phenomenon of its own. Therefore any review, especially a brief review, will naturally be partial and tentative. Yet even with this in mind, it is hoped that some broad patterns can be discerned about attitudes to consumption in the historical Islamicate – and their contestations.

In pre-modern periods, widespread poverty generally meant that consumption was not a mass affair. Class domination ensured poorer classes had less material room for manoeuvre to use consumption as a form of cultural expression, and religious narratives may have been utilised to bestow these material relationships with an aura of virtue (Stearns:2006, p1). The consumer class was generally the aristocracy, who bought luxury or finished items as novelties, (Stearns:2006, p2), as a way for the upper classes to define and express their class power (Stearns:2006, p3). Islam acted as a mediation on this impulse – imposing charitable obligations – but otherwise was compatible with this approach (Stearns:2006, p5), a key constraint only presenting itself with an inconsistent supply of goods (Stearns:2006, p10).

Conspicuous consumption was encouraged by the large households in the Islamicate which encouraged spending on domestic expenditure by the elite (Maddison:2007, p193). Food and drink were the main 'social signifiers', helping to forge 'collective social identities' (Chaudhuri:1990, p151-2).

In each Asian society studied during the period AD 700-1700, including Islamicate ones, there was a high and a low cuisine, differentiated classes by the level and manner of consumption (Chaudhuri:1990, p157). Cultural exhortations towards avoiding gluttony and eating soberly often reflected the austere production of agriculture in Iran and the Middle East (Chaudhuri:1990, p164-5). In Baghdad, during the Middle Ages, there was municipally regulated meat production for consumption by the lower orders at the suq – a group of noblemen, the Cairo Geniza tells us, lost face by being seen to eat there (Chaudhuri:1990, p166). Food was intimately tied up with identity up until the 16th century (Chaudhuri:1990, p180-1). Dress too – the consumption of fabrics, textiles and luxury items like silk and linen – reflected both socio-economic status and even religious status in Ottoman society (Faroqhi:2000, p36-7).

The story of the tulip reveals the burgeoning attitudes to consumerism in the 16th and 17th centuries in the Ottoman Empire. From the time of Sulayman the Magnificent, the tulip became a prized item of the elite and social signifier, a symbol of Ottoman rule (Salzmann:2000, p86). Yet this system was destabilised by the mass consumption of tulips in the early 18th century when imported flowers became affordable to the masses, and therefore disrupted the system of symbolic consumption they represented (Salzmann:2000, p88). A crash in the price of tulips followed, followed by an uprising in 1730 which aimed to recover land set aside for tulip-growing and to censure the ruling class for overconsumption and restore a more balanced and just economy (Salzmann:2000, p94-6). If this demonstrates that consumption patterns were contested and negotiated, it also suggests the relationship between class and consumption, in fact, the two are intertwined in Ottoman history (Artan:2000, p108).

At the level of daily life in the Islamicate during this period, it was clear that, the occasional exception such as tulips aside, 'ordinary' people were not part of the consumerist process, due to a lack of disposable income, mass production and cultural constraints (Stearns:2006, p12). Food to subsist on consumed a large part of household budgets, with little left over for commodities except, perhaps, clothes and other necessaries (Maddison:2007, p74-5). There were enormous variances, however, across place, space, time and class. In Ottoman Istanbul, the imperial city was kept well-supplied with meat, with the elites consuming an 'enormous' amount, but even the townspeople consuming more than the provincial subjects (Artan:2000, p135). Each palace dependent received 107kg of meat per year from the treasury, whereas princesses, perhaps including retinues, received three sheep per day (Artan:2000, p136). Janissaries received 160-190g per day of meat in Istanbul (Artan:2000, p136) compared to 80g per day for those living in a provincial city, even one as important as Jerusalem (Cohen:1989, p56). It would be naïve to expect Ramadan to serve as a reminder to Ottoman elites – at times each princess received, amongst other items, 44 jars, baskets and goblets filled with cheeses, olives, vermicelli, honey and various jams with which to break *iftar* each day (Artan:2000, p160-1). Once again, banqueting was a social institution, incorporating social relations and ties of dependency and patronage (Artan:2000, p163-4) where social, cultural signifiers and technologies of power were inscribed in the various levels of consumption practiced.

A famous 13th century cookbook from Baghdad reflects a certain ambivalence. The halal and tayyeb connection is referenced, but food is called the most 'eminent and perfect' of all the pleasures of this world, and rather than the foundation of evil, the foundation of good – nothing else can be enjoyed if one does not have one's health (Al-Karim:2005, p25). It is not forbidden to 'be meticulous about food', (Al-Karim:2005, p25-6), yet for all the attention and meticulousness devoted to the subject, the idea of restraint, austerity or moderation is not considered.

It is important here to mention the structural and material factors which had to compete with the Prophetic pronouncements seen in the first part of this review. The Medinan ideal was translated into class societies which not only had material and technological constraints, but also had imperatives and logics of domination of their own which necessitated certain consumption types. Ottoman trade during this period was a modest proportion of the world total (McGowan:1977, p171). Trade was primarily to collect taxes and provide luxury goods for the elites which could not be produced at home; and mainly driven by rich households and merchant networks (Chaudhuri:1986, p16-19). The 'world-system' was an interdependent one. Particularly in the 13th and 14th centuries, there never was before or since such a multiplicity of societies and civilizations transacting on fairly equal, reciprocal, horizontal terms (Abu-Lughod:1989, p3-4). No single power claimed or even desired hegemony, and consequently no one culture or economic system could be imposed on another (Abu-Lughod:1989, p4). On the eve of modernity, trade and consumption networks could be envisaged as a 'chain of maritime and caravan trade stretching all the way from the Indian Ocean to the strait of Gibraltar provided the practical means of linking local production with a trans-oceanic system of distribution and consumption' (Chaudhuri:1990, p385). As Wallerstein was to put it 'world supply was primarily a function of market-oriented and profit-induced production decisions, while world demand remained constrained by socially-determined entitlements and allocation of income' (Chaudhuri:1990, p383). Effectively, it was this structure that kept consumption as a largely elite pursuit of status and amusement, and class domination, rather than a mass – and unsustainable - activity.

Yet this began to change as the world-system began to be dominated by European powers. European goods – such as Swiss watches, Bohemian glass, French cloth – began to emerge in the elite markets of Turkey in the 18th century (Stearns:2006, p127-8), even if outside the elites local goods still predominated.

Yet the shift to modernity was beginning – first to the 'Dutch' commercial modernity of the 18th century; then to the industrial 'British' modernity of the 19th century; before arriving at the US financial and technocratic modernity of the present age – ages where the dominant power could, and did, impose its economic system (Taylor:2003, p93-4). British naval power 'redrew' the map of trade and balance that had existed in the Indian Ocean, for example, (Chaudhuri:1990, 387) ensuring an end to the economic era sketched here. The British would attempt to disenchant, reinscribe and rationalise its colonies (Prakash:2000, p4-5), and this would have massive implications for consumption practices and patterns, as Europe began to control the flow of commodities across the world (Appleby:2001, p42-3).

The onset of modernity – coloniality, capitalism and consumerism

It is vital to recover the link between coloniality and consumerism. After 1500 and the invasion of the 'New World', massive new lands and resources were opened up by force and conquest by European powers, ready to flood the world market with new commodities (Stearns:2006, p14). This was the economic foundation upon which the Enlightenment, newly privileging material progress, was forged (Stearns:2006, p31). The process of colonialism enabled the Industrial Revolution, and opened up new classes – of workers, bourgeoisie – and new processes, such as urbanisation (Stearns:2006, p32). Gradually, the conditions for consumerism in the West – socially, economically and culturally – were put in place, which reached its summa in the Fordist system of the early 20th century and the Keynesian system of post-World War Two, (Johnston:2010, p7), when the age of modernity became synonymous with mass production and mass consumption.

Developments in Europe and, for example, the Middle East and North Africa were intimately related, even fused together.

The whole post-war European liberal order was founded on the premise of cheap fuel sourced from the Middle East (Mitchell:2011, p139) with Keynesian economics being so reliant on artificially deflated energy costs as to be termed 'petroknowledge' (Mitchell:2011, p139). In building a high consumption society built on abundant cheap oil, with no account made for oil's environmental damage or finite nature, the architects of the liberal economic system were engineering a thoroughly unsustainable model and patterning irresponsible levels of consumption of goods and commodities to sustain social democratic consensus, in effect buying social peace with the health of the planet.

As the European world-system took hold in the 18th and 19th centuries, the Ottoman Empire, for example, had to accommodate and capitulate to new models of consumption. Unequal treaties and gunboat diplomacy forced open Ottoman markets to British export products, with a four-fold rise in British textile imports between 1820 and 1840 alone; something which necessitated change in clothing styles and consumption habits (Stearns:2006, p126). By the end of the 19th century, advertising and consumer products such as sewing machines had reached the Ottoman Empire, despite cultural constraints and low-level resistance (Stearns:2006, p128-9). The collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the irruption of late colonialism in the Middle East accelerated the cessation of resistance to Western-driven consumerism; except in Turkey – which promoted its own consumer-industries (Stearns:2006, p130-1).

State formation in the Middle East, therefore, did so on the basis and assumption of a new form of consumerist impulse. These trends were accelerated in Saudi Arabia, for example, by the oil boom of the 1970s, which provided hothouse development for a mass consumerist society, (Schechter:2009, p89) where citizenship was defined primarily by the rights one had to consume; by the level of consumption of public and private goods one attained (Schechter:2009, p91).

The religious establishment, rather than resist this mass consumerism, instead negotiated and facilitated it – including, for example, helping with the design of new consumer finance products (Schechter:2009, p91, p99). In the boom years, Saudi Arabian citizens became consumers of American-style housing – with all of its attendant energy inefficiencies and unsustainabilities – household commodities and, of course, the car (Schechter:2009, p101). Entire cities such as Riyadh, which grew rapidly in the 1960s and 1970s, were designed exclusively around travel by car (Menoret:2014, p6-7), with the entire city built upon the idea of disconnected, privatised, passively consuming citizens reliant on the government for provision of goods and services (Menoret:2014, p101).

This was also evident in Kuwait, where a maritime society previously reliant on horizontal webs of social relations and reciprocity was reframed by the oil boom into a 'modernist' city of suburban sprawl, where luxury villas connected by huge highways ensured that citizens were utterly reliant on the state for water, food and services (Al-Nakib:2016, p92). As with the Saudi case, citizenship was reflected in consumption and rights to consume, and the state's obligation was to provide services, fuel, food and energy at subsidised rates far below cost price or even free of charge, in return for political compliance, encouraging wildly unsustainable practices. Whether Riyadh or Kuwait City, these were not accidents, contingencies or signs of moral lapse – but rather they were the result of conscious design, inscribed into the very urban space itself.

States in the Arab world which did not comply with this vision – such as Nasser's Egypt – were brought into compliance through measures such as structural adjustment and the neoliberal turn of the 1970s and 1980s. Anwar Sadat's 'opening' introduced Egyptians to mass consumerism, replacing locally grown food with frozen, subsidised American meat flown thousands of miles and dumped on the Egyptian market (El Guindi:1983, p20).

Television became swamped with adverts encouraging greater consumption of Western products (El-Guindi:1983, p21). The open-door policy had welcomed in the consumerist impulse in the end. In Turkey, neoliberalism was embraced from within, by a rising class of Muslim bourgeois, who began reacting to the proliferation of malls by Islamising consumption through 'halal' hotels, restaurants and product lines (Mutlu:2009, p119-122), a complex negotiation of identities further explored in the preceding literature review.

Clearly, consumerism and mass consumption are both imbricated with modernity, itself a product of coloniality. Consumerism was imposed from without – even if some of the preconditions, as seen in the prior section, were there – power relations removed previous constraints and ensured the power dynamic privileged Western goods and consumptive patterns. Islamicate societies were retooled and reframed for consumption in the wake of the West, therefore unsustainable practices in parts of the Islamic world are not accidents or the result of bad choices – but rather systemic, and products of unequal encounters with Western capital.

Hypermodernity and conclusion

Consumerism is now deeply embedded in our mode of life – a hypermodernity or even 'post'modern condition. For Zygmunt Bauman, our fluid and negotiated lifestyles – 'liquid modernity' – made possible by consumption, the 'infinite possibility and constant renewal promoted by the consumer market, of spending one's life in the never ending chase after ever more intense sensations and even more exhilarating experience.' (Bauman:1997, p14). There has been a concomitant, parallel 'upsurge' in Muslim consumerism (Haenni:2009, p327), including, as seen, attempts to retool Islam in a more market-friendly direction (Haenni:2009, p328), and the attempt through structural adjustments to urban spaces or whole economies creation and expansion of the Muslim consumer class (Haenni:2009, p338), which has fostered a certain degree of resistance (Haenni:2009, p339-40), but a resistance which, to an extent, has manifested itself in its own forms of consumption (Navaro-Yashin:2002, p113).

This history began in the imagined Medina – a supra-historical repertoire of Prophetic ideals and a complete moral system of good and evil; advocating asceticism, the virtues of hunger, restraint and austerity. Upon moving into history, into class society, there is consumption on varying scales, from extravagant to subsistence-level. Much of what drives and motors different levels of consumption - class, culture, social signification and identity construction -were present in early-modern times but constrained by structure. Coloniality loosed the constraints but imposed a structure of domination, mass consumption on Western lines, artificially inexpensive and unsustainable. Modernity and hyper-modernity deepened the central place of consumerism in the Islamicate; outside the Masjid al-Nabawi, in Medina, a Starbucks awaits you within the *haram*. If exhortation and encouragement and Prophetic example was enough, the hadiths of the Prophet would have kept the sustainability of Islamicate societies in check. Clearly socio-economic systems and power-knowledge are more crucial to understand when our patterns of consumption are considered. As levels of consumption have already passed the point of being violently, dangerously unsustainable, and on the brink of planetary collapse - the task is either to disrupt the system - or change it.

Part Four - Toolkit and Frames of Understanding

This study has first reviewed existing literature and considered a range of different perspectives, within the Islamicate, in dialogue with the most recent 'scientific' findings. In order to advance a new understanding of consumption in Islam, the Qur'anic text has been put together with the current context; a brief history from Medina onwards has revealed the more structural elements of consumption. Consumption is bound up in the system in which we live – a function of modernity, capitalism, and coloniality. There is a tension in the literature as to how much the individual can be asked to do in the face of such systematic forces, versus more collective responses; what Muslims can do specifically as against general campaigns for climate justice. The toolkit offered aims to bring together a number of different understandings to produce a way of navigating the issue from five perspectives – the self, the community, the mosque, the 'national', and, most ambitiously perhaps, the ummah.

The Self

If consumption is the main motor of late capitalism, the 'vanguard of history', the consumer, even the individual, is bestowed with a certain power. Yet this power has been theorised, in the tradition of Foucault, as distributed, fragmented, ephemeral, difficult to locate and wield (Miller:1996, p9-10). Still, with consumerism the crucial node of capitalism, consumer choice and consumer activism is one of the most critical contestations of the system (Miller:1996, p40). In this way, 'the rhetoric of consumer choice is therefore progressive in as far as it can be transformed into the actuality of persons with the resources to become empowered, arbitrating the moralities of institutions that provide goods and services' (Miller:1996, p41). Emphasising the role of the self and the power of the individual could be directed towards transformational ends.

Yet it could also be a deeply *conservative* idea. As Jodi Dean put it, *'Goldman Sachs doesn't care if you grow your own chickens'* (Srnicek:2015) When discussing the injunction on individuals to perform virtuous acts such as reducing waste or separating their recyclable materials from landfill each night Martin Empson wrote that 'some would argue that these changes are important. "Every little helps," they will say. But the problem is that we are told that this is enough. We are tricked into thinking that if we recycle our rubbish, then the world will be saved.' (Empson:2014, p196). The 'individualisation' of responsibility for climate change is a 'dangerous narrowing' which changes the conversation, neatly, from institutional or systemic change (Maniates:2002, p45-7). More deeply, there is an epistemological politics at work in the myth of the sovereign, rational consumer (Princen et al:2002, p321-2). The idea that an individual consumer weighs information and incentives, producing a calculated outcome, maximising utility, has been demonstrated to be false. Not only is the consumer in late capitalism obscured from the true costs of their actions, but is also encouraged by structures – even physical structures (such as in Riyadh or Kuwait) – and systems to consume; an uneven power dynamic ensures that powerful corporations can fix the pricing system to their own advantage, harried and harassed workers do not have the capacity or the material wealth to make more sustainable purchasing decisions, and the weight of accountability is placed on the least responsible agent – the ordinary citizen – rather than the governments or corporations responsible for breaking the planet's ecosystem.

Yet, the individual has a role as part of the overall 'pincer movement' with individual frugality and moderation – as we have seen strongly encouraged in any case by the Qur'an and Prophetic example – combined with collective, mass action (Maniates:2002, p233).

Every act of consumption, however small, does aggregate into larger environmental harms (Dauvergne:2008, p4) , and the archetypal unit for sin or virtue in the Qur'an is often described as an 'atom's weight' (99:8). The situation is so desperate and so destructive for those on the receiving end that even the most radical climate activists are calling for mitigation as the first objective (Parenti:2011, ch.1) – systemic change is the important, but the far, struggle.

In this case, the traditional actions suggested for Muslims are to be understood. Taking care with *wudhu*, using less water, consuming less for *iftar*, and using public transport are therefore all part of the process, but cannot be understood as sufficient in and of themselves, but the minimum requirements of ethical behaviour. They must be invested with sufficient gravity as decisions of *justice*.

A deeper set of questions should guide the consumer before making any purchasing or usage decisions:

• Does what I am amount to buy promote activity, self-reliance and involvement, or does it induce passivity and dependence?

• Are my consumption patterns basically satisfying, or do I buy much that serves no real need?

• How tied are my present job and lifestyle to instalment payments, maintenance and repair costs, and the expectations of others?

• Do I consider the impact of my consumption patterns on other people and the Earth?

(Elgin:2006, p153)

This covers the Qur'anic principles of moderation, extravagance and excess that were explored.

To these, also based on the Qur'anic principles explored, the Muslim could add:

• Does the price for this item or service include the 'full measure' for labour, environmental and energy costs?

• Does the provision of this product or service rest on exploitation or oppression of others, politically or economically?

• Does my purchase help to advance the interests of capitalism or build alternatives?

Finally, the self is, in many ways, the locus of struggle and resistance with the structural forces that facilitate modernity. The response of some to the colonising effects of modernity is to cultivate a pious self (Mahmood:2004) which can foster values of patience, modesty, self-sacrifice, collectivism, solidarity which cut against, contradict and disrupt the neoclassical economic logic of the utility maximising rational consumer. Each may have their preferred method for this act of self-cultivation and spiritual growth – for Mahmood's subjects it was choice of clothing and outward displays of piety; of women's mosque movements and Qur'an readings. It could be through *dhikr* (remembrance) or Said Nursi's approach when faced with political oppression in Turkey (Abu-Rabi:2003). Ramadan should be considered a training school for self-mastery and breaking, curbing the desires that provide the motor power for consumerism.

Muslims bring a unique spiritual and ethical urgency to the environmental question. Yet they must also be, like other climate activists, pragmatic, pluralist, decolonial and *active* in their communities (Angus:2016, p183-5). It is to this collective action that we now turn

The Community

As stated, the struggle must begin from the individual, but must be larger than that if it is to succeed. Muslim communities, whether the majority in their country, or the minority, must lead the way. Not only is that the expectation of the Qur'an, but it is also the hope of the environmental movement, some of whom recognise the enormous potential religious groups can play in seeding and sustaining environmental action groups (Taylor:2015, p8). However, it must be remembered that the global nature of our present environmental crisis means that no one group can stand in isolation and expect to be immune to its effects. It is therefore important that Muslim ethics are used to work effectively with those of other faiths and of none to deal with the current crisis.

It has been seen that the Qur'an calls to justice, an end to exploitation, oppression and material accumulation. Therefore it is natural that the quest for environmental justice and sustainability be expressed in the Islamic idiom, Prophetic language and Qur'anic symbology. Yet these need to feed into existing, wider coalitions; facilitate large, flexible, pluralist alliances in communities – however large or small that term may be defined, from the neighbourhood, to the ward, the town, the city, the region. Green consumerism, or simply switching purchasing sustainable products whilst maintaining current structures of oppression and domination is not an option in our conception of the Qur'anic schema, and it lacks the mass movement, the counter-power which could make systemic changes (Goodman and Goodman:2001, p97). Muslim groups need to side not only with ecological campaigns and activists (Gabriel and Lang:2006, p2) but also in the struggle for a fairer economic and social system – recalling, perhaps, that both green and red, the symbols of these struggles are both prized in Islamic tradition and memory.

The actions that must be fought by this alliance, and that Muslims must play a leading role, are not always surface-level environmental issues, such as a recycling initiative here, a solar panel there, or a new park or reserve somewhere else. For example, as urban design has been discussed as an issue fuelling consumption, Muslims should join the global struggle against gentrification. Gentrification is the retooling and redesigning of urban spaces to make them more efficient vectors of capital and consumption (Jackson and Thrift:1996, p207). We have seen the remodelling of Gulf cities to aid consumption practices, now in other parts of the world – although amongst the more thoughtful development companies, lip service to sustainability is doubtless referenced – gentrified urban spaces, privatised suburban communities, festival spaces, malls, venues, high-corridors, science parks and so on, are all built on the premise of increased, more passive forms of consumption (Jackson and Thrift:1996, p207-8). Defending organic communities and for democratic decision making at the local level is thus as important a fight for sustainable consumption as opening up an organic farm.

There is a pressing need to join the fight for a Living Wage – for both the workers and providers of the 'developed countries' but most importantly, a Fair Wage for the workers and producers of the 'developing' countries. This is vital not just for ensuring 'full measure' is given to workers for their labour and for the value they add to products which is, in the capitalist system, expropriated from them. It is also the necessary step to ensuring different consumption decisions and patterns in the future.

The reason meat and commodity prices are kept artificially low, far below the 'true' cost of their environmental impact is precisely because wages and living conditions are being depressed (Food Ethics Council:2017, p3). In this reading, cheap goods and food are extracted from the labour and resources of the poorer countries in order to placate the citizens of the richer countries with more goods and services their 'real' spending power ought to be able to afford. This also speaks to the necessity of raising living standards and wages such that average consumers can afford organic and *halal-tayyeb* food (Food Ethics Council:2017, p4). A 'Living Wage' which could afford necessities at their 'real' prices; the fight for 'full measure' is a necessary campaign for Muslims to join.

If this is a fight for altering the *material* conditions, there is also a need to join in the struggle to *resocialise* our communities – a massive step forward to change consumption patterns. It has been noted that 'protecting and advancing social values' that are under threat by neoliberal logic is more important than fighting for a Fairtrade or Soil Association (or halal) certification, as effective as they may be (Carrier and Wilk:2012, para 3). Modern commerce and consumerism thrives on alienation, bureaucratisation, abstraction, a severing of social relations so one is not able to consider the impact of their actions or make decisions collectively or communally; the solution, therefore is to plan for care, for connection, to create a 'parallel economy' building civic and social capacity, ensuring care and welfare are beyond the logic of the market and commodification (Manno:2002, p99). It means spending more time with family and friends, and volunteering in the community, even 'to be kinder to each other', to 'nurture communities of meaning (outside of the realm of the market).' (Jackson:2017, p217-8) Community, civic activism, resocialising our links and connectedness, our embeddedness to our local communities helps disrupt and break up the alienation that drives consumerism.

As part of our campaigns and our collective actions, we should focus on sites of power, disrupting oppressive systems. To do this, Muslim activist groups, leading or as part of pluralist coalitions, should take the best practice from decades of Community Organising experience, judging their organisations and campaigns by how they help people:

• Win real improvements in their lives

• Get a sense of their own power

• Alter the relations of power

(Bobo et al:2001)

Of course, it is consumerism itself that is both the cause and an effect of atomisation, individualisation and privatisation, and is therefore more difficult to resist (Ritzer:2001, p234). A lot depends on breaking that vicious cycle by resocialising, and organising communally. In our communities, we can model participatory organisations, direct democracy and connection between those in need and those who can provide (Empson:2014, p202).

The Mosque

This section will take the mosque as a *complex* ¬– the aggregate collection of imams, boards, scholars that make up the religious establishment in general – but also the physical institutions and spaces that we attend as part of our every day, weekly, annual or occasional ritual activities.

It is first important to note the pitfalls that religious establishments could fall into when it comes to discussing the environment. Lessons from the Qur'an or the Bible need to have a hermeneutics of liberation and an emancipatory ethic, to avoid, in some cases, replicating damaging myths – such as that of human dominion and mastery over nature (Taylor:2015, p10-1).

Similarly, a relentless focus on the End Times and the coming apocalypse has been hypothesised to adversely affect people's concern for protecting the environment and sacrificing for the future health of the planet (Taylor:2015, p14). The centrality of politics to questions of ecology ensure that aiming for *depoliticised khutab* (sermons) is an impossibility – in this case, not mentioning politics, in the time of crisis is making a profound – and conservative – political statement.

The mosque complex could be useful for commissioning, conducting and issuing fatawa (see Appendices for examples), which could guide Muslim communities towards good behaviours. These need to include, as the radical reform approach demands, a fuller spectrum of consideration and input from experts and communities. A fatwa on 'BitCoin' for example, focused on its monetary and fiscal aspect (Kahf:2014), whilst ignoring its appalling unsustainability (Kaminska:2017) which would arguably render it impermissible by definition, for the damage it causes. A fatwa on the permissibility of using Amazon by a salafi website focused on the possibility of buying 'haram' films and images of women (IslamQA:2017), rather than the effects of its massive logistical operation, monopolistic practices and opaque environmental record on consumer behaviour and impact on increasing the volume of consumption. More people have an Amazon Prime subscription in the US than voted in the 2016 election (Hyken:2017), creating path dependencies for increased consumption. BitCoin and Amazon are vital issues that mosques could help us navigate, rather than focusing on the superficial elements of their legality.

There are also institutional ways the mosque and its repertoire of traditions could aid sustainability. The importance of common land, of breaking up private property and democratic control over land and resources have been cited – as have the Islamic traditions of *hima* (set-aside reserves), *harim* (protected sanctuary areas) and awqaf (charitable foundations) (see Aminu-Kano:2015). The mosque complex could advocate, encourage, and even partake in funding and establishing these land types. This could involve using whatever funds it has to buy and institute hima and harim in their communities, as benefits to local communities. It could encourage people to leave such funding in their wills and cite charitable endowment (as opposed to one-off gifts) as the height of good practice, as opposed to business or commerce. The nature of *awqaf* – that once established they are permanently dedicated to their original purpose, and thus cannot be transferred to developers, speculators or businesses is a powerful weapon against marketisation of property.

Mosques could promote 'buy nothing days', perhaps on Fridays, as part of *jum'uah* traditions. They could also take the example of 'Green Halal' a Belgian initiative, encouraging their congregants to undertake a vegetarian or vegan Ramadan.

Zakah can also be used to build institutional capacity and planetary resilience. In the UK, the *National Zakah Foundation* is building awareness of how zakah does not have to be sent abroad to be spent on the symptoms of structural oppression – although that can hardly be discouraged – but can also be spent at home in order to shift and change those structures (citing 9:60). In this reading, *zakah* could be used to purchase or invest in sustainable enterprises, to buy harmful enterprises and close them down, or even to fund campaigns that work for change at the communal or national level. It is, once again, a symbolic and moral resource which lies totally outside the logic of utility maximisation and capitalism, and should be deployed to break the cycle of profit and development.

Mosques should ultimately model the deep democracy and community organising principles outlined in the previous section, in order to assist in the re-socialising and re-empowering of our communities. Mosques should be participatory and open to large scale decision making by its congregants. Only then can the full sustainable potential of a mosque be truly unfurled, when decisions affecting its operations are opened up to the wisdom of the community, and those most affected by its decisions. In the Muslim-minority communities, this may involve building the mosques we need as well as changing the ones we have. It must begin with, but go further than, placing a solar panel on the roof but building a deeply democratic, embedded, community hub that assists in the huge, collective project that is sustainability and ecological justice.

There is no such thing as the sovereign consumer. The consumption decisions taken by an individual are 'modified by the network of social relations within which the individual is embedded' (Anderson et al:1994, p9). The mosque is one such node in the complex web of relations that inform our behaviour. It is an example of a key producer in the 'moral economy', the popular and communal alternative to market economics (Daunton and Hilton:2001, p16-7). Greening the mosque physically is important, as any small-scale individual behaviour is – but greening the congregation, or more significantly, giving the congregation the tools to green themselves and in turn green their communities, is the greatest task mosques can perform.

National, structural, global action

This section will describe the importance of fighting for justice at the national, systemic level. This has the greatest impact, but of course, is the hardest to influence, requiring slow, patient work, and combining all of the previous factors together, and adding a macro-level gaze. Of course, the importance of this approach is due to the fact that most consumption patterns are not down to individual choice, but the way infrastructures and institutions have been set up and incentivised (Druckman and Jackson:2009, p2075).

Of course, some would take a public policy approach, believing that there is a policy fix that may allow the system to remain in place but with marginally improved outcomes. This was generally the focus of the 'Islamic social science' genre, be they working for 'Green Jobs' or 'Future Investment Funds'. It also has some support in the general literature on sustainability. Tim Jackson, for example, provides a menu of policies that could help motivate sustainable consumption, including improved product standards, building standards, trading standards, media standards and marketing standards (Jackson:2005a, p129). For others, the tax system can be amended, to adjust the incentives – assuming, here, a rational sovereign consumer – whereas an increase in taxes could redirect consumption whilst also providing funds for green investment (Jha and Bhanu:2006, p39-40). Muslims could argue for any and all of these suggestions as part of the national conversation in their state of residence.

Yet the majority of writers on the subject, noting the dire situation (e.g. Steffen et al:2015, p736), the point of no return being passed, or having been passed, suggesting that nothing less than systemic change will suffice to give us even half a chance of surviving. To some, this goes even beyond simply converting to 'sustainable' production or consumption, it may be too late even for that (Harm Benson and Craig:2014, p777-778), instead, what is required is a 'roadmap for the structural transformation' of contemporary society (Blűhdorn:2017, p48). Instead of addressing consumerism, it should be about transforming the structures that sustain consumerism (Princen et al:2002, p328). For one wing of the environmental movement, there is an urgent need to embrace the concept of 'no-growth', even de-growth (Luban:1998, p113-4). This is not an academic conversation, or much of a choice – even if we attempted to preserve the current consumer economy, 'ecological forces will dismantle it savagely' (Gabriel and Lang:2006, p23).

The Muslim activist can work for systemic change, but also political change at the national level which could facilitate it, or at least smooth some of the conditions and contradictions that necessitate consumption. In some ways, this is a fight for greater equality – in any case, a move away from, however gradually or suddenly, the current system and its neoliberal form. Consumerism is driven, for example, by the structure of the labour market (Anderson et al:1994, p12) – in our time increasingly precarious, over-worked, over-stressed (Gabriel and Lang:2006, p194). The long work day, increased working hours, poorer conditions, all create the demands for consumer goods and artificially cheap foods, entertainments, retail therapy and so forth (Princen et al:2002, p217-8), all the while reducing the time, energy and 'headspace' a citizen has to plan, deliberate and join in movements for justice and change.

Little wonder that 'voluntary simplicity' movements (and, we could add, eco-halal, organic farms, and so on) are largely middle-class movements (Maniates:2002, p220-1). By fighting for social justice politically – better wages, better conditions –even a Universal Basic Income (referenced as a solution to climate change and sustainability by Battistoni:2014, p2) is one of the major ways to create the structural conditions for sustainable consumption, for more re-socialisation, civic and religious engagement; as well as being the just, 'full measure' for the value created by the workers and producers of the world. In either case, from environmental or social justice – or the nexus of the two – this is a Muslim issue that Muslims are obliged to involve themselves in, help moralise and enchant, and lead by example on.

This should be part of a wider, global decolonise/decarbonise campaign which seeks to connect activists in the West with those resisting in the South. These are the movements 'born from resistance', (Martinez-Alier:2002, p265-6) which form part of a 'liberation ecology' (Martinez-Alier:2002, p270), focused on social justice for the poor as well as climate justice. The centrepiece of this approach is delivering massive climate reparations to the affected peoples (Martinez-Alier:2002, p227-8) and altering the power dynamic between wealthier countries and less wealthy countries by dismantling economic, political, military systems of domination. The power to decide issues of consumption – which hold the whole world in the balance – should not be down to a chosen few of Western consumers. Ultimately it's a question of power. (Martinez-Alier:2002, p271) Activists in the West should be aiming to seize it in order to dismantle it.

The aim, ultimately is a post-carbon economy (Kunkel:2017, p27). Policies, or state directives which could disrupt the current system could open up the breaches (Goodman and Goodman:2001, p116), as could paying wages for ecological work (Battistoni:2014, p5); or through wider socio-economic change. But it is incumbent on Muslims to join these fights, if necessary bringing a specifically Muslim ethic and language, or drawing on their own rich tradition and symbolic resources. The greatest danger would be a 'flight from politics' and a depoliticization of the greatest political issue of our time (Maniates:2002, p52-3).

Ummah-wide

Whilst Muslims should join the struggle for social and eco-justice in their respective countries, there are some initiatives and efforts that could be facilitated internationally. In this manner, it could bypass state structures and draw on the solidarity felt between Muslim communities across the world. Conceptualising an *ummah* – not an essentialised, static monolith, but a meeting-point, a field of encounter, even of contest, an on-going, collective project – provides radical possibilities of co-ordinating, assisting and ultimately mobilising.

One of the proposals of the ecological justice movement is for a 'World Food Board'. One had been proposed – along with a World Oil Board – after the Second World War as part of the UN's remit, to co-ordinate nutritional and energy needs across the world and thus lessen the possibility of conflict (Wilson:2014, p38). The call has been repeated in recent times as wars over water become more likely, wars over oil are already taking place, and food distribution is so exorbitantly unbalanced and unequal, and, as has been seen, costed so artificially and arbitrarily.

There have already been calls for standardisation of halal certification – with Malaysia, Indonesia and others competing for the role of international halal standard-setter. The opportunity presented by agreeing an international standard for halal would be a lost one if it did not build in concepts of *tayyeb*, sustainability, and 'full measure'. Certainly any international board should consider a moratorium on meat consumption in certain countries, or at the very least decree a radical reduction, down to the 'sustainable' rate of 15-30kg per year (Wilson:2014, p38). Of course, the likelihood of Muslims following such advice *en masse* is low, unless it was part of a wider political and ethical revolution. As Tim Jackson put it, 'Simplistic exhortations for people to resist consumerism are destined to fail' (Jackson:2017, p130) without changing structural conditions.

A final consideration for an *ummah*-wide approach may be the call for a new Islamic Declaration of Human Rights, reviewing the 1981 declaration which emphasised private property rights and business interests, and had little reference to the environment.

So far these have relied on governments or formal structures, which renders them, given the authoritarian capitalist governments in the Middle East, for example, unlikely. Muslims could instead form their own connections of solidarity, using the Hajj as a time to build common cause with the poor (22:36) or by linking producer and consumer through connection and religious solidarity, eliminating the 'distancing' consumer capitalism relies on (Princen:2002, p104).

Michael Hardt suggested in the face of climate change we needed to 'develop a politics of the common that both recognizes the real limits of the earth and fosters our unlimited creative capacities — building unlimited worlds on our limited earth' (Battistoni:2014). The ummah, and the vision it could summon, could foster the common links of solidarity that are needed alongside radical redistributions of wealth and power.

Conclusion

This paper began by stressing the importance of Nature in the Qur'anic cosmology. In order to draw the necessary radical measures and ethical principles necessary to transform our current systems, and to protect Nature, a reconsideration was required of *usul al-fiqh*. This allowed the proposal of new, more comprehensive *maqasid al-Shariah* which aimed for the protection of nature, peace, and life, through principles such as justice, welfare, solidarity, equality. These were to be worked out by putting the Book of Scripture in conversation with the Book of Science; the two 'texts' – text and context. This was applied to the Qur'anic text, to extract principles on consumption and wider systems, before a 'brief history' was undertaken to place these systems in their historical context. Finally, a toolkit was offered which aimed to suggest ways of understanding the issue – and how to take action – from the individual level to the collective. Any effort *towards* an Islamic Philosophy of Consumption must take into account systemic factors, and seek transformational change, in the name of justice.

Self

- Consumer decision checklist
- Qur'anic principles
- Self-cultivation

Community

- Alliances with existing eco-justice campaigns
- Community action
- Resocialise
- Alter relations of power

Mosque

- Fatawa and Khutab
- Deep democracy
- Awqaf, hima and harim
- Zakah

National

- Public policy
- Systemic change
- Political change - social democracy/socialism
- Decolonise-Decarbonise

Ummah

- World Halal-Tayyeb Board
- New Islamic Declaration of Human Rights
- Horizontal networks of solidarity

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Humanitarian Academy for Development
22-24 Sampson Road North
Birmingham
B11 1BL
United Kingdom

Tel: +44 121 309 0290
Fax: +44 121 622 5003

research@had-int.org
www.had-int.org