

HUMAN ACCOUNT IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES: AN ISLAMIC ANALYSIS¹

Muhammad Syukri Salleh²

Centre for Islamic Development Management Studies (ISDEV)

School of Social Sciences,

Universiti Sains Malaysia

11800 Penang, Malaysia

Tel: +6-04-6532656 Fax: +6-04-6532124

E-mail: syukri54@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Some quarters seem to perceive that western ethno-centric theories, in particular in development studies, have not taken into account the human aspects. This paper attempts to prove otherwise. It will show that the human aspects have indeed been a focus of recognition and an in-depth deliberation in the western ethno-centric development studies. What has become the flaw of these studies is their inability in understanding a holistic concept of human beings, hence inability in penetrating into other human basic components within oneself. In a nutshell, this paper consists of an expression of three main stances. Firstly, that the western ethno-centric theories undoubtedly are well aware of the significance and the importance of the human and the intangible aspects. Secondly, that this awareness, however, is based on an inexact concept of human beings, defected by some missing dimensions of human beings themselves. Thirdly, in consequence, that the deliberation on the human in the western ethno-centric development theories are confined to a narrow worldly objectives, with productivity and income as their indicators of what they meant as human development. These stances, inter alia, need to be exposed to the students of development studies, particularly in the deliberation on the human beings as actors of development.

Keywords: Human development, development actors, development studies

¹ A revised version of a paper presented at the 2nd SOASCIS International Conference: *Transmitting Spiritual and Moral Values Across Generations in 21st Century: The Challenges to Muslim Education*, organized by the Sultan Omar `Ali Saifuddien Centre for Islamic Studies (SOASCIS), Universiti Brunei Darussalam, at Universiti Brunei Darussalam, Bandar Seri Begawan, Negara Brunei Darussalam, 5-7 November 2012.

² Dr Muhammad Syukri Salleh is Professor of Development Planning and Management, and Founding Director, Centre for Islamic Development Management Studies (ISDEV), Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang, Malaysia. He is grateful to Universiti Sains Malaysia and the Malaysian Ministry of Higher Education for the Research University Team grant that enables him to undertake research and produce the present paper as well as participate in the conference. He is also thankful to ISDEV Research Officer Inani Ismail who helps him in searching the literatures for this paper.

INTRODUCTION

Human, to Muslim scholars of development studies, is a significant entity. Khurshid Ahmad (1980) and Muhammad Kamal Hassan (1990) for instance, give a substantial focus on human in their writings. The former, when dealing with Islamic development economics, relates human to human vertical relationship with God, while the later, when dealing with Islamic educational development, emphasizes on the importance of human inner development. More specific, when dealing with Islamic-based development, Muhammad Syukri Salleh (2003) theorized human as actor of development. Out of the seven principles of Islamic-based development he outlines, he positions the human as the second principles of Islamic-based development³.

However, the Muslim scholars are not the only group of scholars that deal with human. In fact, in contrary to the perception of some scholars, the western ethno-centric theories scholars too have dealt with the human question for quite sometimes⁴. United Nations Development Program (UNDP 2002) for instance argues that in western ethno-centric (modern economic) theories, the human question has emerged as early as the emergence of the theories themselves. At least, as will be discussed later, they are traceable to Aristotle's thought, followed by Adam Smith and four Noble Laurettes - Jan Tinbergen, T. W. Schultz, R. W. Fogel, and Amartya Sen. In a nutshell, the human question has indeed been a focus of recognition and an in-depth deliberation in the western ethno-centric development studies. This is reflected, *inter alia*, by the usage of the term itself. There are, for instance, terms such as human capital, human development and human resources, linking human to capital, development and management respectively. They are in opposition to an overwhelming emphasis on the quantifiable monetary income and economic growth. Rather than merely concentrate on the quantifiable economic indicators alone, they propose a set of social indicators.

Nevertheless, seen from Islamic perspective, their thoughts suffer from some missing dimensions, hence an incomprehensive perception of the human itself. These missing dimensions consist of the internal spiritual dimensions of the human self, such as the intelligence (*'aql*), the heart (*qalb*), and the desires (*al-nafs*) within the construct of faith (*iman*) and piety (*taqwa*). The main flaw of these western ethno-centric theories therefore is their inability in understanding a holistic concept of human beings, hence inability in penetrating into other human basic components within oneself. In consequence, the diagnosis formulated out of the misleading theories leads to incorrect prescriptions, entailing with perpetual socio-economic and political problems.

³ The first Islamic-based development principle is the Islamic worldview (*tasawwur*) as the mould, while the others are the world of *malakut*, the present world and the Hereafter as the time scale, the obligatory knowledge (*fard 'ain*) as the framework, the worship (*ibadah*) as the methodology, the natural resources as the means, and the pleasure of God (*mardhatillah*) as the ultimate aim of Islamic-based development. For further deliberation on these seven principles of Islamic-based development, see Muhammad Syukri Salleh (2003). For a discussion on Islamic-based development as a whole, see Muhammad Syukri Salleh 1987.

⁴ The western ethno-centric theories here simply refer to the theories invented by western scholars, embedded with what Alvares (2011:19) terms as "Euro-American in character". The term western ethno-centric also has been interchangeably used with Eurocentric, connoting not only theories invented by Europeans and North Americans, but also those of the advocates of those theories in the non-Western world, extending the colonization of knowledge of the 'white studies' regime. For the critiques of these western-ethno centric or Eurocentric theories, see Progler (2008), Alvares (2011), Raju (2011), Alvares and Shad Saleem Faruqi (2012). From the critiques of the theories from within the West itself, see Progler (2010). For the critique of 'Islamic Studies' institutions that advocates the western ethno-centric or Eurocentric (read, orientalist) theories, see Ahmad Ghorab 2008.

This paper attempts to investigate the thought on human of these western ethno-centric scholars and highlights their deficiencies attributed by the missing dimensions. It consists of an expression of two main stances. Firstly, that the western ethno-centric theories undoubtedly are well aware of the significance and the importance of the human. Secondly, that this awareness, however, is based on an inexact concept of human beings, defected by some missing dimensions of human beings themselves. Thirdly, in consequence, that the deliberation on the human in the western ethno-centric development theories are confined to a narrow worldly objectives, with productivity and income as their indicators of what they meant as human development.

These stances are derived from an Islamic analysis. They are expounded via three main sections. The first investigates the discourses on the human within the western ethno-centric development studies. The second analyses these discourses from an Islamic perspective. Finally, the third encapsulates these stances in the form of a conclusion for this paper.

HUMAN ACCOUNT IN WESTERN ETHNO-CENTRIC DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

As mentioned earlier, the human account in the western ethno-centric development studies is not new. There is an argument that the deliberation on the human could be traced back even to the thought of Aristotle. According to United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Aristotle has argued that social arrangements must be judged by the extent to which they promote human goods. Specifically, Aristotle was reported to have said that: “Wealth is evidently not the good we are seeking, for it is merely useful and for the sake of something else”. The ‘something else’ here refers to ‘for facilitating people’s ability to lead ‘flourishing lives’ (UNDP 2002:16).

However, according to Bottone (2008:7), the first economist to mention about human was Adam Smith. Deliberating direct or indirectly on human capital, Adam Smith identified the improvement of workers’ abilities as a fundamental source of economic progress and welfare growth. Investments in human capital, he said, affect personal incomes and the structure of wages. De Bartolo (1999) also shows that in 1776, Adam Smith argued that “the salaries vary with the cost to learn the job”. In the same year, Adam Smith advocated ‘education’ as an answer to basic problem in economic - the social problem. He believed that equal education opportunities are a more sustainable vehicle towards social peace than transfer payments from rich to poor.

The discourse on human was then followed by at least four Nobel Laurettes, that is Jan Tinbergen (the 1969 Nobel Laurette with Ragna Frisch), Theodore W. Schultz (1979 Nobel Laurette with W. A. Lewis), R. W. Fogel (1993 Nobel Laurette), and Amartya Sen (1998 Nobel Laurette) (van der Gaag n.d.). Jan Tinbergen perceived people as an important production factor. To optimize the accomplishment of this production factor, investment in education is a necessity, for education for the people to him is an important element.

Theodore W. Schultz too believes in the importance of investing in education. To him, investment in human capital (skills and knowledge) is an essential recipe to increase productivity and entrepreneurship. In 1960’s, he explained the advantages of investing on education on a national scale. He introduced the (economic) behavior of people and argued that people of both the developing and developed countries are *homo economicus* (economic man) that reacts to incentives and opportunities. In fact, as early as 1950’s, Theodore W. Schultz has led the intellectual inspiration at the Chicago School, produced and developed the modern

theory of human capital (Afiouni 2009). He defined human capital simply as “skill, knowledge, and similar attributes that affect particular human capabilities to do productive works” (Schultz 1961:8).

While Theodore W. Schultz dealt with what he termed as human capital, another Nobel Laureate, R. W. Fogel emphasized on the importance of ‘human development’ through physiological improvements. He argued that ‘technophysio’ evolution accounts for half of British economic growth over the past two centuries, due to thermodynamic efficiency (converting human energy input into work output). He also recognized the importance of long-term health effects from deprivation during early childhood (Fogel 2000:78-79).

Like R. W. Fogel, Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen too emphasized on human development instead of human capital. Human development is said to be achievable through better health, higher education levels, and improved nutrition. These three means of human development that represent the non-monetary aspects of the quality of life. For this, Amartya Sen recognized the central role of investing in people. The investment is believed to be able to entail with higher productivity, higher income, reduction of poverty and increase of economic well-being. In addition, he regarded ‘individual freedom’ as the ultimate goal of economic life. The freedom here refers to freedom from hunger, from disease, from ignorance, from all forms of deprivation, from poverty, and freedom in politics, in economic and in civil rights (Sen 1999).

To this point, one witnesses the portrayal of the long existence of human account in development studies, particularly in development economics. This is reflected in at least the two terms used, namely the human capital and the human development. In fact, Bottone (2008:3) argues that the concept of human capital is as old as the economic theory itself.

The human capital here refers to knowledge, skills, and experience of the employees (Penev & Rees 2009). In other words, the human capital refers to an individual’s general level of skills or more broadly as the individual’s knowledge, skills and competencies. These knowledge, skills and competencies facilitate the creation of personal, social and economic well-being. It involves all attributes that are relevant to economic activity (Bottone 2008:3). It is perceived as the stock of ability and productive knowledge that are embodied in individuals. In the words of Bottone (2008:7), it is the capacity of human beings to produce income, or in the words of De Bartolo (1999), an estimation of the ability of a person to produce labor income.

The main aim of human capital is to increase the productivity of the labor force (Department of the Economic Affairs of the United Nations 1953). The higher the human capital, the higher the output per hour worked. Similarly, an additional human capital will raise the productivity of raw labor. The ‘hardcore’ of the theory of human capital is the education (Bluag 1976). With education, skill levels and problem-solving abilities are believed to be accomplishable, entailing with productive workers (Hershberg 1996). In a nutshell, human capital could be said to represent the investment people make in themselves (read, education) that enhance their economic productivity (Olaniyan & Okemakinde 2008:157).

The human capital to some extent could be seen as a component of and led to human development. But the education, income, and health embedded in the human capital have been regarded as inadequate in defining the human development. This is especially true when seen from Sen’s (1985) perspective. Introducing what he terms as Capabilities Approach, he argues that the best indicator of welfare is not only income, education and health, but also possible opportunities available to individuals in a particular state.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) translated Sen's Capabilities Approach into a tractable ranking of nations in the *1990 UNDP Human Development Report* (Ranis 2004). In between 2002 and 2005, a series of *Arab Human Development Report* has also been endeavored by UNDP. It was largely led by Arab intellectuals from the Arab World themselves (Amr & Marshall 2008). The UNDP believes that human development brings together the production and distribution of commodities and the expansion and use of human capabilities (UNDP, 1995:11-12). The most basic capabilities for human development, says UNDP (2001), are to lead long and healthy lives, to be knowledgeable, to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living and to be able to participate in community life.

The human development is thus viewed as the development of the people, for the people, and by the people. The development of the people here refers to the building up of the human capabilities through development of human resources. The development for the people refers to the benefits of growth that must be translated into the lives of the people. The development by the people refers to the ability of the people to participate actively in the processes that shape their lives. The main aims of the human development are firstly, to improve health, education, welfare, security, and social justice (Kuchinke 2010:578); and secondly, to enlarge people's choices (which can be infinite and change over time), as the basic purpose of development (Mahbub ul Haq 1995:14). In other words, the human development aims to increase individual's capability for good health or productive work through development, entails moral obligation to maintain good health and put one's skill to good use (Mahbub ul Haq 1995; Alkire 2002).

Various authors outline various dimensions of the human development. As shown in Table 1, Mahbub ul Haq (1995) and Sen (1999), while emphasizing on the centrality of people, less quantifiable goods and social indicators, outline seven dimensions of human development. They are greater access to knowledge, better nutrition and health services, more secure livelihoods, security against crime and physical violence, satisfying leisure hours, political and cultural freedoms, and a sense of participation in community activities. Finnis (1993) also outlines seven dimensions, but in a quite different way. His are life, health, and safety; knowledge and aesthetic experience; excellence in work and play; friendship; self-integration; self-expression and practical reasonableness; and religion and spirituality. Amr & Marshall (2008:3), in a more precise way, outlines eight dimensions. They are enhancing the quality of life for the whole person, economics, health, education, quality of life, freedom, government accountability, and environment. The precision of Amr & Marshall's (2008:3) way also could be found in Van der Gaag's (n.d) dimensions. He outlines six dimensions, that is education, health (including nutrition), social development, growth, (in)equality, and freedom/human rights.

Altogether, the above four authors have outlined 21 dimensions of human development. Table 2 summarizes them in a clearer manner. Of all these dimensions, health has been the most popular, outlined by all the four authors. This is followed by freedom which is mentioned by three authors, and knowledge and education by two authors each. The other dimensions have been outlined only by one author each. If this observation could be taken as a portrayal of the dominant dimensions of the human development, then the health, freedom, and knowledge/education are the dominant ones.

Table 1: Dimensions of Human Development by Authors

No.	Authors	Dimensions of Human Development
1	Mahbub ul Haq (1995) and Sen (1999)	Greater access to knowledge Better nutrition and health services More secure livelihoods Security against crime and physical violence Satisfying leisure hours Political and cultural freedoms A sense of participation in community activities.
2	Finnis (1993)	Life, health, and safety Knowledge and aesthetic experience Excellence in work and play Friendship Self-integration Self-expression and practical reasonableness Religion and spirituality
3	Amr & Marshall (2008:3)	Enhancing the quality of life for the whole person Economics Health Education Quality of life Freedom Government Accountability Environment
4	van der Gaag (n.d)	Education Health (including nutrition) Social development Growth (In)equality Freedom / Human rights Note: 2-5 as proposed by UNDP in 1990, while 6 as stated by Sen (1999).

Table 2: Dimensions of Human Development by Frequency

No.	Dimensions	Authors				Total
		Mahbub ul Haq (1995) and Sen (1999)	Finnis (1993)	Amr & Marshall (2008:3)	van der Gaag (n.d)	
1	Knowledge	✓	✓			2
2	Health	✓	✓	✓	✓	4
3	Livelihood	✓				1
4	Security	✓				1
5	Leisure	✓				1
6	Freedom	✓		✓	✓	3
7	Participation	✓				1
8	Safety		✓			1
9	Work and Play		✓			1
10	Friendship		✓			1
11	Self-integration		✓			1
12	Self-expression		✓			1
13	Religion and spirituality		✓			1
14	Quality of life			✓		1
15	Economics			✓		1
16	Education			✓	✓	2
17	Government Accountability			✓		1
18	Environment			✓		1
19	Social development				✓	1
20	Growth				✓	1
21	(In)equality				✓	1

THE MISSING DIMENSION OF THE HUMAN ACCOUNT IN WESTERN ETHNO-CENTRIC DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

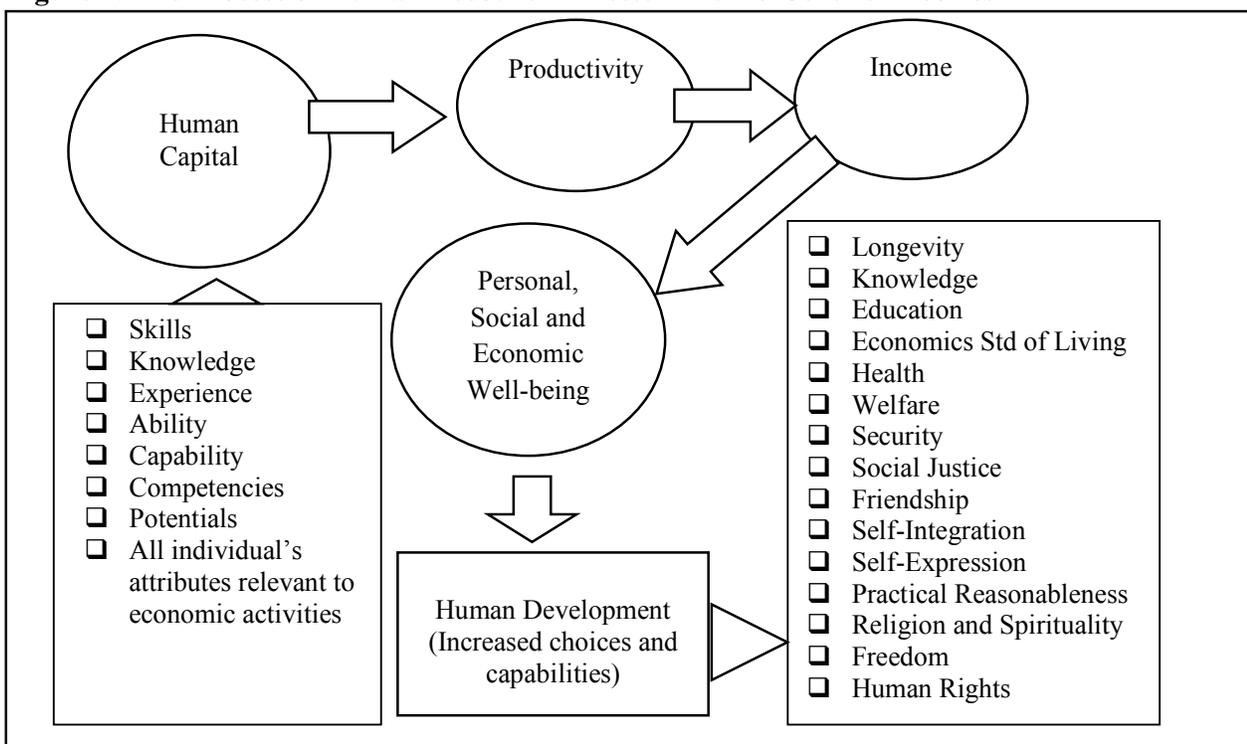
The above 21 dimensions of human development cover almost all human socio-economic and political aspects. Some of the dimensions, particularly the dominant dimensions - health, freedom, and knowledge/education – could be accounted as unquantifiable dimensions. So are the dimensions in the human capital. The skills, experience, capabilities and freedom that are supposed to be accomplished through education and similar attributes that affect particular human capabilities to do productive works are also unquantifiable dimensions.

Seen from Islamic perspective, the human account expressed via these unquantifiable dimensions suffers from at least two deficiencies. Firstly, the main aim of the human account is merely to extract anything considered productive from the human to just generate productivity, hence income, purchasing power, consumption, and employment in a circular manner. The aim at a glance may seem to be reasonable. But an in-depth analysis would reveal that the aim degrades the human status from being superior to become inferior of the human dimensions. The human is reduced from the supposedly servant and vicegerent (*khalifah*) of Allah SWT to merely the servant of the production process. As has been shown earlier, Schultz (1961:8) for instance reduces the status of human to *homo economicus* (economic man), whose skills, knowledge and similar attributes are meant for productive works *per se*. Sen (1999) also advocates his

human development components (health, education, capabilities and freedom) for, *inter alia*, higher productivity and higher income. So are the United Nations (Department of the Economic Affairs of the United Nations 1953) and other authors of human capital and human development discussed earlier. Van der Gaag (n.d.) for example regards human as a means and the ultimate cause of development, while Amr & Marshall (2008:2) views human as both engine and beneficiary of development. In such a belief, the human-God vertical relationship (*hablum-minallah*) is non-existent, while the human-human horizontal relationship (*hablum-minannas*) is reduced to only production related relationship⁵.

Figure 1 exhibits how this process is perceived by the western ethno-centric scholars to be operated. Beginning from the human capital dimensions, personal, social and economic well-being is hoped to be obtained through productivity and income. This is said to have led to human development through an increase of choice and capabilities, attaining the human development dimensions mentioned earlier. In the process, religion and spirituality are just accounted as two isolated dimensions within the larger human development dimensions. The status of human within the framework of religion and spirituality has been ignorantly overlooked. Viewed from Islamic perspective, this is one significant dimension that has been missed by the human account in the western ethno-centric theories. Rather than basing the functions of human on religion, it is based on the merely worldly functions, regarding human just as producers and consumers. It is for the sake of these functions that the human dimensions which are thought to be productive are extracted.

Figure 1: The Process of Human Account in Western Ethno-Centric Theories



Secondly, the human account in the western ethno-centric theories also misses significant unquantifiable dimensions that are embedded within the human-self itself, namely the intelligence (*'aql*), the heart (*qalb*), and the desires (*an-nafs*). Undeniably there is a consideration on the knowledge and education that relate to

⁵ For a detailed discussion on this, see Muhammad Syukri Salleh 1987.

the 'aql. However, the 'aql in the western ethno-centric theories is detached from the *qalb* and *an-nafs*, let alone the misuse of the 'aql for merely maximizing productivity of the worldly goods and services. In fact, the deliberation on the *qalb* and *an-nafs* are almost non-existent in the western ethno-centric theories. Looking from Islamic perspective, these are the significant missing dimensions. In Islam, all the three – 'aql, *qalb* and *an-nafs* – are treated as an important set of spiritual dimensions of the human. The 'aql refers to the human spiritual trait whenever the human thinks, the *qalb* whenever the human feels, and *an-nafs* whenever the human desires. All the three human spiritual traits are embedded in human spiritual domain called *roh-ul-tamayyiz*. Purified *roh-ul-tamayyiz* – characterized by good 'aql, *qalb* and *an-nafs* - leads to high faith (*iman*) and piety (*taqwa*), resulting in a pure human well-being in all aspects, including in the production and development process and accomplishment. It is these faith and piety that determine a harmonious human development. All in all, the faith and piety are the determinants of the whole process of the generation of the productivity, income, purchasing power, and consumption. They are the core of the human capital, leading to a real human development. With such a view, the human is seen in a comprehensive perspective. It is not only taking into account the human dimensions that are only able to generate productivity and income, but also the human spiritual components that become the determinants of the production process and the usage of income, hence the development.

CONCLUSION

Undeniably, there are already human accounts in the western ethno-centric development theories. However, the accounts only confine to productivity-related dimensions of human beings, meant to construct a development that is defined by the western ethno-centric theories themselves. Such an account is inappropriate for Muslim students of development studies in particular and for the whole mankind in general. Firstly, human functions in the western ethno-centric development theories have been reduced to productivity-related functions, resulting in molding the human to become merely producers and consumers. Secondly, the concept of human itself is superficial, resulting in the incomprehensiveness and misconception of the human being, hence in an insufficient concept of human development. Such a flaw ought to be known and acquainted with by scholars and students of development studies, for the sake of a truly harmonious development for all mankind.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Afiouni, Fida (2009). "Human Capital Management, What Does it Really Mean?" in Christiaan Stam, ed., *Proceedings of the European Conference Intellectual Capital*, Haarlem, The Netherlands: INHolland University of Applied Sciences, 28-29 April 2009, pp. 10-18.
- Ahmad Ghorab (2008). *Subverting Islam – Orientalism and the Oxford Center for Islamic Studies*, Pulau Pinang: Citizens International.
- Alkire, Sabina (2002). "Dimensions of Human Development", *World Development*, Vol. 30, No. 2, pp. 181-205.
- Alvares, Calude and Shad Saleem Faruqi (2012). *Decolonising the University – The Emerging Quest for Non-Eurocentric Paradigms*, Pulau Pinang: Penerbit Universiti Sains Malaysia and Citizens International.
- Alvares, Claude (2011). *A Farewell to the Eurocentric Imagination*, Pulau Pinang: Multiversity and Citizens International.
- Amr, Hady & Marshall, Katherine (2008). "Human Development in the Muslim World", a paper prepared for presentation at the *U.S.-Islamic World Forum*, Doha, Qatar, 16-18 February, 2008.
- Blaug, Mark. "The Empirical Satus of Human Capital Theory: A Slightly Jaundiced Survey", *Journal of Economic Literature* Vol. 14, pp. 827-855.

- Bottone, Germana (2008). "Human Capital: An Institutional Economics Point of View", *Working Paper No. 10*, Instituto Studi E Analisi Economica, December 2008.
- De Bartolo, Annamaria (1999). Modern Human Capital Analysis: Estimation of US, Canada and Italy Earning Functions, *Working Paper No. 212*, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, October 1999.
- Finnis, J. (1993). *Natural Law and Natural Rights*, Oxford: Clarendon.
- Fogel, R. W. (2000). *The Fourth Great Awakening*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hershberg, Theodore (1996). Human Capital Development: America's Greatest Challenge, *ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March 1996.
- Khurshid Ahmad (1980). "Economic Development in Islamic Framework", in Khurshid Ahmad, ed., *Studies in Islamic Economics*, Leicester: The Islamic Foundation and Jeddah: International Centre for Research in Islamic Economics, King Abdul Aziz University.
- Kuchinke, K. Peter (2010). "Human Development as a Central Goal for Human Resource Development", *Human Resource Development International*, Vol. 13, No. 5, pp. 575-585, November.
- Mahbub ul Haq (1995). *Reflections on Human Development*, New York: Oxford university Press.
- Muhammad Kamal Hassan (1990). "Pembangunan Berteraskan Islam", in Muhammad Syukri Salleh, ed., *Konsep dan Pelaksanaan Pembangunan Berteraskan Islam*, Pulau Pinang Penerbit Universiti Sains Malaysia. Reprint 1993.
- Muhammad Syukri Salleh (1987). *Pembangunan Berteraskan Islam*, Petaling Jaya, Selangor Darul Ehsan: Penerbit Fajar Bakti, Reprint 2002 by Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications & Distributors, and Pulau Pinang: Islamic Development Management Project (IDMP), Universiti Sains Malaysia.
- Muhammad Syukri Salleh (2003). *7 Prinsip Pembangunan Berteraskan Islam*, Kuala Lumpur: Zebra Editions Sdn. Bhd. dan Pulau Pinang: Projek Pengurusan Pembangunan Islam (IDMP), Universiti Sains Malaysia.
- Olaniyan, D. A & Okemakinde, T (2008). "Human Capital Theory: Implications for Educational Development", *European Journal of Scientific Research*, Vol. 24, No. 2, pp. 15-162.
- Penev, Kalin & Rees, John (2009). "High Education Towards Development of Innovative Human Capital", a paper presented at the *European Conference Intellectual Capital*, INHolland University of Applied Sciences, Haarlem, The Netherlands, 28-29 April 2009.
- Ranis, Gustav (2004). "Human Development and Economic Growth", *Center Discussion Paper No. 887*, New Haven, CT: Economic Growth Center, Yale University, May.
- Progler, J. (2010). *Books for Critical Consciousness – Forty Reviews*, Pulau Pinang: Citizens International.
- Progler, Yusef (2008). *Encountering Islam – The Politics of Knowledge and Scholarship*, Pulau Pinang: Citizens International.
- Raju, C. K. (2011). *Ending Academic Imperialism...A Beginning*, Pulau Pinang: Citizens International.
- Schultz, T.W. (1961). "Investment in Human Capital", *The American Economic Review* LI (1):1-17.
- Sen, Amartya (1985). Well-Being, Agency and Freedom: The Dewey Lectures 1984, *The Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. 82, No. 4, pp. 169-221.
- Sen, Amartya (1999). *Development as Freedom*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- UNDP (1995). *Human Development Report 1995*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- UNDP (2002). *Arab Human Development Report 2002*, New York: UNDP.
- Van der Gaag, Jacques (n.d.). "From Child Development to Human Development", http://www.ecdgroup.com/pdfs/van_der_gaag_paper_CHILDDEV-20_05_2003-18_13_22.pdf