

## **Ibn Khaldun's Understanding of Intolerance and racism**

By

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### **Abstract**

According to Ibn Khaldun, the basis of social solidarity is irritability. As he himself stated, "Protection, defense and seeking rights of each other can only be possible with nervousness. This also applies to all kinds of social activities carried out jointly" (Ibn Khaldun, 2015: 350). Irritability forms the basis of all kinds of social structures, solidarity and movements. Ibn Khaldun's concept of irritability does not only explain a certain dimension of a particular society. This concept covers all areas of social life as the key and central concept of sociology.

**Keywords:** ibn khaldun, racism, intolerance

### **Introduction**

The concept of irritability, which has an important place in Ibn Khaldun's social theory, is undoubtedly one of the concepts that researchers of Ibn Khaldun examine the most. However, the multidimensional meaning it gives to irritability may present a number of difficulties in expressing this concept one-to-one with similar concepts used by modern social sciences. Although contemporary researchers try to explain this concept in terms of social assistance or solidarity in general, we should note that it expresses only one dimension of the concept of irritability (Hasanov, 2016: 1438).

Due to the meanings of "racism or tribalism" that the concept expressed in the period before Islam, this concept was considered as a more negative concept in Islamic culture; Muslim scholars, especially because of the Prophet Muhammad's harsh criticism and rejection of tribalism in a harsh language, interpreted irritability as a lack of virtue. Ibn Khaldun, on the other hand, attributed some positive meanings to this word and placed it in an important place in his theory of history and society. However, Ibn Khaldun did not give a single definition of the term irritability that clearly shows the meaning it contains in his theory. For this reason, some researchers have stated that this concept is used in the Muqaddimah for one or more of the concepts such as group feeling, solidarity consciousness, tribalism, blood ties. (Kaynar & Ak, 2018, s. 186).

The most fundamental feature of Ibn Khaldun's conceptualization of irritability is that it is a consciousness of social solidarity. In this respect, the concept emerges as the basic group spirit. The sociological projection of this is made up of families and kinship relations. In other words, irritability is basically based on blood and lineage ties. Ibn Khaldun expresses this point as follows. "What is meant by the defense and struggle in temper can only be fully realized by the genealogical linkage (lineage). Because the state of solidarity is seen between close relatives and the state of disintegration is seen between strangers and distant ones." (Ibn Haldun, 2015; Hkikmat, 2021).

After all, the sociological projection of the concept of Ibn Khaldun nasab is the family

group/institution. While the basic unit of society is the family and the unifying element, the basis of other social unity and solidarity is also irritability. Thus, irritability initially appears as the basic group spirit and consciousness, and then finds its counterpart indirectly in other social associations.

According to Ibn Khaldun, the main function of irritability is to provide social assistance and solidarity. On the other hand, there is no concrete reality of irritability that provides solidarity and solidarity against the difficulties of life. The reality of irritability is the feeling, thought and practice of social assistance and solidarity it fulfills. There can be no talk of irritability in a place where these are not available. As he himself put it, "the only benefit of the lineage is this fusion, which requires solidarity. Thus, a situation of helping and running to the rescue occurs. There is no need for any other genealogical ties. Because the genealogical link is also a *vehmi* (thought, imaginary, mental) thing, it has no reality." (İbn Haldun, 2015; Huridi, Hadi, & Hashim, 2021).

It can be said that the first and basic projection of the concept of Ibn Khaldun irritability is the family/kinship relations established by the genealogical and blood ties in the society. Indeed, when we look at society, the family has the quality of being the basic group/institution of all societies. Because man has to be born and live in a family. No group in society other than blood and lineage can replace the family. This is a sociological law. As a matter of fact, modern sociology recognizes that the family is a basic, universal and necessary group/institution of societies.

Ibn Khaldun aims to prove that the history of civilization consists of cooperation and helping each other. Nevertheless, because of worldly impulses, individuals may turn in other directions and abandon solidarity by focusing on their own personal interests, which in turn undermines the interests of the group and society. As a result, Ibn Khaldun argues that the idea of irritability or social solidarity is strong in nomadic societies. This, of course, applies to nomadic societies that do not seek simple and luxurious lives.

Otherwise, it does not apply to societies that live in luxury in city life or do everything to live. However, in Ibn Khaldun's own opinion, people's morality can be damaged where luxury is overconsumed. Ibn Khaldun adds: Immorality, evil, insincerity, and deceit multiply with the intention of building a better life in matters of conformity or inappropriateness. The soul thinks about this (subsistence), works on all the tricks to achieve this life. Thus, people fall prey to lying, gambling, deception, dishonesty, theft, false testimony, and usury. (Ibn Khaldun, 1995; Indrayani & Madjid, 2021).

The importance of irritability for any society can be understood through this quote. According to Ibn Khaldun, instilling and teaching the idea of irritability is a very important way to keep people together, and more importantly, to prevent damage to social solidarity. Because self-interest can lead people to use all kinds of tools and tricks to access luxury life. This means leaving a detrimental effect on the idea of irritability or social solidarity. From this point of view of Ibn Khaldun, we can say that in today's politics, especially in the Arab world, it has become difficult to prevent the abuse of power and the attempts of the rulers to satisfy their own selves. This shows that, like Ibn Khaldun's pity in the introduction, the sense of irritability has been damaged and broken (Ahmed, 2002).

Ibn Khaldun's concept of irritability or sense of group is also seen in Egypt, the second country where the Arab Spring took place and was also the place of Ibn Khaldun's death. Of course, this situation, which also emerged in Egypt, is based on the experience of Tunisia.

January 25 is an important day in Egyptian history, as Egyptians demand the overthrow of the reign of President Hosni Mubarak. Ironically, the protesters proved the seriousness of the situation by choosing the day on which national security was honored in expressing feelings of anger and hatred.

But the peculiar dynamic of the Egyptian revolution is the assassination of the young man Khalid Said in Alexandria. This situation, out of a common sense of group or because of irritability, spread among all young people in a narrow area and among all Egyptians in a wide area. Indeed, the fact that the protesters in Tahrir Square shared everything with each other, provided food and water, and most importantly, cared for each other showed common feeling or solidarity.

The mutual relations experienced by the protesters in Tahrir Square were the core of the sense of irritability and were the path that led them to success on the path of revolution. Going back to our discussion, although Hosni Mubarak's force units tried to disperse the protest, the protesters showed the strength of irritability by resisting heroically. Ibn Khaldun's theory of irritability, or social solidarity, has a very appropriate role to play in explaining these two experiences.

Ibn Khaldun talks about the consequence of leaders maintaining the bond of nervousness that leads to their own failures. He says, "If the ruler uses the mechanism of coercion to operate the mechanism of punishment, is willing to show the error of the people, tries to count their sins, he begins to fear them and is forced to protect himself (Ibn Khaldun, 1995, p. 153). This reduces people's attachment to their own leaders through the bond of irritability, and political leaders become the main cause of their own collapse. This has been evident in most Arab countries that have recently oppressed their own citizens.

Ibn Khaldun was never sympathetic to the idea of repression, even saying that "people react when they notice the mechanism of oppression" and goes so far as to "kill this ruler". Thus, the dynasty (rulers) weakens, and the protection faces disintegration. If the ruler continues to apply the mechanism of pressure on groups, he will eliminate the sense of group (Ibn Khaldun, 1995, p.153).

This is exactly the situation in the Arab countries. For example, most Arab leaders use force to protect their own interests, even though people living in difficult and intolerable conditions make them leaders. Thus, these scattered groups, which are interconnected by the bond of irritability, manage to eliminate their leaders with their strong internal mechanisms. When considered in detail, it becomes clear how appropriate Ibn Khaldun's theory of irritability is in explaining the social change taking place in the Arab world. More importantly, it can be argued that Ibn Khaldun actually predicted these changes witnessed by the Arab world.

The individual and his innate rights and freedoms are the starting point of the theories of society and the state that prevail today. Human rights are commonly defined as the rights that a person has simply because he or she is human (Uygun,2015).

These rights are universal and apply to everyone without discrimination. Human rights are based on human dignity and the value of the individual. In modern times, human rights are built on the concept of human dignity. The aim of human rights is the protection of human dignity (Bulut, 2008).

Indeed, human rights are a unique field that provides judicial safeguards to protect

individuals against the threats posed to human dignity by the modern state. This unique field proceeds from an essence that arises from the fact that man is human and is based on the nature of man and is based on common values on a universal scale. Self and common value is the principle of protecting human dignity (Kia, Akkaya, 2011). However, although human rights are among the concepts of the modern period, they are as old as human history as an unnamed reality with content and emphasis (Ayengin, 2017).

Today, which is called the age of human rights, is also an age of the most severe and widespread human rights violations experienced by individuals and masses. Although respect for human rights and respect for fundamental rights and freedoms are the most frequently raised demands and issues emphasized at every occasion, the implementation report cards of even the most democratic countries are not bright at all. In fact, the approaches and practices of the countries that have championed human rights in the past and their inability to deal with phenomena such as xenophobia, racism and Islamophobia have become the most important problems in the field of human rights protection.

Therefore, it is necessary to rethink the concept and theory of "human rights", which is much talked about and debated on every platform today, and which is embraced by everyone and every segment, in the face of the fact that its effectiveness in practice is very limited, especially in the light of ancient wisdom and spirituality.

### ***Ibn Khaldun: The Theorist of the State and Civilization Based on Law and Human Rights***

Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) is a name that is universally known and highly respected with his unique work *Muqaddimah* and the science of "umran", that is, "general society and civilization", which he laid the foundations of in this work. He is one of the most versatile and famous Muslim scholars and thinkers of all time, who fused science, wisdom, public office, and politics and law in his personality.

In the *Muqaddimah*, within the scope of the "science of umran" that he founded, he "also thought in areas that concern public law, state theory, sociology of law and political science, such as the state, society, political power, and put forward a unique scientific research method that can be reached centuries later in the West." (Andıç & Koçak, 2011).

In this important work, his grand theory explaining the establishment, rise and fall of the state and "civilizations" includes a political theory and theories of law, justice and human rights.

Ibn Khaldun tasted the negative side of life as well as the positive side. These included the politically motivated imprisonment of Fasta for nearly two years between 1356 and 1358. He was only freed from prison with the death of the current sultan. As a strange twist of history, a few years later he was the chairman of the "Divan-ı Mezalim" (1361-1363) (Janissary, 2004), the highest administrative-judicial and supervisory institution, and a high judge (Mücahit, 2012: 153). "This post was only a supreme judicial authority to which high-ranking jurists were appointed (Al-Jabirî, 2018). The appointment of Ibn Khaldun, who was only thirty years old at that time, to this position shows that he was a proven figure in the field of law (Al-Jabirî, p. 60). He carried out this duty with competence, merit and justice (Zağbi, p. 15). Ibn Khaldun has been a party, a witness and an observer of the endless struggles between the three separate Muslim states that dominate today's Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco and the last Muslim state of Spain, Bani Ahmar. He saw the Islamic lands from Andalusia to Damascus as well as the Christian regions of Spain.

In 1382, he left Tunisia for Egypt, for reasons for going on pilgrimage, and in reality because of the jealousy he observed against him in scientific and ruling circles. Here, he soon became a lecturer at Al-Azhar, the most famous university of Mamluk-ruled Egypt, which was among the most developed and wealthy countries of the period (1383). Later, he also taught at the universities of Kamhiye (1383), Zahiriye (1384) and Surgatmış (1389). He especially taught law there. In the opening lectures of lecturer Ibn Khaldun, the sultan of the period, prominent statesmen and famous scholars were present. The texts of these courses are included in his autobiography (Haldun, 2017). It is understood from Ibn Khaldun's accounts that Egypt of the period was the most stable and prosperous country of the Islamic world and a center of attraction among scientists. When Ibn Khaldun was appointed as the chief judge, he saw that the Mamluk judicial organization was facing a great corruption and made a series of attempts to correct this bad situation. These efforts of his to correct the existing structure disturbed the established order and those who benefited from it, and Ibn Khaldun encountered various obstacles and conspiracies, which he described in detail in his memoirs (Kosei, p.164).

During this duty, he was subjected to complaints and slanders, especially because of his fondness for justice, impartiality and determination to resist political influences. Although he was acquitted in the trial held before the sultan, Ibn Khaldun, whose pride was hurt, left his duty as a judge after 10 months and was satisfied with teaching in Al-Azhar for a while (Gürkan, 1967). Twelve years later, he was reappointed to the post of chief justice. In the following period, resignations or dismissals and re-appointments followed each other, and between 1384 and 1406, he undertook this important duty six times in total (Kosei, p.164). Thus, he served as chief judge for an interval of five and a half years. When he died, he was serving as the chief judge, to which he was appointed for the sixth time (Mujahid, 2012). His autobiography, which already contains memories up to 1405, ends with the subject of "duties as a judge for the third, fourth and fifth time".

### ***Understanding of Human and Human Rights***

All the problems that Ibn Khaldun dealt with and dealt with are shaped around the concept of 'human'. The human factor forms the focus of his analyses. Because the rise and fall of civilizations are closely dependent on the prosperity or misery of the people (Chapra, 2017). Indeed, he "treated man as a religious, social and historical being. Therefore, the state, civilization, relations of government and government, city life and the forms of behavior associated with them are all secondary issues derived from 'man' (Muqaddimah)." (Demircioglu, 2013).

In rural society, which is the basis of general social life, Ibn Khaldun sees individuals, who are the building blocks of society, as free and equal from birth. To be free from birth means to have certain fundamental rights from birth. Because the source of freedoms is rights. It is the law of the society that recognizes and protects these rights (Sönmezer, 1992). The thinker attributes the cooperation and cooperation of individuals with each other in rural social life to empathy based on blood ties, that is, to irritability. It prescribes an authority which does not have the power of coercion over individuals and is minimally involved in their lives sufficient for the survival of society. Ibn Khaldun explains the need to protect the rights of the individual and society against the state from the concept of oppression like Mevlana and Sadi. The thinker puts forward a concrete, practical theory of human rights based on the gross denigration of oppression in the Islamic faith, the five supreme goals of Islamic law for the realization of justice and the data of the science of civilization, that is, the events that have taken place in history and the consequences of the rights violations (acts of oppression) he has observed in the rural and urban societies in which he lives, on the survival of the human species and on civilization. In this theory, the development, maintenance and prevention of the collapse

of the umrah is linked to the protection of human rights. From this point of view, "Ibn Khaldun provides a set of theoretical possibilities for the search for "human rights based on Islam" that are popular today, that oppose the grounds of oppression and to do what is necessary." (Hassan, 2011). For Ibn Khaldun, the economy, economic activities and the motivation of individuals to work and produce on this subject are of great importance in terms of society and the state. This can only be achieved gradually with the fair practices of the state and respecting the fundamental rights and freedoms of the people. The use of wealth, the financial resources and means of the society to improve the unfavorable conditions in the society and the elimination of the conditions of fear and human rights violations (persecution) in the country; thus, it increases as people become economically viable, active and productive (Ceran, 2006).

### ***The concept of violation of human rights***

When the contexts in which Ibn Khaldun used the term "persecution" and his theoretical explanations of the term are examined, it is seen that this term corresponds to today's concept of "human rights violation". In the Muqaddimah, Ibn Khaldun warns the state and governments against the destructive consequences of violations of a range of fundamental rights and freedoms, from the right to life to the right to property, under the heading "the violation of human rights (oppression) destroys civilization". After telling the story of the Zoroastrian priest and the Persian King under this title, he says, "The lesson to be learned from this story is that injustice first overthrows civilization and then power" (Khaldûn, 1997). Here, Ibn Khaldun uses the word "ruin" to equate the consequences of human rights violations with the destruction caused by natural disasters such as severe earthquakes or a heavy war. Therefore, according to the thinker, the continuity of general social life and civilization depends on justice and the protection of human rights. Ibn Khaldun emphasizes the need for human rights to be protected by both judicial and administrative mechanisms. When talking about the function of the judicial system, he uses "those whose rights are violated find justice, people get their rights" (Khaldûn, 1997). His statements show the importance he attaches to the judicial protection of human rights.

Thinkers such as Sarton and Kriger, who examine Ibn Khaldun's conception of the state, argue that he "values freedom and order equally, and is as opposed to the dictatorship that may occur in urban society as it is to the anarchy of rural society" (Kocak:29): Indeed, when the science of umran is carefully examined, it is seen that the thinker has placed the "balance of freedom and security", which is seen as an indispensable goal in democratic societies today, on the basis of a stable, prosperous and just state.

The characteristic that makes Ibn Khaldun supra-ages is the universality of his thoughts and methods, and the fact that the basic theories and concepts he developed have characteristics that are valid for all people and societies without discrimination. What is important for Ibn Khaldun is not the differences that separate people, but the common denominator of humanity. He puts it this way: The more than one feature that separates people from each other is less real than the fact that they are all children of Adam. Don't despise anyone! (Muqaddimah). Ibn Khaldun, who regards individuals in such a universal and humane manner, looks at societies other than his own living on earth in the same way. Although linguistic, ethnic and religious, as well as cultural, political, technological and economic differences are observed among the societies in question, he sees in these differences the manifestation of a diversity willed by Allah in these differences, the diversity necessary for the survival of the human species and the achievement of prosperity.

When Ibn Khaldun's theory of society and the state is examined in a holistic way, it is understood that he puts society and social-political institutions, especially the state, at the

service of the individual and sees them as tools for the individual to live in better conditions, in security and happily. From this point of view, it is seen that İzmirlı's statement that "Ibn Haldun is an individualist" is not inaccurate (İzmirlı, 1997). The feeling of irritability, which is one of the central concepts of Ibn Khaldun, especially brings to the fore an individual who has not been alienated in every aspect, who has a personality with high self-confidence and ethical values. Ibn Khaldun uses the phrase "people's rights" three times in *Muqaddimah*. The first two of these can be called trial attorneys in the judicial organization of Islamic states (which include notary, judicial expert witness and some lawyer functions and are appointed by the judge of the judicial circle in which they serve). In describing the function of the official, he refers to "and the rights of the people", "to protect the rights of the people". The judge must investigate the circumstances and experiences of those who will perform this task in order to understand whether they meet the condition of justice. Since it is a question of protecting people's rights, this should not be neglected. This responsibility lies entirely with the judge. Here, in the performance of public duties, it is a question of protecting the rights of people recognized by the rule of law. Again, in this context, it is very remarkable that Ibn Khaldun established a link between justice and the protection of human rights. The third use of this concept by Ibn Khaldun corresponds to the concept of human rights in the modern sense. In this respect, in our opinion, he is the first thinker in history to use human rights in the present sense as rights that the state should not violate and should respect to be exercised. He expresses this opinion as follows:

Those who obstruct people's rights (law – en-nas) are cruel. Those who take the people's property by force are cruel. From all this the state suffers; for they cause the destruction of civilization, which is the basis of the state (*Muqaddimah*). Ibn Khaldun brings new openings to the concept of oppression, which is attached great importance to by Muslim thinkers and jurists. The examples he gives to reveal the generality of this concept are remarkable. In this context, in addition to direct interventions on the right to property, it characterizes as a series of actual atrocities that are frequently committed by private individuals and public officials and that violate the right to property in whole or in part. By using the term "people's rights" and stating that "preventing people from exercising their rights is also a form of cruelty", it reminds that the state is the main victim of human rights and tries to raise awareness of state administrators to give due importance to the protection of human rights. Cruelty, as it is generally known, should not be understood as "taking away from the owner his property and possessions gratuitously and without cause." In reality, cruelty is a more general concept than that. Every person who takes someone else's property or forcibly employs him in his own business without recompense for his labor, or who demands from him something he is not entitled to, or who subjects him to an unlawful obligation, has persecuted the other person. Tax officials who tax unfairly are cruel. Those who violate the right to property are cruel. Those who plunder the people's property are cruel. Those who obstruct people's rights (law – en-nas) are cruel. Those who take the people's property by force are cruel. From all this the state suffers; for they cause the destruction of civilization (umran), which is the basis of the state.

As we have seen, according to Ibn Khaldun, the development and progress of a country is not possible without justice. Justice cannot be conceived in a narrow sense, just like development. On the contrary, it covers all areas of human life (Chapra,)

### ***Right to life***

In the thought of Ibn Khaldun, man is a powerful subject who establishes civilizations very clearly. He has constructed every subject he has dealt with in the context of his relationship with man. The thinker attributed both the mistakes made in the science of history and the life of states to the human factor (Demircioğlu, 2013). This role and value that Ibn Khaldun gave

to man is also the justification for the importance he attaches to the right to life, which is the most fundamental right of man. Ibn Khaldun sees the necessity of a political society as having the potential to trample on the rights of his fellow human beings in human nature, emphasizing that without political authority, people would trample on each other's right to life, which would lead to the complete extinction of the human species on earth. It is unthinkable that the thinker, who expresses this idea on many occasions, should remain indifferent to the fact that political society tramples people's right to life. One of the sources of importance he attaches to the protection of the right to life comes from his identity as an Islamic jurist. Because "protection of the right to life" is accepted as one of the 5 main objectives of the legal order in Islamic law. As a jurist, Ibn Khaldun agrees with this view of Islamic jurists. However, he goes further and justifies the protection of these five fundamental rights with the "protection of the right to life of the human species." Therefore, for Ibn Khaldun, the legal order exists to protect the fundamental rights and freedoms of individuals both against each other and against the political society. On the other hand, his Epistle to Amir Abdullah, the son of Tahir bin Hussein, which he quoted and admired in Muqaddimah, also contains recommendations on the right to life. One of these is noteworthy that state administrators should not unlawfully violate the right to life, as well as not rush to execute the death penalty even in cases prescribed by law: Treat all your subjects with gentleness. Exercise the right to yourself and do not be hasty in shedding blood. Because blood has a great importance in the sight of Almighty and Almighty Allah. So refrain from shedding blood unjustly.

### ***Right to a fair trial***

The following instructions contained in Caliph Umar's letter appointing judges, which Ibn Khaldun included in explaining the caliph's duty as judge, express the principle of fair trial, equal treatment of the parties before the law, and the maintenance of the judge's impartial appearance in interim decisions and at trial: Listen carefully to the side statements given in your presence. Because there is no use in looking at an invalid application. You must treat equally those who are present before you, in your assembly, and in your court; so that the strong do not trust you to take sides, and the weak do not despair of your justice. It falls to the plaintiff to bring evidence and the oath falls to the defendant. If you're thinking about a decision you made yesterday has caused you to change your view today, your first decision should not prevent you from undoing it: for justice comes first and it is better to take it back than to insist on wrongdoing. If the defendant does not bring any evidence, give him a deadline. If you bring your evidence in time, you will process your complaint; otherwise, you can dismiss your case. This is the best way to clear up doubts. Do not surrender to nervousness, fatigue and boredom in front of the parties! God will increase your reward for doing justice in court and will make you feel good. From Ibn Khaldun's memoirs of his first office as chief judge in Egypt, we see that he applied what he wrote in the Muqaddimah on the impartiality and judicial ethics of the judiciary. In his autobiography, he says; In this position entrusted to me, I worked with all my strength to decide according to Allah's decrees. No condemnation of rights can stop me. No office or power can hold me back. On this issue, I equate both sides. I take the right of the weaker of the parties. I do not accept intercessors and intermediaries on both sides. By listening to the evidence, I try to determine the truth. I look at the justice of those who are elected for the responsibility of witnessing (Ibn Khaldun, 2017). Ibn Khaldun's first chief justice lasted about ten months. He left this post of his own volition. During his life, he served in this position for a total of 5.5 years at five more intervals. He did not compromise in his first mission and in his later duties. Regarding his appointment to office for the third time, he says in his memoirs:

As in the past, I looked out for the right and turned away from some prejudices. I was fair. Those who did not embrace the right and who were not expected to receive justice from

them felt discontent with me. (Ibn Khaldun, 2017) As it is known, one of the aspects of the right to a fair trial in criminal proceedings is the presumption of innocence. In the following quote, Ibn Khaldun points out the importance of the presumption of innocence: Never carry any doubts about any of those who work under it without investigating it thoroughly! For blaming the innocent and committing insults against them is the greatest of sins (Muqaddimah).

### ***Freedom of thought and expression***

According to Ibn Khaldun, thought states that it is among the four basic qualities that distinguish man from animals. In fact, when it is considered that the other characteristics (authority, labor and civilization / umran) are also based on the human ability to think, the importance and distinctive quality of thought becomes even more evident for Ibn Khaldun. According to him, Thanks to human thought, he is separated from animals, provides the means of subsistence, cooperates with his fellow men in this regard, knows his Creator and turns to the truth with the messages he conveys through his messengers. The German philosopher Martin Heidegger, one of the leading figures in existentialist philosophy, confirms Ibn Khaldun's idea centuries later by saying that "man is a thinking being" (Heidegger, 1956). As it is known, one of the most important aspects of freedom of expression is tolerance towards criticism. Ibn Khaldun calls on the president and politicians to respect freedom of expression: May the most respectful and closest men of those who enter your fold be those who do not hesitate to say to your face your faults and what they are, without fear of your majesty and of you. Again, in this regard, Ibn Khaldun presents his magnificent work Muqaddimah and puts forward an approach that will serve as an example for today:

Without neglecting anything in this work, I have dealt with all the issues such as the beginning of the states and peoples in question, other nations that are their contemporaries, the causes of developments and changes, the state and religion seen in general social life (umranda), the city and the village, superiority and humiliation, multiplicity and scarcity, sciences and arts, gain and loss, transformations, rural community life (bedouinism) and urban life (civilization), what is and is expected to happen, I explained their evidence and justification. Therefore, this book is an original work due to the unusual information and sciences it contains. Nevertheless, I confess my lack and impotence in undertaking such a task, and I ask those who are experts in these subjects and have a wide knowledge to look at this work not only with admiration, but also with a critical eye. Thus, it will be possible to correct the mistakes in the work and to clarify the places that are not understood (Muqaddima).

### ***Right to property***

Ibn Khaldun attaches great importance to the protection of private property. Under the heading "Violation of human rights (persecution) heralds the collapse of society, state and civilization" in the Muqaddimah, he strikingly illustrates the grave economic, social and security problems that will be caused by unjust state interventions against private property. Violating the right to private property takes away people's desire to earn more, for fear that the benefits of their efforts will be taken away through unjust confiscation. Once people are deprived of the hope of gain, they will no longer exhaust themselves in any way. Violations of private property give the measure of their discouragement. If these violations expand and cover most of the means of subsistence, the stagnation of trade will become widespread, due to the loss of incentive to all forms of work. On the contrary, slight violations on private property will lead to a slight interruption in business. Because civilization, its well-being, and the well-being of the public depend on the efforts and productivity that people make on all sides, for their own interests and for their own gains. When people no longer work to earn a living and abandon all kinds of profit-generating activity, material civilization collapses and everything gets worse. People disperse to other countries in search of their sustenance. The population decreases. The

country empties and the cities are devastated. The disintegration of civilization leads to the disintegration of the state, as any change of matter is followed by a change of form. "According to Ibn Khaldun, the state is the largest marketplace. Finally, with another important aspect, the state ensures the orderly realization and development of economic life through its various institutions. According to the thinker, the main goal of any kind of economic activity is profit. A person engaged in such an activity wants to keep in his hands the profit resulting from it and save it as he wishes. As long as the state protects this profit and the things it transforms, that is, property, economic activities develop and multiply. The opposite situation, that is, the unjust interventions of the state itself in economic life, its coveting of these profits with unfair taxes, and especially the violation of the right to property by confiscating people's property and money as it wishes, paralyze and dehumanize economic life. As a result, the state loses the sources of income it derives from taxes that it needs to survive. It becomes unable to feed its army and bureaucracy. This leads it to disintegration and destruction." (John, 2017).

## Results

Social scientific concepts can be very meaningful due to their structure. For example, concepts such as culture, religion, alienation, anomie, secularization, etc. contain more than one meaning. Like these, Ibn Khaldun's concept of irritability falls into the class of very meaningful concepts. Although Ibn Khaldun's concept of irritability is essentially a sense of sociality based on blood and lineage ties, this concept also expresses the basic element of all kinds of social consciousness and activism whose content and intensity change. Ibn Khaldun puts this concept at the center of social life and phenomena. The phenomenon of irritability, which is of fundamental importance in Bedouinism, continues to exist by undergoing transformation in different social groups.

As mentioned above, the concept manifests itself as different consciousnesses in social life. Each group has a certain irritability. This irritability is either based on blood/lineage ties and/or based on associations such as belief, interest, purpose, etc. The unity of groups constitutes society, and the unity of societies constitutes the global society. This is an inevitable phenomenon. In other words, it can be said that every person has to live in a group, every group in a society, and every society has to live in a global structure. There may be cooperation and solidarity between these irritabilities, as well as conflict and competition. As with any social scientific concept, it is not right to freeze the concept of Ibn Khaldun's irritability in a fixed sense or to fit it into all kinds of definitions. However, this should not prevent the concept from determining the facts it wants to explain. In this study, we tried to shed light on the sociological projections of the concept of irritability, which Ibn Khaldun frequently emphasized in his *Muqaddimah* and which he considered from a broad perspective.

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