



Dynamics of Power and Politics in Ibn Khaldun's Social Philosophy

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Abstract

This research examines Ibn Khaldun's social and philosophical thoughts, especially regarding power and its dynamics. Using quantitative data from literature studies, we understand that cycle theory is a fundamental principle for Ibn Khaldun when looking at power dynamics and human civilization. Ibn Khaldun believes that human power and civilization have cycles like human life. Humans are born, grow, develop, mature and grow old and then die. According to Ibn Khaldun, power is also the same; nothing lasts forever, and everything has a final limit. Ibn Khaldun believes that the fundamental laws in social and political systems are not static but historical. The period for a civilization or power to survive depends on the strength of the *Asabiyyah* in society, state, culture, and the nation itself. Besides *'asabiyyah*, moral strength is a pillar in maintaining civilization's progress and power. Morals are the soul of power and civilization. Their existence is like the soul for the body. Moral principles in exercising power also differentiate Ibn Khaldun from the pragmatic view of power and modern politics, which believes that politics does not have to be linked to moral values; it is the art of achieving power by any means. According to Ibn Khaldun, power is not merely the physical and worldly control authority over a country and region. Still, it functions as an instrument that guarantees the realization of God's vision for human civilization, namely the benefit of the people or the common good.

Keywords: Ibn Khaldun, Dynamics, Power and Politics, Social Philosophy, Capital City

Introduction

Discourse about power and politics is an issue that has attracted attention throughout the history of human civilization, from the past to the present. This issue is so important that it has given rise to challenging debate among intellectuals and politicians. The first group believes that politics must uphold moral values and civility. In the Islamic tradition, politics or *siyasah*

is part of practical science. As a practical science, it is related to human behavior, while behavior is related to ethics and morals. So, the morals of political actors, especially those in power, are fundamental to pay attention to. The highest moral value is justice, which can be achieved after achieving holiness, courage, and wisdom.

The second opinion says that politics should not be linked to moral values. It is the art of gaining power by any means. This view is, for example, represented by the Italian philosopher Niccolo Machiavelli, who believes that someone who cannot lie is not suitable to be a politician. Gaining power requires a strategy, whether under morality or not. This view brings fresh air to political culture in various countries. So, Machiavelli's words become a justification for political practices that are far from moral values. The phrase "there are no true friends and no eternal opponents, only eternal interests" is an arrangement that embellishes power dynamics and a demoralized political culture.

Meanwhile, in the Semitic religious tradition, the formation of power is associated with God's commands. In the book of Genesis, it's explained, "Fill the earth and subdue it, have dominion over the fish of the sea and the birds of the air and over every animal that moves on the earth (Genesis 1:28). A similar expression also exists in Islamic teachings, namely when Allah made the first human Adam as caliph on the surface of the earth (Al-Baqarah 2:30). Given the importance of power, there is a saying that a period of being ruled by a stupid leader is much better than a day without power. A power vacuum will give birth to chaos and the law of the jungle; even in Islamic history, after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, it was so important to choose a leader who would become ruler that the burial of the Prophet's body had to be postponed for three days. Power is necessary to maintain a society's existence and ensure a system of interaction and social relations between them.

The above issue has become the concern of a Muslim philosopher, Ibn Khaldun. Almost all of his three major works, *Muqadimah*, *Al-Ibar*, and *Al-Umrân*, discuss the dynamics of the rise and fall of power and civilization. Apart from being known as a philosopher, Ibn Khaldun is also known as a historian and sociologist. His great work *Al-Muqadimah*, or introduction to universal history (*Al-Ibar*), has influenced subsequent thinkers in the East and the West. His enormous influence has given rise to the opinion among some Western thinkers that Ibn Khaldun is the true father of historiography and sociology (Demircioglu, 2014). A British philosopher and historian, Arnold Toynbee, assessed Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah* as the most extraordinary work ever written in any era and anywhere (Muzaffar, 2020). Besides being called the father of historiography, Ibn Khaldun was also a sociologist. His social theory, known as *Al-Umrân* (cultural science), became a reference for subsequent thinkers (Hernawan, 2017).

According to Ibn Khaldun, social theories are very closely related to the science of history because both relate to events experienced by humans. History reveals events in their outward aspects. Meanwhile, cultural science reveals the inner elements of the event. History analyzes social reality as it is objectively, not as it should be. In this field, Ibn Khaldun has paved the way for studies in the field of social sciences.

Meanwhile, in the philosophy of history, Ibn Khaldun became Montesquieu's predecessor, especially his theory about climate. According to him, climate influences the formation of human behavior. Climate and physical environment have a significant influence on the non-physical environment, including the impact of the leader's personality on the existence of power (Shahidipak, 2020). It is not an exaggeration if Sorakin places Ibn Khaldun as an idealist thinker on a par with Plato, Aristotle, Vico and Thomas Aquinas (Mowlana, 2024).

What is interesting to study regarding Ibn Khaldun's thoughts is the concept of *Asabiyyah* in his cycle theory. He understands history not as something linear but history as something circular. A circular understanding of history allows humans to draw lessons from historical events, especially power dynamics and human civilization. According to Ibn Khaldun, civilization experiences, grows, develops, and dies. No civilization, society, dynasty, or power regime can last long in its glory days. The cause of a civilization's collapse and power is motivated by the rulers' moral decline, characterized by a centralized system of power, the nature of extravagance and luxury, and the loss of the '*Asabiyyah* character.

Asabiyyah, or social solidarity in Durkheim's theory, is understood as mechanical and organic solidarity (Saumantri & Abdillah, 2020). According to Durkheim, this lack of solidarity results in anomie or abnormal behavior. In Durkheim (Durkheim, 2018), in his work *The Division of Labor in Society*, described the term anomie as a condition in society where rules are obeyed as a common consensus, which results in deviations, termed abnormal behavior. From the dynamics of power, this abnormal behavior can't be seen from the attitude of the authorities who do not obey the mutual consensus that has to be agreed upon in achieving common goals.

This research aims to examine Ibn Khaldun's social philosophy thinking, especially about power and its dynamics. Power for Ibn Khaldun is not merely the authority to control a physical and worldly state and territory. Still, it functions as an instrument that ensures the realization of God's vision for human civilization. It is crucial to understand Ibn Khaldun's thought, considering that what Ibn Khaldun revealed about civilization and power has contextuality to analyze current issues, including the Indonesian context, especially about the dynamics of power from the perspective of Ibn Khaldun's *Asabiyyah* theory.

Literature Review

Ibn Khaldun was a Muslim philosopher, historian, and sociologist born in Tunis on 27 May 1332 AD/732 AH. His full name is Abu Zayd Abdurrahman Ibn Khaldun al-Hadrami. He came from a respectable family from Andalusia who moved to Tunis about a hundred years before his birth. As befits other respectable and upper middle-class families, Ibn Khaldun received a complete and in-depth religious education, especially the sciences of Islamic tradition, including the Qur'an, language, Fiqh theology, Logic, Sufism, and Metaphysics. From Abu 'Abdillah Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim Al-Abili, he also studied astronomy, mathematics, and other natural sciences. At a very young age, he began his career by becoming the Sultan's secretary in Tunisia at 20. He soon left Tunis and headed to Fez in 1354. There, he

was well-received by the Marinid rulers. However, Ibn Khaldun's involvement with politics at that time resulted in persecution and suffering and forced him to leave Fez (Mowlana, 2024).

Ibn Khaldun was not only a scientist who lived in the ivory tower of his knowledge, but he was also an actor in the journey of history and power that he passed on three continents, Europe to the Maghreb in North Africa, to Cairo, then to the arabian peninsula and from there to Baghdad. As a scientist and practitioner in politics and government, Ibn Khaldun observed and experienced the events of history itself. The stages of human history in Karl Marx's perspective as a dynamic in the debate of conflict between groups; Max Weber's typology of leadership; Vilfredo Pareto's elite circulation; and Ernest Gellner's pendulum swing theory of Islam, oscillating from urban formal literal traditions to rural, informal and mystical (Pramono et al., 2024). It was this empirical experience that shaped the construction of Ibn Khaldun's thinking in understanding the rise and fall of power and human civilization.

According to Kartanegara, a very prominent feature of Ibn Khaldun's thought is to place an object of study as it is, not as it should be (Kartanegara, 2007). This can be understood because social theory is intended to understand history in the region as it is. Understanding history as it is very important to change society for the better. In addition, ibn Khaldun did not write as a theoretical scholar isolated in his scientific ivory tower but was also a political actor or actor in his history. It is this reality that Ibn Khaldun uses to see historical reality as it is. The wealth of experience he accumulated as a political practitioner and intellectual traveler enriched the material as a basis for writing his 'Ilm al 'Imran or "science of culture or society."

Research Method

This research uses a literature approach or literature study to trace primary and secondary data sources on the material and formal objects under study. So that a complete picture is obtained, what is meant by political power and the instruments that form it in Ibn Khaldun's social theory? What are the dynamics and objectives of power in Ibn Khaldun's view? What is the relationship between political dynamics and power in the Indonesian context?

Result and Discussion

A) Power in Ibn Khaldun's Social Theory

Power has a significant meaning for human life and civilization. Aside from being an instrument that guarantees the preservation of God's vision for human society. Power is also a tool that ensures the manifestation of *maqasid as-syariah* in Islamic understanding; as revealed by Caksu (Çaksu, 2007), divine *maqasid* is the ultimate goal of power in Ibn Khaldun's theory.

To understand the journey of individuals and society, including the dynamics of power in the span of history, and using dialectical, demonstrative methods, Ibn Khaldun also applied Aristotle's theory of causality or four causes. Although some historians consider the application of causes in understanding historical events in the form of simplification or arbitrary restrictions in space and time (Arif, 2019), Ibn Khaldun succeeded in extending the application

of Aristotle's causes only to the realm of physics and metaphysics in the more complex social sciences. Even in some areas of human knowledge, what Ibn Khaldun did transcended the age and geography in which he lived (Çaksu, 2007).

Aristotle's causality in understanding the nature of things begins with four questions: (1) What is it? (2) What is it made of? (3) In what way is it made? (4) For what purpose is it made? The answers to these questions represent four causes, namely formal causes, material causes, efficient causes (also known as motives, agents, or motors), and final causes. Aristotle sometimes combines the four principles of causality into two, namely matter and form. Matter stands alone, while formal, efficient, and final causes are combined (Çaksu, 2007).

Ibn Khaldun's interest in the principle of causality was based on two reasons, namely ontological and historical reasons. First, he believed that the universe has a rational structure, which can generally be understood through cause and effect because it shows a dynamic and transformative permanent relationship between the cause and the thing caused. Second, regarding the events experienced in history, Ibn Khaldun wanted more direct causes. He believed that the most profound meaning of an event involves speculation to gain a deep understanding of how and why an event occurred. This is crucial in understanding things as they are, especially regarding civilization, social organization, and power. Ibn Khaldun believed that no event happens by chance or luck without a cause. Luck requires the possibility of the occurrence of hidden causes (Zhilwan Tahir & Abdulwahed Jalal Nuri, 2024).

Ibn Khaldun believed that the fundamental laws of social and political systems are dynamic. No social order is eternal and natural but historical, with changes in periods of conditions within the state and, including the human race. In addition, change also penetrates the nature of the individual, the social structure of the city, and the state's political dynamics. Furthermore, such transformations are deeply hidden and thus become recognizable only after a long time because social systems do not follow linear paths (Pramono et al., 2023).

Ibn Khaldun simplified the general dynamics of change into a single notion, namely *Asabiyyah*. As stated by Lenn Evan Goodman in (Pramono et al., 2023), "Like the physical sciences, *Asabiyyah* is the lowest common denominator, the fundamental substrate of all forms of political change. On the other hand, Ibn Khaldun offers *asabiyyah* as an endogenous variable whose transformation is directly related to different variables in the system so that he becomes the foundation of power and can survive well.

The concept of *Asabiyyah* (social solidarity) is characterized by a group of people agreeing to establish power with the same vision and commitment. *Asabiyyah* here is not only based on blood relations but can also be formed through a common consensus, similarity of fate, and historical background. A clear example can be seen at the beginning of the founding of the Republic of Indonesia, where people of different ethnicities, religions, races, cultures, customs, and languages were united by a common historical background and consensus to establish a single authority to achieve state goals. However, in certain societies, lineage is decisive in the regeneration and transfer of power. The occurrence of coups from the caliphate system to the royal system in the Islamic past suggests that the concept of *asabiyyah* had a central position in the political order at that time.

'Assabiyyah or social solidarity, is the essence of Ibn Khaldun's understanding of society; it is an instrument that ensures the sustainability of a power or civilization. As an essential instrument that ensures the sustainability of power, 'Asabiyyah is the leading cause or efficient cause of the realization of a sovereign power. Society and the state are only material and formal causes of the realization of power; their position is only potential, and it will become active when there is asabiyyah. As an efficient cause, 'Asabiyyah has a significant role in uniting the material and formal causes. Unifying the two causes is necessary for the material and formal causes of power to exist in potential form. The concept of 'Asabiyyah, to borrow Kant's term (S. Abdullah, 2018), indicates the existence of moral imperatives as the organizing principle of society and the state in sustaining power. However, for Immanuel Kant, the moral obligation comes from within oneself as a will related to practical ratios. Morals are the inner wealth of man, not influenced by anything outside of man and also not influenced by religion. It comes from within man; there is an impulse of obligation that does not force in the form of goodwill to take action (S. Abdullah, 2018). This command and goodwill are what Kant calls the moral imperative.

Unlike Kant, the moral imperative in Ibn Khaldun's concept of asabiyyah has a very close relationship with belief in God and religion. Islamic belief understands humans as creatures created to implement God's vision on earth through the behavior and organization of their society. According to the Qur'an, humans are God's representatives (Al-Baqarah, 2:30) So, asabiyyah as an organizing principle is not value-free. Ibn Khaldun believed that social organization is necessary for the human species. Without it, human existence would be incomplete. God's will to govern the world with human beings and make them His representatives on earth would not be realized (Cotesta et al., 2021). Social order thus reflects moral order. To the extent that the moral order is well maintained, the social order will survive in achieving goals in line with the vision of the ummah.

According to Ibn Khaldun, the ultimate goal, as the final cause for regimes and power, is the realization of the common good or *maslahah 'ummah*. However, according to Ibn Khaldun, the definition of the common good between one ruling regime and another can be different. For this reason, Ibn Khaldun categorized power into three regime groups: (1) primitive cultural regime whose purpose is solely to survive (2) rational and civilized regime, the purpose of which is the realization of prosperity and goodness of life in the world, and (3) the regime of law, the purpose of which is the realization of happiness in the world and the hereafter (Kartanegara, 2007).

Primitive rulers, although only for survival, are still considered suitable for maintaining social order; without power, the social order will experience chaos. However, for rational power, if only to survive, the common good will not be realized. The purpose of rational power is to enjoy maximum benefits from the progress dimension of social life. This will require conditions that cannot be abandoned to realize social life fully. The conditions include a civilized state under a wise ruler, a large population and control of territory with business in the field of trade, and adequate cities for activism, trade, art, and scientific development.

As for some of the objectives of legal authority (sharia), namely the preservation of religion (*hifdz al-din*), the preservation of life (*hifdz an-nafs*), the preservation of reason (*hifdz*

'*aql*), the preservation of offspring (*hifdz al-nasab*), the preservation of individual ownership of property (*hifdz al-mal*) through the preservation of life and enjoyment by the rules of social benefits, namely the joy and happiness of the world and the hereafter. At this stage, the vision of the community as God's representative embodies the values of justice, peace, love, and compassion. This is the purpose of God making humans as caliphs on the earth's surface, namely carrying out ritual and cultural duties. The ritual task is to be a servant who devotes all forms of submission, obedience, and worship solely to God. The cultural task is to translate the messages of humanity in his words in the management of the earth for the benefit and welfare of humankind universally.

B) Power Dynamics

In his cycle theory, Ibn Khaldun's concept of a circular historical journey becomes the basic principle in seeing power dynamics and human civilization through the idea of 'asabiyyah. Ibn Khaldun believes that human power and civilization have cycles like human life. Humans are born, grow, mature, and grow old, and then they experience death. According to Ibn Khaldun, power is also the case; nothing lasts, and there is an end limit. The period for civilization or power to survive depends on the strength of the 'Asabiyyah that exists in society, state, culture, and the nation itself.

'Asabiyyah is a major construct in Ibn Khaldun's social philosophy, and political philosophy. As stated by Yves Lacoste in Kayapınar (Kayapınar, 2008), Researchers translate Ibn Khaldun's term 'Asabiyyah as “group feeling,” “*esprit de corps*,” “*esprit de clan*,” “*geminin*,” “*nationalitat die*,” “*company spirit*,” “*feeling of solidarity*,” “*group solidarity*,” “*group will*,” “*communal spirit*,” “*social cohesion*,” “*martial spirit*,” “*asabiyyah*,” “*solidarity*,” “*strike force*” and “*social solidarity*.” This definition is an effort made by experts in understanding Ibn Khaldun's concept of 'asabiyyah. However, a partial understanding is certainly very inadequate in understanding the true nature of 'Asabiyyah. Given that almost scattered in the Muqaddimah, Ibn Khaldun talks about 'Asabiyyah. This is indeed inseparable from the social system and the historical role played in the socio-political organization at that time.

Two typologies of 'asabiyyah shape power and civilization: the badawa and the hadari. Badawa are rural communities bound together by a strong sense of brotherhood, kinship, and a resilient fighting spirit. This refers to the Bedouin lifestyle and *qabila* (tribal) organization, which is as old as Arab history. They had a tribally organized way of life in the *Badia* (early desert life). Badawa, in maintaining survival, is nomadic and sedentary. The nomadic category is usually experienced by camel herders who travel long distances across the desert. The semi-nomadic and sedentary are shepherders, cattle, and farmers. They are relatively more settled in an area. The characteristics of Baduy's social organization are marked by the existence of the *qabilah* (tribe). Qabilah is a social organization that unites its members under one common ancestor. Under qabalah, there are other complementary sub-units such as '*ashira* (clan), *hamula*, *faked*, *bam*, or *far* (sub-tribe); *beit*, *ahl*, '*aila* (extended family); and Sarah or nuclear family (Kayapınar, 2008).

The second is more complex: a society that lives in urban areas with a cosmopolitan typology, far from the values of rural traditions and customs, basking in luxury and convenience. Initially, urban society was formed through the unification of 'Asabiyyah, then committed to building a Beulah or dynastic state power and finally succeeded in expanding and building civilization. However, over time, the generation of fighters and builders began to be replaced by a generation of enjoyers of the results, characterized by luxury, corruption in the circles of power, lack of fighting spirit and hard work, high individualistic nature, and destruction of morality.

Based on this idea, a state built on the principle of 'Asabiyyah through blood ties will last for only four generations (Dhaouadi, 1990). 'Asabiyyah will weaken during the fourth generation. This also results in the collapse of power, Beulah, or state. The next period is when energy will be transferred to a group with the power of 'Asabiyyah. This thesis departs from the ups and downs of power in the past, which adhered to the royal system.

On the other hand, blood ties are not an essential source of 'Asabiyyah. If blood ties had an important position, 'Asabiyyah would not have faded along with the increase, ease, luxury, and comfort. Convenience and luxury do not change biological relationships; instead, they affect the socio-psychological aspects of blood ties, namely the feeling of close contact that comes from it.

C) Ashabiyah (Social Solidarity) in the Context of Power and Politics in Indonesia

Ibn Khaldun Ibn understood that a civilization and power experience cycles of fall and rise. Each stage of the cycle takes 40 years. Thus, from birth to destruction, a civilization and power system takes 120 years (Surtahman & Kamaruzaman, 2023). The first stage of the power of 'Asabiyyah can form power, a nation and a state. The *badawa* culture is still strong at this stage—the high level of 'asabiyyah evidences this. The second stage is the stage of success in expanding the territory of power. In this second stage, the Badawi culture is replaced by the Bhandari culture, a cosmopolitan, individualistic, urban society full of luxury and a well-off lifestyle. The third stage is destruction, characterized by a centralized system of power, corruption, and the destruction of moral principles in the life of the nation and state (Chabane, 2008). Finally, the power of 'Asabiyyah began to fade. The *badawa* culture that became the strength of 'Asabiyyah's knitting vanished and was replaced by a very indifferent lifestyle of urban society, the loss of togetherness, and the emergence of excessive love for the world and power.

The period in Ibn Khaldun's cycle theory is rigidly quantitative and not mathematical. But it is dynamic. Even the ultimate goal of power, namely the common good, is not final but can change over time. Likewise, 40 years for the cycle stages and 120 years for the end of the cycle period before a new cycle is re-established is not a fixed price. Even the destruction of power can run faster or longer, depending on how the knitting of 'Asabiyyah can be maintained in the life of the nation and state, both by the ruler and for the community.

Badawa culture is not just confined to nomadic savage societies living in the desert. But it is an inherent feature of almost all communities living in rural areas with well-maintained norms and customs, hospitality, good manners, empathetic and caring attitudes towards others,

high social control, and a sense of care and maintenance (*handarbeni*). “Uphill is uphill, downhill is downhill, some are eaten, none are sought.” In Javanese culture, “*mangan ora mangan ngumpul*” is a characteristic of village society. This is also reflected in the village authorities, who have a sense of community.

The spirit of paternalism for the rulers is formed through traditions deeply rooted in their lives. This can be seen, for example, in the succession of leadership that occurs naturally without causing significant conflict. Although they do not know Montesquieu, they don't know the trias politics or the theory of democracy, even long before the direct election of leaders in Indonesia. In village communities, direct elections have occurred, including village head elections, dukun elections in Java, *Nagari Wali* or village head elections in *Minang*, and other regions.

Badawa culture in the context of Indonesia can be understood as village wisdom that has crystallized in the Nusantara culture, even long before Indonesia's independence. It is a value that characterizes Indonesian from the past to the present. It was born from the springs of Indonesia and flows to all corners of the archipelago. This collectively strengthens when there are challenges and common enemies, which forms the spirit of 'Asabiyyah in Ibn Khaldun's understanding, namely social solidarity and commitment to be free from colonization and oppression to create an independent and sovereign state.

'Asabiyyah, in Ibn Khaldun's understanding, is other than social solidarity or cohesion. In the Indonesian context, it can also be understood by a common consensus. In this case, Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The first serves as the basis of the state, and the second as the basis of the constitution. As the basis of the state and the basis of the constitution, Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution are “*kalimatun sawa' bainana wa bainahum*” (common platform) that unites ethnic, racial, cultural, and religious diversity (M. A. Abdullah, 2021). As 'Asabiyyah for the Indonesian context, Pancasila is a benchmark for the dynamics of power in the course of history. The deviation of power or leadership from the ideal Pancasila as the basis and ideals in achieving the state's goals (*maslahah al-ummah*) causes the collapse of a regime. This happened towards the end of the reign of the Old Order during the first President Sukarno. Implementing guided democracy and crowning himself as president for life (Taylor, 2014), is a form of deviation from the common consensus, namely Pancasila. Likewise, with the New Order regime, the interpretation of Pancasila was not in line with Pancasila as it should have given birth to corruption, collusion, and nepotism, which resulted in the emergence of a multidimensional crisis, especially a moral and trust crisis (Hanif, 2022). In the end, it led to the downfall of the two regimes.

Meanwhile, the reform order, as a hope to realize the ideals of the state as stipulated in the constitution, has also become tainted when corruption is rampant in various lines of national life. There is an assumption that the high political costs in regional head, presidential, and legislative elections have contributed to the rise of corruption cases in this country. According to Mahfud MD, corruption in the current era is even worse than in the New Order era. In the reform era, all levels can commit corruption, from individuals to the power elite. Meanwhile, during the Suharto era, it was only done by Suharto and his cronies (Riyadi, 2017).

The culture of corruption in Ibn Khaldun's cycle theory is a form of destruction of morality and *hadari* culture as pillars that support 'Asabiyyah. This happens when the power system favors personal interests, groups, and people in the circle of power. The goal of realizing the common good can be defeated by political desires prioritizing individual and group interests. In Ibn Khaldun's perspective, this is a signal for political power because morality and integrity are the pillars that knit 'Asabiyyah, which is centered on the strength of Bhandari culture or village wisdom.

D) Moving the Capital City in the Perspective of Ibn Khaldun's Thought

Moving the capital city is expected in the history of states and political power. Even in the history of Islam, the capital was moved many times, starting from Medina, then to Kufa during Ali bin Abi Talib's leadership, and Damascus during the Umayyad Beulah. Then Damascus moved to Baghdad during the Abbasid period. The relocation of the capital city becomes crucial if it is related to the interests and benefits of the Ummah.

The discourse of moving the capital city in the Indonesian context was once conveyed by a philosophical (Herdiawan, 2021), at the end of the ninth year in several seminars and lectures. He discoursed moving the capital city in David Harvey thinking, which is not solely in the physical sense of moving the center of the capital city to the region or from the heart of the capital city to the village. There are hundreds of discourses on moving the capital city to the town. It also uses a metaphorical understanding, namely transforming the village's culture into the city, starting from the capital city as a symbol of the center and power. The transformation and actualization of village culture in urban society are significant. In the Indonesian context, it is a true characteristic of Indonesian, which was the spirit of gaining independence and forming a sovereign state in the past. His transformation is essential because village wisdom symbolizes *badawi* culture in Ibn Khaldun's terms, which can strengthen the strength of 'Asabiyyah, social cohesion, or social solidarity (Kayapınar, 2008).

The transformation of village culture in the current context is essential in maintaining diversity, maintaining national identity, and building national character and personality that originates from the springs of the archipelago and flows throughout the Indonesian archipelago. It is an Indonesian characteristic that distinguishes Indonesia from other nations in the world, namely Pancasila, as a common consensus in achieving the goals of the state, namely to protect the entire Indonesian nation and all Indonesian blood spilled, to promote the general welfare, to educate the nation's life and to participate in implementing world order based on independence, eternal peace, and social justice. In Ibn Khaldun's theory, this goal, which is considered the final cause or goal for a power, civilization, and state, is known as the common good.

The transformation of *badawa* values in the present context grounds the noble values that are the heritage of the Indonesian nation from the past in social life, especially in cosmopolitan urban communities. This is very important, reminding urban communities that they have forgotten their Indonesian identity over time. Materialistic, hedonistic, pragmatic lifestyles, individuals, loss of social control and the emergence of an “*ignorant*” attitude are also problems. For example, a person will not reprimand or remind others of mistakes, behavioral

deviations, or violations others commit even though they occur in front of his eyes. This should also be a common concern when the capital city physically moves, the village wisdom should transform into practice in the management of the country.

Conclusion

Power has a significant meaning in Ibn Khaldun's theory, not only in maintaining territory but also in realizing God's vision for humanity manifested in *maqasidus shari'ah*, namely the preservation of religion, preservation of life, preservation of reason, preservation of offspring, preservation of individual ownership rights to property and maintaining human dignity and honor so that the realization of the benefit of the people or the common good can be achieved.

Asabiyyah, or social relations, is the essence of Ibn Khaldun's understanding of society; it is essential in maintaining the continuity of power and civilization. 'Asabiyyah is formed not only based on blood ties but can also be formed through a shared consensus, common fate, and historical background. An essential pillar in maintaining the power of 'Dhabi to survive well is the mandala culture, characterized by solidarity, high social control, care, and mutual care. In Ibn Khaldun's cycle theory, power will last for three periods, and the third period is the alarm of collapse marked by the weakening of Asabiyyah.

In addition to asabiyyah, moral strength is a pillar in maintaining the progress of civilization and power. Ethics is the soul for power and civilization; its existence is like the spirit for the body. The destruction of power and society is not due to the weak economy, weak security defense, and lack of defense equipment. The destruction occurs because of uprooting moral values agreed upon as norms and standards of good and evil in society. The presence of urban culture with individualistic, materialistic, hedonistic, and pragmatic characters colored by cultural disruption and hyperreality is a social symptom that must be addressed with cultural wisdom that upholds human values and collective morals. Moral strength is the core of social solidarity or social cohesion that still exists in the life of the nation and state.

Declaration of conflicting interest

The writing of this journal is based on exploring various concepts regarding the perspective of moving the capital, especially from the point of view of a famous philosopher, Ibn Khaldun. This is done to contribute to science and produce valuable writings for the progress of the nation and state of Indonesia.

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