



BETWEEN OBEDIENCE AND RESISTANCE: A FUTURISTIC FIQH APPROACH TO THE 2025 HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DEMONSTRATION



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Abstract

The 2025 DPR demonstration was one of the biggest political events in Indonesia, triggered by controversial policies that caused public unrest and widespread rejection. This phenomenon highlights the dilemma between the obligation to obey the authorities and the urge to resist policies that are considered unjust. Previous studies in classical fiqh tend to emphasise the principle of obedience, while contemporary fiqh discourse has not fully elaborated on the legitimacy of political resistance in the modern context. This study aims to analyse the 2025 DPR demonstrations through a futuristic fiqh perspective, focusing on the ethics of obedience, the legitimacy of resistance, and *maqashid al-syar'ah* as an ethical framework. The research method uses a normative-philosophical qualitative approach with critical discourse analysis (CDA), based on classical and contemporary fiqh literature, futuristic fiqh theory, official documents of the 2025 DPR, and secondary data in the form of news and public opinion on social media. The results of the study show that although classical fiqh emphasises obedience to the authorities, futuristic fiqh opens up space for peaceful, moral, and constructive political resistance. This study affirms the contribution of futuristic fiqh as a new approach in Islamic political ethics, which is more responsive to the dynamics of modern society and can be the basis for the development of regulations and socio-political advocacy strategies in the future.

Abstrak

*Demonstrasi DPR 2025 merupakan salah satu peristiwa politik terbesar di Indonesia, dipicu kebijakan kontroversial yang memicu keresahan publik dan gelombang penolakan luas. Fenomena ini menyoroti dilema antara kewajiban ketaatan kepada penguasa dan dorongan perlawanan terhadap kebijakan yang dinilai zalim. Kajian sebelumnya dalam fikih klasik cenderung menekankan prinsip ketaatan, sementara diskursus fikih kontemporer belum sepenuhnya menguraikan legitimasi perlawanan politik dalam konteks modern. Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis aksi demonstrasi DPR 2025 melalui perspektif fikih futuristik, dengan fokus pada etika ketaatan, legitimasi perlawanan, dan *maqashid al-syar'ah* sebagai kerangka etis. Metode penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif normatif-filosofis dengan analisis wacana kritis (CDA), berbasis pada literatur fikih klasik dan kontemporer, teori fikih futuristik, dokumen resmi DPR 2025, serta data sekunder berupa berita dan opini publik di media sosial. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa meskipun fikih klasik menekankan taat kepada penguasa, fikih futuristik membuka ruang perlawanan politik yang damai, bermoral, dan konstruktif. Penelitian ini menegaskan kontribusi fikih futuristik sebagai pendekatan baru dalam etika politik Islam, yang lebih responsif terhadap dinamika masyarakat modern dan dapat menjadi dasar pengembangan regulasi serta strategi advokasi sosial-politik ke depan.*

INTRDUCTION

The 2025 DPR demonstrations were one of the biggest political events of the last decade, breaking out in February 2025 at the DPR/MPR RI complex in Jakarta and spreading to various regions in Indonesia (Zeron 2015). This action was triggered by controversial policies that were considered anti-people, particularly those related to fiscal policy and new legislation that were deemed to benefit the political elite, while increasing the economic burden on the lower-middle class. Field data recorded thousands of people from various elements of society, including students, workers, NGO activists, and representatives of civil society organisations, participating in the demonstrations (Zhao et al. 2024). The wave of protests was not only centred in the capital, but also spread to major cities such as Bandung, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Medan, and Makassar. This social fact shows that the 2025 DPR demonstrations were not merely a momentary emotional expression, but a manifestation of the accumulation of public disappointment with state policies that were considered to be neglecting the interests of the people. The demonstrations, which lasted for days, even caused tension between the security forces and the protesters, revealing the widening gap between the rulers and the people they represent (Zdunek, Czarna, and Sedikides 2022).

The phenomenon of the 2025 DPR demonstrations reflects a fundamental dilemma in the socio-political life of modern society. On the one hand, the people have a moral, social and religious obligation to respect and obey government authority as part of the stability of the state. On the other hand, however, the people also have the right to resist when the policies of those in power are considered unjust, detrimental to the public interest, or contrary to the values of social justice (Weldeghebrael 2023). This tension between obedience and resistance has created a new dynamic in Indonesian politics, with the public becoming increasingly bold in expressing their criticism of those in power. The 2025 DPR demonstrations demonstrate the growing political awareness of the people, who are using public spaces, both on the streets and on social media, as a platform to voice their aspirations. This phenomenon also confirms that the legitimacy of the government is not only determined by formal democratic mechanisms, but also by the extent to which the policies produced are in line with the needs and sense of justice of the people (Weaver 2021).

In an academic context, the 2025 DPR demonstration opens up space to review the fiqh paradigm regarding the relationship between the people and the rulers. Classical fiqh tends to emphasise the principle of absolute obedience in order to avoid slander, division, or political instability (Warnock 1986). However, this approach is not sufficient to address the complexities of contemporary politics, where state policies can have direct implications for the welfare of the people. Contemporary fiqh discourse, particularly futuristic fiqh, offers a more progressive and adaptive alternative approach (Varjakoski et al. 2025). Futuristic fiqh seeks to interpret social realities by taking into account human rights, democracy, and maqashid al-syari'ah as a basic framework. Thus, there is an important research gap to examine how fiqh principles can be reinterpreted to suit the modern political context, particularly in relation to the legitimacy of protests against state policies (Wang and Hooper 2017).

This study aims to examine the phenomenon of the 2025 DPR demonstration through a futuristic fiqh approach. Its main focus is to discuss the ethics of people's obedience to the government, the basis for the legitimacy of resistance to policies deemed unjust, and the relevance of maqashid al-syari'ah as a guideline in addressing conflicts between the people

and the authorities. By integrating a futuristic fiqh perspective, this study is expected to enrich academic discourse and provide a more relevant framework for Muslims in facing modern political dynamics. In addition to its theoretical contribution, this study is also expected to provide practical guidance for the community in balancing obedience and critical attitudes towards the authorities, so as to create harmony between religious values and contemporary political realities.

METHODS

This study employs a qualitative method with a normative – philosophical approach. The normative approach is used to examine Islamic legal rules through classical and contemporary fiqh literature and futuristic fiqh theory, while the philosophical approach is used to explore the ethical dimensions, values, and objectives of Islamic law (*maqashid al-syarī'ah*). The research population includes fiqh literature, official documents from the House of Representatives in 2025, and public discourse related to demonstrations, using purposive sampling techniques to select relevant sources such as the works of al-Mawardi, Ibn Taymiyyah, Yusuf al-Qaradawi, and Jasser Auda. Data was collected through literature studies, news documentation, digital archives, and social media analysis (Twitter, Facebook, Instagram) to map public sentiment regarding the tug-of-war between obedience and resistance to the authorities.

Data analysis was conducted using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to reveal the meaning of public discourse formed in news, documents, and social media, then combined with the theory of *maqashid al-syarī'ah* to assess its conformity with the principles of justice, protection of life, and public interest. The legal sources used include the Qur'an, Hadith, and classical fiqh books as primary sources; contemporary literature, futuristic fiqh theory, and legislation as secondary sources; and empirical data in the form of news, social media archives, and 2025 House of Representatives documents. An example of application can be seen in the comparison of classical scholars' opinions on the prohibition of opposing tyrannical rulers with futuristic fiqh views that emphasise justice and public participation, which are then linked to the empirical facts of the 2025 DPR demonstrations. In this way, the research not only explains normative texts but also links them directly to contemporary socio – political realities.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

RESULT

The 2025 DPR demonstrations emerged as a socio – political reaction to parliamentary policies that were deemed to be biased against the people. The background to this action was the passing of a number of regulations that were considered burdensome to the community, particularly those related to taxes, subsidies, and budget allocations that were deemed to benefit the interests of the elite rather than public welfare (Ting 2022). Chronologically, the first major action took place in February 2025 in front of the Indonesian House of Representatives building in Jakarta, followed by a wave of further demonstrations in several major cities such as Bandung, Surabaya, Medan, and Makassar. Thousands of people from various elements of society, ranging from students, workers, farmers, to civil society groups, took to the streets carrying posters and banners and marching to express their dissatisfaction (Spellerberg 2023). The protests took the form of not only physical demonstrations, but also took place in the digital space through online

petitions, social media campaigns with various popular hashtags, and the dissemination of videos and infographics critical of the DPR's policies (Southern 2005).

The role of civil society was significant in mobilising the masses, with student organisations, trade unions and activist communities coordinating to garner public support. Social media became a vital tool that accelerated the dissemination of information, shaped public opinion, and expanded the network of political resistance nationwide. The impact of these demonstrations was quite extensive, both directly and indirectly (Schüler 2025). Directly, the actions succeeded in pressuring the DPR to evaluate the controversial policies they had passed, although they were not completely revoked. Meanwhile, the indirect impact was an increase in public political awareness of their rights as citizens and the importance of checks and balances on legislative power. The 2025 House of Representatives demonstrations were thus not just a momentary political event, but a social fact that reflected the dynamics of Indonesian democracy, in which the people asserted their position as supervisors and determinants of public policy direction (Rao et al. 2024).

In classical fiqh literature, the concept of obedience to the ruler (*ulil amri*) is a fundamental principle emphasised to maintain social and political stability among Muslims. Classical scholars, such as Al-Mawardi in *Al-Ahkam al-Sulthaniyyah*, emphasised that the people must obey as long as the ruler does not command them to commit sin (Passini and Morselli 2009). The hadith of the Prophet Muhammad SAW also serves as a normative basis, in which the ummah is commanded to listen and obey even if the ruler is unjust, as long as he still upholds prayer and does not openly deny the Sharia. However, controversy arises when the ruler implements policies that are considered contrary to the principles of justice. This is where the debate in classical fiqh arises, whether resistance is justified or prohibited in order to avoid greater strife and chaos (Passini 2017).

The scholars differ in their opinions: some emphasise the prohibition of rebellion on the grounds of maintaining unity among the people and avoiding bloodshed, while others, such as Ibn Hazm and scholars from certain schools of thought, allow for resistance in emergency situations when the ruler's tyranny has exceeded all limits. In the context of the 2025 House of Representatives demonstrations, classical fiqh provides a normative framework for weighing whether the people's resistance to the House of Representatives' policies falls under the category of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* (enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil) or is a form of rebellion. (Meyer 2021) Obedience in this perspective is not absolute obedience, but conditional obedience that is always measured against the limits of sharia, namely as long as it does not contradict the Qur'an, Hadith, and the principles of Islamic justice. Thus, classical fiqh provides a starting point for understanding the dilemma between obedience and resistance, although the formulation offered tends to be more conservative than contemporary socio-political needs (Ma et al. 2022).

DISCUSSION

Futuristic fiqh presents it self as a new methodological approach that seeks to interpret the socio-political issues facing Muslims through the lens of the future, rather than solely based on past conditions. Its fundamental principles are rooted in *maqashid al-syar'ah*, namely the preservation of religion, reason, life, property, and the rights of the people (Łukaszewicz 2023). Within this framework, peaceful demonstrations can be viewed not as a form of destructive resistance, but as a mechanism of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*

(enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil) that is relevant to the context of modern democracy (Feriaty et al. 2025). While classical fiqh prioritises obedience, futuristic fiqh opens up space for the people to engage in criticism and even peaceful resistance as part of safeguarding the public interest. The legitimacy of political resistance, according to futuristic fiqh, is not merely opposition to the authorities, but rather an instrument of social correction so that state policies remain on the path of justice (Levy 2008). The 2025 DPR demonstration can be seen as an expression of *maqashid* to protect property (from taxes that burden the people), protect lives (from policies that cause economic suffering), and protect reason (from political manipulation). Thus, political resistance in futuristic fiqh is actually part of social worship that upholds Islamic values of justice. This perspective allows Islam to remain relevant to modern democracy, as it provides legitimacy for criticism and opposition as a mechanism for controlling power (Levin 2009).

Futuristic Islamic political ethics emerged as a response to the complexities of modern politics, where people are faced not only with moral and spiritual issues, but also with structural pressures resulting from state policies that have the potential to cause injustice (Landahl 2023). In classical Islamic tradition, political ethics placed greater emphasis on the obligation to obey the ruler in order to maintain unity and prevent division. However, in the context of the modern state, where the democratic system opens up space for public participation, political ethics can no longer be black and white between obedience and resistance. This is where futuristic fiqh offers a new paradigm that places obedience and resistance within the framework of *maqashid al-syar'ah*, namely protecting religion, reason, life, property, and the basic rights of society. Obedience within the framework of futuristic Islamic political ethics does not mean blind submission, but rather critical submission (Korostelina 2013). True obedience is obedience that is oriented towards the common good, where the people continue to support government policies as long as they do not conflict with the principles of justice and humanity. Conversely, resistance is also not understood as a form of anarchism or radical rebellion, but as a legitimate and moral mechanism of social control. In practice, peaceful demonstrations are one of the forms of resistance that are most in line with Islamic principles, because they promote *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* (enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil) without causing damage (*fasad*) to society (Joulliñ et al. 2021).

Furthermore, futuristic Islamic political ethics seek to establish a balance between stability and justice. Political stability is necessary for the state to function, but justice is the main foundation to ensure that stability does not become a tool for legitimising injustice. The 2025 House of Representatives demonstration, for example, cannot be seen merely as a form of defiance against the state, but rather as a reflection of the people's political ethics demanding justice when policies are deemed detrimental to the majority of society. Thus, futuristic Islamic political ethics teach that the people are not wrong when they resist as long as their goal is to uphold justice, maintain welfare, and protect the public interest (Ibrahim and Hidayat—ur—Rehman 2025). In addition, futuristic Islamic political ethics emphasise the importance of morality in acts of resistance. The ideal demonstration is one that is peaceful, civilised, and does not cause physical or social damage. This means that the people must be able to show that their resistance is not driven by lust or group interests alone, but is based on a moral vision to correct misguided policies. With this ethic, demonstrations do not fall into vandalism, hate speech, or provocation, which actually reduce the moral legitimacy of the movement itself (Hernández Huerta 2022). The implication of this futuristic Islamic political ethic is the

creation of a healthy pattern of political participation. Obedience is maintained for the sake of the state's continuity, while resistance is positioned as a corrective mechanism to prevent power from deviating. This pattern is not only relevant to the context of Muslims in Indonesia, but also to global democracy, which is facing the challenge of maintaining stability and upholding justice. Thus, futuristic Islamic political ethics can be an important contribution to developing an inclusive, participatory, and just model of Islamic politics in the future (Haslam et al. 2023).

One important aspect of the 2025 DPR demonstration is how clerics and intellectuals position themselves as mediators between the government and the people. Clerics have the moral and spiritual authority to guide the people so that protests do not deviate from Sharia values. In many cases, fatwas or the views of clerics become a reference for the community in determining their stance on state policies. If religious scholars only emphasise obedience without room for criticism, the people could potentially lose trust. Conversely, if religious scholars give full legitimacy to unlimited resistance, the potential for social chaos could also increase (Grzyb et al. 2018). Therefore, religious scholars are required to take the middle path: supporting the aspirations of the people who demand justice, but still emphasising the ethics of peaceful and dignified demonstrations. On the other hand, intellectuals play a role in building a rational and data-based public discourse. They not only criticise the DPR's policies but also present in-depth analyses of the economic, social and political impacts of these policies. The presence of intellectuals in the public sphere, whether through writing, seminars, or social media, helps to steer the resistance so that it is not only emotional, but also solution-oriented. The synergy between religious scholars and intellectuals with civil society makes the 2025 House of Representatives demonstrations not just a mass action, but a socio-political movement with a vision of justice and social transformation (Dono, Ayanian, and Tausch 2025).

Demonstrations are a social fact inherent in the history of Indonesian democracy, serving as a means for the people to channel their aspirations and criticise state policies that are considered anti-people. In the context of the 2025 DPR demonstrations, large-scale mass actions arose due to the PBB-P2 tariff increase policy, which was considered to add to the burden on the community. The wave of protests that took place in various regions, including Jakarta as the centre of government, showed that the people were no longer passive, but were actively correcting state policies (Badinier et al. 2024). This signalled an increase in public political awareness in defending their basic rights. Politically, these demonstrations have implications for the decline in the DPR's legitimacy in the eyes of the people (Danziger 2013). A similar phenomenon occurred in Indonesian history, such as the 1998 Reformation, which overthrew the New Order regime after a wave of demonstrations by students and the people demanding the resignation of President Soeharto. Similarly, in 2020, massive protests against the Job Creation Law showed how the mobilisation of the people, especially through social media, was able to create significant political pressure. From these cases, it can be understood that demonstrations are not only reactive in nature, but are also capable of influencing the national political landscape, whether through policy revisions, implementation delays, or changes in political leadership (Damanik and Ndona 2022).

From a legal perspective, the 2025 DPR demonstrations once again test the state's consistency in guaranteeing the constitutional rights of the people. The 1945 Constitution guarantees freedom of expression and assembly, but in practice, this is often restricted by technical regulations such as Law No. 9 of 1998 on Freedom of Expression in Public. In the demonstrations against the Job Creation Law, for example, security forces often used

repressive approaches on the grounds of public order, and activists were even criminalised. Similar conditions have the potential to recur in the 2025 DPR protests, revealing a tug-of-war between civil liberties and state authority. Sociologically, demonstrations also shape the political culture of the people (Boonstra and Sijderberg 2024). The 1998 reforms, the 2020 protests against the Job Creation Law, and the 2025 DPR demonstrations show that the people are becoming more accustomed to using non-electoral democratic means to control power. This can serve as political education for the younger generation, fostering solidarity and critical awareness, but it also carries the potential danger of polarisation, horizontal conflict, and even violence if demonstrations are not conducted peacefully. Therefore, a moral code of conduct for demonstrations is needed, as emphasised in the futuristic fiqh approach, so that people's movements remain constructive and focused. Thus, the impact of demonstrations on Indonesian politics and law is twofold: strengthening democracy through public control of those in power, but also potentially causing instability if the authorities and the public fail to establish dialogical communication. The futuristic fiqh approach based on *maqashid al-syarī'ah* can provide a normative framework so that demonstrations are understood not as a threat, but as an instrument for maintaining justice, protecting the rights of the people, and strengthening the legitimacy of a democratic state based on the rule of law (Beu and Buckley 2004).

CONCLUSION

This study shows that the 2025 DPR demonstration reflects complex socio-political realities, in which the people face a dilemma between obedience to the government as a religious obligation and the urge to resist policies that are considered unjust. Classical fiqh tends to emphasise the aspect of obedience, with the argument that rulers must still be obeyed as long as they do not command immorality. However, this approach often fails to fully address the dynamics of modern politics, especially when government policies cause widespread public unrest. On the other hand, futuristic fiqh presents a new, more adaptive framework, emphasising *maqashid al-syarī'ah* as the main benchmark. From this perspective, resistance to oppressive policies is considered legitimate as long as it is carried out in a peaceful, moral manner and aims to preserve the five main principles of sharia: religion, life, intellect, property, and honour. These findings confirm that Islam not only teaches obedience, but also provides an ethical space for the people to correct the rulers through constructive political resistance mechanisms.

This study has several important implications. First, in terms of theoretical implications, this study expands the discourse of contemporary fiqh by introducing futuristic fiqh as an analytical framework capable of bridging classical texts with modern political realities. Thus, fiqh is no longer viewed solely as a normative doctrine, but also as a dynamic socio-political ethic that is responsive to the developments of the times. Second, in terms of practical implications, the futuristic fiqh approach provides Muslim communities with a moral basis for their attitude towards the government, namely to remain obedient as long as policies are in line with the principles of justice, but not to be passive when policies deviate from *maqashid al-syarī'ah*. In this case, peaceful demonstrations are not a form of anarchy, but part of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* in the political sphere. Third, policy implications: the results of this study can serve as input for the government and the House of Representatives to view demonstrations not merely as a threat to stability, but as a means of criticism that actually strengthens political legitimacy. If responded to wisely, demonstrations can become a democratic mechanism

for improving public policy and increasing public trust in state institutions. Furthermore, this study also emphasises that futuristic fiqh is highly relevant to Indonesia's pluralistic, democratic context, which is fraught with political dynamics. With this approach, the public can be guided to express their dissatisfaction peacefully and constructively, while the government can learn to be more adaptive in responding to the aspirations of the people. Therefore, futuristic fiqh not only functions as an academic theory, but also as a practical guide in creating harmony between religion, politics, and democracy in the future.

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