

The Contemporary Politics of Welfare and Anxiety: A Fiqh Siyasah Review of Indonesia's 2045 Vision

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Abstract: The Vision of Golden Indonesia 2045 represents a strategic national aspiration in celebrating a century of Indonesian independence. However, achieving this vision requires more than economic growth and infrastructure development; it also demands governance that is just, transparent, and grounded in the nation's moral and spiritual values. This study aims to analyze the direction of government policies toward Golden Indonesia 2045 from the perspective of *fiqh siyasah*, focusing on how the principles of *maṣlahah* (public interest), *adālah* (justice), *shūrā* (consultation), and *amānah* (trust) are reflected in current policymaking practices. This research employs a qualitative field approach, utilizing in-depth interviews with government officials, academics, and Muslim community leaders, supported by document analysis of national policy frameworks. The findings reveal that while national development plans are conceptually aligned with Islamic principles, their implementation remains weak in terms of distributive justice, public participation, and accountability. The gap between policy design and execution has resulted in unequal development outcomes, particularly affecting lower-income Muslim communities. This study contributes to the development of contemporary *fiqh siyasah* by integrating normative analysis with empirical field data. It proposes a *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*-based framework for assessing public policies to promote governance that is just, participatory, and oriented toward collective welfare in realizing Indonesia's 2045 vision.

Keywords: Fiqh Siyasah; Golden Indonesia; Justice; Maslahah; Public Policy.

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Abstrak: Visi Indonesia Emas 2045 merupakan cita-cita strategis nasional dalam menyongsong satu abad kemerdekaan Indonesia. Namun, untuk mencapainya, tidak cukup hanya dengan pembangunan ekonomi dan infrastruktur. Diperlukan tata kelola pemerintahan yang berkeadilan, transparan, dan berlandaskan nilai moral serta spiritual bangsa. Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis arah kebijakan pemerintah menuju Indonesia Emas 2045 dari perspektif *fiqih siyasah*, dengan fokus pada implementasi nilai-nilai *maṣlaḥah*, *‘adalah*, *shūrā*, dan *amānah* dalam kebijakan publik. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif lapangan dengan wawancara mendalam terhadap pejabat pemerintah, akademisi, dan tokoh masyarakat Muslim, serta analisis dokumen kebijakan nasional. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa meskipun kebijakan pembangunan nasional secara konseptual sejalan dengan prinsip Islam, pelaksanaannya masih lemah dalam aspek keadilan distribusi, partisipasi publik, dan akuntabilitas. Kesenjangan antara perencanaan dan implementasi menimbulkan ketidakmerataan manfaat pembangunan di kalangan masyarakat Muslim, terutama kelompok ekonomi bawah. Penelitian ini memperkaya kajian *fiqih siyasah* kontemporer dengan memadukan analisis normatif dan temuan empiris lapangan. Studi ini menawarkan kerangka evaluasi kebijakan berbasis *maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah* untuk memperkuat tata kelola pemerintahan yang adil, partisipatif, dan berorientasi pada kemaslahatan umat dalam mewujudkan visi Indonesia Emas 2045.

Kata Kunci: Indonesia Emas; Fiqih Siyasah; Keadilan; Kebijakan Publik; Masalah.

Introduction

Indonesia is touted as a prosperous country in line with the nation's and state's ideals, namely the Golden Indonesia 2045. Indonesia 2025 has now entered a strategic period in its journey towards a golden Indonesia. The golden Indonesia being built is not only physical and economic, such as adequate public facilities and equitable and balanced development, but the social and religious order of society also needs to be upheld, including justice, morality, and the political and legal realms. To achieve this, the government is taking strategic steps, such as the RPJN 2025-2045, to strengthen and utilize human and natural resources optimally, promote economic transformation, and fulfill the government's sustainable development mission as part of its efforts to achieve a golden Indonesia.

The word "ideal" refers to something that has not yet been realized. The government has implemented and is continuing to implement a strategy to achieve it. Currently, Indonesia is not yet golden because there are challenges, which are indeed the main reason why Indonesia cannot be called a golden Indonesia. These challenges are the opposite of the goal of a golden Indonesia, which causes anxiety. The ideal of a golden Indonesia, if the challenges are not eradicated, will turn into an anxious Indonesia. These problems include moral degradation, structural corruption, political instability, and social inequality. This illustrates that the state's condition is not good, because the development of ideals is not accompanied by good values, primarily Islamic religious values. In this context, it is necessary to examine the government's policy measures from a sharia perspective, commonly known as *fiqh siyasah*.

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Fiqh siyasah plays a role in managing the state, including relations between state institutions, between state institutions and citizens, and between citizens. Classical scholars such as Al-Mawardi¹, Ibn Khaldun, Al-Farabi, Al-Khamaini, and Ibn Taymiyyah have their own perspectives on state life. The core of these scholars' perspectives is maintaining the public interest (al-mashlahah), justice (al-'adl), and preventing harm (al-mafsadah). The Quran states:

لَقَدْ كَانَ لِسَبَإٍ فِي مَسْكَنِهِمْ آيَةٌ جَنَّتَانِ عَنْ يَمِينٍ وَشِمَالٍ كُلُوا مِنْ رِزْقِ رَبِّكُمْ وَاشْكُرُوا لَهُ

"Indeed, for the people of Saba, there is a sign in their residence, namely two gardens on the right and on the left. Eat from your Lord's provision and give thanks to Him; the good land and Allah the Most Forgiving." Wahbah az-Zuhaili in the book *Tafsir Munir* by Sheikh Nawawi al-Bantani, explains that what is meant by "*baladun thayyibatun*" is a country that is overflowing with bounty, sustenance, prosperity, and prosperity².

وَجَعَلْنَا بَيْنَهُمْ وَتَيْنِ الْفُرَى الَّتِي بَارَكْنَا فِيهَا فُؤَى ظَاهِرَةً وَقَدَرْنَا فِيهَا السَّيْرَ سِيرُوا فِيهَا لَيَالٍ وَأَيَّامًا آمِنِينَ

"And We have made between them and among the countries on which We bestowed blessings several visible lands and We appointed them a journey (near). Walk in them safely by night and by day." In this verse, he explains that the country has adequate infrastructure, allowing people to travel comfortably, safely, and easily. This shows that the progress produced by the country cannot be separated from good governance. Achieving good governance requires the existence of policies based on the principles of fairness, benefit, and preventing mafsadah.

Regina Ade Darman,³ in her research, stated that realizing Indonesia's golden generation in 2045 is highly dependent on the implementation of quality education. In this case, teachers play a key role as the leading actors in education, whose success must be supported by appropriate government policies and a curriculum that integrates academic aspects and character building in a balanced manner. There is also Lafran Pane⁴, whose research has a significant role in formulating the ideological basis for the realization of Golden Indonesia 2045. His ideas, which combine Islamic values, intellectualism, and national spirit, are highly relevant as a reference for shaping the direction of education, state policy, and the development of the younger generation to become a religious, character-strong, and competitive society. From the perspective of *fiqh siyasah*, Lafran Pane's views show a balanced blend of Islamic moral principles and political practices in the contemporary state system.

¹ Abu Hasan Ali Al-Mawardi, "Al-Ahkam al-Sulthaniyah Wa-Wilayat al-Diniyah," *Beirut: Dar al-Fikr*, 1996.

² Mumtaza Nur Annisa, "Reflection on Surah Saba Verse 15: The Concept of an Ideal State System," *Quranic Interpretation | Indonesian Interpretation References* (blog), March 17, 2024, <https://tafsiralquran.id/refleksi-surah-saba-ayat-15-konsep-tata-negara-ideal/>.

³ Regina Ade Darman, "Preparing Indonesia's Golden Generation in 2045 Through Quality Education," *Edik Informatika*, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.22202/ei.2017.v3i2.1320>.

⁴ Muhammad Alfin Aulia, Sugeng Wanto, and Siti Ismahani, "Integration of Lafran Pane's Thoughts in Welcoming Golden Indonesia," *Journal of Socio-Human Sciences*, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.22437/jssh.v6i2.22900>.

Anggono and Damaitu⁵ argue that to achieve a Golden Indonesia, national development should not focus solely on economic and technological aspects, but must also be accompanied by strengthening national identity and character. Pancasila, as the nation's ideological foundation, needs to be consistently instilled through the education system, public policy formulation, and through concrete examples from leaders. In this way, the nation's noble values can be continuously preserved and serve as a foundation for development oriented towards civilization, justice, and human dignity. To achieve the vision of a Golden Indonesia 2045, strong collaboration is needed among efforts to improve the quality of education, strengthen the values of Pancasila, and appreciate the ideas of national figures such as Lafran Pane. All three highlight the urgency of character formation, spiritual development, strengthening the national spirit, and upholding the principle of justice in the development process. By making the role of teachers, ideological foundations, and Islamic ethical values the mainstay, Indonesia has great potential to produce a generation that is resilient, faithful, and competitive on a global level.

Thus, the purpose of this writing is to analyze the policy direction taken by the government towards a golden Indonesia from the perspective of *siyasaḥ fiqh*. Is it in accordance with the principles of *siyasa* or not? This analysis is important because achieving a golden Indonesia is carried out through national development, not only in material terms, but also by adhering to religious values. Indonesia achieved the state of *baladatun thayyibaatun wa rabbun ghafur*⁶.

Method

The method used in this study is qualitative-descriptive, based on library research, as it analyzes government policies aimed at building a golden Indonesia from the perspective of *Islamic jurisprudence*⁷. The types and sources of primary data used are from various literature sources, including journals, academic books, and research institution results. Data are analyzed using *content analysis techniques*⁸, namely studies conducted on government policy documents and texts, as well as *Islamic jurisprudence*. From an *Islamic jurisprudence perspective*, a normative-theological approach is carried out⁹, namely, studies conducted on primary sources such as the Quran, hadith, and the thoughts of scholars expressed through extraordinary works.

Results and Discussion

⁵ Bayu Dwi Anggono and Emanuel Raja Damaitu, "Strengthening Pancasila Values in National Development Towards a Golden Indonesia," *Pancasila: Jurnal Keindonesiaan*, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.52738/pjk.v1i1.22>.

⁶ Sabdo Sabdo, "The Concept of 'Baladatun Thayyibatun Wa Robbun Ghofur' as the Final Goal of the Islamic Social Transformation Process," *Ath Thariq Journal of Da'wah and Communication*, 2018, https://doi.org/10.32332/ath_thariq.v2i1.1083.

⁷ Rukin, *Qualitative Research Methodology*, Rake Sarasin, 2022.

⁸ Satu Elo and Helvi Kyngäs, "The Qualitative Content Analysis Process," *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 2008, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2648.2007.04569.x>.

⁹ Aulia Diana Devi and Seka Andrean, "Implementation of a Normative Theological Approach to Religious Pluralism in Indonesia," *TALIM: Journal of Islamic Education Studies*, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.52166/talim.v4i1.2193>.

The Concept of Golden Indonesia 2045 is in the National Policy

Golden Indonesia 2045 is a strategic, long-term vision in national policy, formulated in preparation for the centenary of Indonesian independence. This idea was formulated by President Joko Widodo together with Bappenas and officially announced on May 9, 2019.¹⁰ This vision aims to make Indonesia a sovereign, advanced, just, and prosperous country by 2045. To achieve this, there are four main pillars of development: improving the quality of human resources and mastery of science and technology, promoting sustainable economic growth, ensuring an equitable distribution of development results across all regions, strengthening national resilience, and enhancing governance¹¹.

Through the 2025–2045 National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN), the government has set several concrete targets, including increasing per capita income to match that of developed countries, reducing poverty, lowering greenhouse gas emissions, and enhancing the quality of education and healthcare. To achieve these goals, various strategies are being implemented, including enhancing the quality of human resources, promoting downstream-based industrialization, implementing green economy principles, promoting equitable infrastructure development, implementing bureaucratic reform, and strengthening Indonesia's position on the international stage. However, success in achieving Indonesia Emas 2045 requires policy continuity across governments, optimizing the demographic bonus, and being prepared to face global challenges such as the climate crisis and global geopolitical dynamics.¹²

The main objective of the 2025–2045 National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN) is to transform Indonesia into a developed nation with high competitiveness and equitable social justice. To achieve this, several strategic targets have been established, including increasing per capita income to approximately US\$30,300, a measure of prosperity comparable to that of developed countries. The government also aims to reduce poverty to near zero percent and reduce social inequality, as measured by the ideal Gini ratio. In terms of human development, Indonesia aims to increase its Human Capital Index (HCI) to 0.73, thereby demonstrating competent and superior human resources. In the environmental aspect, the government's commitment is demonstrated through a target of reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 93.5% as part of efforts to achieve net-zero emissions. Globally, Indonesia aims to be among the 15 countries with the highest international competitiveness and influence. All of these targets are integrated so that Indonesia is not only economically advanced but also socially strong, inclusive, and sustainable.¹³

To realize the vision of Golden Indonesia 2045 as an advanced, sovereign, just, and prosperous nation, the government has developed various comprehensive and integrated national strategies and policies. One of the main focuses is developing the quality of human resources through improving education, healthcare, and mastery of technology and science. Priority efforts include improving the results of the International Education Assessment (PISA), expanding access to secondary education, and

¹⁰ “Indonesia.go.id - Realizing a Golden Indonesia in 2045,” accessed June 12, 2025, <https://indonesia.go.id/kategori/editorial/7269/mewujudkan-indonesia-emas-di-2045?lang=1>.

¹¹ {Formatting Citation}

¹² Marwajah and Nuswardani, “Outlines of State Policy as a Determinant of the Direction and Strategy of Indonesia's Development Plan.”

¹³ Marwajah and Nuswardani.

strengthening the National Health Insurance (JKN) program, all of which serve as the foundation for creating competent human resources.¹⁴

In the economic sector, the government is directing policies toward industrial downstreaming and developing an environmentally based economy, encompassing both green and blue sectors. This is being achieved by maximizing the processing of strategic commodities, such as nickel, palm oil, and seaweed, to provide added value and create more job opportunities.¹⁵ Infrastructure development and improved connectivity are also crucial, particularly to reduce inter-regional disparities through national strategic projects and optimizing the use of village funds.¹⁶

Furthermore, governance and regulatory reforms are ongoing to create a healthy and competitive business climate. These measures include streamlining licensing procedures, consistent law enforcement, and increased transparency within the bureaucracy.¹⁷ Internationally, Indonesia is also actively strengthening economic cooperation and increasing its role in various global forums, such as the G20¹⁸ and the OECD¹⁹, to expand partnership networks and encourage inclusive economic growth. All of these strategies are designed to be complementary and sustainable across government periods, leading to the achievement of the target by 2045.

To achieve the vision of Golden Indonesia 2045, the country faces various strategic challenges that need to be addressed sustainably. One of the most crucial challenges is how to manage the demographic bonus estimated to occur between 2030 and 2040. This bonus will only provide significant benefits if Indonesia continues to focus on developing the quality of its human resources, especially by improving the quality of education, mastering skills, and strengthening innovation.²⁰ In addition, policy sustainability is a key factor, especially in the industrial downstreaming program, which must be implemented consistently even if there is a change in national leadership.²¹ Other significant challenges include enhancing national productivity, mitigating the

¹⁴ Aulia, Wanto, and Ismahani, "Integration of Lafran Pane's Thoughts in Welcoming Golden Indonesia."

¹⁵ Frendy Ahmad Afandi and Feryanto Feryanto, "Leading Agricultural Commodities for Food Downstreaming," *Policy Brief on Tropical Agriculture, Marine Affairs, and Biosciences*, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.29244/agro-maritim.050305>.

¹⁶ Seng Hansen, "Investigation of Infrastructure Development Planning," *Reksabumi*, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.33830/reksabumi.v1i2.2042.2022>.

¹⁷ Andika Yasa et al., "Strengthening Bureaucratic Reform Towards the Era of Society 5.0 in Indonesia," *Nakhoda: Journal of Government Science*, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.35967/njip.v20i1.139>.

¹⁸ Wiwiek Rukmi Dwi Astuti and Laode Muhamad Fathun, "Indonesia's Economic Diplomacy Within the G20 Economic Regime During the Joko Widodo Administration," *Intermestic: Journal of International Studies*, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.24198/intermestic.v5n1.4>.

¹⁹ Surono Surono and Vita Apriliasari, "The Influence of OECD Pillar 1 (Unified Approach) on Digital Taxation in Indonesia," *JURNAL PAJAK INDONESIA (Indonesian Tax Review)*, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.31092/jpi.v6i2s.1868>.

²⁰ Achmad Nur Sutikno, "Demographic Bonus in Indonesia," *VISIONER: Journal of Regional Government in Indonesia* 12, no. 2 (October 19, 2020): 421–39, <https://doi.org/10.54783/jv.v12i2.285>.

²¹ Askar Jaya, "SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT CONCEPT," *Individual Assignment Introduction to Science Philosophy Odd Semester 2004*, 2004.

effects of climate change, and adapting to global geopolitical shifts that can impact economic stability and growth.²² Thus, it is essential for Indonesia to ensure continuity in its long-term development policies to maintain consistency in the direction and pace of development, thereby realizing the grand ideals of Golden Indonesia 2045.

Principles of *Islamic jurisprudence* in the context of public policy

1. *Maslahah*

In Islamic jurisprudence, the principle of *maslahah* (*benefit*) requires that public policy prioritize the benefit of the broader community. Leadership in Islam aims to protect and serve the people, rather than simply wielding power.²³ Examples of this are seen in education and healthcare subsidies for the underprivileged, reflecting the state's efforts to ensure social justice and the sustainable fulfillment of fundamental rights. The Quranic argument states:

وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ إِلَّا رَحْمَةً لِّلْعَالَمِينَ

"I did not send you but for mercy for all the worlds" (QS. Al-Anbiya: 107)

According to Imam Al-Qurtubi, the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ was sent as a mercy to all creatures, not just Muslims. This emphasizes that every policy in an Islamic government must bring benefits and avoid harm.²⁴ Imam Asy-Syathibi in *Al-Muwafaqat* emphasized that the primary aim of the sharia (maqasid sharia) is to protect five fundamental aspects: religion, life, reason, lineage, and property. Therefore, public policies that are in line with the protection of these five aspects are considered valid and in accordance with the principles of siyasah fiqh.²⁵

2. *Al-'adalah*

Justice is a fundamental principle in *Islamic jurisprudence* because it serves as the foundation for a system of government that upholds the rights and obligations of all citizens.²⁶ Justice prevents the domination of one party over another and ensures the equitable distribution of social justice. Allah SWT affirms:

إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَأْمُرُ بِالْعَدْلِ وَالْإِحْسَانِ

"Indeed, Allah commands (you) to act justly and do good..." (QS. An-Nahl: 90)

According to Imam Al-Mawardi, justice is a fundamental principle that rulers must not neglect when fulfilling their state duties.²⁷ In the context of public policy, this principle is reflected in equal service, legal equality, and impartial policymaking.

²² Laode Amdan and Muhammad Rafi'i Sanjani, "Analysis of Factors Influencing Economic Growth in Indonesia," *EKOMA: Journal of Economics, Management, Accounting*, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.56799/ekoma.v3i1.2089>.

²³ Muhammad Saleh, Andiny Utari, and Abdul Wahab, "Analysis of the Use of Sharia Fintech from the Perspective of Mashlahah Mursalah," *Al-Buhuts*, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.30603/ab.v16i1.1766>.

²⁴ "Surah Tafsir Al-Anbiya' - 107," Quran.com, accessed June 12, 2025, <https://quran.com/id/21:107/tafsirs/ar-tafseer-al-qurtubi>.

²⁵ "Surah Al-Anbiya' Verse 107: Arabic, Latin, Complete Translation and Tafsir | Quran NU Online," accessed June 12, 2025, <https://quran.nu.or.id/al-anbiya/107>.

²⁶ Abil Ash, "ADALAH AL-RAWI SUNNI AND SHI'A PERSPECTIVE," *AL ISNAD: Journal of Indonesian Hadith Studies*, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.51875/alisnad.v3i2.127>.

²⁷ Get link et al., "Tafsir Surat An-Nahl, Ayat 90," June 18, 2015, <http://www.ibnukatsironline.com/2015/06/tafsir-surat-nahl-ayat-90.html>.

Therefore, it can be concluded that implementing justice in state policy is a Sharia requirement for achieving a harmonious social order.

3. *Shura*

Deliberation is an Islamic method that encourages public participation in the decision-making process. This practice is not merely a formality, but a key instrument in ensuring that public aspirations are reasonably accommodated.²⁸ Allah SWT says:

وَشَاوِرْهُمْ فِي الْأَمْرِ

"...and consult with them in that matter..." (QS. Ali Imran: 159)

Ibn Kathir's commentary states that the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) himself was commanded to consult even though he received revelation, exemplifying that consultative practice is a principle that must be implemented in government.²⁹ At the public policy level, this is evident through public forums, representative meetings, or consultation mechanisms. Therefore, consultative practice in Islamic politics is a pillar of democratizing sharia-based policy.

4. *Ta'awun*

The value of mutual assistance (ta'awun) emphasizes the importance of cooperation between the government and society in achieving collective well-being. Islam encourages social synergy as a strong foundation for nation-building.³⁰ Allah SWT says:

وَتَعَاوَنُوا عَلَى الْبِرِّ وَالتَّقْوَىٰ

"And help you in (doing) virtue and piety..." (QS. (Al-Ma'idah: 2)

Al-Qurtubi interpreted this verse as a call to mutual assistance in both worldly and hereafter affairs, encompassing good deeds.³¹ In public policy practice, *ta'awun* is reflected in community empowerment programs, NGO involvement, and cross-sector collaboration in public services. In conclusion, the value of cooperation strengthens policy effectiveness and increases trust between the state and its citizens.

5. *Trust*

Trust is an attitude of integrity that those in power must possess in order to carry out their functions effectively. When trust is maintained, the resulting policies will reflect justice and honesty.³² Allah says: "Indeed, Allah commands you to convey the message to those who are entitled to receive it..." (QS. An-Nisa: 58)

²⁸ Adyatama Fajar Sumini, "The Meaning of Shura' in the Qur'an and Its Relevance to the Principles of Democracy," *Al-I'jaz: Journal of Al-Qur'an, Philosophy and Islamic Studies*, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.53563/ai.v5i1.93>.

²⁹ "Tafsir Surat Ali Imran, Ayat 159-164," accessed June 12, 2025, <http://www.ibnukatsironline.com/2015/04/tafsir-surat-ali-imran-ayat-159-164.html>.

³⁰ Teguh Saputra, "The Concept of Ta'awun in the Qur'an as a Strengtheners of Monotheism and Social Solidarity," *Al-Mutharahah: Journal of Religious Social Research and Studies*, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.46781/al-mutharahah.v19i2.517>.

³¹ "Surat Al-Ma'idah Verse 2: Arabic, Latin, Complete Translation and Tafsir | Quran NU Online," accessed June 12, 2025, <https://quran.nu.or.id/al-ma%27idah/2>.

³² "The Concept of Trust in the Perspective of Islamic Education," *QALAMUNA: Journal of Education, Social, and Religion*, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.37680/qalamuna.v12i2.389>.

Imam Al-Ghazali emphasized that a breach of trust by a leader will damage the social fabric and weaken the legitimacy of government.³³ In public policy, trust is reflected in honest budget management, transparency of public information, and accountability in every policy.³⁴ Therefore, trust serves as the moral and Sharia foundation for every government decision.

6. *Istislah*

Istislah is a method of policymaking based on considerations of public benefit, even if not explicitly stated in the text, as long as it does not conflict with Sharia principles³⁵. Allah SWT states:

يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ بِكُمْ الْيُسْرَ وَلَا يُرِيدُ الْعُسْرَ

"Allah desires ease for you and does not desire hardship for you..." (QS. Al-Baqarah: 185)

According to Imam Ash-Syatibi, sharia, as a whole, aims to create benefits and eliminate harm. Therefore, innovative and contextual public policies are permitted as long as they align with the maqasid al-shari'ah, such as protecting life, property, and intellect.³⁶ Therefore, the principle of istislah provides the state with Sharia flexibility to respond to the challenges of the times.

7. *Tasharruf al-Imam 'ala al-Ra'yyah Manuthun bi al-Maslahah*

This principle emphasizes that every action of the ruler towards the people must be oriented towards the public good. Power in Islam is not a tool of oppression, but rather a means to govern the people justly and effectively.³⁷ Allah says:

وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ إِلَّا رَحْمَةً لِّلْعَالَمِينَ ...

"...and We did not send you (Mubammad) but to be a mercy to all the worlds." (QS. Al-Anbiya': 107)

Al-Mawardi stated that a ruler's policy that deviates from the public interest is a violation of the mandate. In its implementation, this requires that policies be not only procedurally legal, but also morally and beneficially legitimate.³⁸ Therefore, this principle ensures that power is not used arbitrarily, but solely for the benefit of the people.

Critical analysis: government policy (today's government policy)

³³ Yoga Prasetia and Muhamad Hasan Sebyar, 'Legal Aspects of the Rights of Children from Siri Marriages', *JHK: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga*, 01.01 (2024), 9–17.

³⁴ Get link et al., "Tafsir Surat An-Nisa, Ayat 58," May 2, 2015, <http://www.ibnukatsironline.com/2015/05/tafsir-surat-nisa-ayat-58.html>.

³⁵ Ümmügülsüm DAKKAK, "الإستصلاح الحنفى ومعالمه المقاصدية," *Kafkas Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.17050/kafkasilahiyat.1263294>.

³⁶ "Tafsir Surat Al-Baqarah, Verse 185," accessed June 12, 2025, <http://www.ibnukatsironline.com/2015/04/tafsir-surat-al-baqarah-ayat-185.html>.

³⁷ Hendri Hermawan Adinugraha and Mashudi Mashudi, "Al-Maslahah Al-Mursalah in Determining Islamic Law," *Scientific Journal of Islamic Economics*, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.29040/jiei.v4i1.140>.

³⁸ "Surah Al-Anbiya' Verse 107."

1. VAT Flight ticket

The government's policy of reducing Value Added Tax (VAT) rates on domestic airfare is worthy of criticism from the perspective of equitable distribution of benefits. In principle, this policy aims to encourage growth in the tourism sector and increase mobility during school holidays. However, low-income groups tend not to use air transportation regularly and thus do not benefit from this policy. This is reinforced by data that the majority of air transportation users are from the middle to upper classes.³⁹ Therefore, the effectiveness of this policy is limited and potentially unfair if it is not accompanied by alternative incentives for more affordable public transportation.

2. SMEs and Mining

Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) and the mining sector are two key elements in supporting the policy direction of Indonesia Emas 2045. MSMEs have a significant contribution in strengthening the grassroots economy due to their ability to absorb labor and distribute income more equitably. The government has designed various initiatives, such as MSME digitalization programs, to provide wider access to financing and offer fiscal incentives, thereby increasing the competitiveness of this sector in the face of global challenges. On the other hand, the mining sector serves as a primary foundation for national economic development through downstreaming policies. The implementation of a ban on raw material exports and the construction of domestic mineral processing facilities demonstrate the government's commitment to optimizing added value. Both MSMEs and mining not only strengthen economic growth but are also positioned as important pillars in the inclusive, competitive, and sustainable development strategy towards Indonesia Emas 2045.⁴⁰

3. Budget Cuts and Presidential Instruction 1/2025⁴¹

The Presidential Instruction regarding state budget savings reaching hundreds of trillions of rupiah could be a strategic step to fund priority social programs.⁴² However, large-scale budget allocation shifts carry the potential for abuse if not strictly monitored. For example, reallocating funds to programs like the Free Nutritious Meal Program or wage subsidies certainly aims to address nutritional and economic issues, but without accountable implementation, these goals are challenging to achieve. Furthermore, several strategic national projects have had to be postponed as a consequence. Therefore, the success of this policy depends heavily on transparency, public involvement in oversight, and regular monitoring of implementation on the ground.

³⁹ Dewa Suartama, "Government Gives 6% VAT Discount on Airplane Tickets, Here are the Terms," Ortax, March 3, 2025, <https://ortax.org/pemerintah-beri-diskon-ppn-tiket-pesawat-ini-ketentuannya>.

⁴⁰ heri Prabowo, Raimon Kopa, and Efni Cerya, "Management of Lime Industry SMEs in the Bukit Tui Limestone Mining Area, Padang Panjang City, West Sumatra," *ADPI National Seminar Serving the Nation*, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.47841/adpi.v1i1.23>.

⁴¹ "Presidential Instruction No. 1 of 2025," Regulation Database | JDIH BPK, accessed June 12, 2025, <http://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/313401/inpres-no-1-tahun-2025>.

⁴² Editorial 032, "Strategic Steps and Challenges in Implementing the Post-Efficiency Budget Based on Presidential Instruction Number 1 of 2025," April 9, 2025, <https://djp.kemenkeu.go.id/kppn/malang/id/data-publikasi/berita-terbaru/3037-langkah-strategis-dan-tantangan-pelaksanaan-anggaran-pasca-efisiensi-berdasarkan-inpres-nomor-1-tahun-2025.html>.

The government has established the Golden Indonesia 2045 vision through the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJPN), which emphasizes human resource development, economic growth, and equitable development. This aligns with Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh siyasah) values such as *maslahah* (benefit), *'adalah* (obligation), and *amanah* (trust), as it aims to create social justice and general welfare. For example, targets for increasing per capita income and education quality reflect an orientation toward public benefit.

Despite the launch of strategic policies, their implementation on the ground still faces serious challenges, such as corruption and social inequality. This demonstrates the weak implementation of the principles of justice (*'adalah*) and responsibility (*amanah*). For example, air transportation subsidies primarily benefit the upper middle class, while people experiencing poverty receive no direct benefits.

To achieve a Golden Indonesia, public participation and intersectoral collaboration are crucial. The principles of *shura* and *ta'awun* encourage public involvement in policymaking. This is evident in the involvement of public forums, mass organizations, and NGOs, although these roles still need to be strengthened to be more inclusive. Indonesia faces global challenges, including the climate crisis and geopolitical tensions. The principle of *istislah* in Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh siyasah) provides the state with the opportunity to formulate contextual and beneficial policies. Examples of this include the green economy and net-zero emissions targets, which align with safeguarding the public interest.

The demographic bonus must be managed wisely through improving education and skills. If it fails, it could become a burden on the state. This requires serious implementation of *the mandate* in human resource management. The reality is that educational outcomes, such as PISA scores, remain low, demonstrating the need for serious improvement.

Conclusion

Many policies that claim to favor the people actually benefit the upper middle class. The principle of justice (al-'adalah) in Islamic jurisprudence requires the equal distribution of policy benefits to all groups. If only a small segment of society benefits, the policy becomes ethically invalid from a Sharia perspective. For example, the VAT incentive for domestic airline tickets is felt more by the middle class than by people with low incomes, who actually need subsidized public transportation. The massive cuts to the state budget, as outlined in Presidential Instruction 1/2025, have the potential to lead to irregularities. The principle of trust requires that public funds be managed honestly and transparently. The diversion of funds for the Free Nutritious Meals program and wage subsidies has not been accompanied by a robust oversight system, raising questions about its effectiveness, especially given the postponement of strategic national projects. The government's decision-making process still involves minimal public participation. According to the principle of *shura*, *public participation is a mandatory element in any legitimate policy process, as mandated by Islamic law*. Many national policies, such as industrial downstreaming or strategic law revisions, are implemented without open consultation with civil society. Indonesia has not yet fully prepared its educational and skills infrastructure to meet the demographic dividend. The principle of *maslahah* requires the state to maximize human potential for the general welfare. The low PISA scores and

unequal access to quality education across regions demonstrate the state's suboptimal role in developing superior human resources. Bureaucratic reform has been slow and has yet to address the root causes, such as the culture of corruption. The principle of *tasharruf al-imam manuthun bil-maslahah* requires that every leader's policy be oriented toward the public good, not merely power. Numerous corruption cases involving high-ranking officials demonstrate that the values of *amanah* (trustworthiness) and *istislah* (trustworthiness) have not yet become a core culture within the bureaucracy.

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Authors Contribution

The authors contributed collaboratively to this study. Akmal Adzharuz Dzaki and Amir were primarily responsible for the conceptualization and overall design of the research. Sandi Prayoga assisted in developing the methodological framework and collecting field data, while Aadil Ahmad Shairgojri supported the investigation process and provided critical insights during data interpretation. The initial draft of the manuscript was prepared by Akmal Adzharuz Dzaki, with substantive revisions and editorial input from Aadil Ahmad Shairgojri and Amir. All authors reviewed and approved the final version of the manuscript before submission.

Conflict of Interest

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest in the writing and publication of this article. All stages of the research process—from data collection, analysis, and interpretation to manuscript preparation—were carried out independently and objectively. No financial, institutional, or personal relationships influenced the research outcomes or the conclusions presented. The authors also affirm that this study was conducted based on academic integrity, ethical research principles, and full responsibility for the accuracy and originality of the content. Furthermore, the publication of this article was not supported or directed by any external organization, ensuring that the findings and interpretations solely reflect the authors' scholarly perspectives.

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