

The Civil Servant Lecturer Movement: From Media to Action in the Islamic Perspective of Liberation

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the movement of Indonesian Civil Servant Lecturers (ASN) in demanding performance allowances (*tukin*) through the lens of Ali Shariati's thought. The movement arises from bureaucratic injustice, where the complex academic workload—teaching, research, and community service—is not fairly reflected in the allowance scheme. Employing a qualitative approach with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the study analyzes government regulations, public statements, online petitions, social media content, and news reports. Findings reveal that ASN lecturers have shifted from passive bureaucrats into *raushanfikir* (enlightened intellectuals) who critically challenge structural inequality. Their struggle is rooted in Islamic values such as justice (*'adl*), trust (*amānah*), and labor rights, framed as an ideology of liberation. Shariati's concepts of *qiyām* (awakening), *syahādah* (witnessing), and *mustad'afīn* (the oppressed) illuminate the movement's dynamics, while the vision of a tawhidic society reflects aspirations for equality and justice. The study underscores Islam's role as a moral source for contemporary social movements and offers practical recommendations for restructuring performance allowances based on substantive justice.

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A. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, Indonesia has seen a new phenomenon: Civil Service (ASN) lecturers organizing to fight for their right to performance allowances (*tunjangan kinerja* or *tukin*).¹ Internationally, universities have adopted different approaches to linking remuneration with academic performance. For example, Russian universities have implemented performance-based incentive contracts², while Chinese universities emphasize a balance between financial and non-financial incentives to accommodate the multidimensional nature of academic work. Despite these different approaches, designing a fair remuneration system for academics remains a common challenge.³ In Indonesia, performance allowance policies (*tunjangan kinerja* or *tukin*), originally intended to improve work performance, have instead triggered deep structural issues. The *tukin* issue has become critical for state civil apparatus (ASN)

¹ Hanin Marwah, "Ratusan Dosen ASN Gelar Demo Di Depan Istana, Tuntut Pemerintah Segera Bayar Tukin," *Tempo.co*, 2025, [Google](#); Ester Lince Napitupulu, "Dosen ASN Tuntut Keadilan Pembayaran Tunjangan Kinerja," *Kompas.id*, 2024, [Google](#).

² Ilya Prakhov and Victor Rudakov, "The Determinants of Faculty Pay in Russian Universities: Incentive Contracts," *European Journal of Higher Education* 11, no. 4 (October 2, 2021): 408–31, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21568235.2020.1870243>.

³ Zhang Ce et al., "Employee Motivation and Job Performance of Non-Academic Staff in Chinese Universities," *Societies* 15, no. 8 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.3390/soc15080227>.

lecturers because the existing *tukin* scheme does not fairly reflect their complex academic workload—teaching, research, and community service.⁴ This context has given rise to a collective movement among ASN lecturers across Indonesia, demanding that the government implement *tukin* payments transparently and proportionally.⁵ This escalation marks a significant shift from mere personal administrative grievances into an organized social movement, wherein lecturers are no longer positioned merely as rule-abiding employees, but as subjects entitled to demand professional recognition for their labor dignity and to advocate for structural justice.⁶

This movement initially emerged on social media. Lecturers utilized platforms such as the Twitter account *@tukin_dosenASN*, the Facebook group “Tukin Dosen ASN Kemdikbudristek,” the Instagram account “tukindosenasnkemdiktisaintek,” the TikTok account “Personnel of ASN Lecturers Tukin Fighters,” and the WhatsApp group “Personnel of ASN Lecturers Tukin Fighters” to discuss disparities in *tukin* distribution and to voice their grievances. Digital discontent subsequently consolidated into a formal organizational umbrella through the establishment of ADAKSI (Asosiasi Dosen ASN Kemdiktisaintek Seluruh Indonesia), which systematically transformed informal complaints into structured collective actions—ranging from administrative objections and online petitions to public hearings and demonstrations. This trajectory illustrates a significant transformation from individual to collective consciousness.⁷ Furthermore, this phenomenon signifies the involvement of the intellectual middle class in public resistance practices⁸, which was previously considered taboo for civil servant lecturers due to their bureaucratic loyalty.

Existing studies on social movements in Muslim societies have largely focused on religious-based mobilization: Action Defending Islam 2016-2017 (also known as the “212 movement”), the #2019ChangePresident Movement, and the Movement to reject the 2020 Job⁹ and resistance to authoritarianism; as a civil institution, Muhammadiyah played its role as a civil society organization (CSO) and kept the political regime from becoming an authoritarian, repressive state.¹⁰ The civil servant lecturer movement, however, is distinct: it emerged in response to bureaucratic injustice, is championed by intellectuals, and its narrative remains deeply connected to Islamic values.¹¹ This gap in the literature provides an opportunity to examine the intersection of Islam and social movements, specifically how Muslim actors in academic communities employ religious values as a basis for legitimizing socio-economic struggles.

⁴ Sahar Heydari Fard, “The Transformative Power of Social Movements,” *Philosophy Compass*, no. September 2023 (2024): 1–11, <https://doi.org/10.1111/phc3.12951>.

⁵ Dinda Shabrina, “Dosen ASN Kemdiktisaintek Seluruh Indonesia Desak Pemerintah Realisasikan Pembayaran Tukin,” *Tempo.co*, 2025, [Google](#)

⁶ Fard, “The Transformative Power of Social Movements.” <https://doi.org/10.1111/phc3.12951>.

⁷ Silviana Tana et al., “Digital Transformation as Collective Social Action,” *Journal of the Association for Information Systems* 24, no. 6 (2023): 1618–44, <https://doi.org/10.17705/1jais.00791>.

⁸ Dodi Fadluloh, “Peran Akademisi Dalam Membangun Kembali Ruang Publik” (Lampung: <http://repository.lppm.unila.ac.id/>, 2019), [Google](#)

⁹ Dadang Kuswana, Deden Sumpena, and Yoshy Hendra Hardiyan Syah, “Indonesian Religious Social Movements: Analysis and Impacts,” *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 14, no. 2 (2024): 351–80, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v14i2>.

¹⁰ Bukhori Abdul Shomad, Anwar Mujahidin, and Ahmad Choirul Rofiq, “Implications of Hamka’s Thoughts in Tafsir Al-Azhar on the Standpoint of Islamic Social Organization in Preventing Authoritarianism in Indonesia,” *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 14, no. 1 (2024): 91–116, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v14i1.93-116>.

¹¹ Yudi Latif, *Intelegensia, Muslim Dan Kuasa*, digital (Jakarta: Democracy Project, 2012). [Google](#)

In Islamic thought, issues of justice (*'adl*) and workers' rights are considered fundamental.¹² The hadith of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) states: "Give the worker his wages before his sweat dries."¹³ This principle underscores that fulfilling workers' rights is integral to Islamic social ethics. The civil servant lecturer movement frequently invokes these values in articulating its demands, emphasizing that the state has a mandate to treat educators fairly. Thus, the movement should not be understood solely in economic terms, but also as one that embodies a normative dimension grounded in Islamic ethics.

To understand this phenomenon, Ali Shariati's (1933–1977) ideas are particularly relevant. Shariati, an Iranian revolutionary intellectual, did not regard Islam as a private religion or a set of mere rituals, but rather as an ideology of liberation.¹⁴ Key concepts such as *raushanfikir* (organic intellectuals who awaken consciousness),¹⁵ *mustad'afin* (the oppressed), *qiyam* (awakening),¹⁶ and *tauhid society* (egalitarian order)¹⁷ serve as powerful analytical tools. Within this framework, the struggle of civil servant lecturers can be interpreted as a form of social *jihad*, rather than simply an economic protest.

Recent scholarship has increasingly examined the relationship between remuneration, performance, and governance in higher education. Studies in the United Kingdom,¹⁸ Russia¹⁹, and the United States²⁰ demonstrate that remuneration is closely linked to governance priorities, institutional performance, and resource allocation. Similarly, recent reviews by Pillai et al.²¹ and Matveeva²² confirm that performance-based funding and higher education governance have become central themes in contemporary higher education research. However, these studies primarily conceptualize remuneration as a managerial and governance instrument for improving institutional effectiveness, with limited attention to its implications for academic justice, professional recognition, or collective resistance. This article extends the existing literature by shifting the focus from the effectiveness of performance-based remuneration to the collective struggle of Indonesian Civil Service (ASN) lecturers for equitable *tunjangan kinerja* (tukin).

Meanwhile, recent scholarship shows that Ali Shariati's thought continues to attract considerable academic attention, although its analytical focus has shifted in different

¹² Rahmat Budiman and Mirza Satria Buana, "Uum Journal Indonesia's Minimum Wage Policy after the Omnibus Law: A Comparative Analysis from Islamic Principles," *Uum Journal of Legal Studies* 2, no. 2 (2022): 187–214. [Google](#)

¹³ Muhammad Nashiruddin Al Albani, *Shahih Sunan Ibnu Majah*, ed. Besus Hidayat Amin, *Terjemah Jilid 2 Kitab At-Tijarah*, Ahmad Taufiq Abdunahman; (Jakarta: Pustaka Azzam, 2007), 420, [Google](#)

¹⁴ Ali Shariati, *On the Sociology of Islam*.Pdf (Berkeley: Mizan Press, 1979). [Google](#)

¹⁵ Shariati. [Google](#)

¹⁶ Ali Shariati, *Martyrdom : Arise and Bear Witness By* (Teheran: The Ministry of Islamic Guidance, n.d.). [Google](#)

¹⁷ Hamid Dabashi, "Man and Islam," *Iranian Studies* 20, no. 1 (1987): 102–3, <https://doi.org/DOI:10.1017/0021086200003467>.

¹⁸ Mohamed H. Elmagrhi and Collins G. Ntim, "Vice-Chancellor Pay and Performance: The Moderating Effect of Vice-Chancellor Characteristics," *Work, Employment and Society* 38, no. 1 (2024): 180–205, <https://doi.org/10.1177/09500170221111366>.

¹⁹ Daria Gerashchenko, "Understanding the Salary Gap between Academic Faculty and Top Administrators: A New Public Management Perspective," *Oxford Review of Education* 51, no. 4 (July 4, 2025): 595–613, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03054985.2024.2357122>.

²⁰ Sohvi Heaton, David Teece, and Eugene Agronin, "Dynamic Capabilities and Governance: An Empirical Investigation of Financial Performance of the Higher Education Sector," *Strategic Management Journal* 44, no. 2 (2023): 520–48, <https://doi.org/10.1002/smj.3444>.

²¹ Rajasekharan Pillai K et al., "Research in Higher Education Governance: Past Performance and an Agenda for the Future," *Educational Review* 75, no. 6 (September 19, 2023): 1255–78, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2021.1984214>.

²² Angelica Matveeva, "Performance-Based Funding in Higher Education: A Meta-Narrative Review and Renewed Research Agenda Proposal," *Tertiary Education and Management* 31, no. 1 (2025): 21–44, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11233-025-09151-y>.

directions. Several studies remain closely associated with the Iranian context. Moqadam²³ examines Shariati's construction of a collective revolutionary Islamic identity for Iranian women during the 1970s, while Zahiri²⁴ analyzes his role in shaping the ideological opposition to the Pahlavi regime. Similarly, Tavassoli and Teo²⁵ discuss Shariati's contribution to Iranian Islamic feminist discourse, reinforcing the tendency to interpret his ideas through the lens of the Iranian Revolution. More recent studies, however, have expanded the geographical and theoretical scope of Shariati's thought. Suprayetno and Eriza²⁶ reposition Shariati within the broader framework of Islamic liberation theology, Saffari²⁷ compares his concept of tawhid with Amina Wadud's emancipatory theology, and Noruzi and Greener²⁸ place Shariati in dialogue with Henri Lefebvre to examine capitalism, alienation, and everyday life. These studies demonstrate a growing scholarly shift from historical interpretations toward broader theoretical and comparative applications of Shariati's ideas.

Despite these developments, applying Shariati's thought to higher education governance remains largely unexplored. Existing studies on civil servant lecturers primarily focus on remuneration, governance, and organizational performance, whereas contemporary Shariati scholarship emphasizes political theory and liberation theology. This article bridges these two strands of scholarship by interpreting the struggle of Indonesian Civil Service (ASN) lecturers for *tukin* through Shariati's concept of Islam as an ideology of liberation. In doing so, it extends Shariati's critical thought to the contemporary politics of higher education governance and academic labor in democratic Indonesia. This article fills this gap by offering a critical reading of the civil servant lecturer movement through the lens of Islam as an ideology of liberation.

Building upon this background, while prior studies on social movements in Indonesia have predominantly focused on identity-driven, mass-religious, or political populist mobilizations, there remains a critical lacuna in understanding how the professional intellectual middle class—specifically state civil servant (ASN) lecturers—articulates socio-economic resistance through structural welfare demands and ethical frameworks. Investigating this phenomenon is crucial not only because it redefines the boundaries of bureaucratic compliance and public advocacy in contemporary Indonesia, but also because it reveals how professional communities creatively harness religious idioms to legitimize their struggle for structural justice. Consequently, this article pursues three main objectives: first, to map the dual digital and physical dynamics of ASN lecturers' struggles through ADAKSI in demanding their monthly performance allowances (*tukin*); second, to examine this collective action through Ali Shariati's critical sociological framework, particularly utilizing the concepts of *raushanfikir* (intellectual enlightenment), *mustad'afin* (the oppressed/marginalized), *qiyam* (standing up/resistance), and *tauhid society*; and third, to demonstrate how Islamic ethical traditions function as a source of liberatory praxis in contemporary socio-economic

²³ Mahbubeh Moqadam, "Ali Shariati and Crafting a Collective Revolutionary Islamic Identity for Women: A Socio-Historical Perspective," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 60, no. 3 (May 1, 2025): 1943–57, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00219096231207891>.

²⁴ Abdollah Zahiri, "Frantz Fanon in Iran: Darling of the Right and the Left in the 1960s and 1970s," *Interventions* 23, no. 4 (May 19, 2021): 506–25, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369801X.2020.1753548>.

²⁵ Afsaneh Tavassoli and Lee Ken Teo, "Islamic Feminist Political Narratives, Reformist Islamic Thought, and Its Discursive Challenges in Contemporary Iran," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 22, no. 1 (January 2, 2021): 49–66, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649373.2021.1886481>.

²⁶ Edy Suprayetno and Faisal Eriza, "Islamic Liberation Theology and Hajj as a Revolutionary Manifesto: A Comprehensive Analysis of Ali Shariati's Thought," *Pharos Journal of Theology* 107, no. 3 (2026): 1–12, <https://doi.org/10.46222/pharosjot.107.3020>.

²⁷ Siavash Saffari, "Tawhid Paradigm and an Inclusive Concept of Liberative Struggle," *Religions* 14, no. 1088 (2023). <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14091088>

²⁸ Mohammad Masud Noruzi and Joseph Greener, "Bringing Lefebvre into Dialogue with Shariati on Everyday Life: Space and Estehmar," *European Journal of Social Theory*, 2025, 1–23, <https://doi.org/10.1177/13684310251410130>.

movements. By bridging these dimensions, this study offers both timely empirical insights and significant theoretical contributions to the scholarship of Islam, ethics, and social movements.

B. METHODS

This study employs a qualitative approach with a critical discourse analysis²⁹ (CDA) strategy, as the movement of ASN lecturers to demand performance allowances (*tunjangan kinerja* or *tukin*) is largely mediated through language, symbols, and narratives in digital spaces as well as in collective action. CDA is chosen because language is never neutral; it functions as a social practice that reflects and constructs power relations, ideology, and social inequality. By using CDA, this research goes beyond textual description to examine how lecturer groups unpack structural injustices, shape public opinion, and challenge dominant bureaucratic discourses through digital platforms and public advocacy. The research data were collected from multiple documentary and digital sources. Primary data consisted of official government documents related to the implementation of *tukin*, including regulations issued by the president³⁰, the Ministry of Education and Culture,³¹ and the State Civil Service Agency (BKN).³² To capture the dynamics of the lecturers' movement, the study also analyzed public statements and official documents published by the Aliansi Dosen ASN Kemdiktisaintek Seluruh Indonesia (ADAKSI), online petitions hosted on the Change.org platform³³, and digital campaign materials disseminated through ADAKSI's official social media accounts on Instagram, X (formerly Twitter), YouTube, and Facebook.³⁴ These sources were complemented by online news reports from national media outlets, including Kompas, Tempo, CNN Indonesia, Detik, and Antara, which documented the movement's development and government responses.

Data were collected using documentary research and digital ethnographic techniques. Documentary research systematically identified, retrieved, and analyzed official regulations, policy documents, organizational statements, petitions, and news reports.³⁵ Digital ethnography was used to observe online discussions, campaign narratives, hashtags, visual materials, and interactions shared through social media platforms³⁶ related to the ASN lecturers' movement. All documents and digital materials were purposively selected based on their relevance to the implementation of *tukin* policies and the collective mobilization of ASN lecturers. The collected data were then analyzed through critical discourse analysis and interpreted using Ali Shariati's concept of Islam as an ideology of liberation. The analysis was

²⁹ Umar Fauzan and Nadia, "A Critical Discourse Analysis of Religious Moderation Values in the Indonesian EFL Classroom: Teachers' Perspective," *International Journal of Religion* 5, no. 1 (2024): 557–66. <https://doi.org/10.61707/n9jwg685>

³⁰ Atas Peraturan and Tambahan Lembaran, "Peraturan Presiden (Perpres) Nomor 136 Tahun 2018 Tentang Tunjangan Kinerja Pegawai Di Lingkungan Kementerian Pendidikan Dan Kebudayaan" (2017). [Google](#)

³¹ Peraturan Menteri Pendidikan No 49, "Permendikbud Nomor 49 Tahun 2020 Tentang Perubahan Kedua Atas Permendikbud Nomor 14 Tahun 2016" (2020). [Google](#)

³² Head of the BKN of the Republic of Indonesia, "Peraturan BKN Tentang Perubahan Atas Peraturan BKN Nomor 5 Tahun 2021 Tentang Kamus Kelas Jabatan Di Lingkungan Instansi Pemerintah," Peraturan Badan Kepegawaian Negara § (2022). [Google](#)

³³ Anna Nuraina, "Bayarkan TUKIN Dosen Kemendikbudristek," *change.org*, 2024, [Google](#)

³⁴ ADAKSI, "Aliansidosenasnkemdiktisaintek," Instagram, 2025, [Google](#).

³⁵ Graciela Castro Castillo et al., "Analyzing the Teaching Profile and Competency-Based Training in Online Education: A Case Study of Ecuadorian Professors," *Frontiers in Education* 9 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.3389/educ.2024.1397086>.

³⁶ G. H.B.A. de Silva and H. A.K. Sumedha, "Digital Ethnography of Ethnic Cohesion: Social Media Narratives During a National Disaster in Sri Lanka," *Social Sciences* 15, no. 3 (2026): 1–18, <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci15030195>; Ivana Stepanović, "From Patriotism to Transnationalism: Exploring Hashtag Narratives on Lithium Mining Protests in Serbia," *Nationalities Papers*, 2025, <https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2024.48>.

carried out in three stages³⁷: (1) description of discourse to identify key themes such as justice and equality; (2) interpretation to situate the narrative within the context of the state bureaucratic structure; and (3) critical explanation using Ali Shariati's framework.

C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Shariati's concept of Islam as an ideology of liberation served as the analytical framework for interpreting the collected data. Rather than being treated as abstract philosophical concepts, his key ideas were operationalized as analytical categories in the coding and interpretation process. The concept of *raushanfikir* (the enlightened intellectual) was used to identify how ASN lecturers positioned themselves as public intellectuals³⁸ who challenged unjust state policies and mobilized collective awareness through public statements, petitions, and digital campaigns. The concept of *mustad'afin* (the oppressed) was employed to analyze narratives of marginalization, inequality, and discrimination expressed³⁹ in relation to the *tunjangan kinerja* policy. The concept of *qiyam* (collective struggle or resistance) guided the analysis of various forms of collective action⁴⁰, including organizational mobilization, advocacy, demonstrations, and online activism undertaken by ADAKSI. Finally, the concept of the *tauhid* society was used to examine how demands for performance allowances were framed not merely as claims for financial benefits but as ethical calls for justice, equality, and the restoration of human dignity within higher education governance.⁴¹ By coding empirical data according to these four analytical categories and subsequently interpreting the relationships among them, the study explains how the ASN lecturers' movement transformed administrative grievances into a broader discourse of structural justice and Islamic liberation.

1. Civil Servant Lecturers as *Raushanfikir*

In Ali Shariati's perspective, *raushanfikir* (enlightened intellectuals) have a broader social function than simply being teachers or researchers. They are figures who carry a prophetic mission: to awaken society from structural shackles, challenge injustice, and articulate a vision of change towards a more just society.⁴² In the Indonesian context, civil servant lecturers are typically positioned as academic bureaucrats who comply with state regulations. However, their struggle to demand performance allowances (*tunjangan kinerja* or *tukin*) demonstrates a shift in function: from passive bureaucrats to *raushanfikir* who criticize discriminatory policies.

This movement began in the digital space, when civil servant lecturers expressed their concerns through social media, discussion forums⁴³, and online petitions⁴⁴. The narrative they developed went beyond individual complaints and evolved into a systemic critique of the state's treatment of educators. These discussions fostered a collective awareness that the injustice of the *tukin* allowance is not merely a nominal issue but rather concerns the recognition of intellectual work as a national asset. Thus, the role of civil servant lecturers in

³⁷ Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power* (New York: Routledge, 2013). <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315838250>

³⁸ Norfarahani Binti Rosman and Mohd Shaukhi Bin MOhd Radzi, "Ali Syariati: Pemikiran Dan Gagasannya Tentang Konsep Rausyanfikir," *Jurnal Borneo Arkhailogia* 5, no. 1 (2020). <https://doi.org/10.51200/jba.v5i1.2846>

³⁹ Ali Syari'ati, *Para Pemimpin Mustadh'afin; Sejarah Panjang Perjuangan Melawan Penindasan Dan Kezaliman* (Bandung: Muthahhari Paperback, 2001). [Google](#)

⁴⁰ Ali Syari'ati, *Islam Mazhab Pemikiran Aksi* (Bandung: Mizan, 1992). [Google](#)

⁴¹ Siavash Saffari, "Tawhid Paradigm and an Inclusive Concept of Liberative Struggle," *Religions* 14, no. 9 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14091088>.

⁴² Rosman and Radzi, "Ali Syariati: Pemikiran Dan Gagasannya Tentang Konsep Rausyanfikir." <https://doi.org/10.51200/jba.v5i1.2846>

⁴³ Tukin Dosen Asn, "Tukin Dosen Asn," Instagram, 2024, [Google](#)

⁴⁴ Nuraina, "Bayarkan TUKIN Dosen Kemendikbudristek," 2024. [Google](#).

this movement aligns with Shariati's depiction of intellectuals as those who create new awareness in society.

In street demonstrations, civil servant lecturers asserted their position as social witnesses (*shahid*) against bureaucratic injustice. In Figure 1, they carried posters, moral statements, and slogans emphasizing justice, equality, and the dignity of the intellectual profession.⁴⁵ These actions demonstrated that civil servant lecturers were not solely fighting for personal economic interests, but were also upholding broader values. Shariati stated that a *raushanfikir* must not allow his community to remain trapped within oppressive structures but must instead act as a catalyst for resistance.⁴⁶



Figure 1. Street Demonstrations by Civil Servant Lecturers in Indonesia

The civil servant lecturer movement illustrates a transformation in the role of intellectuals in Indonesia. Individuals who were previously regarded as part of the bureaucratic elite are now demonstrating a new orientation: intellectuals who advocate for the principles of social justice. This condition reflects what Shariati conceptualized as *organic intellectuals*—those who are not detached from societal issues but rather articulate collective concerns within the language of struggle.⁴⁷ Accordingly, civil servant lecturers may be understood as contemporary *raushanfikir* (innovators) who strive to uphold prophetic values in the modern public sphere.

Within Indonesia's state bureaucratic structure, Civil Service (ASN) lecturers occupy a distinctive position as public officials who are simultaneously expected to fulfill professional responsibilities in teaching, research, and community service while remaining subject to bureaucratic regulations governing remuneration and performance. The street

⁴⁵ Yohanes Ivan Adi Kristianto, "Munculnya Gerakan Dosen ASN," *Detiknews*, 2025, [Google](#); Ryn/kid, "Dosen ASN Demo, Kemendikti Kukuh Tak Bisa Bayar Tukin 2020-2024," *CNN Indonesia*, 2025, [Google](#).

⁴⁶ Saffari, "Tawhid Paradigm and an Inclusive Concept of Liberative Struggle," 2023 <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14091088>; Rosman and Radzi, "Ali Syariati: Pemikiran Dan Gagasannya Tentang Konsep Rausyanfikir" <https://doi.org/10.51200/jba.v5i1.2846>; Ali Syari'ati, *Tugas Cendikiawan Muslim*, ed. Terj. Amien Rais (Jakarta: Srigunting, 2001). [Google](#)

⁴⁷ Michael V Singh and Zeus Leonardo, "Educators as Decolonial Intellectuals: Revolutionary Thought from Gramsci to Fanon," *Critical Studies in Education* 64, no. 4 (August 8, 2023): 374–91, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17508487.2022.2146150>.

demonstrations therefore represented more than routine policy advocacy;⁴⁸ they reflected a collective response to what participants perceived as structural inequality embedded in the state's performance allowance system. During these demonstrations, ASN lecturers carried posters, moral statements, and slogans emphasizing justice, equality, and the dignity of the academic profession, publicly challenging a remuneration policy they viewed as failing to recognize the multidimensional nature of academic work.⁴⁹

From Ali Shariati's perspective, The collective actions of ASN lecturers—manifested through digital campaigns, public petitions, institutional advocacy by ADAKSI, and street demonstrations demanding performance allowances (*tukin*)—can be interpreted from Ali Shariati's perspective as the praxis of *raushanfikir* (enlightened intellectuals) who assume the *role of shahid* (social witnesses) by exposing institutional injustice and awakening public consciousness. Rather than pursuing material interests alone, the movement framed the demand for *tunjangan kinerja* as an ethical struggle against structural marginalization, positioning lecturers as *mustad'afin* within the bureaucratic order.⁵⁰ Their collective mobilization (*qiyam*) thus became an expression of Islam as an ideology of liberation, transforming an administrative grievance into a broader moral critique of state power and advocating a bureaucratic system grounded in justice, equality, and human dignity.

2. Islamic Values as an Ideology of Liberation in the Movement Narrative

The movement of civil servant lecturers in demanding fairness regarding performance allowances does not solely employ administrative language or bureaucratic law; it is also frequently rooted in Islamic values. In various public statements and social media posts, narratives highlighting justice (*'adl*), trustworthiness (*amanah*), and workers' rights have emerged.⁵¹ These principles demonstrate that the lecturers' struggle extends beyond material aspects, incorporating a moral dimension grounded in religious teachings. This perspective is in line with Shariati's view, which emphasizes Islam as an ideology of liberation—a value system capable of inspiring social movements against injustice.⁵²

In accordance with the Prophet's hadith, "*Give the worker his wages before his sweat dries*,"⁵³ the Civil Service (ASN) lecturers' movement framed the issue of *tunjangan kinerja* (*tukin*) as a matter of justice rather than merely financial compensation. Protesters argued that the existing salary system failed to recognize the full scope of lecturers' statutory responsibilities under the Tri Dharma Perguruan Tinggi, including teaching, research, community service, student supervision, scientific publication, curriculum development, and academic administration.⁵⁴ For many years, Civil Service (ASN) lecturers under the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology (now the Ministry of Higher Education, Science, and Technology) have been the only group of civil servant lecturers excluded from the *tunjangan kinerja* (*tukin*) scheme. This exclusion has significantly affected their monthly income, particularly during the early stages of their academic careers. During approximately the first six years of service, many lecturers receive only their basic salary, typically ranging from IDR 3–4 million per month, as they are not yet eligible for the professional allowance

⁴⁸ Annalena Kolloch, "Magistrates Marching in the Streets: Making and Debating Judicial Independence and the Rule of Law in Benin," *International Journal of Law in Context* 18, no. 3 (2022): 347–63, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1744552322000283>.

⁴⁹ Asn, "Tukin Dosen Asn" [Google](#); Marwah, "Ratusan Dosen ASN Gelar Demo Di Depan Istana, Tuntut Pemerintah Segera Bayar Tukin." [Google](#)

⁵⁰ Syari'ati, *Para Pemimpin Mustadh'afin; Sejarah Panjang Perjuangan Melawan Penindasan Dan Kezaliman*. [Google](#)

⁵¹ Asn, "Tukin Dosen Asn." [Google](#)

⁵² Saffari, "Tawhid Paradigm and an Inclusive Concept of Liberative Struggle," 2023. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14091088>

⁵³ Albani, *Shahih Sunan Ibnu Majah*, 420. [Google](#)

⁵⁴ Asn, "Tukin Dosen Asn." [Google](#)

and do not receive performance-based remuneration. Although their income generally increases to around IDR 6–7 million after obtaining lecturer certification and the associated professional allowance, a substantial disparity remains compared with civil servant lecturers employed by other ministries.⁵⁵

The difference arises because lecturers in other ministries receive a more comprehensive remuneration package consisting of a basic salary, functional allowance, professional allowance, and *tunjangan kinerja*, whereas lecturers under the Ministry of Higher Education receive only the first three components. For example, a lecturer holding the functional rank of Lektor (Job Class 11, Grade III/c) with eight years of service is estimated to receive approximately IDR 5.33 million less per month than a counterpart employed by another ministry, reflecting the gap created by the absence of *tukin*.⁵⁶ Over the course of an academic career, this cumulative income disparity may amount to hundreds of millions of rupiah. This perceived inequality became one of the principal arguments advanced by the ASN lecturers' movement in demanding equal remuneration within Indonesia's civil service system.

Public statements issued by the Aliansi Dosen ASN Kemdiktisaintek Seluruh Indonesia (ADAKSI)⁵⁷, online petitions⁵⁸, and media interviews⁵⁹ consistently emphasized that, despite fulfilling these mandatory responsibilities, ASN lecturers were excluded from the performance allowance scheme enjoyed by civil servants in many other ministries. Consequently, activists viewed the disparity not as a question of salary alone but as unequal recognition of academic labor within the state bureaucracy.

The benchmark used by the movement was therefore not merely the nominal amount of the allowance but the principle of equal treatment among civil servants performing comparable public functions under the same national remuneration framework. Protesters repeatedly referred to the disparity between ASN lecturers and civil servants in other ministries who receive performance allowances under Presidential Regulation No. 136 of 2018 and related remuneration policies, while lecturers under the Ministry of Higher Education, Science, and Technology had not received equivalent benefits despite comparable professional status and performance obligations.⁶⁰ This perceived inconsistency was framed as a violation of distributive justice rather than a simple demand for higher income, providing the basis for collective claims that the existing remuneration policy failed to recognize the dignity and contribution of academic labor. This narrative indicates that Islam functions not merely as a personal spiritual resource but also as an ethical foundation for advocating social justice.⁶¹ Shariati conceptualizes this as a form of "living Islam", namely, a religion that is actively engaged in socio-political realities rather than confined to private ritual practices.⁶²

Moreover, the incorporation of Islamic moral symbols within the lecturers' movement illustrates how religious values can serve as a source of legitimacy for collective action.⁶³ On one hand, these values provide moral strength to lecturers who may feel vulnerable due to their civil servant status and the constraints of disciplinary regulations. On the other hand,

⁵⁵ Nuraina, "Bayarkan TUKIN Dosen Kemendikbudristek," 2024. [Google](#).

⁵⁶ Anna Nuraina, "Bayarkan TUKIN Dosen Kemendikbudristek," [Google](#).

⁵⁷ ADAKSI, "Aliansidosenasnkemdiktisaintek." [Google](#)

⁵⁸ Nuraina, "Bayarkan TUKIN Dosen Kemendikbudristek," 2024. [Google](#).

⁵⁹ Sania Mashabi and Ayunda Pininta Kasih, "Adaksi: Hanya Dosen ASN Kemendikti Saintek Yang Tak Dapat Tukin," *Kompas.Com*, 2025, [Google](#).

⁶⁰ Mashabi and Kasih. [Google](#)

⁶¹ Mahbubeh Moqadam, "Ali Shariati and Crafting a Collective Revolutionary Islamic Identity for Women: A Socio-Historical Perspective," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 60, no. 3 (October 31, 2023): 1943–57, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00219096231207891>.

⁶² Shariati, *On the Sociology of Islam.Pdf*. [Google](#)

⁶³ Thaha Saifuddin, "Religious Fundamentalism and Violence in the Name of Religion," *Pharos Journal of Theology* 104, no. 4 (2023): 1–12. [Google](#)

such values enhance the movement's resonance, as Islamic principles of justice are universal and widely accepted by the predominantly Muslim Indonesian public. In this context, Islam acts as a liberating force, reinforcing civil servant lecturers' position in contesting hegemonic bureaucratic structures.⁶⁴



Figure 2

tukindosenasnkemdiktisaintek_2025 adalah tahun yang akan kita tandai seperti apa
@kemdiktisaintek.ri akan memperlakukan dosen asn-nya. Apakah pak menteri @kemdiktisaintek.ri akan mengakhiri diskriminasi terhadap dosen asn-nya atau justru melanggengkan kedzaliman karena perampasan hak dosen asn atas tunjangan kinerja.

Kami yakin pak @prabowo mas
@gibran_rakabuming dan seluruh jajaran kabinet merah putih punya perhatian yang lebih terhadap kemajuan pendidikan tinggi negara kita. Salah satu caranya tentu memberikan hak dasar bagi pendidiknya, dosen asn @kemdiktisaintek.ri.

Figure 3

Figures 2 and 3. Illustrating the Empirical Materials Collected from the Movement of Civil Service (ASN) Lecturers

The screenshots document demonstrations organized by the Aliansi Dosen ASN Kemdiktisaintek Seluruh Indonesia (ADAKSI), online campaign materials disseminated through social media⁶⁵, and public statements advocating the implementation of *tunjangan kinerja* (tukin).⁶⁶ Across these materials, lecturers consistently displayed banners, posters, and digital messages containing expressions such as *keadilan* (justice), *amanah* (trustworthiness), *hak dosen ASN* (the rights of ASN lecturers), and *kesetaraan* (equality). Rather than focusing solely on financial demands, the campaign narratives repeatedly emphasized equal recognition of lecturers' professional responsibilities under the Tri Dharma Perguruan Tinggi and called for equal treatment within Indonesia's state tukin system. These recurring themes demonstrate that moral and religious language constituted an integral part of the movement's public discourse, providing the empirical basis for the subsequent interpretation through Ali Shariati's concept of Islam as an ideology of liberation.

From Shariati's perspective, the utilization of Islam as an ideology of liberation can be understood as a form of contemporary social jihad.⁶⁷ Civil servant lecturers, through narratives of justice and trustworthiness, demonstrate that their struggle is not merely directed toward financial incentives, but rather toward upholding prophetic values within the state structure.⁶⁸ In this regard, the movement presents a critical and transformative face of Islam: a religion that encourages human liberation from structures of oppression.⁶⁹

Moreover, the Islamic narrative employed by civil servant lecturers also constructs a space of ethical legitimacy that is difficult for the state to reject. If the struggle were framed solely as an economic demand, the state could easily postpone it on the basis of budgetary

⁶⁴ Francesco Melito, "Hegemonic Struggles and the Role of Contemporary 'Organic Intellectuals': A Different Perspective for the Analysis of Discourses," *Politics* 45, no. 3 (June 12, 2024): 458–74, <https://doi.org/10.1177/02633957241259118>; Dabashi, "Man and Islam." <https://doi.org/10.1017/0021086200003467>.

⁶⁵ Asn, "Tukin Dosen Asn." Google

⁶⁶ Ester Lince Napitupulu, "Mengapa Dosen Kemendiktisaintek Memperjuangkan Tukin?," *Kompas.Id*, 2025, Google

⁶⁷ Shariati, *Martyrdom : Arise and Bear Witness* By. Google

⁶⁸ Asn, "Tukin Dosen Asn." Google

⁶⁹ Melito, "Hegemonic Struggles and the Role of Contemporary 'Organic Intellectuals': A Different Perspective for the Analysis of Discourses" <https://doi.org/10.1177/02633957241259118>; Saffari, "Tawhid Paradigm and an Inclusive Concept of Liberative Struggle," 2023. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14091088>

considerations. However, when discourses of justice, trustworthiness, and workers' rights are explicitly connected to sharia principles, the lecturers' resistance acquires a deeper moral dimension.⁷⁰ This condition is consistent with Shariati's notion that religion may serve as a "language of struggle," which connects the people with transcendental values, thereby ensuring that social demands are not merely pragmatic but also spiritual in nature.⁷¹

In addition, the deployment of Islam as an ideology of liberation also possesses the potential to transform consciousness.⁷² Civil servant lecturers, who were previously identified as educated elites and obedient bureaucrats, now emerge as a group demonstrating religious commitment in the defense of social rights. This transformation may influence public perception, particularly by emphasizing that the struggles of intellectuals are not only relevant to academic circles but also carry moral significance for the broader community.⁷³ Within this context, Islam in the ASN lecturer movement functions not only as a source of normative inspiration but also as a strategic means for constructing wider social solidarity.⁷⁴

3. *Qiyam* 'Awakening' and *Shahadah* 'Testimony'

The concept of *qiyam* in Ali Shariati's thought refers to social awakening, in which oppressed groups (*mustad'afin*) become aware of their position and begin to mobilize against oppressive structures.⁷⁵ In the context of the struggle of civil servant lecturers, *qiyam* can be observed when personal concerns regarding the injustice of their performance allowances (*tukin*) transform into a collective consciousness expressed in public forums. What initially emerges as individual complaints on social media develops into solidarity⁷⁶, crystallizing in the form of joint petitions⁷⁷, symbolic actions such as wreath-making⁷⁸, mass demonstrations⁷⁹, and open dialogues with policymakers.⁸⁰ This progression reflects the transformation of consciousness from passive to active, as envisioned by Shariati.⁸¹

The awakening of civil servant lecturers does not occur in a vacuum but within the context of a state bureaucracy that tends to stifle the expression of civil servants. Their status as state employees is often associated with obedience, loyalty, and complete adherence to formal structures. However, through this awakening, civil servant lecturers challenge such constructs by demonstrating that loyalty to the state does not necessarily entail silence in the face of injustice.⁸² On the contrary, through critical action, they assert a higher form of loyalty: commitment to the principle of justice as both a universal and Islamic value.

At this stage, the rise of the civil servant lecturer movement demonstrates both its moral and political character. It is moral because it is grounded in a narrative of justice rooted in Islam and professional ethics. It is political because the movement is directed toward transforming unequal public policies.⁸³ Shariati emphasized that revival should not remain at

⁷⁰ Asn, "Tukin Dosen Asn." [Google](#)

⁷¹ Shariati, *On the Sociology of Islam*.Pdf. [Google](#)

⁷² Ahmad Umam Auji and Muslich Shabir, "Konstruksi Kafir Dalam Diskursus Tasawuf: Analisis Wacana Kritis Kata Kafir Pada Kitab Hâdzâ Al-Kitâb Matn Al-Hikam Karya Kiai Sholeh Darat," *Khazanah: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Humaniora* 20, no. 1 (2022): 85–110, <https://doi.org/10.18592/khazanah.v20i1.6434>.

⁷³ Fard, "The Transformative Power of Social Movements." <https://doi.org/10.1111/phc3.12951>

⁷⁴ Shariati, *On the Sociology of Islam*.Pdf. [Google](#)

⁷⁵ Dabashi, "Man and Islam." <https://doi.org/10.1017/0021086200003467>.

⁷⁶ Asn, "Tukin Dosen Asn." [Google](#)

⁷⁷ Nuraina, "Bayarkan TUKIN Dosen Kemendikbudristek," 2024. [Google](#).

⁷⁸ ADAKSI, "Aliansidosenasnkemdiktisaintek" [Google](#); Asn, "Tukin Dosen Asn." [Google](#)

⁷⁹ ADAKSI, "Aliansidosenasnkemdiktisaintek." [Google](#)

⁸⁰ Asn, "Tukin Dosen Asn" [Google](#); ADAKSI, "Aliansidosenasnkemdiktisaintek." [Google](#)

⁸¹ Syari'ati, *Islam Mazhab Pemikiran Aksi*. [Google](#)

⁸² ADAKSI, "Aliansidosenasnkemdiktisaintek." [Google](#)

⁸³ Afifi Fauzi Abbas et al., "The Political Dimension of Prophethood on Civilizing the Moral Ethics , Justice , and Class Reform," *Perwakilan Journal of Good Governance, Diplomacy, Customary Institutionalization and Social Networks* 3 (2025): 119–34. <https://doi.org/10.58764/j.prwkl.2025.3.98>

the level of moral awareness but must be translated into social practice.⁸⁴ The movement of civil servant lecturers therefore serves as an example of how the moral value of justice can be concretized in the form of collective action demanding structural change.⁸⁵

On the other hand, the concept of *shahadah*, or testimony, carries a deeper layer of meaning. According to Shariati, intellectuals and enlightened citizens are required to act as social witnesses, speaking out against injustice despite the risks involved.⁸⁶ In this regard, civil servant lecturers who participate in street protests or voice open criticism on social media present themselves as martyrs in the social sense: they are willing to risk bureaucratic reprimands in order to defend the principle of justice.⁸⁷ Their actions represent a moral testimony that structural injustice must not be tolerated.

This *shahadah* phenomenon also underscores that the struggle of civil servant lecturers is not individualistic. When a lecturer bravely appears in public to articulate their aspirations, they are not merely speaking on their own behalf, but on behalf of a marginalized collective. In this sense, *shahadah* becomes a form of symbolic sacrifice in which the individual positions themselves as a witness for the benefit of the community.⁸⁸ This interpretation aligns with Shariati's view that testimony constitutes the essence of social struggle, since without witnesses, injustice will remain concealed.⁸⁹

Furthermore, the *shahadah* performed by civil servant lecturers also fulfills an educational function. By presenting themselves as public witnesses, they not only confirm the position of the victims but also teach society about the importance of resisting injustice.⁹⁰ Within this context, every public statement, symbolic action, or poster displayed during a demonstration can be read as a text of testimony affirming the value of justice.⁹¹ Shariati emphasizes that testimony possesses pedagogical power: it educates society not to submit to hegemonic structures.⁹²

The combination of *qiyam* and *shahadah* in the struggle of civil servant lecturers illustrates a movement that is not merely reactive but also visionary. They not only rose up to reject discriminatory policies but also testified to the possibility of a more just bureaucratic order. This movement may thus be interpreted as a form of transformative Islamic praxis, as projected by Shariati—an awakening that affirms human dignity while simultaneously revealing the true face of structural injustice.⁹³ This struggle does not stop at criticizing injustice, but also becomes a manifestation of ethical and spiritual awareness that encourages systemic change towards a more just, integrated and common good-oriented order.

⁸⁴ Saffari, "Tawhid Paradigm and an Inclusive Concept of Liberative Struggle," 2023 <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14091088>; Syari'ati, *Islam Mazhab Pemikiran Aksi*. Google

⁸⁵ Chikako Endo, "Structural Change Through 'Collective Action as Democratic Practice': Linking Grassroots Democracy With Social Justice," *Political Studies* 72, no. 4 (November 1, 2024): 1354–72, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00323217231182024>.

⁸⁶ Syari'ati, *Tugas Cendekiawan Muslim* Google; Rosman and Radzi, "Ali Syariati: Pemikiran Dan Gagasannya Tentang Konsep Rausyanfikir." <https://doi.org/10.51200/jba.v5i1.2846>

⁸⁷ Shariati, *Martyrdom : Arise and Bear Witness By*; Tana et al., "Digital Transformation as Collective Social Action." Google

⁸⁸ Syari'ati, *Tugas Cendekiawan Muslim* Google; Shariati, *Martyrdom : Arise and Bear Witness By*. Google

⁸⁹ Syari'ati, *Para Pemimpin Mustadh'afin; Sejarah Panjang Perjuangan Melawan Penindasan Dan Kezaliman*. Google

⁹⁰ Dabashi, "Man and Islam." <https://doi.org/10.1017/0021086200003467>.

⁹¹ ADAKSI, "Aliansidosenasnkemdiktisaintek." Google

⁹² Syari'ati, *Para Pemimpin Mustadh'afin; Sejarah Panjang Perjuangan Melawan Penindasan Dan Kezaliman*. Google

⁹³ SeyedAmirHossein Asghari, "Understanding Human Dignity in Shi'i Islam: Debates, Challenges, and Solutions for Contemporary Issues," *Religions*, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14040505>; Seyed Kavoos Abbasi, Mohammad Hosain Yarmohammadian, and Alireza Yousefi, "An Explanation on Role of Educational System in Ali Shariati Books from the Perspective of Critical Theory: A Comparative Review," *Comparative Education* 4 (2021): 1227–46, Google

4. Civil Servant Lecturers as Modern *Mustad'afin*

Ali Shariati places the concept of *mustad'afin*—the oppressed—at the center of his social analysis. For him, throughout history, there have always been groups structurally weakened by hegemonic power, whether in economic, political, or cultural forms.⁹⁴ In the context of the struggle of civil servant lecturers, this category finds its relevance. Despite their status as intellectuals and civil servants, civil servant lecturers experience systemic injustice in the distribution of performance allowances. Their position is unique: they possess the capital of a high level of education, yet do not receive financial and structural rewards commensurate with their qualifications.⁹⁵

The *mustad'afin* status of civil servant lecturers is not attributable to individual weakness but rather to the unequal construction of state policies. They exist within a bureaucratic structure that positions them as subordinate to administrative officials. While structural officials enjoy high salaries, lecturers, as educators and researchers, receive a disproportionately lower share.⁹⁶ This inequality reflects a form of structural oppression that Shariati frequently highlights: the dominance of the bureaucratic class over the intellectual class, which productively contributes to building the nation's future.

Within this framework, the struggle of civil servant lecturers can be understood as the expression of modern *mustad'afin*. They are not manual laborers or factory workers; however, they remain oppressed because their access to welfare distribution is constrained by the power structure.⁹⁷ Shariati emphasized that the *mustad'afin* must first recognize their oppressed condition in order to rise up.⁹⁸ The movement of civil servant lecturers through social media, online petitions, and street demonstrations constitutes a manifestation of this awareness: a shift from marginalization to the articulation of resistance.⁹⁹

The status of civil servant lecturers as *mustad'afin* reveals a paradoxical dimension. On the one hand, they are intellectual elites with high academic degrees and possess moral legitimacy as educators of the nation. On the other hand, they are structurally treated as a marginalized group within the bureaucracy. This paradox underscores the relevance of Shariati's concept, demonstrating that oppression is not always synonymous with belonging to the economic underclass but may also be experienced by groups marginalized within hegemonic structures.¹⁰⁰

The civil servant lecturer movement also illustrates that modern *mustad'afin* employ new strategies of resistance. Whereas in classical times oppression was met with physical rebellion, civil servant lecturers now mobilize discourse, law, and moral action to demand justice. Social media has emerged as a new arena for the *mustad'afin* to articulate their voices, demonstrating that resistance can be exercised intellectually and symbolically.¹⁰¹ This

⁹⁴ Syari'ati, *Para Pemimpin Mustadh'afin; Sejarah Panjang Perjuangan Melawan Penindasan Dan Kezaliman*.

Google

⁹⁵ Napitupulu, "Dosen Asn Tuntut Keadilan Pembayaran Tunjangan Kinerja." Google

⁹⁶ Herman RN, "Tunjangan Kinerja Dan Kesenjangan Antar-ASN Dosen," *Kompas.id*, 2025, Google

⁹⁷ Syari'ati, *Para Pemimpin Mustadh'afin; Sejarah Panjang Perjuangan Melawan Penindasan Dan Kezaliman* Google; Melito, "Hegemonic Struggles and the Role of Contemporary 'Organic Intellectuals': A Different Perspective for the Analysis of Discourses." <https://doi.org/10.1177/02633957241259118>

⁹⁸ Syari'ati, *Para Pemimpin Mustadh'afin; Sejarah Panjang Perjuangan Melawan Penindasan Dan Kezaliman*. Google

⁹⁹ Javier Mula-Falcón, Sofia Viseu, and Rui da Silva, "Early Career Academic's Associations: A Study of Resistance and Empowerment on Social Media," *Higher Education Policy* 38, no. 2 (2025): 386–407, <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41307-024-00353-4>; Saif Shahin and Yee Man Margaret Ng, "Connective Action or Collective Inertia? Emotion, Cognition, and the Limits of Digitally Networked Resistance," *Social Movement Studies* 21, no. 4 (July 4, 2022): 530–48, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2021.1928485>.

¹⁰⁰ Melito, "Hegemonic Struggles and the Role of Contemporary 'Organic Intellectuals': A Different Perspective for the Analysis of Discourses." <https://doi.org/10.1177/02633957241259118>

¹⁰¹ ADAKSI, "Aliansidosenasnkemdiktisaintek" Google; Asn, "Tukin Dosen Asn"; Nuraina, "Bayarkan TUKIN Dosen Kemendikbudristek," 2024. Google.

development aligns with Shariati's perspective, which emphasizes the significance of awareness and ideology as key drivers of social change.¹⁰²

Moreover, recognizing oneself as *mustad'afin* does not necessarily imply passivity. On the contrary, as Shariati underscores, the condition of being oppressed can serve as a source of moral energy for resistance.¹⁰³ Civil servant lecturers construct their identity as victims of an unjust system, while simultaneously transforming this position into moral legitimacy to demand change. In doing so, they speak not only for themselves but also on behalf of other professional groups who may experience similar injustices.

Ultimately, interpreting civil servant lecturers as modern *mustad'afin* highlights that intellectual oppression constitutes a concrete contemporary reality. Their movement reveals that although knowledge and academic status confer a degree of legitimacy, they do not necessarily provide protection from structural injustice.¹⁰⁴ Rather, through this struggle, civil servant lecturers demonstrate that intellectuals may also belong to the *mustad'afin*, and that consciousness-based resistance represents a viable pathway toward social transformation.

5. A *Tawhid* Society as the Movement's Ideal

In Ali Shariati's thought, the ultimate vision of social struggle is the establishment of a *tawhid* society, one constructed on the principles of equality, justice, and the elimination of all forms of oppression.¹⁰⁵ *Tawhid*, for Shariati, is not merely a theological concept denoting the oneness of God, but also a socio-political principle that rejects all forms of unjust hierarchy.¹⁰⁶ Within the context of the struggle of civil servant lecturers, this ideal is reflected in their demand that policies regarding the distribution of allowances be grounded in the principle of justice rather than in a discriminatory bureaucratic hierarchy.

The *tawhid* society envisioned by Shariati rejects caste systems and privileges reserved for specific groups.¹⁰⁷ A similar sentiment is articulated by civil servant lecturers, who oppose the sharp distinction between administrative officials and academic staff in terms of financial rewards. They argue that intellectual work should be valued equally with administrative work, since both contribute in essential ways to the sustainability of the state.¹⁰⁸ The struggle of civil servant lecturers is therefore not solely concerned with welfare, but also with upholding the principle of equality within the broader vision of a *tawhid* society.

The movement of ASN (Aparatur Sipil Negara) lecturers also reflects the normative dimension of monotheism, which entails the rejection of servitude to bureaucratic structures. In everyday practice, ASN lecturers are often positioned as subordinates of the bureaucracy, obliged to comply without question. Through this struggle, however, ASN lecturers emphasize that obedience must not surpass moral boundaries. Their primary loyalty is not directed toward an unequal bureaucratic structure but toward the values of monotheism, which require justice and respect for human dignity. This position corresponds with Shariati's teaching that monotheism must be realized in a liberating rather than oppressive social order.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰² Syari'ati, *Islam Mazhab Pemikiran Aksi*. Google

¹⁰³ Melito, "Hegemonic Struggles and the Role of Contemporary 'Organic Intellectuals': A Different Perspective for the Analysis of Discourses." <https://doi.org/10.1177/02633957241259118>

¹⁰⁴ Melito. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02633957241259118>

¹⁰⁵ Ali Syari'ati, *Ummah Dan Imamah, Suatu Tinjauan Sosiologis*, Terj. Afif Muhammad (Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah, 1995). Google

¹⁰⁶ Saffari, "Tawhid Paradigm and an Inclusive Concept of Liberative Struggle," 2023. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14091088>

¹⁰⁷ Syari'ati, *Ummah Dan Imamah, Suatu Tinjauan Sosiologis*, Terj. Afif Muhammad. Google

¹⁰⁸ ADAKSI, "Aliansidosenasnkemdiktisaintek." Google

¹⁰⁹ Saffari, "Tawhid Paradigm and an Inclusive Concept of Liberative Struggle," 2023. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14091088>

Furthermore, the concept of a monotheistic society provides a framework for understanding the long-term objectives of the ASN lecturers' movement. Their aim is not only to enhance the financial well-being of their group, but also to foster systemic reform that would render the Indonesian educational bureaucracy more just and transparent.¹¹⁰ This represents an articulation of monotheism within the social domain: monotheism is not simply a personal creed, but also a collective vision for the creation of a just society.

in public discourse, this ideal is articulated through the use of universal moral language. Civil servant lecturers not only demand their rights but also call for respect for the dignity of the teaching profession. This narrative is inclusive, as the justice they advocate has the potential to benefit all levels of society. In other words, the movement of civil servant lecturers transcends narrow professional interests and embodies a broader vision: the realization of a society free from discrimination and inequality.¹¹¹

Shariati emphasized that a monotheistic society can only be achieved through a transformation of consciousness.¹¹² In this context, the struggle of civil servant lecturers carries a pedagogical function for the wider community. Their actions illustrate that injustice must be resisted, even when it originates from state structures.¹¹³ This movement is not merely defensive but also educational, as it conveys to the public the importance of upholding the principle of monotheism in socio-political life.¹¹⁴

Examining the struggle of civil servant lecturers within the framework of a monotheistic society demonstrates that Islam can serve as a source of inspiration for contemporary social movements. By articulating the values of monotheism, civil servant lecturers present an alternative vision to hierarchical and exploitative bureaucracy. They exemplify that monotheism is not solely a metaphysical teaching but also a liberating ideology that remains relevant in addressing modern forms of injustice.¹¹⁵ Their struggle may thus be understood as part of a broader project aimed at realizing the monotheistic society envisioned by Shariati.

D. CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that, in the struggle of Indonesian Civil Service (ASN) lecturers for equitable performance allowances (*tunjangan kinerja* or *tukin*), Islam functions not merely as a system of personal spirituality but also as a source of moral legitimacy, critical consciousness, and collective resistance against perceived structural injustice within the state bureaucracy. Unlike previous studies that have primarily interpreted lecturer remuneration through the lenses of public administration, organizational performance, or governance, this study reveals that demands for equitable allowance were articulated through ethical and religious narratives emphasizing justice, trustworthiness, and human dignity. Furthermore, while recent scholarship has increasingly applied Ali Shariati's thought to liberation theology, political philosophy, and comparative critical theory, this study extends his framework into the field of higher education governance by demonstrating how the concepts of *raushanfikir*, *mustad'afin*, *qiyam*, and *shahadah* can explain the emergence of intellectual resistance within a modern bureaucratic institution. The study bridges the gap between critical Islamic thought and the empirical realities of academic labor in contemporary Indonesia. These findings contribute both theoretically and practically. Theoretically, by showing how ASN lecturers use ethical values to challenge bureaucratic injustice, this study extends Ali Shariati's concept of

¹¹⁰ ADAKSI, "Aliansidosenasnkemdiktisaintek." Google

¹¹¹ Admin, "Adaksi." Google

¹¹² Syari'ati, *Tugas Cendekiawan Muslim*. Google

¹¹³ Nassim Noroozi, "Pedagogy-as-Justice," *Educational Theory* 73, no. 4 (August 1, 2023): 496–510, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/edth.12595>.

¹¹⁴ A C Nikolaidis, "Structural Educational Injustice, Political Responsibility, and Epistemic Activism," *Ethics and Education* 20, no. 2–3 (July 3, 2025): 235–56, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17449642.2025.2495499>.

¹¹⁵ Haroon Bashir, "Islam and the Emancipatory Ethic: Islamic Law, Liberation Theology and Prison Abolition," *Religions*, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14091083>.

Islam as an ideology of liberation beyond its traditional association with violent or macro-revolutionary movements. Instead, it proves that Shariati's framework of *raushanfikir* (enlightened intellectuals) and *qiyam* (conscious collective mobilization) remain highly relevant for understanding contemporary intellectual resistance against structural marginalization, where professionals navigate their position as modern *mustad'afin* within state bureaucracies. Practically, the findings suggest that performance-based allowance policies should move beyond narrow administrative indicators and better reflect the multidimensional responsibilities of lecturers under the *Tri Dharma Perguruan Tinggi*. For the Indonesian government, this implies the need to develop a more equitable and transparent performance allowance system based on the principles of equal treatment and substantive justice across ministries. More broadly, grounded in Shariati's vision of a liberating and progressive faith, the study demonstrates that religious values can serve as constructive ethical resources for policy advocacy and institutional reform rather than merely as instruments of political mobilization. Nevertheless, this research is limited to discourse-based qualitative analysis of a single movement and therefore cannot fully capture the diversity of lecturers' experiences across institutions. Future studies should employ comparative, ethnographic, survey, or mixed-method approaches across different institutional settings to further examine how religious values shape professional resistance and public-sector reform.

E. DECLARATIONS

1. Author Contribution

Ahmad Umam Aufi: Conceptualization, Methodology, Investigation, Formal Analysis, Writing – Original Draft, Writing – Review & Editing, and Visualization. **Dhesi Wulan Sari:** Literature Review, Investigation, Formal Analysis, Validation, and Writing – Review & Editing. **Jonris Tampubolon:** Supervision, Validation, Resources, and Writing – Review & Editing. All authors have read and approved the final version of the manuscript and agree to be accountable for their respective contributions.

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3. Conflict of Interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

4. Declaration of AI Use

The authors used ChatGPT to refine academic language and improve clarity under their supervision. The authors critically reviewed the AI-assisted output and take full responsibility for the content, accuracy, and integrity of the final manuscript.

5. Additional Information

Not applicable.

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