

THE ISLAMIC-NATIONALIST LEADERSHIP MODEL: THE INTEGRATION OF QUR'ANIC AND PANCASILA VALUES IN A TRANSFORMATIVE LEADERSHIP PERSPECTIVE

By

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ABSTRACT

The leadership crisis, characterized by a weakening of morality, public ethics, and integrity, has become a strategic issue in the context of Indonesian national development. This situation demands the emergence of an alternative leadership model that is not only managerially effective but also value-based. This study aims to develop a transformational leadership model rooted in the integration of the values of the Qur'an and Pancasila, as a manifestation of Islamic and nationalist character in contemporary leadership. The research method used is qualitative, utilizing a literature review approach and content analysis of Qur'anic texts and Pancasila documents. In addition, case studies of figures representing the Islamic-Nationalist leadership model were explored, as well as thematic analysis to formulate key leadership principles. The results indicate that there are overlaps in ethical and social values between the Qur'an and Pancasila, such as trustworthiness, justice, deliberation, exemplary behavior, unity, and mutual cooperation. These values are integrated within a transformational leadership framework that emphasizes idealistic influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individual attention. This research produces a conceptual model of transformative Islamic-Nationalist leadership that can be used as a basis for developing ethical and contextual leadership in Indonesia.

Keywords: Islamic Leadership, Pancasila, Al-Qur'an, Transformational, Nationalism.

MODEL KEPEMIMPINAN ISLAMI-NASIONALIS: INTEGRASI NILAI AL-QUR'AN DAN PANCASILA DALAM PERSPEKTIF KEPEMIMPINAN TRANSFORMATIF

ABSTRAK

Krisis kepemimpinan yang ditandai oleh melemahnya moralitas, etika publik, dan integritas telah menjadi isu strategis dalam konteks pembangunan bangsa Indonesia. Situasi ini menuntut hadirnya model kepemimpinan alternatif yang tidak hanya efektif secara manajerial, tetapi juga kokoh secara nilai. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengembangkan model kepemimpinan transformasional yang berakar pada integrasi nilai-nilai Al-Qur'an dan Pancasila, sebagai manifestasi dari karakter Islami dan nasionalis dalam kepemimpinan kontemporer. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah kualitatif dengan pendekatan studi kepustakaan dan analisis konten terhadap teks-teks Al-Qur'an dan dokumen Pancasila. Selain itu, dilakukan eksplorasi studi kasus tokoh yang merepresentasikan model kepemimpinan Islami-Nasionalis, serta

analisis tematik untuk merumuskan prinsip-prinsip kunci kepemimpinan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa terdapat irisan nilai-nilai etis dan sosial antara Al-Qur'an dan Pancasila, seperti amanah, keadilan, musyawarah, keteladanan, persatuan, dan gotong royong. Nilai-nilai ini terintegrasi dalam kerangka kepemimpinan transformasional yang menekankan pengaruh ideal, motivasi inspiratif, stimulasi intelektual, dan perhatian individual. Penelitian ini menghasilkan sebuah model konseptual kepemimpinan Islami-Nasionalis transformatif yang dapat digunakan sebagai dasar pengembangan kepemimpinan etis dan kontekstual di Indonesia.

Kata kunci: Kepemimpinan Islami, Pancasila, Al-Qur'an, Transformasional, Nasionalisme.

INTRODUCTION

1. Background of The Problem

The crisis of leadership is a central issue in various social and political studies today, both at the global and national levels. As the world faces the challenges of digital disruption, social inequality, and climate change, ethical leadership is key to the sustainability and stability of society. However, many countries, including Indonesia, are facing a decline in leadership quality. Phenomena such as abuse of power, corruption, and weak public accountability indicate a failure to build a value system in leadership. The ICW report (2023) shows that throughout 2022, there were 220 cases of corruption involving public officials, reflecting the lack of integrity in the leadership structure of the Indonesian government.

This phenomenon does not stand alone, but reflects the disorientation of moral and ethical values in leadership practice. When leadership is reduced to mere administrative management and no longer rests on moral civility, the public sphere loses direction. This crisis is increasingly coming to the fore in the practice of educational, governmental and even religious organizations. Failure to build the character of a leader with integrity and based on spirituality makes the social system fragile in facing the challenges of the modern era. Leadership, which should be the axis of change, instead becomes a source of stagnation or conflict.

In the midst of these setbacks, there is an urgency to reformulate ethical and contextual leadership models, especially in a religious and multicultural society like Indonesia. In this context, the values of the Qur'an and Pancasila offer a very strong foundation. The Qur'an contains universal principles such as amanah (QS. An-Nisa: 58), Justice (QS. Al-Ma'idah: 8), and deliberation (QS. Ash-Shura: 38), while Pancasila as the ideology of the nation emphasizes the importance of divinity, humanity, and unity. These values, if studied integratively, can give

birth to a leadership approach that is not only technically effective, but also ethically and spiritually visionary.

Several previous studies have alluded to the need for leadership based on religious and nationalist values. For example, Santoso (2025) shows that the spiritual-based leadership model of school principals is able to significantly improve the character of learners. However, these studies are still normative and have not examined in depth how the process of integration of these values takes place in actual leadership practice, especially within the framework of Transformational Leadership Theory.

Transformational leadership, as formulated by Burns (1978) and Bass (1985), views leaders as agents of change who inspire followers to transcend personal interests for the sake of a collective vision. The theory emphasizes four dimensions: idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individual consideration. Although widely used in the context of modern organizations, this theory is still rarely adopted in the study of local value-based leadership, such as Islam and Pancasila.

In fact, some national figures such as Sukarno and Mohammad Natsir have shown integration of religious and nationalist values-based leadership. Sukarno, for example, initiated the idea of "cultured godhood" and quoted the Qur'an in his State speeches. Meanwhile, Natsir is known as a figure who consistently fights for Islamic ethics in the frame of statehood. Unfortunately, their leadership practices and values have not been systematically studied using the framework of modern leadership theory, especially in the context of the formation of the collective character of the nation.

The gaps in previous studies appear in the lack of qualitative studies that explore the meaning of Islamic-nationalist leadership from the perspective of experience, reflective processes, and value interpretations derived from the Qur'an and Pancasila. The dominant normative approach has not touched on aspects of social praxis and contextual transformation of values. This is an important gap for further research in order to enrich the theory and practice of leadership in Indonesia .

Therefore, this study aims to explore the integration of the values of the Qur'an and Pancasila in the framework of transformational leadership, as well as develop a conceptual model of Islamic-nationalist leadership based on local and spiritual values. This approach is

expected to be able to answer the challenges of contemporary leadership crisis through contextual, moral, and strategic value reconstruction.

Specifically, the focus of the study is directed to how principles such as amanah, keadilan, musyawarah, gotong royong, and exemplary are interpreted and implemented by leaders in the context of nationality and Islam. Qualitative approach with the method of literature studies, the content of the Qur'an and Pancasila, as well as Case Studies of the leader figure is used to explore the substantive and reflective meaning of Islamic-nationalist leadership.

The theoretical contribution of this research is to enrich the framework of transformational leadership with the content of local and spiritual values of Indonesia. Meanwhile, in practical terms, the results of this study can be a reference in the preparation of leadership education curriculum, capacity building of public leaders, and assessment of the character of leaders based on the values of the Qur'an and Pancasila. This research also encourages strengthening the character of the nation through the synthesis of religious and national values in public leadership.

2. The value crisis in leadership

Leadership is not just a strategic position in the social structure, but a moral mandate that requires a strong and consistent value Foundation. In practice, many public and institutional leaders in Indonesia face serious value disorientation. This phenomenon not only occurs at the level of the national elite, but also permeates to the level of educational organizations, local governments, and religious. The lack of internalization of noble values in leaders is the main reason why many leadership policies and actions are opportunistic, manipulative, and far from the public interest . The orientation of power that should be based on devotion, service, and morals is actually shifted into an instrument of domination, exploitation of resources, and political imagery.

This crisis is closely related to the abandonment of spiritual values and nationality as the basis of ethics in leadership. In a religious context, many leaders fail to internalize the concepts of mandate, divine responsibility, and uswah hasanah taught in the Qur'an (see QS. Al-Ahzab: 21 and QS. An-Nisa: 58). While in terms of nationality, the noble values of Pancasila often only become ceremonial jargon without substantial implementation in policy or leader behavior. For

example, the principle of “Wisdom-led populism in deliberation/representation” is often overlooked in elitist and closed decision-making processes .

According to Satria and Chahnia (2024), today's leadership crisis is also characterized by the inability of leaders to build social trust and moral example. They note that in the Pancasila democratic system, a paradox arises between the democratic structure and the centralistic and oligarchic practice of power . This resulted in low public participation and increased distrust of state institutions. In fact, both the Qur'an and Pancasila teach that leadership must be based on wisdom, deliberation, Justice, and alignment with the people.

The research of Alfarizi and Ngatindriatun (2024) reinforces this by stating that the weak moral character of leaders is caused by the absence of synthesis between religious and national values in the process of leadership formation, both at the educational and socio-political levels. The separation between Islamic values and national values has led to the fragmentation of leadership identity leading to a crisis of authenticity. The leader loses his spiritual roots while being uprooted from an inclusive and progressive national consciousness.

Therefore, it is urgent to develop an Islamic-nationalist leadership framework that not only reflects value integration, but is also capable of addressing contemporary challenges such as value disruption, political polarization, and erosion of Public Ethics. This approach does not aim to unite religion and state structurally, but rather to synergize the spiritual values of Islam with the philosophy of Pancasila as the basis of Public Ethics in leadership. As explained by Hakim (2021), the religious-nationalist leadership carried out by figures such as Sukarno and Mohammad Natsir is proof that Islamic ethics and nationalism are not contradictory things, but complement each other .

The Islamic-nationalist leadership in question is a model that brings together spiritual influence, social responsibility and a transformational orientation. This Model rejects a secularistic approach that separates ethics from power, while avoiding a sectarian approach that narrows the meaning of nationality. This integration is believed to be able to produce leaders who are not only competent in technical aspects, but also have strong characters, are committed to social justice, and uphold the spirit of unity.

In other words, the crisis of values in leadership must be answered through the reconstruction of a leadership paradigm rooted in the authentic values of the nation and religion.

In the Indonesian context, the Qur'an and Pancasila are not two separate entities, but two sources of values that can complement each other in forming a transformational, contextual, and highly moral leadership framework.

3. Significance Of The Islamic-Nationalist Leadership Model

In the context of value disruption and leadership integrity crisis in various sectors, there is an urgent need for a new leadership paradigm that is able to integrate between moral firmness and socio-political skills. The Islamic-nationalist leadership Model is both a conceptual and a practical response to these needs. This Model is not built on the dichotomy of religion and state, but rather on the harmonious synthesis between the divine values in the Qur'an and the national philosophy in Pancasila. This integration creates a solid ethical and contextual foundation for a leader who lives and works in a plural society like Indonesia .

Substantively, this model has strategic value in shaping leaders who are not only spiritually observant, but also historically, ideologically, and socially aware. Islamic-nationalist leadership places values such as amanah, justice, unity, deliberation, and mutual assistance as the ethical framework and orientation of leadership action. In this case, these values not only become personal principles, but are transformed into organizational structures and social relations. Leaders who carry this model are positioned as moral directors and Guardians of the collective integrity of the nation, not just bureaucratic administrators .

Within the framework of transformational leadership (Bass, 1985; Burns, 1978), leaders have a role as agents of change, who inspire followers through idealized influence, inspirational motivation, and intellectual stimulation. The Islamic-nationalist Model is very much in line with these dimensions, because the values of Islam and Pancasila actually encourage the emergence of leaders who are able to build vision, character, and value transformation in society. Leaders are no longer seen from a purely technocratic capacity, but from their ability to guide, imitate, and unite people and nations .

Furthermore, this model has the potential to be the answer to the fragmentation of values in the life of the nation and state. In Indonesia's socio-political reality, ideological polarization—both religion-based and narrow nationalism—has created value insecurity in leadership. Public leaders are often caught in a tug-of-war that reduces noble values to mere tools of political

mobilization. The Islamic-nationalist Model seeks to bridge the gap by making Islamic values as public ethics and Pancasila as an inclusive national collective framework .

Research by Santoso (2025) shows that when religious and nationalist values are combined in transformational leadership patterns in the school environment, the character of students and organizational culture experience significant improvements. These findings reinforce the assumption that value integration not only has an impact on the normative level, but also praxis and transformational . Similar findings were presented by Alfarizi and Ngatindriatun (2024), who stated that civic behavior in Islamic educational institutions increases when their leaders apply Pancasila values in synergy with Islamic leadership .

Thus, the significance of the Islamic-nationalist model of leadership lies not only in its theoretical purity, but especially in its utility in answering complex social realities. This Model is able to form leaders who are not only competent in making decisions, but also have ethical acumen, social sensitivity, and a deep sense of nationality. In the long term, this model is expected to foster a generation of leaders with high integrity who become the backbone of the nation's civilization.

RESEARCH METHODS

1. Approaches and types of research

This study uses a qualitative approach to the design of library studies (library research) combined with Case Studies. This approach was chosen because it is in accordance with the purpose of explorative-conceptual and normative-empirical research, namely understanding the integration of religious and nationalist values in transformational leadership models. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) explain that the qualitative approach emphasizes understanding meaning, structure, and processes in a given context, rather than simply measuring the frequency of symptoms. Therefore, this method allows the researcher to capture the depth of the meaning of the text and the practice of leadership from a value point of view.

2. Data Collection Techniques

The Data in this study were obtained through two main sources. First, secondary data obtained from literature review, including Qur'anic verses relevant to leadership values (e.g. QS. Al-Baqarah: 30, An-Nisa: 58, Ash-Shura: 38), official documents related to Pancasila (eg

BPIP documents, state speeches, and constitutional history documents), as well as the results of previous research. Second, primary data collected through in-depth interviews with selected informants, namely religious leaders, academics, and leadership practitioners, if specific case studies are used. Interviews are semi-structured in order to allow flexibility in exploring the informant's views contextually and deeply (Creswell, 2014).

3. Data Analysis Techniques

Data analysis was conducted through content analysis method on the text of Al-Qur'an and Pancasila documents. The purpose of this analysis is to identify and classify leadership values in both sources. The analysis was done using thematic coding technique. According to Braun & Clarke (2006), thematic analysis is an effective method for systematically identifying thematic patterns in qualitative data. Any findings from the text or interview are then categorized into major themes such as “moral exemplar”, “social responsibility”, “deliberation”, “Justice”, and “transcendence”.

4. Validity and Triangulation

To ensure the validity of the data, source triangulation and method triangulation techniques are used (Denzin, 1978). Triangulation of sources is done by comparing the findings of the text of the Qur'an, Pancasila documents, and the results of interviews. Meanwhile, method triangulation is achieved by combining the approaches of literature and field studies (if used). The validity of the interpretation was strengthened by conducting expert discussions (peer debriefing) and re-examination of the coding results by two independent researchers. This procedure is carried out to ensure the consistency and credibility of thematic interpretations.

5. Location and subject of the study (if the case study is taken)

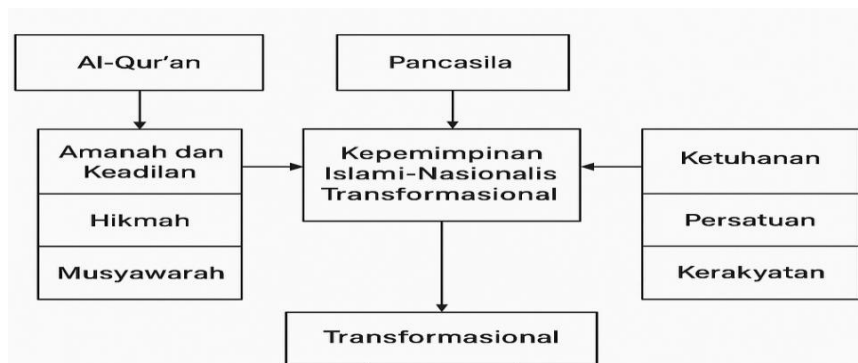
If a case study is used, the location of the study will be determined based on contextual relevance to the focus of Islamic-nationalist leadership, such as Islamic boarding schools based on nationality, character-based schools, or government institutions with a religious-national vision. The subjects of study were purposively selected with the criteria of leaders or institutions that actually represent the integration of Islamic and Pancasila values. This method aligns with an interpretative qualitative approach that emphasizes meaning in typical social contexts (Patton, 2015).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

RESULTS

1. Integration of the values of the Qur'an and Pancasila in the framework of Transformational Leadership

The results of content analysis of the verses of the Qur'an and the ideological documents of Pancasila indicate the intersection of moral and social values that underlie the character of transformative leaders. Values such as values (P. An-Nisa: 58), Justice (QS. Al-Ma'idah: 8), deliberation (QS. Ash-Shura: 38), as well as social responsibility and spiritual example (QS. Al-Ahzab: 21) in synergy with the precepts of Pancasila such as the Almighty God, just and civilized humanity, and Citizenship led by wisdom. In a transformational perspective, this integration breeds leaders who not only drive structural change, but also transcendental. The leader is positioned as a murobbi (moral educator) as well as an agent of social change that transforms values to followers and the structures he leads (Bass, 1985; Burns, 1978). Thus, transformative Islamic-nationalist leadership is not a compromise approach between two values, but rather a spiritual-ideological synthesis.



2. Key principles in transformational Islamic-nationalist leadership

Through a thematic process of primary (Al-Qur'an and Pancasila) and secondary (literature review and focused interviews) sources, a number of key principles are found that form the foundation of the transformative Islamic-nationalist leadership model:

Principles	Islamic Sources (Qur'an)	Source Pancasila	Transformational Dimension
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Trust	QS. An-Nisa: 58	Chapter 5: Social Justice	Individualized Consideration
Justice	QS. Al-Ma'idah: 8	2nd Chapter: humanity is just and civilized	Idealized Influence
Consultative process	QS. Asy-Syura: 38	Chapter 4: Citizenship	Inspirational Motivation
Exemplary (Uswah)	QS. Al-Ahzab: 21	All precepts as a reflection of character	Role Model, Visionary Leadership
Mutual Cooperation	Nilai praksis dari ukhuwah	The high value of Pancasila cultur	Collective Purpose & Social Vision
Unity	QS. Ali-Imran: 103	Chapter 3: Unity of Indonesian	Vision integration

3. Case Study Of Islamic-Nationalist Leadership Figures

This study also raised the figure of leaders who represent the Islamic-nationalist model, such as:

- a. Soekarno: the founder of the nation who emphasized the importance of “cultured Godhead” and “Islamic nationalism”. Sukarno displayed an inspiring leadership style, with a strong vision of nationhood and social justice. In his speeches, he often quoted Qur'anic verses and stressed the importance of deliberation as well as Unity (Committee 9, 1945).
- b. Mohammad Natsir: an Islamic figure who championed the integration between Shari'a values and national principles. Natsir emphasizes morality as the core of leadership, as well as being a value-based transformational leader model. His thought of the "Islamic Cultural state" places religion as a public ethic in the context of pluralism.

Contemporary figures (if data are available from interviews or field studies) such as leaders of nationalist pesantren, regional heads with an inclusive religious vision (eg NTB Governor, Ridwan Kamil, etc.) also demonstrate such integrative practices, albeit on a varied scale.

This case study shows that the character of Islamic-nationalist leaders is not dogmatic, but contextual and dialogical to social reality.

4. Conceptual Model Of Transformative Islamic-Nationalist Leadership

Based on the synthesis of literature, content data, and interview analysis, a conceptual model can be formulated that describes the integration of the values of the Qur'an and Pancasila within the framework of transformational leadership. This Model contains 3 large elements:

- a. Spiritual Values Of Islam (Qur'an) → Amanah, Justice, Deliberation, Uswah
- b. The Ideological Value Of Pancasila → Unity, Mutual Cooperation, Humanity, Wisdom
- c. Dimensions of Transformational Leadership (Bass & Avolio) → ideal influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, individual consideration

These three elements are then combined in a leadership structure that forms the character, ethos, and social orientation of Islamic-nationalist leaders.

The conceptual model Diagram has been shown before and can be the main visual reference for this section.

The results of this study confirm that the transformative Islamic-nationalist leadership model is not a form of compromise between religion and state, but rather an ideological and spiritual synthesis that is relevant to the contemporary challenges of leadership in Indonesia.



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DISCUSSION

This study shows that the integration of the values of the Qur'an and Pancasila in the

framework of transformational leadership can give birth to ethical, spiritual, and nationalist leadership models. Through thematic analysis of religious texts and ideological documents of the state, it was found that values such as trustworthiness, Justice, deliberation, example, and unity form a common foundation that strengthens the character of transformative leadership. This integration provides a new direction in leadership development that is not only managerially effective, but also has moral legitimacy and a strong national identity.

Theoretically, these findings enrich the leadership literature by presenting a transformational Islamic-nationalist leadership model, which has not been comprehensively developed in previous studies. This Model unites the framework of transformational leadership (Bass, 1985) with local Indonesian values, making the theory more contextual in the nation's culture and ideology. In practical terms, this model can be used as a reference in leadership training, especially in educational institutions, governments, and value-based organizations, to form leaders who are visionary as well as noble and love the homeland.

This study has some limitations. First, the qualitative approach used is interpretative and document-based, so that the generalization of the results is limited to the context of the analysis. Second, the involvement of case studies or figures studied is illustrative and does not cover the variety of Islamic-nationalist leadership at various levels and regions. Third, empirical tests have not been carried out on the conceptual model prepared, so its effectiveness still needs to be proven through quantitative studies or Action (action research).

To strengthen the scientific contribution, further research is recommended to:

- a. Examine transformative Islamic-nationalist leadership models empirically through quantitative methods and instrument validation.
- b. Conduct comparative studies between regions or sectors (government, education, boarding schools, etc.) to see the application of values contextually.
- c. Developing integrative value measurement instruments based on al-Qur'an and Pancasila indicators within the framework of leadership assessment.
- d. Conduct participatory research with community leaders or local leaders in formulating value-based policies.

Thus, the scientific and practical agenda of Indonesia's future leadership can be supported by a solid, contextual, and transformation-oriented value framework.

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