

CIVILIZATIONAL JURISPRUDENCE: A RESPONSE TO THE LOGICAL FALLACIES OF THE JURISPRUDENCE IDEOLOGY NARRATIVES OF ANTI-PANCASILA ORGANIZATIONS ON SOCIAL MEDIA

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ABSTRACT

Indonesia's state ideology, Pancasila, continues to face challenges from several Islamic mass organizations that promote transnational and literalist interpretations of Islam, particularly through social media. These groups often construct narratives that delegitimize Pancasila by framing it as incompatible with Islamic teachings, using emotionally charged arguments and flawed reasoning. This study aims to analyze the forms of logical fallacies embedded in anti-Pancasila narratives disseminated by Islamic organizations and to examine how civilizational jurisprudence (fiqh al-hadarah) can function as a corrective framework. Employing a qualitative research design, the study uses content analysis of ideological texts, social media posts, official publications, and digital propaganda produced by organizations such as Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), and related groups. The findings reveal recurring logical fallacies, including false dichotomy, false analogy, overgeneralization, and the misuse of scriptural authority to oppose the Indonesian constitutional system. The study demonstrates that civilizational jurisprudence, which emphasizes contextual reasoning, public welfare (maslahah), and national coexistence, provides a coherent theological and legal response to these narratives. Ultimately, the research highlights the importance of integrating logical analysis and Islamic jurisprudence to strengthen ideological resilience and safeguard Indonesia's pluralistic constitutional order.

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INTRODUCTIONS

Indonesia's ideological foundation, Pancasila, continues to be challenged by several Islamic mass organizations (Ormas) that interpret Islamic teachings through transnational and literalist frameworks. These groups—such as Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), and Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD)—often

exploit democratic freedoms to question the legitimacy of Pancasila as the state ideology. Their activism, particularly on social media, frames Indonesia's constitutional order as *thaghut* (illegitimate) and contrary to Islamic law, thereby creating ideological polarization within society (Hilmy, 2011; Qohar & Hakiki, 2017).

This phenomenon is not isolated. It reflects a global trend in which transnational Islamist movements seek to universalize the Caliphate concept, undermining local political identities and constitutional frameworks (Mandaville, 2003). In Indonesia, this manifests in the contestation between syariah-oriented politics and Pancasila nationalism. The persistence of this ideological conflict signals a deeper issue—namely, the lack of comprehensive legal and theological frameworks capable of addressing these narratives coherently (Baso, 1997; Syarifuddin, 2008).

Social media has become a crucial medium for disseminating religious-political propaganda. With more than 210 million internet users as of 2023 (APJII, 2023), platforms like Facebook, TikTok, and YouTube have enabled rapid diffusion of ideological content that merges theology with political agitation. Studies show that such digital propaganda frequently employs logical fallacies, emotional reasoning, and selective quotations from scripture to delegitimize Pancasila (Adimassana, 2020; Sobur, 2015). These rhetorical strategies are especially effective in mobilizing young Muslims with limited religious literacy.

At the socio-political level, the proliferation of anti-Pancasila narratives threatens Indonesia's pluralistic democracy. The National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT) and the Ministry of Religious Affairs have repeatedly warned that radical groups exploit grievances—such as perceived moral decay, corruption, and inequality—to frame Pancasila as incompatible with Islam (Arif, 2016). This narrative erodes public trust in state institutions and deepens the ideological divide between “religious purity” and “national loyalty.”

Although the government has taken firm actions—such as dissolving HTI in 2017 and FPI in 2020 through the Perppu Ormas (Government Regulation in Lieu of Law on Mass Organizations)—the ideological roots of these movements persist online (Iskatrilia, 2019; Perdana, 2021). Legal measures alone have proven insufficient to counteract their theological arguments, which are often cloaked in claims of scriptural legitimacy and divine sovereignty.

Scholars have explored the relationship between Islam and Pancasila from theological (Nainggolan, 1997; Yusnaini, 2017), historical (Ridwan, 2017; Zamani & Hamidah, 2021; Zoelva, 2012), and legal perspectives (Mubarak & Arsyad, 2021). However, most research has emphasized the compatibility between Islamic values and Pancasila rather than critically engaging with the logical structure of anti-Pancasila arguments. This gap allows fallacious reasoning to persist unchallenged in public discourse.

The urgency of this study arises from the need to develop a more systematic epistemological response to these fallacies. Many of the anti-Pancasila narratives employ false analogies—such as comparing divine revelation (the Qur'an) with man-made constitutions—or invoke false dichotomies that frame Muslims as forced to choose between Islamic faith and national identity (Ahmad, 2012; Copi et al., 2014). Addressing these errors requires not only theological counterarguments but also an analytical approach rooted in logic and *fiqh al-hadarah* (civilizational jurisprudence).

Civilizational jurisprudence (*fikih peradaban*), as conceptualized by (Asmani, 2014; Mahfudh, 2003), provides a dynamic framework that situates Islamic law within cultural and national contexts. Unlike formalist jurisprudence, it emphasizes *maslahah* (public good), *wasathiyah* (moderation), and contextual reasoning, aligning religious obligations with state responsibilities. This framework offers a middle ground between rigid literalism and secular nationalism.

This study, therefore, seeks to examine the logical fallacies embedded within anti-Pancasila narratives of Islamic mass organizations and to demonstrate how civilizational jurisprudence can serve as a corrective paradigm. By analyzing social media content, official publications, and digital propaganda, this research aims to uncover how

these organizations construct theological legitimacy through flawed reasoning. It also aims to show how a contextual understanding of sharia supports Pancasila rather than contradicting it.

Theoretically, this research contributes to the discourse on Islamic political thought by integrating logic, jurisprudence, and political theology within Indonesia's socio-political framework. Practically, it supports policymakers, educators, and religious institutions in crafting more effective counter-radicalization strategies that move beyond surveillance and legal bans toward intellectual and theological engagement. Thus, fikih peradaban is positioned as both a scholarly and strategic tool in safeguarding Indonesia's ideological integrity.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study employs a qualitative approach using content analysis to identify and uncover various forms of logical fallacies found in the ideological narratives of anti-Pancasila Islamic mass organizations (Ormas). This approach is appropriate for interpreting both textual meaning and the social context that naturally emerge within digital and organizational discourse.

Unit of Analysis

The units of analysis in this study are structured as follows:

1. Textual unit: ideological narratives in written form, quotes, or social media posts from organizations such as HTI, FPI, JAD, and Jama'ah Islamiyah.
2. Contextual unit: the platforms or documents where the narratives appear, including official websites, organizational statutes (AD/ART), or verified social media accounts.
3. Meaning unit: the specific types of logical fallacies (e.g., overgeneralization, false analogy, or theological misreasoning) used to promote anti-Pancasila ideology.

Data Sources

Primary data consist of ideological narratives and digital documents from HTI, FPI, JAD, and Jama'ah Islamiyah. Secondary data include reports from the Ministry of Home Affairs (Kemendagri) and the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Kemenag), as well as authoritative Islamic scholarly works such as fiqh, usul fiqh, tafsir ahkam, academic journal articles, and credible news sources.

Data Collection Techniques

Data were collected through documentation, online observation, and limited interviews with relevant officials and experts on civilizational jurisprudence (fiqh peradaban). Additionally, Focus Group Discussions (FGD) were conducted to validate and refine the initial interpretations.

Data Analysis Techniques

The analytical process was carried out in several stages:

1. Data reduction: selecting and coding narrative data that display anti-Pancasila tendencies.
2. Classification: grouping narratives based on the identified types of logical fallacies.
3. Interpretation: analyzing the ideological meaning of these narratives within the framework of civilizational jurisprudence.
4. Verification: comparing findings with relevant theories of fiqh and national ideological discourse.

Trustworthiness

To ensure the reliability and validity of the qualitative findings, the study applies four trustworthiness criteria:

1. Credibility: ensured through data triangulation (digital narratives, interviews, and documents), member checking, and expert discussions via FGD.
2. Dependability: maintained through comprehensive documentation and an audit trail of the analytical procedures.
3. Confirmability: established by maintaining researcher objectivity through reflective notes and peer validation.

4. Transferability: achieved by providing rich contextual descriptions, allowing the findings to serve as reference points for similar studies.

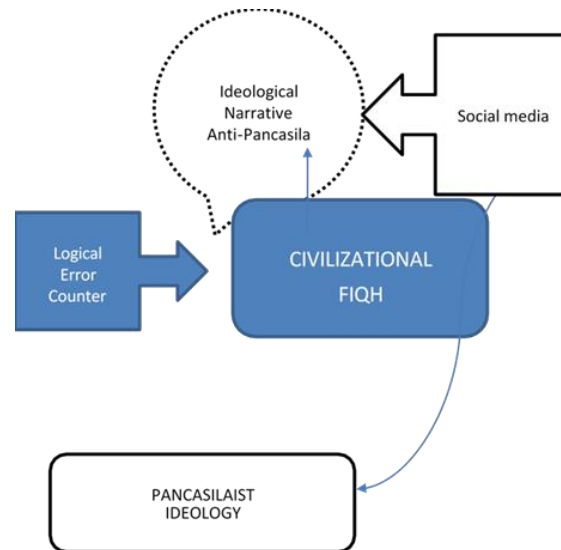


Figure 1. Thinking Framework

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Getting to Know Islamic Mass Organizations in Indonesia

When discussing Islamic mass organizations (Ormas) in Indonesia, it's clear that there are many, reflecting the fact that Indonesia is the largest Muslim-majority country in the world. Some of these organizations include al-Ittihadiyah, Jam'iyatul Washliyah, Alkhairaat, Darud Da'wah wal-Irsyad, Jamiat Kheir Mathla'ul Anwar, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Nahdlatul Wathan (NW), Muhammadiyah, and many others. These Ormas are categorized into various groups: older generations are represented by organizations like NU, NW, and al-Ittihadiyah, while younger groups include Muhammadiyah, al-Irsyad, and Hidayatullah. Salafi groups are represented by Himpunan Ahlussunnah and Wahdah Islamiyah. Organizations such as Syarikat Islam and SISII are non-affiliated, while Ahlulbait Indonesia and Ikatan Jamaah Ahlulbait Indonesia are rooted in Shia Islam. Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia's affiliation remains unclear.

Controversial Islamic Mass Organizations in Indonesia and Their Ideologies: Reviewing the Vision and Mission of the Statutes and Bylaws (AD/ART)

1. Front Pembela Islam (FPI)

The Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) was founded on August 17, 1998, at Pondok Pesantren Al-Umm, Ciputat, by Rizieq Shihab. The organization became known for its militant actions—such as raids on nightclubs and clashes with other groups—claiming to uphold Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar (enjoining good and forbidding evil).



Figure 2. FPI's Vision and Mission

FPI follows the Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah doctrine with the Shafi'i school of thought, though it differs from organizations like NU and Muhammadiyah. According to its statutes, FPI's vision was to implement Islamic law comprehensively under an Islamic Caliphate system—an ideology seen as incompatible with Pancasila and threatening Indonesia's unity. Due to repeated legal violations and acts of violence, the Indonesian government officially banned FPI on December 30, 2020.



Figure 3. FPI Logo

The original FPI logo featured the two shahada phrases in calligraphy forming a star and crescent, symbolizing its Islamic identity. After its dissolution, the organization rebranded as the Islamic Brotherhood Front

(Front Persaudaraan Islam), adopting a new green-themed logo symbolizing peace, with symbols of the Kaaba, prayer beads, and domes.



Figure 4. New FPI Logo

Source: <https://www.reqnews.com/news/37865/pendukung-rizieq-wajib-tahu-ini-makna-logo-baru-fpi>

The new FPI declares Islam as its religious foundation and Pancasila as its national foundation, with five core principles:

- a. Defend Religion and the Nation
 - b. Islamic Preaching and Education
 - c. Law Enforcement and Human Rights
 - d. Humanity and Disaster Management
 - e. Development of Honest and Trustworthy Media
2. Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI)

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) was officially disbanded on July 19, 2017, by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights under Government Regulation No. 2 of 2017, after being deemed incompatible with Indonesia's Pancasila ideology and national laws.

Originally founded in Palestine in 1953, Hizbut Tahrir advocates for the establishment of a global Islamic Caliphate to implement Islamic law (Sharia) in all aspects of life. HTI rejects secularism, capitalism, and communism, promoting the belief that only Sharia can govern society justly. The movement views Indonesia's Pancasila-based system as inconsistent with true Islamic governance.



Figure 5. Illustration of the HTI Flag

Source: https://www.dakwatuna.com/2018/10/23/94334/seperti-apakah-bendera-hizbut-tahrir-indonesia-hti-itu/?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=feed&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+dakwatunacom_berita+%28dakwatuna.com+%C2%BB+Berita%29#axzz7G6K8f9u2

Since entering Indonesia in the 1980s, HTI has campaigned for the Caliphate through demonstrations and public outreach. Although officially banned, it continues to spread its ideology through media platforms like radio, television, and websites.

The HTI flag features Islamic calligraphy with the shahada (declaration of faith). The organization also uses chants and slogans to promote its vision of an Islamic state (Daulah Islamiyah), training followers to use them in public events. HTI's literalist approach emphasizes strict adherence to the Quran and Hadith, rejecting human-made laws and interpretations.

3. Wahdah Islamiyah (WI)

Wahdah Islamiyah (WI) is an Islamic organization from South Sulawesi, founded on June 18, 1988, originally as the Fathul Muin Foundation. Emerging from former Muhammadiyah youth activists in Makassar who opposed Pancasila as the sole ideology, the organization evolved through several name changes before officially becoming Wahdah Islamiyah in 2002.

WI is known as one of Indonesia's earliest Salafi-Haraki movements, focusing on preaching (dakwah), education, and social services. Its influence has spread widely, particularly in Sulawesi and Kalimantan.



Figure 6. Wahdah Islamiyyah Logo

Source: <https://wahdah.or.id/logo-wahdah-png/>

Since the Reformasi era, WI has adopted a more cooperative stance toward the government, often partnering on social and educational initiatives. At its 4th Congress in 2021, WI reaffirmed its commitment to promoting Islam Wasathiyah (Moderate Islam) and aligning its preaching with national values, science, and technology. The organization supports national unity and rejects ideologies contrary to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.



Figure 7. WI Recruitment with Social Media

Source: <https://wahdah.or.id/>

WI also utilizes modern digital platforms and social media to recruit members and expand its outreach effectively.

Logical Fallacies in the Content of Islamic Organizations' Preaching Against Pancasila on Social Media

Before identifying logical fallacies in these narratives, it is essential to understand the concept of an “Apple to Apple” comparison—comparing two equal and balanced things. Comparing a low-priced laptop with a much more expensive one, for example, is an illogical comparison.

Five propaganda narratives from anti-Pancasila Islamic organizations exhibit logical fallacies:

1. Narrative: "HTI Fights for the Caliphate, Indonesia is Considered Thoghut and Kafir."
2. Narrative: "Indonesia Practices Thaghut Law, Muslims Are Forbidden to Obey."
3. Narrative: "The Holy Quran is a Sacred and Noble Guideline. Why Should We Shift to the Constitution?"
4. Narrative: "O Ahlussunnah Indonesia! Which Do You Choose? Islamic State (Quran & Sunnah) or NKRI (Pancasila & 1945 Constitution)."
5. Narrative: "The State Has Failed, Save Indonesia with the Caliphate."

The first narrative, “HTI Fights for the Caliphate; Indonesia is Thaghut and Infidel,” is displayed in the website example shown in Image 8.



Figure 8. Web Display of the Narrative "HTI Fights for the Caliphate, Indonesia is Considered a Thoghut and an Infidel"

Source: <https://bangkitmedia.com/hti-perjuangkan-khilafah-indonesia-considered-thoghut-dan-kafir/>

Not much different from the first narrative, the second narrative is "Indonesia has Thagut Law, Muslims are prohibited from obeying", as shown in Figure 9. below.



Figure 9. Web Display of the Narrative "Indonesia is Under Thaghut Law, Muslims are Prohibited from Obeying"
Source: <https://www.voa-islam.com/read/indonesiana/2013/08/15/26277/ustadz-baasyir-indonesia-berhukum-thaghut-umat-islam-dilarang-patuh/>

In the first and second narratives—"The Caliphate, Indonesia is Thaghut and Infidel" and "Indonesia Enforces Thaghut Law; Muslims Must Not Obey"—HTI, quoting Ustadz Ba'asyir, labels the Indonesian state as thaghut and kafir. This reflects a black-and-white theological logic, where Indonesia's sovereignty is irrationally compared with God's sovereignty under the Caliphate—an "Apple to Orange" comparison.

The Caliphate represents divine authority, not comparable to human-made democratic governance. HTI's anti-Pancasila propaganda misuses religious concepts by equating divine sovereignty with political systems. Furthermore, not all prophets held political power, proving that Islam does not mandate a religious state but rather a state that respects religion.

The third narrative—"The Holy Qur'an is Sacred and Noble. Why Follow the Constitution?"—is illustrated on the website shown in Image 10.



Figure 10. The Holy Quran is a High, Sacred, and Noble Guide. Why Must We Shift to the Constitution?

Source: <https://www.trenopini.com/2020/12/kitab-suci-al-quran-hadap-peunjuk.html>

The image compares the Quran and Sunnah to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, which is an incorrect "Apple to Apple" comparison. The Quran and Sunnah are divine and universal, while Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution are human-made and local. This makes the comparison illogical. Similarly, the fourth narrative, "Which do you choose: 1. Islamic State (Quran & Sunnah) 2. NKRI (Pancasila & 1945 Constitution)," uses overgeneralization and presents an irrational comparison, as shown in the image on page 11.



Figure 11. "Which do you choose, 1. Islamic State (Al-Quran & Al Sunnah), 2. NKRI (Pancasila & UUD'45)"

Source: <https://www.islamiro.com/2020/01/pancasila-vs-khilafah.html>

Indonesia is not a theocratic state, but it does not reject religion. It is based on the ideology of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, which reflect universal religious principles such as belief in God, humanity, justice, unity, consultation, and social justice—values fundamental to the teachings of the Quran. These principles are practically implemented through laws and regulations, meaning Indonesia is a state with religion. While Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution are not directly divine laws, they are products of human *ijtihad* that align with God's guidance. Therefore, it is a fallacy to label them as "thoghut" or as deviating from divine teachings. Similarly, the narrative "The State Has Failed, Save Indonesia with the Caliphate" is an overgeneralization and incorrect, as shown in Image 12.



Figure 12. “Failed State, Save Indonesia with the Caliphate”

Source: <https://duta.co/hti-juga-ajak-17-ormas-gelar-demo-ini-putusan-mk-soal-perppu-ormas>

It is a clear overgeneralization to declare a country as a failure in fulfilling its functions as a whole. While a country faces various challenges, using specific, partial issues as the basis for declaring its overall failure is a clear logical fallacy.

The Community's Response to the Narrative of Fallacious Logic of Anti-Pancasila Mass Organizations

For many Indonesian Muslims, living under Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution presents a dilemma amid ongoing radical calls for Sharia implementation and the Caliphate. However, Indonesia is a religious nation, not a theocracy, with Pancasila serving as the national foundation.

While the Qur'an and Sunnah provide universal guidance, Pancasila and the Constitution are contextually Indonesian agreements for unity and progress. The government's dissolution of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) reflects its stance against movements that threaten national cohesion.

Surveys show over 70% of Indonesians support Pancasila democracy, with minimal support for an Islamic state or liberal democracy. Thus, anti-Pancasila groups' flawed logic endangers both religious understanding and

national unity.

Six key factors driving these movements include:

1. Hatred toward the government
2. Exposure to conflict environments
3. Misguided religious teachings
4. Reaction to perceived injustice
5. Recruitment via social media
6. Influence of peers and family ties

Government Response to the Rebellious and Disobedient

Islamic groups opposing Pancasila are considered bughat (rebellious). The government must regulate these organizations to preserve Indonesia's unity under national law. In Islam, rebellion against a legitimate government is strictly prohibited, as bughat refers to groups that reject lawful authority and seek to disrupt order.

The Qur'an (Surah Al-Hujurat 49:9) calls for reconciliation among believers but permits firm action against those who persist in rebellion. Political uprisings contradict Islam's principles of peace, justice, and brotherhood.

Therefore, the government's response should be firm yet peaceful—emphasizing education, persuasion, and reintegration. According to the Hanafi school, decisive but just measures are allowed to restore stability without unnecessary violence.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that anti-Pancasila Islamic organizations construct their ideological narratives through a series of recurrent logical fallacies, including false dichotomy, inappropriate comparison, overgeneralization, and misuse of scriptural authority. These fallacies distort Islamic teachings and undermine Indonesia's constitutional framework. Civilizational jurisprudence offers a constructive paradigm for correcting these distortions by emphasizing contextual reasoning, national coexistence, and the dynamic nature of Islamic law. The dissolution of HTI and FPI is therefore justified from both constitutional and jurisprudential perspectives.

Theoretical Implications:

This study expands the discourse on Islamic political movements by integrating logical fallacy analysis with civilizational jurisprudence.

Practical Implications:

The findings provide a conceptual tool for policymakers, religious authorities, and digital literacy programs to counter radical narratives.

Limitations:

This study focuses primarily on textual and digital propaganda; further ethnographic work is needed.

Future Research:

Future studies should analyze YouTube sermons, TikTok da'wah, online semiotics, and emerging splinter groups.

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