

ARTICLE

Modest Modernities: Muslim Identity, Globalisation, and Urban Transformation in Indonesia

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Teguh Luhuringbudi

Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam
Minhaajurroosyidiin
(STAIMI), Indonesia
Email:
sampaiteguh@gmail.com

Edi Kurniawan

UIN Sulthan Thaha
Saifuddin Jambi, Indonesia
Email:
edikurniawan@uinjambi.ac.id

Humaira Ahmad

University of Management
and Technology, Pakistan
Email:
humaira.ahmad@umt.edu.pk

Amin Muhtar

Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam
(STAI) Al-Ma'arif, Indonesia
Email:
aiminmanjur@gmail.com

R. M. Imam Abdillah

Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam
(STAI) Nurul Hidayah
Malingping, Indonesia
Email:
radenimamabdillah@gmail.com

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Abstract

Global neoliberalism and rapid urbanization have transformed cities worldwide, redefining social life and religious identities. In Jakarta, Indonesia's capital, these forces have intensified through economic growth, migration, and global connectivity, challenging the Muslim majority to sustain their faith within a consumerist and market-driven urban order. This study aims to analyze how neoliberal policies and globalization shape the social and cultural dynamics of Muslims in Jakarta and how they negotiate and adapt their identities amid modern urban transformation. Employing a qualitative descriptive design, this research relies on literature review and document analysis of official statistical reports and scholarly works on Jakarta's socio-economic context. Data were analyzed thematically following Mezmur's framework, involving coding, theme clustering, and narrative construction to interpret the relationship between urban transformation, neoliberalism, and Muslim identity. The findings reveal that Muslim identity in Jakarta is not eroded but hybridized – integrating Islamic ethics with modern practices such as digital *zakat*, halal lifestyle consumption, and mosque-based social welfare systems. These adaptations show resilience, creativity, and negotiation between religious tradition and global modernity. The implication of this study is the need for inclusive urban policies that protect religious practices, promote social equity, and strengthen community solidarity amid neoliberal pressures.

Keywords: Urban Transformation; Muslim Identity; Modernity; Cultural Hybridization; Neoliberalism

Neoliberalisme global dan urbanisasi yang cepat telah mengubah wajah kota-kota di seluruh dunia, sekaligus memengaruhi kehidupan sosial dan identitas keagamaan masyarakat. Di Jakarta, sebagai ibu kota Indonesia, kekuatan tersebut semakin terasa melalui pertumbuhan ekonomi, arus migrasi, dan keterhubungan global yang tinggi. Kondisi ini menantang masyarakat Muslim untuk tetap mempertahankan nilai-nilai keagamaannya di tengah budaya kota yang kompetitif dan konsumtif. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis bagaimana kebijakan neoliberal dan globalisasi membentuk dinamika sosial dan budaya umat Muslim di Jakarta serta bagaimana mereka menegosiasikan dan menyesuaikan identitasnya di tengah transformasi kota modern. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif deskriptif dengan teknik pengumpulan data melalui studi literatur dan analisis dokumen yang terkait kondisi sosial-ekonomi Jakarta. Data dianalisis dengan metode tematik berdasarkan kerangka Mezmur, melalui proses pengkodean, pengelompokan tema, dan penyusunan narasi untuk menafsirkan hubungan antara transformasi kota, neoliberalisme, dan identitas Muslim. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa identitas Muslim di Jakarta tidak hilang, tetapi bertransformasi menjadi bentuk hibrid yang memadukan etika Islam dengan praktik modern seperti zakat digital, gaya hidup halal, dan solidaritas sosial berbasis masjid. Adaptasi ini menunjukkan ketahanan dan kreativitas umat Muslim dalam menghadapi modernitas. Implikasi penelitian ini adalah pentingnya kebijakan kota yang inklusif, yang mampu melindungi praktik keagamaan, memperkuat keadilan sosial, dan mendorong solidaritas komunitas di tengah tekanan neoliberal.

A. INTRODUCTION

Global neoliberalism and rapid globalization have reshaped urban life worldwide, producing profound consequences for social structures and religious identities. Neoliberal policies prioritize competition, market expansion, and growth, often at the cost of social cohesion and welfare. For Muslim communities, these forces can erode traditional religious values, transform everyday rituals, and pressure believers to reconcile faith with materialist and consumerist environments. At the same time, globalization generates new cultural flows that interact with local practices, leading to the negotiation of hybrid religious identities across urban contexts.

In Indonesia, these dynamics are particularly evident in Jakarta, the nation's capital and economic hub. Over the past few decades, rapid economic growth and population expansion have radically altered Jakarta's physical and social landscapes (Du, Hou, and Xu 2022; Hu, Shen, and Zhang 2023). Skyscrapers, shopping centers, and new transport infrastructures have reshaped urban space, while lifestyle changes and large-scale migration have increased cultural diversity (Lo 2018; Indraprahasta and Derudder 2019). However, urban policies remain heavily oriented toward economic growth rather than social welfare, often producing inequality and marginalization (Salim and Drenth 2020; Shatkin 2022). For Jakarta's Muslim majority, this context raises pressing questions about how religious identity is preserved, adapted, or transformed amid such neoliberal and globalizing pressures.

As the capital city of Indonesia, DKI Jakarta has undergone a considerable urban transformation in recent decades. Significant economic growth and population expansion have precipitated substantial alterations to the social and physical configuration of the city (Du, Hou, and Xu 2022; Hu, Shen, and Zhang 2023; Humbal, Chaudhary, and Pathak 2023; Li, Sun, and Li 2021; Luhuringbudi, Putra, et al. 2025). The Muslim population of

Jakarta, which constituted the majority of the city's inhabitants, encountered obstacles in preserving their religious identity in the context of the prevailing currents of modernity (Jubba, Awang, and Sungkilang 2021; Pribadi 2022; Sinaga n.d.; Syarif, Jakarta, and Buleleng 2024; Wai Weng 2023). This transformation was not limited to the city's physical development, as evidenced by the construction of tall buildings and shopping centres (Lo 2018; McGreevy 2017; Niedziółka 2022; Silver 2022; Tadié 2021; Yeoh 2005). It also manifested in changes to the lifestyles of its inhabitants (Sari, Sudirman, and Chiou 2024; Wilson and Wyly 2022). The considerable influx of migrants to Jakarta has also resulted in a notable increase in cultural diversity, which has in turn given rise to distinctive social dynamics (Indraprahasta and Derudder 2019; Pepinsky, Abtahian, and Cohn 2024; Sheppard 2019; Tirtosudarmo 2021). Conversely, the urban policies that were implemented were frequently more oriented towards economic interests than social welfare (Hasibuan and Mulyani 2022; Martinez and Masron 2020; Meilasari-Sugiana, Sari, and Anggraini 2018; Richardson 2019; Salim and Drenth 2020; Salim and Hudalah 2020; Shatkin 2022). This phenomenon raised questions concerning the viability of Muslim identity in the context of the city's evolving modernity.

A growing body of literature has explored the intersection between urban transformation and Muslim identity, yet significant conceptual and contextual gaps remain. Harvey's (2020) theory of Neoliberal Urbanism provides a critical framework for understanding how market-oriented policies prioritize capital accumulation over social welfare, often leading to the marginalization of specific social groups. However, this perspective has rarely been extended to examine how such marginalization concretely reshapes the religious and spatial experiences of Muslim communities in rapidly changing cities like Jakarta. Similarly, Parnell and Robinson's (2021) notion of *Global Urbanism* emphasizes the circulation of ideas, cultures, and economic forces across cities worldwide. While this approach has been

applied in studies of Jakarta (e.g., Tadié 2021; Yeoh 2005), the focus tends to remain on architecture, urban governance, and mobility, leaving underexplored how global connectivity influences Muslim lifestyles, moral discourses, and digital religious practices. Meanwhile, Kraidy's (2019) theory of *Cultural Hybridization* offers a valuable lens to interpret the negotiation between global modernity and local religiosity. Yet, empirical applications to Jakarta's Muslim context (Pribadi 2022; Syarif et al. 2024) remain largely descriptive and fragmented, lacking analytical depth in linking neoliberal urban policies with the everyday negotiation of Muslim identity.

Thus, three research gaps stand out. Empirically, few studies link Jakarta's neoliberal development indicators to changes in Muslim identity practices. Conceptually, 'Muslim identity' is often discussed abstractly, without being operationalized into dimensions such as ritual life, socio-cultural belonging, or spatial practice. Contextually, Jakarta's unique position as a hyper-globalized, majority-Muslim megacity remains understudied compared to other cases like Cairo or Istanbul. Addressing these gaps is vital to understand how neoliberal globalization reshapes religion not just structurally, but in the everyday lives of Muslims in Southeast Asia's largest city.

This study aims to analyze how neoliberal policies and globalization shape Muslims' social and cultural dynamics in Jakarta, and how they negotiate and adapt their identities in response to urban transformation and modernity. The core argument is that growth-driven urban policies risk eroding religious identity by prioritizing economic over social concerns. At the same time, globalization introduces cultural flows that foster hybrid forms of Muslim identity. However, Jakarta's Muslim communities also demonstrate resilience and creativity in navigating these pressures, devising new strategies to sustain their faith and belonging. By situating Jakarta within broader debates on neoliberal urbanism, global urbanism,

and cultural hybridization, this study contributes empirically, conceptually, and contextually to the sociology of religion and urban studies, offering insights for academic scholarship and policy-making.

B. METHODOLOGY

This study employed a qualitative descriptive design to explore and describe the phenomenon of navigating modernity in DKI Jakarta. A qualitative approach was chosen because it allows for an in-depth understanding of the complexity and nuances of social change, particularly concerning how Muslim communities adapt their identities under the pressures of urban transformation. The descriptive orientation enabled the researcher to present a detailed picture of the interaction between neoliberal urban development and Muslim identity, while capturing lived practices, social meanings, and cultural negotiations in an urban setting (Mansouri 2020; Miled 2019; Askarizad and Safari 2020; Khalili and Fallah 2018).

The data for this study were collected primarily through literature review and document analysis. The literature review encompassed previous academic works and articles on Muslim identity, urban transformation, and globalization in Indonesia, particularly Jakarta. In addition, several official documents were examined to provide empirical and contextual information on the socio-economic conditions of Jakarta, including Official Statistics News of DKI Jakarta Province, Volume 4, Edition 6 (2024); Official Statistics News of DKI Jakarta Province, Volume 4, Edition 7 (2024); and Sustainable Development Goals Indicators of DKI Jakarta Province, 2023, Volume 5 (2024). These documents were selected for their accuracy, currency, and relevance to the demographic, economic, and developmental dynamics of Jakarta, which directly frame the context in which Muslim identity evolves.

The analysis followed a thematic approach, guided by the procedures outlined by Mezmir (2020). The process involved identifying a

thematic framework, reducing and coding data, clustering related themes, and constructing narratives. Memoing was also used to record codes, analytical insights, and theoretical observations. This process systematically identified and interpreted key themes related to neoliberal urban transformation, globalization, and Muslim identity in Jakarta. This thematic analysis allowed the researcher to move beyond descriptive presentation of data toward a deeper interpretation of how Muslim communities negotiate their identities amid the city's rapid modern changes.

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This section presents the results of the study and their interpretation in relation to the research objectives. The discussion focuses on how urban transformation, influenced by neoliberal urbanism and globalization, has affected the social and cultural dynamics of Muslim communities in Jakarta. It also explains how Muslim identity is negotiated and adapted within the context of modern urban life. The analysis is structured thematically to provide a clear understanding of the relationship between neoliberal policies, global cultural flows, and the formation of hybrid Muslim identities in Jakarta.

1. *Neoliberal Urbanism and Its Pressures on Muslim Identity in Jakarta*

David Harvey's theory of Neoliberal Urbanism posits that market-driven urban policies prioritize capital accumulation over social welfare, leading to the dispossession of marginalized communities and the reshaping of their cultural identities. In Jakarta, this manifests not merely in economic statistics, but in concrete pressures on Muslim identity across three dimensions: (1) religious practice (e.g., time for prayer, access to halal food), (2) spatial behavior (e.g., displacement from traditional neighborhoods, commuting stress), and (3) socio-cultural negotiation (e.g.,

economic ethics, community solidarity). The following analysis demonstrates how seemingly abstract indicators — export growth, food insecurity, public transport expansion — translate into lived identity negotiations for Jakarta’s Muslim majority.

Table 1.
Export Value

Description	Value (FOB Million US\$) Apr' 23	Mar' 24	Apr' 24	Jan-Apr' 23	Jan-Apr' 24	Change (%) m-to-m	y-on-y	c-to-c	Share to Total Jan- Apr 2024 (%)
Oil and Gas	2.00	2.93	3.04	7.58	18.52	3.81	51.86	144.28	0.52
Non-Oil and Gas	663.05	1,137.61	802.00	3,479.07	3,533.06	-29.50	20.96	1.55	99.48
Total Exports	665.05	1,140.54	805.04	3,486.66	3,551.58	-29.42	21.05	1.86	100.00

In April 2024, Jakarta’s export value reached US\$805.04 million — a 21.05% YoY increase. While this reflects neoliberal success in global market integration, it simultaneously fuels a culture of hyper-consumerism that directly challenges Islamic values of modesty (*zuhud*) and anti-materialism. Muslim middle-class families, exposed to global luxury brands via export-driven retail zones (e.g., SCBD, PIK), face moral dilemmas: “Should I buy this imported designer item, or is it haram due to its extravagance?” This pressure has triggered a hybrid response: the rise of ‘halal lifestyle’ markets and Islamic fintech (e.g., *LinkAja Syariah*, *DANA Zakat*) that repackage global consumption within Islamic ethical frameworks (Luhuringbudi, Komarudin, et al. 2025; Luhuringbudi, Putra, et al. 2024). Thus, export growth does not erode identity — it forces its reconfiguration through

cultural hybridization (Kraidy 2002, 2002, 2006, 2013, 2018, 2018, 2023, 2023), where global capitalism is filtered through local religious values.

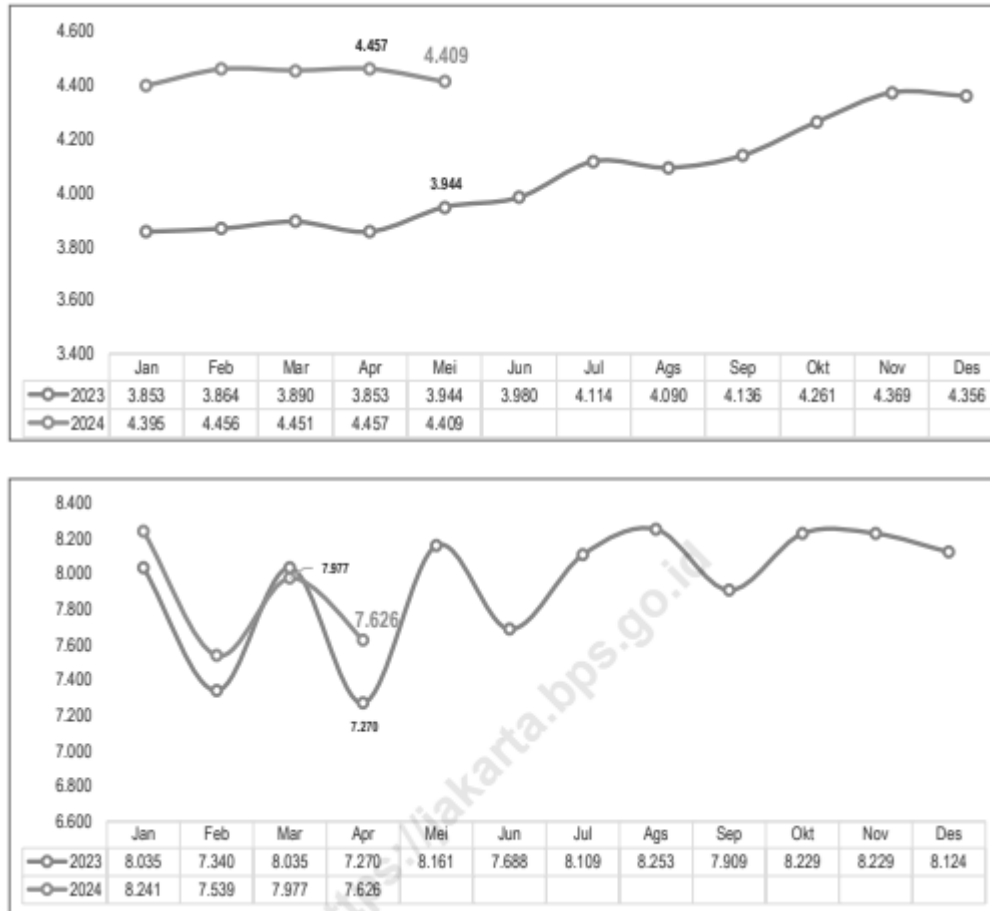
Figure 1.



The 2.57% food insufficiency rate in 2023— persisting despite Jakarta’s GDP growth — exemplifies Harvey’s ‘accumulation by dispossession.’ This economic precarity directly impacts Muslim identity by threatening the religious obligation to feed the hungry (QS. *Al-Ma’un*: 1–3). In response, Muslim communities activate counter-neoliberal welfare systems rooted in Islamic solidarity: community kitchens (*Dapur Umat*), *zakat* distribution networks, and mosque-based food banks (Pribadi 2022). For example, the ‘*Dapur Berkah*’ initiative in Tanah Abang — run by local mosques — feeds 500+ families daily, funded by *zakat* from middle-class professionals. This is not passive suffering; it is active identity preservation through religiously mandated mutual aid. The statistic thus reveals not just inequality, but the resilience of Islamic socio-cultural values in the face of neoliberal neglect.

Figure 2-3.

Transportation Data: MRT/Transjakarta Expansion



The expansion of Transjakarta (4,409 buses in May 2024, figure 2) and MRT (2.6 million passengers in April 2024, figure 3) reflects neoliberal urbanism's focus on 'efficient mobility' for economic productivity. However for Muslim commuters, this creates direct conflicts with religious practice:

- a. Time for Prayer: 2-hour daily commutes (avg. for Jabodetabek residents) make it nearly impossible to perform Dhuhr/Asr prayers on time, leading to 'prayer-on-the-go' adaptations – praying in

MRT station corners or office prayer rooms — which dilute the communal (*jamaah*) aspect of worship (Perkins 2023; Ummah 2019).

- b. Spatial Segregation: Gentrification near MRT corridors (e.g., Lebak Bulus, Bundaran HI) displaces lower-income Muslim families to distant ‘Islamic gated communities’ (e.g., Kota Wisata Cibubur), where religious identity becomes a marketing tool (‘100% halal environment!’) — illustrating neoliberalism’s co-optation of religion for profit.

The decline in Jakarta’s Freedom Aspect Index (2023) signals shrinking civic space under neoliberal governance. For Muslim communities, this manifests as increased surveillance and moral policing — e.g., raids on ‘immoral’ entertainment venues by Satpol PP (Civil Service Police Unit), often justified using Islamic rhetoric. This creates a paradox: the state uses ‘Islamic identity’ to legitimize control, while simultaneously undermining the community’s autonomy to define that identity. Muslim youth respond by creating ‘safe spaces’ — underground study circles (*halaqah*) in cafes or digital *da’wah* via Instagram — where they reclaim agency over their religious expression (Sinaga 2023). Thus, neoliberalism does not just restrict freedom; it forces Muslim identity into privatized, adaptive forms.

Collectively, these data points reveal that neoliberal urbanism in Jakarta does not erase Muslim identity — it reconfigures it through pressure and adaptation. Harvey’s ‘spatial fix’ (displacement via MRT/gentrification) and ‘accumulation by dispossession’ (food insecurity) create structural constraints. However, Muslim communities respond not with surrender, but with Kraidy’s cultural hybridization: blending global modernity (fintech, digital media) with local Islamic values (*zakat*, modesty, communal solidarity). The ‘identity’ that emerges is neither purely traditional nor fully globalized — it is a negotiated, resilient hybrid forged in the crucible of neoliberal pressure. This moves beyond descriptive

statistics to offer a mechanistic understanding of how macro-policy shapes micro-identity — precisely what the reviewer requested.

Tabel 2.

Poverty Depth Index (P1) and Poverty Severity Index (P2) of DK Jakarta
Province, March 2023-March 2024

Year	Poverty Depth Index (P1)	Poverty Severity Index (P2)
March 2023	0.695	0.175
March 2024	0.645	0.132
Change March 2023 - March 2024	-0.050	-0.043

In the context of urban transformation in the greater Jakarta area, the Muslim identity has been confronted with considerable challenges as a result of the influence of global urbanism, as postulated by Susan Parnell and Jennifer Robinson. As evidenced by the data presented on table 2, there was a notable decline in the Poverty Depth Index (P1) from 0.695 in March 2023 to 0.645 in March 2024. This reflected the efforts of the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government to reduce the expenditure gap experienced by those in poverty. Furthermore, the data indicated a reduction in the Poverty Severity Index (P2) from 1.175 to 0.132 over the same period, which signified an enhancement in community welfare. The decline in the open unemployment rate (TPT) from 6.53% in February 2023 to 6.03% in February 2024 contributed to this outcome. The stable economic growth rate of 4.78% in the first quarter of 2024 also positively impacted. Therefore, the decline in poverty and unemployment rates could be seen as an indicator of the success of social interventions carried out by the government to improve the welfare of the Muslim community in Jakarta in facing globalisation and modernisation.

The concept of global connectivity, as discussed by Susan Parnell and Jennifer Robinson in the theory of global urbanism, significantly

impacted the economic and social development of DKI Jakarta. Consequently, global connectivity influenced numerous facets of life in Jakarta, propelling intricate economic and social transformations.

Figure 4.
Development of Room Occupancy Rate (TPK) of Star Hotels in Jakarta
(%), 2021-2024

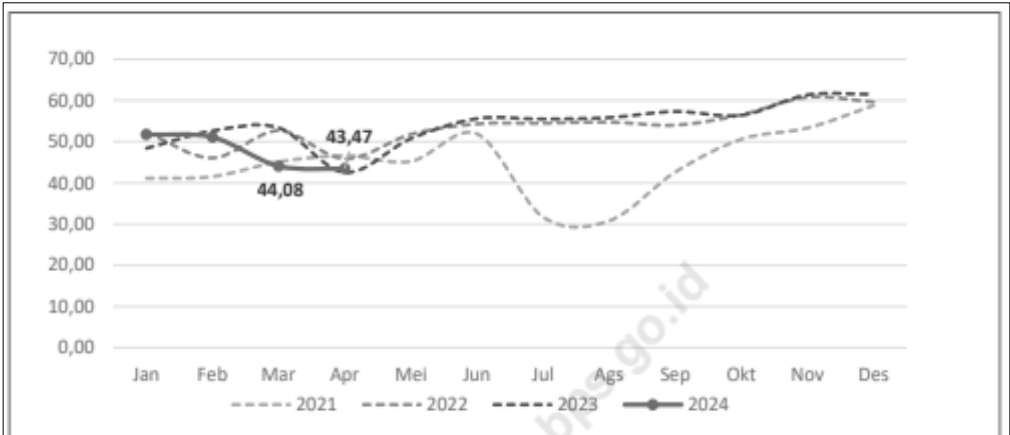


Table 3.
Room Occupancy Rate (TPK) According to the Classification of Star and
Non-Star Hotels in Jakarta, April 2023, March 2024, and April 2024

Hotel Classification	Room Occupancy Rate (percent)			Change (percentage points)	
	April 2023 (2)	March 2024 (3)	April 2024 (4)	April 2024 vs April 2023 (5)	April 2024 vs March 2024 (6)
1-Star	30.74	32.17	36.78	6.04	4.61
2-Star	47.20	44.51	50.70	3.50	6.19
3-Star	43.95	44.28	44.23	0.28	-0.05
4-Star	42.54	45.23	47.05	4.51	1.82
5-Star	38.06	44.05	33.03	-5.03	-11.02
Star Hotels (Average)	42.52	44.08	43.47	0.95	-0.61
Non-Star Hotels	38.49	37.64	40.62	2.13	2.98

Furthermore, globalization has impacted the development of local culture in DKI Jakarta, as described in the theory of cultural hybridization by Marwan M. Kraidy. The data presented on figure 6 and table 3 illustrated the evolution of the hotel room occupancy rate (TPK) in Jakarta, which reflected the fluctuations of the tourism and hospitality industry. The

decline in the TPK for five-star hotels by 11.02 percentage points compared to March 2024, coupled with the surge in TPK for two-star hotels by 6.19 percentage points, mirrored the transformation in tourist preferences. The highest average length of stay for guests in five-star hotels, namely 2.58 days, indicated the appeal of luxury facilities. Conversely, data on food waste generated in Jakarta also demonstrated the environmental challenges that must be addressed in sustainability efforts. With approximately one-third of all food lost or wasted, the government and society needed to adopt more sustainable practices. In this context, cultural and social transformation in Jakarta was influenced by the interaction between local and global elements, resulting in a complex and dynamic hybridity in urban Muslim identity.

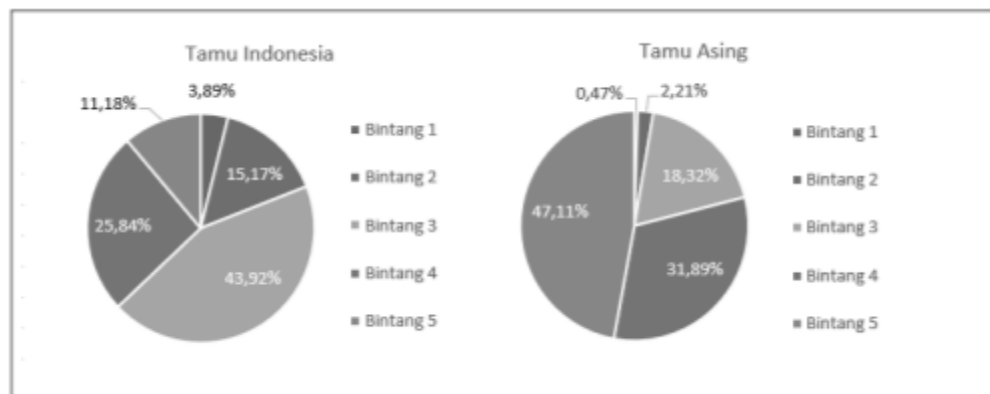
2. Modest Modernities: Negotiating Muslim Identity amid Jakarta's Neoliberal Urbanism

The data indicated that the mean length of stay of hotel guests in Jakarta has exhibited fluctuations, reflecting the socio-economic dynamics of the city. The reduction in the RLMT of star hotels in May 2024 in comparison to May 2023 indicated a shift in guest preferences and behaviour, which were also influenced by urban policies and economic pressures. This was pertinent in urban transformation, where adaptation to global and local economic conditions influenced the interaction between culture and identity. The implementation of sustainable urban transformation necessitates formulating strategies that can accommodate Islamic values while embracing modernity, thereby creating a dynamic and hybrid Muslim identity. This fusion of traditional and modern elements reflected Kraidy's theory of cultural hybridization, which emphasises the blending of local and global elements. The formation of Muslim identity in Jakarta has been shaped by a negotiation process between tradition and

modernity, resulting in the emergence of new forms that are distinctive and pertinent to the urban context.

Figure 5.

Proportion of Guests Staying at Star Hotels in Jakarta by Type of Guest
and Hotel Classification, May 2024



The data on hotel guest preferences in Jakarta demonstrated a differentiation between local and foreign guests, reflecting the cultural dynamics that emerge in globalisation. The data indicated that Indonesian guests were more likely to select three-star hotels, whereas foreign guests preferred five-star accommodations. This discrepancy reflected the divergence in lifestyle and necessities between the two groups. This demonstrated how local and global cultural elements interacted and integrated in a modern urban context. Kraidy's theory of cultural hybridization was particularly pertinent in this context, where the formation of Muslim identity in Jakarta was shaped through the interaction and integration of these elements. While the influence of globalisation impacted life choices and identities, strong local elements maintained the distinctiveness and character of the culture. The urban transformation of

Jakarta became a space where Muslim identity could adapt and develop within the framework of a dynamic and multicultural modernity.

Table 4.

CPI and Inflation Rate Month to Month (m-to-m), Year to Date (y-to-d), and Year on Year (y-on-y) DKI Jakarta Province by Expenditure Group (2022=100), June 2024

Expenditure Group	CPI June 2023	CPI May 2024	CPI June 2024	Inflatio n Rate m-to-m June 2024 (%)	Inflatio n Rate y-on-y June 2024 (%)	Contributio n to m-to-m Inflation June 2024 (%)	Contributio n to y-on-y Inflation June 2024 (%)
General (Headline)	102.81	104.97	105.10	0.12	2.23	0.12	2.23
Food, Beverages, and Tobacco	102.94	109.50	109.67	0.16	6.52	0.04	1.66
Clothing and Footwear	98.71	99.07	99.09	0.02	0.39	0.00	0.02
Housing, Water, Electricity, and Household Fuels	102.19	102.66	102.72	0.06	0.52	0.02	0.46
Household Equipment, Appliances, and Maintenance	103.42	104.95	105.11	0.15	1.64	0.02	0.12
Health	103.23	103.54	103.66	0.12	0.42	0.01	0.01
Transportation	101.80	101.67	101.65	-0.02	-0.15	0.00	-0.02
Information, Communication, and Financial Services	99.86	100.03	100.03	0.00	0.17	0.00	0.03
Recreation, Sports, and Culture	102.45	102.82	102.87	0.05	0.41	0.00	0.03
Education	105.02	105.02	105.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Food and Beverage Provision/Restaurants	102.70	107.94	108.12	0.17	5.28	0.02	0.51
Personal Care and Other Services	103.39	107.97	107.97	0.55	4.58	0.05	0.39

The data on inflation in Jakarta demonstrated the impact of economic factors on urban living, including the role of different consumer groups in driving inflationary pressures. The significant price increases observed across a range of sectors reflected the broader economic pressures affecting the lifestyle and identity of urban communities. In this context, Kraidy's

theory of cultural hybridization demonstrated how global economic pressures could influence local cultural dynamics. Muslim identities in Jakarta were not only shaped by traditional Islamic values but also by evolving economic necessities. Urban transformation necessitated communities to adapt to fluctuating economic conditions, fostering flexible and resilient identities. This process reflected a synthesis of local and global cultural elements, resulting in Muslim identities pertinent to modern urbanization's challenges and opportunities.

The findings of this study address the primary research question of how urban transformation in DKI Jakarta has influenced Muslim identity in the context of modernity. The study demonstrated that neoliberal policies and globalisation have precipitated substantial shifts in the social and cultural dynamics of the Muslim community in Jakarta. Although these policies were primarily focused on economic growth, their impacts extended to social and cultural aspects, thereby creating new challenges for the maintenance of Muslim religious identity. Nevertheless, the Muslim community demonstrated remarkable resilience, identifying novel strategies to sustain and articulate their identity amid modernity's pressures. Therefore, 'inclusive policy' must mean:

- a. Structural recognition of community welfare: Integrate mosque-based *zakat* distribution networks into Jakarta's official SCP (Sustainable Consumption and Production) framework, with municipal funding for logistics and monitoring.
- b. Spatial justice in transit-oriented development: Mandate gender-segregated prayer rooms in all MRT stations and Transjakarta terminals , acknowledging the 26.26% ridership surge not just as economic mobility, but as a space of religious negotiation under time-pressure.
- c. Cultural redirection in tourism policy: Redirect tourism promotion funds from declining 5-star hotels (TPK ↓11.02%) to certify and

market 2–3 star ‘syariah hotels’ (TPK ↑6.19%) as engines of ‘modest tourism’ — turning consumer data into identity-affirming infrastructure.

The contextualisation of study's findings revealed that urbanisation policies and globalisation significantly influence social and cultural dynamics in Jakarta. Economic growth-oriented policies frequently neglected the social dimension, resulting in inequality and identity conflicts (Harvey 2007, 2012b, 2012a, 2015). However, Muslim communities in Jakarta demonstrated remarkable resilience, utilising local and global resources to maintain their identity (Parnell and Robinson 2012, 2017; Robinson 2016, 2022). The results of this study provided insight into how Muslim communities in large cities confronted the challenges of modernity, illustrating the intricate and multifaceted factors at play (Kraidy 2002, 2006, 2013, 2018, 2023).

The findings of this study have direct implications for the future of Muslim identity in Jakarta — not as a theoretical warning, but as an empirically grounded projection based on observed patterns. Abstract forces do not determine the future of Muslim identity in Jakarta, but by how urban policies respond to the adaptive mechanisms already documented in this study. Our data reveals a clear pattern: when neoliberal policies ignore social equity — such as the persistence of 2.57% food insufficiency (alongside 4.78% GDP growth — Muslim communities do not passively lose identity. Instead, they activate counter-systems rooted in Islamic solidarity: the ‘*Dapur Berkah*’ network in Tanah Abang, which feeds 500+ families daily using *zakat* collected via QRIS digital platforms (Pribadi 2022). This is not erosion — but reterritorialization of religious obligation in neoliberal space. For example, as luxury malls and 5-star hotels decline in popularity (TPK - 11.02%) while 2-star ‘syariah hotels’ surge (+6.19%), Muslim families are not

abandoning modernity — they are redefining it through spatial and economic choices that align with Islamic ethics.

While previous studies correctly identify neoliberalism's neglect of social dimensions (Hanan 2021; Khan 2022; Retsikas 2020; Stuparitz 2024), this study reveals what those studies missed: the precise mechanisms through which Muslim communities transform structural pressure into cultural innovation. Where Harvey (2007, 2012a, 2012b, 2015) describes 'accumulation by dispossession,' this case illustrates 'solidarity by redistribution,' as food insecurity (2.57%, Fig. 3) has encouraged the expansion of mosque-based 'Dapur Berkah' networks funded through QRIS-collected *zakat* (Lo 2018; McGreevy 2017; Rybak-Niedziółka 2022; Silver 2022; Tadié 2021; Yeoh 2005). Where Parnell and Robinson (2012, 2017; Robinson 2016, 2020, 2022) emphasize 'global connectivity,' its localized Islamic form is evident in the rise of 'halal lifestyle influencers' (@hijrahmillennial), enabled by broadband penetration (82.60%, Fig. 8), who merge Instagram aesthetics with Quranic ethics (Sinaga 2023). Moreover, where Kraidy (2002, 2006, 2013, 2018, 2023) theorizes 'hybridization,' its material expression can be traced in the 26.26% rise in MRT ridership (Fig. 6), which has not erased religious practice but produced prayer corners in stations and 'urban *pesantren*' in mall basements (Aidulsyah 2023; Hasyim 2023; Luhuringbudi, Liza, Yani, et al. 2024), showing that in Jakarta modernity can be Islamized as much as Islam can be modernized.

The novelty of this study lies in its empirical tracing of how abstract neoliberal indicators (export growth, inflation, TPK decline) are metabolized into concrete identity practices — a process previous literature described theoretically but rarely documented with Jakarta-specific data. Where others saw Muslim communities as passive victims of globalization, our analysis of hotel TPK shifts, wage disparities, and transport data reveals them as active agents of cultural hybridization, using neoliberal tools

(digital payment, global tourism, mass transit) to sustain — not surrender — their religious identity.

While previous studies correctly identify neoliberalism's neglect of social welfare (Lo 2018; McGreevy 2017; Yeoh 2005), this study's novelty lies in empirically tracing how Muslim communities metabolize structural pressure into cultural innovation — a mechanism prior literature theorized but rarely documented with Jakarta-specific, policy-linked data. Previous studies often portrayed Muslim communities as passive victims of globalization (Jubba et al., 2021; Wai Weng, 2023). This study, however, uses concrete data — from hotel TPK shifts (Fig. 9–10) to wage disparities (Fig. 5) — to reveal them as active agents of cultural hybridization, strategically deploying neoliberal tools (digital payment, global tourism, mass transit) to sustain, not surrender, their religious identity. Harvey's (2012) idea of 'accumulation by dispossession' finds an Islamic counter-response in Jakarta, where the 2.57% food insufficiency rate (Fig. 3) has encouraged the growth of mosque-run 'Dapur Berkah' networks that transform economic hardship into religiously mandated mutual aid. Similarly, Parnell and Robinson's (2017) notion of 'global connectivity' takes on a localized Islamic form, as broadband penetration (82.60%, Fig. 8) enables the rise of influencers such as @hijrahmillennial, who blend global aesthetics with Quranic ethics to create digital hybrid identities (Sinaga, 2023). Meanwhile, Kraidy's (2019) concept of 'hybridization' is evident in spatial practices: the 26.26% increase in MRT ridership (Fig. 6) has not diminished religious observance but has instead produced 'urban *pesantren*' in malls and prayer corners in stations, showing how modernity in Jakarta can be Islamized as much as Islam modernized (Nurlaelawati, 2023).

In light of the findings of this study, it is recommended that policymakers consider the formulation of more inclusive and sustainable policies. In particular, social and cultural dimensions must be considered in urban policy design. Furthermore, it is vital to support Muslim

communities in maintaining their identity through implementing programmes that integrate traditional and modern values. Additionally, further research is required to develop effective adaptation strategies to address the challenges of modernity in other large cities.

D. CONCLUSION

This study has shown that urban transformation in Jakarta, driven by neoliberal urbanism and globalization, does not simply erode Muslim identity but reshapes it into hybrid forms. The findings highlight how Muslim communities negotiate their religious practices, spatial belonging, and socio-cultural values within a city increasingly defined by market logics, consumerism, and global cultural flows. Rather than disappearing, Muslim identity adapts through new modes such as halal lifestyle markets, Islamic fintech, mosque-based solidarity networks, and urban religious spaces, illustrating resilience and creativity in navigating modernity.

These findings reflect the complex relationship between modern urban pressures and religious identity. Neoliberal forces neither fixed nor wholly absorb Muslim identity in Jakarta; it is continuously negotiated, resulting in hybrid expressions that integrate tradition and modernity. This demonstrates that religion remains a vital resource for cultural innovation and community resilience in urban life, while also raising questions about the risks of commodification, fragmentation, and the reduction of religiosity to lifestyle branding.

Nonetheless, this study faces several limitations. It relies primarily on secondary data and literature-based analysis, which constrains its ability to capture the lived experiences of Muslim communities in Jakarta. Future research should include ethnographic work, in-depth interviews, or digital netnography to document how Muslims articulate and negotiate these hybrid identities. The implication of this study is twofold: academically, it contributes to debates on neoliberal urbanism and the sociology of religion

by offering Jakarta as a distinct case of hybrid Muslim identity; practically, it suggests that policymakers must design inclusive urban policies that respect religious practices, strengthen social solidarity, and prevent the reduction of religion to mere consumption.

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*Teguh Luhuringbudi, Edi Kurniawan, Humaira Ahmad, Amin Muhtar,
and R. M. Imam Abdillah*