

Spatial Planning for Urban Muslim Communities in Indonesia: A Comparative Study of Religious Facilities in Jakarta and Bandung Using Maqashid Sharia and Spatial Justice

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Abstract

Rapid urbanization in Indonesia has significantly transformed the spatial needs of Muslim communities. This study examines the role of spatial planning in shaping the development of urban Muslim societies through a comparative analysis of Jakarta and Bandung. The research investigates how spatial planning policies influence the distribution, accessibility, and socio-religious functions of mosques and other religious facilities. Employing a qualitative desk study approach, the research analyzes secondary data from national and regional spatial planning regulations, official demographic and religious statistics, and relevant scholarly literature. The analysis integrates global urban theories with the Islamic normative framework of *maqashid sharia* and spatial justice. The findings reveal notable disparities between the two cities. While Jakarta has a larger absolute number of mosques, Bandung demonstrates a higher ratio of religious facilities per population and relatively better spatial integration. However, both cities face challenges of land scarcity, commercialization pressures, and uneven distribution, particularly in high-density and informal settlements. These conditions indicate that current spatial planning has not yet optimally functioned as socio-religious infrastructure. This study concludes that spatial planning must be repositioned as a transformative instrument that integrates ethical values and social justice. By bridging *maqashid sharia* with spatial justice concepts, the research offers a new perspective for more inclusive urban planning in Muslim-majority cities. The findings contribute to both theoretical discourse on Islamic urbanism and practical policy recommendations for equitable spatial development in Indonesia and similar Global South contexts.

Keywords: Islamic urbanism, *maqashid sharia*, spatial justice, spatial planning, urban Muslim communities

Article History

Received 18 June 2026

Revised 23 July 2026

Accepted 4 August 2026

Available online 31 August 2026

Introduction

Urbanization in Indonesia is not merely a demographic shift from rural to urban areas, but a profound and complex civilizational transformation. In less than three decades, Indonesia has evolved from an agrarian nation into one of the fastest-urbanizing countries in Asia. Today, more than 60 percent of Indonesia's population lives in urban areas, with the majority being Muslim (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2021). This phenomenon aligns with global urbanization trends in developing countries, characterized by increasing population concentration, pressure on urban space, and rapid social transformation (UN-Habitat, 2020; Brenner & Schmid, 2015). The urban Muslim society born from this process possesses spatial characteristics and needs that differ significantly from previous generations. They require not only housing, but also spaces that support religious practices, identity formation, economic activities of the ummah, Islamic education, and meaningful social life amid high population density, land scarcity, and accelerating modernization.

In this context, urban spatial planning is no longer merely a technical issue of land administration or zoning. Spatial planning is a civilizational instrument that determines whether urban Muslim communities can thrive as productive, inclusive, and equitable societies, or become marginalized in cities increasingly dominated by commercial interests and inhospitable to Islamic values. This perspective aligns with Henri Lefebvre's view of space as a social product shaped by power relations and economic interests (Lefebvre, 1991; 1996). David Harvey further emphasizes that access to urban space constitutes a fundamental social right often undermined by the logic of urban capitalism (Harvey, 2008; 2012). When places of worship are difficult to access, when mosques are not integrated into daily life, and when informal settlements lack adequate religious facilities, the development of Islamic civilization in the urban era faces serious obstacles. Recent regional scholarship has likewise linked Islamic values and communal trust to how urban Muslim populations perceive their own social development, underscoring that the socio-spatial conditions of Muslim communities are inseparable from broader questions of social trust and wellbeing (Nassor, 2026). Therefore, understanding the role of spatial planning in the development of urban Muslim society is not optional, but an academic and policy imperative.

The legal framework for spatial planning in Indonesia has developed progressively. It is governed by Law No. 26 of 2007 on Spatial Planning, as amended several times, most recently by Law No. 6 of 2023 on the Enactment of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 2 of 2022 on Job Creation into Law, which serves as the national foundation. At the regional level, Regional Regulation of DKI Jakarta Province No. 7 of 2024 on the Regional Spatial Plan for 2024–2044 and Regional Regulation of Bandung City No. 5 of 2022 on the Spatial Plan of Bandung City serve as the primary guidelines for spatial planning in both regions. Additionally, Regional Regulation of West Java Province No. 9 of 2022 on the Regional Spatial Plan of West Java Province for 2022–2042 provides broader strategic direction for cities in West Java, including Bandung. These regulations, in principle, aim to create sustainable, productive, and equitable urban spaces, including the provision of religious facilities as an integral part of social infrastructure.

However, a significant gap remains between regulation and implementation on the ground. In both Jakarta and Bandung, many religious facilities are still built through community self-initiative without integration into spatial planning documents. Meanwhile, high-density areas and informal settlements often struggle to access adequate religious facilities. This condition not only creates accessibility problems but also affects the quality of religious life and social cohesion within urban Muslim communities. The pressures of land commercialization, large-scale infrastructure development, and intensifying urban space competition further strengthen the tendency toward

The marginalization of socio-religious spaces (Silver, 2008; Simone, 2010). Previous studies have examined the phenomenon of urban Muslim society in Indonesia. The increasing visibility of Islamic expressions in Jakarta's urban spatial practices has been identified in several studies (Kusno, 2020). New trends in Islamic urbanism, marked by changes in piety and spirituality in major cities, have also been discussed (Alam et al., 2023). In addition, the resilience of Islamic urban forms amid urbanization pressures has received attention (Senjana, 2025). In the

global context, Nezar AlSayyad asserts that Muslim cities should be understood as social spaces shaped by the interaction between religion, identity, and power (AlSayyad, 2011). National media outlets have also frequently highlighted land scarcity issues for mosques and religious facilities amid large infrastructure projects in Jakarta and Bandung (Kompas, 2024; Tempo, 2025).

Nevertheless, there remains a significant research gap. Previous studies have generally been descriptive or sectoral whether from the perspective of religious sociology (Kusno, 2020), Islamic urbanism (Alam et al., 2023), or the resilience of Islamic urban forms (Senjana, 2025). These studies tend to emphasize dimensions of social identity, culture, or expressions of Islam in urban space, but few have specifically integrated a spatial planning perspective with the dynamics of urban Muslim society development. More importantly, comparative studies that systematically examine the relationship between spatial planning regulatory structures and the spatial distribution of religious facilities particularly using the frameworks of *maqashid sharia* and Islamic spatial justice are still very rare. As a result, understanding of how spatial planning policies directly influence the accessibility, social function, and contribution of religious facilities to the formation of productive and inclusive urban Muslim communities in Indonesia remains very limited.

This study aims to fill this research gap by conducting a comparative analysis of spatial planning policies and their impact on religious facilities in Jakarta and Bandung. Specifically, it seeks to examine how spatial planning policies in the two cities influence the availability, distribution, and socio-religious functions of mosques and other religious facilities, and why these spatial arrangements either support or hinder the formation of productive, inclusive, and competitive urban Muslim communities. Unlike previous studies that tend to focus on cultural expressions or general Islamic urbanism, this research integrates spatial planning regulations with the Islamic normative framework of *maqashid sharia* and the concept of Islamic spatial justice (Soja, 2010; Kamali, 2017). Through a desk study approach based on regulatory documents (RTRW and RDTR), official statistical data, and relevant literature, this article not only provides policy recommendations for more responsive and inclusive spatial planning but also offers theoretical contributions by bridging global urban theories with Islamic ethical principles in the Indonesian context.

The relevance of this research is particularly high. Jakarta and Bandung represent two distinct yet complementary models of urbanization: Jakarta as the national capital with extreme population density and intense political-economic dynamics, and Bandung as a city of education, tourism, and creativity with a strong Muslim community base. By analyzing spatial planning regulations and secondary data in depth, this study is expected to enrich academic discourse on the relationship between spatial planning and urban Muslim society development, while providing practical contributions toward formulating more equitable spatial policies that align with Islamic civilizational values in Indonesia.

Methods

This study employs a qualitative desk study with a descriptive-analytical design. The approach was selected because the research aims to analyze and interpret regulatory documents, statistical data, and scholarly literature on the role of spatial planning in the development of urban Muslim society in Indonesia, using Jakarta and Bandung as comparative case studies. A desk study is particularly suitable for examining relationships between spatial planning policies, religious facility distribution, and urban Muslim community dynamics without requiring primary fieldwork.

Data Sources

The study relies on secondary data drawn from official government documents and statistics. Key sources include national and regional spatial planning regulations such as Law No. 26 of 2007 on Spatial Planning (as amended by Law No. 6 of 2023), DKI Jakarta Provincial Regulation No. 7 of 2024, West Java Provincial Regulation No. 9 of 2022, and Bandung City Regulation No. 5 of 2022 along with population and religious statistics from the Central Bureau of Statistics (2021–2024) and the Ministry of Religious Affairs (2023). The 2023 data from the Ministry of Religious Affairs was chosen as it represents the most recent comprehensive official

dataset available at the time of the study. Scholarly literature on urbanization, spatial planning, and Islamic urbanism was also reviewed. Source triangulation was applied to enhance validity by cross-checking regulatory texts, statistical data, and academic findings.

Analytical Framework

The study uses *maqashid sharia* (with its five protections: religion, life, intellect, property, and lineage) and the concept of spatial justice as the primary analytical lenses. These frameworks serve not merely as additional concepts but as core interpretive tools to evaluate the extent to which spatial planning policies support equitable access, public interest (*maslahah*), and socio-religious functions in urban settings.

Indicators

The analysis focuses on the following key indicators: (1) the ratio of religious facilities to population, (2) spatial distribution patterns of religious facilities, (3) the level of integration between religious facilities and other urban functions (housing, education, economy, and transportation), and (4) the alignment between spatial planning policies and the needs of urban Muslim communities.

Analysis Procedures

Data were analyzed using two main techniques: content analysis and comparative thematic analysis. Content analysis was applied to identify policy content related to religious facilities, zoning, sustainability, and justice in spatial planning documents. Comparative thematic analysis was then used to identify patterns and contrasts between Jakarta and Bandung regarding facility distribution, urbanization challenges, and opportunities for integrating Islamic values into urban planning. Thematic categorization was conducted manually to ensure consistency and analytical depth.

Results and Discussion

To understand the role of spatial planning to the Urban Muslim Society, we must observe in detail about what these societies are, how they are active using spaces, and what are their spatial needs. Through this understanding, we may provide a recommendation that is both effective and efficient to develop a fitting spatial planning regulations for each society.

Spatial Planning Conditions and Characteristics of Urban Muslim Society in Jakarta and Bandung

Jakarta and Bandung represent two major cities in Indonesia that illustrate different dynamics of urban Muslim society development amid contrasting urbanization processes. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics (2021), DKI Jakarta Province has a population of approximately 10.6 million with a density reaching 15,000 people per km², while Bandung City has around 2.5 million inhabitants with a density of 9,500 people per km². The majority of residents in both cities are Muslim, exceeding 85% (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2021; Ministry of Religious Affairs, 2023). These demographic conditions highlight a high and continuously growing demand for religious facilities and socio-religious spaces as urban areas expand.

Spatially, Jakarta displays a typical metropolitan character strongly shaped by national economic and political pressures as well as massive development projects. Its extreme population density has intensified competition over urban space, particularly among commercial functions, large-scale infrastructure, and essential social needs of the community. This pattern is consistent with many Global South cities, where rapid urbanization is not matched by equitable access to public and social facilities (Roy, 2009; Simone, 2010). Empirical data from this study further shows that such intense spatial competition in Jakarta has resulted in religious facilities often being deprioritized, as evidenced by the lower mosque-to-population ratio (33 per 100,000 people) compared to Bandung.

In contrast, Bandung exhibits the character of an educational and creative city with a relatively more decentralized spatial structure. The city maintains stronger functional connectivity between residential areas, educational zones, and socio-religious spaces. This is supported by its

higher mosque ratio (48 per 100,000 people) and better spatial integration of religious facilities in traditional Muslim neighborhoods and campus areas. However, commercialization pressures from tourism and the creative economy sector are increasingly challenging this balance.

These contrasting characteristics demonstrate that differences in urban spatial structure and development orientation significantly influence the spatial conditions for urban Muslim communities. Jakarta's metropolitan pressure tends to marginalize socio-religious spaces, while Bandung still offers relatively better opportunities for organic integration, although emerging challenges require proactive planning interventions.

Table 1. Comparison of Demographic and Spatial Planning Characteristics of Jakarta and Bandung

No.	Indikator	Jakarta	Bandung
1.	Population (people)	10.600.000	2.500.000
2.	Population Density (people/km ²)	15.000	9.500
3.	Percentage of Muslim Population	85,4%	92,1%
4.	Area (km ²)	664,01	167,67

Source: Processed by the authors based on Badan Pusat Statistik (2021) and Ministry of Religious Affairs (2023)

The findings from **Table 1** indicate that Jakarta faces far greater urbanization pressure compared to Bandung. The extreme density in Jakarta has led to high competition for space utilization, causing the provision of religious facilities to often receive lower priority than commercial development and strategic infrastructure projects. This condition demonstrates how spatial planning in metropolitan cities tends to reproduce inequalities in access to socio-religious facilities, especially for low-income communities. In Bandung, although the density level is lower, similar pressures are beginning to emerge due to the transformation of creative areas and the growth of the tourism sector. Thus, the demographic characteristics and spatial structures of the two cities create different contexts in the development of urban Muslim society, both in terms of accessibility to places of worship and the formation of social cohesion within Muslim communities.

Distribution of Religious Facilities in the Spatial Planning of Jakarta and Bandung

Data from the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia (2023) records that Jakarta has more than 3.500 mosques, while Bandung has more than 1.200 mosques. However, when compared based on the ratio to population, Bandung shows a higher figure, with approximately 48 mosques per 100.000 people, compared to Jakarta's 33 mosques per 100.000 people. This finding indicates that the absolute number of religious facilities does not always reflect the level of community accessibility to places of worship.

The distribution of religious facilities in Jakarta also reveals significant spatial inequality. Business districts and formal residential areas generally have better access to mosques and religious facilities, while high-density areas and informal settlements still face limited access. This condition demonstrates that the distribution of socio-religious facilities in Jakarta remains heavily influenced by the economic structure of urban space. This phenomenon aligns with critiques of neoliberal urbanization, which tends to concentrate development in areas of high economic value (Harvey, 2008; Brenner & Schmid, 2015).

In Bandung, the distribution of religious facilities is relatively more even, particularly in educational areas and traditional Muslim residential neighborhoods. Many mosques have developed organically and are well integrated with educational activities and local communities. Bandung's historical legacy as a center of Islamic education has helped shape a spatial pattern that better supports the existence of socio-religious spaces. Nevertheless, peripheral areas and zones undergoing land-use transformation are beginning to show similar signs of limited access as in Jakarta, mainly due to the expansion of commercial and tourism areas.

Table 2. Comparison of the Number and Distribution of Religious Facilities in Jakarta and Bandung

No.	Indikator	Jakarta	Bandung
1.	Number of Mosques (estimate)	> 3.500	> 1.200
2.	Mosque Ratio per 100.000 people	33	48
3.	Areas with Limited Access	Informal Settlements	Peripheral Areas

Source: Processed by the authors based on Ministry of Religious Affairs (2023) and the respective cities' Spatial Planning documents

The findings from **Table 2** indicate that although Jakarta has a significantly larger absolute number of mosques, the spatial accessibility of religious facilities for the community is relatively better in Bandung. This interpretation highlights that the quality of spatial distribution has a more important influence than the sheer quantity of facilities. From the perspective of spatial justice, these conditions show that urban Muslim communities in high-density and informal areas still face limitations in their right to adequate socio-religious spaces. In other words, the main issue is not merely the shortage of mosques, but rather the uneven distribution and integration of religious facilities within the city's spatial planning structure.

The Role of Spatial Planning in the Socio-Religious Development of Urban Muslim Communities

Spatial planning exerts a highly significant influence on the socio-religious development of urban Muslim communities. The provision of space for mosques, Islamic education, social activities, and economic endeavors of the ummah directly affects the ability of Muslim communities to build social cohesion and sustain religious life in urban areas. In the context of Jakarta, several mosques located in central business and office districts have evolved into centers of ummah economic activity, including philanthropic initiatives, informal education, and community social services. This integration demonstrates that mosques function not only as places of worship but also as spaces for social and economic production within urban Muslim society.

Meanwhile, in Bandung, campus mosques and neighborhood mosques play a crucial role in forming a relatively strong Islamic education ecosystem. Many socio-religious spaces have developed alongside educational activities, creative communities, and youth-based Muslim social movements. This condition illustrates that Bandung's more decentralized urban spatial structure enables more organic socio-religious interactions compared to the highly fragmented metropolitan areas.

Nevertheless, spatial planning regulations in both cities have not yet fully accommodated the needs of religious facilities in a proportional manner, particularly in high-density areas. Many mosques are built through community self-initiative without adequate infrastructural support. A deeper interpretation reveals that spatial planning in Jakarta tends to reproduce spatial inequality due to the dominance of commercial interests, while in Bandung there is still room for more organic integration of socio-religious functions. These conditions affirm that without deliberate planning, religious facilities will struggle to transform into genuine centers of empowerment for urban Muslim communities.

Challenges and Opportunities of Spatial Planning in Supporting Urban Muslim Communities

The main challenges in developing spatial planning that supports urban Muslim communities include land scarcity, the conversion of open spaces for commercial purposes, and the dominance of economic infrastructure development. In Jakarta, land commercialization pressure is far more dominant due to the high economic value of urban space. As a result, socio-religious spaces are often displaced by the needs of large-scale business districts, property development, and transportation projects. In Bandung, the challenges are more related to the transformation of creative and tourism areas, which are beginning to alter the city's social structure and spatial utilization patterns. This tension between tourism-driven development and the preservation of sharia-compliant space has also been documented in the context of Santen

Sharia Beach, Banyuwangi, where opportunities for economic growth must be balanced against sustainable integration with local Islamic traditions (Mintarja et al., 2026).

Nevertheless, there are considerable opportunities to integrate the needs of urban Muslim communities into a more inclusive spatial planning system. One promising approach is the implementation of mixed-use development, which integrates functions of worship, social activities, education, and economy within a single urban area. This approach allows religious facilities to function not as isolated entities, but as integral parts of a more sustainable urban social ecosystem. In addition, the utilization of Geographic Information System (GIS) technology also opens opportunities for local governments to map the needs of religious facilities more accurately and based on the spatial requirements of the community.

Table 3. Challenges and Opportunities of Spatial Planning in Jakarta and Bandung

No.	Aspect	Challenges	Opportunities
1.	Land Availability	Conversion of land for commercial use	Mixed-use development incorporating mosques
2.	Accessibility	Informal Settlements	Integration with public transportation
3.	Regulation	Lack of specific provisions for religious facilities	More inclusive revision of Detailed Spatial Plans

Source: Processed by the authors based on Jakarta RTRW Document (2024) and Bandung (2022)

The findings from **Table 3** indicate that spatial planning in both cities has not yet functioned optimally as socio-religious infrastructure. A deeper interpretation suggests that without a paradigm shift from a purely technocratic approach to one grounded in Islamic values and spatial justice religious facilities will struggle to become true centers of empowerment for urban Muslim communities. The greatest opportunities lie in integrating the mixed-use development concept and leveraging GIS technology for more targeted and needs-based planning.

Discussion

The findings of this study affirm that spatial planning plays a highly decisive yet not yet optimal role in shaping the development of urban Muslim communities in Indonesia. Through a comparative analysis of Jakarta and Bandung, it is evident that although spatial planning regulations have normatively adopted principles of sustainability and justice, their implementation remains far from expectations. Jakarta, with its extreme population density, tends to exhibit an uneven pattern of religious facility distribution, while Bandung offers a relatively more equitable distribution. Nevertheless, both cities continue to face significant pressures from land commercialization (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2021; Provincial Government of DKI Jakarta, 2024).

Within the framework of Henri Lefebvre's theory of the production of space, such inequality is not merely a technical anomaly but the result of power relations and capitalist logic that dominate the production of urban space (Lefebvre, 1991, 1996). In Jakarta, the dominance of commercial-based development and large-scale infrastructure reflects what David Harvey calls the commodification of space (Harvey, 2008, 2012), where economic exchange value overrides the social and religious use value. Consequently, religious facilities in dense and informal settlements often develop informally and without adequate infrastructural support. In Bandung, although the city's historical legacy as a center of Islamic education provides spatial advantages, pressures from creative economy and tourism transformations are beginning to reproduce similar patterns of inequality.

Edward Soja's (2010) concept of spatial justice helps explain that the uneven distribution of religious facilities constitutes a form of structural injustice. Unequal access to places of worship in informal settlements is not merely a technical issue, but a denial of the right to the city for urban Muslim communities, particularly low-income groups. These findings become even more relevant when viewed through the lens of *maqashid sharia*. The principle of *hifz al-din* (protection of religion) is quantitatively fulfilled through the existence of mosques; however, the principles of *hifz al-nafs*

(protection of life), *hifẓ al-‘aql* (protection of intellect), and general *maslahah* (public interest) have not been substantively realized due to limited accessibility and weak integration of socio-religious functions.

To clarify the relationship between theoretical frameworks and empirical findings, a comparative synthesis is presented as follows:

Table 4. Synthesis of Global Theoretical Frameworks and Empirical Findings on Spatial Planning in Jakarta and Bandung

Theoretical Perspective	Key Concept	Findings in Jakarta	Findings in Bandung	Implications
Henri Lefebvre	Right to the City	Uneven access to religious facilities, especially in dense and informal areas	Relatively more even, but increasingly pressured by economic development	The right to space has not been fully realized for urban Muslim communities
David Harvey	Commodification of Space	Dominance of commercial functions displacing socio-religious spaces	Beginning to occur in creative and tourism areas	Urban space is increasingly determined by economic value rather than social needs
Edward Soja	Spatial Justice	Inequality in mosque distribution between formal and informal areas	Better distribution, but not fully inclusive	Spatial justice has not been achieved structurally
<i>Maqashid Sharia</i>	<i>Maslahah</i> & Justice	Quantitative provision of mosques, not yet optimal in social function	Better integrated with education, but still limited	Need for integration of worship, social, and economic functions

Source: Processed by the authors based on Lefebvre (1991; 1996), Harvey (2008; 2012), Soja (2010), and the study's analysis (2026)

The table shows that spatial inequality is not merely empirical but also reflects a misalignment between spatial planning practices and the principles of justice found in both global urban theory and the *maqashid sharia* framework. In other words, the issue of religious facility distribution is not simply a technical matter of facility provision, but concerns how urban space is produced and for whom it is prioritized.

The comparison between Jakarta and Bandung demonstrates that mature spatial planning regulations alone are insufficient. In Jakarta, Regional Regulation No. 7 of 2024 on the RTRW has mentioned the importance of socio-religious facilities, yet it is often outpaced by the speed of land commercialization. In Bandung, Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2022 shows better integration efforts, but remains vulnerable to economic transformation. These findings reinforce critiques of urbanization in the Global South, where formal regulations frequently fail to accommodate the social needs of the majority population (Roy, 2009; Watson, 2009).

This study offers a theoretical contribution by integrating the concept of Islamic spatial justice into the *maqashid sharia* framework. While Western theories emphasize distribution and rights to space, *maqashid sharia* adds an ethical dimension encompassing public interest (*maslahah*), balance, and the protection of five basic human needs. **Maqashid sharia adds an ethical dimension encompassing public interest (maslahah), balance, and the protection of five basic human needs.** This ethical orientation resonates with recent work reconceptualizing transformative Qur'anic education as a foundation for ethical human capital development in contemporary settings (Wahab et al., 2026) This approach provides a new perspective that

spatial justice in the context of urban Muslim communities is not only about physical equity, but also about the capacity of space to support functions of worship, education, economy, and communal cohesion.

Practically, the findings recommend repositioning spatial planning as an instrument for the development of Islamic civilization in the urban era. Local governments need to integrate indicators of religious facility accessibility into revisions of Detailed Spatial Plans (RDTR), promote mixed-use development that is religion-friendly, and utilize GIS technology for more targeted planning. Without this paradigm shift, spatial planning will continue to function as a technocratic tool that fails to support a more inclusive and equitable transformation of urban Muslim communities.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that spatial planning plays a decisive yet not yet optimal role in shaping the development of urban Muslim communities in Indonesia. Through a comparative desk study of Jakarta and Bandung, the findings show that the distribution and accessibility of religious facilities are closely intertwined with economic dynamics and limitations in regulatory implementation.

Theoretically, this study contributes by bridging global urban theories (Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey, and Edward Soja) with *maqashid sharia* to examine spatial planning in Muslim urban contexts. Methodologically, it illustrates the usefulness of a desk study with thematic and comparative analysis for exploring socio-religious dimensions in urban planning. These contributions, however, are proportionate to the nature of the study, which relies primarily on secondary data.

The study acknowledges several limitations, including its dependence on secondary sources and its focus on only two cities, which may limit the generalizability of the findings. Future research could benefit from primary data collection, broader comparative cases across other Indonesian cities, and more in-depth empirical investigation into the actual usage and community impact of religious facilities.

Going forward, the findings suggest that spatial planning in Indonesia should move beyond technocratic approaches toward a more substantive integration of ethical values and spatial justice. Policymakers are encouraged to incorporate socio-religious accessibility indicators into RDTR revisions, promote religion-friendly mixed-use development, and utilize GIS for needs-based planning. In the context of rapidly urbanizing Muslim societies, such a paradigm shift can help foster communities that are spiritually fulfilled, economically productive, and socially cohesive.

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