JURNAL SOSIOLOGI AGAMA INDONESIA (JSAI)
VOLUME 7, ISSUE 2, JULY 2026, PP. 402-416
E-ISSN: 2722-6700 | DOI: 10.22373/JSAI.V7I2.9881

Beyond the Protestant Ethic: Religion, Economic Subjectivity, and Moral Critique in a Post-Weberian World

***Mahatva Yoga Adi Pradana[1], Muhamad Faturahman[2]**
[1]Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta, Indonesia
[2]Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta, Indonesia
**Corresponding Author: mahatva.pradana@uin-suka.ac.id*

Abstract

Religious ethics remain entangled with economic conduct even as capitalism becomes increasingly neoliberal and digitally mediated. This article revisits Weber's account of the Protestant ethic to examine that entanglement under postsecular conditions and asks how non-Western religious practices complicate linear narratives of rationalization, disenchantment, and religious decline. Employing a critical conceptual review, the study purposively synthesizes foundational Weberian works, critical interventions by Asad, Taylor, and Foucault, and contemporary scholarship on neoliberalism, moral economy, Islamic entrepreneurship, digital religion, religious authority, and eco-spirituality. Indonesian studies serve as contextual illustrations rather than representative evidence. The analysis develops three interrelated movements: rationalization, re-enchantment, and the return of the spirit. These movements are not sequential historical stages but processes that may coexist within the same religious-economic practice. The conceptual synthesis indicates that religion is neither external to capitalism nor inherently resistant to it. Religious ethics may reinforce entrepreneurial self-discipline, platform visibility, and market adaptation while also sustaining moral critiques of inequality, commodification, and ecological harm. The article therefore offers a diagnostic framework for examining the ambivalent formation of economic subjectivity across religious and cultural contexts. Because the corpus is purposive and non-exhaustive, the argument is conceptual and does not establish prevalence or causality.

Keywords: *Protestant Ethic; Post-Weberian Theory; Religious Subjectivity; Neoliberalism; Digital Religion; Moral Economy*

***

A. Introduction

More than a century after its initial publication, Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* remains central to debates concerning religion, economic conduct, and modern subjectivity. Weber did not claim that Protestantism single-handedly created capitalism. His more specific argument concerned an elective affinity between ascetic Protestantism and the disciplined conduct associated with the emerging spirit of modern capitalism. By examining how religious ideas could orient economic action, Weber challenged explanations that treated capitalist development as the product of material conditions alone (Ghosh, 2019; Weber, 2010). His analysis established a durable premise for the sociology of religion: economic life is organized not only through institutions and material interests but also through moral vocabularies, cultural meanings, and forms of self-discipline.

The concept of *Beruf*, meaning a vocation or calling, occupies a central place in this argument. In Weber's account, worldly labor could acquire religious significance when disciplined work, restraint, and the methodical organization of life were understood as obligations before God. Ascetic Protestantism therefore contributed to a form of inner-worldly discipline in which economic conduct was morally regulated, even when the accumulation of wealth was not initially pursued for consumption or pleasure. Within Weber's interpretive sociology, or *Verstehen*—the interpretive understanding of meaningful social action—such orientations matter because people act through meanings that are subsequently embedded in institutions and routines. The continuing importance of Weber's thesis lies less in treating Protestantism as a universal explanation of capitalism than in recognizing that economic subjects are formed through historically situated ethical commitments.

The contemporary economy, however, differs markedly from the industrial capitalism addressed by classical sociology. Neoliberal rationality extends market-oriented calculation into education, social relations, personal development, and the management of the self (Dardot & Laval, 2014; Foucault, 2008). Digital platforms further blur the boundaries between labor and leisure, production and self-presentation, and religious communication and commercial activity. Recent scholarship shows that marketization can reshape religious organizations, practices, and identities, while religious moralities can also qualify, redirect, or resist market reason (Izberk-Bilgin & Belk, 2025; Rudnyckyj & Osella, 2017). The relationship between religion and capitalism must therefore be approached as reciprocal and contested rather than as a one-directional historical sequence.

This shift also requires reconsidering the conventional relationship between modernity and secularization. Taylor (2007) describes secularity not simply as the disappearance of religion but as a transformation in the conditions under which belief and unbelief become possible. Contemporary postsecular discussions similarly question the assumption that rationalization necessarily removes religion from public and economic life (Dolezal, 2024). Religious practices may lose some established institutional forms while reappearing through new moral languages, networks, media, and modes of association. Re-enchantment, in this context, does not mean a return to a premodern social order. It refers to the renewed circulation of religious and spiritual meanings within

VOLUME 7, ISSUE 2, JULY 2026, PP. 402-416
E-ISSN: 2722-6700 | DOI: 10.22373/JSAI.V7I2.9881

social domains already shaped by bureaucratic, technological, and market rationalities.

Weber's framework must also be read against critiques of its European and Protestant coordinates. Asad (1993) argues that religion is not a universal and transhistorical essence but a category formed through particular histories of discipline, power, and secular governance. Religious traditions outside Western Christianity cannot be evaluated solely by the extent to which they approximate Protestant interiority, privatized belief, or a linear passage from enchantment to rationalization. This critique does not make Weber irrelevant. It instead limits the universal reach of his historical model and opens the analysis to religious traditions in which economic conduct is constituted through different relationships among worship, community, law, moral obligation, and material exchange.

Foucault's analysis provides a related but distinct account of modern subject formation. Although Foucault did not simply extend Weber's thesis, his discussion of neoliberal governmentality helps explain how individuals are encouraged to understand themselves as enterprises responsible for managing their own productivity, risks, and human capital (Foucault, 2008). Read alongside Weber, this perspective reveals both continuity and transformation. The disciplined Protestant subject and the neoliberal entrepreneurial subject are not identical, but both are produced through ethical demands that operate within the self. Religious and spiritual practices may reinforce these demands by framing productivity, resilience, and entrepreneurial achievement as moral obligations. They may also challenge them by grounding economic conduct in solidarity, restraint, redistribution, and responsibility toward others.

Non-Western settings make this ambivalence especially visible. Scholarship on entrepreneurial Islam has documented how commercial activity can be framed through devotion, ethical self-cultivation, and communal responsibility rather than through profit alone (Adas, 2006; Anggadwita et al., 2017). Evidence from Indonesia also cautions against treating religiosity as an automatic cause of entrepreneurship. Among Indonesian Muslim youth, for example, religiosity was found to influence perceived desirability rather than directly determining socio-entrepreneurial intention (Khoirunnisa et al., 2023). This distinction is important because it shows that religious commitments interact with, rather than mechanically produce, economic subjectivity.

Digital mediation adds another layer to this relationship. Studies of Indonesian Islam show that social media has transformed preaching into an economy of attention in which religious authority, time, visibility, and livelihood are negotiated together (Slama, 2017). More recent research demonstrates how Indonesian preachers use digital platforms not only to disseminate religious teachings but also to establish brands, businesses, and new forms of market-based authority (Raya, 2025). These developments resist any simple distinction between authentic religion and economic interest. Digital religiosity can reproduce commercial hierarchies and entrepreneurial norms while simultaneously creating new spaces for religious learning, ethical discussion, and collective participation.

Existing scholarship has therefore developed several important but frequently separated lines of inquiry: historical reassessments of Weber's Protestant ethic, postsecular critiques of linear secularization, analyses of neoliberal subject formation, and studies of religious practices within marketized and digital settings. What remains insufficiently articulated is a conceptual framework that brings these conversations together without treating Protestant experience as universal, describing every religious resurgence as a reversal of rationalization, or assuming that religion is inherently resistant to capitalism. A more defensible post-Weberian approach must account for the simultaneous rationalization, commodification, moralization, and critique of economic life.

This article develops such an approach through three interrelated conceptual movements: rationalization, re-enchantment, and the return of the spirit. Rationalization refers to the institutional and ethical organization of conduct through calculation, discipline, and self-management. Re-enchantment describes the renewed production of religious, affective, and symbolic meanings within rationalized social environments. The return of the spirit is used here as a theological and heuristic term for the reappearance of moral and transcendent vocabularies in debates about work, consumption, inequality, and ecological responsibility; it is not presented as an empirically universal religious revival.

Accordingly, this article asks three questions. First, how can Weber's account of religious ethics and economic conduct be reinterpreted under postsecular and neoliberal conditions? Second, how do non-Western and digitally mediated religious practices complicate a linear relationship among rationalization, disenchantment, and religious decline? Third, how can the three-part framework of rationalization, re-enchantment, and the return of the spirit clarify the ambivalent role of religion in legitimizing and criticizing contemporary capitalism? Through a critical conceptual review, the article reconstructs Weber's contribution, places it in dialogue with post-Weberian critiques, and develops a framework for examining faith as both a formative element of economic subjectivity and a possible source of ethical resistance.

B. Methods

This study employed a critical conceptual review to examine how religious ethics, economic rationality, and subjectivity are reconfigured in post-Weberian debates. A conceptual review is appropriate when the aim is to clarify concepts, connect distinct bodies of scholarship, and develop an interpretive framework rather than aggregate empirical findings or measure prevalence (Gilson & Goldberg, 2015; Jaakkola, 2020; Reese, 2023). Accordingly, this study is not a systematic review or meta-analysis and does not claim exhaustive coverage of literature on religion and capitalism.

The review addressed three questions: (1) how Weber's account of religious ethics and economic conduct can be reinterpreted under postsecular and neoliberal conditions; (2) how non-Western and digitally mediated religious practices complicate linear narratives of rationalization, disenchantment, and religious decline; and (3) how rationalization, re-enchantment, and the return of the spirit clarify religion's ambivalent role in legitimizing and criticizing contemporary capitalism. These questions defined the conceptual boundaries of the corpus and guided the analysis.

The corpus consisted of three groups of texts: foundational Weberian works; key critical interlocutors (Asad, Taylor, Foucault) on religion, secularism, power, and subject formation; and contemporary scholarship on neoliberalism, moral economy, Islamic entrepreneurship, digital religion, religious authority, and eco-spirituality. Indonesian studies were included to provide a non-Western context where religion, entrepreneurship, digital media, and moral subjectivity intersect.

Sources were selected purposively based on four criteria: relevance to the research questions, conceptual significance, theoretical or critical contribution, and empirical usefulness for illustrating contemporary religious-economic practices. Foundational texts were retained regardless of publication date, while recent peer-reviewed studies were prioritized for contemporary phenomena. Irrelevant, duplicate, or incomplete sources were excluded.

The analysis proceeded in four stages. First, Weber's argument was reconstructed around ascetic vocation, disciplined conduct, rationalization, and economic subject formation. Second, Weber was compared with critiques and extensions from Asad, Taylor, and Foucault, focusing on secularism, power, and subjectivity. Third, a comparative conceptual matrix was developed to examine five recurring themes: religion and economic conduct, moral subjectivity, rationalization and religious persistence, market incorporation of religion, and religious critique of inequality and commodification. Fourth, these relations were synthesized into three analytical movements: rationalization, re-enchantment, and the return of the spirit.

Rationalization refers to disciplined, calculative, and self-managed conduct. Re-enchantment refers to the circulation of religious and symbolic meanings within rationalized settings. The return of the spirit is a heuristic category for moral and transcendent vocabularies that question the reduction of life to productivity and accumulation, without implying a universal religious revival.

E-ISSN: 2722-6700 | DOI: 10.22373/JSAI.V7I2.9881

Analytical credibility was strengthened by distinguishing conceptual claims from empirical illustrations, incorporating counterarguments, and cross-checking the synthesis against the conceptual matrix. As the study relies solely on published literature, no ethical approval was required. Its limitation lies in its purposive and interpretive design, which does not allow generalization or causal inference. The contribution is therefore conceptual, offering a framework for future comparative and ethnographic research.

C. Results and Discussion

The conceptual synthesis produced three interrelated analytical movements: rationalization, re-enchantment, and the return of the spirit. These movements do not represent successive historical stages. They describe processes that may coexist within the same religious-economic practice. A religious organization, entrepreneur, or digital preacher may rationalize conduct through discipline and measurable performance, reintroduce religious meanings into market activity, and articulate a moral criticism of that activity at the same time. The central result of the review is therefore not that religion has returned after disappearing, but that religion remains entangled with the rationalized structures of contemporary capitalism in internally ambivalent ways.

Table 1.
Conceptual Mapping of Weberian and Post-Weberian Approaches

Analytical dimension	Weberian point of departure	Post-Weberian development	Interpretive limitation
Historical problem	How ascetic Protestant ethics contributed to the spirit of modern capitalism	How religious ethics continue to interact with neoliberal, digital, and postsecular	The Weberian case cannot be universalized across religions or regions
Economic conduct	Methodical work, restraint, deferred consumption, and vocation	Self-management, entrepreneurship, platform visibility, ethical consumption, and moralized economic participation	Similar economic conduct may arise from different religious and institutional histories
Subject formation	The disciplined subject formed through inner-worldly asceticism	The entrepreneurial and digitally mediated subject formed through market, religious, and technological practices	Religious subjectivity cannot be reduced to either resistance or market adaptation
Religion and modernity	Rationalization and disenchantment	Religious meanings persist and are reconfigured within	Re-enchantment does not mean the disappearance or

	transform the social position of religion	rationalized institutions and media	reversal of rationalization
Moral and political role	Religious ethics may unintentionally support a particular economic ethos	Religion may legitimize market discipline or support solidarity, redistribution, and ecological responsibility	Normative religious language does not by itself demonstrate emancipatory material effects

Source: Authors' conceptual synthesis based on the reviewed literature.

1. Rationalization Beyond the Protestant Ethic

Weber's contribution lies in demonstrating that economic conduct can be ethically organized. His argument concerns an elective affinity between ascetic Protestantism and the methodical conduct associated with the spirit of modern capitalism, not a universal claim that Protestant theology independently created capitalism (Ghosh, 2019; Weber, 2010). The disciplined pursuit of a vocation transformed economic activity into a morally meaningful practice. Once institutionalized, however, this discipline could persist after its original religious motivation weakened.

The contemporary form of rationalization extends beyond the organization of labor. Neoliberal governmentality encourages individuals to treat their abilities, relationships, time, and future prospects as assets requiring continual investment and management (Foucault, 2008). Dardot and Laval (2014) describe this development as the production of subjects expected to govern themselves according to competitive norms. Han's (2015) "achievement subject" similarly captures the movement from external supervision toward self-imposed performance, in which the individual becomes both the manager and the object of productivity.

This development resembles Weberian discipline but should not be treated as its direct continuation. Weber's ascetic subject acted within a historically specific theology of vocation and salvation. The neoliberal subject is formed through competition, risk, employability, metrics, and the expectation of continuous self-improvement. The affinity lies in the internalization of discipline, not in an identical religious foundation. Rationalization in the post-Weberian framework therefore refers to the translation of external economic demands into ethical obligations governing the self.

Religion can participate in this translation. Workplace spirituality, prosperity discourse, and entrepreneurial religious teaching may frame resilience, productivity, and self-management as expressions of moral integrity. LoRusso (2020), for example, shows how workplace spirituality can function as neoliberal governance when structural problems are recast as matters of individual attitude and spiritual adjustment. Mavelli (2020) similarly argues that neoliberalism can acquire religious characteristics when market principles are invested with unquestioned moral authority. These analyses do not establish that religion is inherently neoliberal. They show how religious language can help naturalize market discipline when responsibility for insecurity and failure is transferred from institutions to individuals.

2. Re-Enchantment Within Rationalized Modernity

The second movement, re-enchantment, qualifies interpretations of modernity as a simple transition from religion to secularity. Taylor (2007) argues that modern secularity changes the conditions under which belief is experienced rather than eliminating religion. Asad (1993) further demonstrates that the categories of religion and the secular are historically constituted through institutions, disciplinary practices, and relations of power. Postsecular scholarship therefore directs attention to the changing forms of religious presence rather than assuming a uniform religious decline (Crockett, 2021; Dolezal, 2024).

Re-enchantment does not reverse rationalization. Religious symbols and practices may re-enter public and economic life through highly rationalized institutions, commercial networks, professional management, and digital platforms. Marketization can expand the visibility of religion while simultaneously reorganizing it around competition, branding, consumer choice, and audience measurement. Izberk-Bilgin and Belk (2025) identify several ways in which marketization reshapes religion, including the weakening of traditional boundaries and the reappearance of religious actors in public and commercial domains. Rudnyckyj and Osella (2017) likewise show that market and religious moralities are assembled together rather than occupying separate social spheres.

This relationship makes re-enchantment structurally ambivalent. Religious meanings can restore moral language to economic activity, but they can also become commercially packaged resources. A spiritual vocabulary attached to work or consumption does not necessarily challenge market rationality; it may make participation in the market more emotionally meaningful. Re-enchantment must therefore be evaluated according to the institutional practices and distributions of power that it supports, not simply according to the presence of religious symbols.

3. The Return of the Spirit as a Heuristic Category

The return of the spirit is the most explicitly theological component of the proposed framework. It does not claim that a divine agent has empirically re-entered the economy or that contemporary society is experiencing a universal spiritual revival. It identifies a recurring normative movement in which economic life is evaluated through vocabularies of dignity, justice, solidarity, responsibility, and transcendence. The category asks whether economic actors and institutions are understood only through utility and productivity or also through obligations that exceed market calculation.

This distinction is necessary because spirituality can serve different political and economic functions. A spirituality centered exclusively on personal achievement may intensify self-management without questioning the conditions under which achievement is pursued. By contrast, a spiritual ethic oriented toward redistribution, ecological responsibility, or solidarity may expose values excluded by market calculation. The difference cannot be determined from religious language alone. It depends on how responsibility, resources, authority, and vulnerability are organized in practice.

The concept of moral economy helps clarify this distinction. Religious moral economies make evaluative assumptions about legitimate work, exchange, wealth, obligation, and social membership explicit (Keane, 2021; Ukah, 2022). Yet a moral economy is not automatically egalitarian. Religious norms may justify hierarchy as readily as they criticize exploitation. The return of the spirit therefore names a critical possibility rather than an intrinsic quality of religion: the possibility that religious ethics can disclose human and ecological costs that market rationality renders secondary.

This possibility is visible in theological approaches that connect social and ecological vulnerability. Castillo (2016) interprets integral ecology as a liberationist concept that links environmental destruction with structural inequality and the situation of marginalized communities. Recent eco-spirituality scholarship also documents the growing effort to connect spiritual orientation with responsibility toward nature, although its practical and political consequences vary across contexts (Adow et al., 2024). These approaches expand economic ethics beyond production and consumption to include ecological dependence and intergenerational responsibility.

4. Religious and Capitalist Subjectivity in the Indonesian Context

Studies of Islam and entrepreneurship demonstrate why non-Western cases cannot simply be placed inside Weber's Protestant model. Entrepreneurial Islam may combine economic activity with worship, ethical restraint, social obligation, and communal welfare (Adas, 2006; Kayed & Hassan, 2011). These elements resemble Weber's concern with ethically organized conduct, but their theological categories and institutional histories are different. The relevant comparison concerns how religion gives economic activity moral meaning, not whether Islam reproduces a Protestant route to capitalism.

Research in Indonesia demonstrates this relationship while also limiting deterministic conclusions. Anggadwita et al. (2017) found that Indonesian Muslim entrepreneurs associated entrepreneurial intention with spiritual, social, and economic motivations. However, religiosity should not be treated as an automatic cause of entrepreneurial behavior. Khoirunnisa et al. (2023) found that religiosity did not directly determine socio-entrepreneurial intention among Muslim youth but influenced perceived desirability. Religious commitment can therefore shape how an economic activity is valued without mechanically determining whether individuals undertake it.

Digital religion makes this process of valuation more visible. Slama (2017) shows how social media transformed the economy of time surrounding Indonesian Islamic preaching. Digital communication enabled religious actors to maintain wider networks and reorganize the relationship among preaching, audience attention, and livelihood. This was not merely the transfer of unchanged religious content to a new medium; the platform altered the temporal and social conditions under which religious authority operated.

Digital visibility also creates moral tensions within religious subjectivity. Husein and Slama (2018) examine Indonesian Muslim concerns about *riyāʾ*, or the morally problematic display of piety for public recognition, on social media. The concern illustrates that digital religious actors do not passively accept platform visibility. They negotiate between the religious value of sharing beneficial teachings and anxiety about self-promotion. This tension is important because it reveals an internal religious critique of the attention economy rather than an opposition imposed from outside the tradition.

Other Indonesian studies show that digital mediation can alter the basis of religious authority. Solahudin and Fakhruroji (2020) demonstrate that online Islamic learning provides wider access to religious knowledge while contributing to shifts in authority and religious populism. Kholili, Izudin, and Hakim (2024) identify regulatory challenges created by digital Islamic broadcasting and the rapid adaptation of preachers to online audiences. These changes place religious communication within platform systems structured by speed, visibility, engagement, and competition.

Raya (2025) develops the economic dimension of this transformation more directly. Indonesian preachers may use digital platforms to establish brands, business activities, and new forms of authority that combine religious communication with commercial visibility. Similar patterns appear in broader studies of Muslim social media influencers, who reshape religious authority and practice through the conventions of digital media (Zaid et al., 2022). These developments support the post-Weberian argument that religious and capitalist subjectivities are not separate identities. They are assembled through shared practices of self-presentation, discipline, communication, and moral evaluation.

At the same time, digital religion should not be reduced to commodification. The same platforms that reward branding and visibility also enable religious learning, community formation, ethical debate, and criticism of established authority. Digital religious subjectivity is therefore neither fully

VOLUME 7, ISSUE 2, JULY 2026, PP. 402-416
E-ISSN: 2722-6700 | DOI: 10.22373/JSAI.V7I2.9881

autonomous from capitalism nor completely determined by it. It is produced through continuing negotiations among platform incentives, theological norms, audience expectations, and institutional authority.

5. Religion Between Market Legitimation and Ethical Resistance

The reviewed literature supports a two-sided interpretation of religion in contemporary economic life. On one side, religion can legitimize market participation. Work may be framed as a calling, entrepreneurship as spiritual discipline, and economic success as evidence of moral worth. When these narratives individualize responsibility and obscure unequal access to resources, religion can reinforce neoliberal subject formation.

On the other side, religious ethics can supply standards by which market conduct is criticized. Concepts such as justice, restraint, stewardship, care, redistribution, and responsibility toward vulnerable communities introduce values that cannot be reduced to price or productivity. Religious moralities can therefore contest the assumption that market outcomes are morally self-justifying. The fact that these two functions can occur within the same tradition explains why religion should not be classified in advance as either an instrument of capitalism or a source of resistance.

The three-part framework clarifies this ambivalence. Rationalization identifies how economic and religious disciplines organize conduct. Re-enchantment identifies how religious meanings circulate through institutions and technologies that remain highly rationalized. The return of the spirit identifies the possibility of evaluating economic life through moral and transcendent commitments that exceed market utility. None of the three processes guarantees an emancipatory outcome. Their relationship must be examined in specific institutional, historical, and material contexts.

6. Reflections and Ethical Implications

The framework has several analytical implications. First, evaluations of religious-economic practice should examine where responsibility is placed. A discourse that treats poverty, unemployment, or exhaustion primarily as failures of motivation differs ethically from one that addresses institutional inequality and unequal access to resources. Second, analysis should consider how success is defined. Economic growth and entrepreneurial achievement may be legitimate goals, but religious ethics can also evaluate their effects on dignity, community, and ecological sustainability.

Third, attention should be given to authority. Digital platforms may broaden access to religious communication while concentrating visibility among actors who can master platform conventions and commercial branding. The democratization of religious expression does not automatically produce equality of voice. Fourth, claims of religious resistance should be assessed through their

VOLUME 7, ISSUE 2, JULY 2026, PP. 402-416
E-ISSN: 2722-6700 | DOI: 10.22373/JSAI.V7I2.9881

material and institutional consequences. Prophetic language alone does not demonstrate that resources have been redistributed, vulnerable groups protected, or exploitative practices changed.

For religious leaders and educators, these distinctions provide questions for critical reflection rather than a validated intervention model. Religious teaching about work and entrepreneurship can distinguish discipline from self-exploitation, moral responsibility from the individualization of structural problems, and legitimate livelihood from the sacralization of wealth. Economic and civic education can similarly present consumption, work, and technology as practices with moral and communal consequences. These implications remain conceptual and require empirical examination before claims about their effectiveness can be made.

D. Conclusion

This article reinterprets Weber's account of religious ethics and economic conduct under postsecular, neoliberal, and digitally mediated conditions. It argues that Weber's key insight remains relevant not as a theory of Protestant origins of capitalism, but as an analytical framework for understanding how economic behavior is shaped by moral meanings and disciplinary practices across different historical and cultural contexts.

The study develops a post-Weberian framework consisting of rationalization, re-enchantment, and the return of the spirit. Together, these concepts show that religion does not simply decline or resist capitalism, but is continuously reconfigured within marketized and digital environments. Religious ethics may reinforce entrepreneurial self-discipline, but they may also generate moral critiques of inequality, commodification, and ecological harm. The central contribution is therefore diagnostic: it replaces a binary opposition between religion and capitalism with an analysis of their ongoing entanglement in the formation of economic subjectivity. The findings are limited by the conceptual and non-exhaustive nature of the corpus. The framework does not measure prevalence or establish causal relationships. Future research should examine its empirical applicability through comparative ethnography and institutional analysis, particularly in non-Western and digitally mediated religious contexts where economic and moral logics are increasingly intertwined.

***

References

Adas, Emin Baki. 2006. "The Making of Entrepreneurial Islam and the Islamic Spirit of Capitalism." *Journal for Cultural Research* 10(2):113–137. https://doi.org/10.1080/14797580600624745.

Adow, A. H. E., M. M. Safeer, M. G. H. Mohammed, M. S. Alam, and M. M. Sulphey. 2024. "A Synthesis of Academic Literature on Eco-Spirituality." *Global Journal of Environmental Science and Management* 10(4):2163–2178. https://doi.org/10.22034/gjesm.2024.04.40.

Anggadwita, Grisna, Veland Ramadani, Dini Turipanam Alamanda, Vanessa Ratten, and Medain Hashani. 2017. "Entrepreneurial Intentions from an Islamic Perspective: A Study of Muslim Entrepreneurs in Indonesia." *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business* 31(2):165–179. https://doi.org/10.1504/IJESB.2017.084086.

Asad, Talal. 1993. *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Castillo, Daniel P. 2016. "Integral Ecology as a Liberationist Concept." *Theological Studies* 77(2):353–376. https://doi.org/10.1177/0040563916635781.

Crockett, Clayton. 2021. "Neoliberalism, Postsecularism, and the End of Religion." *Religions* 12(8):631. https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12080631.

Dardot, Pierre, and Christian Laval. 2014. *The New Way of the World: On Neoliberal Society*. Translated by Gregory Elliott. London: Verso.

Dolezal, Krystof. 2024. "Irritating the Secular: On Peter Berger and Charles Taylor's Theological Projects." *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 25(3):443–458. https://doi.org/10.1080/21567689.2024.2379342.

Foucault, Michel. 2008. *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978–1979*. Translated by Graham Burchell. Edited by Michel Senellart. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230594180.

Ghosh, Peter. 2019. "History and Theory in Max Weber's 'Protestant Ethic.'" *Global Intellectual History* 4(2):121–155. https://doi.org/10.1080/23801883.2018.1437327.

Gilson, Lucy L., and Caren B. Goldberg. 2015. "Editors' Comment: So, What Is a Conceptual Paper?" *Group & Organization Management* 40(2):127–130. https://doi.org/10.1177/1059601115576425.

Han, Byung-Chul. 2015. *The Burnout Society*. Translated by Erik Butler. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Husein, Fatimah, and Martin Slama. 2018. "Online Piety and Its Discontent: Revisiting Islamic Anxieties on Indonesian Social Media." *Indonesia and the Malay World* 46(134):80–93. https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2018.1415056.

Izberk-Bilgin, Elif, and Russell W. Belk. 2025. "Religion in Neoliberal Times: The Global Spread of Marketization, Implications for Religion, and Future Research Directions." *Marketing Theory* 25(1):57–76.

https://doi.org/10.1177/14705931241261000.

Jaakkola, Elina. 2020. "Designing Conceptual Articles: Four Approaches." *AMS Review* 10:18–26. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13162-020-00161-0.

Kayed, Rasem N., and M. Kabir Hassan. 2011. *Islamic Entrepreneurship*. London: Routledge.

Keane, Webb. 2021. "Religion and Moral Economy." In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Anthropology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190854584.013.360.

Kholili, M., A. Izudin, and M. L. Hakim. 2024. "Islamic Proselytizing in Digital Religion in Indonesia: The Challenges of Broadcasting Regulation." *Cogent Social Sciences* 10(1):2357460. https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2024.2357460.

Khoirunnisa, Annes Nisrina, Uma Zalfa Salsabiil, Fajar Sodik, Nala Syifa Dewanti, and Rizaldi Yusfiarto. 2023. "Linking Religiosity to Socio-Entrepreneurship Intention: A Case of Muslim Youth." *Journal of Islamic Monetary Economics and Finance* 9(2):225–250. https://doi.org/10.21098/jimf.v9i2.1647.

LoRusso, James Dennis. 2020. "Towards Radical Subjects: Workplace Spirituality as Neoliberal Governance in American Business." Pp. 1–26 in *Spirituality, Organization and Neoliberalism: Understanding Lived Experiences*, edited by E. Bell, S. Gog, A. Simionca, and S. Taylor. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing. https://doi.org/10.4337/9781788973304.00006.

Mavelli, Luca. 2020. "Neoliberalism as Religion: Sacralization of the Market and Post-Truth Politics." *International Political Sociology* 14(1):57–76. https://doi.org/10.1093/ips/olz021.

Raya, Moch Khafidz Fuad. 2025. "Digital Islam: New Space for Authority and Religious Commodification among Islamic Preachers in Contemporary Indonesia." *Contemporary Islam* 19(1):161–194. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-024-00570-z.

Reese, Stephen D. 2023. "Writing the Conceptual Article: A Practical Guide." *Digital Journalism* 11(7):1195–1210. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2021.2009353.

Rudnyckyj, Daromir, and Filippo Osella, eds. 2017. *Religion and the Morality of the Market*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316888704.

Slama, Martin. 2017. "A Subtle Economy of Time: Social Media and the Transformation of Indonesia's Islamic Preacher Economy." *Economic Anthropology* 4(1):94–106. https://doi.org/10.1002/sea2.12075.

Solahudin, Dindin, and Moch Fakhruroji. 2020. "Internet and Islamic Learning Practices in Indonesia: Social Media, Religious Populism, and Religious Authority." *Religions* 11(1):19. https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11010019.

Taylor, Charles. 2007. *A Secular Age*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard

VOLUME 7, ISSUE 2, JULY 2026, PP. 402-416
E-ISSN: 2722-6700 | DOI: 10.22373/JSAI.V7I2.9881

University Press.

Ukah, Asonzeh. 2022. “Moral Economy: The Afterlife of a Nebulous Concept.” *Journal for the Study of Religion* 35(2):1–15. https://doi.org/10.17159/2413-3027/2022/v35n2aintro.

Weber, Max. 2010. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Translated by Stephen Kalberg. New York: Oxford University Press.

Zaid, Bouziane, J. Fedtke, D. D. Shin, A. El Kadoussi, and M. Ibahrine. 2022. “Digital Islam and Muslim Millennials: How Social Media Influencers Reimagine Religious Authority and Islamic Practices.” *Religions* 13(4):335. https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13040335.