

Review article

# Unpacking Gentrification Attributes in Diverse Geographies: A Systematic Literature Review from Indonesia

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## Abstract

Gentrification is identified as a transformative process, which involves major social and spatial transformations that take place either rapidly or gradually in various geographical contexts. Whereas many studies have elaborated on gentrification on a global basis, only a few have systematically analyzed its attributes with regard to specific geographic contexts. Consequently, this study aims to analyze the attributes of gentrification within urban, rural and transitional areas in Indonesia through a systematic literature review (SLR). A total of 93 articles were selected from Scopus and Google Scholar based on predefined inclusion and exclusion criteria. The attributes of gentrification were categorized into driving forces, key actors, processes, scales and consequences. The results show that gentrification is not a homogeneous process, as its characteristics vary across spatial contexts and are further influenced by local conditions, actor configurations, and governance mechanisms. It was also connected to other spatial transformation processes, such as studentification, touristification, and central city revitalization through urban renewal and rejuvenation. These insights emphasize the need for context sensitivity to understand the broad process of gentrification. Furthermore, adopting a location-based method in spatial planning and development policy is crucial for reducing vulnerability and avoiding the homogenization of gentrification in policy frameworks.

Keywords: Gentrification; Rural-Urban; Characteristics and Patterns; Systematic Literature Review; Indonesia.

## 1. Introduction

Gentrification as a key phenomenon in urban and rural studies refers to the process of spatial, social and cultural change, with economic ascendancy at the core. It was originally conceived as an urban process associated with neighbourhood renewal and displacement, but now acknowledged to occur in varied geographical contexts such as small towns, rural hinterlands, and natural resource regions (Lees *et al.*, 2008; Lees *et al.*, 2022). The processes such as suburban development (Hochstenbach & Musterd, 2018), rural revitalization or regeneration (Du, 2022; Gkartzios & Scott, 2012; Liu *et al.*, 2023), post-suburbanization (Charmes & Keil, 2015), increasing land and rental prices (Sequera & Nofre, 2020), rural demographic decomposition (Listinin-grum *et al.*, 2023; Smith, 1979b), mega-project development (Hübscher, 2021), and diverse mover trajectories (Janssen *et al.*, 2023) are instances of the concept's expansion beyond metropolitan cores. Consequently, gentrification has become a valuable lens for understanding transformation processes across different spatial and geographical contexts.

In Southeast Asia, rapid development and urbanization have generated spatial transformations that differ markedly from those documented in the Global North. The combination of significant governmental intervention, patronage politics, and the interaction between formal planning and informal land markets creates hybrid urban-rural landscapes where gentrification processes take place in varying ways (Buchori *et al.*, 2023; Hudalah *et al.*, 2016; Padawangi, 2022). In many Southeast Asian contexts, gentrification is also associated with certain initiatives, such as state-led redevelopment (Hudalah & Adharina, 2019; Lawreniuk, 2021); state-led infrastructure mega-projects (Padawangi, 2022; Shatkin, 2008, 2022); and foreign investment (Shatkin, 2008, 2022). Such projects accelerate land commodification and displace local community members, while subsequently positioning such projects as catalysts for growth, together with modernization (Hübscher, 2021). These contrast with contexts in the Global North, where gentrification is primarily driven by the market (Lees *et al.*, 2022; Peck, 2005; Shaw, 2008). Furthermore, the dynamics raise questions about the relevance of traditional gentrification theories. These dynamics outline the necessity of theorizing gentrification in the context of the Global South, where social upgrading is frequently combined with exclusive spatial practices, and where rural areas are becoming more integrated into urban-centered development strategies (Moore, 2013; Rigg, 2020).

Indonesia provides valuable insights for understanding gentrification in Southeast Asia and the Global South. In the Indonesian context, studies on gentrification have been conducted at various



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scales and locations, ranging from city centers to rural villages, as well as in transitional zones that exhibit hybrid urban–rural characteristics (Hudalah & Adharina, 2019, Kusumaningrum & Rosyidy, 2024, Ristiawan *et al.*, 2023). These cases offer a rich background for more thorough research since they are connected with, and embedded in, a variety of processes, namely state-led rural development, urbanization and tourism growth. Additionally, what makes Indonesia special is its set of unique conditions, with gentrification connected with interplay with decentralized governance and the geography of the archipelago (Bunnell *et al.*, 2013; Hudalah & Firman, 2012). This has led to ‘wildly diverse’ paths of transformation emerging from particular socio-geographic conditions and political realities. Despite all this, there have been few systematic attempts to understand gentrification in its geographical context by highlighting points of similarity and difference. Notably, crucial aspects remain under-explored, including whether gentrification in rural, urban and transitional areas takes different forms, or if all the related parameters follow the same trend. Our research argues that gentrification will emerge and proceed in completely different ways in different geographical conditions, in line with the economic and social systems, and geographical characteristics unique to these.

The research gap highlights the importance of a systematic review of various geographical units characterized by varying gentrification-related traits. While recent systematic reviews have synthesized specific themes such as mover trajectories (Janssen *et al.*, 2023); the relationship between gentrification and megaprojects and tourism (Hübscher, 2021); health impacts (Cole *et al.*, 2021; Hernandez *et al.*, 2024); or specific regional contexts such as the MENA region (Abdelfattah & Maghelal, 2024) and China (Li *et al.*, 2024; Zhang *et al.*, 2025), a comprehensive synthesis of the multi-geographical attributes within a diverse archipelagic nation characterized by decentralized governance, such as is the case in Indonesia, is lacking. The systematic literature review approach allows our research to provide a conceptual platform to systematically examine gentrification, and its complexities over different geographies. Additionally, from a case study in Indonesia, the study aims to contribute to the literature on gentrification by including insights from Southeast Asia, the Global South, and, specifically, the unique characteristics of the country itself.

The research objectives are to explain and describe the characteristics of gentrification in urban, rural and transition locations in Indonesia, based on the processes, actors, scales, driving forces and consequences involved. In order to do so, the following research questions are addressed: (1) How is gentrification in urban, rural and transition locations in Indonesia differentiated? and (2) What are the processes, subjects, driving forces and consequences of gentrification? The research aims to compile the findings of previous works using the systematic literature review (SLR) method, formulating a concept and framework which divides gentrification into its geographical locations. The study makes a dual contribution to theory and practice. First, in theoretical terms, it moves current notions on gentrification forward, specifically within the contexts of Southeast Asia and the broader global South, highlighting characteristic urban-rural interrelations within this geographical sphere. Second, in practical terms the research intends to inform policymakers within relevant sectors about gentrification, and to add vital global research information on gentrification theory sourced from Indonesia.

This research is organized into four main sections. Its background, relevance and objectives are covered in the first section. The process involved in conducting SLR is explained in the second section in order to ensure clarity and replicability. The following section presents the findings of the analysis of the literature, highlighting the attributes and characteristics of gentrification as practiced in various geographical settings in Indonesia. The key conclusions, theoretical and policy implications, and future research recommendations are detailed in the final section.

## 2. Methods

The characteristics and trends involved in gentrification in Indonesia were investigated through the application of the SLR approach. We followed Moher *et al.* (2009) PRISMA (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses) method in conducting the review to ensure transparency and replicability in searching for, assessing and selecting suitable articles (Moher *et al.*, 2009). Additionally, the analysis was conducted under the guidance of five crucial gentrification dimensions: drivers, agents, process, scale and impact.

### 2.1. Article Search Strategy

A comprehensive search was conducted using both direct and indirect approaches in order to retrieve all material of relevance. It was made either directly from various publishers’ websites or indirectly by utilizing Publish or Perish software, which pooled data from Google Scholar and Scopus. The search involved combinations of keywords making use of the union operator ("OR"). The keywords included "gentrification," "urban gentrification," "rural gentrification," "tourism

gentrification," "touristification," "studentification," "green gentrification" and "commercial gentrification." They were intersected with the geographical location keyword "Indonesia," providing relevance to the geographical interest of the research; Figure 1 gives a search term overview. The search was conducted on diverse relevant publications that explore gentrification in different settings, making use of various terminologies. The keywords were customized to reflect the study focus and to broaden the scope of the review, capturing both urban and rural dynamics in the Indonesian context. Sufficient technical detail is presented in this section to allow replication of the method by others. The narrative shows that the method employed was stable and appropriate. Figure 1, a flow diagram of the article search strategy, is also included to aid the comprehension process.

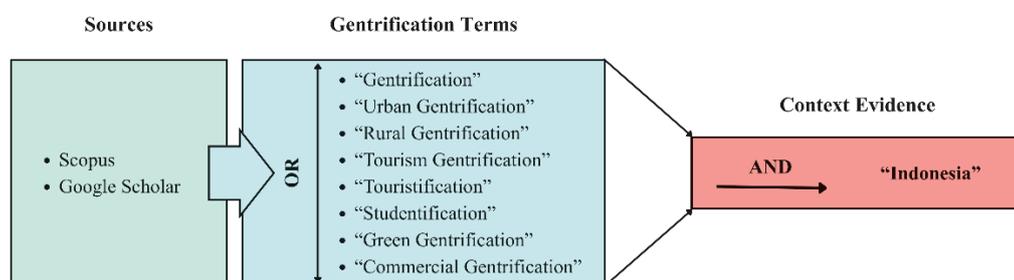


Figure 1. Search Term Overview.

Source: Authors' synthesis

## 2.2. Eligibility Criteria

Studies which met the following criteria were included in the review. (1) Those published in peer-reviewed journals, research-based book chapters, and peer-reviewed conference papers with a focus on gentrification processes in Indonesia during the period January 1999 to December 2024. Some conference papers were selected based on their relevance to the Indonesian gentrification landscape, adhering to strict quality criteria and validation by the research team. In addition, the starting point reflects the earliest appearance of indexed academic publications on gentrification in the country, while the end date corresponds to the final metadata collection for the study. (2) Those addressing at least one of the following dimensions: driving forces, actors, process, scale and impacts. (3) Those published in English or Bahasa Indonesia were considered in order to ensure linguistic accessibility. (4) Full-text availability was necessary for comprehensive analysis. To facilitate a more thorough analysis, articles published in Indonesian were also selected because English-language publications would not provide significant coverage of the local context or insights specific to Indonesia. This approach prevented bias towards international publications and improved the representativeness of the literature. On the other hand, studies that did not concentrate on gentrification or had no connection to the Indonesian setting were disqualified. To ensure academic integrity, non-peer-reviewed grey literature (e.g., unpublished theses and reports) was excluded.

## 2.3. Selection Process (Figure 2)

The review included the selection stage of the PRISMA guidelines (Moher *et al.*, 2009) to ensure that only studies relevant to the objectives were selected for inclusion in the subsequent analysis. This was a fundamental component of the review aimed at enhancing its rigor, validity and reliability by systematically excluding those publication entries that did not conform to the specified criteria, including relevance, type, language and geographical region (Moher *et al.*, 2009). The selection was made by following the steps below:

- IDENTIFICATION: The first search in the database, obtained from Scopus and Google Scholar, found a cumulative total of 1609 records. Duplicates or corrupt records, such as records containing only the title without accompanying bibliographic information, were discarded. The filtering step ensured twice that all remaining data were of high quality. After discarding duplicates, 825 records remained for use in subsequent screenings. The criteria set in this step were stringently examined in subsequent stages to ensure conformity with the intended aims and accuracy.
- SCREENING: Screening was undertaken by searching for the predefined search terms in the title, abstract and keywords, and, if available, by searching the full text of the articles. The title, abstract and keywords were evaluated to check if they were relevant to the research

topic. The availability of full text was also considered to check if all the articles explored and addressed all the dimensions of the topic and fulfilled the inclusion criteria. After conducting this step, 579 articles remained from the 825 entries. The criteria set for this screening step were kept in view during the various stages of the selection process.

- **ELIGIBILITY:** The full-text articles were classified based on the eligibility criteria. Any discrepancies regarding the inclusion or exclusion of studies were addressed by discussion between the members of the research team. From the pool of 579 articles identified in the previous step, 93 articles were found to be eligible for analysis.
- **INCLUSION:** The final articles were extracted and analyzed following the study objectives (n: 93) (cf. Appendix A1).

### 2.4. Data Extraction and Analysis

Data extraction was conducted on studies that had passed the selection stage, thus ensuring that only relevant and eligible articles were included in the analysis. The retrieved data underwent thematic analysis with an emphasis on identifying the characteristics and patterns of gentrification. The forces, players, processes, spatial scale and consequences of gentrification in urban, rural and transition settings were among the important aspects investigated. By emphasizing similarities and variations between the publications, the thematic method enabled an organized synthesis of results and offered a thorough grasp of the ways in which gentrification appears in Indonesia.

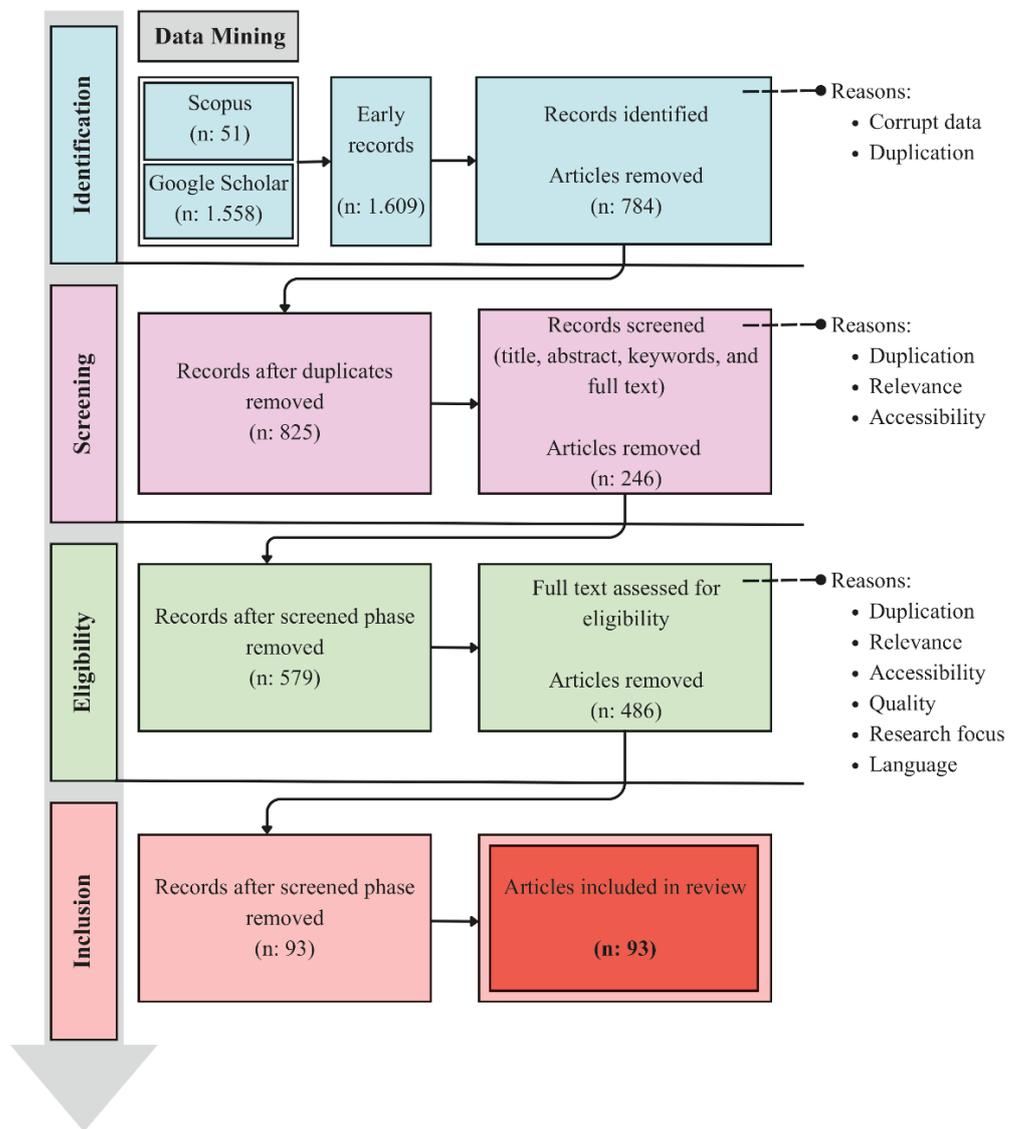


Figure 2. PRISMA Model Flow Diagram.

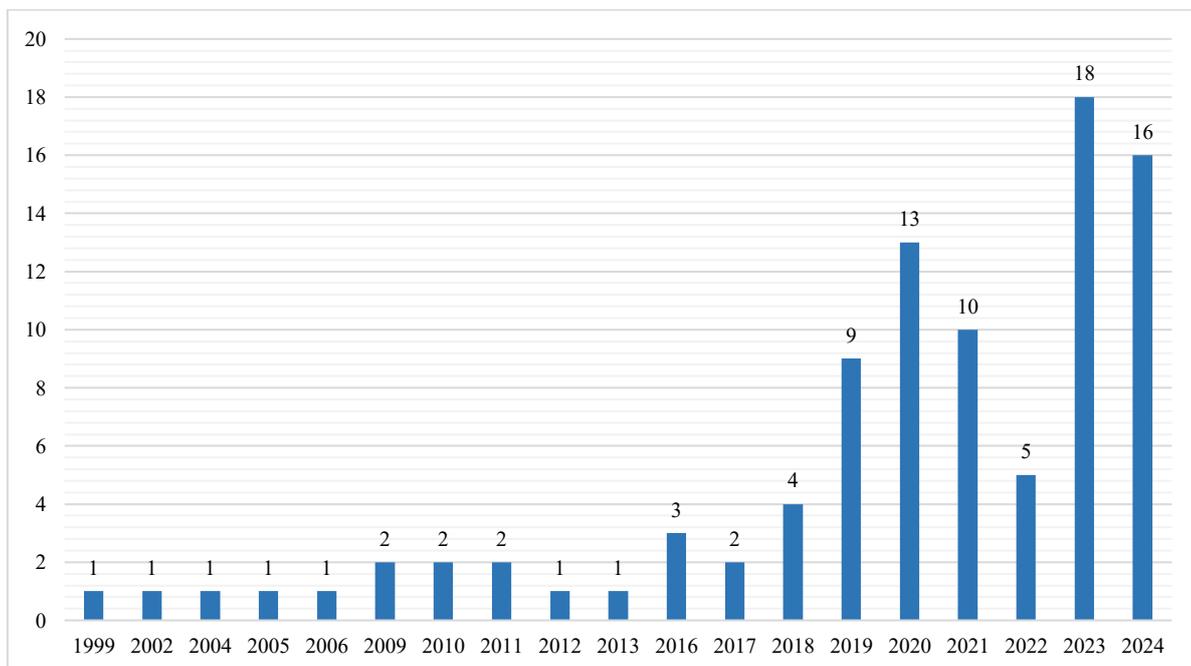
Source: Authors' Analysis.

### 3. Results and Discussion

#### 3.1. Overview of the Selected Articles: Temporal and Spatial Differentiation of Gentrification in Indonesia

This subsection addresses the first research question by providing a temporal overview of the selected studies (January 1999– December 2024) and mapping the spatial distribution of gentrification across urban, rural and transitional locations in Indonesia (See Figure 3). The SLR contained 93 articles about gentrification in Indonesia, with 80 written in English (86%) and 13 in Indonesian (14%). These were predominantly composed of peer-reviewed journal articles (90.4%; n=84), with a smaller representation of research-based book chapters (5.4%; n=5) and peer-reviewed conference papers (4.3%; n=4). These proportions indicate that the synthesized findings draw primarily from high-standard, formally indexed scholarly publications.

The distribution of publications exhibited a significant trend during the 1999 to 2024 period. In the early years between 1999 and 2015, publications were very limited and sporadic, averaging only one to two articles per year and focusing on the urban context (Abaza, 2004; Hun, 2002; Prayitno *et al.*, 1999). According to the findings, gentrification remained a peripheral topic in Indonesian urban studies during this time because the focus of scholarly attention remained primarily on more general problems such as housing, poverty and urbanization, rather than the particular dynamics of displacement and spatial restructuring.



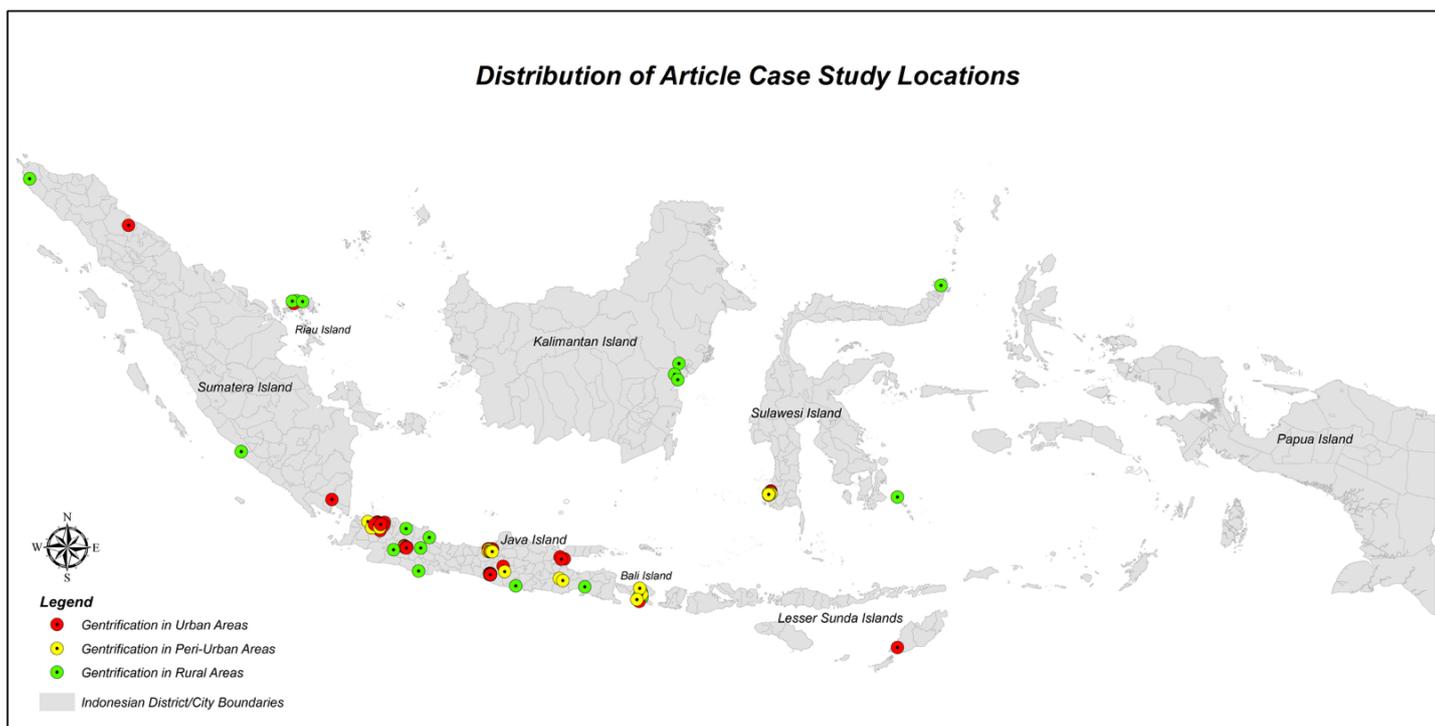
**Figure 3.** Number of Articles by Year of Publication.

Source: Authors’ Analysis.

A marked transition began around 2016, although the number of articles published fluctuated slightly between 2016 and 2017 before increasing in subsequent years. This rise became even more significant from 2018 to 2020, culminating in 13 publications in 2020. This was marked by the rising visibility of urban redevelopment schemes, land speculation, and resistance by social movements in urban centers such as Jakarta, Bandung and Yogyakarta city (Hudalah & Adharina, 2019; Leitner & Sheppard, 2018; Mauludi, 2020; Vermeulen, 2020). The rise in academic interest was also evident in the increasing recognition of gentrification as an integral concept in analyzing urban inequality in Indonesia.

Despite the slight decrease in 2021, with only 10 articles published, and a further fall in 2022 to five articles, this was not a long-term reduction. The field then witnessed another significant growth in 2023 with 18 articles, the highest number ever, which fell slightly to 16 in 2024. Therefore, gentrification was already established as a serious topic in Indonesian urban-rural research, ranging from housing and displacement through to studentification (Fazrin *et al.*, 2024; Septiani & Susanti, 2023); tourism development (Rizal *et al.*, 2021; Suyadnya, 2022); and land conversion in rural areas (e.g., Adhinata & Sawitri, 2022). Another indication of gentrification entering mainstream society was seen in the growth of related publications. The topic began as a niche

topic of interest at the end of the 1990s, but has progressed into becoming a central theme in modern urban and rural research in Indonesian society.



**Figure 4.** Spatial Distribution of the Articles.

Source: Authors' Analysis.

The geographical pattern of examples of gentrification in Indonesia showed a marked duality between urban and rural environments, at the same time specifying the role of the peri-urban area as an intermediate region, as can be seen in Figure 4. The urban and rural divide in Indonesia was not marked by clearly defined categories, but by an intensification continuum, with gentrification processes at various points along this continuum taking place with varying intensities and characteristics.

Urban gentrification was primarily found in Java, especially in the largest urban centers such as Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Semarang and Surabaya metropolitan areas. These cases showed processes commonly associated with global urban transformation (Aritenang, 2023; Buchori *et al.*, 2023; Kidokoro *et al.*, 2022; Martin-Iverson, 2014). The commodification of urban heritage and cultural landscapes for tourism and creative industries (Nursanty, 2020; Sulisty, 2019; Vermeulen, 2020); the socio-spatial displacement of lower-income communities due to rising land and housing values (Martin-Iverson, 2014; Nursanty, 2020); and the redevelopment of inner-city kampungs into middle- and upper-class residential enclaves (Hun, 2002; Prayitno *et al.*, 1999) were all characteristics of the process. The concentration reflected both the demographic and economic centrality of Java as the locus of Indonesian urban growth, while also underscoring the penetration of globalized urbanism into the local context.

On the other hand, instances of rural gentrification were more widely distributed throughout Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Bali and certain regions of Java. Despite being geographically remote from the metropolitan cores, several locations in Bali, Lombok and Yogyakarta exhibited signs of gentrification due to the growth of rural tourism destinations. Other processes were the expansion of large-scale agriculture such as oil palm production in Sumatra and Kalimantan, and the construction of national infrastructure projects including ports, airports and new highways (Aini, 2023; Listiningrum *et al.*, 2023; Putro & Putri, 2019; Suyadnya, 2022). Against the narrative built upon urban gentrification, state-led development agendas, and inflows of foreign or domestic investment have frequently facilitated rural gentrification in Indonesia. Beyond changing the physical layout, the effects have also included changes to local livelihoods, land ownership and community identity.

Transition areas, located at the margins of metropolitan regions or peri-urban areas, evolved as hybrid spaces where rural and urban logics coexisted and collided. These spaces showed two ambivalent tendencies. On the one hand, rural areas were acquiring urban characteristics, as seen

in the functionally affected villages outside Jakarta, Bandung, Bandar Lampung and Surabaya (Andini *et al.*, 2023; Ansar & de Vries, 2024; Hudalah *et al.*, 2016; Kusumaningrum & Rosyidy, 2024; Shatkin, 2016). The areas became urbanized, characterized by suburban housing, industrial areas and commercial development. However, urban regions could still have rural features, specifically in urban outskirts characterized by agrarian land use, village settlement patterns, and social interactions commonly associated with rural environments (Buchori *et al.*, 2022; Hudalah *et al.*, 2016; Mauludi, 2020). Therefore, peri-urban gentrification served as a transition area where rural space became occupied by urban expansion or vice versa. It also frequently led to contested land transformations, the emergence of gated communities, and the slow decline of agricultural livelihoods.

### 3.2. Urban-Rural Gentrification: Characteristics and Patterns

#### 3.2.1. Driving Forces of Gentrification in Indonesia

The findings regarding the driving forces of gentrification indicated that it was not a uniform process, but was influenced by a variety of sociopolitical and economic factors, depending on the geographic setting. Although broader neoliberal development agendas impacted both urban and rural environments, there were significant differences in the mechanisms, actors and scales of transition. A systematic breakdown of these drivers, their spatial contexts, and the resulting displacement evidence is summarized in Table 1.

**Table 1.** Matrix of Gentrification Drivers, Contexts and Displacement Evidence.

Key Driver Category	Operational Indicator/Mechanism	Spatial Context	Example Case Studies	Displacement Evidence (Type/Strength)
State-Facilitated: Revitalization & Upgrading	Regulatory Adjustments to spatial plans, building permits, and city beautification/modernization programs.	Urban	Urban Redevelopment in Jakarta (Leitner & Sheppard, 2018); Commercialization for Tourism in Yogyakarta (Amrozi <i>et al.</i> , 2022).	Direct & Indirect: Physical relocation of low-income groups and kampung residents.
Market-Driven: Real Estate & Studentification	Economic Exploitation of "rent gaps" through conversion of traditional housing to apartments, boutique hotels, and high-end rentals.	Urban	Studentification in Semarang and Medan (Dewi & Ristianti, 2019; Hutauruk & Susanti, 2024); Commercialization of historical sites in Semarang (Nursanty, 2020).	Indirect/Exclusionary: Increased land prices and property taxes; pressure on long-term residents to leave.
Large-scale Investment Projects: National Strategic Projects (PSN)	Coercive Compulsory land acquisition and central government decrees bypassing participatory planning.	Rural	Development of IKN East Kalimantan (Aini, 2023; Listiningrum <i>et al.</i> , 2023) and Subang Airport (Susman <i>et al.</i> , 2021).	Direct/Coercive: Marginalization of local communities and undermining of customary land rights.
Capital Alliance: Industrial & Economic Zones	Coercive State-capital alliances for agrarian restructuring and manufacturing investment.	Rural	Bintan Industrial Estate (Bunnell <i>et al.</i> , 2006); North Minahasa SEZ (Putro & Azkarifa, 2020)	Economic/Social: Displacement of rural livelihoods; reinforced asymmetric power relations.
Lifestyle & Global Consumption	Market-Led Land commodification driven by international tourism, digital nomads, and "religious branding" clusters.	Urban  Rural	Tourism Development Conflict in Yogyakarta (Suharyanto <i>et al.</i> , 2023); Marginalization in Bandung (Martin-Iverson, 2021) Ubud & Canggu, Bali (Wibowo, 2024)	Cultural/Social: Social stratification, conflict and marginalization of minority groups. Direct & Indirect: Displacement of local people and marginalization of Balinese workers.
Metropolitan Hybrid Expansion	Hybrid Combination of urban and rural key drivers	Peri-urban / Transitional	Makassar (Ramli <i>et al.</i> , 2020; Surya <i>et al.</i> , 2019); Metropolitan fringes (Hudalah <i>et al.</i> , 2016).	Mixed: Neighborhood-scale changes and physical displacement; marginalization; conflict.

Source: Authors' analysis.

Urban gentrification was shown to be largely state-facilitated and market-driven, operating in formal planning frameworks, and realized through several schemes. State-facilitation is defined as interventions in which the state acts as an enabler through regulatory tools; for example, municipal governments actively reshape the urban space, leveraging the ability to intervene in building permits (Widianto & Keban, 2020); revitalization programs (Khudi, 2023; Kusumaningrum *et al.*, 2010; Prayoga *et al.*, 2013); and adjustments to spatial plans (Amrozi *et al.*, 2022; Buchori *et al.*, 2022; Kidokoro *et al.*, 2022). Many of these cases were often justified as efforts to modernize or beautify cities. In this context, modernization or beautification often translates into the formalization of urban space. Governments seek to replace 'disordered' or 'perceived' informality with structured infrastructures, prioritizing a specific visual aesthetic that aligns with modern city

standards. This is evident in kampung upgrading projects in Jakarta (Budiarto, 2005; Kusumaningrum *et al.*, 2010, 2020; Leitner & Sheppard, 2018; Prayitno *et al.*, 1999) and Yogyakarta (Amrozi *et al.*, 2022; Suharyanto *et al.*, 2023; Vermeulen, 2020). These initiatives have led to direct and indirect displacement of low-income communities. Moreover, by implementing redevelopment schemes and infrastructure projects, local authorities have effectively created opportunities for capital reinvestment in central and peri-central areas.

Apart from government intervention, private investments in real estate have contributed immensely to urban growth. Developers have exploited rent gaps in many strategic locations, which in Indonesia manifest as a stark discrepancy between capitalized ground rent—the current value of land under low-intensity use—and the potential ground rent achievable through high-value redevelopment schemes. For example, developers have converted traditional housing into commercial properties, apartments and exclusive boarding houses (Amrozi *et al.*, 2022). Historic areas are also being transformed into boutique hotels, cafes and creative hubs. This has taken place in cities such as Jakarta, Bandung and Yogyakarta as a result of tourism-driven gentrification (Nursanty, 2020; Pratiwi, 2021; Prayitno, 2017; Vermeulen, 2024). Similarly, studentification, one form of gentrification, has pushed land values upward and motivated the proliferation of high-end rental housing in Semarang, Depok and other university towns (Dewi & Ristianti, 2019; Hayah & Dewi, 2020; Hutauruk & Susanti, 2024; Sandra *et al.*, 2023; Sanvica & Susanti, 2023; Situmorang *et al.*, 2019). Such developments aim to generate more capital from previous land uses that were considered less profitable.

Urban gentrification has also been accelerated by changes in culture and lifestyle, reflected by rising middle-class consumption patterns in the expansion of creative sectors, fashionable cafes, and residential clusters with religious branding (Martin-Iverson, 2014, 2021; Suharyanto *et al.*, 2023). Such patterns increase indirect displacement, in which long-term residents feel pressurized to leave due to increasing land prices, property taxes and speculative real estate practices. Considering such changes collectively, Indonesian urban gentrification is shown to be a formalized process mediated by market liberalization and state planning. It also results in mixed modes of displacement, neighborhood-scale changes, and social stratification (Khudi, 2023; Kidokoro *et al.*, 2022; Sjahrain, 2024; Vermeulen, 2020; Wiryomartono, 2020a).

In contrast, rural gentrification is generally shaped by large-scale investment projects, state–capital alliances, and the restructuring of agrarian economies. In this case, the mechanisms are frequently ‘coercive’ – characterized by direct state interventions such as compulsory land acquisitions and central government decrees – rather than the ‘state-facilitated’ regulatory approach seen in the urban context, which typically relies on building permits and zoning incentives. National strategic programs have increased land conversion through compulsory acquisition and central government decrees. Such projects include the Nusantara Capital City (IKN) development in East Kalimantan (Aini, 2023; Listiningrum *et al.*, 2023; Syaban & Appiah-Opoku, 2024); industrial estates in Bintan (Bunnell *et al.*, 2006; Munir & Yani, 2020); an airport mega-project in Subang (Susman *et al.*, 2021); a tourism-based special economic zone in North Minahasa Regency (Putro & Azkarifa, 2020); and pro-tourism development in Bali (Suyadnya, 2022). The development of those projects has often marginalized local communities by undermining customary land rights or bypassing participatory planning.

The influx of both domestic and foreign investment is also crucial to the transformation of rural areas. This can be illustrated by how the effect of tourism and remote workers in the towns of Ubud and Canggu in Bali, which has led to land commodification and alienation at an incredibly fast pace (Wibowo, 2024). The entry of manufacturing sector investments has led to job displacement in rural localities in industrial estates in towns/areas such as Bintan and Subang (Bunnell *et al.*, 2006; Munir & Yani, 2020). The role of political patronage and clientelism, whereby local power brokers facilitate land transactions with investors, is essential in effecting changes in localities. Additionally, such approaches also ensure that there is a one-sided relationship between local people and those in power. Consequently, local rural areas are converted into ‘sites of consumption’ thanks to worldwide demands, including those of ecotourism, cultural tourism, or migration to rural locations.

Gentrification trends found in transition regions tend to possess hybrid forms, combining urban and rural facets. This is influenced by local actor adjustments, creating areas with mixed characteristics. An example of a region with unclear boundaries has been evidenced in the case studies of Makassar (Ramli *et al.*, 2020; Surya, Hadijah, *et al.*, 2020; Surya, Syafri, *et al.*, 2020). The characteristics of this metropolitan setting combine elements of urban development with rural transformation. The process is also demonstrated in the findings of several studies on metropolitan-scale regions (Hasan, 2009; Hudalah *et al.*, 2016; Prayoga *et al.*, 2013).

### 3.2.2. Gentrification Process in Indonesia

The findings concerning the gentrification process show a variety of transformational pathways, although all follow a similar pattern that includes changes in land use, the participation of external actors, and the socio-economic dynamics of local communities. Many cases were initially driven by the attractiveness of space, whether in the form of natural amenities, strategic locations or historical value. Examples of such urban contexts include the redevelopment of creative industries in Bandung, or the revitalization of historic neighbourhoods in Kota Tua Jakarta (Martin-Iverson, 2014, 2021; Sulisty, 2019; Vermeulen, 2024). The strong appeal of historical value inherent in these two cases has often served as a catalyst for transformation.

In contrast, being part of rural areas, agrarian and ecological landscapes have increasingly attracted tourism investment and triggered massive development. These processes were clearly demonstrated in Dago (Mauludi, 2020), Gunungsewu (Ristiawan et al., 2023), and Ciletuh (Ristiawan et al., 2023). Furthermore, government interventions through spatial planning policies, investment regulations and strategic projects also reinforce the direction of these transformations. Examples of such processes include the Indonesian capital city relocation project (IKN project) and the Mandalika Special Economic Zone (Aini, 2023; Hornok & Raeskyesa, 2024; Listiningrum et al., 2023).

The subsequent phase is marked by the systematic acquisition of land by corporations, investors or wealthy individuals. This process often unfolds through voluntary transactions (Amrozi et al., 2022; Dewi, 2017; Rizal et al., 2021); speculative practices (Fazrin et al., 2024; Shatkin, 2016; Syaban & Appiah-Opoku, 2024); or policy-driven pressures (Khudi, 2023; Putro & Azkarifa, 2020; Syaban & Appiah-Opoku, 2024). In this sense, capitalization and land ownership are facilitated by capital-intensive actors employing a range of formal and informal mechanisms to gain control over land.

The next step is land-use conversion, marked by traditional villages being turned into commercial areas, with rice fields and plantations converted into villas, hotels or residential complexes, or occasionally, coastal areas being reclaimed for upscale housing (Nurdiani, 2011; Wiryomartono, 2020a). Consolidation of land leads to the rapid development of contemporary infrastructure and auxiliary facilities. Older buildings are replaced by more profitable ones, such as upscale hotels, retail malls or luxury apartment complexes (Sulisty, 2019). The construction of industrial zones or universities also increases demand for middle-class service-oriented enterprises and rental housing (Buchori et al., 2023; Situmorang et al., 2019). At this point, space starts to be (re)produced using capitalist logic.

Beyond land conversion and large-scale development, gentrification also involves functional conversion and renewal. Existing buildings are frequently repurposed; for example, traditional houses are converted into cafes, art studios, student housing or homestays (Aurunnisa & Rochani, 2024; Dewi, 2017; Nugroho & Zhang, 2022; Pratiwi, 2021; Sandra et al., 2023). Consecutively, older commercial or residential facilities undergo renovation to cater for middle- and upper-class consumption. This process not only alters the physical appearance of space, but also redefines social and economic functions, reinforcing the commodification of place under the process of capitalist urbanization.

Land-use transformation or function conversion typically force local communities and lower socio-economic classes who previously lived in these areas to relocate. Pressures take the form of displacement or negotiation. Displacement occurs in multiple forms, including direct eviction (Kusumaningrum & Rosyidy, 2024; Yamaguchi et al., 2022); the loss of a sense of place and ownership (Margono et al., 2023); and economic displacement through rising land values (Raga et al., 2024; Surya, Syafri, et al., 2020; Weng, 2018). It can also be observed as an adaptive displacement in which livelihoods shift, such as when farmers become boarding house or small shop owners (Aurunnisa & Rochani, 2024). In some cases, negotiated displacement emerges, whereby residents bargain with developers or the government, eventually losing full access to their space (Adhinata & Sawitri, 2022).

Beyond the economic and physical spheres, gentrification can also take on metaphorical forms. All space, culture, and even religion or belief are types of commodities. As indicated by the case of Yogyakarta, popular culinary traditions are materialized through social media, driving the proliferation of cafes and restaurants (Prima & Widhiasti, 2023). A similar process took place in Bali, where local space was transformed into walled cultures in response to the demands of exclusivity of expatriate communities (MacRae, 2016). A form of religious gentrification has also evolved, in which space has been reconfigured based on modern and exclusive Islamic identities (Abaza, 2004; Weng, 2018, 2019).

The final process is exemplified by the consolidation of new social classes, specifically professional workers, students, foreign visitors and urban middle-class groups. These changes have led to social disintegration, increased living costs and spatial segregation (Mardhotillah & Gamal, 2018; Permanasari *et al.*, 2024). Consecutively, super-gentrification has occurred in certain areas, where affluent neighborhoods have been transformed into even more exclusive and expensive enclaves, as observed in Solo Baru (Al Hibbi *et al.*, 2023).

Despite distinct geographical contexts, the Indonesian gentrification trajectory can be perceived as a cyclical process consisting of spatial attractiveness, land acquisition and conversion, infrastructure development, displacement, commodification of culture and identity, and socio-economic polarization. An illustration of the gentrification process in both rural and urban Indonesia is presented in Figure 5.

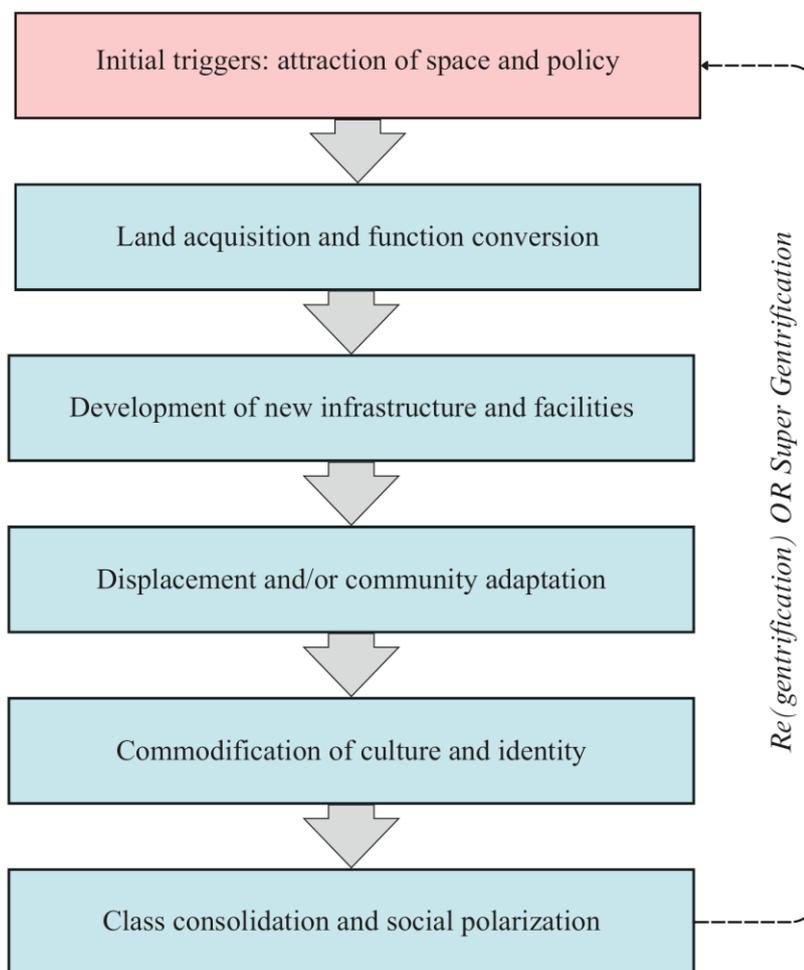


Figure 5. Process of Gentrification in Indonesia.

Source: Authors’ analysis.

### 3.2.3. Actors in the Gentrification Process

The study shows that the dynamic interactions between a range of actors influences the paths of socio-spatial changes in Indonesia on various scales. These actors share interests, resources and capacities in the process of producing space as a reflection of power relations, economic aspirations and socio-cultural negotiations. The different players are not limited to certain geographic locations, but rather, appear interchangeably in urban, rural and peri-urban contexts, showing how gentrification is a fluid phenomenon that cuts across geographic borders.

In urban contexts, gentrification is predominantly driven by the interplay between the state, private developers, and middle- and upper-class newcomers. Municipal governments and urban planners often act as facilitators of capital accumulation through spatial planning policies (Amrozi *et al.*, 2022; Buchori *et al.*, 2022; Kidokoro *et al.*, 2022); deregulation (Kidokoro *et al.*, 2022; Widiyanto & Keban, 2020); and infrastructure provision (Peters, 2010; Prayoga *et al.*, 2013). The cases of Jakarta, Bandung, Semarang and Yogyakarta show the strong influence of large-scale

private developers and corporate actors, such as Agung Podomoro, Lippo, Ciputra, Summarecon Agung, Modernland Realty, Bakrieland and Pakuwon Jati, or state-connected development corporations (Kusno, 2012; Wiryomartono, 2020b). They are the key actors in the transformation of urban neighborhoods into sites of profit-oriented accumulation.

The influx of newcomers, often associated with middle- and upper-class groups, further accelerates socio-spatial transformation. They include students (for example, studentification in Depok, Semarang and West Jakarta) (Dewi & Ristianti, 2019; Rinaldhi *et al.*, 2023; Sanvica & Susanti, 2023); young professionals (Aritenang & Iskandar, 2023; Wiryomartono, 2020b); and creative industry entrepreneurs (Martin-Iverson, 2014, 2021). These groups are active gentrifiers who shape housing demand and consumption patterns. Consecutively, urban poor, migrant workers, and long-term kampung residents are displaced, marginalized or forced to adapt by converting their houses into rental accommodations (Dewi, 2017; Martin-Iverson, 2021; Widiyanto & Keban, 2020; Wiryomartono, 2020b). Counter-movements, organized by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as the Urban Poor Consortium, RUJAK, ARKOM, or grassroots initiatives such as Jogja Ora Didol, illustrate resistance against urban gentrification (Khudi, 2023; Leitner & Sheppard, 2018; Widiyanto & Keban, 2020). Overall, the urban setting demonstrates a strong orientation toward market-driven redevelopment, with local governments aligning themselves with private capital, rather than prioritizing community welfare.

Rural gentrification in Indonesia exhibits different, interrelated tendencies. It often revolves around tourism development (Ristiawan *et al.*, 2023; Rizal *et al.*, 2021); higher education expansion (Fazrin *et al.*, 2024); and lifestyle migration (Al Hibbi *et al.*, 2023; Brata *et al.*, 2019). Investors and capital owners play a crucial role in acquiring agricultural or coastal land for tourism development, as evident in Sukaratu (Tasikmalaya) (Rizal *et al.*, 2021); Ubud (Bali) (Brata *et al.*, 2019; MacRae, 2016); and Canggu (Badung, Bali) (Adhinata & Sawitri, 2022). In these cases, local, provincial and central governments actively facilitate transformation by promoting tourism as a strategy for rural development and for generating national revenue.

Furthermore, rural gentrification through tourism development is also evident in the increasing influence of foreigners, expatriates and students, who demand specific housing and services, thus pushing investment and capital flow for specific development purposes. As illustrated in the case of Bali, retirees, digital nomads and lifestyle migrants are reshaping the social and cultural landscapes (MacRae, 2016; Wibowo, 2024). Similarly, university campuses such as UIN Jember and higher education clusters in Jatinangor, Sumedang, have triggered land use and housing dynamics in otherwise agrarian communities (Fazrin *et al.*, 2024; Niki Suma & Shofwan, 2023). Although some local elites and landlords have benefited from these processes through land sales or business ventures, indigenous residents, small-scale farmers and fishing communities are disproportionately vulnerable to displacement and loss of livelihood (Adhinata & Sawitri, 2022; Fazrin *et al.*, 2024; Susman *et al.*, 2021). Such cases define the structural imbalance in rural gentrification, with global and national capital intersecting with local vulnerable conditions.

Peri-urban areas, lying on the edge of urban expansion, display mixed characteristics of gentrification of urban and rural areas. In this case, large-scale developers, led by private interests, are clearly evident, as illustrated by the construction of new towns, such as BSD City (Tangerang) (Andini *et al.*, 2023; Kidokoro *et al.*, 2022; Kusumaningrum & Rosyidy, 2024) and Solo Baru (Sukoharjo) (Al Hibbi *et al.*, 2023), or environmental revitalization in Punclut (Bandung) (Hudalah *et al.*, 2016). Such activities are strongly supported by local governments, which encourage and support developments with permits, land use plans, and infrastructural developments, including toll roads, commuter trains and services.

The presence of middle-class migrants, including industrial workers, professionals and university students, is another factor that contributes to such growth. Particularly in Tembalang (Semarang) and Jatinangor (Sumedang), this can be seen by university relocations that lead to housing developments and business growth (Aurunisa & Rochani, 2024; Dewi & Ristianti, 2019; Fazrin *et al.*, 2024; Sanvica & Susanti, 2023). Religious and cultural groups also make their presence felt, particularly in locations such as Depok and Tangerang, with Islamic-themed housing complexes, led by religious leaders, Islamic organizations and religiously-affiliated political parties such as PKS, influencing urban developments (Hasan, 2009; Weng, 2018, 2019). Kampung communities living in these urban localities are under pressure to move and commoditize their land, perhaps not necessarily with long-term security in mind.

The comparative analysis of actors in urban, rural and peri-urban settings in Indonesia has revealed that gentrification is characterized by its dynamic and contested nature. The experiences reveal that gentrification is framed by various combinations of groups of actors in dynamic settings that shift between urban, rural and peri-urban locations. Their role is not confined by

territorial boundaries, thus creating interplay and conflict, thereby making gentrification a dynamic and mediated process. What is created is not one type of gentrification, characterized by one single pattern, but a broad spectrum, with state interests, and market and social response intersecting in irregular ways.

### 3.2.4. Scale of Gentrification in Indonesia

Gentrification in Indonesia occurs at various scales. Each reveals its own characteristic dimension of gentrification, which captures various local changes embedded in larger political-economic and cultural phenomena.

At the micro-level, gentrification takes place at either the kampung or neighborhood level. Examples of this are what has taken place in Semarang (Rukun Warga, in Kelurahan Tlogosari Kulon – a specific neighborhood term in Indonesia) (Aurunnisa & Rochani, 2024); Malang (Kampung Cempluk) (Budianta, 2019); Yogyakarta (Kampung Jogoyudan, Sosrokusuman and Pra-wirotaman) (Prayitno, 2017; Suharyanto *et al.*, 2023; Widiyanto & Keban, 2020); and Jakarta (Menteng Atas, Kampung Pulo, Bukit Duri and Aquarium) (Khudi, 2023; Leitner & Sheppard, 2018), which show how land conversion, studentification and tourism pressures have displaced residents in tightly bounded urban communities. Micro-scale gentrification has predominantly occurred in urban contexts where specific projects were developed.

Meso-scale gentrification has extended to the sub-district or city level, shaping entire urban districts and the surrounding peri-urban zones. Sandra *et al.* (2023), for example, shows how the six kelurahan around Universitas Indonesia (Kemiri Muka, Beji, Pondok Cina, etc.) represent neighborhood-level changes that have collectively changed the housing market in the larger city. Similarly, the conversion of Surabaya's historic kampungs (Dinoyo, Bubutan) and Bandung's iconic corridors (Dago, Braga) illustrate city-wide changes in which the social fabric and urban history have been reorganized to make room for capital investment (Peters, 2010; Pratiwi, 2021). In rural settings, agricultural land, cultural landmarks and traditional spaces have all been incorporated into regional and international tourism networks, leading to the widespread commodification of rural areas such as Ubud (Bali) and Sukaratu (Brata *et al.*, 2019; Rizal *et al.*, 2021). Aurunnisa and Rochani (2024) and Prayoga *et al.* (2013) show that the meso-scale of gentrification has been articulated through educational expansion.

Gentrification at the macro level occurs at the metropolitan, regional and national levels, and in many cases, in the form of massive infra-structural and developmental projects. The Jakarta Mega Urban Area, or Jabodetabek, is one such case, with giant new towns such as BSD and Bintaro Jaya. It has involved land development over thousands of hectares, displacing rural villages and converting agricultural land into upscale suburbs and enclaves (Aritenang, 2023; Permanasari *et al.*, 2024; Shatkin, 2016). Similar phenomena can also be found in Makassar's Mamminasata metropolitan region (Ramli *et al.*, 2020; Saleh *et al.*, 2023b; Surya *et al.*, 2019; Surya, Hadijah, *et al.*, 2020; Surya, Syafri, *et al.*, 2020); the metropolitan area of Semarang, covering Pringapus and Bergas Lor (Buchori *et al.*, 2022); and the integration of Batam and Bintan into the Growth Triangle of Singapore-Indonesia (Bunnell *et al.*, 2006; Munir *et al.*, 2023; Munir & Yani, 2020). In such instances, gentrification is not only a local phenomenon, but is also embedded within the overall transformation of Indonesian urban systems, interwoven with international capital, tourism and migrational currents. Overall, this type of gentrification is usually seen to originate from the urban core, subsequently driving the transformation of the surrounding areas, resulting in areas characterized by a mix of urban and suburban features.

### 3.2.5. Consequences of Gentrification

Gentrification encourages multi-dimensional outcomes, not only upgrading and changing urban, rural and peri-urban geographical environments, but also influencing and distorting the social structure, and economic, cultural and political aspects. In urban centers, including Jakarta (Kusno, 2012; Leitner & Sheppard, 2018; Martinez & Masron, 2020); Bandung (Aritenang & Iskandar, 2023; Martin-Iverson, 2021); Surabaya (Peters, 2010); Semarang (Prayoga *et al.*, 2013; Setioko, 2009); and Yogyakarta (Minanto, 2024; Sholihah & Heath, 2016; Vermeulen, 2020), gentrification is primarily driven by aggressive displacement and geographical re-arrangement. The growing presence of high-end apartments, business complexes and dormitories has systematically displaced poor communities, either through direct eviction or land market speculation. Such a process creates extreme class stratification and spatial segregation: more affluent residents occupy newly-gentrified regions or gated neighborhoods, while poor communities are relegated to marginalized peri-urban areas. The gentrification of urban areas is also characterized by cultural manifestations, with original kampungs and heritage sites transformed into tourist-direct areas, specifically by the sterilized authenticity and degraded values of 'Guyub'/Togetherness (Alam, 2018;

Nursanty, 2020; Prayitno, 2017; Sulistyono, 2019). However, some benefits also should be considered, such as the emergence of infrastructure development (Mauludi, 2020; Vermeulen, 2020); urban revitalization (Vermeulen, 2024); and the diversification of new economic activities (Ari-tenang & Iskandar, 2023; Sholihah & Heath, 2016).

In contrast, in rural areas, such as Sukaratu in Tasikmalaya (Rizal *et al.*, 2021); Ciledug in Cirebon (Hasyim *et al.*, 2024); coastal fishing villages in Wakatobi and Bengkulu (Budiman, 2021); and cultural hubs such as Ubud and Canggu in Bali (Adhinata & Sawitri, 2022; Brata *et al.*, 2019; MacRae, 2016; Suyadnya, 2022), there have been consequences closely interconnected with land conversion and cultural commodification. Agricultural land and traditional living habits in these rural regions have been for the sake of tourism infrastructure, such as resorts and industrial estates, leading to both immediate economic benefits and long-term risks. Farmers and fishing communities have progressively lost their rights and usage of productive resources, and high land prices have made ownership by local populations impossible. The commodification of cultural practices, rituals and artwork has generally led to degradation and an authenticity crisis, with cultural practices becoming marketable products for tourists. Rural gentrification has further disrupted ecological systems; for example, the loss of rice fields (Adhinata & Sawitri, 2022; Suyadnya, 2022); loss of water catchment areas (Brata *et al.*, 2019) and of mangrove forests, increasing the risks of flooding, soil erosion and biodiversity decline (Surya, Hadijah, *et al.*, 2020; Susman *et al.*, 2021). The bifurcation of communities, between locals and expatriates or tourists, has created new social distances, reducing meaningful cultural exchange and leaving many residents as service providers rather than empowered participants in development (MacRae, 2016; Wibowo, 2024).

Peri-urban areas, such as Tangerang Regency (Andini *et al.*, 2023; Hornok & Raeskyesa, 2024; Kusumaningrum & Rosyidy, 2024; Weng, 2018); Solo Baru in Sukoharjo (Al Hibbi *et al.*, 2023); Puncut in Bandung (Hudalah *et al.*, 2016); Mamminasata in Makassar (Ramli *et al.*, 2020; Saleh *et al.*, 2023b, 2023a; Surya, Hadijah, *et al.*, 2020; Surya, Rasyidi, *et al.*, 2021); and Tembalang in Semarang (Dewi & Ristanti, 2019; Hayah & Dewi, 2020; Prayoga *et al.*, 2013), have demonstrated hybrid consequences combining elements of both urban and rural gentrification. These transitional zones have undergone rapid land-use changes, with rice fields and kampungs being transformed into upmarket residential neighborhoods, industrial sites and new towns (Al Hibbi *et al.*, 2023; Kusumaningrum & Rosyidy, 2024; Surya, Syafri, *et al.*, 2021; Weng, 2018). The changes result in higher land prices and land speculation practices, which bring greater wealth to those with initial capital, but at the same time displacing and marginalizing those with minimal financial capacity (Kusumaningrum & Rosyidy, 2024). In particular, peri-urban gentrification has established spatial forms of exclusion, with "the original kampungs remaining and at the same time encircled by high walls, limiting entry and offering middle- and upper-class infrastructure" (Al Hibbi *et al.*, 2023). This spatial transformation is then followed by various forms of social transition, with agrarian-based society adjusting to urban-industrial living conditions including individualism, contract, and rising social and economic stratification (Prayoga *et al.*, 2013).

The geographical aspects have revealed that although gentrification in Indonesia has always been characterized by displacement, inequality and cultural change, there have been variations in what was displaced, created and transformed. The urban settings define the displacement, segregation and commodification of public space, while the rural environments reveal the sensitivities of agrarian culture under pressure from tourism. Additionally, the peri-urban environments reveal the contradictions of transition, with urban modernity and rural tradition in conflict.

#### 4. Conclusion

In conclusion, although numerous publications have dealt with gentrification worldwide, there is a dearth of research examining the characteristics of gentrification in terms of specific geographical environments. This research has explored the characteristics of gentrification in the context of urban, rural and transitional areas in Indonesia through the use of an SLR. The categorization of gentrification characteristics into driving forces, key actors, processes, scales and consequences has enabled the research to offer an all-encompassing analysis of the phenomenon of gentrification in various interrelated geographical environments. The findings first reveal that although urban gentrification is driven by state-led planning and market ideology, middle-class consumerism, and market forces, rural gentrification is more influenced by state and capital alliances, tourism investments, and massive land transformations. Additionally, transitional and/or peripheral geographical environments tend to demonstrate hybrid gentrification processes featuring confluent gentrification proceedings in both urban and rural environments, with both controversial and mutually negotiated geographical outcomes. The Indonesian case explains the paramount role of political and territorial governance inequities and distinctions, contrary to Global North approaches,

which pave the way for market-driven urban and territorial reinstatements and/or lifestyle migration explanations (Hines, 2012; Smith, 2002).

The review demonstrates that gentrification in Indonesia is not one-sided, but rather a contextually driven or ‘place-based’ phenomenon. This is influenced by different actor groups, various scales of intervention, and different socio-cultural settings. Nevertheless, some trends have emerged, including those of capital accumulation, displacement and marginalisation, and commodification. The findings confirm that gentrification in Indonesia is better framed as flexible and repeating, and moving beyond fixed geographical boundaries. This is opposed to the traditional understandings of gentrification, which tends to be constructed from Western urban analyses and includes concepts of neighborhood reinvestment, class substitution, and housing market logics as principal characteristics (Glass, 1964; Lees *et al.*, 2008; Smith, 1979b, 1979a). The models tend to situate gentrification in urban housing markets and neoliberal urban restructuring. The case of Indonesia shows a more variegated formation shaped by state-led interventions, tourism commodification, and rural–urban interlinkages, reflecting the need to extend gentrification theories beyond the conventional geographies.

Beyond the results, the study contributes to the theoretical debate on gentrification. It further challenges the dominant Western-centric conceptualizations of gentrification, which often emphasize market-driven urban redevelopment, lifestyle preferences of the new middle class, and the rent gap as the primary explanatory framework (Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Smith, 1979b; 2002; Zukin, 1987). Indonesian evidence shows that these accounts are insufficient to capture the dynamics of the Global South. In Indonesia, gentrification is deeply shaped by the combination of state-facilitated development (e.g., through zoning adjustments, tax incentives and the issuance of development permits) and coercive state interventions (e.g., compulsory land acquisition for state-led megaprojects); (trans)national capital flows (e.g., tourism investment, expatriate influx, and industrial estates); and the emergence of rural and transitional gentrification beyond the conventional urban focus. Through this focus on dynamics, the research has not only expanded gentrification theory along the lines of multi-scalar, state-capital alliances, and hybridities between the rural and urban, but also contributes to established comparative urbanism and planetary urbanization theories (Brenner & Schmid, 2015; Lees *et al.*, 2022; Robinson, 2016).

The research findings also clarify what is required regarding more comprehensive planning instruments and measures to protect vulnerable populations and ensure regulatory regimes over speculative land markets. Within the Indonesian planning system, spatial plans (RTRW) and detailed spatial plans (RDTR) can potentially mitigate gentrification if they move beyond functional land-use designation and explicitly incorporate social safeguards. These may include the mandating of balanced housing developments, implementing RDTR-based development controls to limit speculative rezoning, and utilizing public land management mechanisms to secure tenure for low-income residents. Moreover, integrating social safeguard frameworks within special economic or strategic zones is critical to ensuring that spatial restructuring does not exacerbate displacement. However, the effectiveness of these legal instruments hinges not merely on their statutory existence, but on robust political will and transformative leadership to elevate participatory mandates from mere procedural formalities to meaningful, substantive engagement.

The review has several limitations that should be considered when interpreting the findings. First, the analysis relies on publications retrieved from Scopus and Google Scholar. While these sources provide extensive coverage, this approach may not be exhaustive, potentially excluding relevant studies published in non-digitized local journals or niche institutional repositories that are yet to be indexed or crawled by these platforms. Second, while the search strategy was designed to be comprehensive, the specific keywords and search strings employed might not have captured all the relevant literature due to variations in terminology or emerging conceptual labels across different disciplines. Third, the inclusion criteria focused on peer-reviewed articles, research-based book chapters, and peer-reviewed conference papers, potentially underrepresenting gray literature and community-based reports highly pertinent to the Indonesian socio-spatial context. Finally, PRISMA was utilized primarily to ensure transparency in the selection process rather than to conduct a formal methodological quality appraisal. Accordingly, the study aimed to map the research landscape and synthesize substantive themes rather than evaluate the methodological robustness of individual studies.

Despite these limitations, the research identifies several promising avenues for future inquiry. First, more empirical research is needed to explore the dynamics of displacement and local community responses to spatial changes, particularly within peri-urban interfaces—transitional zones that increasingly challenge the boundaries between urban and rural spaces. Second, there is a significant opportunity for inter-country comparative analyses within the Global South. Such

research is vital to provide broader insights into gentrification discourses, effectively moving beyond Western-centric frameworks and contributing to theoretical models that better reflect the unique socio-spatial realities of developing nations.

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### Author Contributions

**Conceptualization:** Setiawan, E., Bejrananda, M.; **methodology:** Setiawan, E., Bejrananda, M., Hudalah, D., & Noviani, R.; **investigation:** Setiawan, E.; **writing—original draft preparation:** Setiawan, E.; **writing—review and editing:** Setiawan, E., Bejrananda, M., Hudalah, D., & Noviani, R.; **visualization:** Setiawan, E., Bejrananda, M., Hudalah, D., & Noviani, R. The authors have read and agreed to the published version of the manuscript.

### Conflict of Interest

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

### Data Availability

Data are available upon request.

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