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Marginalization of fishing communities during gentrification: Access to housing and livelihood in Teluknaga, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Gentrification is characterized by the influx of high-income residents into areas that were originally low-value. Previous studies have stated that gentrification evictions, identity crises, and increased living costs, as well as causing a dramatic transition with the emergence of gated communities that separate wealthy newcomers from the original residents. This study examines the marginalization of access experienced by fishing communities as a result of gentrification in Kampung Muara, Teluknaga District, Tangerang Regency. This study uses a qualitative approach, with primary data collected through observation and interviews and secondary data collected from related studies. The results show that gentrification in Kampung Muara has marginalized the fishing community through evictions and increased vulnerability. Although the community staged protests, their efforts were unsuccessful. An interesting finding of this study is the land acquisition strategy used by developers: they first buy land at the beginning and end of the village and then target the middle. This pattern creates the middle area to eventually sell their land, even if the compensation is below the previous market value. In practical terms, this study recommends strengthening protections for the rights of fishing communities in practice. Theoretically, a study of gentrification focusing on fishing communities is recommended.

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Introduction

Gentrification refers to the transition of urban environments with the influx of high-income residents, resulting in the racial marginalization of the working class and low-income groups (Alvear et al., 2024). Gentrification is closely related to social position and stratification, which influence socioeconomics and migration (Brueckner, 2023; Kiani et al., 2025; Passell, 2015), social interaction (Albaik, 2023), and mental health (Pineault et al., 2025). Hoover states that gentrification is a characteristic and pervasive urban injustice that causes harm, resulting in exploitation, deprivation of rights, eviction, and marginalization (Hoover, 2023).

This injustice illustrates that gentrification creates vulnerability, especially among fishing communities in coastal areas (Giffari et al., 2025). Forty percent of the world's population lives within 100 km of the coastline, and this proportion continues to increase (Rachman et al., 2024). Coastal environments accommodate infrastructure, tourism, and social activities. (Pasquali & Marucci, 2021). In Indonesia, 75% of major cities are located in coastal areas that are vulnerable to climate change (Dahuri, 2003). For fishermen, coastal areas are not only geographical spaces where land meets sea but also social and economic spaces where they can survive. On Pahawang Island, the coastal area has transformed from a fishing village into a tourist destination that not only improves local livelihoods but also causes social tensions and environmental problems (Giffari et al., 2025). Land transition also occurred in Surabaya, where coastal land previously used by the community for mangrove conservation has been converted into ponds and residential areas, affecting the community's social and economic conditions (Safitri et al., 2024). Coastal areas are no longer seen as centers of fishing production; instead, they have become commodities for the upper middle class. This phenomenon is known as gentrification.

This practice of gentrification has sacrificed the social position of fishing communities (Melder, 2016). The encroachment of coastal areas has deprived fishing communities of their marine resources and created the perception that evicting fishing communities is acceptable and does not harm economic development. The gentrification phenomenon in Indonesia is a major problem that requires serious attention.

Previous studies have shown that it is crucial to examine gentrification, especially in fishing communities. The phenomenon of gentrification in fishing communities is often driven by economic factors that cause population displacement and changes in these communities' social and economic structure (Land et al., 2012; Melder, 2016; Ugarriza & Gurrutxaga, 2020). Gentrification generally involves middle-class residents moving into working-class areas, which increases property values and the cost of living (Brueckner, 2023; Ugarriza & Gurrutxaga, 2020). This process occurs in coastal areas, affecting their economies and social structures (Colburn & Jepson, 2012). In addition to increasing economic vulnerability, it contributes to the loss of cultural heritage and identity (Thompson et al., 2016). In the Cisauk Subdistrict, gentrification has caused displacement of indigenous residents by their villages, increased land prices, and changed the community's social life (Andini et al., 2023).

Several studies have been conducted on gentrification in Indonesia, such as community adaptation to change and economic opportunities in Semarang (Prayoga, 2013), emergence of exclusive boarding houses and their influence on social change in Jakarta (Kusumaningrum

et al., 2020), background of gentrification in the Pematangsiantar (Anggraeni et al., 2019), increase in the number of listings on Airbnb and its relationship with gentrification (Aritenang & Iskandar, 2023), causes and effects of gentrification in the Cisauk Subdistrict, Tangerang Regency (Andini et al., 2023). No study has specifically examined access marginalization among fishing communities. Therefore, this study discusses access marginalization among fishing communities in the presence of gentrification in Kampung Muara, Teluknaga District, Tangerang Regency.

Most people in Kampung Muara work as entrepreneurs, teachers, laborers, private employees, traders, and fishermen. According to data from Desa Muara (2026) 61 people work as fishermen, or 1.51% of the total population of 4,032. The presence of the PIK 2 project as a developer in Kampung Muara has had a social impact on the community. Although the project is intended to promote economic growth, it has also had negative consequences for the local community (Waruwu, 2025).

Kampung Muara is an important site to study, as the gentrification process there can be analyzed in a more comprehensive and layered manner. The gentrification process in Kampung Muara has resulted in the relocation of residents, changes in settlement structures, and restrictions on access to the sea that affect fishers. This location demonstrates that marginalization does not always occur in the form of overt eviction but can manifest through spatial planning, legalization, relocation, access restrictions, and disparities in residents' benefits. These conditions make Kampung Muara a richer case for analysis than other locations that exhibit only one type of conflict—such as housing conflicts without maritime conflicts or fishing conflicts without changes in settlement patterns. Hein et al. (2024) stated that "having rights does not always translate into benefits. For some Kampung Muara residents, the formalization of land rights does not automatically guarantee them equitable access to the sea, mangroves, and livelihood resources. Thus, Kampung Muara is not merely an "interesting" location but a place that demonstrates how disparities in land-sea access are currently unfolding in a tangible and overt manner, with direct consequences for the fishing community.

This research is important because changes in Kampung Muara are currently underway. Administratively, the relocation of residents has already been documented; restrictions on fishermen's access and fishing routes are already being felt; and the ecosystem that supports the fishers is also under pressure. This study expands the discourse on gentrification within fishing communities, which typically focuses on housing or urban areas. This research is essential because Kampung Muara presents complex challenges for examining gentrification and fishermen's marginalization. This location enables researchers to analyze changes in housing and livelihood access.

This study stems from the need to gain a deeper understanding of the gentrification and marginalization of fishers in Kampung Muara. Therefore, the study is framed around the following research question: How does gentrification in Kampung Muara, Teluknaga, create disparities in the fishing community's access to housing and livelihoods?

Method

This study employs a descriptive qualitative approach to produce an analysis of the marginalization of access experienced by the fishing community in Kampung Muara. The study was conducted in Kampung

Muara from June to July 2025. The data were collected through in-depth interviews, field observations, and documentation. In-depth interviews were conducted to explore the marginalization of access they experienced as a result of gentrification. Meanwhile, field observations were used to examine social conditions and the impact of gentrification. Photographs were used as supporting material to corroborate the interviews and field observations (Hall & Liebenberg, 2024). Purposive sampling was used to select informants based on the specific objectives and criteria of the study topic (Creswell, 2014). The main informants in this study consisted of 10 fishermen in Muara Village. The criteria for informants were as follows: at least 20 years of age; employed as a fisherman; having lived in Muara Village for at least 7 years or since before the changes occurred; having directly experienced changes and marginalization of access; and willing to serve as an informant in this study. The number of informants was determined based on thematic saturation, that is, when additional interviews no longer yielded new insights (Guest et al., 2020).

All interview results were recorded, transcribed verbatim, and reviewed repeatedly along with observational notes and supporting documents. Data analysis was conducted in five stages: data management, initial coding, grouping codes into categories and themes, re-examining and refining themes, and compiling a narrative of the findings (Bingham, 2023). This study employed data triangulation by seeking feedback on the summary of preliminary findings from several informants and engaging in peer discussion to ensure data credibility. To ensure the credibility of qualitative research findings, these strategies were aligned with recommendations from previous studies (Kullman & Chudyk, 2025; Lloyd et al., 2024).

Results and Discussion

Gentrification is a global process that emphasizes that gentrification not only occurs in urban areas but can occur anywhere in the world (Lees et al., 2022). In a global context, gentrification is a new form of urban colonialism that occurs globally, with capital as its main characteristic. According to Smith (2002) gentrification can occur in city centers, medium-sized cities, and peri-urban areas.

Through the benefits of gentrification, Smith (2005) emphasized that gentrification makes cities more attractive, both through the urban landscape and by keeping cities tidy as the middle class in these cities grows. Economically, gentrification benefits the city by increasing property prices, beautifying the urban environment by experts, and enabling the emergence of new lifestyles that revitalize the city. However, the arrival of new residents and economic growth in the area have affected the way of life of the original residents, who have been forced to leave their communities, dividing society into two groups (Nititerapad & Tochaiwat, 2023).

Liu et al. (2021) and Slater (2021) state in their studies that: 1) gentrification is regeneration driven by profits from locations that have historically suffered and experienced exclusion; (2) gentrification occurs in areas with cheap commercial and residential land, where large profits are prioritized by upgrading existing structures to build new ones; (3) developers, landlords, businesses, and corporations are supported by the government; and (4) gentrification will result in the social exclusion of low-income communities and other marginalized groups.

The presence of gentrification has affected the community's social, economic, and cultural systems, both positively and negatively. On the positive side,

gentrification can improve the comfort of the environment, enhance public facilities, and improve the quality and beauty of buildings. On the negative side, gentrification can cause housing loss for low-income communities, and the resulting social changes in the area can lead to social exclusion. Thus, gentrification will have a significant impact on the region's spatial structure. According to Widianto & Keban (2020) gentrification can cause various phenomena, namely: physical renewal of space, displacement of the original residents, increased land value, social conflict, creation of job opportunities as well as vulnerability among low-income communities.

In this context, the marginalization of access can be understood as a situation in which residents continue to live in the same place, yet their access to the benefits of the space and their livelihoods continues to diminish. In gentrification, the marginalization of access is positioned as the mechanism linking the process of spatial change to the social impacts experienced by the original residents.

Theoretically, the sequence can be formulated as follows: influx of capital and new development →land acquisition and spatial relocation →marginalization of access → eviction from settlements, vulnerability regarding livelihoods, weakened bargaining power, and forced adaptation. This positioning is crucial to emphasize that the impacts of gentrification do not suddenly arise during eviction but are shaped through a gradual erosion of access. By placing the marginalization of access at the center of this process, this study explains how gentrification not only alters land ownership but also narrows the fishing communities' ability to maintain their living spaces.

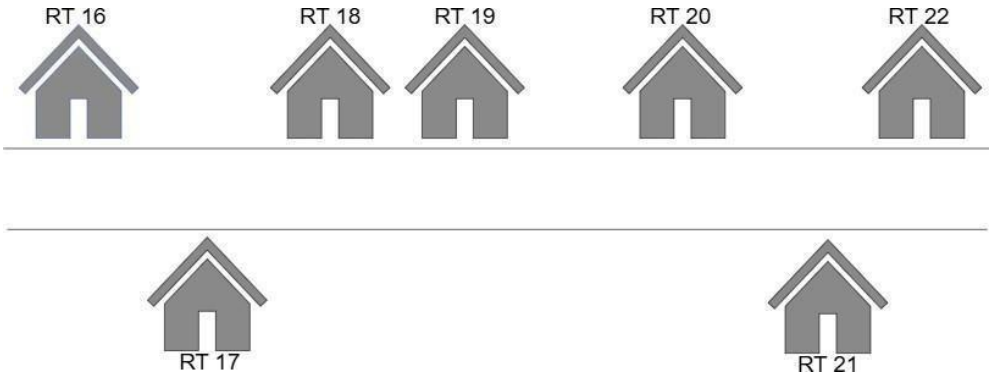
Housing access marginalization in fishing communities

Those who are marginalized are in turn more vulnerable to other adverse effects associated with gentrification, as new residents are better able to compete for resources. The marginalizing effects of gentrification are diverse, such as a decline in catches, which in turn leads to material deprivation. When fishing communities experience a lack of resources, they find it difficult to meet their basic needs. Young (2011) categorized two other adverse effects: first, marginalized communities will experience a loss of "rights and freedoms" and, second, communities will be restricted in exercising "their capacities in ways that are socially defined and recognized."

In Indonesia, gentrification is an awkward topic to discuss because it is still not a familiar term among the public. Gentrification often results in the displacement of low-income residents because of the influx of high-income groups. This process changes the neighborhood's economy and demographics (Melder & Ghorbani, 2017) but can destroy long-established social bonds (Lester & Hartley, 2014). In this section, the researcher will focus on the relationship between gentrification and the loss of various accesses for fishing communities due to eviction. Borrowing Clark (2004) view of gentrification, gentrification in Kampung Muara can be interpreted as a change in the area that leads to eviction, exclusion, and restriction of fishermen's access rights to marine resources.

Poverty renders the fishing community in Kampung Muara highly vulnerable to displacement due to gentrification. This agrees with Makalima (2025) view that vulnerable communities tend to experience greater inequality. As a result, in the current conditions of poverty, the fishing community

Figure 1. Map of RT sefllements 16 to RT 22 Kampung Muara



Source: Data processed by the researchers

in Kampung Muara has little bargaining power when negotiating with developers. Relocation as a direct implication of gentrification drastically changes the social, physical, and economic structure of the local environment.

The fishing community was forced to undergo the relocation process initiated by the developer and village officials, forcing them to sell their land to the developer. In this relocation process, the compensation scheme in Kampung Muara is classified into three categories of buildings: (1) permanent buildings, set at IDR 3,000,000 per square meter; (2) semi-permanent buildings, set at IDR 2,500,000 per square meter; and (3) temporary buildings, set at IDR 300,000 per square meter.

According to several informants, compensation for buildings in this village was initially set at a flat rate of Rp3,000,000 per meter for RT 16, RT 17, RT 20, RT 21, and RT 22 (Figure 1). However, a different scheme was applied in RT 18 and RT 19, where compensation was differentiated based on building category, so that the majority of residents in RT 18 and RT 19 received only IDR 2,500,000 per square meter. According to several informants, the developer employs this strategy. Given the location of RT 18 and RT 19, which are in the middle (sandwiched), the villagers feel that they have no choice but to sell their buildings at the offered price. Moreover, the village is often flooded, giving the community even less reason to refuse relocation.

Residents of Muara Village, particularly those in RT 18 and RT 19, staged a protest by hanging banners containing demands directed at the developer (Figure 2). Figure 2 illustrates that gentrified residents agreed to

Figure 2. Residents of Muara Village Reject Developers' Regulations



Source: Research field documentation

relocate if their properties were compensated at a fair price. They also rejected the building classification rules imposed by the developer and objected to any buildings being valued at IDR 300,000 per square meter.

Developers provided land in the new settlements and distributed it to residents according to the size of their displaced buildings. However, informants stated that the replacement housing did not meet their needs and livelihoods. From the new settlements, fishermen had to travel further out to sea, ultimately disrupting their primary livelihood.

Prior to the relocation, some members of the fishing community erected new structures on their land in the hope that the developer would provide them with additional compensation. Some informants stated that the additional funds were intended to cover the cost of building houses in the new settlement. Unfortunately, the reality on the ground did not match the community's expectations. For example, Informant A spent IDR 15,000,000 to build an additional structure near his house, but the developer only valued the structure at IDR 7,000,000 (classified as a temporary structure at IDR 300,000 per square meter). Furthermore, the compensation funds were paid in installments. At the start of the project, the community received 80% of the funds, while the remaining 20% was disbursed after the developer demolished their buildings.

The current situation has forced the fishing community in Kampung Muara to accept compensation and move to new settlements. This phenomenon is in line with Smith (2005) view that gentrification often has negative impacts in the form of social inequality and disparity in society. Vulnerable groups such as the fishing community in Kampung Muara will be further excluded by development that is only oriented towards meeting the needs of the upper middle class, which then triggers various new dimensions of vulnerability for the indigenous community.

Furthermore, the relocation process in Kampung Muara was marked by various administrative and practical obstacles. This can be seen from the compensation payment system, which was carried out in installments, even though the developer withheld the residents' land certificates (Waruwu, 2025). Although replacement settlements have been provided, the community has not yet received new land ownership documents and is forced to wait until the next village head is appointed.

The actions experienced by this fishing community are not unique. One aspect that is often overlooked in the occurrence of evictions due to gentrification is that it is a recurring process involving numerous relocations, forced choices, and the community's weak position due to gradually diminishing options. The losses suffered by fishing communities must be linked to the broader phenomenon of powerlessness because the underlying cause of eviction is the normalization of unequal control over access to housing and communities. Even when gentrification evicts fishing communities, they continue to suffer losses because they are forced to leave their homes and communities.

The results of this study indicate that gentrification in Kampung Muara does not occur solely through direct eviction, but rather through sequential land acquisition: developers first purchase land at the beginning and end of the area, then move on to the central section. This finding aligns with the results of a study by Fabinyi et al. (2022), who stated that coastal changes in Southeast Asia have led to a narrowing of fishermen's living and working spaces, resulting in competition over the use of coastal areas. Similarly, Suripeddi et

al. (2025) demonstrated that small-scale fishermen's marginalization constitutes a form of dispossession.

This study clarifies that the marginalization of the fishing community in Kampung Muara did not occur suddenly but was the result of a gradual process of land acquisition that transformed the village into a space that became increasingly difficult for the indigenous residents to inhabit and access. Initially, the fishing community did not intend to sell their land for compensation below its previous market value. This is because the drop in price is not merely about economic loss; it indicates that the social-political bargaining power of the indigenous community had already been weakened beforehand. This makes land sales appear legal and voluntary, yet they actually occur under inherently unequal conditions.

Furthermore, the finding that the fishing community staged a protest—though it was unsuccessful—should be interpreted as more than just a "failed resistance." Theoretically, the protests indicate that the fishing community holds what Ounanian & Howells (2024) refer to as "adjacency claims." However, Blythe et al. (2023) emphasized that the power dynamics surrounding the conflict heavily influence the success of many coastal communities in building grassroots movements to resist injustice. In Kampung Muara, protests that yielded no results demonstrated that the community's claims of adjacency were not strong enough to counter the developers' capital power. Thus, the failure of the protests is not evidence that the community agrees with the transformation of the site but rather shows that the political space to defend the village has narrowed.

Marginalization of the access of fishing communities to livelihood resources

The lives of the fishing community in Kampung Muara are fundamentally tied to the availability of marine resources. Catching fish and shrimp is not only a source of income but also the lifeblood that meets daily subsistence needs. However, due to massive gentrification pressures, this dependence has reached its lowest point. According to Smith (2002), the uncontrolled escalation of property prices is one of the main indicators of gentrification. The phenomenon in Kampung Muara creates a spatial paradox: although the fishing community is physically present there, it is impossible for them to own a home in their birthplace because the value of the land exceeds their purchasing power.

Füssel (2007) stated that vulnerability is not only a condition of poverty but also a collective inability to adapt to external disruptions. Gentrification not only increases the cost of living through higher rents and property taxes (Lester & Hartley, 2014), but also triggers the gradual displacement of communities. Ultimately, many of the original residents are forced to move out of the area or to the outskirts of the city due to increasing financial pressure (Melder & Ghorbani, 2017). Furthermore, this impact also cripples the ecosystem of small businesses and long-established local businesses, forcing communities to close because they are unable to compete with the new commercial atmosphere that is more oriented toward the tastes of the upper-middle class (Curran, 2007; Melder, 2016).

These spatial changes altered the fishing communities' work structure and cultural identity. Informants B and G, for example, shared the narrative that "things are not like they used to be"—a collective expression of the drastic decline in catches. Economically, fishing communities are now caught between climate change and ecosystem degradation. Socially, the displacement they have experienced threatens cohesion and the environmental dimension. Large-scale infrastructure development around

settlements has damaged marine habitats and altered the area's topography. Kampung Muara is now prone to flooding because it is surrounded by high walls that trap floodwater without adequate drainage.

This marginalization ultimately led to a collective resistance to justice. Awareness of the loss of access to the sea and right of way—vital elements for fishermen's mobility—has prompted the people of Kampung Muara to unite. They took the initiative and independently collected funds to stage protests by putting up banners of resistance throughout the village. For the fishing community in Kampung Muara, the sea is not just a view but a space of production, access to which is now being reduced by private interests.

The peak of this marginalization is clearly seen in the communities of RT 18 and RT 19, which are geographically surrounded by the PIK 2 megaproject. They are forced to sell their buildings to developers due to the isolation of their area and move to relocation sites far from the sea. The loss of productive *empang-empang* around the village, which are now controlled by developers, has forced fishermen to go further out to sea at a higher operational cost. As a result, the fishing community's survival strategy has shifted. Now, fishermen in Kampung Muara can no longer rely on a single source of income, but must take on side jobs as small entrepreneurs or even leave fishing behind and migrate to other cities in order to make a living.

This marginalization is intensified by the decline in fishermen's income, which has now fallen below IDR 2,000,000 per month—a figure that is much lower than before the PIK 2 project's expansion. This income decline has created a deep economic divide during soaring local inflation and living costs. These conditions have forced fishing communities into a pattern of resignation. This phenomenon agrees with Singh (2025) findings that vulnerable groups, such as low-income communities, affected by gentrification will experience increased housing insecurity and social vulnerability.

According to Thompson et al. (2016), the marginalization of small-scale fishing communities experiencing gentrification often leads to economic sovereignty loss. Fishing communities lose access to fishing grounds that have been turned into reclamation areas or luxury neighborhoods. Several informants stated that they are currently experiencing an identity crisis due to economic pressures, social changes, and environmental changes in their location. Fishing communities often experience economic crises, such as declining catches and changes in marine ecosystems. They also experience social changes resulting from changes in the fishermen's lifestyle and environmental changes caused by changes in the village layout with the emergence of high PIK 2 boundary walls. Urban regeneration is often just a cover for gentrification (Smith, 2002, 2005). Although these policies are claimed to promote economic development and the welfare of local communities, Smith argues that they still favor capital accumulation.

In fishing communities, settlements are inextricably linked to work; homes are connected to fishing gear storage areas, paths to the beach, and social networks that support fishing operations. Therefore, the sale of land below market value must be interpreted more broadly as a disposition of livelihoods, not merely of property. Suripeddi et al. (2025) state in their study that restrictions on small-scale fishermen in Karnataka not only reduce their operational areas but also undermine their livelihoods and even their food security. In Muara Village, once developers have taken control of the village's waterfront, the fishing community has effectively lost access to the sea where they work. Their livelihoods have already been

Previous studies have shown that the marginalization of fishing communities' access to livelihoods is multidimensional. This finding is important because it emphasizes that the access of fishing communities to livelihoods depends not only on the availability of fish but also on the social infrastructure that supports the ability of fishing households to survive and adapt. Ahmed et al. (2024) demonstrated that fishing communities with higher exposure and sensitivity are more vulnerable to migration or occupation change.

Mozumder et al. (2023) demonstrated that developing alternative livelihoods is a crucial economic adaptation strategy for small-scale fishing communities. The sustainability of fishing communities depends on their ability to combine social, economic, and ecological strategies. Thus, the marginalization of fishing communities' access to livelihoods is not merely a matter of "whether or not there are fish," but rather whether fishermen have adequate access to resources, capital, markets, knowledge, and adaptation options.

Adaptation of fishing communities

Physical changes in an area often force local communities to navigate social and economic challenges to survive. Since its inception, the development of the PIK 2 area has brought about a wave of major changes that have begun to affect the lives of the fishing community in Kampung Muara, particularly in RT 18 and RT 19. The influx of large capital and massive development projects has led to gentrification, which has fundamentally changed the environment and access to resources that have long been the basis of livelihoods.

The tension between fishing communities' livelihoods and modern development creates an anomaly compared to urban theory. For example, Graham & Marvin (2001) stated that the development of gentrified areas generally encourages economic growth. However, the reality on the ground paints a contrasting picture; instead of feeling the positive effects of this growth, fishermen in Kampung Muara are trapped in livelihood uncertainty. Land use changes and restrictions on access to marine areas have narrowed the space for movement of fishermen, making adaptation strategies the only way to survive.

The fishing community in Kampung Muara is structurally vulnerable, forcing them to create survival strategies during the pressures of gentrification. Three adaptation strategies have emerged in response to pressures of gentrification:

1. Income diversification: Fishing communities are beginning to seek alternative sources of income outside the marine sector. Fishing communities are starting microbusinesses or seeking odd jobs to supplement their income due to declining catches.
2. Strengthening Social Solidarity: The fishing community in Kampung Muara strengthens social bonds and collective awareness to defend their rights to living space and access to the sea.
3. Knowledge Adaptation: They strive to improve their understanding of the socio-economic changes occurring in their environment so that the community does not become completely alienated from the region's increasingly modern development.

The fishing community in Kampung Muara, which has experienced marginalized access due to gentrification, presents a problem that requires investigation and assessment. The gentrification gap lies in power inequality in Kampung Muara decision-making. This inequality of power

determines who has the right to live where, which communities are valued, and which community groups' lives should be prioritized. Too much power is in the hands of owners, landlords, developers, banks, and the government; therefore, their interests and priorities determine the decisions that will be made.

The failure of community protests in Muara Village can be interpreted as a sign that the institutional channels meant to protect the interests of local communities are not functioning effectively. Consequently, development projects increasingly follow investment logic rather than social protection. In this context, the absence of the state has weakened the residents' spatial security. Furthermore, Basurto et al. (2024) stated that priority access zones for small-scale fishermen are a spatial policy tool that can protect access to coastal waters. However, based on the case in Kampung Muara, this policy alone is insufficient; although fishermen may still be recognized as a socially legitimate group, such recognition does not automatically mean they are spatially protected.

This study highlights the unequal relationship between developers and fishing communities. Developers possess financial capital, access to information, and greater opportunities to negotiate with government officials or formal institutions. In contrast, fishing communities solely rely on their historical ties to the village, social networks, and moral claims to the space they inhabit. Spatial conflict is not merely a clash between development and residents but a clash of various types of claims over space, where fishing communities often lose legitimacy when confronted with the logic of investment and formal governance (Ounanian & Howells, 2024). In Kampung Muara, the community's protests signify that they have strong social and historical claims; however, these claims are insufficient to counter the power of developers capable of gradually exerting pressure.

In response to this gentrification gap, power and authority must be democratized. Those affected must build political and economic power, while those in authority must listen more to voices of injustice and work to democratize power in urban spaces. This role also extends to newcomers. Although their power is limited, they can contribute by living responsibly in the neighborhood. Instead of simply rejecting newcomers, environmental change can be beneficial if power gaps and their negative impacts are managed openly and democratically.

Conclusion

In practice, gentrification occurs not only in city centers but also in suburban areas. Gentrification has various impacts on the community's social order and physical space, especially among the fishing community. Gentrification of Kampung Muara occurred in two stages. First, it began with the eviction of fish ponds on the outskirts of the village, where fishers caught fish. Second, the eviction of residents' homes also occurred in stages. This also resulted in limited fisher access to catch fish.

The fishing community is the group most vulnerable to gentrification. Various dimensions of vulnerability experienced by the fishing community, such as loss of housing and inadequate compensation, are considered inappropriate. Another vulnerability felt by the fishing community in Kampung Muara is a significant economic decline, which has also had an impact on the area's decline in cooperation and family values. Similarly, the social bonds among fishers have weakened because each

fisherfolk is focused on his catch. The decline in fish catches at sea has forced fishers to work harder to find fish, and when they are finished fishing, they continue with other jobs to supplement their income.

Gentrification in Kampung Muara has significantly affected fishing community life. This impact can be clearly seen in the social and economic aspects of the fishing community, such as population and community interaction, economic conditions, culture, evictions, community relocation, limited access to resources, decline in catch, and land use. The fishing community in Kampung Muara responds to gentrification in three ways: surviving by seeking other sources of income or moving away, strengthening social bonds and collective awareness, and increasing understanding of the socioeconomic changes occurring in their environment.

The Kampung Muara community survives by adapting to all available conditions. People with high economic power will try to make the best possible changes by opening restaurants, opening boarding houses for PIK 2 workers, or moving to other areas to start new businesses. Meanwhile, people with low economic power, such as small-scale fishermen, can only open small stalls on the terraces of their houses or move to try to survive.

Future recommendations should address the impact of gentrification on the community's economic situation and examine whether gentrification brings higher incomes to the neighborhood. Several policies that can be implemented include providing fishing communities with empowerment or capacity building to help them adapt and ensure that they are accommodated in the workforce in areas undergoing gentrification. This is very important to prevent the marginalization of fishing communities. However, this study has limitations because it only examines a single case study in Kampung Muara. Further research is required to obtain in-depth insights.

Declaration of Ownership

This article is our original work.

Conflict of Interest

There is no conflict of interest to declare in this article.

Ethical Clearance

This study was approved by the institution.

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