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Transformation of Agrarian Space in Peri-urban Areas into Gated Communities: A Gentrification Study in Tenjo, Bogor, Indonesia

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Abstract

The rapid pace of urbanization in the Jabodetabek peri-urban area has increasingly driven the massive conversion of agricultural land into new residential spaces. This study examines agricultural land transformation in Tenjo Subdistrict, Bogor Regency, into gated communities through peri-urban gentrification. The research traces historical gentrification, identifies actors' roles, and analyzes the relevance of rent gap theory to land value changes and investment flows. Using a qualitative approach, the study employed field observations, interviews, document studies, and spatial analysis with Google Earth imagery. Findings show that spatial transformation was triggered by the gap between the actual rental value of agrarian land and its potential residential value, exploited by property-capital actors supported by state policies and infrastructure development. This process caused physical and economic changes and spatial exclusion, impacting local livelihoods. The study confirms peri-urban agricultural gentrification as part of property capitalism expansion in the Global South.

Pesatnya laju urbanisasi di kawasan peri-urban Jabodetabek kian memicu konversi lahan agraris secara masif menjadi ruang-ruang permukiman baru. Studi ini mengkaji transformasi ruang agraria di Kecamatan Tenjo, Kabupaten Bogor, yang beralih menjadi kawasan gated community sebagai bagian dari proses gentrifikasi di wilayah peri-urban. Penelitian ini bertujuan menelusuri proses historis gentrifikasi, mengidentifikasi peran aktor-aktor yang terlibat, serta menganalisis relevansi teori rent gap dalam menjelaskan perubahan nilai lahan dan arus investasi. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif melalui observasi lapangan, wawancara mendalam, studi dokumen, dan analisis spasial berbasis citra *Google Earth*. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa transformasi ruang di Tenjo dipicu oleh kesenjangan antara nilai sewa aktual lahan agraria dan nilai sewa potensialnya sebagai kawasan hunian modern, yang dimanfaatkan oleh aktor kapital properti dengan dukungan kebijakan negara dan pembangunan infrastruktur. Proses ini menghasilkan perubahan fisik, ekonomi, serta bentuk eksklusi spasial yang berdampak pada struktur penghidupan masyarakat lokal. Studi ini menegaskan bahwa gentrifikasi ruang agraria peri-urban merupakan bagian dari ekspansi kapitalisme properti di *Global South*.

Keywords: agricultural space; gated community; gentrification; Kota Podomoro Tenjo; peri-urban

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Introduction

The transformation of rural areas into modern residential developments in Indonesia has altered not only the physical environment but also the social structure, reflecting a process of planetary gentrification. This process involves the influx of upper-middle-class groups into formerly lower-income areas, driving up property values and increasing the risk of displacement for original residents (Lees 2000). Gentrification is characterized by the replacement of agricultural land and local settlements with exclusive, market-driven infrastructure, leading to the marginalization of local communities, the erosion of village identity, and rising land values beyond the affordability of original residents.

Gentrification cannot be separated from the history of colonization and global economic processes. Lees expanded on this concept by showing that gentrification now occurs globally, not only in Western cities (Lees, Shin, and López-Morales 2016). It is linked to global capitalism, real estate investment, and urban policies that accelerate socioeconomic change worldwide. The concept of planetary gentrification highlights that global urbanization is no longer cantered on traditional major cities but is shifting to new centers, including suburban and rural areas. This process is driven by capital accumulation and investment in the housing sector, which often triggers social conflict due to the eviction of low-income communities and the middle class, who are increasingly vulnerable to poverty. Furthermore, the middle class in developing countries not only benefits from an increasingly open global economy and internationally integrated production systems but is also viewed positively by many development agencies and governments (Ballard 2012; Lees et al. 2016). Therefore, infrastructure development and policies that support urban revitalization and real estate investment can be understood as strategies to facilitate further capital accumulation (Ballard 2012; Lees et al. 2016; Schindler 2016).

In Indonesia, several studies have examined the conversion of agricultural land to housing. Pradana, Soedwiwahjono, and Nurhadi (2021) identified high agricultural land prices, the status of inherited land causing plots to become increasingly narrow, increased household expenditure, and declining agricultural production as the main factors. It confirms that agricultural land prices are a dominant driver of agricultural land conversion to housing in the region. The impact of gentrification is complex, covering economic and social aspects, including the eviction of indigenous peoples and changes in cultural identity (Hudalah and Adharina 2019).

Spatial expansion in the Bulukumba Regency area has produced uneven, fragmented growth, with new development patterns separated from the city center through leapfrogging (Isra et al. 2025). The expansion of middle- and upper-income groups into low-activity, low-density areas of Makassar City has displaced residents less able to adapt (Iqbal, Surya, and Syafri 2021). Agricultural land has also been converted into new residential areas through private investment and government policies, triggering gentrification characterized by rising property prices and living costs and marginalizing the indigenous population (Kusumaningrum and Rosyidy 2024).

The presence of the middle class has encouraged investment that increases the area's value, ultimately raising land prices (Siou and Black 2011). As a result of development projects and gentrification triggered by the influx of the professional middle class and increased

demand for housing, the Betawi population in Jakarta has declined significantly since the 1970s to only about twenty per cent, including through the expansion of exclusive boarding houses in urban villages (Dewi 2018). Gentrification in the Jabodetabek suburban area is also closely tied to housing location, where location and travel behavior affect housing affordability for low-income communities on the outskirts of Jakarta and Tangerang Regency. At the same time, accessibility does not always have a significant effect, unlike in Bandung Regency, which is only influenced by location factors (Josephine, Wiranegara, and Supriatna 2024). Other findings also confirm gentrify-cation, characterized by a shift in livelihoods from the agricultural sector to construction and retail, as well as a surge in land prices due to proximity to the BSD business center and public transport access (Andini et al. 2023).

The metropolitan fringe of Jakarta (Jabodetabek) is entering an early phase of global post-suburbanization, marked by a shift toward a polycentric urban structure driven by the rapid transformation of residential areas into self-contained cities through industrial privatization and multifunctional urban development (Firman and Fahmi 2017). This trend is consistent with the findings of Winarso, Hudalah, and Firman (2015), who show that peri-urban Jabodetabek has been dominated by large-scale land development projects, such as new towns and industrial estates, since the early 1990s. Moreover, gentrification contributes to the formation of exclusive urban spaces, contradicting Lefebvre's concept of the right to the city, which emphasizes creating inclusive cities that ensure equal access and a decent quality of life for all citizens (Pratiyudha 2019).

Smith (1987) examined how the gap between land's potential and actual value drives investment, capital intervention, and the displacement of indigenous peoples. Smith saw the main actors in the gentrification process as private parties whose behavior was shaped by post-Fordist economic conditions, with profit as their primary motivation.

Smith argues that gentrification involves not only social change, but also physical trans-formation of the environment and economic dynamics in the land market. He emphasizes that this combination of social, physical, and economic aspects characterizes gentrification. Gentrification tends to occur in areas with low land values but high potential for price increases because gentrification actors aim not simply to invest in undervalued areas, but to reap economic benefits (Smith 1987). Thus, Smith's rent-gap concept explains how the gap between a land's potential and actual value drives investment, capital intervention, and the displacement of indigenous peoples. Smith also criticizes David Ley's view, which emphasizes economic factors and post-industrial urban dynamics in under-standing gentrification. Therefore, he developed the rent gap indicator, a major factor in explaining gentrification (Siou and Black 2011).

Based on previous literature reviews, the transformation of agrarian space in Indonesia's peri-urban areas shows that gentrification is not only occurring in core urban areas but has also spread to rural areas through the expansion of property capital and the construction of exclusive housing. However, the main problem is an inadequate sociological understanding of how gentrification works in peri-urban agrarian spaces, particularly in explaining the mechanisms of land value changes, the inter-vention of capital and state actors, and their impact on the displacement and restructuring of local communities' livelihoods.

This study takes a different approach by examining gentrification in peri-urban agricultural areas under Land Use Rights (*Hak Guna Usaha/*HGU), where spatial transformation involves not only changes in land use but also the restructuring of agrarian relations and rural communities' livelihoods. Thus, this study offers a unique contribution by expanding the typology of gentrification in Indonesia to the peri-urban agrarian sphere and showing that gentrification can occur through legal-agrarian mechanisms and large-scale property investment, not merely through urban revitalization. Empirically, this study offers novelty by examining Podomoro Tenjo as a concrete case of gated community-based gentrification in agrarian spaces, which has often been viewed as suburbanization or ordinary land conversion. This study also contributes theoretically by operationalizing the concept of planetary gentrification to read the dynamics of gentrification outside the city center, while linking it to the rent gap theory in the context of the Global South. Thus, this study expands the locus of gentrification studies to peri-urban agricultural areas while enriching the theoretical debate on how global property capitalism operates through relationships among capital, state policy, and local communities in shaping new residential spaces. This study applies Rent Gap Theory to peri-urban gentrification to explain land transformation in Tenjo. It posits that agricultural land conversion is driven by the substantial disparity between its current economic value and its potential value as modern residential estates, a lucrative margin exploited by property capitalists with state support, thereby illustrating the broader expansion of property capitalism in the Global South.

This study examines the dynamics of gentrification in the peri-urban area of Tenjo Subdistrict by analyzing mechanisms of land value change, the intervention of capital and state actors, and their impact on the displacement and restructuring of local communities' livelihoods through a qualitative approach. This study addresses the following research questions: How does planetary gentrification transform peri-urban agricultural land into exclusive residential areas in Tenjo Subdistrict, and what impact does this have on the agrarian structure and the livelihoods of the local community?

This study uses a qualitative approach and purposively selects key informants, including village officials, community leaders, affected residents, and residents of new housing areas, to analyze the dynamics of gentrification in the peri-urban area of Tenjo Subdistrict. This study focuses on Kota Podomoro Tenjo, a gated community in Tenjo Subdistrict, Bogor Regency. Tenjo Village itself is the most densely populated village in Tenjo Subdistrict, with a population density of 1776 people per km^2 (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Bogor 2024). It indicates that villages in Tenjo Subdistrict are densely populated areas, not merely agricultural zones or vacant land.

With a land area of 650 hectares, the Kota Podomoro Tenjo project is being developed as an independent city that includes a residential complex (gated community) and a business area (shops). The transformation of the area between 1996 and 2025 is shown in Figure 1. It is also in the process of establishing a Grand TOD (Transit-Oriented Development) that will integrate residential areas with the Commuter Line mass transportation system connecting Tigaraksa Station and Tenjo Station with the Tanah Abang–Rangkasbitung commuter line. In addition, the project will provide access to the nearest toll road exit, namely the Cileles toll road exit (approximately 2 km away), which is part of

the Serpong–Balaraja toll road, to speed up travel time to Jakarta or Soekarno-Hatta Airport (Official Website Podomoro Tenjo 2021).

Field observations conducted on April 26–27, 2025, combined with spatial data obtained from Google Earth, reveal that the area, which was previously dominated by vacant land, now shows signs of significant spatial transformation marked by the commencement of construction of the large-scale residential complex. It reflects the dynamics of land-use change and planned urbanization in the area.

Data were collected through field observations, in-depth interviews, and documentary studies, supplemented by Google Earth image-based spatial analysis to trace the transformation of agrarian space into elite gated-community residential areas and their relationship with infrastructure development. The research focuses on local actors in Tenjo Subdistrict, Bogor Regency, specifically comprising the general public and village heads. Residents were selected to highlight the direct socioeconomic impacts and spatial exclusion caused by gentrification, while village heads serve as key informants to explain the historical trajectory of land conversion, investment flows, and local policy dynamics.

Figure 1
Comparison of the Kota Podomoro Tenjo area in 1996 (A) and 2025 (B)



Source: Google Earth (2025)

The analysis was conducted using thematic coding and data triangulation to identify actor relations, mechanisms of land value change, and forms of displacement that emerged, utilizing secondary data from Statistics Indonesia, local government, and property developers. However, the limited availability of historical quantitative data on land prices meant that estimates of actual rental values were based on informants' narratives. Therefore, the findings of this study should be understood as a social reconstruction of the gentrification process, rather than an exact economic measurement of land values.

Mechanism of Planetary Gentrification Work in Transforming Peri-Urban Agricultural Land

The area now known as Kota Podomoro Tenjo was once an agricultural zone dominated by rubber and coconut plantations. However, since the late 1990s, Suwardi (Head of Babakan Village, Tenjo Subdistrict) and Azis (a staff member of Babakan Village Office) stated that land ownership had been transferred from PT Prasetya Pertiwi to PT Mitra Abadi Utama (MAU), a subsidiary of PT Agung Podomoro Land (kumparanBISNIS 2024). Through this subsidiary, PT Agung Podomoro Land Tbk subsequently developed a large-scale gated community property project called Kota Podomoro Tenjo.

Kota Podomoro Tenjo is a large-scale residential development (township) in Tenjo Subdistrict, Bogor Regency, West Java, covering five villages: Babakan Village, Tenjo Village, Singabraja Village, Cilaku Village, and Singabangsa Village. Suwardi explained that before land acquisition, the area now part of Kota Podomoro Tenjo consisted of coconut and rubber plantations with Cultivation Rights (*Hak Guna Usaha*/HGU) managed by PT Prasetya Pertiwi. The following provides a brief overview of its history.

Previously, Kota Podomoro Tenjo was government-owned land with HGU status managed by the community. However, in the context of this study, the community was granted HGU land informally for management. Around 1993–1995, PT Investco applied for HGU land certification for residents, especially those who had been farming the land. The government then facilitated the distribution of these certificates to the community, so that some residents began to own land in the form of freehold rights.

After the certification process was completed, some farmers initially resold their land to PT Investco under a compensation scheme. PT Prasetya Pertiwi then took over these land assets from PT Investco in the late 1990s. Concurrently, starting in 1995–1996, PT Prasetya Pertiwi also began acquiring land directly from other community members who still held their land, using a government-facilitated Letter of Release mechanism.

In the early 2000s, PT Prasetya Pertiwi went bankrupt. The land assets in Tenjo were auctioned off through the BLBI (Bank Indonesia Liquidity Assistance) process. The auction was ultimately won by PT Mitra Abadi Utama (MAU), a subsidiary of PT Agung Podomoro Land. From around 2003 to 2008, PT MAU began managing the land for residential development. Following the asset acquisition, APLN—operating through its newly acquired subsidiary, PT MAU—gradually purchased private land from residents. As a result, the area, which was originally plantations and rice fields, was slowly transformed into a residential area called Kota Podomoro Tenjo.

The buying and selling of private land remain ongoing, with residents negotiating compensation through cash payments or land barter, whereby land within the residential area is exchanged for plots owned by PT MAU located farther from the Podomoro Tenjo site. Ongoing negotiations over several parcels, including in Kampung Rajeg, reflect dynamic and unequal power relations between PT MAU as a capitalist developer and local landowners, highlighting that land acquisition does not always proceed smoothly or equitably.

> "PT. MAU continues to purchase community land for expansion, including plantations, rice fields, and several houses, up to the present. Compensation is not only in the form of money, but also in the form of land in other locations." (Azis)

Suwardi and Azis also stated that affected farmers received monetary compensation after the HGU plantation land was converted into a gated community. While local accounts suggest some residents remained on the land informally after its sale, a lack of documentation makes these claims difficult to verify. This transformation process can be observed through the difference between potential land rent and actual land rent capitalized under current land use (Smith 1987), for example, agriculture or plantations, versus the potential rent value if the land is used for a more profitable function (for example, elite housing). This means that the gentrification of agricultural land in Tenjo, which originally had low economic value as farmland, has become highly attractive because it can be developed into large-scale gated communities, creating a rent gap.

Livelihood transition in the Tenjo region is strongly shaped by complex geographical conditions and the low economic value of the traditional agricultural sector. While residents still practice small-scale farming on accessible Perhutani land, agriculture is no longer the primary source of household income. Dry lands that depend entirely on rainfall (rainfed), along with a lack of irrigation infrastructure, create uncertainty in crop yields. As emphasized by Suwardi:

> "In Tenjo, the agricultural land is dry; the farming is orthodox in nature, crops are grown without fertilizer, and there is no irrigation water. Thus, it is less productive for agriculture and is not something to rely on."

These conditions create a vulnerability that drives the community toward livelihood diversification. From a sociological perspective, this phenomenon embodies an adaptive strategy, defined as the conscious plans or actions individuals take to manipulate available resources to achieve survival goals (Bennett 1976). The influx of property capital through large-scale developments, such as Kota Podomoro Tenjo, acts as a catalyst for deagrarianization, shifting residents' economic orientation from a land-based to a labor-based (service and industry) foundation. This rapid development offers economic opportunities perceived as more stable through daily or weekly wage systems, which are more predictable than harvest cycles. Under Environmental Impact Assessment (AMDAL) agreements involving the village government and community leaders, residents are integrated into the construction process.

This phenomenon can be seen as a change in labor relations, where farmers and farm laborers become construction workers, reflecting Bennett's (1976) view that people make strategic decisions to move into sectors that offer more stable and predictable opportunities when facing environmental pressures. Sociological analysis suggests that this is more than a simple career change. It represents an adaptive

response to rural gentrification, in which agricultural production spaces are transformed into consumption spaces for elite housing. This spatial transformation has also stimulated an informal business ecosystem around construction sites, creating new market opportunities for local micro-businesses such as food stalls. Additionally, established Commuter Line (KRL) access facilitates sociogeographic mobility, particularly for the younger generation who choose to commute to Jakarta's informal sectors—such as retail assistants or porters in the Tanah Abang wholesale center—signifying a profound shift in social identity from an agrarian society toward an urban-peripheral society.

Overall, while agricultural activities persist as a subsistence strategy, property development has become the dominant factor reshaping the social class structure in Babakan Village. This transformation is viewed by local authorities as 'planned progress' capable of mitigating environmental impacts through formal regulation.

> "It is not that I side with the developer, but *alhamdulillah*, so far there have been no problems or environmental impacts felt by the community. Perhaps because the AMDAL and master plan are already well-designed." (Suwardi)

This long-term process reflects what Bennett terms the adaptive process, where the accumulation of collective economic choices eventually alters the Tenjo community's social organization and cultural patterns permanently (Bennett 1976).

Tommy, a resident of the Kenanga Cluster, decided to buy a house in Kota Podomoro Tenjo in 2024 after finding the official website through an internet search. His primary motivation was to find a long-term home outside the capital that would still allow him to commute and work efficiently in the Jakarta area. His decision to invest in the property was ultimately driven by three main factors. First, the project offers a strategic Transit-Oriented Development (TOD) location near the Tigaraksa and Tenjo KRL stations, ensuring excellent spatial connectivity and mobility. He was also confident in the developer's strong reputation, PT Agung Podomoro Land Tbk, and was drawn to the project's promising master plan.

According to the interview, the urban middle class's preference for strategic, affordable housing is one of the main factors in their property purchase decisions. Tommy said his decision was based on three things: the location's proximity to transportation access (commuter line station), the developer's reputation (Agung Podomoro Land), and the area's promising master plan. This preference reflects middle-class housing aspirations for residential stability, access to urban employment centers, and modern, well-planned housing environments that remain more affordable than comparable options in Jakarta.

The government also provides full support for the transformation process in the Tenjo area into a gated community. The construction of the Tenjo flyover in March 2024 demonstrates the strategic collaboration between the government and developers in promoting spatial changes in the Tenjo Subdistrict. The groundbreaking of this project forms part of Kota Podomoro Tenjo's contribution to the Bogor Regency Government's spatial planning agenda. This project not only represents Agung Podomoro's commitment to regional development but is also the result of cooperation between the Ministry of Transportation, PT Kereta Api Indonesia (KAI), and the Bogor Regency Government (Silfia 2023). In the same year, the Bogor Regency Government, through the Regional Secretary (*Sekda*) of Bogor Regency, Ajat Rochmat Jatnika,

together with PT Mitra Abadi Utama (PT MAU), officially signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) for the construction of a flyover in Tenjo Subdistrict.

> "*Alhamdulillah*, the support and commitment from the Bogor Regency Government have been realized in today's MoU. Hopefully, this can accelerate the construction process in accordance with the flyover concept that we have agreed upon,' said Ajat Rochmat Jatnika (Tim Rilis Diskominfo Kab. Bogor 2024).

The results of the interviews with local authorities and community leaders indicated that they agreed that development must be in line with the needs, aspirations, and welfare of the people of Tenjo. Burhanudin also emphasized that he welcomes developers' interest in Tenjo, as this will encourage the transformation of the area into a more modern one and improve the quality of life of its residents. Burhanudin said:

> 'The definition of development is growth and progress towards something better. By creating what does not exist and adding what is lacking with certain considerations." (Sujatmiko 2021).

The rent gap explains that changes in land value, investment flows, population movements, and the roles of various actors are interrelated in driving spatial transformation. The theory shows that regional change does not occur suddenly, but is triggered by the gap between actual rental values and the potential rental values that can be generated through new investments. It is this gap that attracts capital players to enter and accumulate economic profits, thereby triggering the process of land commercialization. At the same time, interactions between investors and the local community become a key factor shaping the direction of transformation, whether through negotiation, conflict, or adaptation. This combination of capital incentives and local community responses ultimately drives significant social, economic, and spatial changes in the area.

Based on the findings presented earlier, this study analyzes the various parties that contributed to the transformation process of Kota Podomoro Tenjo Development. There are at least four main groups of actors in the series of land ownership transfers and development based on the analysis results. First, the government, including ATR/BPN and local authorities, regulated the Right to Cultivate (HGU), distributed land certificates between 1993 and 1996, and facilitated administrative processes and land auctions. Second, local landowners initially received these land rights but largely sold their properties due to economic pressures or access issues caused by the new development, although a few managed to retain their land. Third, developers and investors drove the acquisition process, with a succession of companies—namely PT Investco, PT Prasetya Pertiwi, PT MAU, and ultimately PT Agung Podomoro Land—gradually acquiring the area over several decades through compensation, bank auctions, and direct purchases.

Finally, local figures such as Village Heads and community coordinators served as crucial liaisons during these transactions and assisted in land measurement and boundary identification. Thus, the process of land conversion in the context of gentrification involved a chain of land ownership transfers between local government, PT Investco, PT Prasetya Pertiwi, and finally PT MAU, the last of which was part of the Kota Podomoro development project.

This shift in land ownership and management creates a displacement mechanism that benefits large property developers, while local communities are marginalized due to high land

value inequality. This entire chain of actors, from both the public and private sectors, forms the main foundation for the development of Kota Podomoro Tenjo housing, which in turn creates a pattern of peri-urban gentrification that further deepens social and economic disparities in the context of property development in the area.

In the case of Kota Podomoro Tenjo, the rent gap was created by the disparity between the value of agricultural land previously managed by PT Prasetya Pertiwi and its new commercial value after being converted into a large-scale residential area. Developers such as Agung Podomoro Land exploit this value gap by packaging the area as modern TOD-based housing, thereby attracting the interest of the urban middle class and maximizing profit accumulation from the value difference. Thus, the development of this area not only reflects a response to market demand but is also part of the logic of property capitalism that utilizes the rent gap as the basis for spatial expansion.

By promoting the TOD concept and visually marketing the master plan, developers create a narrative of ideal spaces that match middle-class aspirations. This phenomenon shows how the need for housing has become part of the commodification of space, where the logic of capital accumulation takes place through the production of spaces designed to attract specific market segments, particularly the urban middle class.

In the context of gentrification studies in Kota Podomoro Tenjo, it is worth noting that the development process in the area is not limited to large projects such as Kota Podomoro Tenjo, but also includes various small- to medium-scale housing projects involving other actors, both private companies and individuals. Observations and interviews with Azis show that the area surrounding Kota Podomoro Tenjo has experienced a broader increase in property investment, with projects such as Tenjo City Metropolis, Puri Tenjo, and Grand Tenjo Residence also developing. Small-scale housing developments in the surrounding area are shown in Figure 2.

The housing complexes generally offer more affordable prices and access to transportation infrastructure, including commuter train stations and toll roads. Figure 3 compares the distances from Tenjo KRL Station to Kota Podomoro Tenjo and several other residential developments. In the context of the rent gap, this phenomenon reflects the widening gap in land values between agricultural land, which previously had low value, and land whose value is rapidly increasing in line with the acceleration of urbanization. The development carried out by various actors, although on different scales, has contributed to accelerating the process of shifting land use from agricultural to urban, which in turn has strengthened the dynamics of gentrification and triggered socioeconomic displacement in the area.

These housing complexes generally offer more affordable prices and close access to transportation infrastructure such as commuter train stations and toll roads. However, unlike Kota Podomoro Tenjo, which was developed as a planned area, these small-scale housing complexes often take shape without adequate spatial planning and result in the eviction of local communities. To meet business objectives and increase investment value, small-scale developers often focus on areas that already have large-scale gated communities. These elite residential areas not only signal infrastructure stability and environmental security but also create a unique appeal for the middle- to upper-end property market. In this context, areas with gated communities serve as spatial magnets that

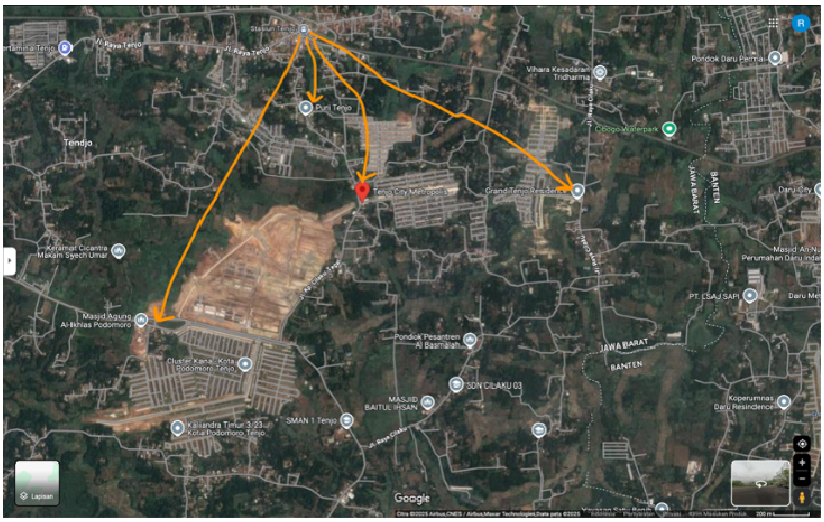
encourage small developers to take advantage of the spillover value from these main areas. Spillover value is an indirect economic impact resulting from events in other regions, driven by global connectivity. The impact is generally negative, but can also be positive (Kenton 2024).

Figure 2
Small-scale Housing Development around Kota Podomoro Tenjo



Source: Personal Observation

Figure 3
Comparison of the Distances from the Tenjo KRL Station to Podomoro Tenjo City and Several other Residential Areas



Source: Google Earth (2025)

This strategy reflects the logic of spatial capitalization, where economic benefits can be gained by attaching oneself geographically to established growth centers. In addition, proximity to elite areas allows small-scale developers to reach new consumers seeking more affordable housing alternatives while remaining within the symbolic luxury orbit of gated communities. As in Cisauk, gentrification in Tenjo has had a positive impact through stronger economic development, which benefits the community and improves the area's economic function. However, this process also has negative impacts, such as the threat of eviction for indigenous residents, a significant increase in land prices, and changes in the community's social life (Andini et al. 2023). Thus, this practice not only shows the dynamics of competition in the property industry but also reinforces social and spatial fragmentation in urban development.

Since the launch of Kota Podomoro Tenjo, developers have increasingly viewed Tenjo as an attractive investment location. It was conveyed by the Head of Babakan Village. '*Many complexes are "hitchhiking" on* Kota Podomoro Tenjo,' said Suwardi. It shows that although gentrification can drive economic growth, it can also create social injustice for existing communities.

The shift from agricultural land to an elite residential area reflects the economic-political dynamics of spatial control. Converting productive land into exclusive residential areas not only changes land use but also signals spatial gentrification in peri-urban areas. This gentrification has marginalized socioeconomic agricultural functions and shifted the area's orientation toward closed, class-segregated consumption spaces.

The layout planning of Kota Podomoro Tenjo reflects the logic of spatial capitalism: how space is designed, produced, and commodified to serve capital accumulation. This process occurs through complex interactions between property developers, investors, local government policies, and some members of the local community who directly or indirectly support spatial transformation and the rent gap. Capital intervention in spatial planning is carried out through changes in spatial regulations, urban lifestyle-based marketing strategies, and negotiations over land access and ownership.

Before the transformation of agrarian space, the Tenjo area was characterized by agrarian land use in the form of rubber and coconut plantations, rice fields, and rural settlements with relatively low economic productivity. Limited infrastructure, weak market access, and minimal state investment kept the exchange value of agrarian land low and stagnant, resulting in ground rent that was not optimal for landowners. This condition was reinforced by informants' narratives describing agriculture as an increasingly unpromising economic sector. Significant changes occurred when the Tenjo area began to be integrated into a large-scale property investment network through the development of Podomoro Tenjo, supported by the TOD concept, the construction of flyovers, and integration with the KRL network.

The infrastructure and master plan for this elite residential area drastically increased the potential ground rent, as reflected in the price of houses per cluster, the segmentation of the middle-class market, and the marketing narrative that positioned Tenjo as a strategic, connected residential space of the future. The gap between the actual rental value before construction and the potential rental value after capital intervention forms the rent gap, which is then exploited through layered land acquisition:

residents first control agricultural land, then transfer it to intermediary companies, and finally large property capital consolidates it. This process shows that the rent gap in Tenjo did not appear suddenly, but resulted from long-term agrarian disinvestment that was then 're-activated' by capital investment and development policies. However, this study has limitations in quantitative evidence on changes in the initial selling price of land and the economic rationality of land sales, as historical transaction data is not systematically documented and is mostly available only as residents' subjective memories and experiences.

In exploiting the rent gap, actors play distinct but interconnected roles. The state shapes the process through spatial planning regulations and infrastructure development that increase investment attractiveness, while property capital acts as the main actor that converts the land value gap into economic profits. Local actors, such as village officials and land brokers, mediate between the interests of capital and residents, while the local community is most vulnerable to the impacts of spatial transformation.

Although no forced evictions were found, gentrification in Tenjo has produced indirect forms of displacement, including rising land prices and living costs, shifts from agriculture to informal and service work, and spatial exclusion from closed gated communities. In addition, the emergence of small-scale housing around Podomoro Tenjo indicates spillover gentrification, where the rent gap extends to the neighborhood scale. It reinforces the character of planetary gentrification in peri-urban spaces. These findings confirm that gentrification in Tenjo is a structured economic-political project, not merely a neutral market response.

Impact of Agrarian structure and Livelihood on the potential of Future Socioeconomics

The transformation of agrarian space in Tenjo Subdistrict into exclusive residential areas illustrates a complex gentrification process, as elucidated by Neil Smith's rent gap theory. This change is driven by the expansion of property capitalism and the migration of the middle class from urban centers, which escalates land values because of the disparity between actual agricultural rental values and the potential rental value of modern housing. This study asserts that gentrification in peri-urban areas is not limited to physical and economic alterations of space but also results in structural spatial exclusion. The transformation in Tenjo, fueled by rent-gap exploitation, has triggered a significant shift in local livelihoods. Local farmers who have sold their land primarily move into informal sectors, such as construction labor or food vending, around housing projects. Unexpectedly, this vocational shift often pushes them into unfamiliar fields, increasing economic vulnerability and the risk of further failure, which may force individuals into urban poverty. For farmers who have not yet sold their land, the emergence of gated communities—such as those developed by major property actors—can block access to their fields, reducing agricultural productivity. Ultimately, they may be compelled to sell their land and undergo a forced livelihood transition (Gweshengwe and Matai 2022; Oduro and Adamtey 2018).

The proliferation of gated communities as a by-product of gentrification may also lead to further socioeconomic complications in the Tenjo region. Gated communities segregate social entities that were once unified, thereby fostering further social decohesion through

sharp spatial segregation. It also generates exclusivity and social inequality, where previously inclusive public spaces become fragmented into elite enclaves. Residents in these gated communities remain insulated from, and socially unregulated by, the norms and values of the surrounding local community. Furthermore, there is a pronounced economic divide between those inside the gates and those outside, reflecting the inequality between the migrant middle class and the indigenous population. Further economic disparities are likely to emerge as urban poverty outside these gated communities is expected to increase (Qureshi 2023; Rusata, Fathy, and Nurjaman 2026).

Consequently, the spatial implications of this gentrification should be understood not only as an economic and agricultural transformation but also as the loss of inclusive space for the broader community. Thus, stakeholders, including community members, must acknowledge these future implications and implement necessary adjustments to ensure that no one is left behind or marginalized in a more dynamic urban–peri-urban society. Strengthening spatial and agrarian governance—through the oversight of Cultivation Rights (*Hak Guna Usaha*/HGU), the regulation of gated community development, and the protection of local livelihoods—is essential to ensure that development is not solely oriented toward property capital accumulation but also guarantees social sustainability and equitable access to living space. The concept of the 'right to the city' provides a normative framework for examining Tenjo Subdistrict's shift from an open agricultural space to exclusive elite residential communities, which restricts the local community's right to access, shape, and inhabit urban spaces. This approach emphasizes that peri-urban gentrification is a process of spatial commodification requiring policy interventions to ensure inclusive and equitable development in the future.

The research makes theoretical and empirical contributions by expanding gentrification studies beyond city centers to peri-urban agricultural areas, specifically in the Global South. Theoretically, it operationalizes the concept of planetary gentrification alongside rent gap theory to enrich debates on how global property capitalism operates through interactions among capital, state policy, and local communities. Empirically, the study offers novelty by using the Podomoro Tenjo case to demonstrate that gentrification in Indonesia can be driven by legal-agrarian mechanisms and large-scale property investments rather than solely through urban revitalization. Furthermore, the study suggests a critical need for comprehensive spatial policies, strict government oversight of land-use conversion, and socioeconomic adaptation programs to protect marginalized communities and ensure environmental sustainability amid the pressures of spatial capitalization.

Conclusion

The transformation of agricultural space in Tenjo Subdistrict into an exclusive residential area demonstrates a complex gentrification process as described by Neil Smith's rent gap theory. This change was driven by the expansion of property capitalism and the migration of the middle class from the city center, which increased land values because of the gap between the land's actual agricultural value and its potential value as modern housing. This process did not occur naturally, but was the result of interactions between various actors who together shaped the direction of the region's development. Beyond triggering

demographic change, gentrification in Tenjo also created structural impacts through new infrastructure development, shifts in economic and consumption patterns, and the restructuring of land values. Thus, gentrification in Tenjo reflects not only social change but also the region's physical and economic transformation, as Smith emphasizes.

This dynamic extends beyond the mere influx of a new middle class. It operates through systemic changes in infrastructure, consumption patterns, and land values in line with the characteristics of Smith's gentrification. This process produces new forms of spatial exclusion, as gated communities create spatial fragmentation and reduce access for local communities. However, there are no visible indications of forced displacement of the indigenous population. Within the framework of spatial capitalism, space in Tenjo has shifted in meaning from an agricultural area to a commodity for capital accumulation, turning the local landscape into a closed, class-segregated enclave of consumption. Thus, gentrification in peri-urban areas such as Tenjo must be understood as a complex economic-political phenomenon resulting from interactions among capital interests, state policies, and local community responses. It emphasizes that analyzing gentrification in suburban areas requires examining the dynamics of local actors and contexts, as well as their connection to the logic of spatial commodification in the global capitalist system.

To minimize the negative impacts of gated community development in peri-urban areas such as Tenjo, comprehensive and spatially equitable policies are needed. Central and local governments must strengthen oversight of land-use conversion processes through rigorous evaluation of environmental impact assessments and community involvement at every stage of planning. Preventing social segregation, marginalization of residents, and environmental pollution is essential. In addition, affected communities must be protected through socioeconomic adaptation programs. These should include job training, local economic empowerment, and affordable housing. Spatial policies should also encourage social integration by developing inclusive mixed-use areas. Ultimately, environmental sustainability must serve as the primary foundation for development, preserving ecosystems and local living spaces against the pressures of spatial capitalization.[]

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