



The gendered politics of urban transformation: Gentrification and women's survival spaces in Muara Teluk Naga

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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the impact of gentrification on women in Muara Teluk Naga Village, Pantai Indah Kapuk (PIK), Tangerang. This study focuses on how the gentrification process exacerbates the feminization of poverty and marginalizes women from access to urban space. Using Kimberlé Crenshaw's concept of intersectionality, this study explores the multiple forms of oppression experienced by women because of forced displacement, rising living costs, and spatial changes triggered by large-scale development. Specifically, this study shows how women lose access to informal jobs, public services, and reproductive social spaces such as women's association activities, which previously supported their daily lives. The method used is a qualitative approach with a case study, through in-depth interviews and field observations. The results of the study show that gentrification strengthens gender-based structural inequalities, increases women's domestic burdens, and eliminates social spaces that are essential for women's survival in Muara Teluk Naga Village, PIK.

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INTRODUCTION

Gentrification refers to the process of marginalizing groups who lack power or have low incomes during development within a particular area (Atkinson, 2011; Hammel, 2009). Although development is often framed as a strategy to improve environmental quality and attract investment, in practice it frequently produces deepening social inequalities, particularly for communities with limited control over space (Pratiyudha, 2019). One concrete example is the development of Pantai Indah Kapuk 2 (PIK 2) as a National Strategic Project (Proyek Strategi Nasional), which aims to stimulate new economic growth; however, at the same time, it has resulted in the displacement of several villages, including Desa Muara Teluk Naga (Firman, 2004; Rusdianto & Watunnaba, 2025).

The construction of high walls around the PIK 2 area creates physical segregation that separates village communities from urban communities who now live on what was formerly their land (Famela et al., 2025). This wall-based restriction instead creates inequality and generates social exclusion, where villagers lose access to the sea, public facilities, and even roads that they have long used (Saifun Nufus, 2025). This spatial segregation is a key characteristic of gentrification, which separates marginalized native communities for the economic and aesthetic interests of new groups with greater access to capital. Gentrification transforms poor residential areas into elite zones with the emergence of exclusive properties, hotels, and apartments (Amrozi et al., 2022).

Gentrification not only reshapes class structures in urban society but also reconstructs identities and gender relations. In these urban dynamics, women are not merely passive victims, but experience complex power relations, as they must negotiate between domestic labor burdens, family economic needs, and limited access to urban resources (Bondi, 1991). This occurs because in the process of gentrification there is segregation between self-contained urban areas and peri-urban villages. In this context, gentrification can be seen as a phenomenon located at the intersection of gender and class, where women are the group that suffers the most because of gentrification (Bartram & Brown-Saracino, 2025).

Women tend to experience more harmful impacts because of residential relocation, evictions, and forms of “slow violence” that occur in state-driven gentrification processes (Doshi, 2013; Paton, 2016; Sakizlioğlu, 2014). Rather than bringing improvements to women’s lives, gentrification processes instead further worsen women’s conditions, particularly in terms of access to resources and economic opportunities (Agarwal & Levien, 2020; Casolo & Doshi, 2013; Doss et al., 2014; Julia & White, 2012; Tsikata & Yaro, 2014). Gentrification does not only displace bodies physically but also creates gendered dispossession that undermines social reproductive work such as caregiving, nurturing, and managing households—forms of labor that are often not economically recognized yet are essential for everyday life (Sakizlioğlu, 2024).

Previous studies by Gao et al (2023) and Gibbons (2019) explain that gentrification also worsens women’s physical and mental health, where low-income women face increased stress and health problems due to material scarcity, eviction, and a lack of sense of community belonging. In addition, gentrification has been linked to severe maternal morbidity (SMM) among women who give birth in neighborhoods undergoing gentrification. Stress caused by eviction and the loss of community belonging can lead to negative mental health impacts, especially among long-term residents and marginalized groups (Pineault et al., 2025).

The perspectives and struggles of women living in gentrifying environments are rarely discussed explicitly in the geographical literature on gentrification (Kern, 2013). The gendered implications of urban redevelopment projects are interdependent with intersectional factors that shape women’s experiences of deprivation and dispossession (Borsuk & Eroglu, 2020). The feminization of poverty becomes an unavoidable phenomenon in the context of gentrification because feminization of poverty is a global and ubiquitous phenomenon. Poor women have long faced heavy burdens associated with physical and social upgrading processes (Versey, 2023; Ye & Vojnovic, 2020).

Women in Desa Muara Teluk Naga face a social reproduction crisis in very concrete forms. Amid minimal access to education, health care, decent employment, and other public services, they continue to bear daily domestic burdens while also struggling to supplement household income. However, women’s mobility is constrained by socio-economic conditions that are increasingly pressured because of exclusive and non-participatory development. Gentrification in its neoliberal and authoritarian form makes the lives of these lower-class women twice as difficult: economically marginalized while simultaneously socially burdened (Ye & Vojnovic, 2020). When their living spaces are replaced by commercial and elite projects, they lose access to informal employment such as selling food or marine products and are often forced to survive under increasingly difficult economic conditions.

Critical study approaches emphasize that intersectionality is important for understanding how various forms of domination and exclusion operate through categories of social difference such

as race, gender, ethnicity, class, and location. The interaction among these categories creates and reinforces forms of exploitation, marginalization, and oppression that have gendered dimensions (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1983; Crenshaw, 1989). In this context, poor women who do not own land, depend on the informal sector, and bear domestic burdens experience gentrification in more complex and painful ways than other groups.

This study contributes to the literature on gentrification in urban and geographical studies by highlighting its gendered dimensions in coastal contexts, particularly through centring women's experiences of social reproduction, which are often overlooked. Using a qualitative approach and a case study method, this research reveals women's experiences as subjects directly affected by spatial changes and development policies that are biased by class and gender. This research does not only aim to document suffering, but also to uncover power relations within exclusive and patriarchal urban development processes. By understanding women's experiences contextually and intersectionally, this research is expected to contribute to discourses on spatial justice and gender-inclusive urban development.

METHOD

This research focuses on the impact of gentrification on women in the area of Desa Muara Teluk Naga resulting from the development of the PIK 1 and 2 mega projects. It employs a qualitative approach, following Azwar (2015), using a case study method to provide a comprehensive understanding of the subjects under study, either by highlighting all aspects of their lives or by focusing on specific dimensions. A qualitative approach is also highly suitable for exploring lived experiences, perceptions, and meanings constructed by women affected by ongoing social and economic transformations (Creswell, 2011).

Primary data were obtained by interviewing four women who were directly affected by the gentrification process resulting from the development of the PIK 1 and 2 large-scale urban transformation projects. Informants were selected using purposive sampling techniques based on specific objectives and criteria in accordance with the topic under study (Creswell, 2011). Through an intersectional approach (Crenshaw, 1989), this research examines how women bear layered burdens as a result of the development of PIK 2, Tangerang. Data were analyzed using thematic analysis with open coding to identify recurring patterns related to social reproduction, economic dispossession, and spatial exclusion. This approach enabled the study to capture how the development of PIK 1 and PIK 2 has reshaped women's everyday lives, their access to livelihoods, and their social spaces within the community.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Gentrification and the Feminization of Poverty

Studies on gentrification have developed rapidly in urban studies, yet most have not paid sufficient attention to gender analysis (Hamilton & Curran, 2013). The impacts of gentrification narrow economic opportunities for women because the jobs that are lost are often in service sectors dominated by women (Chant & Datu, 2015). Gentrification leads to the displacement of native residents, the majority of whom are women working in informal sectors such as small traders or domestic workers. The loss of housing and access to informal labour markets makes women increasingly poor and economically vulnerable (Chant, 2006).

Research by Amin et al. (2024) finds that urban gentrification increases women's workloads (double burden), reduces women's participation in social organizations, and reinforces gender inequality in economic and social spheres. Women who work in gentrifying areas are in vulnerable positions because gentrification replaces small businesses where they work, while

simultaneously threatening the solidarity of women's communities that they have built to survive amid limited social service support (Kern, 2013).

The success of the PIK 1 development encouraged further planning to expand the area by introducing new residential and commercial zones, namely PIK 2 and the PIK 2 Extension, which are currently still under construction. However, the massive expansion of PIK 2 has generated negative impacts for village communities that have long resided in the area. In Desa Muara Teluk Naga, which is separated by a large wall from the PIK 2 development, this situation demonstrates segregation between elite areas and slum areas (Saifun Nufus, 2025). The expansion of PIK development has directly affected residents in Teluk Naga District, who now face flooding, loss of road access, and even loss of livelihoods, particularly among fishermen affected by the project (Zahira, 2023).

In addition, women are the most affected by the development process. Continuous flooding and the closure of road access make women's lives increasingly difficult. Domestic burdens that are still largely borne by women mean that women in Desa Muara Teluk Naga must work harder to clean their homes when flooding occurs, which has been ongoing since the construction of PIK 2. Limited road access due to the construction of large boundary walls also makes it difficult for women to earn additional income. Previously, many of them engaged in trading activities, but with the development of PIK 2, shop-house rental prices have increased significantly, leading to their marginalization and preventing them from continuing to work in the informal sector.

Gentrification and the feminization of poverty illustrate how development processes and the transformation of urban space often produce disproportionate impacts on women (Atkinson, 2011). Women, especially those who are heads of households or who work in the informal sector, are more vulnerable to the risk of displacement due to rising land prices and living costs in gentrifying areas (Anguelovski et al., 2021; Hochstenbach & Musterd, 2021). Their already fragile economic conditions make it difficult for women to adapt to these social and economic changes, so gentrification instead deepens gender inequality and reinforces existing cycles of poverty.

Moreover, labor market dynamics in urban areas further strengthen the relationship between the feminization of poverty and gentrification (Bartram & Brown-Saracino, 2025; Hochstenbach & Musterd, 2021). Many women work in low-wage sectors without stable employment security, such as domestic work, public services, or informal industries (Ye & Vojnovic, 2020). When gentrification drives up living costs, women in such working conditions find it increasingly difficult to sustain a decent livelihood and to fulfil their basic needs.

Viewing the feminization of poverty within an intersectional framework refers to the understanding that the poverty experienced by women is not solely the result of economic factors, but also the outcome of overlapping forms of oppression based on gender identity, social class, place of residence, and other interrelated factors. The theory of intersectionality introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw emphasizes that the experiences of poor women cannot be separated from the multiple social identities they hold, making the oppression they experience complex and layered (Crenshaw, 1989).

In the context of gentrification in Desa Muara, Teluk Naga, the impacts of the Pantai Indah Kapuk (PIK) 2 megaproject provide a clear illustration of layered feminization of poverty. Drawing on (Crenshaw, 2022) concept of intersectionality, this study examines the feminization of poverty resulting from gentrification not only as physical displacement or job loss, but as a process of exclusion that deepens gendered and structural inequalities in urban space. The experiences of poor women become more complex as gender identity, social class, and location interact to create layered forms of oppression.

Neglected Social Reproductive Labor

The development of PIK 2 in the coastal area of Desa Muara has had major impacts that are directly felt by women, particularly in social reproductive labor that has long been regarded as "invisible work." Gentrification, marked by massive construction, the expansion of elite residential areas, and the displacement of coastal zones, has created new pressures on women

in carrying out social reproductive functions such as childrearing, family care, household management, and ensuring the basic well-being of the community.

One tangible impact is the increase in household labor due to pollution generated by construction activities. Dust from the development causes laundry to become dirty more quickly, forcing women to wash clothes more frequently. Moreover, air pollution and dust also directly affect children's health, with children often experiencing respiratory problems such as persistent coughing. When children fall ill, women must take full responsibility for caring for them, amid limited access to adequate and affordable health services. These overlapping pressures—environmental, economic, and reproductive—are reflected in the lived experiences of affected women, as illustrated in the following account:

"I am a widow. I used to sell goods in PIK before it was developed like it is now, but since the construction of PIK 2, shop-house prices have gone up, I can no longer run my business in PIK 2 because the rental prices for shop-houses have increased, along with the presence of many well-known restaurants.

In addition, due to the impact of the PIK 2 development, my child has been frequently experiencing coughs because of the pollution dust from the construction. My own health has also been affected, and on top of that my burden has increased because I must work more to find additional income, and we also frequently deal with brackish flooding that makes things difficult for us." (Interview with Mrs Maya, resident of Desa Muara Teluk Naga)



Figure 1. Sand Dredging & Conditions of Village

Development has ultimately disrupted health conditions, especially for mothers and children. Gentrification worsens women's physical and mental health (Gibbons, 2019; Pineault et al., 2025), particularly for low-income mothers, whose children's health and their own well-being are directly affected. Air quality, which should be a fundamental right for everyone, is instead experienced by residents of Desa Muara Teluk Naga only as pollution dust drifting into their settlements. While waste management in PIK 1 and 2 is kept clean and controlled, air pollution such as construction dust is mitigated to ensure environmental quality for PIK 1 and 2 residents, without regard for what is happening in Desa Muara Teluk Naga.

Gentrification in Desa Muara also creates inequalities in access to space and basic infrastructure. For the people of Desa Muara, this condition generates feelings of alienation and marginalization, as their right to the city, as articulated by Lefebvre (Lefebvre & Nicholson-Smith, 1991), is taken away, while access to public facilities, open spaces, and mobility is instead dominated by groups with greater power. The forced redirection carried out to unite

areas that were previously connected indicates that urban space is never neutral but rather functions as an arena of structured exclusion (Kidokoro et al., 2023).

The closure of main access roads limits residents' mobility, forcing them to travel longer distances to reach public facilities, schools, or markets. This has significant impacts on women, who are responsible on a daily basis for managing household affairs. Access to public transportation is also very limited, further confining women to domestic spaces and deepening their social isolation. In this context, what occurs is structural violence through the neglect of residents' rights, psychological pressure, and restrictions on access to public facilities that ultimately diminish quality of life, rendering current living conditions uninhabitable (Anguelovski et al., 2021).

Drainage channels that were previously used by residents have also been closed due to construction activities, resulting in periodic brackish flooding. This flooding not only damages household belongings and local infrastructure but also increases women's burdens in managing households and ensuring family health. In such situations, social reproductive labor becomes not only more physically demanding but also threatens women's psychological and emotional well-being.

These forms of labor are never recognized as economic work within the framework of neoliberal development. Yet household and community survival depends heavily on this care work (Bhattacharya Tithi, 2017). However, because it is performed within the domestic sphere and considered a "natural responsibility" of women, its contribution is not accounted for in development policies or in compensation schemes for affected residents. This situation illustrates how social reproductive labor is marginalized, and even entirely neglected, by capitalistic development approaches oriented toward land value and capital (Federici, S, 2012).

Economic Dispossession of Women

The city is not merely a place to live, but also the product of social processes that produce space in unequal ways Harding & Blokland in Baker (2015). In the process of gentrification in Desa Muara, the impacts are not limited to physical space but also generate economic dispossession that further worsens household economic conditions, especially those managed by women. In many cases, women directly lose their sources of livelihood due to forced evictions or relocation. Small-scale traders who previously had regular customers from nearby residents now experience a drastic decline in income because most of their customers have been relocated. This impact not only reduces household income but also makes women more economically vulnerable due to their dependence on local networks that have been uprooted.

In this case, informants who work informally as small traders stated that their income has decreased since many residents were relocated. Previously, they could earn a net profit of IDR 200,000–300,000, but now only IDR 50,000–100,000, and even that not on a daily basis, because purchasing power has declined due to the village becoming much quieter and no longer as lively as before.

"We have been selling children's snacks for a long time. Now it's quiet because many people have already moved to the relocation area provided by the developer. But according to neighbors who moved there, it has become even more difficult because it's quiet and even dark, with electricity often going out." (Interview with Mrs Ita, resident of Desa Muara Teluk Naga)

According to Mrs Ita, the large number of residents who have been relocated has made it difficult for her to continue selling, as the area has become increasingly deserted. Many residents have also returned to their hometowns because the compensation provided did not match the actual value of their homes. Many houses were compensated at a very low rate, approximately IDR 300,000 per square meter. This value was calculated solely based on the size of the building, without considering emotional value, community history, or the time and labor invested by residents over many years. Women who have lived and built their households in this area now face difficult choices: remaining in an environment that continues to deteriorate or relocating to resettlement sites with limited facilities and poor access to economic opportunities.

They are surrounded because only Neighborhood Units (RT) 18 and 19 have not yet relocated; therefore, their properties are valued very cheaply at IDR 300,000 per square meter of building area. Meanwhile, the land is to be compensated at the rate of the land of the house they occupy. However, the process is irregular because official documents are not provided. This situation makes some residents hesitant to move to the designated relocation area, especially since access to it is much farther away than their current place of residence.



Figure 2. Resistance of Kampung Muara Residents Against Unfair Compensation

The development of PIK 2 has also intensified the impoverishment of women through the loss of access to natural resources that previously sustained household economies. Fishermen, who are mostly the husbands of women in this area, have experienced declining catches due to damaged coastal ecosystems. This has had a direct impact on women who previously also played roles in the household economy, such as collecting seaweed or selling marine products informally.

“Before the development, women here used to help collect seaweed to sell. It was quite helpful to support our husbands. Now everything is difficult. We can only try to sell whatever we can, even though it’s very quiet now.” (Interview with Mrs Putri, resident of Desa Muara Teluk Naga)

Fish and seaweed that once constituted the livelihoods of women in Desa Muara Teluk Naga have now become mere memories. As coastal development increases, marine ecosystems are increasingly disrupted. Communities that for years relied solely on the sea to survive are now forced to move to different areas, far removed from the skills and knowledge they had developed as fishermen or marine harvesters. Despite the absence of adequate guarantees, they are relocated. The sea, which once served as their livelihood and source of survival, can no longer be relied upon, forcing them to seek work outside of it. This situation creates a sense of isolation and alienation from their right to the city, as access to public facilities, open spaces, and urban mobility is monopolized by more powerful groups (Lefebvre & Nicholson-Smith, 1991; Waliuzzaman & Alam, 2022).

Mrs Putri, who once worked harvesting seaweed, is now forced to work as a cleaning service worker in PIK 2. However, she had to stop working because she did not receive labor protection during pregnancy and was provided with no compensation. Her house was seized, and she was dismissed from her job. This reflects how gentrification operates in tandem with structural violence against lower-class women who lack social safety nets and access to labor protections. Development policies and land dispossession ignore women’s social reproductive labor (for

example, caring for families and managing water), which is not counted as an “economic contribution” (Verma, 2014).

Meanwhile, Mrs. Yaya, who previously collected and sold seaweed-based products and managed a small shrimp pond, is now no longer able to engage in these activities. Currently, only her husband works as a fisherman. This change occurred because seawater conditions have changed. Shrimp farming is no longer possible, and according to Mrs Yaya, even catching fish has become increasingly difficult, let alone cultivating shrimp. Environmental changes resulting from development, compounded by the construction of coastal barriers, have significantly constrained fishers’ access to marine resources. A similar experience was reported by Mrs. Maya. Previously involved in trading seafood products, she shifted to selling food at a food court in PIK 2 after the development. However, due to competition with restaurants affiliated with well-known brands and shop-house prices have gone up, her small food stall could not survive economically. As a result, Mrs. Maya is currently a full-time housewife.

Table 2. Changes in Women’s Livelihoods Before and After PIK Development

Pseudonym	Before PIK Development	After PIK Development
Mrs. Putri	Collected and sold seaweed-based products (agar-agar laut)	Cleaning service worker → dismissed during pregnancy → full-time housewife
Mrs. Yaya	Collected and sold seaweed-based products; small-scale shrimp farming	Full time housewife
Mrs. Maya	Traded seafood products	Food court vendor in PIK 2 → business closure → full-time housewife
Mrs. Ita	Street vendor in the village area	Declining sales due to relocation of residents → income loss

The changes in women’s livelihoods before and after the PIK development reflect a broader process of economic dispossession and the feminization of poverty. Prior to the development, women in Desa Muara Teluk Naga actively participated in income-generating activities closely tied to coastal and community spaces, such as collecting and selling seaweed, small-scale shrimp farming, seafood trading, and street vending. These livelihoods depended on access to local marine resources, neighborhood markets, and social networks within the village. However, the transformation of coastal environments, displacement of residents, and the restructuring of economic spaces through PIK 1 and PIK 2 have disrupted these gendered economic practices. As a result, several women experienced downward occupational mobility, job loss, or the collapse of informal businesses, ultimately forcing them back into unpaid domestic roles as full-time housewives.

The relocation of homes without adequate economic compensation has caused women in Desa Muara to lose not only their housing, but also the economic sources that sustained family life. For many coastal women, the home is not merely a private space, but also a site of economic production where they trade, process marine products, or run small-scale businesses. When their homes are relocated to new sites far from the sea and their long-standing social networks, their economic dispossession is further exacerbated. They lose access to natural resources, regular customers, and social networks that have long supported their informal economies.

These conditions illustrate how the economic dispossession of lower-class women is shaped and constrained by unequal social structures. They do not possess assets that can be used as collateral, receive no financial support from the state, and have no bargaining power to negotiate their rights in development processes. As a result, when housing relocation occurs, they lose not only living space, but also economic capacity and social autonomy. In this context,

gentrification works in tandem with structural violence against poor women by erasing their access to spaces of production and severing their connections to sources of livelihood (Carlson, 2020; Verma, 2014). Gentrification, in this sense, is not merely a physical development project, but also a project that reorganizes economic relations and power at the expense of the survival of lower-class women.

The Loss of Women's Social Reproductive Spaces

Gentrification leads to demographic and socio-spatial changes that displace native residents and alter patterns of space use, resulting in the loss of social spaces and community solidarity (Az-Zahra et al., 2023). One aspect that is often overlooked in gentrification discourse is the disappearance of social reproductive spaces that sustain the lives of women's communities. In Desa Muara, development and resident relocation have eliminated many social activities that were previously integral to women's daily lives, such as rotating savings gatherings (*arisan*), religious study groups (*pengajian*), Family Welfare Empowerment (*Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga PKK*) women's meetings, and other community activities. These activities were not merely sites of socialization, but also spaces for sharing information, emotional support, and collective solidarity.

The loss of these social spaces causes women to lose informal support networks that have long helped them cope with the pressures of everyday life (Amrozi et al., 2022). In times of crisis—such as when a child falls ill, when money is scarce, or when domestic violence occurs—women's networks at the local community level often serve as sources of protection and solutions. When these networks are uprooted due to forced relocation or eviction, women become more vulnerable and isolated. Feelings of insecurity and loss are further intensified by uncertainty about the future, changes in the social order, and the breakdown of solidarity bonds within the community (Anguelovski et al., 2021).

“Before the development, women here always had activities such as RT–RW meetings, RT–RW arisan, pengajian, and other activities that supported women. But after many people moved away, these activities no longer run. We miss those times; it used to be nice to gather together, now it's quiet. Everyone is just looking after their own families, trying to get a decent price so they can relocate.” (Interview with Mrs Yaya, resident of Desa Muara Teluk Naga)

For Mrs Yaya, the most deeply felt impact is the loss of shared spaces with her former neighbors. The women once experienced the warmth of gathering through activities that actually sustained their everyday lives. According to Henri Lefebvre and *The Right to The City* in King (2019), space is not merely a physical entity, but is produced and reproduced through social practices, ideology, and lived experiences. The social spaces they had built over many years have now been fragmented by development and relocation that separate them from their social networks. In Lefebvre's view, the loss of such space is not only a physical loss, but also a loss of meaning, social relations, and identity embedded within it. For Mrs Yaya, a small roadside stall or the yard of a house where women used to gather was not merely a location, but a space of social production where solidarity, knowledge, and emotional support were formed on a daily basis.

Similar to Mrs Yaya, Mrs Maya, a woman who is the head of her household, is among those who most need social support from their environment. As a woman who lost her livelihood after the development of PIK 2, Mrs Maya faces not only economic hardship but also the loss of social networks that had long been sources of strength and solidarity. She previously had close relationships with other traders around her home—relationships that were not only economic, but also emotional and social. After relocation, these spaces of togetherness disappeared, leaving silence and a double burden that she must now bear alone.

The loss of these social spaces also signifies the disappearance of arenas in which coastal women like Mrs Yaya played crucial roles in sustaining community life. In these spaces, they not only performed domestic labor, but also built small economic networks, exchanged information, and provided social support that served as survival capital amid scarcity. When

these spaces vanish, women's social and economic roles are also marginalized. This highlights the importance of understanding that the loss of space is not a neutral experience; it is experienced differently depending on one's social position.

By using an intersectional approach, we can see that women's experiences of gentrification cannot be separated from their class, gender, and geographical location. Poor women in coastal areas experience layered pressures that differ from those faced by middle-class women or other social groups. Their identities as women, as poor residents, and as inhabitants of marginal areas make them the group most vulnerable to the impacts of development. Intersectionality helps us understand that the impacts of gentrification are not universal. Women not only lose housing or employment but also experience structural exclusion in the form of loss of control over living space, the neglect of their social reproductive labor, and marginalization in development decision-making.

Their experiences are not only about losing a house, but also about losing a sense of belonging to space, time, and social networks that have been built over many years. Gentrification must be understood as a process intertwined with structural violence against lower-class women (Bondi, 1991; Sági, 2022). This process not only reorganizes urban space but also restructures power relations within that space. Women, in this context, become the most affected subjects, yet also the most invisible within dominant development policies and discourses. Their bodies and living spaces are often sacrificed in the name of modernization, while the social and economic contributions they generate are ignored by masculine and capitalistic power structures.

CONCLUSION

The gentrification occurring in Kampung Muara, Teluk Naga, demonstrates that development is not a gender-just process. Women—particularly those from lower-income backgrounds who work in the informal sector—experience the most significant impacts of this spatial transformation. They not only lose their homes due to forced relocation with low compensation that fails to reflect the social and economic value of the homes they have built over time, but also face deteriorating environmental conditions such as dust pollution, blocked drainage systems, and restricted road access. These conditions intensify women's daily burdens, especially in relation to social reproductive labor that remains invisible yet vital.

Furthermore, gentrification disrupts women's social networks and reproductive spaces, such as neighborhood women's gatherings (arisan RT/RW), religious study groups, PKK activities, and other community-based forums that have long functioned as spaces for mutual support and information exchange. The loss of these spaces creates an invisible form of social impoverishment, deepening isolation, erasing sources of women's collective strength, and contributing to mental health problems amid increasing economic pressure. In this context, women's domestic and social labor becomes even more invisible, undervalued, and unaccounted for in urban development policies that are deeply gender biased. Moreover, gender inequality in development is rarely discussed.

Through an intersectional approach, gentrification is revealed not merely as a process of physical displacement, but as one that produces complex and layered forms of exclusion, particularly for women. This process reinforces the feminization of poverty through economic dispossession, the loss of social spaces, and the increasing burden of reproductive labor. Therefore, it is crucial for development planning to consider the needs and voices of vulnerable groups—especially women—so that urban spatial justice can be realized in an inclusive and sustainable manner.

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