



Gentrification and the Symbolic Marginalisation of Kampung Muara Through the Urban Development Project

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Abstract: This article aims to analyse the multidimensional impacts of the gentrification process in Kampung Muara, Teluk Naga, resulting from the mega development project. We used the conceptual framework of Harding and Blokland (2014) to understand displacement as part of gentrification, which is shown as a physical eviction and a gradual process that includes symbolic and social marginalisation and spatial inequality. The Qualitative method was used through in-depth interviews with Kampung Muara's residents. Findings from interviews with affected residents in Kampung Muara indicate that the construction of megaprojects in urban areas has limited local people's economic and social access due to concrete barriers, caused environmental degradation by construction-related pollution, and reinforced disconnection from the surrounding neighborhoods. The contrast between the fishing village and the spectacular image of a "fantasy city" reinforces symbolic boundaries that delegitimize the existence of the local community. This article argues that gentrification around the affected villages could produce structural inequality through exclusive spatial arrangements and urban imaginaries. These findings enrich studies of gentrification in the Global South and provide a deeper understanding of how gentrification operates through everyday forms of dispossession and symbolic violence.

Keywords: Gentrification; Displacement; Kampung Muara; Spatial Inequality

A. INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, gentrification has emerged as a central issue in the studies of contemporary urban transformation. The discourse mainly focuses on the impact on social and cultural identity of local communities. Gentrification typically occurs when investment flows into low-income areas, followed by an influx of middle and upper-class residents who introduce new economic and cultural values (Atkinson et al., 2011; Hammel, 2009). As a result, incumbent residents are displaced, either forcibly or voluntarily, due to rising living costs, changes in land-use regulations, or exclusion from basic services (Christafore & Leguizamon, 2019; Helbrecht, 2017; Zuk et al, 2018). In many cities across the Global South, gentrification is further institutionalised

through market-oriented development policies, which widen spatial exclusion and socio-economic inequality coverage (Kidokoro, 2024; Vermeulen, 2020).

In Indonesia, a noticeable gentrification phenomenon is in Kampung Muara, a coastal settlement in Teluk Naga, Tangerang Regency. This village is located adjacent to a large-scale 1,000-hectare coastal reclamation project, Pantai Indah Kapuk 2 (PIK 2) on the northern edge of Jakarta's metropolitan region (Tempo.co, 2025). Historically home to generations of fishermen, the area is now under significant pressure from the expansion of a reclamation project, promoted as an exclusive enclave branded as "The Next Bali", complete with luxury housing, retail centres, and modern infrastructure. The repercussions for Kampung Muara residents are severe: approximately 80% of local fishers have lost sea access and livelihoods, while environmental quality has declined drastically due to sedimentation from reclamation activities and construction-related air pollution. On the other hand, since the Covid-19 pandemic, the condition of fishermen in urban areas has also shown a declining trend in terms of economics (Novianto, 2022).

As part of Indonesia's National Strategic Projects (PSN), this large-scale coastal reclamation development produces physical inequalities through spatial restructuring and triggers a crisis of social connectivity between residents and their environment. The concrete barriers restricting sea access have become a tangible symbol of marginalisation (Masso, 2024). Moreover, stigmatising narratives framing the village as "slum-like" in urban planning discourses further exacerbate the social exclusion of its residents (Gilbert, 2007). In other words, it reflects a symbolic disposition that gradually erases the presence of local communities from imagined urban futures (Masso, 2024; Sakizlioglu & Uitermark, 2014).

The displacement which happened in Kampung Muara is not just about physical relocation. It is an emerging slow process that erodes their economic and social connection to the environment. As Atkinson et al. (2011) argue, displacement does not always take the form of direct eviction. It can emerge through financial pressures, a loss of attachment to place, and alienation from ongoing changes. Moreover, Anguelovski et al. (2021) demonstrate how these types of displacement processes negatively impact the mental health and overall well-being of marginalized communities. Uncertainty about the future, disruptions to social ecosystems, and the dissolution of community solidarity contribute to aggravate feelings of insecurity and loss (Anguelovski et al., 2021).

Previous research has shown the physical and symbolic dimensions of displacement caused by gentrification. Freeman (2009) and Sutton (2020), for instance, explain how gentrification reinforces racial and economic segregation in cities like New York and Chicago (Freeman, 2009; Sutton, 2020). In Asia, Kidokoro et al. (2023) highlight the role of neoliberal policy in accelerating spatial inequalities, while Versey (2023) and Anguelovski (2021) examine the relationship between gentrification and public health and social conditions. However, research on symbolic displacement in Indonesia, particularly in coastal areas, remains limited, particularly in relation to narratives of urban development that marginalize local communities.

To address this gap, this study employs the theoretical framework of Harding and Blokland (2014), who define eviction as physical displacement and a multi-layered social process. They argue that eviction often occurs through symbolic marginalization, reconfiguration of spatial meanings, and erosion of social control over the environment. This view is particularly appropriate for examining Kampung Muara, where the residents were not forcibly displaced but lost access to their living

spaces over time. Eviction, in this sense, encompasses the value change, psychological distress, and the establishment of symbolic boundaries that separate the "city of the future" from the "community of the past".

Given these dynamics, examining how Kampung Muara's residents experience and respond to displacement pressures generated by the PIK 2 development is crucial. This study seeks to analyze the physical and social changes occurring in the area and explore the symbolic dimensions of the displacement process. Accordingly, the central research question is: What are the forms and mechanisms of displacement occurring in Kampung Muara, Teluk Naga, due to the mega development project? Furthermore, how do these processes reflect broader patterns of marginalisation and spatial injustice?

B. METHOD

This research uses a qualitative research design to obtain an in-depth understanding of the processes of gentrification and displacement in Kampung Muara, Teluk Naga. A qualitative approach is particularly suited to exploring the lived experiences, perceptions, and meanings constructed by residents in relation to ongoing socio-spatial transformations (Creswell, 2014). It also allows for the investigation of displacement as a multidimensional phenomenon—physical, symbolic, and social, as emphasized in Harding and Blokland's conceptual framework.

Primary data were collected through in-depth interviews with five informants who were directly affected by the mega development project in Kampung Muara. The process of accessing informants began with preliminary field observations in the research site to identify the most impacted community during the project. Following this stage, the researchers approached the Neighborhood Head, who served as a gatekeeper, to facilitate contact and build trust with potential informants. Through this referral process, the five cases were selected for interviews based on their direct experience of displacement, livelihood disruption, or environmental change. In addition to interview data, the researchers also validated and cross-checked findings through narratives and reports from media sources covering issues of gentrification in Kampung Muara, as part of the triangulation process. This procedure aligns with Neuman's (2014) emphasis on triangulation and contextual engagement in qualitative research, thereby enhancing the credibility and validity of the findings.

Data analysis followed the three-stage model proposed by Miles and Huberman (2014): (1) data reduction through transcription, coding, and thematic categorization focusing on displacement and spatial inequality; (2) data display via narrative and thematic presentation that situates field findings within the broader theoretical literature on gentrification and symbolic marginalization; and (3) conclusion drawing and verification through iterative reflection and critical validation to ensure analytic depth and consistency (Miles et al., 2014). This methodological framework enables a comprehensive analysis of how gentrification in PIK 2 generates complex layers of physical, social, and symbolic exclusion in Kampung Muara.

C. LITERATURE REVIEW

Gentrification remains a central point of debate in urban sociology, simultaneously associated with economic growth and with the reproduction of structural inequalities. Central to this debate is the framework of Harding and Blokland (2014), which advances a nuanced theorization of gentrification as a multidimensional process in which displacement, spatial inequality, and symbolic marginalization work in conjunction. Their approach transcends narrow, economistic views of neighborhood change by highlighting the complex ways redevelopment reshapes not only the material landscape but also the symbolic dimension of urban life. Significantly, Harding and Blokland (2014) situate gentrification as not merely a process of residential turnover but as a transformation of social relations and cultural meanings, where exclusion manifests not only through physical eviction but also through more insidious and intangible forms of dispossession.

In their treatment of displacement, Harding and Blokland (2014) contend that the conventional equation of gentrification with direct eviction provides only a partial account of the phenomenon. Early scholarship on gentrification predominantly conceptualized displacement in terms of the physical removal of residents from their homes, driven by rising rents, property speculation, and redevelopment initiatives, and such forms of eviction have been extensively documented in cities across North America, Europe, and the Global South (Ah Goo, 2018; Phillips et al., 2021; Ramiller, 2022). While acknowledging the salience of this dynamic, Harding and Blokland (2014) extend the analysis by incorporating subtler forms of indirect and exclusionary displacement, in which residents are pressured to leave not through court orders or forced removals but through gradual shifts in housing markets, regulatory frameworks, and social dynamics. This expanded lens highlights how economic pressures, escalating living costs, and reconfigured neighborhood cultures can generate conditions that effectively exclude long-term residents without ever formally evicting them (Nurse, 2025).

Displacement is closely linked to the issue of spatial inequality, which Harding and Blokland (2014) identified as a structural dimension of gentrification. Urban redevelopment rarely proceeds evenly or equitably; instead, investment tends to be concentrated in certain neighborhoods, reinforcing geographic disparities and producing uneven urban growth trajectories (Musil et al., 2022; Sims, 2016). This inequality reflects what Harvey describes as the logic of capitalist urbanization, where capital is strategically directed to locations with maximum returns while neglecting less profitable urban areas (Christophers, 2011). The impacts of this process extend far beyond shifts in housing markets. They shape access to schools, healthcare, employment opportunities, and public services, producing a landscape marked by both privilege and exclusion.

While displacement and spatial inequality capture the material and geographical dimensions of gentrification, Harding and Blokland (2014) underline the equally significant notion of symbolic marginalization to address its cultural and affective consequences. Symbolic marginalization describes how long-established communities experience a loss of recognition and identity as middle-class in-migration redefines the cultural character of their neighborhoods (Lloyd, 2025; Lown, 2025). Through the imposition of new tastes, consumption practices, and aesthetic values, gentrifiers often delegitimize or render invisible existing cultural repertoires, generating feelings of alienation among existing residents. This dynamic is in line with

Bourdieu's account of symbolic power, where dominant groups succeed in naturalizing their values as universal norms while simultaneously devaluing or erasing the cultural capital of marginalized populations (Bridge, 2006).

The implications of Harding and Blokland's (2014) concept extend directly into the domains of policy and urban planning, where conventional strategies tend to concentrate on preventing clear forms of physical eviction while overlooking the more subtle processes of exclusion and marginalization. Their analysis suggests that effective policy responses must move beyond housing security to encompass the indirect, spatial, and symbolic dimensions of displacement. Only by adopting such a comprehensive perspective can policymakers begin to mitigate the broader social costs and inequities produced by gentrification (Romero et al., 2022; Zhang et al., 2020).

Significantly, Harding and Blokland's theoretical framework is not limited to Global North contexts but demonstrates broad global relevance, including the Global South. The dynamics of displacement, spatial inequality, and symbolic marginalization emerge across socio-cultural and political settings, from state-led redevelopment initiatives in parts of Asia and Africa to market-driven gentrification in Latin America (Smart & Smart, 2017). At the same time, their perspective highlights the importance of local specificities, as both the forms and the lived meanings of displacement are contextually shaped. Within Indigenous communities, symbolic marginalization may require the suppression of traditional practices and cosmologies, whereas in migrant neighborhoods it can appear through the stigmatization of ethnic businesses and cultural expressions (Harding & Blokland, 2014).

Harding and Blokland's (2014) concept enriches the study of gentrification by combining material, spatial, and symbolic dimensions into a more holistic view of urban transformation. This perspective is relevant to our study in Kampung Muara, where the pressures of urban development are experienced as the threat of physical eviction, through enhancing spatial inequalities and the erosion of collective identity. Applying Harding and Blokland's conceptual frameworks, enables a more nuanced analysis of these dynamics, situating the lived experiences of Kampung Muara's residents within the broader logics of gentrification. In doing so, it highlights how displacement, inequality, and symbolic marginalization intersect to generate exclusionary outcomes that reach far beyond the housing market.

D. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Livelihood Loss, Inadequate Compensation, and the Struggles of Relocated Residents

In general, displacement in peri-urban areas of Indonesia has often unfolded in tandem with large-scale urban expansion projects that target land for real estate, infrastructure, or reclamation. The affected populations are typically low-income residents and small-scale fishers whose livelihoods depend directly on access to natural resources and local networks (Suprayoga & Wargyawati, 2025). In many cases, displacement is accompanied by compensation negotiations that undervalue properties and lack transparency in their procedures. Rather than being abrupt, displacement tends to take the form of gradual relocation pressures, where households are left with limited choice but to accept compensation and move, often at the expense of their social cohesion, livelihood security, and sense of belonging (Syaban & Appiah-Opoku, 2024). This broader pattern provides the necessary context for understanding

how the processes observed in Kampung Muara fit into a wider trajectory of urban transformation driven by capital-intensive development.

Moreover, the displacement in Kampung Muara, Teluk Naga, was closely tied to the expansion of urban development projects that unfolded around the settlement. However, as the project information is limited, the residents did not anticipate the changes in their future daily lives. This lack of clarity left the community uncertain about what was happening in their surroundings. As one resident explained: *"Suddenly it was already built; we had no idea what it would become"* (Interview with Resident 3, Kampung Muara, May 21, 2025).

On the other hand, local authorities played a critical role in mediating between residents and developers. They acted as a bridge to discuss the relocation and compensation. This offer became a possible solution for some residents, but raised a deep concern about the equitable living conditions. Our informants revealed that the compensation information was fragmented and lacked transparency, creating anxiety rather than clarity. Relocated residents later realised that the replacement land offered has a lower economic value and is far from their previous livelihood sources. As one fisher expressed: *"The sea is closed... and our ponds are gone, and now our income has dropped; we have to go much farther out, and even then, the catch is uncertain"* (Interview with Fisher 1, Kampung Muara, May 21, 2025).

Moreover, the relocation process has unfolded a new inequality chapter for the affected residents. The locals who accepted compensation said that the replacement land was both less accessible and economically less valuable compared to their previous neighborhood. The compensation itself was far below prevailing market prices and failed to account for the scale of social losses incurred. In-depth interviews with local fishers also underscored a profound sense of dispossession, beyond losing their homes, they were isolated from the sea and deprived of the very spaces that sustained their livelihoods. Unfortunately, the compensation received was only sufficient to cover approximately one year's rent. However, the development project continued unabated, leaving several residents under intense social pressure and legal uncertainty.

Displacement in Kampung Muara ultimately appeared the form of inadequate compensation, where the worth of people's homes and livelihoods was reduced to numbers that could not capture their real losses. Field observations revealed that the developer valued the land only IDR 300,000 per square meter, which is grossly insufficient even to rebuild a modest dwelling. The minimal compensation illustrates how economic restitution fell far short of addressing the physical and social dislocation problems. As one informant expressed: *"My building was paid at IDR 300,000 per square meter, I only received IDR 7 million, while the construction cost alone was IDR 15 million"* (Interview with the neighborhood head and former fisher, May 21, 2025).



Figure 1. Residents of Kampung Muara Protesting Unfair Compensation

Subsequently, structural violence manifested through the neglect of residents' rights, psychological pressure, and restricted access to public facilities. As the residents witnessed their neighborhood gradually empty, the social network began to fragment, which in turn contributed to the disruption of the living environment, thereby making it uninhabitable (Anguelovski et al., 2021). For the locals, eviction did not occur through bulldozers but through a prolonged process that silenced their voices and eroded their hopes. Displacement here signifies far more than a change of residence. It entails the loss of place, livelihood, and social belonging within an urban order increasingly reshaped by market logics and capital interests. These findings align with Zahira's (2023), which similarly highlight that fishers experience declining incomes as environmental degradation, displacement, and gentrification converge.

2. Ecological Displacement and Declining Quality of Life

The construction of the elite district has generated a tangible form of ecological displacement in Kampung Muara. Residents who have not been physically relocated nonetheless experience functional marginalisation as their quality of life deteriorates sharply. Eviction here operates through removal and the erosion of residents' agency over their living space. One concrete example is the loss of accessibility. Development projects have closed many informal pathways and shortcut roads previously used by residents for daily mobility, forcing them to take lengthy detours that significantly increase travel time. Several residents explained that shortcut routes to neighboring villages and the mega development area, including paths near the bridge, have been blocked by the panels. Others added that access through the pipeline road is inconveniently distant, and even alternative roads such as Pertamina's underpass, are sometimes closed. These accounts reveal how infrastructural interventions, though not involving direct eviction, have effectively reshaped the mobility behaviour that undermined residents' autonomy over their living environment (Interview with Resident 2, Kampung Muara, May 21, 2025).

The available public routes are only accessible for construction vehicles or project workers, forcing residents to traverse under bridges or hazardous pipeline paths. This situation illustrates how communities are gradually isolated physically and

socially, from the urban opportunities. This is also worsened by the inequality access of the public transportation, which should be fair in urban areas (Sitorus, 2022), where it is not reachable from Kampung Muara.

In addition, air pollution from construction dust and constant noise from building activities—often extending late into the night—has disrupted residents' ability to rest. Environmental damage further compounds these issues, with one of the most severe consequences being the increasing frequency of flooding. Residents reported the saline water intrusion due to blocked drainage channels, making groundwater unsafe for consumption (Interview with Resident 3, Kampung Muara, May 21, 2025). The other informant also noted that flooding, once a rare occurrence, has now become routine and exhausting, with poor drainage systems exacerbating the situation. Others explained that they are forced to purchase clean water, sometimes buying several jerrycans that only last a few days. Thus, adding more pressure on the household's financial burden. These accounts illustrate how environmental degradation linked to urban development generates cascading effects on health, household economies, and everyday resilience.

Beyond deteriorating living conditions, gentrification has disrupted residents' primary sources of income as small-scale fishers. Many have lost access to traditional aquaculture ponds and fishing grounds, which have been converted for construction. Even the remaining fishermen report reduced catches due to marine pollution near the settlement. Consequently, the monthly earnings that were relatively stable at around IDR 3 million have vanished (Interview with Kampung Muara Fishers, May 21, 2025). For households dependent on marine livelihoods, this represents an economic crisis and the loss of a way of life.

Ecological displacement in Kampung Muara is not an unintended impact of development but reflects a structured logic of exclusion. Displacement here entails not only the loss of housing but also the loss of rights to space, a healthy environment, and a viable future. Kampung Muara reveals how urban growth can proceed through systematically neglecting those without the power to resist. This kind of ecological displacement operates as "eviction without removal," gradually stripping the residents of their rights to space, environment, and dignified life. The community's condition also highlights how urban ecological and economic conflicts disproportionately burden vulnerable groups without adequate protection, representing one of the most insidious forms of structural violence embedded in contemporary urban development.

3. Spatial Inequality and The Unequal Production of Urban Space

Our fieldwork in Kampung Muara indicates how residents encounter substantial barriers to accessing newly developed zones such as PIK 2. The limited access of direct routes from the village, combined with massive concrete walls that restrict mobility, has constructed both physical and symbolic boundaries between the "elite" and the "displaced". This spatial segregation reflects how urban spaces intentionally limit cross-class interactions and reinforce exclusion.

These walls are not simply architectural features; they represent what Harding and Blokland term a "city within the city," where space is curated to remain socially homogeneous and insulated from perceived socio-economic disruptions. A resident described how these changes drastically altered daily mobility:

"We used to take the front road directly towards PIK, but now it is all closed. We have to go around through the pipeline road or even under the bridge. Riding a motorcycle is hard enough; walking is worse. It is like we are no longer considered to exist here" (Interview with Resident 2, Kampung Muara, May 21, 2025).

For residents, this produces a sense of isolation and alienation from their right to the city (Lefebvre, 1996; Waliuzzaman & Alam, 2022), as access to public amenities, open spaces, and urban mobility is monopolised by more powerful groups. The forced detours required to reach previously connected areas highlight that urban space is no longer neutral but functions as an arena of structured exclusion (Kidokoro, 2024).

This spatial inequality is exacerbated by the environmental consequences of large-scale development that fails to account for local communities. Construction dust, persistent noise, and air pollution have become part of daily life without any meaningful compensation or social impact assessment. Harding and Blokland's (2014) study demonstrates how urban development can generate new forms of ecological displacement: residents remain in place, but their living conditions degrade dramatically as the city is built for others. Thus, spatial inequality in Kampung Muara is not merely an infrastructural issue but a marker of systemic exclusion by limiting residents' participation in urban opportunities.

Field findings further suggest that the reclamation-driven urban development project has produced ecological displacement, spatial inequality, and persistent symbolic marginalisation embedded in everyday life. Drawing on Harding and Blokland's (2014) perspective, displacement within gentrification cannot be reduced to instances of forced relocation. It also materializes through sharp declines in quality of life stemming from pollution, noise, and environmental degradation generated by urban development. This dynamic may be understood as a form of "ecological displacement," demonstrating how urban redevelopment harms communities that remain physically in place but lose control over their living environments.

Residents frequently describe feeling like "outsiders" on their own land. It reflects how new urban spaces are constructed with aesthetics, symbols, and infrastructures not intended for the incumbent residents. Harding and Blokland (2014) argue that such spaces are exclusive domains produced through capitalist logics and upper-middle-class demand, rendering residents visually and socially "out of place" within the narrative of progress advanced by this mega urban development project.

Formerly vital connecting roads have been closed or rerouted, reinforcing the sense that residents' access rights are diminished. Mobility, which should be a fundamental urban right, has become a visual marker of marginalisation as spatial boundaries proliferate and presence is devalued.

Moreover, as shown in Figure 2, the satellite imagery reveals a dramatic shift in the settlement landscape over the past decade. Around 10,600 m² of residential land was demolished to facilitate the PIK 2 redevelopment project, producing significant social displacement and environmental degradation for the Kampung Muara community.



Figure 2. Comparison of Impacted Settlement Area in Kp. Muara from 2015 to 2025
Source: Google Earth with modifications, 2025

Symbolic marginalisation also appears in residents' narratives of loss and alienation. As previously noted, economic loss, limited accessibility, and environmental disruption contribute to a pervasive sense of life and identity dislocation. The poor interaction with external actors, developers and local authorities, worsens these dynamics. Rather than being involved as legitimate subjects within the urban spaces, residents were treated as objects of the redevelopment project, which reflected in the minimal participation. The interviews showed that Muara Kampung residents are marginalised, facing physical and economic segregation while being excluded from decisions that affect their community.

The persistent absence of state support for basic infrastructure and public services further reinforces the perception that Kampung Muara is "unworthy" of modernisation. The state's neglect signals that the community is not prioritised in urban development agendas and perhaps not considered worth preserving. This ongoing symbolic and material neglect intensifies residents' experiences of exclusion.

From Harding and Blokland's (2014) perspective, a just city should facilitate encounters across differences, ensure equitable access to resources, and recognise diversity as an urban asset. In Kampung Muara, however, the opposite occurs: space is produced homogeneously for capital interests, difference is treated as disruptive, and long-standing residents are relegated to the background. Symbolic marginalisation here is not an accidental by-product of development but a deliberate

feature of the social design of urban space. When residents are denied the rights to be seen, heard, and politically recognized, they remain physically present but socially and politically absent.

These experiences illustrate that eviction does not always arrive with bulldozers and forced removal. It can also take symbolic form: the denial of recognition, the erasure of identity, and the reduction of existence to a burden narrative. Kampung Muara thus serves as a critical case study for understanding urban marginalisation as a multidimensional phenomenon. It entails not only the loss of land but also the erosion of the sense of belonging to the city, along with its rights, histories, and identities.

E. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, gentrification in Kampung Muara has not occurred through sudden demolition but rather through gradual and multi-layered mechanisms of displacement under the shadow of the redevelopment project. The findings reveal several interlinked forms of displacement: economic displacement through insufficient compensation; infrastructural displacement through access point blockade and the reconfiguration of mobility; ecological displacement through recurrent flooding, saline intrusion, and loss of marine resources; and symbolic displacement of kampung residents through social stereotypes that position them as marginalized within the normative ideals of urban modernity. These processes are iterative and mutually reinforcing, gradually undermining residents' ability to sustain their livelihoods and claim their right to the city.

Negotiations over compensation are marked by fragmented information and a lack of transparency, limiting the household's choice and forcing them to accept it. State and market collaboration facilitates redevelopment while sidelining residents' voices, and environmental degradation further reduces the habitability of the kampung. Displacement thus proceeds less through overt coercion than through indirect pressures, infrastructural neglect, and ecological deterioration that narrow the conditions of survival.

Taken together, these forms of displacement reflect broader patterns of marginalisation and spatial injustice in peri-urban Indonesia. Kampung Muara exemplifies how urban development projects, framed as modernisation, embed structural violence by stripping communities of agency, fragmenting social networks, and diminishing their claims to urban citizenship. Spatial injustice materialises not only in who is physically relocated, but also in who is excluded from the benefits of redevelopment and rendered socially invisible. The case demonstrates that cities are not merely remade through new infrastructures and districts, but also through the systematic marginalisation of those whose lives, spaces, and histories are deemed incompatible with urban visions driven by capitalist logics.

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