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Social transformation and studentification: a portrait of gentrification in jatiningor education area

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ABSTRACT

The presence of a large university and an increase in the number of students have driven significant changes, including shifts in land use, increases in property prices, and changes in patterns of social interaction between students and local residents. This research aims to examine the social, economic, and cultural impacts of studentification and gentrification in the Jatinangor education area. Using a qualitative approach through in-depth interviews, field observations, and secondary data analysis, this research explores how these transformations affect Jatinangor's community character and cultural identity. The results show that studentification in Jatinangor not only brings new economic opportunities, but also triggers social challenges for the indigenous population, especially related to economic pressures and cultural changes. This study makes an important contribution to the understanding of the dynamics of gentrification in educational areas and provides policy recommendations to support the balance between educational development and socio-cultural sustainability for local communities.



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Introduction

Starting from the ideals of Unpad Rector at that time Prof. Dr. Hindersah Wiraatmadja inspired by the Tsukuba Academic City in Japan (UNPAD, 2024). Since 1983, Universitas Padjadjaran (Unpad) at the age of 26 years, has planned to move the campus to Jatinangor, Sumedang Regency. Based on the Decree of the Governor of West Java No. 593/3590/1987, the former Jatinangor plantation area which has a campus development area of 3,285.5 hectares was appointed as land that can be used for the development of campuses in the West Java area to realize the ideals of a centralized education area.

Looking at the history of Jatinangor, it used to be a tea and rubber plantation since the Dutch era. Reporting from detikEdu news (2021), during the Dutch colonial period the Jatinangor area was controlled by a private company owned by a Dutch man named German Willem Abraham Baud. A lookout tower was built in the plantation area. In addition to facilitate the mobility of plantation products, Baron Braud also built the Rancaekek-Tanjungsari railroad line in 1916. In 1918 the Dutch railroad company also built a railroad crossing bridge in Cikuda, which is now known as the Ring Bridge. In 1990, the plantation area that had been converted into an education area with 7 designation areas, four universities were built, namely IPDN, Ikopin, Unpad and Unwim. In 2010 ITB followed by starting to build ITB Jatinangor Campus.

According to data from the Sumedang District Government (2024), the area of Jatinangor is 3,160.35 Ha with 12 villages in it. The Jatinangor area, once a plantation, now has its own charm after turning into an integrated education area because Jatinangor's mobility has become very high so that development in the area is growing very rapidly (BPS Sumedang Regency, 2020). Coupled with the number of migrants mentioned by the Jatinangor Sub-District Head, Syarif Effendi reached 25,000 people, the majority of whom were students (Editor JabarNews, 2018).

Currently, Jatinangor was previously a small sub-district consisting of 12 villages with the majority of land use being plantations. Now, it is filled with tall buildings, and the density of houses that have been converted into boarding houses. This has made people in the Jatinangor area switch jobs from being farmers to the service sector or industry. Lands that used to be plantations are sold to migrants or investors who change the function of land into other sectors such as boarding houses, cafes, malls and so on. Economic development in Jatinangor did not develop so well, there were many gaps among the natives. Not only stopping there, other social gaps due to changes in the Jatinangor area resulted in a high flow of migrants per year of 25,000 people, the majority of whom were students. The arrival of migrants certainly creates various demands for needs that open up other business opportunities. However, the unbalanced economic increase certainly opens up opportunities for crime in the region.

State-led gentrification is a concept in which the government or state agencies play an active role in the process of neighbourhood change with the aim of improving the economic quality, infrastructure and social status of an area (Mösgen et al., 2019); (Zhu & González Martínez, 2022). This is often done through infrastructure development, such as new roads, transport facilities, and other public amenities, which attracts investors and encourages higher-income residents to settle in the area (Andini et al., 2023). As a result, indigenous communities with lower economic levels are often affected by rising property prices and living costs, leading to population displacement (Qiang et al., 2021). In this case, the state acts as a key driver that reshapes urban neighbourhoods to suit economic interests, often without regard for the well-being of indigenous communities (Bhardwaj & Bara, 2024).

Studentification is a phenomenon in which an area undergoes changes in social and economic characteristics due to an increase in the student population living in the area (Septiani & Susanti, 2023). The impact of studentification can include a shift in the function of the area to be more focused on the needs of students, such as the emergence of many boarding houses, food stalls, cafes, and entertainment facilities aimed at the group (Sandra et al., 2023). In Jatinangor, this phenomenon is apparent with the presence of several major universities that attract thousands of students each year. This change caused the Jatinangor area to undergo a significant transformation in economic and social aspects. State-led gentrification and studentification occurred simultaneously in Jatinangor, creating changes to the social and economic structure that accelerated the shift of traditional neighbourhoods into more modern, student-dense areas, while driving up the cost of living and property prices in the region.

Referring to previous research, that students can influence environmental changes both socially, environmentally, and economically so that the area is indicated to experience gentrification, so that the term gentrification becomes even broader enrichment (Jolivet et al., 2023); (Smith & Holt, 2007); (Smith & Higley, 2012); (Revington et al., 2023). Studentification itself and gentrification are two different concepts, but can be related as agents of change (Lees et al., 2016). Studentification is a situation where the massive arrival of students to an area has an impact on urban change that refers to changes in its environment both in terms of rising land prices or land rents and population movements that occur, where this change process is like being done by a campus (Jolivet et al., 2023); (Smith & Holt, 2007); (Smith & Higley, 2012).

This research is highly relevant in the context of urbanization and the rapid development of educational areas in Indonesia, particularly in areas such as Jatinangor. Jatinangor's transformation into a major education center has far-reaching implications, economically, socially and culturally. The phenomenon of studentification and gentrification arising from the surge in student population creates new challenges for local communities, such as rising living costs, spatial changes, and potential shifts in cultural values. This study is not only relevant for understanding how educational developments impact neighbouring communities, but also provides important insights for policymakers in designing more inclusive policies. After mapping previous research related to the keywords studentification and Jatinangor, only two studies were found that discussed studentification in Indonesia but with different research loci, namely in Tembalang and Malang. In relation to the keyword Jatinangor, the majority of research conducted refers more to the concept of CSR, agriculture, and aquaculture. However, when tracing research on studentification and education areas, many are found in foreign countries such as Korea, India, China and others.

This research aims to fill the gap in the literature on the social and economic impacts of studentification and gentrification in Indonesia's education areas, which are still minimally researched, especially in the case of the Jatinangor area. The uniqueness or novelty of this research lies in its approach that examines holistically the impact of the presence of students on social, cultural and local economic changes that are often overlooked in the planning of educational areas. The urgency of this research arises from the increasing need for policies that can balance the needs of students and the sustainability of local community life, given the accelerated development of educational infrastructure that can trigger conflicts of interest.

The purpose of this study is to understand the social and economic impacts of the studentification and gentrification phenomena in Jatinangor education area, as well as how these changes affect the local community. This research aims to identify the dynamics of the changes taking place, including the increase in rental prices, changes in local business patterns, and social adjustments experienced by the indigenous population. Through this analysis, the research is expected to provide in-depth insight into the challenges and opportunities arising from the transformation of the area, as well as provide policy recommendations that can help create a balance between the interests of students as migrants and the needs of local communities who have long lived in Jatinangor.

The role of government in encouraging gentrification has been widely documented in previous studies, but its relation to studentification or within the scope of educational areas, especially in Jatinangor itself, is still limited. Previous studies related to gentrification that occurred due to the impact of pressure from the campus analyzed that studentification put pressure on displacement and land eviction to residents of the surrounding area (Jolivet et al., 2023). Gentrification that occurs from educational pressures also spreads to rural urbanization due to the life motivation to get an educational life in the countryside which is considered more child-friendly. This attracts education investors to build schools with a natural feel and brings urban families to move to rural areas for better education facilities (Smith & Higley, 2012).

Other research related to studentification and gentrification provides the results of the analysis of the arrival of students providing socio-cultural and economic changes that affect community sustainability and environmental quality due to increased student activity (Situmorang & Mirzanti, 2012), so that an area revitalization process is needed which can rely on studentification which also brings youthification which actually increases the number of trends of young people in the area to drive area revitalization programs, but in foreign countries this also shows the racial dimension in university education (Revington et al., 2023).

Studentification research in Indonesia was conducted by (Dewi et al., 2019), namely in the context of Semarang. The existence of Diponegoro University (Undip) in Semarang is certainly followed by more demand for students from one of the largest universities in Indonesia for student housing, which is a point of studentification. Meanwhile, students who occupy local settlements from the Tembalang community change the economic landscape into a mode of competition within the community or with private financiers to prepare dormitories, apartments, and other supports for students. It is the blueprint of gentrification from the arrival and demand of students that pushes the original Tembalang community away from their original place of residence.

The disinvestment of the original Tembalang community's place of residence led to the community's departure to villages in the suburban area. Disinvestment occurs from the difficulty of Tembalang residents to adapt to the middle-class lifestyle that occupies the area around the University which has an impact on the reduction of tenants and ultimately results in them not being able to rely on the source of income from renting their residence as it has been maintaining the survival of the community. The repurchase of housing by the middle class has increased the price of land to 3-5 times what it was before, and attracted investors from all walks of life who wanted to capitalize on the demand for student rooms. Through in-depth interviews, field observations, secondary data to determine monographic data, and spatial-map overlay analysis, this research provides a fairly comprehensive description and explanation of studentification in Undip, and the concepts used are very relevant when used in the context of Jatinangor. However, this study has not used Cultural Mapping to see changes in the cultural landscape in the studentification area.

Not only with studentification, gentrification patterns that cause displacement can be seen from the geographical contours of the place. In his article on Alpine Gentrification, (Perlik, 2011) explains how amenity-led as a narrative of displacement in mountainous areas has weaknesses in explaining the non-permanent resident dweller in the mountains. Amenity-led displacement explains how the departure of people to mountainous areas is due to the commodification of "nature" which is considered to ignore the role of various actors in the occurrence of displacement. These actors are divided into three, in terms of the motivations derived from mountain gentrification, namely 1) Residents or temporary settlers, 2) investors (usually foreign), and 3) municipalities or the city itself. Perlik argues that amenity or nature as beauty and tranquility missing from the

hustle and bustle of cities is not the only thing that drives the urbanization of mountain areas, but rather economic or agglomeration factors that are ignored by the amenity-led gentrification approach.

Geo-spatial changes can be done with the Pleiades satellite method conducted by (Arini et al., 2020) in Jatinangor. Land change in Jatinangor provides an overview of how significant land changes occur with the Normalized Difference Vegetation Index (NDVI) and Bare Soil Index (BI) methods in measuring land cover by comparing the BI and NDVI methods through the Kappa calculation. Monitoring land cover in a study like this is needed to maintain human needs and the balance of ecological functions for land use needs in Jatinangor, which has experienced a lot of land conversion from agriculture to academic infrastructure areas.

NDVI calculation is done by looking at the maximum reflectance of the infrared (NIR) reflecting leaf cell structure and maximum absorption due to the presence of chlorophyll pigments. The results of the BI calculation were found to be no more accurate than the NDVI in the Kappa test, with the highest difference in the body of water sample class. This study provides information on methods of looking at land use at our research locus in Jatinangor. However, this study only focuses on the method and not on the cause of the land change, and also does not discuss the gentrification process at all or discuss cultural buildings that are the result of studentification.

(Perlik, 2011) discusses how migration to rural areas can be caused by various factors, and the definition itself is too broad to be operationalized. (Smith & Higley, 2012) use the term migration as a concept that refers to families moving to rural areas to start a new life educationally to highlight how gentrification can be initiated by education. This migration, according to Smith & Higley, resembles urban gentrification patterns, and is closely related to educational circuits involving high-performing schools in rural areas. Urban to rural migration changes the socio-demographic pattern of the class structure of the local population as well as new patterns of concentration and segregation in rural areas, and this results from the displacement of the original low-income population (Smith & Higley, 2012).

The agglomeration pattern in the mountains that occurs due to migrants is a new phenomenon. In research on agglomeration (Goffette-Nagot & Schmitt, 1999), it is explained that agglomeration in rural areas is the effect of changes in population patterns in urban areas, which have an impact on the surrounding rural conditions. Research on agglomeration considers it as a positive change to economic growth in Java (Warsito, 2023), while a widely circulated rationalization regarding agglomeration is its relation to reducing transportation costs for workers and consumers in businesses that rely on services (Glaeser, 2010).

The idea that agglomerations cluster industries in rural areas and increase population growth (e.g. Gabe, 2004) is somewhat outdated. In addition, the idea that rural residents have low human capital and work in factories also no longer reflects the rural situation in the era of globalization (Fan & Stark, 2008). Although social capital is also important for rural growth (Oktarina et al., 2022), studies on agglomeration have not explored how foreign investors, municipalities, and studentification or the arrival of non-permanent consumers meet. This study tries to explore how studentification that occurs supports agglomeration, mountain gentrification or alpine gentrification and also how it has an impact on land change and community response.

Based on the exposure of previous research, in this study we situate the concept of gentrification led by the government contains long planning related to the development master plan on the selection of land use change in the displacement process. We see this as a sociological impact that always occurs in the process of gentrification that can occur in various other mentions, including studentification, depending on how the commodification will be used (in this case, the amenity of the beautiful and quiet mountains) in the planning that will be carried out. Studentification as gentrification that occurs in Jatinangor is interesting to be studied along with the relationship between geographical contours, the role of the government (or lack thereof), and also the contribution of investors.

Method

The research method used was qualitative by Cultural Mapping approach, which is a method to map cultural elements in an area and understand how social, economic, and cultural interactions develop along with changes in the area. In the context of this research, cultural mapping is used to identify changes in social and cultural structures that occur due to the phenomenon of studentification and gentrification in Jatinangor. Researchers will map cultural elements related to the lives of students, local residents, and changes in public and private spaces in the area. Through cultural mapping, researchers can illustrate how values, identities, and cultural activities in Jatinangor are affected by the arrival of students who bring changes to social dynamics and land use. This approach allows for a deeper understanding of how the transformation of the education area has altered social and cultural relations among existing community groups, as well as how local cultures have adapted to or been marginalised by these changes.

Cultural mapping in this study was conducted through the visualization of cultural information using digital platforms, specifically Google Maps. This mapping process begins with qualitative data collection through interviews with various groups, such as students, local residents, and business owners, to identify cultural elements affected by the phenomenon of studentification and gentrification in Jatinangor. The collected data will be analyzed to identify patterns of social, cultural, and spatial use changes, such as shifts in the location of student residences, development of commercial areas, and changes in social interaction patterns. The information will then be visualized on Google Maps, marking key areas that show the impact of these changes. This mapping allows researchers to visually illustrate how social and cultural spaces in Jatinangor are evolving, as well as how the phenomenon of gentrification and *studentification* is changing the dynamics of this educational area.

Qualitative research can be understood as a type of research whose findings are not obtained through statistical procedures but rather on how researchers understand and interpret the meaning of events, interactions, and behavior of subjects in certain situations according to the perspective of the researcher (Fadli, 2021). This confirms that knowledge in qualitative research is constructed by researchers through interpretation based on various perspectives and information provided by research subjects (Nassaji, 2020).

In the data collection process, this research will utilize several specific tools to obtain comprehensive information. For interviews, researchers will use a semi-structured interview guide that has been compiled previously. This guide is designed to explore the experiences and views of informants regarding the impact of studentification and gentrification in Jatinangor, both from the perspective of local residents, business owners, and the government. The questions in the interview guide will focus on social and economic changes, as well as the impact of policies that affect this area. In addition to interviews, this research will also use field observations to capture physical and social changes that are not always revealed in interviews. For cultural mapping and land use change, Geographical Information System (GIS) technology will be used to analyze spatial data and visualize spatial changes over time. GIS will assist in mapping shifts in residential zones, commercial areas, and facility developments associated with the student population. Secondary data such as Area maps and policy documents will be analyzed to provide a more in-depth picture of the gentrification phenomenon in Jatinangor..

In this study, the sampling method used was purposive sampling which was selected based on certain criteria relevant to the research topic. The informants to be interviewed were selectively chosen to explore a more in-depth perspective on the phenomenon of studentification and gentrification in Jatinangor. The criteria for selecting informants include local residents who have been living in Jatinangor for a long time, business owners who operate around the education area, as well as related parties from government agencies involved in the management of this area. This sample aims to obtain diverse perspectives from various groups that are directly affected by social and economic transformation in Jatinangor.

This research followed several main steps including in-depth interviews, field observations, and secondary data analysis, but each of these stages was conducted with a specific approach to gain in-depth information about the phenomenon of gentrification and studentification in Jatinangor. In the field observation stage, the researcher spent 2 hours in the Jatinangor area to observe social change directly, including daily interactions between students, local residents, and the business community. These observations were conducted periodically over a span of 2 weeks to capture the dynamic changes occurring in the neighbourhood. For in-depth interviews, researchers conducted interview sessions designed to last around 30-60 minutes per session, depending on the availability of informants and the depth of information needed. The interviews involved various stakeholders, such as students, business owners, and local residents, with open-ended guiding questions to allow for broader exploration. Meanwhile, secondary data analysis was conducted by collecting policy documents, previous research reports, and relevant local statistical data, which were then combined with primary data to provide a more holistic perspective.

After the data was collected, the analysis is carried out through three stages, namely data reduction, data presentation, and conclusions. The analysis of interview data and mapping results will be conducted using a thematic analysis approach. After the interview data is collected, researchers will categorize and identify the main patterns, themes, or issues that emerge from the informants' responses, especially those related to the impact of studentification and gentrification in Jatinangor. This process will begin with the transcription of the interviews, which will then be analyzed inductively to identify recurring themes. The researcher will group the data into relevant categories, such as social, economic, and land use changes, as well as the impact of education policies. In addition, for the mapping results obtained through GIS, spatial analyses will be conducted to identify changes in land use and social dynamics related to the arrival of students.

To reduce potential bias during the research process, several validation strategies will be applied. Firstly, researchers will use data triangulation techniques by comparing interview results with secondary data such as

policy documents, property price statistics, and field observation results. This triangulation is important to verify information and find consistency across multiple sources, so as to minimise bias that may arise from one type of data alone. Secondly, this research will also apply the member-checking method, where the researcher will cross-check the results of the analyses with several key informants to ensure that the interpretations and findings of the research are true to their experiences and views. This technique allows the informants to provide input or clarification, which can help avoid one-sided interpretations by the researcher. By applying data triangulation and member-checking, this study aims to increase the validity of the findings and reduce the possibility of subjectivity bias during the data collection and analysis process.

Results and Discussions

Displacement due to Studentification from the Gentrification Process in Jatinangor

The establishment of Jatinangor Sub-district as a plantation land conversion area which was converted into a Higher Education Area since the issuance of the West Java Governor's Decree in 1987 also encouraged social changes that occurred in the region. According to Sumedang Regency RLPPD data (2024), Jatinangor District became the sub-district with the second highest population in Sumedang Regency, this was certainly driven by the high arrival rate of students. The determination of the area also requires other functions to change in order to fulfill the needs of the migrants who are mostly students.

Since the determination of the land use change, land price offers in the Jatinangor area have shot up, especially in the area of Hegarmanah village, Cikeruh village, Cibeusi village, which according to a member of the Jatinangor sub-district general SuBag, until now the three villages have become the highest income villages. This is supported by the location of the area which is close to the UNPAD, ITB, IKOPIN and IPDN campuses, so that the location is an area that is crowded with student activity. The high price of land meant that many of the indigenous people around the village sold their land and houses in order to buy more land in other areas. As stated by Informant YT:

"My house used to be in the front area, but I sold it and now I live here, so I can buy a wider land, many others are also like that, residents usually 1 RT or RW is one family, so one moves, the others follow."

Based on the results of the interview above, it can be seen that one of the main motivations is the significant increase in land prices due to the development of educational areas around Padjadjaran University, ITB, IPDN, and IKOPIN. High price offers from out-of-town buyers attracted some residents to sell their land for a large financial gain. However, other factors also play a role, such as changes in the neighbourhood that are now more crowded and dense with student activities, which sometimes make local residents feel that they have lost the comfort of living in a previously quiet neighbourhood. Social pressure can also arise, especially when most neighbours or relatives have already moved in. In the Jatinangor community that prioritises family relationships and togetherness, many residents choose to move so that they can still live close to their families or communities in a quieter place. Some residents are also driven by a desire to find a new lifestyle or purchase a larger plot of land in a more affordable area, allowing them to continue living collectively while adjusting to changing economic and social needs.

The habit of living together in rural communities is also a driver of community displacement in Jatinangor, as a response to changes in social life that occur in rural areas that are gentrified by the Government's plan (State-led Gentrification), not because of the natural process of social change in the community. The gentrification process has occurred since the beginning of the decree, according to information we collected from interviews with local residents, land ownership in Jatinangor sub-district, especially the three villages directly adjacent to the university, is now held by "star" people and residents outside Sumedang city such as Jakarta, Bandung, and surrounding areas. Official data could not be obtained, because based on the results of interviews with local officials the data collection of the area did not cover in detail. However, one of the statements of informants YT and DG explained as follows:

"They moved to the Sayang area, to Tanjung Sari, just where there is still a lot of empty land, many also moved to TK village. Whereas in the past it was a dumping ground for ugly things like that..now there is also housing there". (YT)

"It's all been sold, including me, moved to the back of Jatos, it used to be a swamp for garbage disposal neng". (DG)

Based on the results of the interviews above, changes in land ownership in Jatinangor, which are now owned by 'star people' or migrants from big cities such as Jakarta and Bandung, indicate the existence of state-led gentrification, where the development of massive educational infrastructure triggers the transfer of land ownership from indigenous people to outside investors. This phenomenon is consistent with (Smith & Holt, 2007) theory of gentrification, in which government-driven land use change often results in economic and social changes in local communities. The gentrification process that occurs does not arise naturally from the social

dynamics of the local community, but is driven by state policies that focus on the development of educational areas. As observed by previous research in other regions, government-led gentrification often leads to an increase in land and housing prices, which makes it difficult for indigenous residents to remain in the area as they are displaced by economic interests and investors who see the area as a potential area for investment (Lees et al., 2016). This shows a pattern of adaptation among the local population, such as selling property and moving to another area with extended family. This adaptation is in line with Durkheim's concept of mechanical solidarity, which suggests that rural communities tend to maintain community closeness in response to social change, even if they have to move to a more accessible location (Gofman, 2019).

The saddest part of this displacement process is how the indigenous community, which should have received the main attention so as not to be neglected, was completely neglected and marginalized from the beginning of the development planning. This can be seen from how the community had to choose to move from their comfortable area to a place that was previously untouched, neglected, and considered unfit for living. However, the community had to fight from scratch to rebuild their community.

Individuals or groups directly affected by the gentrification process often experience significant changes, emotionally, socially and economically. Emotionally, gentrification can lead to feelings of loss of identity and attachment to the neighbourhoods they have long lived in. When long-time residents begin to move out or are replaced by newcomers who generally come from higher economic groups, there is a feeling of alienation and discomfort because the social environment is rapidly changing and no longer familiar. Socially, gentrification can disrupt established social networks, such as relationships between neighbours and local communities. People who have supported each other and interacted closely may feel separated when their neighbourhoods are filled with newcomers with different cultures and lifestyles, leading to the erosion of community solidarity. On the economic front, rising land prices and rents due to gentrification can make it difficult for natives, especially those with low incomes, to stay in the area. Many of them have to adapt to this economic pressure, which sometimes forces them to sell their properties or move to more affordable areas, affecting their financial stability and long-term plans. This process not only affects the material aspects of their lives, but also impacts their psychological well-being and sense of belonging to the neighbourhood they consider 'home.'

Initially, some people who had capital could benefit from the arrival of students, by building houses and renting out rooms in their houses to students, but this did not last forever due to increased student demand not accompanied by qualified capital, as stated by informant YT below:

"I also used to have boarding houses, but students now look not only for bathrooms in neng, but look for those with hot water, wifi, showers, sitting toilets, I can't afford it anymore".

In addition to the factor of capital ownership to follow market demand, residents who previously converted their homes into houses as well as boarding room rentals felt that over time and the socio-cultural changes that occurred in the generation of students from year to year made people feel tired of dealing with student habits that were considered not in accordance with the culture of local residents, choosing to no longer rent out their homes to feel more comfortable living life. This shows that the difference in the culture of mechanical solidarity brought by students cannot be united with the previously existing solidarity culture due to different collectivity awareness.

The arrival of students to Jatinangor has led to significant changes in cultural values, lifestyles, and social interactions between indigenous and migrant students. Initially, some locals capitalized on the growing student population by converting their homes into boarding houses. However, as students' preferences for modern facilities such as hot water, Wi-Fi, and showers evolved, many local boarding house owners were unable to fulfil these demands due to capital constraints. Besides economic challenges, cultural differences are also a source of tension. Traditional mechanical solidarity in rural communities, characterized by close social ties and collective values, often clashes with the more individualistic and diverse cultural practices of university students. This cultural gap, coupled with behavioural differences, leads some residents to opt out of the boarding market in favour of their own convenience, in order to maintain their existing lifestyles. This dynamic demonstrates the broader socio-cultural implications of gentrification and studentification, where economic opportunities and cultural integration do not always go hand in hand.

This phenomenon not only reflects changes in the economic relationship between local residents and students, but also indicates a deeper social transformation. With more and more students coming with different cultural backgrounds and habits, the pattern of social interaction in Jatinangor has shifted. Local residents, who previously lived with community-based collective values, now have to adapt to the presence of groups that have different norms and behaviours. As a result, social fragmentation occurs, where the relationship between natives and students becomes increasingly separate, even tends to be pragmatic. This can be seen in the reduced social engagement between the two groups, such as the lack of student participation in local community activities. In

the long run, this shift has the potential to weaken social ties in the area, which was originally one of the hallmarks of local culture.

This shift aligns with theories of gentrification and studentification, which illustrate how the influx of new groups, such as students, can alter the social and cultural structure of an area. Durkheim's theories of mechanical and organic solidarity can be applied to understand this dynamic, where a traditional community characterized by mechanical solidarity marked by shared values and norms begins to shift toward a more individualistic and heterogeneous organic solidarity. Previous research, such as by (Becker, 2023) and (Buffel & Phillipson, 2019), also emphasizes that studentification brings not only economic change but also sparks social tensions between local residents and students. These studies found that in many educational zones, such as in the UK and Australia, interactions between students and local residents often remain limited to transactional relationships, diminishing deeper social connectedness. Consequently, the phenomenon in Jatinangor mirrors global patterns in a local context, reinforcing the relevance of these theories in explaining the emerging social dynamics due to education-based gentrification.

In addition to changes in residential land use change, business changes also occurred in the Jatinangor area, in Figure 1 is an example of the results of social mapping recorded from the Google Maps platform. A restaurant that was previously a traditional local brand fried chicken restaurant, has now turned into a fast-food fried chicken restaurant from an international brand. A feature of city life that requires fast-paced activities.



Figure 1. Changes from 2015-2023 of local restaurants and shops.
(Source: Google Maps)

The grocery store owned by the resident in Figure 1 turned into a coffee shop, based on interviews conducted, that the change in the function of the building also occurred due to the declining purchasing power due to the rampant construction of modern retail stores, coupled with the lucrative selling or rental value. Now the house as well as the shop has turned into a shop for rent, and the family has turned the house into a shop as well as a boarding house. Another case that occurred was that the changes that occurred in Jatinangor made residents feel that the cost of living had increased due to changes in land use change from simple rented houses to modern housing, making the rental value of the area increase. So that people who used to be owners, turned into processors, even became nothing again, because they were unable to keep up with market demand both in terms of rental prices that continued to increase and also the tastes of students. The difference in the economic ability of the Jatinangor village community to support the arrival of students, the majority of whom came from big cities bringing their new habits and culture, made the original Jatinangor community marginalized because they did not succeed in developing with these opportunities that should have been able to prosper each other.

One of the characteristics of the gentrification process in an area is the changing model of community housing. The growth of housing in Jatinangor occurred very quickly and with a variety of variations as shown in Figure 2, with the geographical contours of the Jatinangor mountains over the past 10 years 4 skyscraper

buildings have been built in the form of apartments, and several small to large cluster housing to meet the needs of students. As stated by informant DD below:

“Puri housing, even though it is in an area far from the campus, contains all students, from around 300 houses, there are around 1500 student residents in total, 90% of the residents of the housing are students”.

The appropriation of land into the possession of the rich is the point of gentrification, this process illustrates how colonialism and capitalism have a role in defining and restructuring urban planning to suit the needs of the “market” making it a commodity that drives urban population (Lees et al., 2016b). In reality, again, housing development is not the target market for indigenous people, because almost 100% of housing ownership is owned by people outside Jatinangor sub-district, even outside Sumedang city. The house is rented back by the owner to be inhabited by students. The massive development of these elites is very clear that it was built to fulfill the student and investor market only.

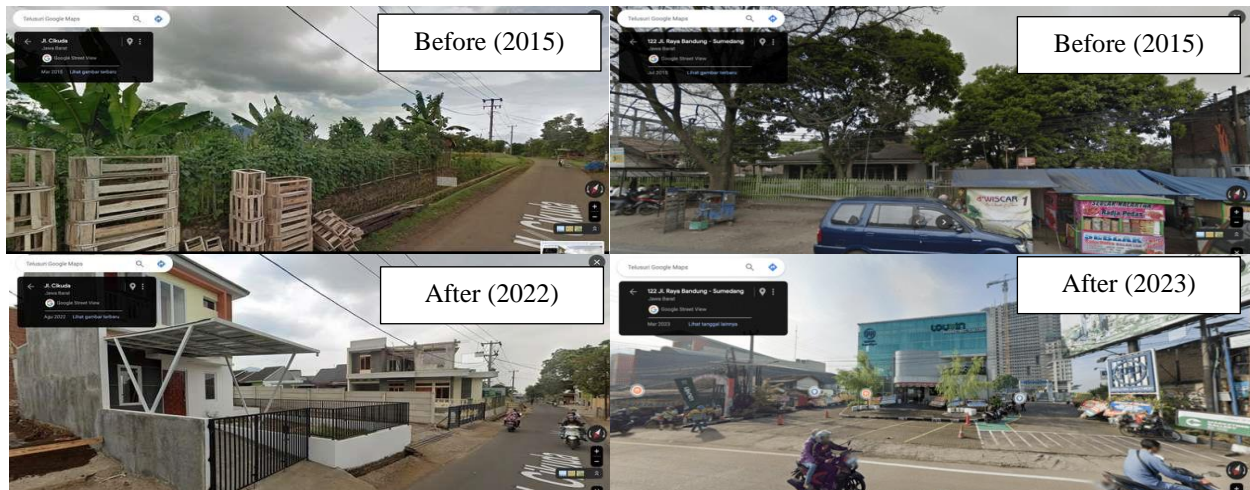


Figure 2. Land use change 2015-2023 from plantations to housing and apartments
(Source: Google Maps)

The main assumption in the phenomenon of gentrification and studentification in Jatinangor is that the presence of major educational institutions such as UNPAD, ITB, IKOPIN, and IPDN drives significant social and economic changes in the area. The development of educational infrastructure and the influx of a large student population are expected to trigger an increase in property prices as well as shift the pattern of land ownership from natives to investors or migrants. This assumption stems from the understanding that gentrification and studentification processes not only affect spatial layout and demographics, but also change social interactions, where local communities may have to adapt to the new lifestyles brought by students and investors. This adaptation process often impacts local cultures, which were previously homogeneous and socially close-knit, becoming more heterogeneous with the influx of urban elements. Another assumption is that these changes may cause a shift in the solidarity of rural communities, forcing them to shift to new, more affordable neighbourhoods while maintaining extended family or community ties, in response to the economic and social pressures arising from the changing region.

In comparison, Tembalang in Semarang faces similar challenges due to gentrification fuelled by the growth of the education district. As in Jatinangor, land prices in Tembalang are rising rapidly, and many original residents are struggling to maintain or expand their land. To adapt, Tembalang's distressed residents are choosing similar social and economic strategies, such as switching professions, becoming commuters, or opening new businesses. However, this phenomenon has also resulted in physical changes in Tembalang, where the area is experiencing the construction of new houses and commercial buildings that are crowded out by higher economic groups. As such, Tembalang highlights a similar pattern to Jatinangor, but shows unique dynamics in the adaptive response of its community that seeks to survive amidst the changing socio-economic structure of this education area (Hayah & Dewi, 2020); (Aurunnisa & Rochani, 2024).

The Role of Government in State-led Gentrification in Jatinangor Higher Education Area

After the decision to change the land use change of Jatinangor Sub-district in 1983, the government immediately prepared planning documents related to the development that would be carried out. Based on the mapping of planning documents that we conducted, document analysis was conducted and found that the planning carried out by the government only focused on infrastructure development that supported the Jatinangor urbanization. This can be seen from the analysis of PERDA Number 15 of 2021 related to the Management of Jatinangor

Urban Area in CHAPTER II it is clearly written that in Jatinangor urban development, the government plays a role in increasing the role of government and society by utilizing all the potential of the community, and strives to create a living environment that is harmonious, harmonious, balanced, equitable, sustainable and supports the preservation of socio-cultural values. The planning also involves community participation in the management of the area, the community referred to in the listing includes customary law communities living in urban areas.

The Sumedang Regent took the initiative to publish what is referred to as the Jatinangor District Strategic Plan (Renstra) 2018-2023 to support the Jatinangor urban management process plan. In this plan, details of Jatinangor urban development are given starting from the allocation of funds, training treatment plans, the establishment of cultural centers and so on. This Renstra provides an overview of the government's position in seeing gentrification in the form of studentification in Jatinangor. The Jatinangor Sub-District Strategic Plan 2018-2023 conveys that the facilitation of Village Fund Allocation Assistance is intended to improve the village's ability to manage ADD so that the distribution of ADD is more orderly and right on target. The government seems to want to improve the ability of village administration with a fairly high target, which is above 85% (based on the previous year). The Village Community Development Section, now with other designations, is also held annually in order to improve the village's capacity for development.

We confirmed the assumptions of the findings that we obtained in analyzing Jatinangor urban planning documents with local officials and also the local community, the informant of the AD general SuBag stated:

"There is planning, we are also involved, but still every proposal we give does not get any response, so the construction just follows the direction of the center".

This statement confirms that development should by regulation involve the smallest community groups but in practice only carry out orders from above. Another assumption that we conclude is that development programs only focus on infrastructure development, not on building the capacity of the community to deal with social change, both in terms of values and culture, or the potential business value that can be utilized by residents, is supported by confirmation from the community and local officials we interviewed, such as the following statements from AD and YT:

"Community training does exist, but it is just like that, not specifically focused on dealing with the potential arrival of students from special areas of higher education". (AD)

"There is no special training like that, umkm training but that's about it neng, at most there are campuses that train to make hydroponics, but after that it's gone again". (YT)

Both statements show that there is no special preparation that takes place at the grassroots level. Although it is mentioned in the Planning, there is no government control to oversee the implementation of the regulation. Even special data collection orders do not exist, such as data on the arrival and departure of students in the Jatinangor District environment, this was confirmed by the two informants AD and YT as follows:

"There is no data, because it is not requested from above either, so we don't have the data". (AD)

"Mr. RT and Mr. RW do collect data, because for us it is important as a responsibility, but it is not an order from the village or kecamatan, it is just an initiative". (YT)

The statement confirmed that the completeness of demographic data collection is very weak, which is unfortunate because through accurate data, problem analysis can be more easily detected. People's diverse responses to government policies related to the development of educational areas in Jatinangor reflect the direct impact of these policies on their daily lives. On the one hand, there were residents who tried to take advantage of this development by opening businesses such as boarding houses or small businesses to meet the needs of migrant students. However, the policy has also caused unrest, especially for residents who feel that the presence of educational institutions and their supporting facilities has resulted in increased land prices and significant changes to their social environment. Some residents feel economically marginalised because they are unable to keep up with market changes, for example in providing accommodation with modern facilities that students demand. In addition, many communities felt that their aspirations were not heard in development planning, such as complaints that the training or assistance provided was not fully relevant to their needs in dealing with social and economic changes due to studentification. These community responses reflect both adaptation efforts and anxiety about the potential loss of control over their own neighbourhoods amidst the government-driven gentrification process.

To increase the participation and empowerment of local communities in Jatinangor in the face of the transformation of the education area, it is recommended that the government and the campus develop more specific and sustainable training programmes. These programmes should be designed to accommodate the needs

of the local community in order to take advantage of the economic opportunities that arise from the arrival of students, such as entrepreneurial training that focuses on student service businesses and local skills-based MSME training. In addition, there should be regular communication forums between the government, universities and communities to ensure that citizen input is received and considered at every stage of development planning. This approach will help build a more inclusive and collaborative relationship, so that local communities can directly benefit from the development of the area without feeling excluded.

The Jatinangor Strategic Plan recognizes the geographical challenges that hinder accessibility to some areas. However, the number of hectares of land use for horticulture was found to be very small, when judging from the report published in the Sumedang Regency in Figures book for 2024. Jatinangor sub-district continues to experience a decline in the number of horticultural land that is getting smaller compared to other sub-districts, with land around 0 to 7 Ha (cauliflower agricultural land) which is far different from other sub-districts.

This decline is because the majority of land use in Jatinangor is used for infrastructure development both large roads, and commercial areas. As seen in Figure 3 the density of massive development is very visible in the changes recorded by the Google Earth satellite platform from 1985 (left) to 2024 (right). The typical geographical conditions of the West Java region where the area is surrounded by many mountains, Jatinangor as a small area that has a strategic location because it is flanked by two mountains at once, namely Mount Manglayang and Mount Geulis



Figure 3. Land use change 1985-2024 from green land to dense buildings
(Source: Google Earth Satellite)

The existence of Jatinangor which is flanked by two mountains is an attraction for investors to take part in investing. This is indeed one of the government's targets related to Jatinangor urban planning in the context of the minimum regional income that must be achieved by an urban administrative area. An interesting finding for Jatinangor in this gentrification process is the form of Mountain Area Urbanism or Alpine Gentrification (Perlik, 2011). A form of urbanism that targets mountain areas that support the development of the city titled "green city". A very attractive opportunity for investors to provide offers to the market regarding the marketing of their products. This can be seen from how the branding made by apartment developers in marketing their properties as shown in Figure 4 Images of mountain expanses, green land, beautiful scenery are always the taglines used in the marketing process. This shows a new stage that occurs in the gentrification process, which is a nature-friendly concept that is considered to provide comfort in the education process and a better living environment (Smith & Higley, 2012).



Figure 4. Picture of apartemen marketing flyer in Jatinangor (Source: Instagram)

Another issue raised by the Jatinangor Strategic Plan is the condition of the high population and the potential for the poverty rate to rise. However, this awareness is not shown by the concern of gentrification driven by studentification. In addition, the Renstra's blind eye to the issue of gentrification can be seen from the allocation of funds given for the opening of villagers' businesses. The number of households in Jatinangor sub-district according to the Renstra is 31,520 households and it is feared that it will also have an impact on the high unemployment rate, and this can potentially cause an increase in poverty levels which can also have an impact on increasing crime. The increasing poverty rate attributed to the number of residents seems like a local government behavior that turns a blind eye to the possibility of displacement and land use for education and student accommodation. Jatinangor's position is recognized by the Renstra as the "entrance" to the city of Bandung, but this is directed towards community empowerment. Rural areas are expected to optimize their natural resources to become a leading sector for the macro economy.

In response to the conditions raised in Jatinangor's Renstra regarding population increase and the risk of increasing poverty due to gentrification triggered by studentification, a more strategic and comprehensive approach in regional planning is needed. Firstly, the local government should include aspects of mitigating the social and economic impacts of gentrification in the Renstra, with specific budget allocations for relevant job training for local communities to enable them to compete in the changing economic environment. In addition, village economic empowerment programmes should consider the development of community-based businesses, which directly involve local residents in meeting the needs of students, such as the provision of boarding houses and other supporting facilities. To prevent massive displacement of local residents and decreased access to land, land protection for indigenous people should be considered through policies that restrict the transfer of land to outside investors without involving the community. These measures can help reduce the potential for unemployment, poverty, and crime, while ensuring that Jatinangor's economic growth remains inclusive and in favour of the interests of local communities.

Conclusion

This research concludes that the studentification process has brought complex social, economic, and cultural changes in the Jatinangor area. The presence of a large university and the increasing number of students as a migrant population have driven significant transformations, both in terms of land use, local economic patterns, and the social structure of the community. Gentrification that occurs has an impact on the increase in property prices and the cost of living, thus putting pressure on local residents to adapt or move. In addition, these changes create a shift in local cultural identity, where local values and traditions are slowly marginalised by the new lifestyle brought by students. Through a cultural mapping approach, this research succeeds in visually illustrating the impact of these changes, providing an in-depth insight into how educational neighbourhoods are evolving but require a balanced strategy in order for this transformation to maintain social and cultural sustainability for the local community.

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