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Textile and texture in Tanah Abang Market: architectural evolution from the colonial to the post-colonial era



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Abstract

Historical studies are crucial in urban analysis. Cities are spatial productions shaped by intertwined layers of time. One of the key elements in interpreting a city is its market, which serves not only as an economic and social hub but also as a political center where diverse interests vie for prominence and influence. This study delves into the historical significance of Tanah Abang Market, the largest textile market in Indonesia and one of Jakarta's oldest, dating back to 1735. Textiles have been the driving force behind the remarkable growth of the Tanah Abang Market. This research aims to delve deeper into the significance of Tanah Abang Market beyond its economic role. Through archival study and observations, it seeks to unveil the market's evolution, shedding light on the dynamics behind its architectural transformation over nearly three centuries, from its colonial-era inception to the post-colonial era. By examining its long-standing presence, the research identified three pivotal periods in the market's journey: the urban revolution, the era of industrialization, and a wave of cultural change. Much like a woven fabric, the market comprises overlapping threads, each exerting its unique influence. Throughout its history, Tanah Abang Market has not only stitched and colored the city of Jakarta, but its reach extends across various regions of Indonesia, contributing to the socio-cultural texture at large.

Keywords Textiles, Textures, Architecture, Tanah Abang Market, Colonial-postcolonial

Introduction

The market plays a crucial role in urban space. According to Kostof, "One of the most insistent explanations for the existence of the city has been trade. Market theories of one sort or another have buttressed discussion of urban origin..." (Kostof 1992: 92). Throughout history, cities have thrived due to their function as hubs of trade and economic activity. The market, where traders are based and business transactions occur, is a vital component in maintaining the sustainability of a city. Recognizing

the market area as essential for the city's operation and success underscores the significance of monitoring trading activities and movements within market spaces as the initial step to enhance the city.

Markets have existed since the early days of human trade. The history of civilization suggests that economic activity began when humans grappled with the challenge of distributing food among family members. As a means of ensuring survival, humans harvested from nature, stored food, and migrated. The movement of people and interconnected groups sparked ongoing economic activity leading to the exchange of essential goods on a larger scale. The emergence of market towns marked the birth of early civilizations, with the growth of cities driven by these markets (Kostof 1992; Morris 1979). For instance, ancient Greek cities, around 900–700 BC illustrate how markets were integral to the development of the city

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center. When Rome was founded in 753 BC, the Forum Romanum served as the city center and traditional market before evolving into a focal point of various activities and the heart of community life (Morris 1979).

The rise of urban centers has historically been associated with the emergence of markets, which have also been a source of urban conflicts. In the mid-eighteenth century, Europe saw significant progress in agricultural technology and transportation, leading to a diverse range of agricultural and manufacturing goods in cities. However, this growth in urban population and trade also brought about new challenges. With the Industrial Revolution came advancements in the glass and iron industry, leading to significant changes in market spaces as cities sought to address their problems. In the nineteenth century, markets transitioned from open spaces to enclosed market halls in Europe, a move aimed at separating markets from public spaces for better oversight. Today, market development remains a significant aspect of city development, crucial for ensuring sustainable urban environments (thehindu.com 2014, theworldbank 2018).

In Indonesia, as cities across various regions develop, markets have also garnered significant attention. In 2014, the government enacted Undang Undang No. 7, which outlines plans for market revitalization. Market development serves as a means for the government to enhance market performance, address urban challenges, and stimulate the local economy. By 2018, 4211 markets had been

successfully established in different cities. Notably,⁴¹ one of these markets are traditional ones deeply rooted in the city's history (Ernawati and Salim 2015).

Tanah Abang Market is a historically significant market that has played a crucial role in the Indonesian economy for centuries. Established in 1735 during the colonial era, the market has been an integral part of Jakarta's history. Located in the city, known as Batavia at the time, was founded. Situated in the heart of the city, near the government and business center, Tanah Abang Market has evolved over almost three centuries to become the largest textile wholesale center in Indonesia. Known for its high trade intensity and extensive network, the market is not only recognized throughout Indonesia but also has a significant international presence, with reports indicating that it is one of the largest textile markets in Southeast Asia (Fig. 1).

The atmosphere surrounding Tanah Abang Market is a reflection of the vibrant market dynamics. The area is filled with diverse structures, including multi-story buildings, shophouses, hangars, warehouses, and kiosks, creating a bustling environment. The roads adjacent to the market are bustling with passing vehicles, pedestrians, and street vendors displaying their goods on sidewalks. Every corner of the area is occupied by traders utilizing various methods to market their goods. This lively scene fosters a close relationship between market activities and the surrounding



Fig. 1 Location of the Tanah Abang Market. Source: Reproduction jakartasatu.jakarta.go.id (<https://jakartasatu.jakarta.go.id/portal/apps/webapviewer/index.html?id=1c1bfcced2cb4852bbeaefcd968a6d04> accessed July 2021), 2021

area, portraying a cohesive and vibrant trading space. However, behind the bustling economic activity lies the challenge of social and environmental issues. Problems such as slum areas, street vendors, waste management, traffic congestion, and illegal parking not only disrupt market operations but also pose long-term reputational risks for the area and the city (Fig. 2).

Beyond environmental challenges, the trading environment at Tanah Abang Market faces significant vulnerability due to an influx of imported products. This surge began in 2010 following the implementation of the China ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA), leading to a substantial increase in imported textile products entering Indonesia. By 2013, 60% of textile and garment products sold at Tanah Abang Market were imported (detik.finance.com 2013). The prevalence of imported goods has caused a 30% reduction in the turnover of local products (swa.co.id 2013). This trend has continued, with the value of textile imports steadily rising and exerting a dominant influence on the Indonesian market (ekonomi.kompas.com 2018).

In addressing the challenges encountered at the Tanah Abang Market, we can start by delving into the evolving landscape to gain a deeper understanding of the market's significance. As a historical entity, the market embodies a complex narrative that has shaped its current state. The Tanah Abang Market stands as a poignant testament to Indonesia's intricate history. By delving deeper into the market's story, we can uncover the pivotal elements that have steered its trajectory. This research aims to illuminate the Tanah Abang Market's legacy, offering insights into its role as more than just an economic powerhouse. It seeks to delve into the market's nearly three-century journey from its colonial origins to the present day, shedding light on the underlying dynamics that have shaped its architectural

evolution and influenced the broader urban and socio-cultural landscape.

Literature review

Colonialism within history of architecture and urban space

Studying architecture is essentially delving into the human experience. Structures such as city facilities, public spaces, and buildings are all manifestations of human activity and the underlying ideas. As Kostof once said, "architecture is the theater of human activity" (Kostof 1992: 1). From the intricate planning process to the final product, countless factors influence architectural decisions. Sometimes, the layers of architecture obscure its true essence, making it challenging to comprehend without a thorough exploration.

Architecture is a collaborative social undertaking, serving as the result of teamwork and aiming to benefit various groups, from small families to entire states. This makes architecture a complex interplay of expertise, technology, and funding, often becoming a space for competition among different interests and contributions. Consequently, the study of architecture encompasses diverse fields such as social, economic, and technological systems, providing insight into the history of both architectural and human developments. Considering Lefebvre's perspective, space is a historical production with overlapping journeys that contribute to its current form (Lefebvre 1991). Exploring architecture offers a window into understanding the formation of present-day spaces and the historical layers that have shaped them.

Jenkins cites Steven Giles' perspective that our understanding of the past is akin to interpreting sedimentary layers, shaped by previous readings and filtered through present-day interpretive frameworks. In this view, history is a process of excavating these layers of interpretation (Jenkins 1991). Foucault suggests that delving into history involves not just retracing events but also uncovering knowledge (epistem) through the cracks of time, shedding light on past power dynamics and their enduring influence (Foucault 1980). Exploring the history of architecture can deepen our understanding of societal phenomena, revealing concealed meanings that might not be immediately evident.

The city, as a spatial entity, encapsulates a multitude of embedded interests. The diverse forms and configurations of urban spaces signify the forces that propel the city and how it is moved (Kostof 1991). Architecture and urban planning not only physically shape space but also imbue it with discursive manifestations of power, thereby legitimizing it (Dovey 1999). Lefebvre views the city as a tool of production used for enforcing control and dominance. The constructed environment becomes a mechanism for organizing thoughts and actions. According

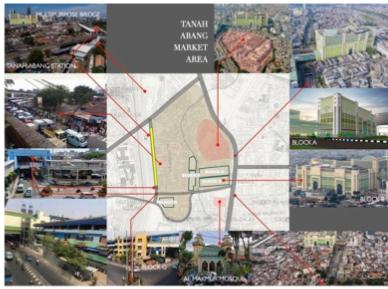


Fig. 2 The Tanah Abang Market Area. Source: Various News Media

to Lefebvre, "...the space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action; that in addition to being a means of production it is also [42] means of control, and hence of domination, of power" (Lefebvre 1991: 26). The ideological underpinning of spatial construction renders the existence of space a contested terrain, giving rise to power struggles and making the city an arena for competing forces. ¹⁰

In the history of Indonesia, the colonial period played a crucial role in shaping the trajectory of the city. Colonialism had a profound impact on societal spaces, bringing about significant changes in social and cultural structures. Nalbantoglu, Wong, and Thai assert that today's spaces reflect a myriad of identities that originated from the colonial era, where regional spaces were largely dominated by colonial occupation, supplanting local cultures and politics with a more uniform environment. However, beneath this facade of uniformity, postcolonial spaces are characterized by interventions and often harbor social constructs marked by inequality. These spaces ultimately serve as arenas of negotiation, giving rise to conflicts, be it spatial, ethnic, gender, or class-based struggles (Nalbantoglu et al. 1997). Meanwhile according to Bhabha, colonial production space represents a hybrid environment resulting from the fusion of diverse cultures. The relationship between colonizers and the colonized during the colonial era was complex, with aspects of absorption, imitation, rejection, and negation, leading to a sense of ambivalence in postcolonial spaces (Bhabha 1994).

Many scholars have delved into research on colonial power to shed light on the current societal issues stemming from the colonial past. Postcolonial studies serve as a method of examining and reinterpreting historical records, discourses, and perspectives that have become ingrained in societal spaces, offering a fresh lens through which to understand our history.

Tanah Abang Market study

The study of markets in urban spaces provides a comprehensive approach to understanding the interplay between cities and the various elements within them. It helps reveal how different factors influence and shape urban movements. Markets can be viewed from three perspectives: as a physical space where buyers and sellers converge, as a nexus of supply and demand, and as a collective of individuals with needs and purchasing power. Referring to markets as *sug* (street, Arabic) or *bazaar* (marketplace, Persian) reflects their connection to physical space and movement, such as roads and traffic, highlighting their dynamic nature. Additionally, markets can be seen as a system, encompassing various elements that collectively support their functioning. According to Geertz, markets are not only economic institutions

norms, but also reflect all aspects of society (Geertz 1973).

The market in Java is a complex system that unites all components necessary to sustain market continuity. According to Nastiti's research on the Ancient Mataram market in the eighth–eleventh centuries (Nastiti 2003), key factors that contribute to market sustainability include rotation, location, commodities, production, distribution, transportation, and transactions. During the eighth–ninth centuries in Java, markets played a multi-faceted role, acting as dynamic social spaces. In addition to their economic function, markets served as influential elements that fostered community ties, connecting local residents as well as immigrants. As places for social interaction, communication, and entertainment, markets served as nodes that brought together diverse community groups. In 1973, during his research in Modjokuto (Pare), a small town in East Java, Geertz observed that, much like how agriculture shapes the lives of farmers, trade is pivotal in forming the fabric of life for traders. The market in Modjokuto does not just refer to a physical location for buying and selling, but rather encompasses a complex web of activities. It serves as the nucleus for various aspects of daily life, transcending beyond mere commercial transactions. Geertz posited that the market in Java is not only an economic institution, but also a lifestyle and a socio-cultural space that influences all levels of society (Geertz 1973).

The Tanah Abang Market stands as a living remnant of colonial-era production, dating back to its construction in 1735. Today, nearly three centuries later, the market continues to thrive as a key economic hub. It has evolved into Indonesia's largest wholesale center, wielding influence that extends across the region and beyond. This historic market has sparked the interest of countless writers, storytellers, and researchers, captivating them with its deep ties to Jakarta's history, from its days as Batavia under colonial rule to the challenges it faces in the post-independence era. Studying the history and evolution of the Tanah Abang Market unveils the myriad interventions and influences that have sculpted the city's urban landscape. This research seeks to delve into how governance, social and economic changes, and cultural dynamics have converged to shape the intricate and multifaceted spaces within Tanah Abang. By taking this approach, we can unravel the layers of space, examining their interactions and how they intertwine to form Jakarta's rich social and economic fabric.

This study aims to delve into the influences and impacts of various urban interventions within the context of Tanah Abang Market. It seeks to explore the dynamics of power and authority, as well as the layered nature of urban spaces. Additionally, it aims to shed light on the

pressures, interventions, and inequalities that contribute to the formation of both homogeneous and hybrid urban spaces, which embody cultural mixing and inherent ambivalence. Like examining a piece of fabric, the research endeavors to analyze the intertwining threads and textures that shape the urban landscape.

Understanding the existence of Tanah Abang Market by tracing its historical journey can help identify the significant elements that have shaped the market ³⁵ it is today. According to Kusno, postcolonial studies play a crucial role in examining the impact of colonial culture on urban spaces and in understanding how this influence has been passed down through generations. By delving into postcolonial studies, we can gain insights into how spaces have been shaped by their postcolonial experiences and even uncover new forms of colonialism (Kusno 2014). By delving ²⁰ to the history and evolution of Tanah Abang Market, we can gain a deeper understanding of the various forces that have contributed to shaping the urban landscape we see today. This research seeks to uncover the ways in which governance, socioeconomic interventions, and cultural dynamics have combined to create intricate and hybrid spaces within Tanah Abang. This approach aims to reveal the layers of space that coexist within the area, shedding light on their interactions and their collective influence on the social and economic fabric of Jakarta.

There is still a lack of comprehensive discourse about Tanah Abang Market that delves into the market's journey in detail, including its architectural significance and its role in the development of Jakarta. While some studies

have touched on the Tanah Abang Market in descriptions of the Tanah Abang area, such as in works like Historical Sites of Jakarta (de Heuken 1982), Kampung Tua in Jakarta (Jakarta 1993), Kota dan Masyarakat Jakarta: dari Kota Tradisional ke Kota Kolonial (Hartono 2007), Tengahabang Tempo Doeoe (Chaeer 2017), and 250 Years in Old Jakarta: Tales of the Bik family and the Rich History of Tanah Abang (Wolthuys 2020), a comprehensive exploration of the historical aspects of Tanah Abang Market is still lacking. This suggests that there are still unexplored parts of its historical journey that merit further investigation.

The Tanah Abang Market has been the subject of various discussions, focusing on operational aspects, spatial planning, infrastructure, and logistics systems. These discussions aim to address market issues and provide recommendations for enhancing trade (Indrianti 2014; Agustian 2018; Sofi et al. 2021). However, there has been limited attention given to the historical development of the market and the underlying dynamics that have contributed to its status today. This includes the influence of textile trade, which has been pivotal in shaping the market into a prominent textile hub (Figs. 3, 4).

The historical origins of Tanah Abang Market pose a challenge due to the absence of early records. Constructed concurrently with Senen Market in 1735, Tanah Abang Market is believed to have shared similar architectural features, comprising bamboo and planks. Paintings from the mid-eighteenth century shed light on the surroundings of the market. For instance, Johannes Rach's artwork depicted the residence of Baron Willem



Fig. 3 The Senen Market Built in 1735 and the Map of Tanah Abang Market Area by F. de Han August 1819. Source: OPAC Indonesia National Library BW49; (Right) ANRI Map F75



Fig. 4 Tanah Abang Market Tanah Abang Market Before the Ethical Policy Era. Photo published in 1930. Source: KITLV 182490

van Imhoff, the Governor General of Batavia from 1743 to 1750, situated in the Tanah Abang plantation area. The early nineteenth century witnessed transformations in the vicinity, illustrated by published photographs of Dutch residential areas. References to Tanah Abang surfaced in various publications and advertisements in *Bataviaasch Handelsblad* (4 May 7, 1894), *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* (July 1, 1912), *Het Nieuws van den Dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (1914), and *Het Vaderland* (1914), detailing the presence of markets and commercial facilities like shops and pharmacies. Additionally, the area garnered attention in relation to batik production. Notably, the 1902 batik exhibition (*Tentoonstelling van Oost-Indische Weefsels en Batiks*) at the Prins Hendrik Museum in Rotterdam featured batiks from Karet and Tanah Abang, mirroring the burgeoning industrial activities in the Tanah Abang area.

The earliest known photo capturing the ambiance of Tanah Abang Market dates back to the early twentieth century (KITLV). This photo depicts various market activities taking place in an open space. On the other hand, the first account of the situation within the Tanah Abang Market building was documented in 1922 in a description of Javanese batik (*Beknopte Beschrijving van Batik Industri op Java*) authored by J. D. Daubanton. In the early twentieth century, changes in the government system led to the inclusion of Tanah Abang Market as part of the government. This was reflected in the city administrative records of Batavia in the 1912 Batavia City Report (*Verslag van den Toestand der Gemeente Batavia over 1912*) issued by *Gemeenteraad*. It was noted that prior to 1911, Tanah Abang Market operated as a private market. By 1930, as E. J. Eggink documented in the book commemorating the 25th anniversary of the city of Batavia (*Beknopt Gedenkschrift ter gelegenheid van het 25-jarig bestaan der Gemeente Batavia 1905–1930*), Tanah Abang Market had evolved into a government market as part of the market development program

initiated for the markets in Batavia. The report also showcased the transformed appearance of Tanah Abang Market post the 1926 construction. With the Batavia government system transitioning from *Gemeente* to *Stadgemeente*, there was an increase in technical authority and the establishment of various services in the form of companies within government bodies, including the Market Company. The documentation of Tanah Abang Market in the city government archives resurfaced during the New Order Era. In 1982, the book "Pasar Tanah Abang 250 Tahun" was published by PD. Pasar Jaya, a Regional Owned Enterprise with the mandate to oversee and administer the market. The book chronicles the market's history and the reforms accomplished during that period.

Methodology

The Tanah Abang Market research aims to address market-related issues by expanding the perspective and repositioning the market not only as a current economic entity, but also as an integral part of the urban landscape that evolves alongside the city's development. The significance of the Tanah Abang Market lies in its historical value, reflecting how it has evolved over time to its present state. The market embodies a wealth of meaning shaped by diverse factors throughout its existence. Using market architecture as a starting point, this paper delves into a historical analysis that seeks to trace the evolution of market architecture from its inception to its development over nearly three centuries. This endeavor enhances our understanding of market sustainability and provides a more comprehensive insight into the historical footprint of the market's existence.

The excavation of the market journey spanned a significant period, dating back to the establishment of Tanah Abang Market in 1735 and continuing until early 2020, encompassing nearly three centuries of the market's formation and evolution. This extensive timeframe aligns with Fernand Braudel's perspective on human history, emphasizing the role of long-term structures in shaping historical developments. In his work "Histoire et Sciences Sociales: La Longue Durée" (Braudel 1969), Braudel underscores the significance of long duration (*longue durée*) and the multiplicity of time as fundamental methodological principles for understanding historical processes. According to Braudel, history unfolds at a gradual pace, influenced by the interactions between the natural world and human social activities. By adopting the longue durée approach, comprehensive analytical frameworks can be constructed, allowing for the establishment of categories based on interrelated dynamics. Published on *Annales* (1989), the focus of investigation lies not in isolated elements, but in the interplay of changing relationships that form

adaptable configurations, continually responding to their surrounding environment. The development of relational categories serves as the cornerstone for interpreting and analyzing spatial and temporal dimensions, emphasizing the enduring significance of long-term time (*longue durée*). This analysis is rooted in complex units that are further differentiated in spatial and temporal contexts.

The research discussion is structured into two distinct time periods: the colonial and postcolonial eras. This division is based on pivotal events that significantly influenced the city's trajectory and had a profound impact on the establishment of the Tanah Abang Market, spanning both the colonial and post-colonial periods.

1. The colonial era

a. The VOC era (1619–1799)

The colonial era commenced with the establishment of Batavia by the VOC in 1619, marking the onset of domination and exploitation on the island of Java. The expansion of VOC's territory beyond the city walls and the conversion of the surrounding area into plantation land played a crucial role in the emergence of the Tanah Abang Market. Constructed in 1735 amidst the plantation land, Tanah Abang Market served as a crucial link between Batavia and remote rural areas.

b. The 19th century era (1800–1900)

The 19th century witnessed the revitalization of Tanah Abang Market. Following the massacre of the Chinese population in Batavia in 1740, the market lay deserted for two decades. In the early 1800s, the market recommenced operations and experienced substantial growth. Notably, in the mid-19th century, following the fall of the Mataram Sultanate in 1830, the burgeoning batik industry and trade transformed Tanah Abang Market into a prominent textile market and a key node in the batik trade network spanning various cities in Java.

c. The ethical policy era (1900–1942)

The period from 1900 to 1942 saw the rise of Ethical Policy, coinciding with the decentralization of the colonial government system. This marked the beginning of the role of Municipalities in regulating and managing urban spaces, leading to the revitalization of city markets into modern city facilities. Tanah Abang Market also transitioned to being under the control of the city government during this time.

2. The postcolonial era

a. The old order era (1945–1965)

Following the colonial era, the Old Order era marked Indonesia's independence and the transition of power to the Indonesian Government. This change also affected the management of the city and its facilities, including the Tanah Abang Market, which came under the management of the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government.

b. New order era (1966–1998)

The New Order era brought about changes in the market regulation system. This period saw the formation of PD in 1966 and the establishment of Pasar Jaya as a Regional Owned Enterprise (BUMD), operating as an extension of the DKI Jakarta Government and overseeing government markets, including the Tanah Abang Market.

c. The post-reformation era (1998–2020)

The period marked a significant shift for the Tanah Abang Market as the private sector became involved in its management. Following a major fire and the subsequent need for market development, a collaborative effort between the government, represented by PD Pasar Jaya, and private developers emerged. This partnership led to the transformation of the market into a modern wholesale center, aligning it with contemporary shopping facilities. However, as the market continued to evolve, it also faced increasingly complex and widespread challenges (Fig. 5).

The forthcoming research will delve into the evolution of market architecture at Tanah Abang Market across three distinct time periods: the Ethical Policy era, the New Order era, and the Post-Reformation era. This study will center on available literature from each period, documenting changes in market architecture, and pivotal shifts that have steered the trajectory of Tanah Abang Market.

Result and discussion

The history of Tanah Abang Market and the rise of the Indonesian Batik Industry

In 1619, Jayakarta, a bustling port city in northern Java, was destroyed, leading to the establishment of a new city called Batavia by the VOC under the leadership of Jan Pieterszoon Coen. Batavia retained its name for over two centuries until it was changed back to Jayakarta and later to Jakarta during the Japanese occupation in 1942. After Indonesia gained independence in 1945, Soekarno, the first president, designated Jakarta as the nation's capital (Fig. 6).

The founding of Batavia in the seventeenth century marked the beginning of the colonial era, with

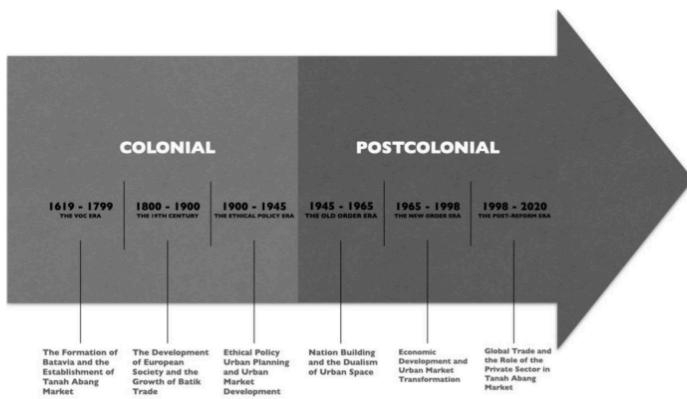


Fig. 5 Timeline structure of Tanah Abang Market. Source: Oktarina 2021



Fig. 6 Batavia City Center and the Surrounding Area 1740. Source: Dutch Colonial Maps KIT-KK 161-01-04

the Dutch exerting their influence and exploiting Java. While the center of the VOC was located in Batavia, its impact extended far beyond the city walls, transforming the surrounding region into plantation areas. The expansion of agriculture and plantations in remote rural areas was a significant factor in this transformation. Justinus Vinck, a VOC representative, recognized the potential in the growth of plantations and acquired the lands of Weltevreden. In 1735, he established two markets on his land, namely the Senen Market and the Tanah Abang Market (Abeysekere 1987; Jaya 1982). The Tanah Abang Market, situated amidst plantation

lands, became a crucial link between Batavia and the rural hinterland (Fig. 7).

In the nineteenth century, following the dissolution of the VOC and the establishment of the Dutch colonial government, deteriorating conditions in Batavia prompted the government to move the center of administration from the city center to Waterlooplein (current Lapangan Banteng) in the southern part of the city. This relocation marked the expansion of the Batavia area, extending the reference of Batavia beyond the city walls to include previously rural areas like Tanah Abang. The nineteenth century brought about a renaissance for Tanah Abang Market, which had been

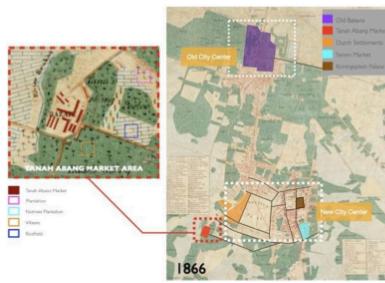


Fig. 7 Tanah Abang Market Area in the Batavia Map 1866. Source: Dutch Colonial Maps KIT-KK 161-01-08

destroyed and abandoned for twenty years following the massacre of the Chinese population in Batavia in 1740. By 1800, the market resumed its operations and

grew larger, eventually evolving into a market on the outskirts that supported urban spaces (Fig. 8).

Moving into the early twentieth century, residential areas began to fill the Tanah Abang Market area.

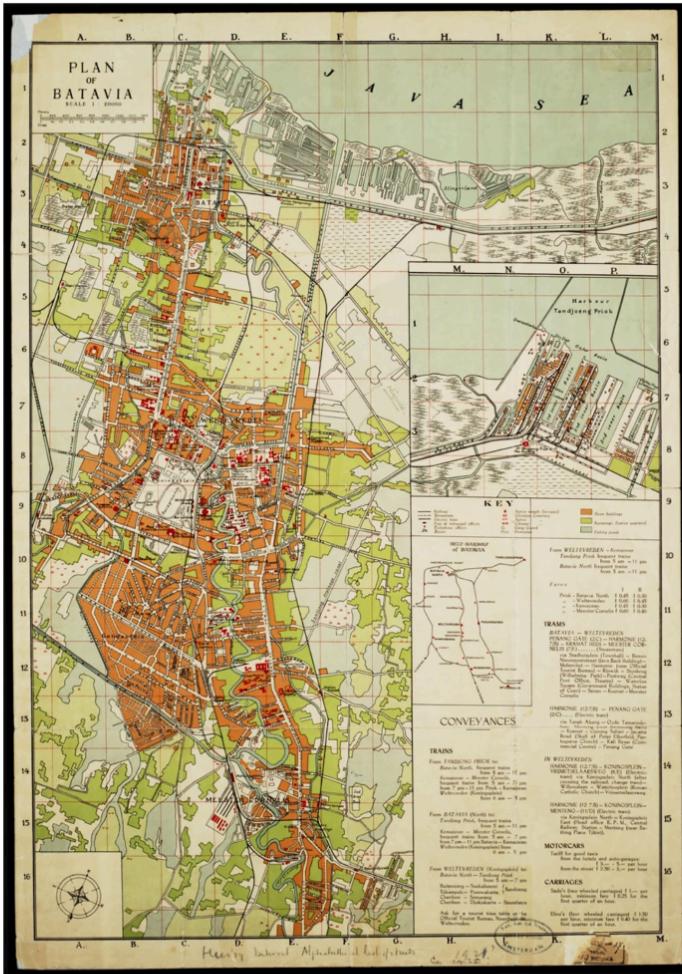


Fig. 8 The Map of Batavia 1930. Source: Dutch Colonial Maps KIT-KK 161-01-08

⁶ The shift of the Dutch colonial government center to the Gambir area brought the market closer to the city center. The introduction of the Ethical Policy, accompanied by governance reforms toward decentralization, marked the beginning of the municipality's active role in urban regulation and management. Urban planning initiatives, including the construction of city facilities, extended to various markets in different cities in Java, leading to enhancements and revitalization. This period also saw the market's transition to the control of the city government. As part of the Batavia city planning efforts, numerous residential areas, educational facilities, health facilities, and public amenities were constructed. The establishment of the market in 1926 integrated Tanah Abang Market into the expanding urban space.

Following independence and the transfer of power to Indonesia, President Soekarno spearheaded a transformation of Jakarta, the new capital city. Soekarno envisioned M. H. Thamrin Street as the main axis of the city and adorned Jakarta with monuments, aiming to align it with global cities. This initiative propelled Jakarta into a metropolitan city. Meanwhile, behind the bustling city center, the area surrounding Tanah Abang Market evolved into a densely populated area nestled among

residential villages. This area offered a contrasting village-city atmosphere against the backdrop of the city's high-rise buildings. Additionally, changes in the governance system led to the Jakarta Provincial Government assuming management of Tanah Abang Market, along with other city facilities (Fig. 9).

The transition from the Old Order to the New Order in 1966 marked the transformation of Jakarta into a burgeoning business hub. The government's introduction of REPELITA (Five-Year Development Plan) spurred the implementation of various development programs across different sectors, propelling Jakarta's evolution from a mere city to a thriving metropolis. As business and commercial areas expanded, Tanah Abang Market became increasingly integrated with the city center. The surrounding villages, revitalized as urban settlements, underwent significant changes, with some surviving and others being replaced by commercial structures in the 1990s. Initially constructed in 1973 by PD. Pasar Jaya as part of the Jakarta Provincial Government's effort to manage government-owned markets, including Tanah Abang Market, the expansion of the market area led to the emergence of a modern urban market. Despite its modernization, the market area retained its distinctive



Fig. 9 Tanah Abang Market in the Jakarta Map 1959. Source: Dutch Colonial Maps KIT-KK 161-01-08

charm, offering a unique contrast to the glitz of the city's "Golden Triangle" and establishing itself as a space with unparalleled character.

The textile [16](#) at Tanah Abang Market saw significant growth in the nineteenth century. Major changes in the textile industry ecosystem in Java took place after the defeat of the Mataram Sultanate in 1830, leading to the entire island of Java being controlled by the colonial government. Those who were still loyal to the Mataram Sultanate and refused to accept the Dutch retreat from the palace area eventually relocated to various cities, with coastal areas like Banyumas, Pekalongan, Ponorogo, and Tulungagung being among the chosen settlements (Riyanto 2007). The presence of these palace residents in coastal areas brought a new dimension to urban spaces. Seeking alternative livelihoods aside from farming, the Mataram refugees, who were skilled in batik making, began to hone their craft as a means of sustenance (Riyanto 2007; Dirhamsyah 2014). This initiative by the palace residents was then adopted by local residents, particularly women, who began devoting their daily activities to batik making. Consequently, batik became a new aspect of the societal fabric, shaping the social structure of the community.

The rise of batik production coincided with urban development, particularly along the coastal areas. Pekalongan, a key coastal area frequented by numerous traders, witnessed a rapid expansion in batik activities. From the 18th to the twentieth century, Pekalongan's port was among the busiest in Java, attracting a multitude of merchant ships for loading and unloading (Dirhamsyah 2014). Several cities in Java, driven by traditional fabrics like batik and ikat weaving, have flourished as distinct fabric producers. In the late nineteenth century, batik trade began to thrive in Batavia, which saw the relocation of production processes and batik artisans from Java to support the burgeoning trade. While Chinese traders dominated Batavia, the growth of the batik industry was mainly propelled by artisans from Pekalongan, Yogyakarta, and Solo. Evidently, the initial batik makers in

Batavia were not local residents, but rather craftsmen hailing from Java (Fig. 10).

In Batavia, the hub of the batik trade is the Tanah Abang Market. The bustling activity of batik trading at Tanah Abang Market has attracted marketers and batik craftsmen to the surrounding areas such as Karet, Bendungan Hilir, Bendungan Udk, Palmerah, Kebayoran Lama, Mampang Prapatan, and Tebet. Over time, Tanah Abang Market has become a focal point for the production of batik from various regions. In addition to Pekalongan, batik from Solo, Yogyakarta, Banyumas, Ponorogo, Tulungagung, Tuban, Tasikmalaya, Ciamis, and Cirebon is also available. The diverse community of craftsmen in the city of Batavia results in the creation of Batavian or Betawi batik, each with distinct characteristics in terms of production processes, motifs, and patterns, reflecting the origins of the artisans (Riyanto 2007).

Originally, Tanah Abang was not a batik-producing area, but it has evolved as part of the expanding batik industry in Java. The history of the batik industry in Java reveals that batik trade initially spread to various cities, including Batavia, where the batik craftsmen were native residents and of Javanese descent. As the demand for batik continues to rise at Tanah Abang Market, various textile-related industries are experiencing growth as well. This includes the establishment of clothing stores, tailoring services, accessory manufacturing, and more. As a result, Tanah Abang Market has become a hub for entrepreneurs from other cities who are eager to open businesses in proximity to the market. This trend persisted, and in 1970, Governor Ali Sadikin designated the Karet Kuningan and Palmerah areas as batik industrial zones, recognizing the high concentration of batik craftsmen in these locations (Sedyawati et al. 1986).

[24](#) ethical policy era: colonial modernization

In the early twentieth century, a significant shift in the governance of the Dutch East Indies occurred with the introduction of the Ethical Policy. This policy, also known as the "Politik Balas Budi" (Ethische Politiek), was rooted



Fig. 10 The Batik Artisans in Batavia in the Early 20th Century. Source: Batavia 1910 (KITLV 1401108 & 1401107); Batavia 1930 (KITLV 116537)

in the notion¹² at the Dutch bore a responsibility towards the welfare of the indigenous population in the Dutch East Indies. The rise of Ethical Policy was a response to growing concerns raised by certain European circles about the detrimental economic practices and overlooked humanitarian aspects in the Dutch East Indies.

The issue of oppression of the Dutch East Indies population culminated in Queen Wilhelmina's annual speech on September 17, 1901, where she explicitly acknowledged the moral obligation (*zed¹³ k roeping*) and debt of gratitude (*een eerschuld*) that the Netherlands owed to the Dutch East Indies population. The principles of Ethical Policy were manifested in three key policy implementation programs, collectively known as *Trias Politika* (*Trias van Deventer*): irrigation (the construction and improvement of water systems for agriculture), immigration (promoting migration of native people), and education (expanding educational opportunities for native inhabitants) (Vickers 2013).

The emergence of ethical policy has had a significant impact on urban spaces. The extensive Industrial Revolution in Europe since the eighteenth century has led to the development of new concepts in modern city planning.

This era brought about significant advancements in materials and architectural technology, giving rise to new concepts in urban design. One such concept is the Garden City, pioneered by Ebenezer Howard. This concept involves dividing city space into multiple zones, separating industrial and residential areas to¹⁴ minimize the negative effects of industrialization and improve the quality of life for the community and the environment (Howard 1946). Moreover, the enactment of the Decentralization Law of 1905/137 (Decentralisatie Besluit Ir. ¹⁵sehe Staatsblad) transformed the government system in the Dutch East Indies, leading to decentralization and the formation of Municipalities (*Gemeente*), giving each city the authority to govern its respective territory (Akihary 1988). These initiatives resulted in the growth of development movements in various cities as a means to address urban problems such as increasing population density, disorganized urban space, inadequate hygiene facilities and infrastructure, decreasing environmental quality, as well as the emergence of floods and disease outbreaks.

Cities such as Batavia, Meester Cornelis, Semarang, and Surabaya were among the first to receive urban development initiatives under the Ethical Policy. The decision to focus on these coastal areas was influenced by their role as gateways for migrants and as hubs for industrial and agricultural zones. As the program advanced, urban planning efforts expanded to include the development of resort cities like Buitenzorg or Bogor (1920), Bandung, and Malang (1933), known for their picturesque climates and views. The Civil Public

Works Department (*Burgewrlike Openbare Werken—BOW*) was responsible for regional planning and the construction of public facilities. Urban planners and architects played crucial roles in shaping these urban spaces and introducing new ideas.

Among the Dutch architects collaborating on city development under the Ethical Policy was Thomas Karsten (1884–1945). Karsten was involved in numerous projects across Java and Sumatra, where he sought to blend local philosophy with European architectural concepts. In Batavia, the residential areas of Menteng and Gondangdia were initially designed by Moojen, with subsequent modifications by Kubatz. While the Ethical Policy brought renewal to urban spaces, it also exacerbated the growing divide between the Dutch population and the native population (Vickers 2013).

In the realm of the Ethical Policy, the role of markets as vital components of urban space, and as providers of essential goods for citizens, garners significant attention as part of the city's efforts to enhance environmental quality. Following the 19th-century movements in Europe, particularly in France and England, open markets in Java transitioned into market halls. Notable examples include Pasar Gede in Solo and Pasar Johar in Semarang, both designed by Thomas Karsten, which stand as legacies of the construction of market halls in¹⁶ the 1920s and 1930s. In Batavia, documented in the *Beknopt Gedenkschrift ter gelegenheid van het 25-jarig best¹⁷ der Gemeente Batavia 1905–1930* (Brief Memoir on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Municipality of Batavia 1905–1930), several markets had undergone renovations until 1930. These included the Senen Market, known as a hub for vegetables and fruits, as well as the Glodok, Pasar Baroe, and Tanah Abang Market (Fig. 11).

The market development highlights advancements in technology utilizing a variety of materials. Markets like Glodok, Pasar Baroe, Gondangdia, Sawah Besar, Petodjo, and Tanah Abang are constructed using reinforced concrete structures, while Loear Batang and Pasar Pagi in Glodok area use wooden materials (Oktarina 2021). Senen Market was built using a wooden framework featuring concrete tables and floors. All markets adhere to standard shapes, although Tanah Abang Market stands out with its gable roof shape adorned with geometric ornaments, giving it an art deco aesthetic and supported by exposed columns. Despite its three long stalls, the structure of Tanah Abang Market remains unchanged, reflecting efforts to reinforce and create a lasting building. In addition to these market buildings, 17 smaller markets were established in various locations to accommodate street vendors and traveling traders, such as Tjikini Market and Mampang Market (Eggink 1930).

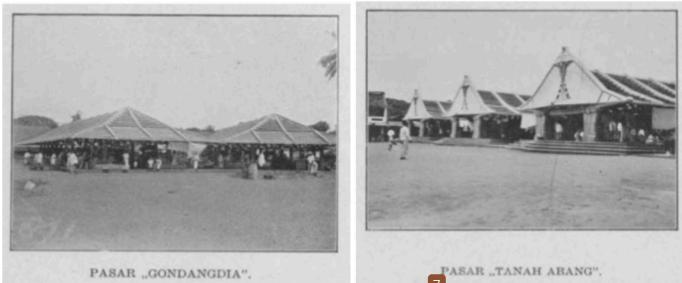


Fig. 11 Tanah Abang Market and Gondangdia Market in the 1930s. Source: "Na 25 jaar": Beknopt Gedenkschrift ter Gelegenheid van her 25-jarig Bestaan der Gemeente Batavia (Eggink 1930)

In contrast to the enclosed markets found in Central Java and Yogyakarta, the markets in Batavia and Meester Cornelis are not closed buildings. For instance, the Kebajoran Market, situated in the Meester Cornelis area and inaugurated in 1928, adopts the mushroom column concept seen in the Johar Market designed by Karsten. However, it does not take the form of a market hall. The construction of the Kebajoran Market was undertaken by the *Hollandsche Beton Maatschappij* (HBM), which had previously constructed markets in Bandung, as detailed in the *Bataviaasche Nieuwsblad* newspaper published on September 10, 1928.

In Batavia, the Tanah Abang Market has become a captivating new landmark for the region. The market's facade is adorned with art deco ornaments, reminiscent of the geometric patterns found in European architecture. The roof and columns feature intricate triangular and square designs, adding contemporary flair to the building. Unlike its 1922 predecessor, which relied on slender wooden pillars for support, the new market building boasts large, reinforced concrete columns, exuding a sense of strength and durability. The use of single pier columns, typically seen in bridges to support wide spans, further showcases the meticulous design of the market structure. Almost entirely constructed from reinforced concrete, including the roof, the Tanah Abang Market stands out as a testament to modern construction techniques. Even the roof, fashioned after a traditional Javanese house, is crafted from concrete, similar to the Petodjo Market built in 1927 (Figs. 12, 13).

The shift to concrete construction for buildings represents a new development in the markets of Batavia and other cities. Tanah Abang Market, which had been without a permanent building for over 200 years, is now housed in a permanent structure. The market, occupying



Fig. 12 The Tanah Abang Colonial Market Built in 1926. Source: Architecture & Stedebouw in Indonesia 1870–1970 (Akihary 1988)

an area of 4684 m², consists of stalls that cover 94.5 m². This transformation has propelled Tanah Abang Market, once a rural market, into an urban space, firmly establishing its presence within the city. This evolution illustrates the marked difference in Tanah Abang Market's status between 1911 and 1930, when it was still a private market, as documented in the *Verslag van den Toestand der Gemeente Batavia over 1912* (Report of the City of Batavia in 1912):

"Behalve de particuliere pasars Tanah-Abang en Pintoe-Ketjil bestaan in de Gemeente Batavia de pasars Senen, Baroe, Ikan, Tandjong-Priok, Kodja welke worden beheerd overeenkomstig de verordening op het gebruik en het beheer van de pasarterreinen en pasarlooden, genaamd Pasar Senen, Pasar Baroe en Pasar Ikan, welke verordening bij verordening van 23 Juli 1912 is toepasselijk verklaard op de pasars te Tandjong-Priok, Kampong Kodja en Petodjo (Verslag van den Toestand der Gemeente Batavia over 1912: 54)."



Fig. 13 The Interior of the Tanah Abang Market in 1922 and 1926. Source: (Left) *Beknopte Beschrijving van de Batikindustrie op Java* (Daubanton 1922); (Right) *Jaarboek van Batavia en Omstreken* 1927 (Vries 1927)

Besides the private markets Tanah Abang and Pintoe Ketjil, there are in the Municipality of Batavia the markets Senen, Baroe, Ikan, Tandjong-Priok, Kodja which are managed in accordance with the regulation on the use and management of market grounds and market warehouses, named Pasar Senen, Pasar Baroe, and Pasar Ikan, which regulation, by ordinance of 23 July 1912, has been declared applicable to the markets at Tandjong-Priok, Kampong Kodja, and Petodjo.

In the early twentieth century, the construction of markets in various cities signified the advancement of reinforced concrete technology and the expansion of private construction companies in the Dutch East Indies (Setyowati 2019). As development progressed, the demand for construction experts, civil engineers, and architects also surged. The limited number of experts led the Dutch East Indies government to import civil engineers and architects from the Netherlands to work in government services such as the Department van B.O.W. and Dienst der Gemeentewerken. Many experts also ventured into establishing private construction businesses and opening architectural-civil bureaus (*architecten-ingenieurs bureau*) or building contractors (*bouwaaenmers*). Civil engineers played a pivotal role in the development of reinforced concrete technology in the Dutch East Indies. Despite not enjoying the same level of recognition as architects, civil engineers were the driving forces behind the realization of buildings designed by architects. In addition to engineers graduating from the Technische Hogeschool Delft, the establishment of *Technische Hogeschool te Bandoeng* in Bandung in 1920 was significant, as it produced building experts who graduated in the Dutch Indies. The *Technische Hogeschool te Bandoeng* played a crucial role as the precursor to the emergence of indigenous engineers and architects (Architectural Documentation Center 2012; Setyowati 2019).

The recent advancements have led to the expansion of private Dutch building contractors such as *Hollandsche Beton Maatschappij* (HBM), *Nederlandsche Aanemings Maatschappij* (NEDAM), *Volker Aanemings Maatschappij*, *Aan 40ing Maatschappij 'De Kondor'*, *Bouwkundig Bureau Sitsen & Louzada*, and *Aanemings Maatschappij Oiman & van Leeuwen*, who have engaged in various development projects. Notably, HBM stands out as the sole contractor responsible for constructing the entire market in Bandung (Setyowati 2019). Due to a shortage of structural engineers, these contractors often use pre-existing designs from the model book. Apart from independent contractors, there are also many companies that have been established by architects and contractors working together, such as as *Algemeen Ingenieurs en Architecten-bureau* (AIA), *Architecten-Ingenieurs en Aanemersbedrijf Associatie Selle & de Bruyn Reyerse & de Vries, Job en Sprey Architecten en Ingenieurs-bureau*, or *Ingenieurs en Architecten-bureau Bond & Ogilvie* (Akbar 1988).

Some of the markets from the Ethical Policy era were designed with the local context in mind. For instance, Pasar Gede in Surakarta embraced Javanese architectural influences in its construction. On the other hand, Tanah Abang Market, much like other markets of its time, was built according to standard market blueprints, without the involvement of a special architect, but was overseen by an architect-contractor or building bureau. The markets from the colonial era reflect the push and pull between the modernization of the city's architecture and the desire to harmoniously coexist with the native population, while respecting and embracing the community's values. This interplay gave rise to public buildings featuring vernacular architecture.

During the Ethical Policy era, the development of markets not only transformed market infrastructure in various cities but also altered the dynamics of interaction

between traders and buyers in traditional markets. As described by Raffles (1830), in Java, the market or 'pekan' served as a place for commerce and social gathering. While some markets had permanent structures for stalls, many were open spaces where traders displayed their goods, often beneath trees. The introduction of dedicated market buildings consolidated dispersed organic markets, creating distinct territories for trade and separating the market from the city space. This strategic spatial management, as articulated by Foucault, aimed to exercise control and supervision, with transparent and visible layouts facilitating monitoring efforts.

Within the market building, goods that were once displayed in baskets or on the ground are now placed on elevated, smoothed surfaces resembling tables. The implementation of structured market layouts, including designated kiosk lanes, visitor circulation areas, and segregated stalls for each trader, brings order to market activities. Specifically, the market is enclosed by dividing walls, limiting access for both traders and buyers to a few doors that connect the market to the outside environment. The systematic organization of the market means that traders no longer have the freedom to arrange their goods as they please or utilize market spaces as they wish. This regulated division of space has transformed the market into a more controlled environment, with fewer opportunities for activities beyond those determined by market governance, effectively altering its function from a purely commercial space to one that also serves as a recreational area.

The Ethical Policy era brought about significant changes in market formations as the twentieth century dawned. Tanah Abang Market, originally a hub for textile trade, witnessed substantial growth and expansion. The introduction of handlooms in 1938 led to an influx of printed textile products, further boosting trading activities. This transformation not only impacted the market itself but also triggered widespread changes in the surrounding areas, turning them into vibrant centers of the textile industry.

Several key factors contributed to the reshaping of Tanah Abang Market during the ethical policy era. The shift from centralization to decentralization in government governance, the evolution of traditional markets into modern colonial markets, and the symbolic representation of rural influences in urban setting³⁸ played pivotal roles. By formalizing the market as an integral part of the city's structure, the government spearheaded a renewal that integrated markets into the fabric of governance. Furthermore, the architectural changes in the colonial-era Tanah Abang Market mirrored the societal shifts, signifying a transformation in trade dynamics within market spaces. While the market brought rural

communities into the urban structure, it also led to a disconnect from the cultural roots that had long supported the indigenous population.

The new order era: urban market and standardization

1966 marked the beginning of the New Order era, following the end of the Old Order led by Soekarno in mid-1965. During the Old Order era, the government initiated the construction of city infrastructure to enhance quality of life and bolster the city's identity. Senen Market, constructed in 1735 around the same time as Tanah Abang Market and situated near the state palace in the city center, was one of Soekarno's focal points. Amid Jakarta's rapid development, Senen Market became the first traditional market to undergo a significant transformation. In 1964, the Senen Market construction project, later dubbed the "Senen Project," commenced under the direction of Ciputra, a young architect from Bandung. Market challenges such as disorganized market spaces, narrow roads, limited parking, and irregular traffic patterns were addressed. The initial phase involved acquiring land from neighboring residents to expand the area. The once dilapidated market was then reimaged into a sprawling market complex, featuring a four-story modern building spanning 28,551 m². Pasar Senen also became the first building in Jakarta to incorporate a parking facility.

The New Order came into power during a period of economic hardship. In an effort to bolster the economy, the government introduced a development plan called REPELITA and welcomed foreign investment. Extensive development took place not only in urban centers but also in *kampung* settlements. The Kampung Improvement Program (KIP) or MHT Project (1969–1976) aimed to enhance *kampungs* in the Jakarta area, including those around the crowded Tanah Abang Market where migrant settlements were prevalent. The improvements encompassed the construction of paved roads, provision of clean water, building of toilets, and the establishment of community health centers. As a result, rural residents gradually adopted a more modern way of life.

The state of *kampung* settlements in Jakarta during the 1970s was quite dire. Positioned in swamp lands and rice fields, unpaved roads would transform into muddy fields with standing water during the rainy season. The tightly packed houses with no proper sewers aggravated the situation. By 1975/1976, the MHT Project had covered 4694 hectares of the entire village area in Jakarta (Abeyasekere 1987). Tanah Abang, situated in Central Jakarta, was one of the targeted areas. The migrant settlements surrounding the market were among the 24 villages slated for redevelopment. These included Kebon Melati, Kebon Kacang, Kebon Pala, and Kebon Sirih, which were previously plantation areas that had become

densely populated villages. The residents, who had originally lived in a rural setting, gradually adapted to the changes (Oktarina 2018).

The New Order era witnessed rapid development. As rural areas saw progress, the business and government sectors in the city center also expanded. By the 1980s, skyscrapers no longer only characterized Jalan M. H. Thamrin or Jalan Jenderal Sudirman, but had spread across various areas. Alongside office buildings, several shopping centers and entertainment venues added vibrancy to the city. This ongoing development transformed Jakarta into a stunning metropolis adorned with modern architectural marvels.

The transformation of Tanah Abang Market was significant. In 1973, PD. Pasar Jaya initiated a major overhaul to enhance market quality. The increasing number of traders arriving at the market made it difficult to accommodate the growing activity. At that time, the market had only 489 stalls, with 58% local traders, 35.2% Chinese traders, and 23.5% others (Jaya 1982). The Governor's Decree of 1966 assigned the management of Tanah Abang Market to PD. Pasar Jaya, reminiscent of the colonial government system.

The market, previously composed of long stalls, was transformed into four blocks of three-story buildings. In addition to rejuvenating the buildings, several facilities

were provided to facilitate market operations, including electricity networks, water supply, public telephones, restrooms, parking, escalators, post offices, restaurants, and mosques. Kiosks were categorized as open and closed, with each block serving specific purposes. For example, textile wholesale was located on the ground floor of Blocks A, B, and C, while batik, sarongs, and ready-made clothes were on floors I and II. Block A also provided space for tailors, vegetables, and meat. Block D featured batik, textiles, sarongs, ready-made clothing, and groceries. Additionally, all kiosks, which previously lacked proper lighting, were now electrified (Jaya 1982) (Figs. 14, 15, 16, 17).

The transformation of Tanah Abang Market, marked by the demolition of the old buildings and the establishment of sturdy, block-shaped structures, has successfully redefined the market's identity from a traditional to a modern urban market. Its architectural rhythm now harmonizes with other commercial buildings, solidifying Tanah Abang Market's status as a progressive hub in Jakarta.

By 1976, the market boasted 1,522 traders, a number that steadily increased over the years. By 1982, the count had doubled to 3,016. While these developments brought positive changes, they also ushered in new challenges. The renovation of Tanah Abang Market has also extended to other markets in the area. Bendungan Hilir



Fig. 14 The Situation of Tanah Abang Market and The Demolition of the Old Building 1973. Source: kompasdata.kompas.id (<http://www.kompasdata.id/Search/PhotoDetail/491867> accessed August 2021)



Fig. 15 The New Market Blocks Built in 1973. Source: kompasdata.kompas.id (<http://www.kompasdata.id/Search/PhotoDetail/554747> accessed July 2021)



Fig. 16 Tanah Abang Market Atmosphere in the 1980s. Source: (Upper) Postcard from Indonesia; (Bottom) Facebook Indonesia Tempo Dulu (<https://www.facebook.com/247931668557102/photos/a.637044082979190/497190626964537> accessed July 2021); PD. Pasar Jaya



Fig. 17 Kiosks and Street Vendors in the Tanah Abang Market 1974–1978. Source: kompasdata.kompas.id (<http://www.kompasdata.id/Search/PhotoDetail/183244> accessed August 2021)

Market, located adjacent to Tanah Abang Market and built in 1974, shares a similar architectural style with its counterpart. Unlike Tanah Abang Market, Bendungan Hilir Market features cinema facilities.

The modernization drove up stall rental costs, making it unaffordable for some traders. Additionally, security matters were complicated as market management delegated responsibilities to unsavory individuals. Consequently, some traders resorted to selling outside the market and making payments to these unscrupulous figures, leading to disorderly market spaces and the proliferation of informal traders in the market's vicinity. The intertwined growth of the informal sector with the

market's evolution remains a persistent challenge for the Tanah Abang Market (Figs. 18, 19).

The layout of the 1970s market spaces reflects the evolution of previous market designs. The open movement that once allowed traders to freely navigate and facilitated the entry of new traders is no longer feasible in the new market layout. The market is now enclosed by fences, separating it from the surrounding environment. Additionally, the multi-story market building creates a more contained market environment. While shops on the ground floor still face outward for accessibility, visitors from outside the market must use designated entrances on multiple sides to access the interior. Stall areas are



Fig. 18 The Architecture of Tanah Abang Market Built in 1973. Source: (Upper) kompasmedia.kompas.id (<https://kompasmedia.kompas.id/baca/data/foto/pasar-tanah-abang>) accessed August, 2021; Bottom (Left) kompasdata.id, 1983 (<http://www.kompasdata.id/Search/PhotoDetail/214229>) accessed July 2021; (Right) kompasdata.id, 1975 (<http://www.kompasdata.id/Search/PhotoDetail/156963>) accessed July 2021)



Fig. 19 Spaces of Tanah Abang Market in the 1970s. Source: tempodata.co, 1975 and 1978 (Left to Right: (1) <https://www.datatempo.co/foto/detail/P1905201500125/penjual-tekstil-di-pasar-tanah-abang> accessed July 2021; (2) <https://www.datatempo.co/foto/detail/P2605201500104/pasar-tanah-abang> accessed July 2021; (3) <https://www.datatempo.co/foto/detail/P0307201500311/plk-di-pasar-tanah-abang> accessed July 2021; (4) <https://www.datatempo.co/foto/detail/P1905201500127/penjual-tekstil-di-pasar-tanah-abang> accessed July 2021)

situated on the second and third floors, with some facing outside to provide a view of the surroundings; however, these spaces are not directly accessible and are disconnected from the external environment. The standardization of city markets during the New Order era showcases the architectural adjustments made by the government to enhance urban operations and reflect broader economic and social transformations.

The market's box-like structure is a testament to the influence of Western modern architecture that emerged in the early twentieth century. Post-war construction in Europe, born out of the urgent necessity to modernize and rebuild, resulted in the creation of functional, uncomplicated buildings. This same ethos was mirrored in the construction of Tanah Abang Market, which needed to accommodate a growing number of traders. The modular design of the market buildings allowed for efficient replication, addressing the pressing need for space. This design became a defining feature of Tanah Abang Market during the New Order era, representing a modern approach to urban spaces. It replaced the traditional long rows of stalls with a three-story market building and became a prominent landmark within the resident⁶ neighborhoods.

After the end of Dutch rule and the transfer of power from the Dutch colonial government to the Indonesian government, significant changes took place within government institutions. However, the governance system in various Indonesian cities post-independence, such as Jakarta, still reflected the fundamental patterns established during the colonial era. In 1966, with the start of the New Order regime, the Jakarta Provincial Government founded PD. Pasar Jaya as a government-owned enterprise responsible for market management and as a source of revenue for the government. The establishment of PD. Pasar Jaya resembled the businesses formed during the early Gemeente period, which included Market Companies and Animal Slaughter Companies (Eggink

1930). PD. Pasar Jaya not only held a position within the city government as a Regional Government-Owned Enterprise (BUMD), but its structure also featured divisions similar to Gemeente, including *Commissies in den Raad*, *Commissies van Voorbereiding*, and *Commissies van Bijstand* (Jaya, 1982) (Fig. 20).

The inclusion of Tanah Abang Market under the city government's jurisdiction brought about strong political considerations regarding the market's integral connection to the community's economy, urban achievements, and, at a broader scale, governmental success. In the New Order era, General Nasution's concept of ABRI's dual function served as a catalyst, allowing the military to play a significant role in politics while still fulfilling its primary functions in defense and security. President Suharto, with a military background, expanded the military's role to act as a stabilizing force, overseeing civil society in governance. This resulted in the dominance of ABRI's dual function implementation, leading to a centralized government that dealt repressively with any unrest within society, both in the executive and legislative branches. State⁵ dignitaries' visits to Tanah Abang Market, including members of the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (House of Representatives), Sudomo as the Panglima Komando Pemulihhan K⁶amanan dan Ketertiban or Pangkokamtit (commander of the Operations⁵ Command for the Restoration of Security and Order), Minister of Home Affairs M. Amir Machmud, Minister of Trade M. Panggabean, and President Soeharto, illustrate the market's strategic significance and its influence on national security and stability. This made policies related to Tanah Abang Market involve multiple stakeholders.

During the New Order era, Tanah Abang Market symbolized the regime's emphasis on large-scale economic development and reflected the rapid transformation of Jakarta into a metropolitan city. The market's evolution mirrors the Indonesian government's focus on positioning it primarily as an economic entity, often neglecting



Fig. 20 Official Visits and Management of Tanah Abang Market. (Left) Governor Ali Sadikin at the Inauguration of Tanah Abang Market in 1975; (Middle) President Soeharto Inspecting Street Vendors at Tanah Abang Market in the 1980s; (Right) Central Management Staff of Tanah Abang Market in the 1980s. Source: (Left) kompaspedia.kompasid (<http://www.kompasdata.id/Search/PhotoDetail/183244> accessed August, 2021); (Middle and Right) 250 Tahun Pasar Tanah Abang, 1982

its traditional role as a social and cultural hub. This shift was driven by the city's development, supported by a mix of foreign and domestic private investment in the business sector. The market's growth aligned with the city's progress and became a revenue-generating engine for Jakarta and the nation, as envisioned by PD. Pasar Jaya (Figs. 21, 22).

As the textile industry expanded beyond Java during the New Order era and textile-related businesses grew, there was a significant increase in textile trade at Tanah Abang Market. This period saw the market's influence extend beyond its economic significance, becoming a place where the aspirations of the people were realized. This was particularly evident after the mid-1970s, when the domestic textile industry began providing fabrics ready for processing into ready-made clothing (Ernawati and Salim 2015). The market thus became a vital component of Indonesia's broader economic and social landscape.

The Tanah Abang Market is a one-stop destination for all clothing needs within the community. While exclusive products fill the shelves of renowned shopping centers, the market offers mass-produced textile items known as

KW products or substandard quality. Through the craftsmanship of skilled tailors, one can find affordable imitations of the clothing on display at leading department stores. Amidst the growing number of luxury shopping centers in Jakarta, the Tanah Abang Market serves as an avenue for lower-class society in Indonesia to access what is otherwise out of reach in city centers. For instance, jeans, which gained popularity in the United States in the 1950s and became a global fashion trend in the 1970s, made their first appearance in Indonesia as imported products in leading shopping centers. By the 1980s, various imitation brands of jeans were available at stalls in the Tanah Abang Market (Fig. 23).

The emergence of KW goods at Tanah Abang Market signifies a more inclusive approach to Jakarta, welcoming people from diverse Indonesian regions. Historically, the concentration of wealth in the city center has led to the marginalization of those living on the outskirts, effectively creating a divide between the upper middle class in the city and the kampung residents. In direct contrast to the opulence of luxury shopping centers, the government has positioned Tanah Abang Market as a traditional hub, catering to the needs of the lower class. This market



Fig. 21 Textile Trade in the Tanah Abang Market 1980s. Source: (Left) tempodata.co, 1986 (<https://www.datatempo.co/foto/detail/P1603201200095/pedagang-kaki-lima-di-pasar-tanah-abang> accessed July 2021); (Right) tempodata.co, 1985 (<https://www.datatempo.co/foto/detail/P2410201200008/titiik-puspa-berbelanja-di-pasar-tanah-abang> accessed July 2021)



Fig. 22 Jeans Traders in the Tanah Abang Market 1990s. Source: (Left) datatempo.co, 1991 (<https://www.datatempo.co/foto/detail/P1206200800144/pedagang-pakaian-di-pasar-tanah-abang> accessed July 2021); (Right) datatempo.co, 1991 (<https://www.datatempo.co/foto/detail/P1206200800142/pedagang-pakaian-di-pasar-tanah-abang> accessed July 2021)



Fig. 23 The Dualism of Jakarta's Face in the 1970s. Source: National Archief



Fig. 24 The Atmosphere of Tanah Abang Area After the Fire 2003. Source: Google Maps 2004

serves as a reflection of the lower class society in Jakarta, offering an experience that cannot be replicated in high-end malls. The bustling energy of Tanah Abang Market provides a glimpse of Jakarta's duality. Amidst the modernization, one can still find human-powered rickshaws sharing the road with motorized vehicles. The visual contrast of women donning Western hairstyles walking alongside others wearing traditional attire is a testament to the varied cultural landscape of the city. In the era of the centralized New Order government, Jakarta has become a blend of aspirations and restrictions, bridging the gap between urban and rural life.

The post-reformation era: commercialization and adaptation of architecture

As we step into the twenty-first century, the evolving urban landscape of Jakarta increasingly reveals that it is not a city for everyone. With the rising standard of living, only a privileged few can afford to reside in the city center, while the majority are forced to relocate to the burgeoning satellite cities on the outskirts. Places like Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi serve as buffer zones for Jakarta, catering to its burgeoning population and propelling the city's growth. Jakarta has transcended its status as a self-sufficient entity and has emerged as a pivotal hub connecting the surrounding regions (Fig. 24).

The evolution of Jakarta has also significantly impacted the Tanah Abang Market. Situated in the city center and adjacent to the pivotal Tanah Abang Station, which serves as a major transit point connecting different

regions, the area around the Tanah Abang Market has become increasingly bustling and congested. It is now teeming not only with traders and market visitors, but also with commuters traveling from the outskirts to work in Jakarta. The Tanah Abang Market has faced numerous challenges to its existence, enduring several attempts at destruction. Just five years after its construction in 1973, a devastating fire engulfed Block A, Third Floor on December 30, 1978, followed by another fire in Block B in 1979. The market suffered an even greater fire in 2003, nearly resulting in its complete destruction (Fig. 25).

The major fire that occurred in Block A of Tanah Abang Market in 2003 marked a significant turning point in the market's management system. The market in the Post-Reformation era is a result of collaboration between the government and the private sector. The evolving circumstances and the necessity to restore market activities, coupled with the government's limited resources, prompted the government to engage in a partnership with the private sector to participate in planning and become the authorized party to manage the market. Challenges that posed a threat to the market, such as accessibility for visitors and the market's potential, led the developer to not only redevelop the Tanah Abang Market building but also to work on transforming the market spaces as a whole.

The development of Block A was made possible with the support of PT. Priamanaya Djian International, which played a crucial role as a financier and developer. The company transformed Block A into a stunning 15-story high-rise building, drastically altering the market's landscape compared to its pre-construction state. Not only did the market gain a more impressive structure, but it



Fig. 25 The Model of the New Tanah Abang Market and the Construction Process in 2004. Source: Left: datatempo.co, 2004 (<https://www.datempo.co/foto/detail/P2306200400105/maket-pasar-tanah-abang>) accessed July 2021; Right: datatempo.co, 2004 (<https://www.datatempo.co/foto/detail/P1104200500041/permabangunan-pasar-tanah-abang>) accessed July 2021)

also acquired a new aesthetic with Middle Eastern influences, establishing a unique landmark in the region. Kar-naya, the architect behind the market's construction, described Block A as being designed with Middle Eastern architectural elements, drawing inspiration from the people's perception of a connection between the market and Arabian communities. This was also emphasized by Djan Faridz, President Director of PT. Priamanaya Djan International, who stated, "*Sebagian besar pedagang pasar Blok A adalah warga sekitar yang asli Betawi. Dan mayoritas mereka beragama Islam. Karenanya, kami konsep bangunan Pasar Blok A ini dengan arsitektur khas Betawi tapi kami beri sentuhan Islam*" (The majority of the merchants in Block A market are local Betawi residents, and most of them are Muslim. Therefore, we conceptualized the building's architecture with Betawi influences while incorporating Islamic nuances).¹ This was really a very sharp turn in the Tanah Abang Market journey.

Peraturan Gubernur No. 161, launched in 2004, outlined plans for the redevelopment of the 27.26-ha area of Tanah Abang Market. The redevelopment aimed to not only revitalize the market but also address issues related to accessibility, visitor circulation, and parking. One of the proposed enhancements was the addition of a skybridge to connect market blocks and improve the route from Tanah Abang Station to the market. In 2005, the new Block A was officially inaugurated, leading to increased market activity and attracting other investors to contribute to market expansion. In 2007, the attention of developers, including the Priamanaya Group and the Agung Podomoro Group, resulted in the joint construction of Block B under the banner of PT. Putra Pratama Sukses. The developers set out to transform the market's old image into modern retail spaces equipped with

contemporary amenities and infrastructure, while retaining the traditional bargaining method as the prevailing transaction system.

Construction on Block B began in 2007, following a similar concept as Block A. The original plan, proposed by consulting architect Achmad Noerzaman from PT. Arkonin, aimed to incorporate local architectural elements inspired by the Tanah Abang Market. However, the design evolved over time to prioritize factors such as maintenance convenience. Investors also played a significant role, emphasizing the proposed design for the market. Block B, with 22 lifts and 154 escalators, started its operations in 2010. Both Block A and Block B have now become prominent modern landmarks, seamlessly blending in with other contemporary shopping centers in Jakarta. The grandeur of the Tanah Abang Market now rivals that of other modern shopping centers in Jakarta, transforming it into a large-scale shopping destination from a traditional city market (Figs. 26, 27, 28).

The transformation of Tanah Abang Market has been significant during the post-reform era. The fire that devastated almost the entire Block A of Tanah Abang Market created an opportunity for private sector involvement in overseeing the market, signaling a shift of public facilities under private sector control.

The collaboration between the government and private developers has altered the market management, echoing the market's private ownership during the colonial period before the Ethical Policy era, rather than being under government control. The market's new appearance also introduces a new concept for the "Pasar Rakyat" or traditional market post-independence, blurring the lines between commercial and public facilities.

In the final years of the New Order era, a notable trend in Indonesian society was the rise of Muslim fashion. This trend began in the 1980s with the emergence of Indonesian Muslim fashion designers in the garment

²⁵

¹ <http://www.pda.or.id/pustaka/books-detail.php?id=20050013> accessed by July 2021.



Fig. 26 Design Proposal of Block B by Arkonin. Source: PT. Arkonin, 2004

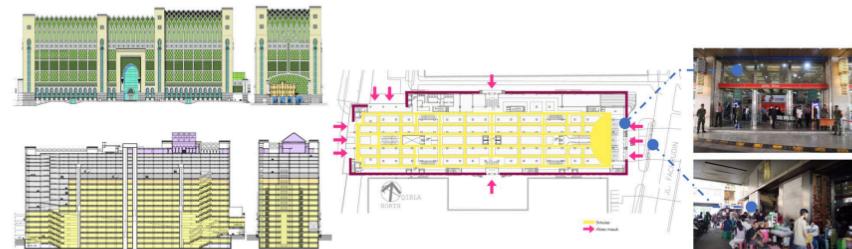


Fig. 27 The Elevation and Lay Out of Block A. Source: PT. Arservo, 2005; mediaindonesia.com 2020 (<https://mediaindonesia.com/megapolitan/421005/pasar-tanah-abang-kembali-dibuka-hari-ini> accessed July 2021); YouTube, 2020 (<https://youtu.be/cFINbaaGU4Q> accessed July 2021)

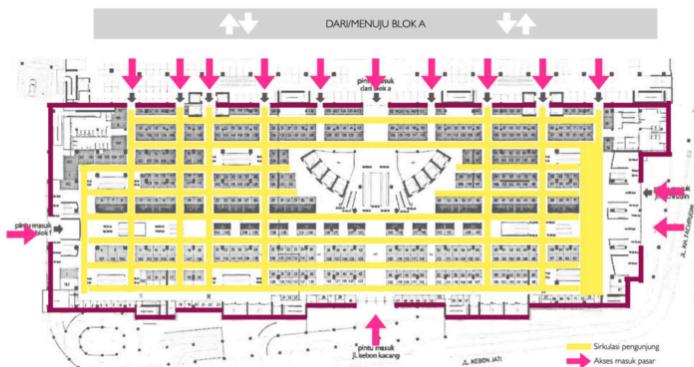


Fig. 28 Entry Access and Circulation Flow for Block B. Source: Reproduction of Tanah Abang Market Block B Plan

industry. The introduction of this new style of clothing led to the widespread popularity of Muslim attire among the predominantly Muslim Indonesian population. By the 1990s, the increased presence of religious activities

in social spheres contributed to a growing adoption of Muslim clothing across Indonesian society (Nisa 2008). As the industry progressed, Muslim fashion became a significant market force, particularly at the Tanah Abang

Market, during the Post-Reformation era. With the burgeoning Muslim fashion sector, it has become a dominant commodity in market spaces, displacing other products (Fig. 29).

In the early twenty-first century, Muslim fashion in Indonesia evolved from being simply fashionable to becoming a symbol of identity, representing the concept of 'community clothing'. This transformation gave rise to the expansion of the apparel industry and textile trade, reflecting Indonesia's societal structure as the country with the largest Muslim population in the world. Tanah Abang Market, as a focal point of this social shift, has significantly influenced not only Jakarta but also various regions of Indonesia. The growth of the textile trade and the Muslim clothing industry parallels the increasing Muslim population. As the role of religion in society expanded, religious values became embodied in attire, making Muslim fashion an integral part of daily life across diverse social strata. This progression has caused the term "Muslim population" to become a significant and marketable commodity, underscoring the market's role in blending cultural and economic aspects.

Additionally, in the 2000s, the textile goods available at Tanah Abang Market shed their association with "Jakarta KW" and the lower class. The period following the Reformation brought about a shift, turning Tanah Abang Market into a destination where people could access urban luxuries at reasonable prices. The market's offerings expanded to encompass a wide range of goods, particularly textiles and processed textile products, moving beyond its previous reputation of catering exclusively to the lower class. Luxurious textile and clothing items, which were previously exclusively available in upscale shopping centers, have now made their way into the market space. The broad market appeal has prompted numerous upper middle class industry players to take notice and relocate their products from department stores to

Tanah Abang Market. The flow of capital at Tanah Abang Market has also led prominent traders and public figures to set up shop there. Traders with substantial capital have even established multiple stalls at Tanah Abang Market, occupying different locations.

The twenty-first century has witnessed significant growth in sales and influence of Tanah Abang Market as a key hub for textile and Muslim clothing sales. This trend reflects the dynamism of Indonesia's textile industry. Notably, the Muslim fashion sector is emerging as a lucrative market, catering not only to local needs but also presenting opportunities on a global scale. Despite challenges posed by imported products, Indonesia's well-established and expanding textile industry network across various regions demonstrates the country's potential to be a leading source in the global Muslim fashion market.

Conclusion

In examining the history of Tanah Abang Market and its architectural evolution over three centuries, it becomes evident that the market has been a crucial focal point, offering insight into significant developments in urban dynamics and socio-cultural shifts. This portrayal of the close interconnections between architecture, governance, economy, and society highlights how each period of transformation mirrors changes in urban space and broader cultural contexts.

1. *The modern-vernacular concept of Tanah Abang Market 1926*, with the mixture of art deco style and saddle-shaped tropical roof design, stands as a prominent landmark of colonial modern markets amidst the development of new urban centers during the Ethical Policy era. It reflects a revolutionary transformation of urban spaces in Java's major cities, symbolizing the societal progress and migration



Fig. 29 Block A and Block B of the Tanah Abang Market in the Post-Reformation Era. Source: Left: stock.adobe.com (<https://stock.adobe.com/images/tanah-abang-market-building-with-jakarta-cityscape/397745202> accessed July, 2021); Right: stock.adobe.com (<https://stock.adobe.com/images/tanah-abang-market-as-known-as-the-largest-textile/397745194> accessed July 2021)

of village residents into the urban fabric. This transition also highlights the marginalized status of village migrants, who observe the bustling city life from the outskirts while actively participating in the city's economic activities. The proliferation of batik centers across various cities, culminating in Batavia, signifies the encroachment of industrialization into domestic spaces, eroding cultural traditions of rural communities and positioning the city as the new focal point of people's lives.

2. *The standardization of the New Order era market*, which included the reformation of Tanah Abang Market into modern-style market blocks, reflects the government's dedication to improving the national economy through microeconomics. This transformation also signifies Indonesia's post-independence industrial revolution, leading to the growth of small-scale textile businesses across the country. Nestled in the bustling heart of Jakarta amid towering skyscrapers and contemporary shopping centers, Tanah Abang Market's evolution into a metropolitan city accentuates its unique position in urban space. It symbolizes a class struggle and serves as a gateway for the lower class from various parts of Indonesia who are unable to access the exclusive spaces in downtown Jakarta.
3. *The 21st-century redevelopment of Tanah Abang Market*, featuring a modern structure financed by private investors, ³⁷ symbolizes a shift towards the commercialization and privatization of urban spaces, reflecting the influence of capitalism. The fusion of Middle Eastern-style architecture with Betawi ornaments not only establishes a new visual identity for the market but also underscores the crucial role of architecture in shaping cultural elements. This transformation appears to distance the market from its historical origins, which were nurtured by Javanese batik artisans, while still accommodating a diverse array of traders from different regions in Indonesia. Additionally, the focus on orientalism in the market's architecture signals a reinforcement of new trends in Indonesian architectural style. The prevalence of Islamic architecture and the widespread availability of Muslim clothing within the market reflects a shift that is reshaping Indonesian society. Given Indonesia's predominantly Muslim population, Islamic attire has become a fundamental aspect of social identity, underscoring the significance of Tanah Abang Market as a reflection of the market share and identity of the Indonesian populace.

Through extensive research, a comprehensive understanding of the market has been gained, revealing its role

not only as an economic powerhouse, but also as a nexus for absorbing diverse influences from urban interventions and societal shifts. The influence of market spaces encapsulates the fundamental concept of urban development and interpretation, while also representing a broader form of societal control, often subtly conveyed through architectural and urban planning.

Furthermore, the evolution of Tanah Abang Market unveils the complex layers of space and time inherent in each phase of its development. It demonstrates how class struggles, in various forms, persistently vie for spatial dominance across different periods. While the colonial and postcolonial epochs provide a broad chronological framework, within them lie subtle complexities that shape and confer significance to every moment and space. The dynamic interplay within markets, with its myriad tensions, weaves a rich tapestry that adds depth to communities and cities.

The investigation revealed the significant influence of the colonial era on urban development, particularly evident in Tanah Abang Market. The market served not only as a center of commerce but also symbolized substantial changes in the city's infrastructure and societal fabric. Tanah Abang Market reflects the architectural evolution from colonial market structures to the modern architecture of the New Order era. Furthermore, the design of Jakarta's urban space and policies showcases the enduring impact of colonial policies on post-independence development. The industrialization of textiles sparked an economic transformation in traditional Indonesian society and redefined the role of cities as centers of community life. The colonial era market also stimulated cultural shifts by blending local and Western influences, nurturing a multicultural environment at Tanah Abang Market. Additionally, as rural residents settled in suburban areas, it led to the emergence of a new urban social class, contributing to social inequality in the urban landscape.

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The data and materials supporting the findings of this manuscript are available.

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Textile and texture in Tanah Abang Market: architectural evolution from the colonial to the post-colonial era

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