



## Analysis of Cultural Order Patterns in Jongko Houses in the Gempol Market Area

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### Abstract

The Gempol Market area has transformed from a communal residential park into a market and later into a mixed-use space combining commercial and residential functions. This shift reflects the gradual privatization of public areas, shaping both the neighborhood's physical layout and social identity. The key concern is how this process creates relatively stable cultural patterns despite informal development driven by individual spatial decisions. This study aims to identify and analyze the cultural ordering patterns of rumah-jongko buildings in the Gempol Market area using N. J. Habraken's theoretical framework. A descriptive qualitative approach is employed, based on pattern analysis from field observations, visual documentation, and interpretation of spatial arrangements, guided by four Habraken principles: agent intervention, pattern similarity, continuity, and consistency. The results indicate that rumah-jongko patterns evolve from individual owner decisions influenced by economic roles, commercial needs, material choices, and interactions with surrounding structures. These decisions gradually lead to collective agreements, resulting in uniform two-storey buildings with commercial spaces on the ground floor and residences above. The study concludes that the spatial order of the Gempol Market area reflects a gradual, consistent pattern-type-system integration that expresses the cultural order present in the built environment.

**Keywords:** pattern analysis, shophouses, cultural order, transformation

## Analisis Pola Tataan Budaya pada Rumah Jongko Kawasan Pasar Gempol

### Abstrak

Kawasan Pasar Gempol mengalami transformasi fungsi ruang dari taman komunal perumahan menjadi pasar, dan selanjutnya berkembang menjadi kawasan permukiman komersial. Perubahan ini menunjukkan dinamika privatisasi ruang publik yang secara bertahap membentuk karakter fisik dan sosial kawasan. Permasalahan utama terletak pada bagaimana proses transformasi tersebut menghasilkan pola tataan budaya yang relatif konsisten, meskipun berkembang secara informal dan berbasis keputusan individual para pelaku ruang. Tulisan ini bertujuan mengidentifikasi dan menganalisis pola tataan budaya pada bangunan rumah-jongko di Kawasan Pasar Gempol dengan menggunakan kerangka teori N. J. Habraken. Pendekatan yang digunakan bersifat deskriptif kualitatif melalui analisis pola (pattern analysis), dengan metode observasi lapangan, dokumentasi visual, serta interpretasi konfigurasi ruang berdasarkan empat prinsip pola Habraken, yaitu intervensi agen, kesamaan pola, kesinambungan, dan konsistensi. Hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa pola bangunan rumah-jongko terbentuk dari keputusan individual pemilik bangunan yang dipengaruhi oleh fungsi ekonomi, pertimbangan komersial, pemilihan material, serta relasi dengan bangunan sekitar. Keputusan tersebut berkembang menjadi kesepakatan bentuk kolektif yang menghasilkan keseragaman bangunan dua lantai, dengan lantai dasar sebagai ruang usaha dan lantai atas sebagai ruang hunian. Kesimpulan menunjukkan tataan ruang Kawasan Pasar Gempol terintegrasi dengan pola-jenis-sistem spasial bertahap dan konsisten sebagai perwujudan tataan budaya dalam lingkungan binaan.

**Kata kunci:** analisis pola, rumah-jongko, tataan budaya, transformasi

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## Introduction

The Gempol area is historically very intriguing because it is the first residential environment in the city of Bandung designed by an architect. The characteristics of this residential area with a cul-de-sac or pocket system earned it the title of the best village after receiving the "Kampong Verbetering" (village improvement program) touch in 1925. This residential area features a garden in front of the houses, as shown in Figure 1.



Figure 1. Block Plan of the Gempol Area (Maryudi, 2001)

Land use change is a common feature of urban development. The phenomenon involves the transformation of Taman Gempol from a park into a market, followed by the conversion of the market into a commercial settlement [1]. Land use change is defined as the process of shifting from one land use to another, which can be either permanent or temporary, and is a natural result of the growth and transformation of a society's socio-economic structure [2]. Besides the economy, policy factors also play a significant role in land-use changes [3]. This perspective suggests a connection between the transformation in the Pasar Gempol area and the economic structure.

The rise in commercial activities often reshapes urban land use, with land use changes frequently driven by the growth of commercial, tourism, and residential developments [4]. In the case of Pasar Gempol Bandung, the transformation from a park to a temporary market and then to a shophouse indicates

a shift in needs from basic survival to the pursuit of stability, status, and socio-economic identity.

Functional changes affect the components of the area, including land use, road patterns, building typologies, or building structures [5], [6], [7]. The Structure of Ordinary theory seeks to observe the transformations occurring within its built environment across three orders: physical, territorial, and social. The physical order comprises the surroundings (buildings); the territorial order includes the patterns of outdoor spaces and roads; and the social order pertains to human interactions within it [8].

The environment is an artifact; within it, inter-environmental relationships can reflect a social dimension. Space, resulting from cultural order, represents a consensus among the inhabitants and reflects their social relationships. This principle states that the form of space and buildings is always related to the preferences and perceptions of each inhabitant or culture, as well as certain rules that develop around it.

The Gempol Market area was chosen as a case study because it has a unique dynamic of spatial transformation: the communal garden of the Gempol housing complex was later converted into an economic space. This transformation presents a pattern of cultural order that forms organically through negotiations among various agents, including residents, traders, and the government, as reflected in the design of jongko houses, which adapt to rental and usage conditions. The complexity of changes in spatial functions, the sustainability of economic activities, and the integration of local culture make Pasar Gempol an appropriate case for understanding how cultural order patterns operate in the context of urban space transformation.

This research aims to identify and analyze the cultural order patterns that emerge in the Jongko houses in the Pasar Gempol area, as well as to explain how these patterns play a role in the process of spatial transformation and the formation of the area's character from a communal garden to a thriving market as it is today.

## Literature Review

Every built environment is never neutral but is always governed by an order or system that controls how forms are constructed, modified, and understood [4], [8]. Patterns shaped by culture can be seen in houses, public spaces, and economic buildings such as kiosks. A Jongko house is a living space that merges with a

commercial space. This places it directly in the realm of the "cultural order" because economic and social functions occur simultaneously. The spatial pattern is influenced by the collective values of the traders, not personal preferences. There are unwritten rules governing how kiosks and houses are arranged, reflecting the community's collective values and cultural norms and influencing their placement and interaction within the spatial pattern. The use of Habraken's theory on the cultural order pattern of Jongko houses can be analyzed at three levels: the emerging pattern, the physical elements that follow the cultural order, and the cultural logic.

Pattern is one of the three ways to understand form in the theory *The Structure of the Ordinary* [8], namely, a consistent and repetitive relationship among two or more parts [8]. The principle of patterns begins with interactions among agents. To identify two or more elements that can create a pattern, we refer to the concept of "Pattern Language" [9]. Pattern language seeks to align actors on which patterns are considered acceptable, right, and applicable to the social body, thereby contributing to the creation of places with high levels of life, meaning, and a sense of belonging [9].

The next stage is to analyze the configuration or similarity of patterns in living arrangements, which are understood not merely as physical artifacts but as the result of interactions among agents, structures, and environmental contexts. In the Habraken framework, patterns reflect a form of agent intervention influenced by various interconnected external elements. The pattern approach allows for the reading of interindividual relations, even though residential units develop separately, because of the continuous interconnectedness of agents' actions and decisions within the built environment.

Continuity and repetition become the third aspect in assessing patterns as a cultural order. Although there are similarities in selection, positioning, and distribution, the patterns clearly do not imply standardization; they are a natural result of interpretive freedom, without the need for rigid regulations. Finally, there is consistency; when the pattern is applied consistently in certain places, it can add identity and structure to public spaces. The pattern organizes the local population and groups, together forming a higher-level entity than before (group scale). Patterns adopted individually by each house add virtual infrastructure at a city scale, enhancing connectivity and fostering a sense of community among residents.

Research on the transformation of Samin houses shows that physical changes, such as partitions, building elements, and spatial orientation, always follow the patterns of cultural order within the community [10]. The cause is the cultural patterns that result from agents' negotiation between new needs and established cultural rules, which reflect the community's values and social dynamics as they adapt their living spaces.

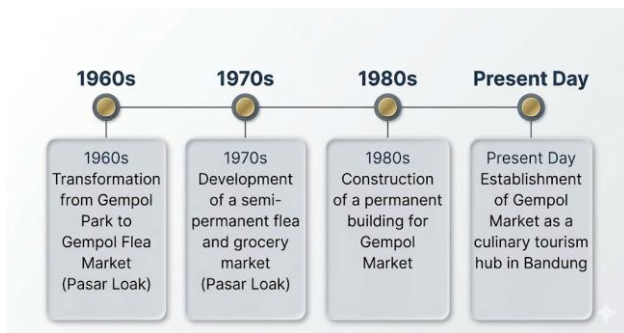
## Method

The qualitative descriptive method is used with a pattern analysis approach [8], reinforced by a conceptual framework through role division, hierarchical structure, and transformation rules [11]. This method is used to understand the character and physical configuration of buildings in the Pasar Gempol area by placing space as a result of the collaboration between physical systems and human actions (agency), as well as tracing the interconnections between architectural elements that form recurring and consistent spatial patterns in the area. Data analysis is conducted by interpreting the results of observations and interviews based on Habraken's pattern principles [8].

The analysis process includes identifying the elements that form the pattern, the relationships among them, and the dynamics of pattern change. The results of the analysis are then presented as narrative descriptions and visual illustrations, including pattern images, spatial configurations, and elements that constitute the area, to provide a comprehensive overview of the spatial character of Pasar Gempol.

## Results and Discussion

Historically, Pasar Gempol was not planned simultaneously with the construction of Gempol housing. Pasar Gempol occurred due to the change in communal function, namely the transformation of a residential park into a market, as a result of the privatization of public space. The change in communal function and the privatization of public space occurred in several stages, namely the transformation from Taman Gempol to Taman Loak Gempol, and finally the establishment of the permanent structure of Pasar Gempol [1]. Currently, Pasar Gempol is a culinary tourism area in the center of Bandung City, offering a variety of menus from various vendors [12], as illustrated in Figure 2.



**Figure 2.** Timeline of the transformation of the Gempol residential park into a market

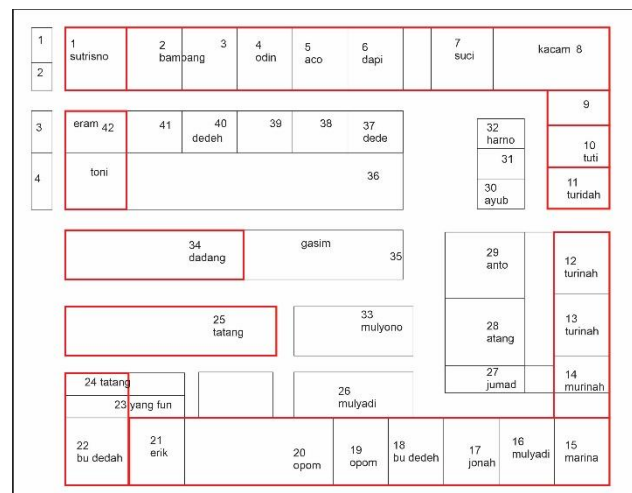
The current land-use change aims to transform the land into a formal settlement, despite its current status as a government-owned rental. The shape of the building is a preference or choice of each of its inhabitants. Certain market rules, such as the prohibition on cutting down four main trees and the land's leasehold status, prevent homeowners from optimizing their building designs.

The shape and elements of the building, with their repeated configurations, will form a pattern. As a cultural order, there is a consensus among agents, namely the homeowners who trade in the Pasar Gempol area. The consensus arises from the uniformity in building ownership status, which is limited to land lease rights, even though the building has stood for more than 20 years. Interviews with residents who have occupied the market since the first generation reveal that the traders' sense of ownership of the building is very high because it has been passed down through four generations.

The division of zoning based on the function of space is formed by external factors: strategic location, the market as an economic center, land ownership, a retribution system, and unused vacant land. External factors are caused by capital, productive age, and the abilities/skills of each individual [13].

The presence of activity centers makes the location strategic for establishing businesses that meet community needs and for converting vacant land into commercial areas [14]. Based on the number of traders, Pasar Gempol is classified as a type D People's Market, with a minimum trader capacity of 100 (one hundred) people [15]. Currently, the average buildings in Pasar Gempol consist of two-storey semi-permanent structures. The buildings on the outer line (the face of Pasar Gempol) are required by the mayor to remain operational. The community has agreed that the vendors will consist of 80% food and 20% general goods, as food sells better than vegetables and other

items. Active vendors who are permitted to operate in Pasar Gempol are shown in Figure 3.



**Figure 3.** Active vendors authorized to operate in Pasar Gempol

Some residents who no longer occupy the buildings in the Pasar Gempol area rent them to new owners who are completely unaware of the area's history, then rent them again as boarding houses. Of course, this conduct violates the area's functional regulations, which originally designated it as a market rather than for residential or commercial use. Currently, the total population in the Pasar Gempol area is approximately 540 people.

The process of transforming a building from a loak into a jongko and residence results in a naming for the type of dwelling, namely a house-jongko for a house-shop plot. According to the Indonesian dictionary, 'jongko' means a small shop or stall [16]. Besides the naming, the consensus or agreement that was formed is a condition of shared forms, thus creating the house-jongko pattern of Pasar Gempol.

The emergence of the Jongko pattern cannot be separated from the economic issues and the living needs of the actors within it. The characteristics of the built environment, such as the physical setting of buildings, the composition and configuration of buildings and public spaces, and the local community's life, accommodate functional activities and generate a place's unique meaning.

The presence of patterns or diversity is a physical manifestation whose meaning can shape a place's image. Therefore, to understand the meaning of a culture expressed through spatial patterns. The transformation of the cultural order in this writing is explained through observation of the present, namely the Jongko house pattern. This analysis is done to

show the same pattern: the building must already have a physical structure and consistent stability. The long-term residents' agreement also caused that similarity. The residents settled permanently, with the second generation, in the 1980s, following legalization under Mayor Ateng Wahyudi's administration.

Pattern analysis of the Jongko houses in Pasar Gempol was conducted using four principles, namely:

#### 1. Interaction between agents.

Patterns can explain the existence of relationships between agents, even when their dwellings are separated, due to inter-agent interactions in that environment {8}. The agents involved in Pasar Gempol that influence the building patterns are the building owners, market managers, and the government. Because the land status is government-owned, the building owners face pressure from the government and market managers regarding the arrangement of the buildings.

Interaction in determining which pattern is suitable for the buildings in Pasar Gempol can be established through agents' preferences, direct communication, and pattern imitation. The patterns found in the buildings of Pasar Gempol begin with the building owners' preferences based on function, commercial considerations, the economic value of materials, and their relationship with surrounding buildings. Indirectly, an agreement is reached on the form considered suitable for application.

In addition to individual preferences, building owners also imitate forms, resulting in the same pattern. Pattern imitation occurs if there is no direct interaction by the agent. The first building, a permanent two-story structure, serves as a model. The first building has a balcony on the upper floor (figure 4). The balcony is more functional as a relaxation space because of the building's limited size.



**Figure 4.** Other structures have widely imitated the design pattern of the first building

In the Gempol Market building, although there have been direct communication efforts regarding the preferred pattern, some building owners feel they have their own preferences and control over their buildings. Other building owners are concerned about standardizing the pattern to improve the market's visual arrangement.

On the other hand, direct communication regarding building patterns occurs both between building owners and market managers and between building owners and the government. Direct communication between building owners, for example, regarding the heights of buildings at the same roof level, to anticipate rainwater flow. The government can also help build consensus, such as by providing paint for uniform building facades. This finding indicates that an agreement can occur with intervention by an authoritative party.

The agreement between the building owner and the market manager is a consensus or an intervention that serves as a rule imposed by the landowner, whose authority is higher than that of the building owner, who is renting the land. For example, there is a rule that every building must sell goods. As a result, the same pattern on the windows always consists of slats.

The government's intervention remains just a discourse about transforming the Gempol Market area into a culinary tourism destination, with decorative vertical plant pots at the corners of the market. The building owner wants to improve the physical condition and appearance of the house-jongko building; however, market management is

hesitant to approve this due to concerns that the building may become a permanent residence, which could lead to the market's disappearance. Traders hope that the physical improvements to the building can lead to an increase in visitors and revenue. In fact, the traders have already developed their own layout concept and hope the government will consider it, as they and the building owners will be responsible for its maintenance.

## 2. Configuration/similarity of patterns

Configuration, according to Habraken, can be seen in the similarity of buildings among individuals, even though their residences are separate, due to interactions among agents in that environment. The pattern's uniformity at Pasar Gempol is evident in the houses, which function as both homes and commercial stalls. The building's ground floor functions as a commercial space, while the upper floor accommodates a bedroom.

As a result of agent interaction, two elements constitute the pattern language in the market building: windows and balconies. The most distinctive element forming a pattern in Pasar Gempol is the slatted wooden windows on each building (Figure 5). Building owners use wooden slats on the windows that can be removed in the morning to display their goods, and the gebyok is arranged to cover the goods at night.



**Figure 5.** Windows on the Jongko house building at Pasar Gempol

Some building owners use the same method to display their products by modifying the gebyok into glass showcases. The reason for replacing the wooden slats with glass is to allow the shop owners to use them as food displays. Cheap and easily replaceable materials (plywood, zinc, and wood) are chosen because market culture demands flexibility. Wide openings toward the

street for "window shopping" are the main value of trade, as seen in Figure 6.



**Figure 6.** Jongko house with glass windows

Physical elements are not merely technical but are part of the market's cultural order, which regulates how traders should present themselves in public spaces. In the Jongko house, the balconies are uniform in both shape and material. The balcony, which protrudes farther than the ground-floor wall, is less than 1 meter wide. The building owner uses the balcony as a laundry drying space. The outer part of the balcony is usually covered with zinc to better protect it from heat and rain.

The next pattern is evident in the configuration among the building owners regarding the buildings' heights. A consensus was reached so that no house roof is higher, preventing rainwater from flowing and seeping into the lower houses.



**Figure 7.** Balcony configuration and height on the Jongko house

As seen in Figure 7, the front of the building always serves as the transaction space, in accordance with the market culture that prioritizes interaction. The back room is maintained as a service area. The attic serves as a private family space that reflects the shared social boundaries. Additional space usually occurs

to the side or front to enlarge the sales area. This reflects a pattern of collective, not personal, adaptation as a cultural order, in the form of an unwritten rule: "Downstairs for selling, attic for family."

### 3. Continuity and repetition

Pattern continuity refers to the similarity in selection, positioning, and distribution. The continuity and repetition of the pattern are evident in the similarities in material selection. The continuous materials include zinc roofs and balconies, as well as wooden-plank walls. The use of simple materials and non-permanent building structures is due to the land still being in the market; the building owners have not dared to make their buildings permanent. The similarity in positioning and distribution is evident from the types of commodities sold. At every corner of the market, small grocery stores or shops are selling necessities. In the middle of each side, there are various food stalls and several service providers, such as tailors and workshops. The northern, eastern, and partially western sides of Pasar Gempol exhibit similar Jongko house facade configurations. Meanwhile, on the southern side, the buildings do not have the same configuration.

### 4. Consistency

In addition to the consistency in the buildings' appearance, the types of products sold are also consistent. There are 11 food stalls, 2 vegetable sellers, 6 necessities/food staples, and the rest are services. This consistency ultimately creates an image of the area with the house-jongko building pattern as a culinary district in the city of Bandung. The pattern adopted by each house adds virtual infrastructure on an urban scale. This area is identical to a culinary market, with physical characteristics such as house balconies. Increases in economic activity lead to the addition of canopies, longer tables, or expanded selling areas. The changes do not eliminate the basic pattern of selling below and above private spaces. Transformation occurs gradually and collectively through imitation, a characteristic cultural pattern of traditional markets. Cultural order becomes an "invisible structure" that causes the Jongko houses to change in a consistent pattern rather than randomly.

## Discussion

For the people of Bandung, the presence of traditional markets indicates that certain values remain in society. Not only is it a business place, but it also serves another purpose, as many people interact and talk. The layout is a dominant factor influencing the existence of traditional markets [17].

An agreement is formed between agents, namely, traders and market managers. Patterns arise from model imitation and adjustments to building height. Similarity arises from the building owners' concerns about government intervention as landowners. The similarity in the facade pattern, in the form of a lofted gebyok, serves as the residence for the shop owners.

The uniform building patterns are formed from the shared perceptions of the agents, in this case, the traders, which can be interpreted as a collective effort to build the area's image. The presence of a regular, consistent area image increases the trade area's attractiveness to visitors, ultimately helping sustain local economic life. The shared interests foster a sense of belonging among the traders, thereby encouraging the formation of the area's identity. This process ultimately results in the Gempol area undergoing a functional transformation, from a mix of goods outside the market to one dominated by culinary activities.

The Jongko house pattern in Gempol Market can be understood through changes in form that do not occur randomly but result from a gradual, adaptive morphological process driven by the decisions of many actors [18]. Pasar Gempol developed through the addition, expansion, and modification of space in response to economic needs, construction capacity, and market management rules. When viewed through the Habraken framework, this dynamic shows how patterns, as individual and collective decisions, shape a market order that appears spontaneous but actually has consistent local regularities.

This result confirms Habraken's theory that environments such as Pasar Gempol are products of practical agreements among space actors. In Habraken's theory, materials, furniture, and spatial divisions are part of the "cultural pattern." In the Jongko house, the pattern is clearly visible: display cases, wooden tables, and sales racks are

essential elements whose understanding is passed down among traders.

Informal spaces are formed gradually through small, repetitive changes, such as expansion, attachment, division, and filling [1]. Along with these transformations, which are generally driven by the functional and economic adaptation needs of the inhabitants, mixed space configurations are produced, such as business spaces attached to residences, connecting spaces, and the division between residential and commercial functions [19].

Thus, the proposed stages can serve as a framework for understanding the cultural order of Rumah Jongko, resulting from spatial evolution driven by everyday cultural practices.

## Conclusion

The buildings in Pasar Gempol were created by transforming a park into a market and privatizing public space. The privatization of public space from a market to a residential area introduces the character of Jongko houses. 'Jongko' means 'shop', while 'rumah' means 'house'. Rumah Jongko, characterized by two stories, addresses both economic needs and the need for housing. The first story serves as a shop, and the second story as a room.

The building pattern at Pasar Gempol is shaped by individual owners' decisions based on function, commercial considerations, materials, and their relationships with surrounding buildings. These factors then evolved into a shared agreement on the building's form, resulting in a spontaneously agreed-upon pattern. These patterns subsequently produce uniform building types, bound by a circulation system and informal zoning regulations. Finally, the entire spatial order can be read as an integrated relationship between patterns, types, and systems according to Habraken.

Patterns are identified based on four principles, namely the presence of agent intervention, pattern similarity, continuity, and consistency. Agent intervention can occur through imitation and communication between building owners and the government. Meanwhile, market managers play no role in the physical management of buildings that produce patterns.

Building patterns are shaped by decisions made by building owners, ranging from functional preferences and commercial considerations to the selection of economical materials and responses to the presence of surrounding buildings. This series of individual decisions then evolves into a collective agreement that produces a recognizable and repetitive spatial pattern.

Continuity involves selecting the same materials and maintaining a consistent distribution of building forms and product types sold. Finally, consistency helps present the Gempol Market area as a culinary hub and a traditional market.

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