A STUDY OF URBAN PLACEMAKING
EVOLUTION CHANGES AT PASAR SANTA JAKARTA

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Abstract
Traditional markets -where bargaining is method of trading- are still one of urban fabrics that offer sense of places, and Jakarta has 153 traditional markets managed by Jakarta regional owned enterprise. Numerous of these traditional markets had been renovated into layers of concrete buildings, but many are almost paralyzed in competing with shopping malls and the new way of trading, online shopping. Pasar Santa is still one of a kind. In 2014, Santa became the hippest gathering place and prestige marketplace for the emerging creative communities and young people-a new generation of vendors and buyers- while it still maintained its everyday needs such as fresh food, groceries and housewares. Santa -with its 1151 kiosks – succeeded to compete shopping malls and became one of the must-seen place in Jakarta. But in 2015, it died down causing farther businesses left. This paper captures the placemaking research of Santa's evolution stages-especially in the end of 2016 to the end of 2017 when DAG conducted participatory action research and analyzes the reasons behind the changing characteristics and public perception. The study shows that community's collaboration and design can fabricate Santa into vibrant urban destination again.

Key words: traditional market, placemaking, creative community, design as generator, community participation/ collaboration

INTRODUCTION
Since 1971, Pasar Santa has been evolving from a tent of a vendor, into a group of street vendors, then into one-story market, and now into three-story market knows as hipster market for young people. In that period of time (1971 – 2017), Pasar Santa (Santa) has been experiencing ups and downs, as a bustling and also a deserted market caused by many factors. Santa evolution contributes precious lessons of placemaking, displacement and placemaking recovery. In this study, Design as Generator (DAG) applied action-design-research (ADR) and theoretical study.

METHODOLOGY
This study was set out in December 2016 to December 2017. In this period, DAG conducted ADR in Santa. Accordingly, to understand to the reasons behind the changing characteristics of Santa and public perception about it, DAG conducted supporting research -by studying interviews taken from ADR, news, literature and theories- and also theoretical study.

DAG’s ADR was conducted in 3 steps: Discover, Ideation, Prototype. After ADR, DAG conducted Theoretical Study. These were shown in Table 1 and Table 2. Discover was conducted to find the main problems and potentials of Santa through supporting research, immerse research (Pasar Inspirasi, Cerita Santa, May bazaar) and user design thinking workshop. Users were represented by a tailor, a cooking spicy seller, a shopkeeper, a cleaning service, a security staff, parking manager, a representative of Jakarta market regional owned enterprise
Ideation was conducted to offer the best possible solutions for reviving Santa marketplace. Another one-day design thinking workshop was conducted, by inviting Santa representatives and some professionals whom had passion in and concern about traditional market. They were a cafe owner, a tailor a cooking spicy seller, Santa manager, a brand image expert, a videographer, a lawyer, an interior designer, an online shop business development expert, a mall manager, a banker, an artist, a school manager and some representatives of the Enterprise. Three questions -conclusion questions from previous workshop- were developed into 12 solutions which further were developed into theoretical study.

Prototype was to manifest some solutions and to generate Santa community’s empowerment. DAG presented 3 mock-ups of participatory design -with community members and Santa management- installed in Santa. The participatory design process unfolded the important roles and engagements of stakeholders in the changing characteristics of Santa.

In early 2018, theoretical Study was done to build up a compact journal about the way Santa evolving into a bustling market, then into a deserted market, and now into a market regaining its competitive festive attraction as an urban fabric. This study used 2 types of data. Before 2016-2017 ADR, data was gathered from interviews, news and other literature. In 2016-2017 ADR, data was compiled from interviews. Theoretical Study emerged some arguments. These arguments can help traditional market stakeholders -especially designers, planners, investors and powerholder- to understand the dynamic soul of a marketplace that ensures a market to be sustainable bustling and profitable.

**DAG Research Methodology**

DAG action-design-research (ADR) methodology is formulated by combining Participatory Action Research (PAR) of Look-Think-Act (LTA) with Design Thinking (DT) approach of Human Centered Design (HCD). PAR, as a research umbrella, gives flexibility for authors to work based on theoretically informed practice as Taggart (1994) explained.

According to Stringer (1999), PAR research implementation is best looked as spiral, recursive and reflective research activities that consist of looking, thinking and action (LTA). Thus, PAR main goal is to urge the happening of knowledge production among stakeholders whom are engaged with the research. This is where PAR is associated with design approach know as Design Thinking.

DT is an alternative approach to solve everyday problems through the ways of how design is generated as Brown and Katz (2009) explained. DT combines inclusive and collaborative thinking method with human centered design to ensure innovation and sustainability. With these potentials, Brown and Wyatt propose DT as an alternative approach for social change and improvement, and they provide a toolkit, Human-Centered Design, that served as design innovation guidelines especially for low-class communities (below USD 2 income).
Table 1 DAG Research Timeline

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The end of 2016 – the end of 2017</th>
<th>Early 2018</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DAG’s action-design-research:</td>
<td>Theoretical research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discover, ideation, prototype</td>
<td></td>
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Santa was “deserted”
Santa started bustling

Table 2 Santa Evolution Timeline

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BUILDING</td>
<td>Atent of a render</td>
<td>A group of street vendor</td>
<td>1-story wet traditional market</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>PRODUCTS &amp; SERVICES</td>
<td>Raw food, raw food, groceries, housewares</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ACTIVITIES</td>
<td>Selling and buying raw food, groceries, housewares, houseuseive meeting points</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VENDORS, SANTA MANAGEMENT (SM), THE ENTREPRENEUR (E)</td>
<td>Vendors, developer, SR, E, bank, resources/owners, parking management program (PM) under regional transportation service (RTS), Santa religious community</td>
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<tr>
<td>CUSTOMERS’ ACCESS TO SANTA PRODUCTS &amp; SERVICES</td>
<td>By foot, public transportation, private cars</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>MAIN TYPES OF SELLERS &amp; VISITORS</td>
<td>Vendors: Traditional sellers, shoppers: 70s, 80s, 90s housewives</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>MARKET ACTIVITIES</td>
<td>Bustling market, deserted market</td>
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</table>

Supporting study through interviews, news and other literatures

DAG’s action-design-research
Table 3. 60 Correspondents Say

53 Positive

Character: good quality products, strategic location, fresh, affordable prices, helpful young people, cleanliness, safety, easy access to food, friendly vendors & shoppers, weekend destination.

Building: limited parking space, thermal comfort, zoning, stairs.

Management: young people market segment.

420 Negative

Character: litter, rows of residents, many street vendors, sickening displays, opening hour infraction, lack of cleanliness awareness, desolate, no fixed opening hours.

Building: others limited space poor surrounding residents, many street vendors, access, orthographic displays, opening hour infraction, lack of cleanliness awareness, desolate, no fixed opening hours.

Management: no event management, no event promotion, inadequate building maintenance, no promotion, ineffective design, no marketing & PR, cleaning management, no promotion for rental kissk.

The keywords were taken from Pasar Inspirasi and Cerita Santa. Pasar Inspirasi was a three-day survey at the 3rd floor bazaar. This survey collected vendors', visitors' and shoppers' responses when they were asked about problems and potentials in Santa and also future hopes for Santa.

Cerita Santa was one afternoon survey collecting vendors' responses when they were asked about the same thing.
Table 4: Social Design Pathways Matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conclusion</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pattern: To make a market bustling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riung Desain (design thinking): To find contextual market segment</td>
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<tr>
<td>Impact Scale: The possibilities</td>
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</table>

Table 4 showed to have consequential impacts; powerholder should had performed action of change and should had invited other stakeholders.

Table 5: Solusi Riung Desain Ahli (Solutions from Experts)

Experts' solutions from Riung Desain Workshop

Picture 1
Pasar Inspirasi (Market of Inspirations)

Picture 2
Cerita Santa (Santa Story)

Picture 3
User Design Thinking Workshop

Picture 4
Expert Design Thinking Workshop

[39]
To implement both PAR-LTA and DT-HCD as action design research methodology, DAG uses Sequential Embedded Experimental Model form MMR (Mixed Methods Research) approach developed by Creswell and Clark. This model allows authors to investigate design or architecture into quantitative sides (as experimental innovations) and also qualitative sides (as experiences and appreciations) of participatory endeavors. Therefore, this new alternative research tool will provide a comprehensive understanding and new values to design or architecture, in virtues of its innovations and responses to its social context. This is DAG particular empowering and participatory action-design-research methodology, where people share knowledge production and empower themselves through their own design/architectural engagements and experiences.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1971-2006: Bustling traditional wet market

Santa physical evolution was influenced by the growing concentration of vendors serving the needs of surrounding neighborhoods. When a man called Santa started selling raw food under a tent in 1971, his neighborhood was housing. Then his spot turned into a group of street vendors. More shoppers -mostly housewives living in the neighborhood-came by foot, private cars, or public transportation.

This market started with a man called Santa selling a raw food on a spot next to a junction. His name was commemorated and his spot grew into this marketplace (Maulana, a local working at Santa).

Then the horde -that occupying Jakarta municipality's land- turned into one-story market. Under the management of the Enterprise, Santa grew bustling. In those days, Santa offered variety of goods attracting more shoppers outside the neighborhood.

In 1980s, Santa was a place my wife and I went to shop every weekend. I could find almost everything there, from breakfast to plastic housewares. Although Santa was a traditional wet market, it was very crowded and shopper cars were lined up from a far. (Paulus, formerly a resident of Santa surrounding).

Then -like Anne Mikoleit and Moritz Purckhauer (2011) depicted -groceries and eateries were magnetic attractions that made a market like Santa into favorite local destination. Different than malls, markets could be reached through shorter and faster trip in the familiar area. In market, such as Santa, shoppers from the neighborhood area could find more than their daily needs. Market like Santa built a soul of place where shoppers gathered with familiar people, boosted personal contacts and strengthened community feeling of being the high class residents of South of Jakarta.

In those days, before they built this three-story building, housewives from surrounding areas came to shop raw food and gathered in eatery kiosks until their children school dismissed (Ida, a member of pengajian religious community).

In return, Santa crowds attracted other vendors to open their businesses there. Over time, Santa offered dynamic variety of products and services such as tailor
services, clothing, jewelry, medicines, building materials, flowers, and stationary. This kind of attraction power that people exerted upon other people was pointed out by William H. Whyte cited by Anne Mikoleit and Moritz Puckhauer (2011) in *Urban Code, 101 Lessons for Understanding the City*. Crowds of people were not only aroused people's curiosity, but they were the fundamental of urban life and the reason for the formation of social communities, such as marketplace, as one of entities in a village and a town. And a marketplace, like Santa, did not start its attraction with an individual of a vendor himself but with his economic activity that turned into social dependencies of vendors and shoppers.

Over time, Santa became a marketplace, where 4 characteristics of place existed as written by John Friedmann (2010). The first characteristic of a place was spatial patterns of social interaction that formed naturally through time. In 9 years (1971 - 1980), Santa organically changed from a tent into a group of street vendors and then into a market where vendors and shopper interacted to trade and gather. The second character was a three-dimensional urban space that cherished by people who inhabited it. Over time, Santa became one of the district markets of South Jakarta where the inhabitants of the region, as vendors and shoppers, carried out reiterative trading of everyday needs and peer gatherings of housewives took place, and where the inclusiveness of colorful ethnicity and different social and economic backgrounds of vendors and shoppers were crowded Santa, and where dynamic competitive products and services were displayed for the tastes of South Jakarta high class residents. The third character was attachment to a place which was a subjective and invisible attribute. Santa was a prominent marketplace where vendors and shoppers shared alike a pride of it.

Santa was my shopping destination when I was at school, 20 years ago. Oh, I knew very well all about it (Elaine, a lecturer).

In those days, Santa was bustling and was the market for the housewives of high rank officers and the rich to shop (Hari, spicy vendors).

And the fourth character was the existence of one or more centers or spaces of encounter and/or gathering. Santa was a destination for housewives to gather while their children were at school, and for housewives of high rank officers and the rich to find their everyday needs. Santa was also a place where local Betawi people flocked together to earn their living.

Yes, I am a local Betawi. I grew up here and Santa was my playground. I am blessed that Regional Transportation Service entrusted me to be the leader of Santa parking management. With new responsibility, I must be very careful and wise because I am quite young and new compared to the other staffs who are my cousins, uncles, and neighbors (Maulana, a worker in Santa).

By the turning 1970s to 1980s, Santa neighborhood land uses changed from housing into commercial where restaurants and shops were side by side with offices occupying the busy street of the region. And a big mall -3 km from Santa- was opened. Then for the first time, unfortunately Santa had its rivals which were cleaner, better and more modern-than Santa.
2007-2013: Renovated but deserted

After several renovations, Santa finally was built into 3-story building and opened for public in 2007. But since then, Santa lost its shoppers and half of its vendors, then consequently was deserted. There were some records explaining the reasons of this sudden change.

According Herman Malano (2011), most of the time, the good will of renovating traditional wet markets (where most of the time the market floor was wet and garbage was everywhere) into layers of concrete buildings weighted heavily on profit consideration for developers. Many market renovations overlooked the voices of vendors, whereas they were one of the most important stakeholders of a successful market. When the land uses of surrounding areas were turning from housing into commercial for high-class businesses, Santa seemed to respond this with more kiosks (1151 units) in new building. But actually, Santa went through over capacity when the number of kiosks were double from the existing vendors (around 600 businesses). Accordingly, this situation lasted and continued to get worse till 2012 when only 312 kiosks were occupied.

My old customers still come here, but rarely. My sales drop significantly. Now my daily customers are workers from the surrounding offices but they are few. They come here at lunchtime or after office hours. Sometimes they eat here (Juju, grocery vendors).

There were some reasons for this beside land use changing. Access was and still is a major reason. In macro scale, there was/is no public bus or minibus passing Santa. According Herman Malano (2011), public transport lines played important role in market access. The closer the lines to a market, the more bustling a market would be. In micro scale, Santa has 7 building entrances – six are stairs and only one is a loading ramp. The stairs are steep, the ramp is undeveloped and unattended. This was also shown in Table 3 taken in February 2017. They were tangga (stairs) under the fisik (building) column was the most mentioned problem in Santa. As time goes by, Santa niche of shoppers grow older. Moreover, this entrances unfortunately are not for them.

When I observed Santa for my study about inclusive public space, I started, I almost found no senior citizen come to visit (Felicia, a college student).

What the best for Santa is turning it back into one-story building. No stairs. People could just walk in. My old customers never come here anymore. They send their maids or just call me if they need something (Darti, vegetable vendor).

Moreover, related to access with shopper circulations and destinations, Santa with its 10.953 m2 in three-story building, has only has one stay, a cafeteria on 3rd floor for shoppers to sit or rest.

I think Santa needs some sitting spots. Rows of kiosks are too long and confusing for me, and I think for other shoppers too. Sitting spots help shoppers to understand their orientation. Moreover, if I shop to long, my husband and children can wait there, after they are shortly exhausted exploring Santa (Julia, a design interior lecturer).

Anne Mikoleit and Moritz Puckhauer (2011) pointed out that a stay made destinations more attractive. A stay created experience out of a transaction and pushed out the charm value of a destination. A stay let shoppers spending more time to be inspired by new offers and
new products that were not in their shopping list. At this point, Santa redevelopment made Santa lost its niche shoppers and consequently its magic as a place for sociality seemed to stop taking place.

In his reflection, John Friedmann (2010) wrote the inevitably redevelopment of a place which was considered older and overcrowded, unfortunately, was the very opposite of placemaking that erased the soul of a place. Meanwhile, Sophie Watson (2009) argued that these situations could happened because of the absence of local and national strategy and policy in market management and the lack of connection between the market and local facilities and amenities such as access.

2014: Bustling Hipster Market for Young People

Santa next evolution was influenced by different -new and young- generations. All started with a man, in his late 20s, came to Santa in his spare time from his formal job to open a kiosk that welcoming anyone to make, serve and enjoy coffee. Somehow, he established a community of coffee lovers in the vacant 3rd floor of Santa. Then the words of mouth were spread through social medias, and next, a vinyl music record kiosk was opened by another young man. It did not take long for more young people to join them. More products were offered - indie music records, used goods, designed clothes and jewelry, new recipe food and drinks, costumed-made public and action figures, coffee beans and powder from all around Indonesia, and more. New vendors occupied all the 3rd floor and also filled in the empty kiosks at 2nd and 1st floor -that their remain of colorful murals still can be tracked.

I knew Santa from a friend, that were kiosks available for businesses. I came to Santa and what I imaged then Santa would be a specialized market, where people would had found the best coffee beans and powder from different places, simple utensils and also sophisticated appliances for barista and cafes. Everything in Santa would have been about coffee. I lived nearby and my family had a coffee plantation in Aceh. So, in 2014, I bought 2 kiosks and since then I have been running a cafe on this 3rd floor (Radiana, a cafe owner).

Do you know, that Santa was the first that gave birth to many new experimental tastes of food and drinks? Local brands of food and drinks emerged from Santa and they were competent enough to challenge international brands (Lala, a shopper).

There was a time I visited Santa every weekend. I searched for vinyl records and I enjoyed having music discussion with vendors and other shoppers (Tony, a shopper).

In this period of time, Santa came to its climax fame and became a must seen destination in Jakarta, the hipster market for young people. Santa, especially its 3rd floors, were crowded with new entrepreneurs, shoppers and foreign tourists. At that time, there was a common view – Santa were colorful by customed/designed products and displays and bustling by middle and high class young people (in their 20s-40s) who spent hours just discussing their interests.

The same things were also shown in Table 3 taken. The surveys, under karakter (characters) column, showed the 10 most potentials of Santa. They were segmen: anak muda (shoppers were young people), segmen lansia (1st and 2nd floor vendors and shoppers were senior citizens), acara musik: segmented (indie and alternative
music), segmented (segmented market), promosi (unique promotions), iconic culinary, segmen: perumahan (shoppers were neighborhood residents), segmen: middle up (shoppers were middle – high economic class), segmen: weekend (a weekend destination), penjual pembeli akrab (vendors and shoppers were friendly).

These new vendors, not only they had higher economic backgrounds from the existing vendors who mostly were migrants, promoted and traded different kinds of products, services and performances. What they sold were stuffed by arts, culture and creativity. They made Santa gained its new brand image: a market for young hipsters, indies, alternatives or anti-mainstream. All of these differentiated Santa from other traditional markets or specialized markets or even from the markets of craftsmen or artists. These was how the young people made Santa a place again.

According John Friedmann (2010) the four characteristics of a place where spatial patterns of social interaction formed through time, a three-dimensional urban space cherished by the people who inhabit it, attachment of a place, and existence of one or more centers for people to encounter or gather.

After 7 years of uncertainty progress, Santa progressively earned its new characteristics of place in one year. This could happen because a new technology was ready. Young vendors used social medias for promotion networking, vendors and also shoppers’ collaborations, trading of products, services and performances. Santa as one of Jakarta urban space was cherished and celebrated by young people for its reiterative social practices through not only trading but also the discussions between vendors, visitors and shoppers. Santa hipster products, alternative services and indie performances somehow enriched Santa existing market into an inclusiveness of needs. Santa welcomed not only its surviving existing vendors but also people from different generations and backgrounds with their segmented interests and tastes. Their attachments to Santa were more than what was physically offered, they came because the experiences of being alternatives to mainstreams with good quality and proficient. But with all these, unfortunately, the fourth characteristic of a place was not stable existed. Santa invited many new communities but they had not yet established their niche in Santa as their center of gathering or encounter. By 2015, the glorious activities of hipsters, alternatives, indies and anti-mainstreams faded away.

What the young people brought about to Santa was a powerful act of placemaking like Ann Markusen and Anne Gadwa (2010) wrote that arts, culture and creativity became today's important place distinctiveness. These young people also showed what Richard Florida (2002) depicted as creative class because they shared many similar tastes (stuffed their products and displays with visual/graphical design), preferences (referred to independency of their stuffs) and desires (imposed a pride of independency and creativity as genuine local that the others just did have). Their spirit was so obvious that we used it for our closing event of our ADR. They brought about the spirit of "Santa Is Beyond".

But the spirit and success stories could not hold Santa hipster market to last. In 2015 the 3rd floor was almost empty again. Businesses were closed and shoppers stopped coming.

2015-2016: “Deserted” market
In this time, Santa seemed to bounce back into the 2007-2013 situation, when numerous kiosk was closed and the only remaining were the 1st and 2nd floor vendors; they were the survivors from the beginning of Santa. This year was a conntemplating phase to understand more the reasons behind the saddening Santa turning.

The first case was about the building as also shown in Table 3 under fisik (building) column. The 10 most problems were tangga (stairs), zoning, penghawaan (temperature comfort), parkir (parking), pencahayaan (lighting), plumbing, banjir (puddle), bau (bad odor), tempat sampah (availability of trash bins), bocor (water leakage).

There was no major change in the building since it was built in 2007. But when the young vendors left, the definitive conditions of Santa building became obvious.

I cruised the 3rd floor looking for a lunch. But for only a few minutes, my body sweated. I cannot image what it would be when it was full of people (Ray, a visitor).

If you want Santa be bustling again, turn on the fans (Sam, vinyl vendor).

The fans will turn on when there are events. If not, the cost will be burdensome for management to endure (Abdul, management staff).

Santa with its new brand image needed to be aware of its uses and growth accordingly to its building limitations. Shoppers’ amenities, such as standard clearance for comfortable corridor and standard room temperature and humidity for inhabitable space, are inevitable a key of a successful public space that Santa still needs to cope with. The possible answers are technology and/or re-architecture that will probably cause high initial cost for Santa management.
The second case was access. The demanding amenities for parking space, public transport and zoning were important for shoppers. According to standard, 1151m² Santa should have provided 777 car parking spaces, while Santa only could provide 10%. In those days of 2014, it took hours to get a car parking. This, with construction of flyover on the adjacent main street and the rising car uses on Jakarta streets, created severe traffic jam around Santa’s streets. Meanwhile, public transportation was not attractive for Santa shoppers who mostly from middle to high economic class.

There was no single reason that people left Santa. But I wish the management and municipality government responded more to the bigger factors outside Santa that impacted all of us here in Santa. Let’s talk about access. We chose private cars because they were the most comfortable transportation, but then everybody used cars and the streets were full of them. But Santa surrounding traffic jams would probably had been dispersed better if there was no flyover construction in Wolter Street and Santa had more parking space. It backfired us when we, vendors, did not let our parking space for shoppers (Gani, coffee bean vendor).

Santa had not fixed zoning and this was confusing for new visitors and still a problem for elderly shoppers.

The layouts were confusing and kiosks looked like the same. I got lost again and again. There was no area with the same specific products that I could use as a starting point of direction. And there was no stop or lobby like in a mall (Tari, a visitors).

Back then, the management applied zones. But because Santa was slack, the management allowed us to choose wherever kiosk we want. It was management’s effort to invite more vendors. Now we are comfortable with our kiosks and our customers know where we are. We don’t want to move (Siti, housewares vendor).

The third case were about stakeholders. By 2007, Santa stakeholders grew from only vendors, shoppers, Santa management and the Enterprise into more stakeholders such as developer, Santa communities and kiosk owners (investors). In 2014, when Santa became pot of gold, more investors bought kiosks. Some of them, tried their luck by opening new businesses there. Some of them just rented their kiosks and tried to gain the most out of them, by setting 15 times higher rental rent from the standard released by Santa management. This situation contributed to the leave of some vendors from Santa.

Numerous Santa young vendors had online shops and had their own time of trading. Many of them run their businesses after office hours, when their kiosks on the 3rd floor of Santa were comfortable enough to inhabit and when their formal or main working hours were over. They also opened their businesses in weekends and holidays. But when Santa's fame faded away, many opened their kiosks at random -only on weekends or holiday afternoons, bazaars or whenever they felt like to open. This unpredictable open hours became major complains from shoppers, especially the ones who still loved to shop offline.

The Enterprise should had been more assertive and should had supported Santa management to enforce rules of opening hours and rental rates. The other tenants will open if only Santa is bustling again. But how can Santa invite shoppers when most kiosks are
closed? It is not fair for us who open consistently no matter what (Radiana, cafe owner).

When the curtain was down, when Santa was deserted and lost, Santa seemed failed to its publicly notorious problems in handling reasonable kiosk rental rate and consistent or fixed opening hours - especially for its hipster market.

What happened in Santa reflected broken windows effect written by James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling (2007). Once a problem occurred (a window was broken) and there seemed no immediate repairing action, then the surroundings would consider the environment vacant and there was no authority or order existed. It would invite another problem to occur (other windows would be broken) and would ignite uncomfortable feeling and in the end made the environment deserted. When the initial of these cases occurred and there were no immediate solutions from the management and the Entreprise as the authority or powerholder, these cases led to other problems, disappointment and the leave of numerous young vendors and their customers.

2017: Struggling Santa
The beginning of 2017, Santa's condition was quite the same with the condition a couple years before. Most the 1st and 2nd floor kiosks were occupied and opened. But conversely, most of the 3rd floor kiosks were empty and closed. There were only 68 kiosks opened from 312 kiosks available, or in other words around 20% were opened. Meanwhile, as an opportunity to invite shoppers and to fight for existence and sustainability, 3rd floor creative community struggled to continue their trimonthly bazaar.

For trimonthly bazaars, we did dozens of things by ourselves. We designed concepts, we promoted events, we found sponsors, we invited guest musicians and we ran the events. All by ourselves. Yes, management helped by giving permissions, opening all the idle kiosks for 3-day rent, supplying electric power, and turning all the fans. But I wish management can do more especially in promotions and sponsorship (Sang, cassette vendor).

According Richard Florida (2002), creative core group was more involved in creative process. Meanwhile, different from this group, creative professional group was more involved in creative thinking. At this moment, Santa's creative community, as the creative core group, was in need of creative professional group who had passion for the virtues of traditional markets and could help them and Santa to have comprehensive plannings, integrated management and progressive actions.

And according Winterhouse Institute (2018) the more stakeholders were involved and the bigger scale was applied, the more impacts and changes could be gained as shown in Table 4. At this point, Santa creative community was not only in need of creative professional group but also as many as stakeholders there were for ensuring the existence and sustainability of the creative community and Santa as the marketplace.

After participating immersed research at Pasar Inspirasi (Picture 1) and Cerita Santa (Picture 2) on February 2017, DAG invited representatives of stakeholders to join one-day design thinking workshop for Santa users on March (Picture 3). By building up their collaborative spirit and affirmation on how to make better changes together, the representatives were more
confident and feeling supported with their ideas of changes, such as regulating parking, applying assertive rules, keeping alive Santa history of coffee and brand image as hipster market for young people and creative communities. There were 9 “how might we make Santa bustling again” questions were formulated.

A week later, DAG invited scholars, professionals, observers - whom had the same passion for the virtues of traditional markets- and management to join one-day expert design thinking workshop. To generate real impacts and changes for Santa, experts’ solutions were discussed with the leader of the Enterprise in the end of the workshop (Picture 4). There were 12 solutions formulated to make Santa bustling again as shown in Table 5.

Next, DAG participated in three-day May bazaar that run well and started the possibility of collaborative supports. The leader promoted May bazaar through his personal social media. He came to bazaar and had little discussions with some members of Santa creative community. In other occasion, DAG presented research findings (major challenges of Santa), interim results and progress of DAG’s ADR to the Enterprise. Not long after this, Santa management imposed new standard for rental rate and procedures. The management also set a rule that any fluctuation rental rate would be an agreement between Santa communities, management and the Enterprise. The same enthusiasm had been strongly expressed in aturan dan disiplin yang jelas (clear and assertive rules) and kolaborasi komunitas (stakeholders'-especially Santa communities'- collaborations for better design and implementations) as shown in Table 5.

This occasion reflected what Henry Sanoff (2000) written that when the powerholder - Santa management and the Enterprise- invited users as other stakeholders - especially Santa communities including creative community- through placation and consultation participatory design, the design and implementations were more suitable for users whom were one of the important stakeholders of market placemaking according Herman Malano (2011). And these collaborative spirit and affirmation continued.

Around June, flower vendors were moved into the building to provide more parking space for shoppers, and parking zones were applied. The same enthusiasm had been strongly expressed in access thematic park (multifunction parking space that could be rented for more than vehicle park and delivering more incomes) and zoning dan ruang ekspresi (imposing zones that could encouraged and established unique characteristics of each zones in Santa as a way of placemaking) as shown in Table 5.

And the perseverance of creative community in organizing bazaars generated interests of bazaar vendors to open their businesses in Santa. A tenant opened a limited-edition bookstore. Later, the bookstore grew occupying 3 kiosks and having weekly book club meeting. Around July, another important tenant moved his branch -a local coffee brand- to Santa. The brand and Santa were exposed after the leader of the country bought his coffee. Not long, a rising local pastry brand also moved to Santa. Around the end of 2017, a photography dark room was opened. Afterward, photography community started their seasonal gatherings, workshops and exhibitions at Santa.

According Anne Mikoleit and Moritz Puchkhauer (2011) a local center could grow into denser fabric of vibrant hotspots as long the district maintained its growth. To make a local center more attractive,
A Study Of Urban Placemaking Evolution Changes At Pasar Santa Jakarta

attempts to put together as diverse groups as possible should be carried out. One brand in a local center would attract people and, in return, people would attract other brands to open their shops in that local center. And then many businesses in one site would change the perception and image of that center and finally the district.

This had happened to Santa in period of 1971-2006 as high class traditional market of South of Jakarta district and in 2014 as hipster market for young people. And it had been happening with the opening of the local coffee brand in the end of 2017. The same enthusiasm was strongly expressed with deep considerations especially for the management, the Enterprise and Jakarta municipality as powerholders. The experts offered *branding image strategy* (to continue Santa brand image as hipster market for young people by encouraging and sorting the right vendors accordingly to the brand image), *segmented market* (to keep surviving vendors, such as fresh food vendors, from 1970s as a part of Santa history, and to strengthen Santa segmented market for hipsters, alternatives, indies of young people). These solutions were shown in Table 5.

People gatherings in Santa -such as photography exhibitions and workshops, craft and jewelry workshops, indie music performances, book club readings- attracted other people to come, as written by William H. Whyte cited by Anne Mikoleit and Moritz Puckhauer (2011). And with help of social media technology, Santa creative community could invite more people through their consistent posts of their activities. This enthusiasm was expressed strongly in *continuing activities (workshops)* (to organize continual workshops -such as art, craft and other creative skill workshops- for young people) and *bahagia ada di sini* (to present many pulsing activities that made visitors feel jovial – the feeling genuinely found in traditional markets).

In December, to bridge different positions of stakeholders and to generate more collaborations among stakeholders, DAG in collaboration with school of design, Santa management and the Enterprise inaugurated 3 design prototypes. A few days before, to encourage more community empowerment, DAG presented research findings (major problems and potentials of Santa), results and conclusions of DAG participation action research to Santa communities. *By the end of 2017, there was 57% from 312 kiosks were opened.*

And the spirit of collaboration kept rolling. At the beginning of 2018, more kiosks were opened -one of them was the country leader son's clothing brand. More seasonal events took place -such as jewelry and handcraft workshops and music competition. Meanwhile, the vendors of the 1st and 2nd floor continued to survive with their traditional way of trading.

**CONCLUSION**

In 46 years (1971-2017), Santa recorded interesting evolution changes of urban placemaking in a market. Generation of vendors and shopper may change, method of trading may be adjusted to new technology, needs and products may be designed differently, but Santa showed that the major factor of market placemaking was still the social practices and interactions that took place in Santa. Over time, this marketplace activities lived accordingly to a space that initially was not defined for them.

Santa showed that “architecture” failed to conserve its placemaking in 2007 redevelopment. But according Anne Mikoleit and Moritz Puckhauer (2011) fractures created friction. When a part of
urban entity decayed, actually at the same time, a new beginning started as long as there was a chance for plurality and creativity took place until a new entity established. So, when Santa stakeholders-especially creative community as designer, experts as planners, management and the Entreprise as powerholder-encouraged and initiated changes, deserted Santa could regain its sense of place.

With different interests and positions of stakeholders in Santa, inevitable lack of communication among stakeholders occurred. Meanwhile, according Winterhouse Institute (2018) sustainable impacts and better changes happened from collaboration of more experts and engagement. DAG's ADR became a bridge that brought together many Santa stakeholders to community empowerment encouraging them to better changes. DAG finalized its ADR with three tangible prototypes as catalysts generating Santa stakeholders’ imagination for more sustainable placemaking of Santa; that someday the prototypes will be gone but more and better changes will be born.

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A Study Of Urban Placemaking Evolution Changes At Pasar Santa Jakarta


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