The Character of Tangerang's Chinatown, Indonesia

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Abstract

Over the past three centuries, ethnic Chinese settlements in the form of Chinatowns have undergone several phases of development or change in Indonesia. This study investigates the dynamics of the Chinatown area arrangement in the Tangerang Old Market. The research location was chosen because it is one of the oldest Chinese settlements since the 16th century.

An explanatory descriptive method was used to determine layers of traces of the structural pattern from the era before the Dutch colonialism in the 18th century to the present. The result shows that the Chinatown area of Tangerang Old Market has undergone a dynamic change in the pattern of the area, where each has given a different character. This study will benefit the development of urban architecture regarding the character of the old city area as an ethnic vernacular settlement.

Keywords: characters, patterns, Chinatown, Tangerang, vernacular

Introduction

Before the 16th century, Chinese settlements had spread diversely in several Indonesian provinces, including the hinterlands and metropolis (Hidajat, 1977). The settlement originated from the port city, the centre for exchange of goods and spread across communities in Java, such as Tuban, Gresik, Surabaya, Demak, Jepara, Lasem, Semarang, Cirebon, Banten, and Sunda Kelapa (Widodo, 2004). Presently, the Chinese ethnic settlements have undergone several phases of development and changes. During the Colonial era in 1740, they were forced to live in a place called "Chinatown" (Chinezenkamp) by the Dutch East Indies Government. In 1841, the Netherlands implemented a strict regulation referred to as Wijkenstelsel, to easily monitor Chinatown. According to Tjiook, (2017), this area became an exclusive settlement because of the distinctive Chinese identity. After the Indonesian independence, President KH Abdurrachman Wahid created opportunities for the development of Chinatowns in several cities. Additionally, typical Chinese architectural styles and various traditional ceremonies were held to attract tourists.

Several scientific studies have analysed the development of Chinatowns in several countries. For instance, studies on Chinatown's transformations have indicated their stages of growth, development, aging, evolution as well as the physical, demographic, and socioeconomic characteristics (Chuenyan Lai, 1988). Yamashita, (2013), carried out a research on the revitalization of Chinatowns in Ikebukuro Tokyo and Belleville Paris as a tourist destination. Furthermore, Wong and Chee-Beng Tan (2013) carried out a research on the survival of the Chinatown as a cultural heritage site in urban America. Ang (2019) stated that the evolution of Chinatown led to changes and morphological transformation in urban areas (Hing-wah, Dupre and Xu, 2016). Darmayanti and Bahauddin (2020), attempted to

understand vernacularity through spatial experience in the Chinatown, Lasem, Indonesia. However, no research has been carried out on the character, which elaborates the study paradigm in accordance with the conditions of the place.

The research location is the Chinatown Old Market in Tangerang City, Banten Province, Indonesia. This area is situated on the banks of the Cisadane River. It is bordered in the East, West and North by Ki Samaun Street, the Cisadane River and Kalipasir Street respectively. This location was selected because it is one of the oldest Chinese settlements since the 16th and 17thcenturies. The area has the shape of a grid-patterned settlement with structures such as docks, places of worship (pagoda), shops, and houses. Furthermore, the inhabitants engage in traditional activities, ceremonies, and rituals.

Chinatowns in several cities are approximately three centuries old and are the beginning of urban growth. Therefore, their historical and architectural values needs to be preserved (Antariksa, 2016). In addition, knowledge of Chinatowns contribute to architectural preservation, especially as a historic ethnic vernacular settlements. According to Handinoto (1999), this strengthens the identity elements of the city. The aim of this study is to find the settlements pattern of the Chinatown Settlements in Tangerang Old market. Are there any architectural and other significant elements that have been changed and affect the character of Chinatown settlements which have approximately been there for three centuries and now are struggling with the rapid urban growth?

Literature Review

There are several previous studies on the topic of the character of the old city or historical city that deal with the character of physical identity and encompasses the physical features, which makes a city unique, different and distinguished (Mirmoghtadaee, 2006). Other studies have found that the character of the old city can be formed by the physical aspects of differences or similarities, continuity or evolution, and unity or multiplicity in urban elements (Vahid Ahmadi et al., 2009), by townscape (Lazim and Said, 2020), by form of place ((Sepe and Pitt, 2014), (Kimberly George Dovey et al., 2018)), by identifying the physical elements (Iskandar and Topan, 2018), and by domination of building styles (Nurgandarum and Marsella, 2020). The character of a city is also formed by non-physical aspects. Several other studies have found that character of a city can be formed by a lively atmosphere (Sepe and Pitt, 2014), by subjective experience (Kimberly George Dovey et al., 2018), by community activities (Lazim and Said, 2020), by informal strength of the community (Kimberly George Dovey et al., 2018), and by people-driven urbanism (Raharjo, 2019).

In the studies that have been described above, some have used qualitative research methods, some, quantitative methods and some are mixed methods. The qualitative research method using the literature review to obtain the theory or concept of the city's character in the form of physical morphology (Mirmoghtadaee, 2006; Vahid Ahmadi et al., 2009; Sepe and Pitt, 2014). The qualitative research method have used mapping and interviews conducted to find mapping urbanities (Kimberly George Dovey et al., 2018). Research on characteristics of Chinatown Lasem have used qualitative methods by using a descriptive method (Iskandar and Topan, 2018). Research on the character of Ipoh old city in Malaysia has used a mixed method that combines descriptive methods and questionnaires to determine respondents' perceptions (Lazim and Said, 2020).

In relation to this research with existing theories, the theory of the character of the old city is based on the pattern of the city from Alexander (1979). A building or city is influenced by the character of a place, where it is located and pattern of events (Alexander, 1979). However, these events are always interrelated with certain geometric patterns in the urban space. Every building and city is ultimately influenced by patterns of events that manifest in the area. This has a network structure formed in a sequential manner from the largest, for regions and cities, through the environment, to groups of buildings, sections of space, and finally construction details. The sequence is based on the relationships between a certain "big" and "small" pattern (Alexander, Ishikawa and Silverstein, 1977). In addition, the relationship

with the vernacular architecture as stated by Mentayani and Muthia (2017) confirm that vernacular architecture uses techniques and designs that adapts to the local climate, and is influenced by the social, cultural, and economic aspects of the community. Therefore, the timelessness of a three-century-old form of settlement, such as Chinatown, can be traced to the urban patterns and events that have led to its survival until this day.

Research on local character transformation in the historic city centre of Pangkalpinang Indonesia (Nurgandarum and Marsella, 2020) also used a mixed method that combine descriptive qualitative method with quantitative method by calculating the percentage of building style dominance in the corridor of the Jamik Street Pangkalpinang Mosque. Research on people-driven urbanism with implications in the making of Indonesian urban character with a case study of Yogyakarta city used qualitative method with case study and auto-ethnography methods.

There are also several previous studies that took the research location in the Chinatown area of Tangerang. Research on people's perceptions and preferences of building facades in the corridor of Jalan Ki Samaun, Tangerang City found that there was a harmony between people's perceptions and preferences with the revitalization plan of the Tangerang City (Suri and Sugiri, 2015),. This study uses a qualitative method and only focuses on the facade of the building in one of the corridors of Tangerang Old Market Chinatown and does not discuss the character of Tangerang Chinatown as a whole. Research on the conservation of the heritage "fortress" landscape of the city of Tangerang (Syahid and Kurniawan, 2018) with a descriptive method has not revealed other elements forming the character of the Chinatown area of Tangerang. Cultural significance studies in Tangerang's Chinatown Settlements found the significant buildings to be preserved (Purwaningsih,2015). This research has not discussed the character of Chinatown. A study on Persistence of Primary Elements at Pasar Lama Chinatown in Tangerang found that primary elements in this area can survive because of the activities that persist in it (Purwaningsih, Arifin and Fauzy, 2021). This study has not discussed its character. The explanation of previous research shows that the character of the city can be formed by physical and non-physical aspects. However, They have not been able to explain the character aspects that can survive in a settlement in the old city. Therefore, this study aims to obtain elements that are able to maintain character.

Research Methodology

The methods used in this study are based on the research issue of how the architectural and other significant elements that have been changed and affect the character of Chinatown settlements pattern which have approximately been there for three centuries and now are struggling with the rapid urban growth?

The dynamics of Chinatown character will be explored by a qualitative descriptive method with a time period from the era of early Chinese settlement in Tangerang. Then the Colonial era and Indonesian independence era. This study uses a qualitative approach with explanatory descriptive methods with primary and secondary data. Primary data is field data by taking photos, two and three-dimensional images, and interviews. Secondary data were obtained from a documentary study.

Field data was obtained from taking photos in each street corridor within the Chinatown area of Pasar Lama Tangerang, include photos of buildings, street corridors (streetscape) and community activities in this area. Building photos are exteriors, interiors, structural details and ornaments. Images of the community activities include activities at the market, festival events and ceremonial activities or ritual activities and activities around the area. In addition, two and three-dimensional images of the most significant building were made, namely the Boen Tek Bio temple. Drawing used AutoCAD and sketch-up programs. Furthermore, the images are classified based on the function of the building, the style of the building, and the significance of the building's features. The classification of these buildings is then made in a thematic map of the Chinatown area. This map is to obtain the thematic patterns of the Chinatown area, namely maps of significant buildings, maps of building layout and orientation, and cosmological concept maps.

Interviews were conducted with people who could be gate keepers, who were selected from the community leaders in the Chinatown area of Pasar Lama Tangerang. They are Mr. Udaya Halim, the owner of the Benteng Heritage Museum and the Roemboer Museum, and Mr. Oey Tjin Eng as community leaders. In-depth interviews were conducted several times when ceremonies or festivals were held in the Chinatown area. The results of the interviews carried out data compilation and interpretation to get the character of the Chinatown area.

The character of the early Chinese settlement until the colonial period in Tangerang was obtained based on the analysis of secondary data from historical maps and documents. The analysis looks for elements that usually characterize Chinatowns, namely temples as places of worship, houses or shop houses, markets, piers and structural patterns of the settlement. The character of Tangerang Chinatown in the era of Indonesian independence until now is obtained based on the analysis of the features and significance of buildings and structural patterns of the settlement and also building functions and community activities. Based on the results of analysis, the elements and structural patterns of the settlement that are persistent or change from early period to colonial era and until now can be found. The results of analysis are then interpreted into a concept that will be narrowed down as research findings.

Findings and Discussion

The Pattern of The Urban Area and The Architecture of The Chinatown of Tangerang Old Market

In 1684, a Boen Tek Bio temple was built in the Old Market Tangerang (Fig.1). This indicates that the Chinese have been living in this area for approximately three centuries. In 1708, a fort was built by the VOC on the Eastern side of the Cisadane River, Tangerang, which was later called "*Benteng* (Fort) Makasar" because, besides the Dutch army, people from Makassar Sulawesi were also employed (Syahid and Kurniawan, 2018).

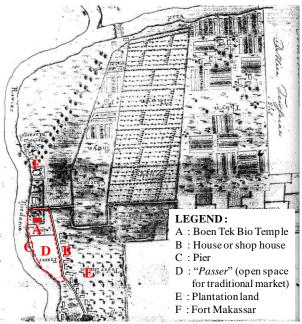


Fig. 1: Map of Tangerang in 1800 Source:maps.library.leiden.edu

In 1740, the Chinese were massacred in Batavia by the Dutch. This incident prompted the issuance of a new regulation, namely Wijkenstelsel, to monitor those residing in the Chinatown (Tjiook, 2017). This was the reason the Chinese ethnic settlements in Tangerang

was later designated as the Chinatown by the Dutch. The settlements were constructed in a grid pattern filled with rows of houses known as "plot nine". The Boen Tek Bio Temple is located in the middle of the area with the frontal access facing the river through the main road Cilangkap (Fig.2). The graphical representation in Figure 2 shows that the Chinese ethnic settlement in Tangerang was changed to Chinatown. However, the Boen Tek Bio Temple is still facing the river and the pier. Furthermore, the rows of houses, and two piers (named "Jamban Stairs Pier" and "Ronggeng Stairs Pier") still exist. The market is located along the alley on Bakti Saham, Cilame and Ki Samaun Streets.

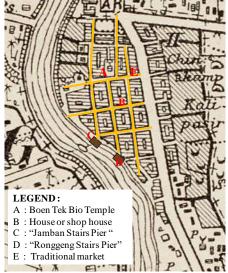


Fig. 2: Map of the Tangerang Old Market Chinatown area in 1900 Source: maps.library.leiden.edu

In the Independent Era (19th century), the pattern of roads and building lots still exist. However, the Ronggeng Stairs Pier is not there anymore, and this has led to changes in the structure of the area because its support for the North-South axis was reduced. The corridor on the banks of the Cisadane River has also undergone certain changes in addition to the construction of the Kalipasir road and the waterfront promenade (Fig. 3).

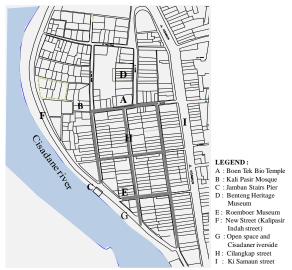


Fig. 3: Map of Tangerang Old Market Chinatown Area in 2020 source https://bhumi.atrbpn.go.id/

The Characters of Early Chinese Settlements in Tangerang Before Colonial Era

The analysis of the early period involves the identification of elements in the Chinese ethnic settlement in Kali Pasir or Passer. The map was analysed to identify the elements that marked the settlements in the early era. The elements found were Boen Tek Bio Temple which functions as a worship centre, a shop, market, and pier. Initially, the temple was in the form of a small house or hut made of bamboo. However, due to the increasing number of visitors, it was rebuilt in 1772 by craftsmen from China. Therefore, the architectural design reflects the original Chinese building style (Dewi, et.al, 2000). This ethnic settlement is generally in the form of a garden house. The stair-shaped pier is where the boat containing merchandise to be sold at the market is anchored. The market is an open space in front of Boen Tek Bio Temple which is called Passer. A schematic depiction of the regional pattern is shown in Fig.4.

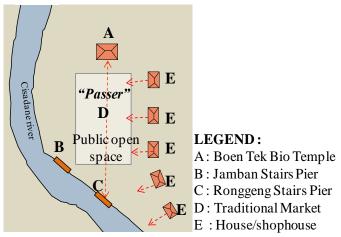


Fig. 4: The pattern of the "Passer" area, ethnic Chinese settlements in the Colonial era (1800s) Source: Author

The Boen Tek Bio Temple faces Southwards towards the Cisadane river, where there is a pier that serves as an entrance to the Passer settlement. The residents or shops are in the form of single houses with a large yard in the middle of the garden facing the river. In the middle of the settlements, there is an open space that functions as a market. The essential character of the early Tangerang Chinese ethnic settlements is in the formof a linear pattern in the middle of a garden or large yard. This is commonly called "Cina Benteng" which is located in remote or rural areas presently found in several regions, including Sewan and Curug Tangerang villages. This initial pattern is assumed to follow the basic or general typology of the Chinese ethnic settlements in Tangerang.

The Character of Tangerang's Chinatown in Colonial era

The character of the Colonial era is shown by several marker elements, namely the Boen Tek Bio Temple, residential houses, shops, markets, and piers. In 1844, the Boen Tek Bio temple was renovated and more buildings were gradually added on the left, right sides, and even at the back. Those at the left and right sides were built in 1875, while the building at the back was erected in 1904. Today, the temple still maintains that shape (Fig. 5).

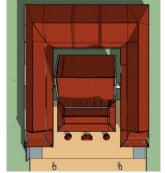
The early Chinese ethnic settlements changed from a single house with a large courtyard to a one-to-two-story row house and formed a grid area pattern. This has caused each plot to become narrow thereby extending backward. In the middle of the building, there is usually an inner court that provides natural lighting and air circulation.



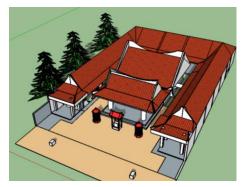
Photo view from the entrance gate of Boen Tek Bio temple



Photo view from the side of the Boen Tek Bio temple







Three-dimensional image, bird eye view

Fig. 5: Boen Tek Bio Temple Source: Author

The pier is formed by stairs, located on the banks of the Cisadane River (Fig.6) and is close to Boen Tek Bio Temple and Kalipasir Mosque. According to Mr. Oey Tjin Eng, initially, there were two different piers, namely Jamban Stairs Pier and Ronggeng Stairs Pier, which are approximately 100 meters apart. These piers were built around the 18th century during the reign of Emperor Thong Tjien of the Ching Dynasty in China. Historically, it served as a berth for small boats carrying crops to be traded at the Tangerang Old Market and visitors of the Boen Tek Bio Temple. At the Jamban Stairs Pier, there is a Chinese-script inscription that implies 1873, presumed as the year it was erected. The inscription has the names of the people that contributed to build the pier. The Jamban Stairs Pier is shown in an image that was neglected in 1926.



Fig.6: Photo of the Jamban Stairs Pier, 1926 Source of photo documentation courtesy of informant person Oey Tjin Eng

Meanwhile, the market was turned into a traditional market that occupies several streets or alleys which led to the term Tangerang Old Market. The market is usually filled with traders selling agricultural produce along Cilame and Bakti Saham Streets. Several houses located on Cilangkap, Cirarab, and Kalipasir Streets also function as shops. The Chinatown settlement in the colonial era (18 to 19 centuries) was in the form of a grid pattern, which has a special meaning as explained by the gatekeeper Mr. Oey Tjin Eng. It forms the letter "Wang (Ξ)" which means "King." This pattern places the Boen Tek Bio Temple in the

upper-middle or head position which depicts its relevance in this settlement. The schematic concept of the "King letter" grid pattern is shown in Fig.7.

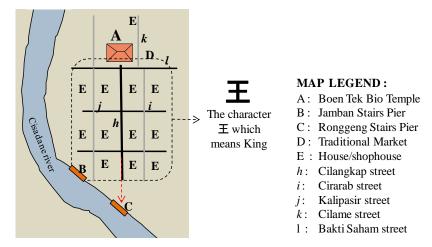


Fig. 7: The grid pattern in Chinatown, Tangerang Old Market, during the colonial era (18 to 19 centuries)Source: Author

The Character of Tangerang's Chinatown in the era of Independence Indonesia

In the independence era, the Chinatown located in Tangerang Old Market has undergone several changes, which occurred in various residential buildings and shops, including Ki Samaun streets which became a culinary centre at night. According to Figure 8, a new road was constructed along the banks of the Cisadane River in Kali Pasir and is currently a waterfront promenade tourism area. Irrespective of this fact, certain elements have remained unchanged. They are categorized as primary elements, namely the Boen Tek Bio Temple and several buildings that retained their original form, such as the Benteng Heritage, and the Roemboer Museums, and several shops that support a grid-shaped pattern.

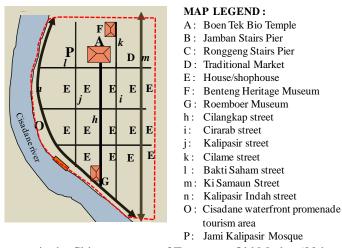


Fig.8: Urban pattern in the Chinatown area of Tangerang Old Market (20th century - until now) Source: Author

There are several buildings with Chinese architectural design and acculturation during the colonial era. These significant buildings are categorized as the main or primary elements in Chinatown. The buildings comprise of Boen Tek Bio Temple, Benteng Heritage, and Roemboer Museums, Kalipasir Mosque, and SH Ketchup Factory (Fig. 9).

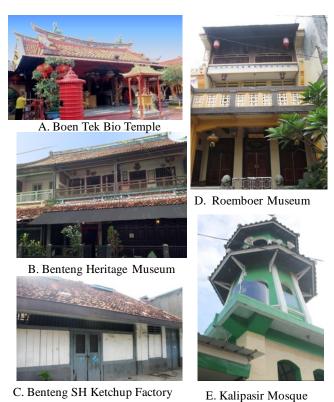


Fig. 9: Primary elements in the Chinatown of Tangerang Old Market Source: Author

The secondary elements include Oey Koen Ho's, and Oey Kim Tiang's houses (a Silat story writer), and shops on Saham and Cilangkap streets, (Fig. 10)



Fig.10: Building as a secondary element in Chinatown, Tangerang Old Market (Source: Author)

Furthermore, the tertiary elements are damaged buildings that displayed the Chinese architectural styles or acculturation, as shown in Figure 11. These are supporting elements in the streetsof the Tangerang Old Market area.



Fig.11: Building as a tertiary element in Chinatown, Tangerang Old Market Source: Author

Figure 12 shows that the Cilame-Cilangkap and the Bakti Saham streets are the main corridors or have the strongest character because there are primary and secondary elements. This supports the North-South and East-West axis of the Chinatown area in Pasar Lama Tangerang. The significant distributive pattern shown in Figure 12 strengthens the North-South and East-West axis which is characteristic of the Chinatown in the Tangerang Old Market. The distribution of persistent and evolutive elements are closer to the centre of the area, namely the Boen Tek Bio temple, and along the Cilangkap road. Meanwhile, the element at the border, namely the Tangga Ronggeng Pier, has become distinct. The impact of this change affected the North-South axis and the axial linkages of the three main temples in Tangerang (Boen Tek Bio - Boen San Bio - Boen Hay Bio).

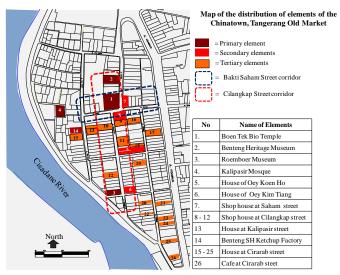


Fig. 12: Building distribution map as primary, secondary and tertiary marker elements Source: Author

Figure 13 shows that the primary, secondary and tertiary elements support the urban pattern in the Chinatown, and are referred to as permanent or persistent. Evolutionary elements are the changed ones that no longer support the urban pattern of the area. An extinct element, namely the Ronggeng Stairs Pier, affected the North-South axis and changed the orientation of the entrance. The permanent elements that have survived and had been sustainable since the early Chinese settlements in Tangerang until the Colonial era and to this day are the Boen Tek Bio temple, Traditional Markets, houses and shop houses, and the Tangga Jamban pier. These elements are the main elements of an ethnic Chinese settlement that are not eliminated because they have an important meaning and related to the beliefs and activities of the life of the Chinese ethnic community in the Tangerang Old Market.

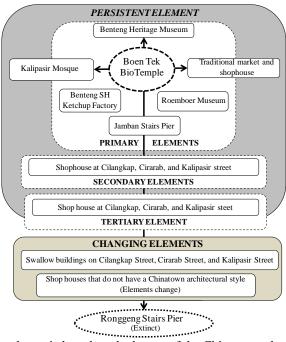


Fig.13: Urban pattern schematic based on the layout of the Chinatown elements, Tangerang Old Market. Source : Author

The Relationship between Settlement Patterns and Community Activities

The character of the Tangerang Old Market Chinatown is not only shaped by the physical aspects of the elements and patterns of the settlement structure, but also by the community activities that occur. The urban pattern of Pasar Lama Chinatown is also related to the function and role of the elements and the activities that occur in these areas (Purwaningsih, 2021). They include religious, trading, residential and recreational activities or cultural tourism, culinary and waterfront tourism on the Cisadane riverbanks. The religious activities, traditional, and cultural festivals are celebrated in Chinatown and its environs.

Religious and trading activities take place on a daily basis at the Boen Tek Bio Temple, Jami Mosque Kalipasir, including traditional markets and shops. Meanwhile, some activities; namely the Peh Cun and the Kebaya Festival are celebrated annually. The Tempe and the Chili Festivals are held once every year, depending on the theme. The Gotong Toa Pekong traditional ceremony is held every twelve years with a route that was originally determined, from Boen Tek Bio to Boen San Bio temple, in Tangerang. Currently, the route has been changed, as it doesn't go to Boen San Bio temple anymore.

The activities that occur also alternate in one day. For instance, the Ki Samaun road corridor is an urban road and on-street parking area from morning to noon, and a centre for street culinary tourism from the afternoon until midnight on Sunday or weekend. There are patterns of activities and relations with urban patterns in the Chinatown area of the Tangerang Old Market (Fig. 14).

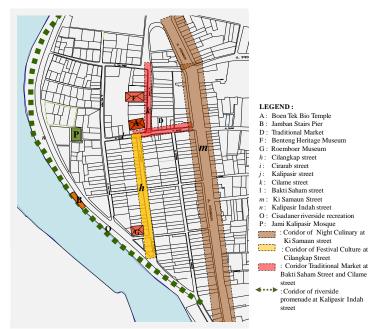


Fig. 14: Map of the activity distribution in the Tangerang Old Market area Source: Author

Religious activities are held at the Boen Tek Bio Temple and Jami Mosque Kalipasir. Traditional and cultural activities are also held at the Temple and places, such as the Benteng Heritage, and the Roemboer Museums, the Jamban Stairscase Pier, and along the Cisadane riverbanks. Traditional market trading activities are carried out along Bakti Saham and Cilame roads. Shopping and tourism activities, culinary night markets and cafes or restaurants are located along the Ki Samaun road. The diagrammatic representation of these activities and patterns in Chinatown are shown in Figures 15 and 16.



Fig.15: Activities at the Chinatown, Tangerang Old Market Source: Author

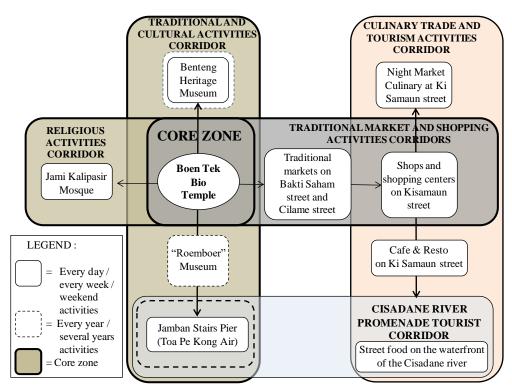


Fig.16:Area pattern based on the activity corridor in the Tangerang Old Market Source: Author

Figure 16 shows the religious, traditional and trading activities, and culinary tourism, that occur at the promenade on the Cisadane riverbanks. The layout of these activities forms a linear pattern, in the core zone which comprises of primary elements in the area. Boen Tek Bio Temple is the centre of activities and a meeting point for several corridors. This pattern forms and strengthens the North-South and East-West axes, as well as the route between Boen Tek Bio Temple and the Cilangkap road that leads directly to the river. This urban grid pattern comprising of roads and housing blocks forms the term "Kwang" which means the King. Culinary tourism activities and the pedestrian area by the Cisadane River have been newly constructed in 2000 by the Tangerang City Government to revive or revitalize the old town in Tangerang. Unfortunately, the former site of the Ronggeng Stairs Pier was not preserved and this has led to its extinction. Irrespective of the fact that, this site is part of the North-South axis connecting the three main temples, namely Boen Tek Bio Temple, Boen San Bio Temple, and Boen Han Bio Temple.

Conclusion

The character of the Tangerang Chinatown is very distinctive in each era, from the beginning to the Colonial era and until now. Character is formed by physical and non-physical aspects and the relationship between the two. The physical aspect includes the elements and patterns of the Chinatown area. The non-physical aspect is the pattern of community activity.

The character of the early Tangerang Old Market Chinatown was in an open space between a linear Chinese settlement and the Boen Tek Bio temple. During the colonial period, certain changes made by the Dutch East Indies government led to the development of an urban grid pattern, with row houses and shop houses, and the Boen Tek Bio temple in the middle, while traditional markets occupied alleys or streets. Currently, the character of Tangerang Chinatown is shaped by vernacular architecture that forms primary, secondary, and tertiary elements.

The primary elements are the Boen Tek Bio Temple, the Heritage Fort, the Roemboer Museum, the Jamban Pier, and the traditional market which is located in the core zone. Secondary and tertiary elements, including significant residential houses or shophouses located between the core and edge zones. The edge zone on Jalan Ki Samaun and along the banks of the Cisadane River consists of shops, cafes, street food, or night food and waterfront promenade tours which are a new activity.

The character of Tangerang Chinatown is related to the function and role of the elements forming the area and the activities that occur. These include religious, traditional and cultural activities, trade, culinary tours, and walks by the Cisadane River. Religious and cultural activities, as well as traditional markets and shops are in the core zone where there are primary elements. Culinary tourism activities and the pedestrian area on the banks of the Cisadane River were only built in the 2000s by the Tangerang City Government to revive or revitalize the old city located in the border zone.

The permanent elements that have survived since the beginning of the Chinese settlement in Tangerang until now are the Boen Tek Bio Temple, Traditional Markets, residential houses or shop houses that still have Chinese architectural styles or acculturation and the Jamban pier. These elements are the primary elements of ethnic Chinese settlements that cannot be eliminated because they have important meanings and are related to the beliefs and activities of the life of the Chinese ethnic community in Tangerang. There are also several elements that may change but can strengthen the urban structure, namely secondary and tertiary elements. In the face of the rapid development of the city of Tangerang, the Chinatown has been transformed into a cultural tourism settlement with significant residential elements being preserved and the addition of new activities that revive the area.

The final conclusion is that by finding the characters in each phase of the development of certain ethnic settlements such as the Chinatown, it is possible to know the characteristics of each era, its changes and persistence of each element in forming settlement patterns. It can find out the causes of the development of three centuries old settlement, so that they can be used as background knowledge for urban studies, especially for old and historic urban preservation.

Author Contributions

This paper is written as part of doctoral research at the University of Catholic Parahyangan, Indonesia.

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