




Creative Movement and Anti-Gentrification: Learning from Los Tjihapit Market's Coffee in Bandung

Nirmala Hajaria
Adha I. P. Nabila
Lidhiya A. R. Puteri
Maryam S. Syarifah
Agus S. Ekomadyo 

Department of Architecture, SAPPK, Institut Teknologi Bandung, Indonesia

Abstract

The phenomenon of gentrification, driven by the presence of the creative class, is a consequence of the global implementation of the Creative City concept. Bandung has adopted this concept, and one of the areas developed by the creative class is the Cihapit Market area. This article examines how the "creative" community, specifically Kopi Pasar Los Tjihapit, sustains its business amidst gentrification through a placekeeping strategy. Participatory qualitative descriptive research methods were employed to explore the role of architectural space as part of the placekeeping strategy. Five strategies were identified: 1) zoning to support maintenance, 2) collaboration spaces for various partnerships, 3) space flexibility through collective decision-making, 4) collaborative spaces to encourage community involvement, and 5) coordination of all aspects to preserve the public market character. In conclusion, the success of creative placekeeping strategies in architectural spaces combines non-technical aspects such as community enthusiasm with technical aspects such as the arrangement of physical architectural elements.

Keywords: Arrangement, creative workforce, Los Tjihapit Market Coffee, urban redevelopment

Article history:

Received July 25, 2023
Received in revised form September 15, 2023
Accepted Nov. 10, 2023
Available online April 01, 2024

Correspondence address:
Nirmala Hajaria,
Department of Architecture,
SAPPK, Institut Teknologi
Bandung, Jalan Ganesa No.
10, Bandung, Jawa Barat
40132, Indonesia
Email:
nirmalahaj@gmail.com



Introduction

The discourse on Creative City produces a paradox: on one hand, it aims to leverage the creative economy for urban development, while on the other, it is suspected to be part of the neoliberal agenda, leading to gentrification (Mendes 2013). Conceptually, a Creative City is expected to enhance the economic value of a place through the movement of people utilizing creative competencies and cultural knowledge (Florida 2002). However, what often transpires is that as the economic value of a city area increases, the creative class with lower incomes is replaced by investors seeking greater profits, resulting in gentrification.

The issue of gentrification as a consequence of Creative Cities is prevalent in various cities worldwide. In Hamburg, Florida's concept of utilizing city space for artists' activities in the Gängeviertel has actually led to a decline in artists' income as they cannot compete with investors. In New York, local artists who generated economic activity in the area were displaced because they could not afford the rising rent prices caused by the influx of investors (Kostic, Kostic, and Dinic-Brankovic 2018).

The Creative City concept is also present in the city of Bandung. Despite criticism regarding the suitability of this city as part of the Unesco Creative Cities Network and the alleged influence of large capital forces behind it, numerous communities operate "creatively" even without the label "Creative City" (Ekomadyo, Martokusumo, and Ardiani 2020). One such community is the Los Tjihapit Market Coffee community, which operates creatively in creating urban spaces. Their artistic competence in space production significantly contributes to the "creative" image of Cihapit Market in Bandung City, attracting new consumers to visit this market. Consequently, many similar facilities have been developed by investors with significant capital in the Cihapit Market area and its surroundings, potentially leading to gentrification and impacting the sustainability of the Los Tjihapit Market Coffee business. However, with various creative strategies, including the use of architectural spaces, Kopi Pasar Los Tjihapit can still thrive amidst pressure from various new brands developing similar businesses in this area.

This article aims to uncover how the economic endeavors of a "creative community" can withstand gentrification. Through a "placekeeping" study, we analyze the strategies implemented by the Los Tjihapit Market Coffee community to maintain business continuity through various "creative" activities. By examining strategic practices to withstand business pressures, we hope to gain insight into the role of architectural space in fostering a locally-based creative economy.

The creative class, gentrification, and creative placekeeping

In the book "The Rise of the Creative Class," Florida (2002) argues that the creative class is one of the primary drivers of economic growth in urban areas and has the ability to enhance the vibrancy and attractiveness of

cities through three categories: technology, talent, and tolerance. According to Florida, cities with a high percentage of creative class residents experience significant growth in creative communities and have substantial economic and social potential. The influx of the creative class into large cities is propelled by factors such as "authenticity" and the opportunities present within the city.

Florida's ideas have garnered significant criticism because they are perceived as contributing to a pattern of gentrification affecting low-income communities, minorities, and indigenous residents of the city. The term "gentrification" was first introduced by Ruth Glass in 1964 and further developed by Tinsel (1996), who defines it as changes in facilities and economic activities resulting from the development of areas targeted at higher-income groups to create a more homogeneous population, both in terms of symbolic and economic status. Gentrification is considered a significant concern for creative movements as it can lead to the fragmentation of the creative class and the alienation of residents with lower socio-economic status, particularly in urban areas designated as creative districts (Booyens 2012).

The concept of "creative placekeeping" emerged as an alternative to "creative placemaking," particularly due to its implications for gentrification. Coined by Wild et al. (2008), "creative placekeeping" refers to the activities aimed at maintaining a place so that it retains its significance and can be enjoyed by future generations. This involves maintaining quality and implementing long-term management. Placekeeping and placemaking activities are mutually supportive, dynamic, and continuous processes: the placekeeping process preserves and enhances the quality of the place created by placemaking. Dempsey and Burton (2012) elaborate that placekeeping encompasses holistic indicators, including maintenance, partnership, decision-making, community engagement, investment, policy, evaluation, and coordination.

To elucidate the aspect of "creative placekeeping" in the strategy of the Kopi Pasar community, several additional approaches are utilized for support. In analyzing the maintenance aspect, Chandler and Lewis's (2011) theory concerning building design facilitating maintenance is employed. For analyzing indicators of partnership and community engagement, the theory of community sustainability influenced by works from Putra and Agirachman (2016), Agirachman and Ekomadyo (2017), the theory of sense of community by McMillan and Chavis (1986), and *Designing Creative Space* by Katja Thoring (2017) are employed. Furthermore, in analyzing decision-making and coordination indicators, the space flexibility theory by Kronenburg (2007) and Geoff (2007) is utilized.

Los Tjihapit Market Coffee confronts gentrification

Los Tjihapit Market Coffee is a coffee shop situated within Cihapit Market, Bandung. Cihapit Market itself is located within an environmental cluster established during the colonial period, where economic activities flourished, led by Chinese traders who established shops and conducted

trade in Cihapit. This attracted local traders to occupy the vacant spaces behind the shops and begin constructing informal markets, eventually forming a people's market (Wiryawan 2012; Ekomadyo et al. 2018). In 1985, the Bandung City Government constructed a permanent building for Cihapit Market, which was later renovated in 2006 (Bandung City Market Management Service 2007). Presently, Cihapit Market is renowned as a traditional market offering high-quality daily goods, targeting consumers from the upper-middle class residing in the central area of Bandung City. Cihapit Market possesses its own charm as a traditional market. Several commodities have gained fame, such as Warung Mak Eha, Surabi Cihapit, and Cake Block Cihapit, which serve as attractions of Cihapit Market as a small-scale, informal, and temporary tourist destination (Ekomadyo, Santri, and Riyadi 2018).

The historical background of the utilization of Cihapit Market space, which originated from adjacent empty spaces (Kurniawan, 2012), illustrates how Cihapit Market evolved as a center of community activity, formed spontaneously and informally. Like markets in general, architectural aspects develop to accommodate the informal relations of people's market activities; hence, markets as economic spaces also function as social and cultural spaces (Ekomadyo 2019). This social informality shapes the character of Cihapit Market, transforming it into a cultural space.

By the end of 2014, creative movements began to emerge at Cihapit Market, one of which was initiated by Los Tjihapit Market Coffee. Los Tjihapit Market Coffee embodies the spirit of resilience in the market, a place where people seek livelihoods and self-understanding. Initially, this movement was spontaneous but gained momentum and succeeded in revitalizing the market. The initiators of Los Tjihapit Market Coffee aimed to engage in new business activities and assert their presence. The market location was chosen due to its affordable rental price and strong socio-cultural context.

Kopi Pasar Los Tjihapit is a small café nestled in a corner of the market, offering simple drinks. This café boasts a unique ambiance with walls adorned with posters of creative arts and cultural activities. The interior elements, serving as the backdrop for the initiators, signify the strong bond between Kopi Pasar Los Tjihapit and artists, journalists, and the cultural community of Bandung. In addition to its daily consumer service, Kopi Pasar Los Tjihapit also serves as a platform for informal community discussions. The café operates in an organized manner, embodying the spirit of social advocacy through informal connections with activists and local cultural communities. This has drawn public and political attention, garnering support for the creative activities they organize. The informality that characterizes Los Tjihapit Market Coffee at Cihapit Market underscores the absence of architectural intervention in the activities and spaces created. Despite occupying a corner space in the market, Los Tjihapit Market Coffee has managed to survive due to the loyalty of its consumers and the community it serves.

The success of the "creative movement" at Los Tjihapit Market Coffee in attracting the masses has also led to increased interest from several investors in investing capital in the Cihapit Market area. Consequently, a gentrification phenomenon has emerged, characterized by the entry of large brands selling in front shop areas and inside the market. While the presence of investors does contribute to economic growth, it can also monopolize the market and ultimately displace communities that have previously operated businesses (see figure 1).



Figure 1
Map depicting the distribution of Big Brand stores and the location of Los Tjihapit Market Coffee

These concerns motivate this community to develop strategies to address the dominance of economic capitalism as this region develops. Unlike similar business spaces, Kopi Pasar Los Tjihapit has the advantage of being a socio-cultural space rather than solely a space for economic transactions. Its foundation as a community-based cultural space enables it to thrive in competition with larger brands.

This strategy is reflected in the architectural spaces of Los Tjihapit Market Coffee, with significant support from loyal consumers and communities engaged in its activities. Through an examination from a "placekeeping" perspective, this strategy will be outlined, illustrating how architectural space contributes to the Los Tjihapit Market Coffee's survival strategy amidst the gentrification phenomenon in the surrounding area.

Methods

The research was conducted using qualitative-descriptive research methods with a participatory approach. A literature review was conducted to establish the analytical framework used in this research. Several Creative Placekeeping indicators from Dempsey were employed as a reference for the initial framework for interviews. Participatory qualitative studies were chosen because the Creative Placekeeping approach is still relatively new for research, so studies involving direct involvement in the place are considered the most appropriate. Data collection methods included observing the place directly or indirectly via social media, as well as engaging in dialogue with the management and visitors of Los Tjihapit

Market Coffee. The visitors here are quite unique because they are highly involved in the development of Los Tjihapit Market Coffee, forming a natural community in this place. Therefore, data collection through observations and dialogue was informal and flowed naturally, consistent with the characteristics of this place.

Result and Discussion

Analysis of the concept of creative placekeeping at Los Tjihapit Market Coffee

Facing the pressure of gentrification, Kopi Pasar Los Tjihapit has developed various strategies, including those related to architectural spaces. Through placekeeping studies, several of these strategies were successfully revealed. The aspects of placekeeping that form the framework for the study are maintenance, partnership, decision-making, community engagement, and coordination. In the Creative Placekeeping concept, these aspects encompass technical aspects, such as physical spaces, and non-technical aspects dealing with social issues. From here, several strategies for utilizing the architectural spaces of Kopi Pasar Los Tjihapit in ensuring its business continuity can be mapped out: 1) zoning that supports maintenance, 2) collaboration space for various partnerships, 3) space flexibility based on joint decisions, 4) collaboration space that triggers community engagement, and 5) coordination of all aspects according to market characteristics.

1) Zoning conducive to maintenance

Maintenance is one of the placekeeping criteria related to the daily condition, quality, and cleanliness of a place (Dempsey and Burton, 2012). According to research by Chandler and Lewis (2011), one design criterion that facilitates maintenance is the layout of building elements. In market buildings, this layout can be identified through the zoning of traders and supporting facilities.

The traders at Cihapit Market are divided into three zones: wet food, dry food, and other traders. The wet food and dry food zones are located on the east side, near the main entrance and loading and unloading areas, while the other trader zones are mostly spread on the west side of the market (see figure 2). Los Tjihapit Market Coffee is situated in another trader's zone, specifically in the southwest corner near the side entrance of the market. Visitors can access Los Tjihapit Market Coffee freely without being hindered by loading and unloading activities. Trading facilities in this area consist of kiosks that can be closed after operating hours to prevent the entry of animals that may carry diseases, such as cockroaches, mice, and flies.

The separate location of Los Tjihapit Market Coffee ensures that its activities are not disrupted by rubbish, unpleasant odors, and muddy road conditions typically found in wet food trader areas. The management also makes regular maintenance efforts to clean the corridor area around the kiosk, enhancing visitor comfort. Therefore, maintenance strategies at

Kopi Pasar Los Tjihapit can be easily implemented and have been successful due to the strategic zoning arrangements and the efforts of the management.



Figure 2
Zoning at Cihapit Market

2) Space for diverse collaborations

The sustainability of a community in a particular location is significantly influenced by the activities and associations conducted (Putra and Agirachman, 2016; Agirachman and Ekomadyo, 2017). Existing activities can foster partnerships between multiple stakeholders, facilitating cooperation in utilizing the area. Such collaboration is crucial for ensuring the long-term management of the location and constitutes one of the criteria for placekeeping (Dempsey and Burton 2012).

Throughout its journey, Los Tjihapit Market Coffee has experienced continuous growth owing to the regular activities and gatherings organized by the existing community. Its primary activities include music concerts and open discussions. In 2022, music concerts were held three times, featuring events such as "Lazy Sunday," "Perhaps Music Concert," and "Aisle Music." Meanwhile, discussion activities occurred three times, including "Golosor Times Edition 3," "Book Discussion," and "Decolonization of Education" (figure 3).



Figure 3
"Perhaps Music Concert" event
at Los Tjihapit Market Coffee

In the book "Designing Creative Space" by Katja Thoring (2019), it is explained that several spatial characteristics influence user productivity in creative and innovative activities. Some of these characteristics are present in the space created at Kopi Pasar Los Tjihapit. These spatial features include elements that provide stimulation (source of stimulation), encourage the transfer of information (knowledge processor), and include activity support facilities (process enabler).

Los Tjihapit Market Coffee functions as a stimulation center (source of stimulation) with visual and olfactory stimuli. Visual stimulation is provided by the interplay of light and materials. The lighting in Los Tjihapit Market Coffee is a blend of natural light from the open hallway and warm-colored artificial light in the indoor corridor. Olfactory stimulation is delivered by the aroma of coffee emanating from the coffee-making bar located near the corridor in the market. These stimuli are sufficiently rich to raise awareness of the space while still maintaining the individual's concentration.

Los Tjihapit Market Coffee exhibits characteristics of a space that fosters the transfer of information (knowledge processor) and knowledge. This is evident through the presence of a 2 x 1 m wall within Los Tjihapit Market Coffee. This wall displays documentation of collaborative activities and moments from these activities, allowing visitors to engage with the content while seated in the designated area. Additionally, posters outlining the agenda for upcoming activities are strategically placed in the bar area, adjacent to the wall display. This feature encourages discussions among visitors or between visitors and employees (figure 4).

Another characteristic is its role as a process enabler, providing spatial structures, facilities, and furniture that support event activities. The spatial structure, with height differences and corridors, allows the space to be used as a stage for activities. Los Tjihapit Market Coffee also offers an empty wall that can serve as a wall panel when there is no activity, but can be used as a projector screen during events. Additionally, there are extra microphones and chairs available for use in case of activities.

The characteristics of the creative space established at Kopi Pasar Los Tjihapit signify that it is more than just a physical space. This environment serves as a platform for the community to channel ideas, create works, facilitate knowledge exchange among individuals, and provide exposure to the wider community. Creative activities can thrive because the space at Kopi Pasar Los Tjihapit fosters creativity and enhances the productivity of its users.



Figure 4
Bulletin board at Los Tjihapit
Market Coffee

3) Flexibility in space through collaborative decision-making

The activities at Los Tjihapit Market Coffee are highly diverse and complex, yet the available space is rather limited. The existing spatial layout consists of a 2 x 2 m kiosk with access through a 2 m hallway. To accommodate activities within this constrained space, Kopi Pasar Los Tjihapit employs the principle of spatial flexibility. In architecture, spatial flexibility refers to the ability of a space to adapt to the needs of its users (Kronenburg 2007), incorporating principles such as adaptability, universality, transformability, movability, and responsiveness (Geoff 2007). At Kopi Pasar Los Tjihapit, the architectural strategy for flexibility is implemented through adaptable dimensions, layout, and function of the space.

The strategy of dimensional flexibility involves adjusting the size of the area to accommodate various activities. Since its establishment in 2014, Los Tjihapit Market Coffee has experienced a gradual increase in its area. The flexibility principle applied here is the transformable and universal principle. By utilizing surrounding kiosks to modify the space (transformable), the existing area can be adapted to meet various needs (universal). The increase in area comprises two types: permanent and temporary. Initially, Los Tjihapit Market Coffee consisted of only two kiosks, serving as a bar area and seating room. By the end of 2019, an additional kiosk was added to serve as a library area and reading room. Temporary expansions in the area occur during specific events with the community. The additional kiosk is positioned in front of the permanent kiosk. Of course, the usage of additional kiosks is adjusted based on the availability of empty kiosks (figure 5).

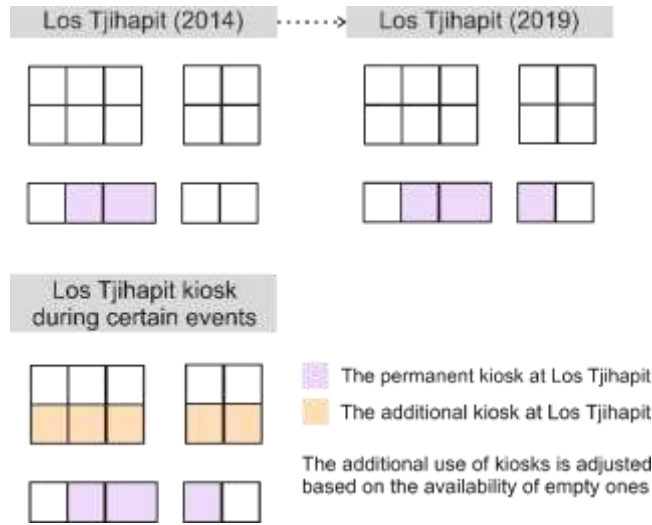


Figure 5
 Diagram illustrating the process of expanding the area of the Los Tjihapit Market Coffee kiosk

The layout flexibility strategy involves utilizing corridors for various activities. The corridor between Cihapit Market kiosks measures 2 m wide, with 0.4 m of trading space on both the right and left sides, marked by black ceramic lines. This additional trading space is tolerated by market managers, maintaining a circulation space of 1.2 m, meeting the minimum requirements for market corridors. The flexibility principles applied here are movability and adaptability. Movability entails elements in the space that can be adjusted, while adaptability involves the adjustment of fixed and non-fixed components. Los Tjihapit Market Coffee frequently utilizes the corridor area with black lines as a seating area. Managers relocate chairs and furniture to create a broader stage and seating area (figure 6).



Figure 6
 Flexibility of layout at Pasar Cihapit

The functional flexibility strategy involves adapting the function of space for various activities. The principle of responsiveness is applied to enable the space to meet the ongoing spatial needs of activities. Changes in area and layout are also implemented to support changes in function within the existing space. In daily use, two kiosks serve as a bar, sitting room, library, and a circulation area. This space is utilized for interaction activities as well.

During certain activities or events, the function of this space changes. The sitting room adjacent to the bar transforms into a performance area, while the corridor becomes a seating area (figure 7).

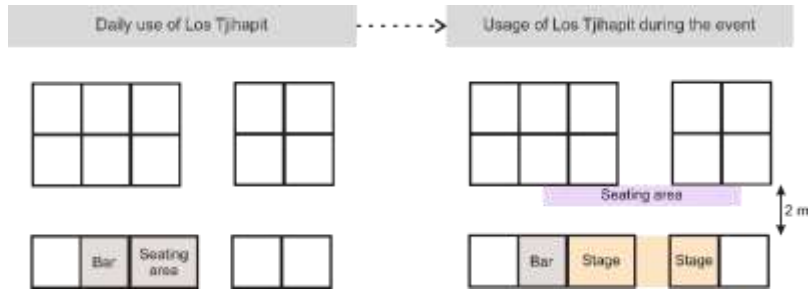


Figure 7
Functional flexibility at Cihapit Market.

The flexibility strategy at Kopi Pasar Los Tjihapit transcends mere physical changes. It involves non-physical elements, such as joint decision-making among stakeholders with strategic roles. In the dimensional flexibility strategy, the manager of Los Tjihapit Market Coffee coordinates directly with stakeholders, including other kiosk owners, to create a wider space for accommodating activities. In the layout flexibility strategy, there is manager tolerance in creating corridors that anticipate additional trading space.

4) Space for interaction that fosters community cohesion

The presence of activities and events at Kopi Pasar Los Tjihapit regularly indicates well-established user relationships. Users may come from communities that use Kopi Pasar Los Tjihapit for regular collaboration, as well as visitors from outside the community who utilize the space as a gathering place. The participation of these users is essential to keeping Los Tjihapit Market Coffee vibrant and active. To create and maintain a thriving community, existing platforms must effectively cultivate a sense of community for both types of users (Osmond 1957).

The existing space should be conducive to making both community users and visitors feel comfortable and interested in interacting with others. In Los Tjihapit Market Coffee, there are several characteristics that enhance user relations. According to Mr. Bayu, the initiator, these characteristics serve as triggers for interaction and encourage visitors to stay for an extended period. These characteristics will then be examined in more detail from an architectural perspective.

The characteristics that foster this interaction are evident in everyday life when Kopi Pasar Los Tjihapit does not hold special community events. The activities typically involve chatting and discussions among the management and regular visitors who are familiar with each other at Los Tjihapit Market Coffee (figure 8). According to McMillan and Chavis (1986), strategies to maintain a sense of community are necessary to ensure that each member's voice is heard, their needs are met, and emotional relationships are established within the community.



Figure 8
 Social interaction among visitors
 at Los Tjihapit Market Coffee

Based on interviews and direct observations, the management and visitors engage in casual daily community life, such as chatting freely and sharing snacks with one another. This behavior is facilitated by the characteristics of the Los Tjihapit Market Coffee space, which is narrow and unrestrictive, allowing visitors who are close to each other to mingle more easily. Consequently, conversations between visitors can be easily heard by others. In addition to the spatial layout, the interior arrangement of tables and chairs at Kopi Pasar Los Tjihapit promotes a sociopetal setting, evident in the use of round tables and bar areas that surround the presenters (figure 9 and table 1).

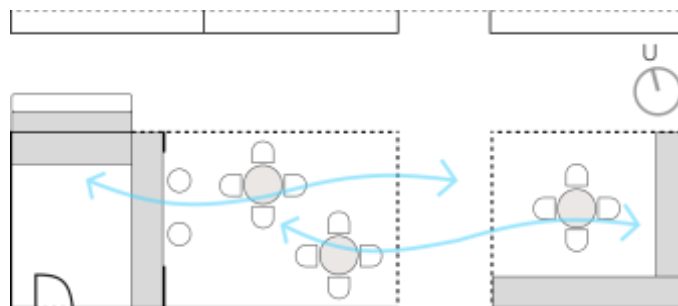
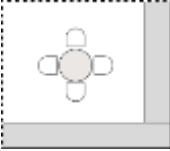
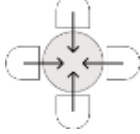


Figure 9
 The floor plan layout of Los
 Tjihapit Market Coffee is narrow
 yet open

Table 1
 The space and interior design of
 Los Tjihapit Market Coffee

No.	Rooms	Layout	Interior
1.	Main room		<p>Centering bar</p> <p>Circular table with centrally positioned chairs</p>

No.	Rooms	Layout	Interior
2.	Ruang baca		Circular table with centrally positioned chairs 



5) Coordination of all aspects in accordance with market characteristics
 The four aspects described must be interrelated and ensure they do not overlap or conflict; hence, coordination is crucial. Coordination at Kopi Pasar Los Tjihapit is achieved through various means, such as transforming the space from daily interaction to one that can host various creative events. Regular maintenance of spaces and informal additions are also exemplifying of coordination.

Naturally, the concept of creative placekeeping is informally applied at Los Tjihapit Market Coffee. This informality arises from the coexistence of Los Tjihapit Market Coffee activities with traditional market activities already taking place at Cihapit Market. Historically, Cihapit Market originated from buying and selling activities in leftover space, gradually evolving into a market with a permanent building. The informality of its historical development is what attracts consumers to this market. Similarly, Los Tjihapit Market Coffee has informally developed into a socio-cultural space where discussions attract consumers and the community, fostering loyalty to this place.

Conclusions

Los Tjihapit Market Coffee is a coffee shop that embodies the spirit of creative resilience in the business world, amidst the presence of large brands at Cihapit Market. The strategy devised to maintain consumer loyalty involves ensuring that the space remains comfortable and serves as a hub for interaction and collaboration among consumers. This strategy aims to establish Los Tjihapit Market Coffee with a strong identity and character, thus maintaining the trust of its loyal consumers. These findings align with Dempsey and Burton's (2012) theory on the concept of creative placekeeping, which emphasizes efforts to sustain a place through focus on maintenance, partnership, decision-making, community engagement, and coordination aspects.

The role of architectural spaces is prominently evident, particularly in how the strategy of Los Tjihapit Market Coffee maintains the value and quality of the place. Selecting a kiosk location in the dry area of Cihapit Market, separate from the wet area, clearly facilitates store maintenance and

provides comfort for consumers. The spaces are informally designed to accommodate community activities through various spontaneous collaborations (partnerships). Additionally, the space is arranged flexibly by prioritizing joint decision-making. The spatial layout evidently supports community interaction and attachment to the place, which can be realized through effective coordination in all aspects.

The role of architectural spaces is prominently evident, particularly in how the strategy of Los Tjihapit Market Coffee maintains the value and quality of the place. Choosing a kiosk location in the dry area of Cihapit Market, separate from the wet area, clearly facilitates store maintenance and provides comfort for consumers. The spaces are informally designed to accommodate community activities through various spontaneous collaborations (partnerships). Additionally, the space is arranged flexibly by prioritizing joint decision-making. The spatial layout evidently supports community interaction and attachment to the place, which can be realized through effective coordination in all aspects.

Acknowledgements

Acknowledgments are extended to Mr. Bayu Wijanarko, owner of Pasar Los Tjihapit Coffee shop, for serving as the primary informant for this article.

Referensi

- Agirachman, Fauzan Alfi, and Agus S. Ekomadyo. 2017. "Analisis Teori Jaringan Aktor Pada Co-Working Space Dan Komunitas Startup Di Bandung." *Jurnal Koridor* 8 (2): 206–12. <https://doi.org/10.32734/koridor.v8i2.1348>.
- Booyens, Aims. 2012. "Creative Industries, Inequality and Social Development: Developments, Impacts and Challenges in Cape Town." *Urban Forum* 23: 43–60. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12132-012-9140-6>.
- Chandler, Janelle, and Timothy M. Lewis. 2011. "Designing Buildings for Ease of Maintenance in the Caribbean." *The West Indian Journal of Engineering* 33: 50–55.
- Dempsey, Nicola, and Mel Burton. 2012. "Defining Place-Keeping: The Long-Term Management of Public Spaces." *Urban Forestry & Urban Greening* 11 (1): 11–20. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ufug.2011.09.005>.
- Dinas Pengelolaan Pasar Kota Bandung. 2007. "Data Potensi Pasar Kota Bandung 2007." Portal Bandung. 2007. <https://www.bandung.go.id/news/read/507/dinas-pengelolaan-pasar>.
- Ekomadyo, Agus S. 2019. "Evaluating Revitalized Public Markets as Economic and Socio-Cultural Places in Indonesia." *Social Sciences & Humanities Open* 27 (2): 963–76.
- Ekomadyo, Agus S., Widjaja Martokusumo, and Nissa Aulia Ardiani. 2020. "Field of Creative-Cities Movement and Cultural Sustainability: Learning from Place-Making in Kampung Kreatif Dago Pojok and Kopi Pasar Los Tjihapit in Bandung." In , 11–17.

- <https://doi.org/10.4028/www.scientific.net/AST.103.11>.
- Ekomadyo, Agus S., A Nurfadillah, A Kartamihardja, and A J Cungwin. 2018. "Becoming Heritage: A Place-Making Study of Old Neighbourhood Marketplace in Bandung." *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science* 158 (May): 012012. <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/158/1/012012>.
- Ekomadyo, Agus S., Tyas Santri, and Andika Riyadi. 2018. "Reassembling Traditionality and Creativity: A Study of Place as Assemblage in Pasar Cihapit Bandung." Edited by R.B. Santosa, N.C. Idham, N.G. Yuli, and P.AP. Agustiananda. *SHS Web of Conferences* 41 (January): 07006. <https://doi.org/10.1051/shsconf/20184107006>.
- Florida, Richard. 2002. *The Rise of Creative Class*. Philadelphia: Basic Book.
- Geoff. 2007. "Flexibility in Architecture, The Way We Live." Thewaywelive. 2007. <https://thewaywelive.wordpress.com/2007/11/15/flexibility-in-architecture/>.
- Kostic, Vladimir, Aleksandar Kostic, and Milena Dinic-Brankovic. 2018. "Gentrification, Creative Class and Problems of Conflict of Interest in Contemporary Urban Development." *Facta Universitatis - Series: Architecture and Civil Engineering* 16 (3): 401–13. <https://doi.org/10.2298/FUACE180524017K>.
- Kronenburg, Robert. 2007. *Flexible: Architecture That Responds to Change*. London: Laurence King. <https://cir.nii.ac.jp/crid/1130282270948447360>.
- Kurniawan, Reza Ramadhan. 2012. "Cihapit: Surga Dan Masa Yang Kelam Bandung." *Komunitasaleut*. 2012. <https://komunitasaleut.com/2012/03/01/cihapit-surga-dan-masa-yang-kelam-bandung/>.
- McMillan, David W., and David M. Chavis. 1986. "Sense of Community: A Definition and Theory." *Journal of Community Psychology* 14 (1): 6–23. [https://doi.org/10.1002/1520-6629\(198601\)14:1<6::AID-JCOP2290140103>3.0.CO;2-I](https://doi.org/10.1002/1520-6629(198601)14:1<6::AID-JCOP2290140103>3.0.CO;2-I).
- Mendes, Luís. 2013. "Marginal Gentrification as Emancipatory Practice: An Alternative to the Hegemonic Discourse of the Creative City?*" *RCCS Annual Review*, no. 5 (October). <https://doi.org/10.4000/rccsar.513>.
- Putra, Gierlang Bhakti, and Fauzan Alfi Agirachman. 2016. "Urban Coworking Space: Creative Tourism in Digital Nomads Perspective." *Creative Tourism, Community and Design Praxis* 1: 169–78. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/316472768_Urban_Coworking_Space_Creative_Tourism_in_Digital_Nomads_Perspective.
- Subekti, Bambang, Iyus Sutisna, Novia Iqrar Gandhita, and Rizal Haniffan. 2017. "Kelayakan Pasar Rakyat Cihapit Ditinjau Dari Aspek Persyaratan Teknis SNI." *Reka Karsa: Jurnal Arsitektur* 5 (1). <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.26760/rekakarsa.v5i1.1498>.
- Thoring, Katja. 2019. "Designing Creative Space: A Systemic View on Workspace Design and Its Impact on the Creative Process, Dissertation of Doctor Program." Delft University of Technology. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4233/uuid:77070b57-9493-4aa6-a9a5-7fed52e45973>.

Author(s) contribution

Nirmala Hajaria contributed to the research concepts preparation, methodologies, investigations, data analysis, visualization, articles drafting and revisions.

Adha I. P. Nabila contribute to methodology, supervision, and validation.

Lidhiya A. R. Puteri contribute to methodology, supervision, and validation.

Maryam S. Syarifah contribute to methodology, supervision, and validation.

Agus S. Ekomadyo contribute to the research concepts preparation and literature reviews, data analysis, of article drafts preparation and validation.