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The characteristics of halal and non-halal food territories in multilayered mapping of Jakarta's Chinatown urban foodscape

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Abstract

As food can gather and segregate people, this research aims to explore whether halal and non-halal food create distinct territories in Jakarta's Chinatown urban foodscape. The case study is an exclusive territorial concentration called Glodok, where the ethnic minority and non-Muslim Chinese-Indonesian community reside, eat, and shop. Jakarta's Chinatown is also well known as one of the culinary destinations for Chinese food, which is associated with non-halal food. Since foodscape reflects the relationship between food and other urban elements in a multidimensional layer, this study applied a comprehensive multilayered mapping to record food territories through observation. The study reveals three main findings. First, the superimposed food layers reveal no indication of strict boundaries between halal and non-halal food territories. Second, either halal or non-halal food territories have their historical background, origin, and food activities that influence the territories' characteristics. Third, the building elements, food displayed, cooking activities, and eating activities denote halal and non-halal food territories. This research provided a new perspective on how halal and non-halal food territories' presence creates a specific urban foodscape without strict spatial segregation. In this case, non-halal Chinese food and halal food from various cultural backgrounds contribute to the inclusive urban space and spatial integration in the ethnic Chinese quarter, which supports and maintains the relationships between people from varied backgrounds.

Keywords
Halal food, Jakarta's Chinatown, Non-halal food, Territory.

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1. Introduction

The presence of various ethnic restaurants, grocery stores, and supermarkets shows that food becomes the visible sign of diversities in society (Wood & Landry, 2007). The availability of different types of food can reflect the degree of urban diversities, which has played an essential role in urban spaces' quality. However, the urban diversities may refer to cultural distance that lead to misinterpretation and misunderstanding. The communication across differences covers "a wide array of categories" (Ahmadi, 2018) and does not always run smoothly (Wood & Landry, 2007). The different properties of urban diversity become one of the urban issues as it encourages both urban vitality and miscommunication among diverse communities.

In this case, the way people deal with food creates food culture (Muhammad et al., 2013) and marks the distinction between people (Muhammad et al., 2016). Alexander (1977) found that food provision in urban spaces contributed to the street's social life and had distinct patterns that developed a particular language. Previous studies revealed that people connect food to their rituals, symbols, belief system, social functions (Mintz & Du Bois, 2002), and social meaning (Twiss, 2012). Therefore, food can solidify group membership and set groups apart (Mintz & Du Bois, 2002).

In some cases, certain beliefs restrict the consumption of particular food. For example, Muslims have restrictions and requirements regarding the purity of what they eat, known as halal food. In multicultural cities, owing to the varied communities, both halal and non-halal foods are available and might be in the same supermarket in separate areas; that is, there are designated areas for halal and non-halal foods (Tan, 2008). Relevant to this research, Song (2008) explored Islamic food as a minority in the Korean food culture environment. The study revealed how halal or Islamic food restaurants operate in Itaewon and create a specific cultural experience which covers diversity in the urban landscape (Song, 2008).

On the other side, this research aims to explore the characteristics of halal and non-halal food territories, specifically in an informal urban setting, without specific regulations and clear signage regarding the food types of halal or non-halal food. The investigation also covers how different types of food merge in an urban spatial context. This research argues that the theories of the territory regarding physical proximity and the density of kin and friendship network connections (De Landa, 2010) are contradictory elements in Jakarta's Chinatown urban foodscape because of the coexistence of halal and non-halal foods. Following De Landa (2005), Deleuze and Guattari (1987), this research questions whether the halal and non-halal foods create specific territories. The question also refers to how people organize themselves and distinguish the limited or bordered space through marks, sensations, and qualities in the same urban spatial context.

The structure of this paper consists of two scales of analysis. The macro-level analysis refers to seeing past forms of territory to explore the layer of historical background, seeing territory to reveal the layer of food territories distribution, and seeing around territory to explore the surrounding context of food territories. Meanwhile, the micro-level analysis consists of seeing through the territory to observe the layer of food types and food activities, including the indication or physical appearance of halal and non-halal food territories. The superimposed layer then reflects the multilayered aspects of halal and non-halal food territories in the urban foodscape.

This research applied a comprehensive multilayered methodology to explore the layers of food territories. Mapping represents the data from each layer gathered from direct observation, which functions as a tool to indicate how people grasp the territory. Furthermore, the superimposed layer reveals halal and non-halal food territories' characteristics in the urban foodscape of Jakarta's Chinatown. The implication of this research will give a new perspective on how different communities create the food territories without any regulations regarding the halal and non-halal foods.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. The concept of territory

Generally, learning to see through territory becomes essential because it means understanding the world both as a whole and the worlds within (Delaney, 2005). The concept of territory refers to the provisional framing of chaos in a way that enables new functions to erupt and new forces to regroup (Grosz, 2008). Delaney (2005) suggested that territories are human social creations that relate to how people organize themselves in a space and facilitate or impede the workings of power, control, self-determination, or solidarity. Sack (1973) argued that territorial relationships are within a social context. Territory, in essence, is the relationship between a human collective and the environment, which has social and historical meaning constructions (Strandsbjerg, 2010). The territory is also a system that covers the existence of disparities (Ancuța, 2010). Grosz (2008) emphasized the frame for defining territory's precondition and as "the first construction, the corners, and the plane of composition." Deleuze and Guattari (1987) also suggested that territory is "the product of the territorialization of milieus and rhythms," which has "an interior milieu, an exterior milieu, an intermediary milieu, and an annexed milieu." Therefore, territorialization could have a direct spatial manifestation that controls movement (De Landa, 2010) and functions as an expression of power and how power manifests in the material world (Delaney, 2005). When contradictory elements exist together in a particular place, people create specific conditioning to meet each element's requirements.

The territory is different on the inside than on the outside (Delaney, 2005), by certain distinguishing marks, sensations, or qualities (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Furthermore, the territory is a bounded, bordered space that not only classifies and separates but also covers both/and boundaries (Delaney, 2005). In this term, the territory is also "a model compartment of space resulting from partitioning, diversification, and organization" (Gottmann, 1973). Delaney (2005) argued that not every enclosed space is territory because it depends on what it signifies and its meanings, which involve social significance.

The territory has a tendency to be read as a universal homogeneous space within boundaries (Strandsbjerg, 2010), and separateness (Gottmann, 1973) or differentiation within the sameness (Delaney, 2005). Therefore, a territory also refers to distinction and separation (Gottmann, 1973), which can be enduring, quite ephemeral, formal, or informal (Strandsbjerg, 2010). It can mark what is allowed or prohibited ours or theirs, and mine or not mine (Delaney, 2005). Territory informs key aspects of collective and individual identities, which shape and are shaped by the collective social and self-consciousness (Delaney, 2005). De Landa (2010) claimed that although "territory" is possibly a culturally universal concept, its forms vary across history and culture. The bounded cultural spaces focus more on self-ascribed identity (Delaney, 2005). Cultural aspects (including belief systems) characterize territories and create differences among them. In this research, several different communities involved in food activities such that the way they organize food is specific and creates certain food territories.

2.2. Territories of halal and non-halal food in the context of urban foodscape

Food territories refer to all spaces which cover food activities inside. In this case, halal and non-halal food territories refer to how people organize themselves around halal and non-halal food in an urban spatial context. Some previous studies have related food with the territory, in terms of cultural identity (Tricarico & Geissler, 2017), socio-spatial point of view (Borrelli & Mela, 2018), and food tourism (Prada-Trigo, 2018).

Since food represents identity, other ethnic groups bring different cultures to how people deal with food. Specific communities have rules based on their belief system regarding what they can and cannot eat. Observance of the eating and drinking rules associated with the Islamic lifestyle distinguishes Muslims from non-Muslims (Armanios & Ergene, 2018). Food purity, with the

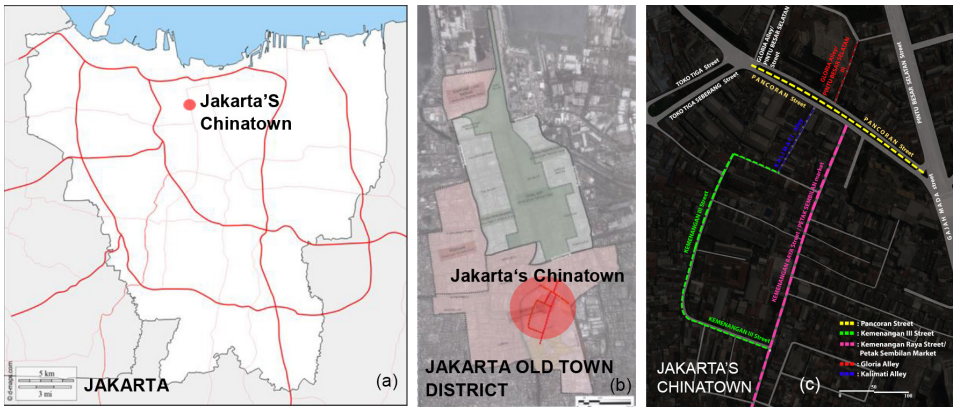


Figure 1. *Study area (adapted from Pemerintah Provinsi Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta, 2014).*

term "halal," meaning "permissible and lawful" (Riaz & Chaudry, 2003), is part of Islam and applicable to food products, cosmetics, and personal-care products (Armanios & Ergene, 2018). Muslims believe that "all food must be pure and clean", and haram or non-halal food (i.e., pork and pork products, noncertified meat and poultry, and any product prepared with alcohol or animal fats) is forbidden (Riaz & Chaudry, 2003).

Furthermore, the terms "halal" and "non-halal" also refer to food preparation. For example, FAO (1997) CAC/GL 24-1997 states that there should be no contact between halal and non-halal foods, primarily because there are strict preparation and processing procedures for halal food. Food territories may emerge because halal and non-halal foods have different requirements when these two food types are within the same area. Some governments have ruled the need to separate halal and non-halal foods in a specific context. For example, the Singapore Government regulates halal food requirements for food sellers, from hawker stalls to restaurants, for being physically segregated from non-halal food (Majlis Ugama Guarantee of Islam Singapura, 2015). The Regulation of Halal Product by Indonesian Government No, 31, the Year 2019, also regulates how halal food has separated location from non-halal food in producing, storing, packaging, distributing, selling, and displaying the food (PP Nomor 31 Tahun 2019, 2019). In many supermarkets in Jakarta, we can easily find the separated counter for food from other halal food (Tan, 2002). Meanwhile, there are both no specific regulations and clear signage to separate and differentiate halal and non-halal food territories in urban spatial context of Jakarta's Chinatown.

3. Study area: Jakarta's Chinatown as an urban foodscape

Jakarta's Chinatown area, so-called Glodok, had a prominent position as a culinary destination in Chinese-Indonesian food history. This area stretches from Pancoran to Jalan Gunung Sahari, where the original Chinese migrants settled and traded in the 17th century (Jakarta City Government Tourism and Culture Office, 2014). Since then, the area has developed as a hub for Chinese business activities (Merrillees, 2015). Glodok also becomes a part of Jakarta's cultural heritage and has played an important role in Jakarta's history, especially for Chinese-Indonesians.

The case study area included five streets in Glodok: Pancoran Street, Petak Sembilan Street Market (Kemenangan Raya Street), Kemenangan III Street, Gloria Alley and Kalimati Alley. Figure 1 illustrates the study area as regards macro (a), mezzo (b), and micro (c) levels.

Foodscape involves not only a secure connection between food and landscape, in terms of conceptual or physical landscapes but also covers multidimensional layers (Adema, 2009). As an urban foodscape, Jakarta's Chinatown offers a wide variety of Chinese-Indonesian food and has an attachment to the environment, culture, and communities of Chinese-Indonesians. Generally, the globalization of Chinese food is closely associated with the Chinese diaspora and their connection "with local others

through international trade, travel, and migration networks" (Wu & Cheung, 2002). Therefore, Chinese restaurants are typical in many countries and cities around the world (Van Esterik, 2008), as is Chinese home-cooking or sidewalk (Chinese-inspired) local food scenes in Southeast Asia (Wu & Cheung, 2002). Chinese food has transformed into Nusantara or Indonesian food in terms of the ingredients used and cooking methods (Bromokusumo, 2013). Tan (2008) explained that Peranakan (meaning "child of the soil" or local-born) food is the "food of the ethnic Chinese of mixed Chinese and Indonesian descent." Chinese food has become part of Indonesian food (Tan, 2008; Wu & Cheung, 2002). Sometimes, it is not easy to differentiate Chinese from Peranakan food.

Jakarta's Chinatown or Glodok Area gained a reputation as one of the Chinese culinary destinations in Jakarta, which is visited by various ethnic groups. Meanwhile, many Chinese foods contain pork (Tan, 2008), which is shunned by Muslims; Chinese food is popular with other Indonesian ethnic groups. Even though most people in Jakarta are Muslims, we can easily find both halal and non-halal foods in Glodok.

4. Methodology

Urban research requires a comprehensive approach because of the different layers involved. Salama, Remali, and MacLean (2017) suggested that a multilayered methodology is necessary to understand human and environmental interactions. The term "foodscape" also assigns to a multidimensional layer that needs multilayered readings (Adema, 2009). For example, Manur (2007) explored the authenticity, nationalism, and diasporic layers when examining culinary nostalgia. Omholt (2015) used a multilevel, multi-perspective analytical approach to explore the development of restaurant clusters. The social use of space and the interactions between people and food regarding the relationships between storing, cooking, serving, eating, and disposing of food could be a food axis (Horwitz & Singley, 2004; Twiss, 2012). Territory analysis also include the institutions, organizations, and activities or aspects of identity that are associated with the social being. The existence of diverse communities also influences the creation of specific or distinct territories (Delaney, 2005).

The food environments deals with macro-scale and micro-scale built environment (Sobal & Wansink, 2007). In this research, the process of exploring food territories comprised two levels: the macro and micro levels. The macro-level analysis deals with social practices concerning which territorial forms emerge or have transformation (Delaney, 2005). It means that exploring the halal and non-halal food territories requires attention to the surrounding environments and the relationship between people and their environment, as they belong to certain areas. The micro-level analysis deals with the indication of the halal and non-halal food territories. It refers not only to how people differentiate the food territories but also how they cover the territories.

4.1. Data collection for macro-level and micro-level analysis

This research explores the complexity of territories in a four-step process: imagining seeing territory, imagining seeing around the territory, imagining seeing through the territory, and imagining past extent forms of territory (Delaney, 2005). Each process needs direct observation by walking around the study area, taking notes and video, photographing, sketching, and recording all food-related elements in an urban spatial context. Direct observation was conducted on weekdays and weekends in public space or in space between buildings to capture the overall image of Jakarta's Chinatown urban foodscape. The observation recorded all food territories, the types of food, food activities, the physical elements which cover and differentiate halal and non-halal food territories.

4.2. Macro-level analysis: Multilayered mapping and superimposed layer

Mapping records the activities within the study area, such as the potential or the problems (Gehl & Svarre, 2013). Furthermore, multidimensional maps expose the

city by bringing unseen urban data (Amoroso, 2010). For macro-level analysis, this research translates the data from direct observation of each process into five-layers-mappings. The mappings record the data from direct observation in google earth maps to be analyzed in each specific layer.

This research explores the process of seeing past forms of the territory into the layer of the historical background layer (first layer) by tracing back the history of Jakarta's Chinatown as a culinary destination, specifically from the era of Dutch colonialization until now. Then, the layer of halal and non-halal food spots captures the process of seeing territory, including the exploration of food territories distribution (second layer). In this step, this research classifies all halal and non-halal food territories according to the territories' permanency. The layer of the surrounding context and the layer of activities center around the food spots highlight the process of seeing around the territory (third layer).

4.3. Micro-level analysis: The mark of halal and non-halal food territories

The micro-level analysis explores the appearance of territory (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987), including how people organize themselves in spaces and differentiate inside and outside (Delaney, 2005). Meanwhile, the process of seeing through territory includes the layers of food types and the categorizing halal and non-halal food territories (fourth layer). The process also involves all food activities within the territories (fifth layer). Furthermore, sketches and overlaying pictures explore the indication of halal and non-halal food territories and how they relate to the micro-level analysis environment.

4.4. The superimposed-layers analysis

As the term of foodscape assigns to multiple factors and multidimensional layers, mapping captures how urban spatial data correlate with the position and distribution for each halal and non-halal food territories. Because territoriality also refers to the relationship between territories and other phenomena (Delaney, 2005), so that the superimposed layer explores the relationship between the halal and non-halal foods with other layers. The superimposed layers process involves all the multilayered mapping (the five layers) in each process of exploring halal and non-halal food territories. As a result, the macro-level analysis will reveal the characteristics of halal and non-halal food territories regarding how they embed in an urban spatial context and how they relate to other urban elements in a micro-level context. Figure 2 shows the multilayered mapping analysis of this research.

5. Finding and discussion

5.1. First layer: Historical background

As Jakarta's Chinatown, Glodok represents the history of minority Chinese in Indonesia. This area has developed from an ethnically segregated area during Dutch colonialization to a specific cultural destination, especially in the main strip of Pancoran Street. In 1927, some Chinese restaurants started to open at Pancoran Street, which became a Chinese food destination for elite European and Chinese communities in the 1940s. During Japanese colonialism, from 1942 until 1945, all restaurants closed their business and reopened after the end of Japanese colonialism in 1945. Unfortunately, discontinuation of diplomatic relations between Indonesia and the Netherland in the 1960s resulted in the European community's deportation, and many restaurants in Pancoran lost customers. In 1966, the first decade of the Indonesian New Order, Pancoran became a destination for Chinese traditional medicine and clinics. Pancoran street regained a reputation as a Chinese culinary destination during the 1970s. The deterioration of this area began in the 1990s as many illegal street vendors invaded Pancoran street.

From 1995 to 2000, the city government redesigned Pancoran street, and the stores started to open their business again. In 2006, the city government evicted many street vendors along Pancoran Street (Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia, 2007). The darkest moment in the Chinese-Indonesian history was when the Indonesian government's policies restricted all Chinese culture

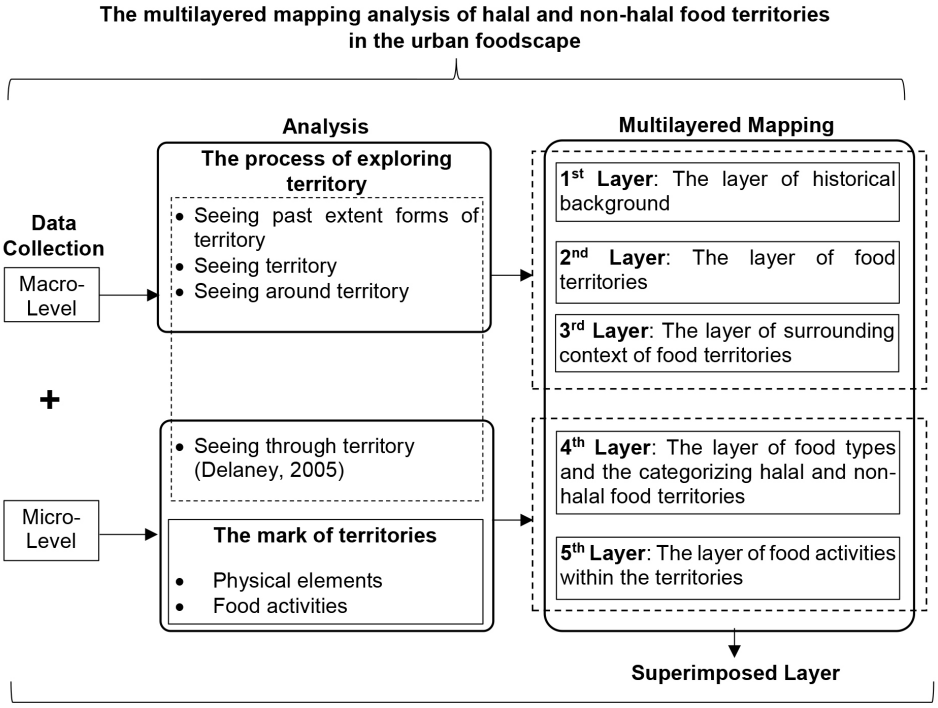


Figure 2. *Data collection, analysis, multilayered mapping and superimposed layer.*

during the Suharto era, culminated in the May 1998 riots (Turner & Allen, 2007). This restriction proscribed all expression of Chinese-Indonesian culture in public areas. However, since the Abdurrahman Wahid government, Chinese-Indonesians have been allowed to practice their cultural and religious beliefs without fear of reprisals (Turner & Allen, 2007). This enactment was a turning point for Indonesian-Chinese culture.

Nowadays, Pancoran Street is famous among people seeking Chinese medicine and traditional snacks. The foodscape has expanded and changed as the food activities moved from the first layer of Pancoran Street into the secondary layer, the spaces between the buildings, and the alleys. The shop houses that dominate the Petak Sembilan Street Market and the Kalimati Alleys have converted the building functions from a residential strip to the most visited culinary strip. Some food territories have also gradually emerged in Kemenangan III Street around the activity centers.

5.2. Second layer: The mapping of food territories

In the second layer, each food territories were identified and classified according to its permanency. Figure 3(a) shows the distribution of food territories in Jakarta's Chinatown. The mapping of food territories indicates that the food territory density is higher in Petak Sembilan Street Market (87 spots/ 31.07%), than in Gloria Alley (54 spots/ 19.29%). The following are Kalimati Alley (47 spots/ 16.79%), Pancoran Street (41 spots/ 14.64%) as the main street, and Kemenangan Street (51 spots/ 18.21%) as the secondary street.

Meanwhile, Figure 3(b) shows the distribution of food territories, based on the permanency, including the fixed-food territories, semi-fixed food territories, and non-fixed food territories. Figure 4 explores the type of food territories based on the permanency and the position of food territories towards adjacent buildings. This research classified three types of food territories. First, the type of fixed-food territories, in the form of building (type A), consists of restaurants (A1), eateries (A2), and food shops (A3). Second, the type of semi-fixed food territories (type B), in the form of food stalls, include free-standing food stalls (B1), attached food stalls (B2). Third, the type of non-fixed food territories, in the form of street vendors, consists of sedentary street vendors (C1) and mobile street vendors (C2). The types of food territo-

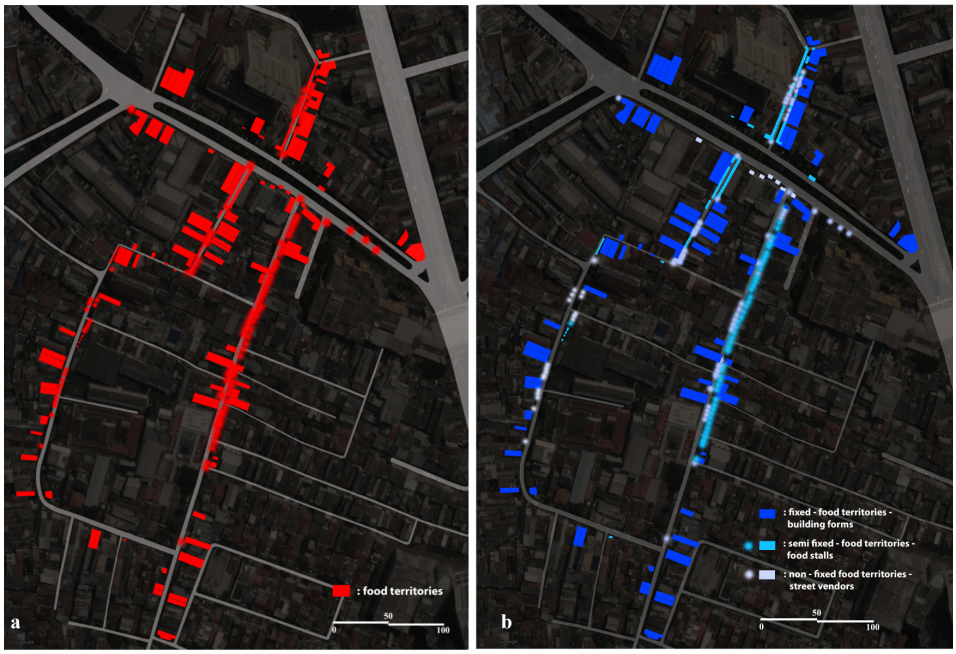


Figure 3. *Second layer: (a) Distribution of the food territories; (b) Permanency of the food territories.*

ries have a particular position with the adjacent building and specific food activities patterns within the territories, as shown in Figure 4.

There are approximately 280 food spots in this study area. The fixed-food spots (94 spots/ 33.57%) are restaurants and other food shops in buildings, which are scattered along the streets in no specific pattern and unevenly distributed along the main street (23 spots/ 8.21%) and the secondary street (31 spots/ 11.07%). There are some semi-fixed food spots (111 spots/ 39.64 %), such as free-standing food kiosks (3 spots/ 1.07%) or kiosks attached to other buildings (108 spots/ 38.57%), with food stalls dominating Gloria Alley (28 spots/ 10%), Kalimati Alley (26 spots/ 9.29%), and Petak Sembilan Market (37 spots/ 12.5%). Most of the food territories concentrate around the activity centers and street junctions. There are also many mobile or sedentary portable street food vendors (75 spots/ 26.79%) in all possible spaces, specifically near the activity centers and the street market. These continuous food territories strengthen the food axis, especially those in Gloria Alley, Kalimati Alley, and the Petak Sembilan Street Market. In this case, semi-fixed food territories in the form of kiosks attached to other buildings dominate Jakarta's Chinatown as an urban foodscape.

Figure 4. *The type of food territories.*

5.3. Third layer: Surrounding context of food territories

Some urban elements influence the emergence of food types. It is essential to know the relationship between the types of food territories and the surrounding environment. This layer explores the food territories' surrounding context, including the building function (Figure. 5(a)) and ten main activities centers of the study area (Figure. 5(b)).

There are four activity centers in Pancoran street, surrounded by traditional Chinese medicine stores, traditional snack stores, and other retail stores, including Pantjoran Tea House (as the gate to Pancoran street and a well-known restaurant for Chinese-Indonesian cuisine), Pasar Jaya Glodok (the commercial center), Pancoran Chinatown Point (new mixed-use building) and Asemka morning market. The fixed-food territories are found randomly along Pancoran Street. Furthermore, the semi-fixed and non-fixed food territories concentrate around the nodes or intersection of Pancoran Street with Petak Sembilan Market/ Kemenangan Raya Street, Gloria, and Kalimati Alleys.

The concentration of semi-fixed and non-fixed food territories in Gloria Alley and Petak Sembilan Market also strengthens the foodscape axis and the function as the circulation network for pedestrians. The nodes of Petak Sembilan Market, Kalimati, and Gloria Alleys are full of non-fixed food territories as the intersection's function from the main layer to the second layer. The food territories in Petak Sembilan street exist in the form of a street market, becoming one of the activity centers for this area. Meanwhile, there are many semi-fixed and non-fixed food territories around Dharma Bhakti Monastery as an activity center for Buddhists. These activity centers encourage more people to come to the area and the emergence of additional food territories.

In Kemenangan III Street, food territories have started to interfere with the residential areas and mixed with other main activities along the street in no specific pattern. There are a concentration of food spots, mostly semi-fixed and non-fixed food territories, around St. Maria de Fatima Church and Ricci Schools. Other food territories scatter without specific patterns along Kemenangan III Street.

5.4. Fourth layer: Food types

The diversity of food in Jakarta's Chinatown cannot be separated from food sellers' and buyers' socio-economic backgrounds. Initially, most Chinese food was sold in several legendary restaurants by Chinese-Indonesian descendants in the main lay-

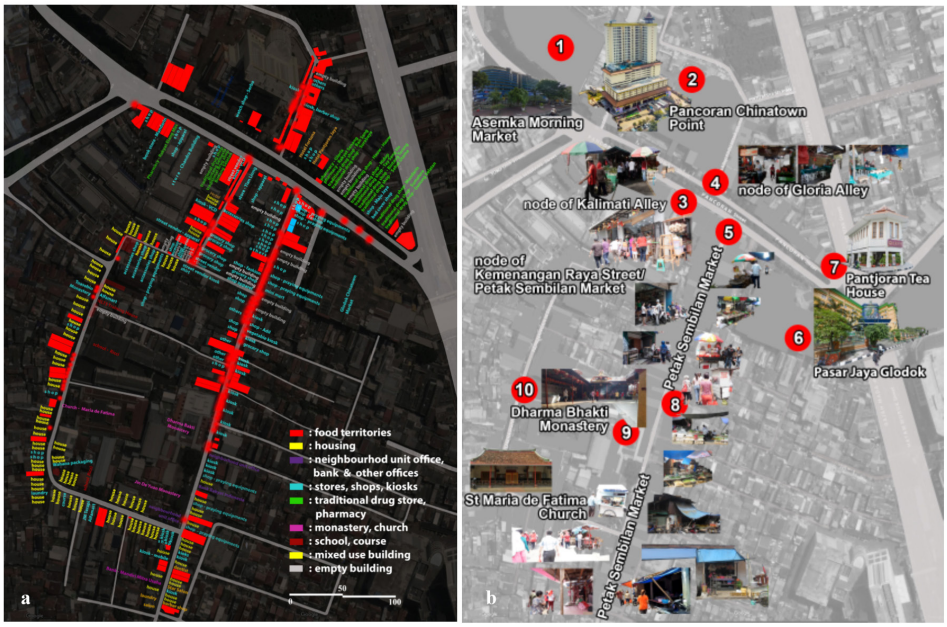


Figure 5. *Third layer: (a) Activity centers around the food territories; (b) Surrounding environment of the food territories.*

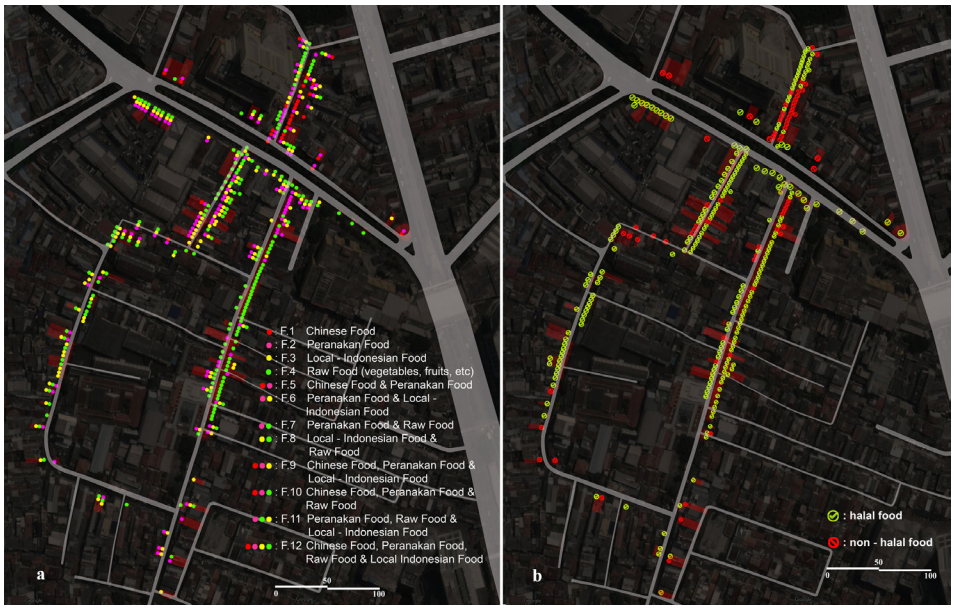


Figure 6. *Fourth layer: (a) Types of halal and non-halal food territories; (b) Food territories according to food origin.*

er of Pancoran street. This street has gradually changed into a commercial strip, whereas the Chinese food territories have penetrated at the second layer. As a vibrant commercial area, Jakarta's Chinatown attracts more people from various ethnic backgrounds, mostly for economic reasons, that adds the demand for more food choices. The need for halal food emerges from the uncertainly whether the Chinese foods in this area are halal or non-halal. This potential situation attracts the informal food sector to sell halal food, specifically in portable and semi-fixed food territories. In this case, Jakarta's Chinatown gives all ethnicities space to offer various food choices from different cultural backgrounds. The diversity of food types is a part of the informal sector's socio-economic niche to make a living in Jakarta's urban foodscape. The important thing in the informal sector's emergence is the availability of space to grow the activities (Tunas, 2009), specifically in the urban context.

The mapping of the fourth layer focuses on territories based on the types of halal and non-halal food (Figure. 6(a)), as well as the origin of the food (Figure 6(b)). This research identifies twelve food type combinations in all food territories (Figure. 6(a)), as follows: Chinese food (F.1, 12 spots/ 4.29%), Peranakan food (F.2, 21 spots/ 7.5%), local Indonesian food (F.3, 31 spots/ 11.07%), raw food (F.4, 95 spots/ 33.93%), Chinese food and Peranakan food (F.5, 12 spots/ 4.29%), Peranakan food and local Indonesian food (F.6, 25 spots/ 8.93%), Peranakan food and raw food (F.7, 2 spots/ 0.71%), local Indonesian food and raw food (F.8, 17 spots/ 6.07%), Chinese food, Peranakan food and local Indonesian food (F.9, 3 spots/ 1.07%), Chinese food, Peranakan food and raw food (F.10, 1 spot/ 0.36%), Peranakan food, raw food and local Indonesian food (F.11, 57 spots/ 20.36%), and Chinese food, Peranakan food, raw food and local Indonesian food (F.12, 3 spots/ 1.07%).

Figure 6 shows that the available non-halal food is Chinese and Peranakan food (68 spots/ 24.29%); however, not all Chinese and Peranakan food is non-halal. Raw food (in F.4; F.7; F.8: F.10; F.11; F.12), which belongs to halal food, dominates this area (157 spots/ 56.07%), specifically at the Petak Sembilan Street Market (53 spots/ 18.93%). Most non-halal food territories concentrate on Gloria Alleys (27 spots/ 9.64%). The halal food territories are mostly semi-fixed (96 spots/ 34.29%) and non-fixed (59 spots/ 21.07%) food territories, which fill all possible public spaces. Both halal and non-halal food territories are in the same food territories as in the alleys and the food court.

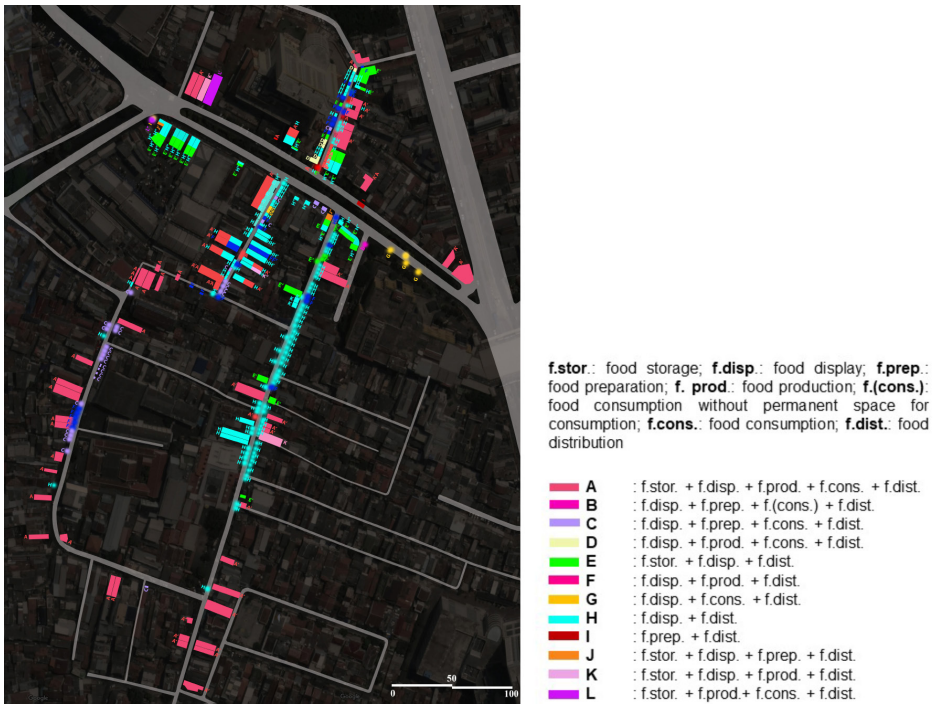


Figure 7. *Fifth layer: Food activities distribution map.*

5.5. Fifth layer: Food activities

The food activities patterns reveal how people associate and organize themselves around food and the complex activities that define each halal and non-halal food territories within urban food spaces. There are at least seven basic types of food activities in the study area: food storage (f.stor.), food display (f.disp.), food preparation (f.prep.), food production (f.prod.), food consumption with specific space for food consumption (f.cons.), food consumption without permanent space for food consumption (f.(cons.)), and food distribution (f.dist.), with each food territory having particular food activity combination and distribution patterns. There are at least 12 food activities combinations in the study area, as shown in Figure 7.

Most food territories cover the food display and food distribution activities, f.disp.+f.dist. or pattern H (139 spots/ 44.41%), with mobile or non-fixed food territories (32 spots/ 10.22%) being present in all available spaces, especially around the center of activities. Fixed food restaurants and eatery territories have a combination of food activities, f.stor.+f.disp.+f.prod.+f.cons.+f.dist. or pattern A (68 spots/ 21.73%), which mostly located in the secondary streets. While both halal and non-halal food territories display the food, the non-halal food vendors tend to display the eating and cooking activities in the alleys or secondary streets.

5.6. Superimposed layers of halal and non-halal food territories

5.6.1. The relationship between halal and non-halal food territories and other layers

The superimposed layers reveal not only the relationships between the foodscape layers of Jakarta's Chinatown but also the way in which halal food congregates with non-halal food within the surrounding urban context (Figure 8).

Nowadays, less fixed-food territories located in Pancoran Street. Instead, the food territories dominate the nearby streets. Therefore, as new food spots emerged, the concentrations of food territories have moved from the main layer to the secondary layer, in the form of food strip and food nodes. They have also begun to emerge on the residential strip along Kemenangan III Street and Kalimati Alley. The food strip, which encompasses Gloria Alley, Kalimati Alley, and Petak Sembilan Street Market, has both halal and non-halal foods. High-density food strips are emerging in small pockets between buildings. In Petak Sembilan Street Market, the

food territories are mostly semi-fixed food stalls and non-fixed food spots. Portable food territories freely move across all parts of the case study area. Some food stalls and mobile food territories are concentrated at certain spots and create a food node in the center of neighborhood activities.

The street food vendors providing halal and non-halal foods along the secondary layers form continuous food territories as food axes. On the main layer, most food street vendors have mobile eating activities and peacefully compete to fill the best spaces wherever possible to sell their food. The street vendors usually concentrate around the activity centers, such as schools and the Klenteng. As some street food vendors sell raw food, they also set up their territories in certain positions. For example, the street food vendors are temporarily situated at Petak Sembilan Street Market from morning until dusk. They move to the main Pancoran Street layer from late afternoon until late at night.

Furthermore, there is no rigid separation between halal and non-halal foods at the Kopitiam (food courts) at Gloria Alley, Kalimati Alley, and Pancoran Street. Although halal and non-halal foods have specific restrictions, they meet without strict boundaries between Jakarta's Chinatown vendors. The range of food available in Jakarta's Chinatown reflects cultural diversity, as evidenced by the availability of halal and non-halal foods.

5.6.2. Indication of halal and non-halal food territories

This research classified six indications as the frontage of both halal and non-halal food territories as food-displayed (I.1), cooking-displayed (I.2), cooking and eating-displayed (I.3), eating and food-displayed (I.4), cooking, eating and food-displayed (I.5) and building elements/ signage (I.6), as shown in Figure 9.

The micro-level analysis concludes some patterns regarding the relationship between territories' indications and the position in an urban spatial context. Halal and non-halal food territories tend to use food-displayed or I.1 (61.07%) to indicate territories both of halal (50.71%) and non-halal food

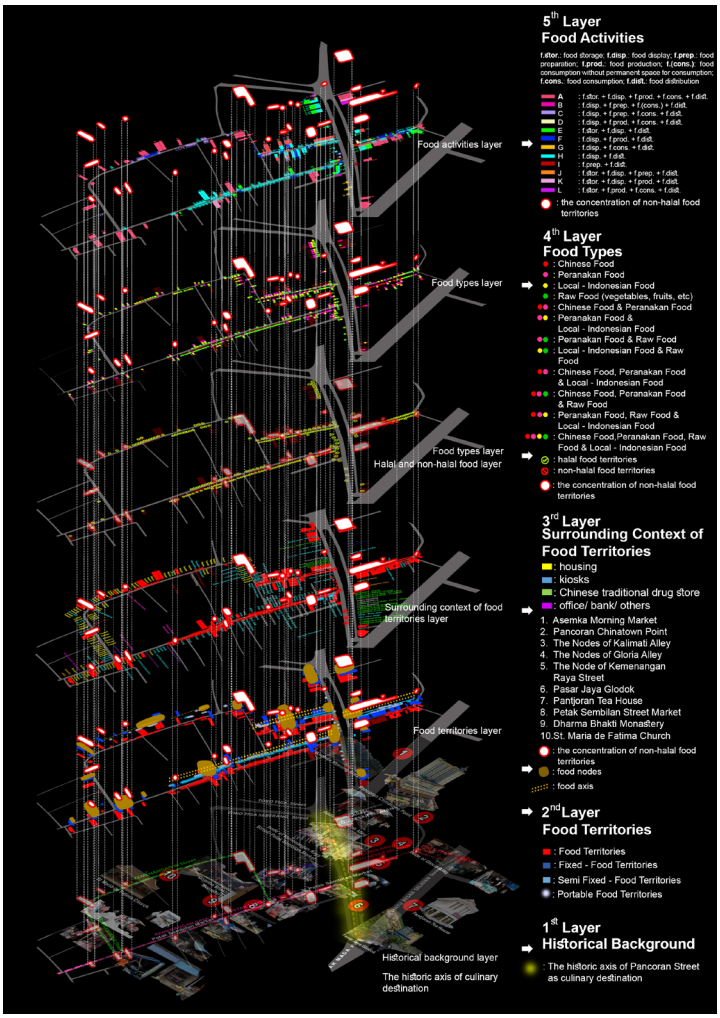


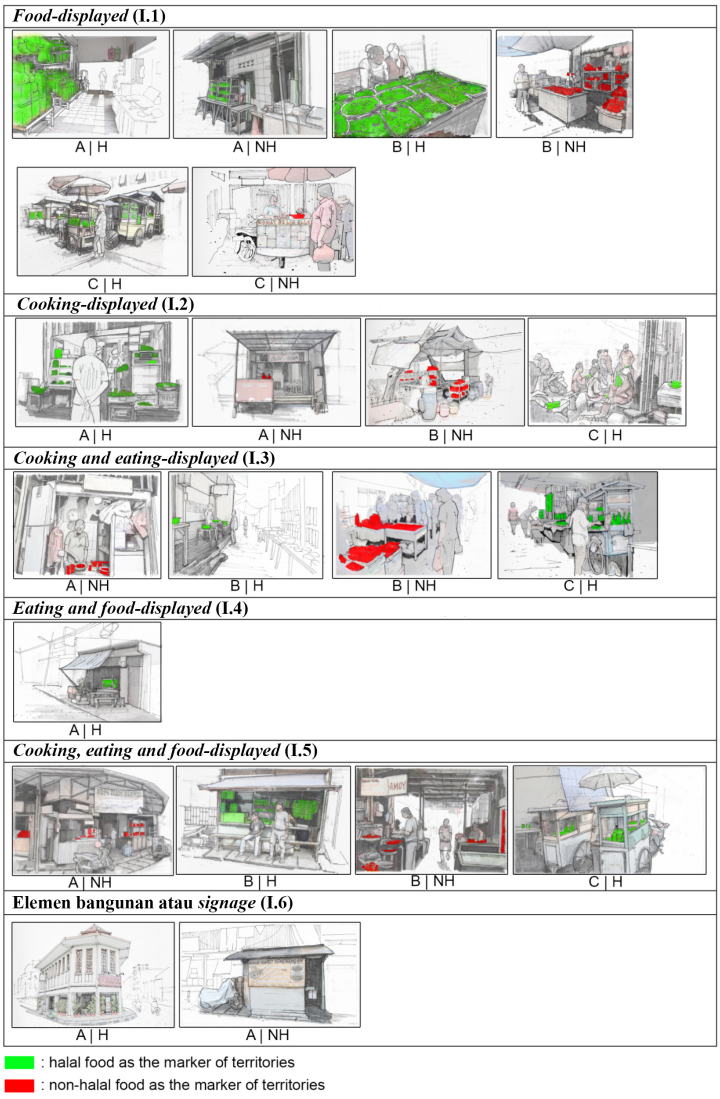
Figure 8. *Superimposed layers.*

(10.36%), in all streets and alleys, except the secondary street. Besides food-displayed, non-halal food territories tend to expose more cooking and eating activities or I.3 (38 spots from 68 spots or 55.88%) than the halal-food territories (66 spots from 212 spots or 31.13%).

Figure 9 illustrate the everyday situation of halal and non-halal foodscape. The colors in Table 1 emphasize food as the indication of halal and non-halal food territories. It shows no contrast differences appearance or ambiance between halal and non-halal food territories. Furthermore, there is no signage nor literal marker indicate the halal and non halal foods; except the food displayed itself that has become the common indication of halal and non-halal food territories.

5.6.3. The characteristics of halal and non-halal food territories

Initially, Jakarta's Chinatown and other ethnic quarters were built by



Note: **A|H**: fixed-food territories of halal food; **A|NH**: fixed-food territories of non-halal food; **B|H**: fixed-food territories of halal food; **B|NH**: semi-fixed food territories of non-halal food; **C|H**: non-fixed territories of halal food; **C|NH**: non-fixed territories of non-halal food

Figure 9. *The indication of halal and non-halal food territories.*

Dutch colonialization as a strategy to segregate and control people based on their ethnicity. Despite the discrimination and prejudice had historically built up for decades that triggered the rejection of Chinese culture in the past, nowadays this area has gradually attracted more people from many cultural backgrounds, without any stigma as "an exclusive Chinese quarter" anymore. The foodscape of Jakarta's Chinatown strengthened its character as the specific food zone and enjoys the role as the culinary destinations in Jakarta.

The varieties of food in Jakarta's Chinatown reflects cultural diversity, as evidenced by the availability of both halal and non-halal foods. Although halal and non-halal foods have specific restrictions, they meet without strict boundaries between food vendors in Jakarta's Chinatown. This research finds some differences and similarities between the patterns of halal and non-halal food territories. On the other hand, the superimposed layer exposes some spatial patterns that reflect the relationship between halal and non-halal food territories with other elements in an urban spatial context. The micro-level analysis also reveals that halal and non-halal food territories have specific spatial patterns to indicate and differentiate the territories.

The first layer of the historical background shows that Pancoran street has a strong history of Chinese food restaurants, traditional snack kiosks, and a Chinese medicine store. However, Pancoran street's position as food axis has gradually weakened because the concentration of food territories has moved to the second layer. Hence, the halal food territories have no specific historical background, which tends to develop without particular patterns. Furthermore, the second layer of surrounding context around food territories highlights that non-halal restaurants mostly occupy the private territories along the main street and secondary streets. The hidden non-halal food stalls and street vendors concentrated on the nodes of the secondary streets. In this case, the typical fixed halal food territories scattered in all possible public spaces. Meanwhile, the halal food stalls and street vendors tend to concentrate around the center of activities and street junctions.

The third layer of food distribution reveals that permanent non-halal food territories mostly occupy private spaces. The rest of the food territories are along scattered the main street and the secondary street. Some non-halal food street vendors concentrated at the node of the food axis and the street market. On the contrary, the typical portable or non-fixed territories of halal food, mostly represented by the street vendors, are fluid and fill all possible urban spaces, specifically around the center of activities. Most halal food stalls attached to other buildings are

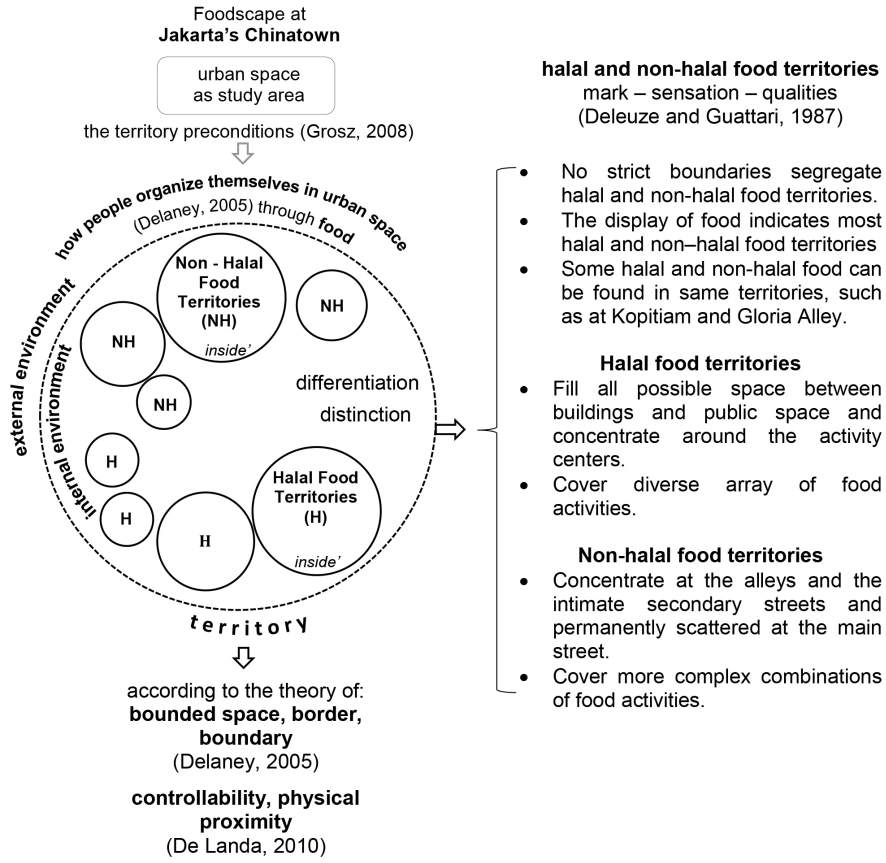


Figure 10. *The concept of territory; The halal and non-halal food territories in Jakarta's Chinatown (adapted from Komala, Ellisa, & Yatmo, 2017; Delaney, 2005; Deleuze & Guattari, 1987; Grosz, 2008).*

concentrated around the secondary street and the street junctions. Besides, restaurants and eateries of halal food are scattered randomly through the area of Jakarta's Chinatown.

The fourth layer's distribution of food types and origin signifies that most non-halal food comes from Chinese and Peranakan food, and most halal food is Indonesian food or Peranakan food. Yet, not all Chinese or Peranakan food is halal food. The fifth layer of food activities uncovers that non-halal food territories' activities tend to occupy private space or the area between public and private space. Otherwise, halal food territories' activities display more food combinations and take place in any possible urban space.

Figure 10 shows the characteristics of halal and non-halal food territories in Jakarta's Chinatown, based on the concept of territory as a bounded space (Delaney, 2005), the condition of controllability and certain physical proximity (De Landa, 2010), as well as the mark of each territories (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987).

6. Conclusion

This research provided a new perspective on how the presence of both halal and non-halal food territories creates a specific urban foodscape. In this case, non-halal Chinese food and halal food from various cultural backgrounds contribute to the inclusive urban space and spatial integration in the ethnic Chinese quarter, which supports and maintains the relationships between people from varied backgrounds. This research offers a multilayered mapping to know the distribution of halal and non-halal food territories and the relationship between food and other urban elements. The multilayered mapping involves seeing the past forms of territories, around and through the territories. At the same time, the process of exploring the urban foodscape covers the physical elements related to food and the activities related to the urban food system.

Although halal food and non-halal food have distinct requirements, there is no spatial segregation between halal and non-halal food territories. Howev-

er, halal and non-halal foods have specific spatial patterns in creating the territories in both micro and macro-level contexts. These patterns reveal not only the differences but also the similarities between halal and non-halal food territories. How different types of food create their territories and occupy urban space explain how they relate to other urban elements. In this research, the historical background and the surrounding environment's context are the external factors that influence halal and non-halal food territories regarding the distribution patterns and the types of food territories. Furthermore, food origin and food activities as the internal factors determine how people organize themselves around food.

The relation between urban elements and food territories reveals how specific urban spatial elements intersect with food territories. The halal food tends to penetrate in all possible space so that the territories are scattered and easily found around the study area. The non-halal food territories gradually moved from the main layer to the secondary, where the scale of urban space is more intimate than the main layer. The secondary layer of foodscape has a more open food territories than in the main layer, for both halal and non-halal food territories.

The study reveals that each territory has specific indications to differentiate from other territories and function as the boundary between food territories and public spaces. Halal and non-halal foods mostly use food, cooking, and eating-displayed as the territories' indications, specifically in the second layer. The territories' indications play an essential role in creating the boundary between public space and halal and non-halal food territories, which significantly characterize the urban foodscape. In this case, food operates as an agent to create an inclusive urban community space, even though there is no regulation regarding the halal and non-halal food territories. The diversity of food strengthens the function of ethnic enclaves to be social integration space. The availability of various foods attracts people from different backgrounds to experience Indonesian-Chinese culture without worrying about their food choices.

However, the limitation of this research is the specificity of the urban spatial context. Thus, the research in a different urban area might give different results regarding halal and non-halal food territories. Nevertheless, this research will give a niche for further research, specifically on how food influences the form of urban foodscape, in terms of urban morphology. Food can be the trigger in determining the physical elements of urban spatial context.

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