



## Local Wisdom: The Study of *Takjil* Selling Phenomenon in Jakarta 2017—2019

M. Ma'ruf Misbah  
Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah  
Jakarta, Indonesia  
mm.misbah@uinjkt.ac.id

### **Abstract**

#### **Purpose**

*The article aims to identify the phenomenon of Takjil selling which is rife in Ramadan in Jakarta, which was carried out in 2017—2019 before the Covid-19 pandemic.*

#### **Method**

*This research used qualitative and descriptive research methods with a cultural anthropology approach. Various online information in the form of coverage of takjil selling in various places in Jakarta in 2017—2019 is used as primary sources.*

#### **Results/Finding**

*The study found that there was local wisdom in the phenomenon of takjil selling. The takjil sellers were able to respond to local conditions in the local environment around the takjil selling center by serving several Betawi typical foods in their menu. By selling Betawi typical foods and other numerous kinds of food that fitted to the consumers tastes, they could gain profit, help the consumers provide food for breaking their fast and preserve Betawi food.*

#### **Conclusion**

*The study concluded that the phenomenon of takjil selling in Ramadhan in Jakarta in 2017—2019 did not only reveal that there was a local wisdom in the activity of selling takjil but it was also a media to increase economic, strengthen solidarity among muslim and reinforce Betawi civilization.*

#### **Keywords**

*Jakarta, local wisdom, Ramadhan, takjil selling*

### Abstrak

#### Tujuan

Artikel bertujuan mengidentifikasi kearifan lokal perdagangan takjil yang marak di bulan Ramadan di Jakarta tahun 2017—2019 sebelum pandemi Covid-19.

#### Metode

Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dan deskriptif dengan pendekatan cultural anthropology. Berbagai informasi online yang berupa hasil liputan terhadap perdagangan takjil di berbagai tempat di Jakarta tahun 2017—2019 dijadikan sumber primer.

#### Hasil/Temuan

Hasil penelitian menunjukkan adanya kearifan lokal dalam fenomena perdagangan takjil yang marak di bulan Ramadan di Jakarta, yang terselenggara di tahun 2017—2019 sebelum pandemi Covid-19. Para pedagang mampu merespon beberapa kondisi lokal di lingkungan setempat di sekitar sentra perdagangan takjil, dengan melaksanakan perdagangan takjil yang sesuai dengan kondisi lokal. Di samping itu, adanya beberapa makanan khas Betawi yang didagangkan, juga mengindikasikan adanya kearifan lokal dalam perdagangan takjil di Jakarta tersebut.

#### Kesimpulan

Sebagai kesimpulan, ada beberapa hal yang merupakan kondisi lokal di lingkungan setempat di sekitar sentra perdagangan takjil yang berhasil direspon para pedagang dengan mendagangkan takjil, termasuk beberapa jenis makanan khas Betawi, di bulan Ramadan di Jakarta tahun 2017—2019, sehingga dapat diketahui adanya kearifan lokal dalam fenomena perdagangan takjil di tahun tersebut.

#### Kata Kunci

Kearifan lokal, perdagangan takjil, Ramadan, Jakarta

### المخلص

#### الهدف

يهدف الدراسة إلى التعرف على ظاهرة بيع التعجيل المنتشرة في شهر رمضان في جاكرتا، والتي تم تنفيذها في 2017-2019 قبل جائحة Covid-19.

#### الطريقة

استخدم هذا البحث مناهج بحثية وصفية ونوعية بمنهج الأنثروبولوجيا الثقافية. و يتم استخدام المعلومات المختلفة عبر الإنترنت في شكل تغطية بيع التعجيل في أماكن مختلفة في جاكرتا في 2017-2019 كمصادر أولية.

#### النتائج

أن هناك حكمة محلية في ظاهرة بيع التعجيل. بائعي تعجيل قادرين على الاستجابة للظروف المحلية في البيئة المحلية حول مركز بيع تعجيل من خلال تقديم الأطعمة البيتوي النموذجية في قائمتهم. و من خلال بيع الأطعمة النموذجية للبيتوي وأنواع أخرى عديدة من الأطعمة التي تناسب أذواق المستهلكين، يمكنهم جني الأرباح ومساعدة المستهلكين على توفير الطعام لكسر صيامهم والحفاظ على طعام بيتاوي.

#### الخلاصة

وخلص البحث إلى أن ظاهرة التعجيل في شهر رمضان بجاكرتا في 2017-2019 لم تكشف فقط أن هناك حكمة محلية في نشاط بيع التعجيل بل هي وسيلة إعلامية لزيادة الاقتصاد وتعزيز التضامن بين المسلمين وترسيخ ثقافة خاصة لبيتاوي.

#### الكلمات الرئيسية

جاكرتا، الحكمة المحلية، رمضان، بيع تعجيل

## INTRODUCTION

In 2017—2019, before Covid-19 struck, the selling of *takjil* in Ramadan in Jakarta seemed to be rife that it had become the one of the limelights in media coverage. The *takjil* selling is the selling of food and drinks used to break the fast (KBBI Daring, 2016a). In that period *takjil* selling was found in various places, such as in the market of Rawamangun, East Jakarta (Supriyanto, 2017), Banjir Kanal Timur Region, East Jakarta (Ravel, 2018), Benhil, Central Jakarta (Purba, 2017), *Jalan Panjang* West Jakarta, *Lapangan Blok S* South Jakarta, *Jalan Kramat Raya* Central Jakarta, the area around the mosque of Sunda Kelapa Central Jakarta, the place around the mosque of Pondok Indah South Jakarta, *Jalan Gandaria* South Jakarta, *Jalan Soka* North Jakarta (Antara, 2019a), the area around the mosque of Cut Meutia (Setya, 2018), and in other places scattered around Jakarta. Various types of *takjil* that are sold in those various places, among others is *biji salak*, *kolak*, *es buah*, *es cendol*, *es kelapa muda*, *kue soes*, *kue gorengan*, various *kue basah*, typical food of Betawi (Antara, 2019a), *lontong*, *bakwan*, *pastel*, *tahu*, *kue lapis*, *pisang goreng*, *serabi*, *onde-onde*, *putu mayang* (Hikari Putra, 2019), *klepon*, *es blewah*, *kue lapis*, (Kompasiana, 2019a), *bubur sumsum* (Setya, 2018), *lemper* (Antara, 2019b).

In 2019, the *takjil* sellers on *Jalan Panjang*, in general, come from the local area, and the majority of their costumers, are motorcyclists who happened to pass the area where the *takjil* were sold (Hikari Putra, 2019). While at the Benhil market. The sellers come not only from Benhil but from another area (Antara, 2019b). The costumers vary from all walks of life be it employees, project workers (Bisnis.com, 2019).

The phenomenon of *takjil* selling every Ramadan in Jakarta before the Covid-19 pandemic originated from the tradition and civilization that emanated from the behavior of sellers in response to various local matters surrounding the area of *takjil* selling. The sellers are able to understand the local conditions and the needs of the costumers. There is an element of local wisdom in that phenomenon that can be identified. The core of the notion of local wisdom, in line with the meaning of the word local wisdom according to Meinarno, Widiyanto, and Halida as mentioned by Pratama (2020), can be identified as the ability to understand local conditions in the local environment which is implemented in human behavior in that local environment.

The description above has shown the importance of research on the topic of this article. The link between local wisdom and the phenomenon of *takjil* selling in Ramadan in Jakarta in 2017—2019 needs to be analyzed in research activities. Thus, the local wisdom contained in the phenomenon of the *takjil* selling can be identified.

When searching in journal articles and various writings in online information media, the writer has not found any articles that discuss the topic that is the subject of this article, namely the existence of local wisdom associated with the phenomenon of *takjil* selling in Ramadan month in Jakarta in 2017—2019 prior to the the Covid-19 pandemic. Even so, there are several articles whose core discussion is relevant to mention because they are related to *takjil*, but the aspects that are at the heart of the discussion are very unsimilar to the topic of this article.

There is an article whose core discussion relates to the phenomenon of sharing *takjil* in Ramadan, while the results of his research are the existence of the phenomenon of sharing *takjil* in Indonesia on Ramadan, the existence of Hadis that is related to sharing *takjil*, and the existence of virtues and benefits of sharing *takjil*, with the argument that sharing *takjil* positively impacts *takjil* recipients and is beneficial for *takjil* givers in the context of *hablun minannas* and *hablun minallah* (Awaliyah & Syuaib Z., 2021, p. 493-494). There is also an article which discussed *takjil* on the road as part of the program to reinforce the stages in instilling character of social care, while the findings of the research describe the existence of two stages in process of instilling the socially caring character of students at the Elementary School of Muhammadiyah of Menganti Gresik, namely exemplary of teachers and habituation of social care that supported by the implementation of several programs, in which one of them is *takjil* on the road, with the argument that the cultiva-

tion of socially caring characters in students can be carried out through these two stages (Arif et al., 2021, pp. 289, 293, and 301). There is also an article which discussed the activity of providing free *takjil* as part of the Ramadan Syamil Unpad program in the relation to its effect on *Kemakmuran Masjid Raya Unpad* in Ramadan in 2019, while the research findings show the existence of the recruitment effect, training, and programs of Ramadan Syamil toward *Kemakmuran Masjid Raya Unpad* in that month, with the argument that there are the human resources of Syamil Unpad impact positively on *kemakmuran* of that mosque in Ramadan (Cupian et al., 2020, pp. 1, 4, and 10). There is another article that discussed the implementation of the distribution of *takjil* to *jamaah* of the Assalam mosque, in the form of basic ingredients of the menu of breaking the fast, which is associated with the application of information systems in supporting that basic ingredients distribution, while the result of its research findings is the existence of the distribution of *takjil* in that form to *jamaah* of the Assalam mosque, which is supported by the application of a web-based information system, with the argument that a web-based information system can be used to manage the distribution of basic ingredients to *jamaah* of that mosque (Jumasa & Saputro, 2020, p. 1).

There are also various articles in online information media that only contain information about this matter, without being equipped with analysis and discussion that relate it to local wisdom. This thing can be seen, for example, in writings on online information media *PMJNEWS.com* (2019), *Posberitakota* (2018), *Kompasiana* (2018a), and others. Thus, there is a clear difference between the discussion of this article and some of the writings contained in that online information media.

The formulation of the problem discussed in this study is how is the identity of local wisdom is behind the *takjil* selling phenomenon that occurred in 2017—2019 in Jakarta on Ramadan? The formulation of the problem needs to search for its answer through research activities so that the forms of local wisdom behind this phenomenon can be clearly identified. The forms of local wisdom that have been identified, of course, can strengthen the argument towards the existence of local wisdom behind that phenomenon.

## METHOD

This article aims to identify the existence of local wisdom behind the phenomenon of *takjil* selling which was rife in Ramadan in Jakarta in 2017—2019 before the Covid-19 pandemic. The method used is a qualitative and descriptive research method, while the approach used is a cultural anthropology approach. A qualitative research method was used because it relied on a phenomenon of *takjil* selling that was rife in Jakarta in 2017—2019, to identify the existence of local wisdom behind that phenomenon.

The cultural anthropology approach was also used because the discussion in this article relates to civilization produced by human in the form of the *takjil* selling tradition. It was a part of civilization used to mention cultures that are refined, beautiful, and advanced (Tumanggor et al., 2017, p. 77). Therefore, *takjil* with its various types can certainly participate to show human culture. Therefore, a cultural anthropology approach was used in this study.

In writing this article, the data was obtained from information from various parties who carried out coverage to *takjil* selling activities in various places in Jakarta in 2017—2019. Information from that various parties is obtained in the form of online news on their respective websites. Sources that contained the results of direct coverage of various parties, of course, could be categorized as primary sources. The study used various data from primary sources needed to answer the issues which was a crucial step to be conducted (Anggito & Setiawan, 2018, p. 9; Rukin, 2021, p. 16). The collected data was qualitative analyzed using cultural anthropology to describe the phenomenon of the *takjil* selling which was rife in Ramadan .

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

### The *Takjil* Need in Fasting Worship

Ramadan is commonly referred to as fasting, because in that month, Muslims who meet the requirements to fast, are required by Allah SWT to carry out that worship. When fasting, they refrain themselves from eating, drinking, and doing any activities that can break the fast of Ramadan, within the time limit that has been specified in the implementation of that fast worship, until the time comes to break the fast (al-Husaini, 2016, p. 293). When it is time to break the fast, it is *sunnah* for Muslims who are fasting to carry out *ta'jil al-fitr*, that is to hasten to break the fast (Izzuddin, 2016, p. 404). In this case, *takjil* can be used to carry out *ta'jil al-fitr*.

In the book of fiqh, in the discussion in the chapter on fasting (*Kitab al-Shiyam*) in the section regarding things that are *sunnah* in fasting, there is the term *ta'jil al-fitr* (al-Mahalli, 2013, p. 460). The *fil madhi* form of the word *ta'jil* contained in that term is *ajjala*, means hastening (A.W. Munawwir, n.d., p. 900; Ibn Mandhur, n.d., p. 2821). The word *al-fitr* contained in the term *ta'jil al-fitr* can be understood as breaking the fast (A.W. Munawwir, n.d., p. 1063). Thus, as a term in the study of the science of fiqh, *ta'jil al-fitr* means hastening to break the fast when it is time to do so, that is when the sun has completely set (al-Husaini, 2016, p. 297; al-Rafi 'i, 2013, p. 375). This means that the time for breaking the fast coincides with the time for the maghrib prayer. In the study of the science of fiqh, it is stated that the time for the maghrib prayer begins from the setting of the sun (al-Rafi'i, 2013, p. 162).

In the study of the science of fiqh regarding fasting, there is a discussion regarding things that are *sunnah* in the implementation of that worship, one of which is hastening to break the fast (*ta'jil al-fitr*) when comes the time to break the fast (al-Husaini, 2016, p. 297). Because *ta'jil al-fitr* is *sunnah*, Muslims who are fasting in Ramadan are advised to be able to do so in order to get a reward. Hastening to break the fast (*ta'jil al-fitr*) when comes it is time can be done by drinking water and followed by eating snacks (such as cakes and others) or by eating rice. Nevertheless, in the study of the book of fiqh, besides being *sunnah* to carry out *ta'jil al-fitr*, it is *sunnah* for a fasting Muslims to break their fast by eating dates, but if they don't have dates, they can carry out breaking the fast by drinking water (al-Rafi 'i, 2013, p. 375).

When the sun has set fully, *takjil* can certainly be used as a means to perform *ta'jil al-fitr*. Drinks and food used to carry out *ta'jil al-fitr*, of course, must be available before the time of breaking the fast. Thus, before it is time to break the fast, Muslims who are fasting, need drinks and food that can be used to carry out *ta'jil al-fitr*.

### Increasing of Economic

*Takjil* selling in Jakarta in 2017—2019 is of course an activity related to economic aspects. *Selling* is part of various economic activities, including *selling* that makes *takjil* as its commodity. In *takjil* selling activities, sellers sell various types of *takjil* that can be used by consumers as a means to break their fast. For *takjil* sellers, the phenomenon of *takjil* selling is used as a means to make a profit, resulting in an increase in the economy for them, and this can be seen from a source from 2018, which informs the existence of *takjil* sellers whose income from *takjil* selling in Ramadan has increased threefold compared to the income in other months (Syahla, 2018). As mentioned in the introductory, there are several places in Jakarta that are popular for the rampant selling of *takjil* during Ramadan. Some of these places can act as shopping destinations for various *takjil* which can be used as a means to break the fast. The more consumers who visit the *takjil* selling center as a culinary shopping destination that can be used for breaking the fast, the more opportunities are open for *takjil* sellers to be able to reap profits that are in line with their expectations, so that there is an increase in the economy for them. The phenomenon of the mushrooming of *takjil* selling in Ramadan occurs in various places in Jakarta. The *takjil*

selling activity in the fasting month on *Jalan Panjang*, Kebon Jeruk, for example, has already existed since a long time ago, and in 2019 these places became *takjil* shopping destination which is marked by the existence of sellers that selling numerous types of *takjil* such as *kue gorengan*, *kolak*, *mie juhi*, and others. (PMJNEWS.com, 2019). The emergence of numerous centers of *takjil* selling in Jakarta in 2017--2019 reflects the phenomenon of the rise of *takjil* selling which reveal the potential to improve the economy of *takjil* sellers through the profits gained from their selling activities. Thus, the *takjil* selling is very important for them because it can be used as a means to reap profits so as to improve their economic condition.

In tracing source, there are several sources in obtaining information regarding when the phenomenon of *takjil* selling started to flourish in various places in Jakarta during Ramadan. Although the numbers are relatively not many, some of these sources provide an overview of that matter. A source from 2019 mentioned that *takjil* selling at the Benhil market in Ramadan has existed seventeen years ago (PMJNEWS.com, 2019). There are also sources which states that the selling of *takjil* on *Jalan Panjang* in Ramadan has been done for a long time, in addition, there is information from *takjil* sellers saying that there are many residents who have been selling *takjil* in that place since 1990s (Hikari Putra, 2019). Information from a seller as mentioned in online media information from 2011, explained that the *takjil* selling in Ramadan month on *Jalan Soka* has been done for more than twenty years (Kompas.com, 2011). On the other hand, there is a source from 2019 which mentions the existence of a seller who has already sold *takjil* for eleven years in Benhil *takjil* market (Bisnis.com, 2019).

The flourishing of *takjil* selling in Jakarta in 2017—2019 had a positive impact on *Takjil* sellers in terms of making profits, of course in line with their hopes to benefit from selling *takjil* in Ramadan in Jakarta. The profits they have obtained, of course, can describe the volume of *takjil* commodities that have been successfully sold by them. In this case, there is online media information from 2018, which states that the profits that can be obtained by *takjil* sellers every day in Ramadan range from hundreds of thousands of rupiahs to millions of rupiahs (Posberitakota, 2018). There is also another source of information from 2018, which describes the liveliness of the *takjil* bazaar at the Benhil market with many consumers shopping for *takjil*, so there is a vendor who has managed to make profits of up to four million rupiahs a day (Budhiman et al., 2018). This relatively large profit can certainly describe the bustling *takjil* selling in that market. With a relatively high income, there is a seller who has been engaged in selling *takjil* four times in Ramadan (JawaPos.com, 2018). There is also *takjil* seller who informs that he always sells *takjil* at the Benhil market in Ramadan and his wares are selling well (Ramadhan, 2019). It is informed that *Takjil* stalls in the Area of East Flood Canal in 2018 were frequented by many residents (Ravel, 2018). Crowded visitors can support the success of sellers in selling *takjil*. An online information from 2017 stated the existence of a seller at the Rawamangun market who could increase her income by selling *takjil* (Supriyanto, 2017). The profits that sellers can reap, of course, have motivated them to sell *takjil* in Ramadan in Jakarta.

The large number of *takjil* consumers in Ramadan lures vendors to sell *takjil* which gave rise to the mushrooming of *takjil* selling centers in Jakarta which have become *takjil* shopping destinations to break the fast. With so many consumers, sellers can of course hope to be able to achieve success in selling *takjil* in Ramadan by obtaining profits that can be used to boost their economy. Because of this, the *takjil* sellers have sprung up in various places of *takjil* selling. Those sellers, with their selling instincts, are able to take advantage of the phenomenon of the large number of consumers who need *takjil*, by selling *takjil* which consumers usually consume when breaking their fast. *Takjil* sellers are able to respond to local conditions that can be seen in the local environment around the *takjil* selling center, namely the large number of person who need *takjil* which can be used to break their fast. By shopping for *takjil* to sellers at *takjil* selling centers, consumers get convenience in preparing *takjil* before sunset. Thus, when it is time to

break the fast, consumers who are fasting can immediately break their fast. The existence of response to local conditions that can be seen in the local environment around the *takjil* selling center has indicated that there is local wisdom behind the *takjil* selling phenomenon which is rife in Ramadan in Jakarta in 2017—2019.

Consumers are part of various elements that are very important in selling activities as a source of economic improvement. The more consumers there are, the more rife selling activities will be. The more consumers there are in selling activities, the more open the potential for sellers participating in these activities to gain profits from their selling. Selling activity is part of economic activity (Welianto, 2022). Thus, the lively selling activity can certainly contribute to increased economic activity. That phenomenon can be seen in *takjil* selling activities in Ramadan in various places in Jakarta carried out by *takjil* sellers in 2017—2019. Besides having an impact on the rise of *takjil* selling in Jakarta in Ramadan, the large number of consumers also has an impact on the profits that relatively large that sellers get from *takjil* selling activities (Syahla, 2018). The relatively large profit caused by the large number of consumers, of course, is appealing for sellers to sell *takjil* in Ramadan in Jakarta in 2017—2019. It is certainly necessary for *takjil* vendors to have the ability to understand and identify consumer behavior. In the field of selling, consumer behavior can be interpreted as the consumers way in carrying out consumption activities (Hasanah, 2020, p. 96). With the ability to understand and identify consumer behavior, sellers can hope to gain success in selling *takjil* by getting profits that match their expectations.

The activity of *takjil* selling is closely related with the existence of sellers, consumers, and *takjil* which become a selling commodity. In economic activity, consumption activity is something that is often discussed, and the actors of consumption activity, of course, are consumers who are trying to fulfill their needs (Habriyanto, 2019, p. 123). In activity of *takjil* commerce in Jakarta in Ramadan, *takjil* is required by consumers to break their fast when the sun had completely set. The rise of *takjil* selling in Jakarta in Ramadan is clearly related to the large number of consumers who need *takjil* as a means to break their fast. The large number of consumers has been responded by sellers by selling *takjil* according to the tastes of their consumers. The large number of consumers who need *takjil*, of course, is a business opportunity for sellers to sell *takjil*.

The ability of sellers to understand consumers' tastes is also a factor that significantly supports their efforts in obtaining success in selling *takjil* at various *takjil* selling centers in Jakarta in 2017—2019. The sellers have shown their ability in understanding consumers tastes by selling the type of *takjil* that consumers want to break the fast. Conformity between the types of *takjil* selling with the tastes of consumers who are fasting and are in the environment around *takjil* selling centers, of course, is very important for sellers because it can support their efforts in obtaining profits in the *takjil* selling. The profits that are successfully obtained by sellers from *takjil* commerce, of course, can increase their economy (Syahla, 2018). Therefore, they seem enthusiastic about taking advantage of business opportunities in Ramadan by selling *takjil*. The tendency of consumer tastes in the environment around the *takjil* selling center was successfully responded to by *takjil* sellers by selling various *takjil* according to the tastes of consumers. Thus, the phenomenon of the *takjil* selling which was very widespread in Jakarta in 2017—2019, has shown an element of local wisdom in the form of the ability of *takjil* sellers to respond to consumer taste tendency which is a description regarding local conditions in the local environment around *takjil* selling centers, by selling *takjil* according to the tastes of these consumers.

In *takjil* commerce, consumer tastes are a priority of attention for *takjil* sellers in Jakarta in Ramadan. The tastes of consumers surely differs from one consumer to another. The differences in consumer tastes were also successfully responded to by sellers by providing various types of *takjil* at *takjil* selling centers. They sell various *takjil* which are commonly consumed by consumers to meet their needs in breaking the fast, either in the form of food, such as fried foods and other types, or drinks, such as *es buah* and

others (Ramadan, 2019). The various *takjil* which become selling commodities can fulfill the tendency of consumers to be able to choose the type of *takjil* that is appropriate to their individual tastes. The variety of *takjil* sold has illustrated the many choices for consumers in shopping for *takjil*. In addition to describing the many choices toward the *takjil* types for consumers, the many types of *takjil* being sold can also illustrate the widespread of *takjil* selling in Ramadan in Jakarta in 2017—2019.

### Solidarity in Mutualism

The phenomenon of *takjil* commerce in Ramadan in Jakarta in 2017—2019 shows an element of solidarity within mutualism in the the field of finance and food. In this context, solidarity in mutualism can be understood as solidarity in a reciprocal relationship between sellers and consumers that is mutually beneficial to both parties. Linguistically, mutualism can be understood as a reciprocal relationship between two organisms that benefits both parties or is mutually beneficial (KBBI Daring, 2016b). In its relation to the phenomenon of the aforementioned *takjil* selling, a reciprocal relationship that mutually beneficial is implemented between sellers and consumers. In this case, vendors get financial benefits from selling *takjil*, while consumers also benefit because they are able to get a hold of the the *takjil* of their choice from *takjil* vendors. Thus, there is a mutually beneficial relationship between *takjil* vendors and their consumers.

*Takjil* selling in Jakarta in 2017—2019 can be undertaken due to the solidarity between *takjil* vendors and consumers. *Takjil* sellers provide *takjil* as the commodity of their selling in the *takjil* selling center (Kompasiana, 2018a). On the other hand, consumers also shop for the *takjil* of their choice at *takjil* selling centers, so the *takjil* that suits their tastes can be obtained, and can be consumed to break the fast (Antara, 2019b). The element of solidarity in mutualism in the field of finance and food is increasingly visible in the *takjil* business with the existence of behavior of helping one another between *takjil* vendors and consumers. *Takjil* vendors help consumers in procuring food in the form of *takjil* that can meet their needs in breaking the fast. On the other hand, consumers also help *takjil* sellers to gain financial benefits. Thus, the objectives of each party can be achieved. *Takjil* vendors aim of acquiring financial gains from *takjil* business is achieved (JawaPos.com, 2018). The consumer's goal to acquire *takjil* to fulfill the needs for breaking the fast is also achieved.

The presence of *takjil* vendors and consumers with their respective goal is part of the description regarding the local conditions in the local environment around the *takjil* selling center. That local conditions were successfully acted upon by both parties with a mutually beneficial response. Such a phenomenon also illustrates the existence of elements of local wisdom in the form of the ability to understand prevailing local condition and respond to it appropriately. In the local environment around the *takjil* selling center, there is a tendency for consumers in getting *takjil* by shopping to *takjil* sellers (Bisnis.com, 2019; Ramadhan, 2019). The appearance of sellers that sell *takjil* as a means of breaking the fast can be analyzed as a response to that consumer tendency.

There are also other local conditions in the local environment around the *takjil* selling center, which sellers have responded to by selling various *takjil* needed to break the fast. That local condition is the presence of many people who are busy in Jakarta when they are carrying out the fast worship in Ramadan month, so they don't have time to make their own types of drinks and food that can be used to break the fast. With solidarity in mutualism in the field of finance and food, *takjil* vendors and busy consumers can help each other in achieving their respective goals, so that both parties feel benefited. *Takjil* sellers can help consumers who are busy in procuring *takjil* that consumers need so that sellers get financial benefits (JawaPos.com, 2018). On the other hand, busy consumers also benefit because they can acquire *takjil* by buying from *takjil* vendors (Purba, 2017). With solidarity in mutualism in the field of finance and food, both parties can help each other in achieving their respective goals, namely the goal of obtaining financial benefits

for sellers, and the goal of obtaining *takjil* for consumers by shopping the *takjil* from sellers. The ability of sellers in understanding local conditions in the local environment around the *takjil* selling center which is marked by the many people who are busy and unable to make their own *takjil* when they fast and then responded by sellers with selling *takjil*, of course, also shows the existence of an element of local wisdom in the *takjil* selling phenomenon in Jakarta. In determining the types of *takjil* to be sold, the sellers have also paid attention to local wisdom in the form of selling the types of *takjil* that cater the tastes of consumers who are fasting.

### Reinforcing Betawi Civilization

The popularity of Betawi typical foods as *takjil* food or beverage in the Ramadan month in Jakarta in 2017—2019 can be considered as the existence of the element of local wisdom in the selling phenomenon and also as part of various means to preserve Betawi typical foods which by doing so, the specific feature of the food can be more widely known and appreciated, both by people at present and in the future. The existence of several Betawi typical foods at the *takjil* selling center in Jakarta in Ramadan can also be assumed as a way to reintroduce Betawi typical foods in public spaces so as to be recognized by people from various regions of Jakarta. People can recognize Betawi civilization through Betawi typical culinary treasures. Thus, *takjil*, which in this case refers to Betawi typical food that is used as a selling commodity at the *takjil* selling center, also contributes to strengthening Betawi civilization in the culinary aspect.

Among various types of *takjil*, there are foods that are known as the Betawi typical dishes, such as *es selendang mayang*, *kerak telur*, *asinan* Betawi (Susilowati, 2021, p. 20), *putu mayang* (Khairunnisa, 2020), *ongol-ongol*, *cente manis* (Dewantara, 2021, p. 25), *mie juhi* (Davina, 2021), and others. There are types of Betawi typical foods which was made as a selling commodity at the *takjil* selling center in Ramadan in Jakarta in 2017—2019. The existence of some Betawi typical foods which becomes a selling commodity in the *takjil* selling center at Jakarta revealed the existence of local wisdom in the phenomenon of *takjil* selling in Ramadan in Jakarta in 2017—2019 before the Covid-19 pandemic. There are sources from 2018 and 2019 that inform the existence of a Betawi typical *takjil* menu being sold around the mosque of Sunda Kelapa, although these sources did not mention what kind of Betawi typical food it was (*Kumparan food*, 2018; Kusuma & Nodia, 2019).

One of Betawi typical food is *Kerak telur*. This type of cuisine is very popular among the people in Jakarta. *Kerak telur* is made from sticky rice, duck or chicken egg, dried shrimp, *serundeng*, and are equipped with spices (Susilowati, 2021, p. 19). That type of Betawi typical culinary can also be used as a *takjil* for breaking the fast menu. It was found in *takjil* selling activities on *Jalan Panjang* West Jakarta (*Kompasiana*, 2019b).

As with *kerak telur*, *asinan* Betawi is also a type of Betawi typical food that is known among the people in Jakarta. That type of Betawi typical culinary uses vegetables raw materials, such as cabbage, bean sprouts, *sawi*, and carrots, complemented by other ingredients according to its recipe, and made in a way that according to its recipe also, besides usually being complemented also with *kerupuk* (Zephyrine, 2022). That type of Betawi typical culinary is also a part of the various *takjil* which can be used as a selling commodity in *takjil* selling center in Jakarta in Ramadan, and this thing can be known, for example from activities of *takjil* commerce at the market of Bendungan Hilir (Benhil) as informed in online news in 2019, which informs the existence of *asinan* Betawi which sold at that *takjil* market (*Tempo.co*, 2019).

Besides *asinan* Betawi, there is another food that is part of Betawi traditional dish. The food is *putu mayang*, which is dubbed as traditional Betawi cake (Khairunnisa, 2020). *Putu mayang* cake is also in demand by the people in Jakarta. This Betawi typical cuisine can also be consumed as *takjil* for breaking the fast. Therefore, it is also sold at the *takjil* selling center in Jakarta as one of the *takjil*. This fact can be found in online

news in 2018 which informed the existence of *putu mayang* cake being sold as a selling commodity in the *takjil* selling center on *Jalan Panjang*, Kebon Jeruk, West Jakarta (Hikari Putra, 2018). This Betawi typical dish is made by using rice flour and flour of starch or tapioca as the raw ingredients, and its shape resembles noodles (Nurdiarsih, 2019; Octavia & Sulistiyati, 2021, p. 22).

There are still other types of food that are known as Betawi typical food. Among these other food types, there is *ongol-ongol* cake which is including the type Betawi typical food (Dewantara, 2021, p. 25). *Ongol-ongol* cake is made from raw materials sago flour and palm sugar, made according to its recipe, and that cake is usually equipped with grated coconut on it (Komarudin, 2019). This Betawi typical food is also used as a selling commodity in *takjil* selling center in Jakarta, such as in the Ramadan bazaar 1440 H in Matraman, (Nurdiarsih, 2019). Thus, the existence of *ongol-ongol* as a part of various types of Betawi typical foods that becomes a selling commodity at *takjil* selling center contributes in showing the existence of elements of local wisdom in the phenomenon of *takjil* selling in Jakarta in Ramadan.

Another type of food which is also a Betawi typical culinary is *cente manis* cake (Dewantara, 2021, p. 25). Cake of *cente manis* also contribute to increase the number of culinary types that are famous as Betawi typical food. That cake is made from raw material flour, sago pearl, and other ingredients that are in accordance with the recipe for that food, and according with its name, the taste of that cake, of course, is sweet (Komarudin, 2019). That Betawi typical cake, besides being known as *cente manis* cake, is also known as *jentik manis* cake (Masduki, 2019). Cake of *cente manis* or *jentik manis* can also be used as *takjil* to break the fast in Ramadan month. There is online information of 2018 which informed the existence of *jentik manis* cake that be used as a selling commodity in the bazaar of Ramadan in the Benhil market (*Kompasiana*, 2018a).

Besides *cente manis*, there is also *mie juhi*. The type of this culinary also includes Betawi typical food (Zephyrine, 2022). *Mie juhi*, which is Betawi typical food, can also be used as *takjil* to break the fast in Ramadan. The food consists of noodles and dried squid, and is complemented by other ingredients (Davina, 2021). That Betawi typical food also includes a culinary type that used as a selling commodity in *takjil* selling center in Jakarta in Ramadan, and this thing can be known, for example from *takjil* selling activities on *Jalan Panjang* West Jakarta (*Antara*, 2019a).

*Es selendang mayang* is a type of beverage that can also be served as *takjil* in the menu of breaking the fast. *Es selendang mayang* is well-known as a Betawi typical drink (Susilowati, 2021, p. 20). This type of drink is a drink that has been around for a relatively long time. It is mentioned in *Viva.co.id* that this type of drink has existed since the 1940s (Zephyrine, 2022). As it is usually served as *takjil*, the Betawi typical drink attract consumers to buy it in Ramadan. It is mentioned in online media that Betawinese and Jakartans has gotten used to buy *es selendang mayang* during fasting month thus it has become popular beverage to break the fast with (Abdul Karim, 2019). A news source from 2018 also informed about an impromptu market selling break-fasting food and beverage, including *es selendang mayang* drink (*Kompasiana*, 2018b).

The existance of several Betawi typical foods that are used as a selling commodity at the *takjil* selling center in Jakarta in Ramadan, and efforts to introduce them through selling activities, can also be interpreted as a form of appreciation and predilection toward Betawi civilization that related to culinary. Because it can be used as *takjil*, several types of culinary which are well-known as Betawi typical culinary also are used as a selling commodity at *takjil* selling center in Jakarta (Hikari Putra, 2018). The existence of several types of Betawi typical culinary at *takjil* selling center in Jakarta in Ramadan has also contributed in increasing consumer visits to *takjil* selling center in Jakarta that month to shop for Betawi typical *takjil*, which can be used for breaking the fast. The existence of several types of that Betawi typical *takjil* has indicated the existence of element of local wisdom in the phenomenon of *takjil* selling in Ramadan in Jakarta in 2017—2019.

## CONCLUSION

There is a phenomenon of *takjil* selling that is rife in Ramadan in Jakarta, which occurred in 2017—2019 before the Covid-19 pandemic. *Takjil* commerce is carried out not only to help consumers in buying *takjil* to break the fast but also to gain financial advantage for its sellers. The existence of element of local wisdom in the phenomenon of the *takjil* commerce can be identified from the existence of several local conditions which sellers have successfully responded to by selling *takjil* which can be used to break the fast. Some of these local conditions are as follows.

*First*, the large number of consumers looking for food and beverages to break the fast in Ramadan in Jakarta which in turn benefited the sellers through the gaining of profits that can increase their economy. This phenomenon, of course, is an illustration regarding local conditions which sellers have also catered by selling a variety of *takjil* in Jakarta in Ramadan. *Second*, there is a suitability of the types of *takjil* sold by *takjil* sellers with consumers' tastes. This can support the efforts of *takjil* sellers to gain profits in order to be able increase their economy. The tastes of consumers are a description of local conditions that have been catered by *takjil* sellers by selling *takjil* that suit the tastes of consumers. *Third*, there is solidarity in mutualism in the financial and food fields between *takjil* sellers and their consumers. This thing is also an illustration of local conditions. With solidarity in mutualism in the financial and food fields, *takjil* sellers are willing to help consumers to get *takjil* by shopping *takjil* toward them, consumers are also willing to help *takjil* sellers in obtaining financial benefits. *Fourth*, the fact that some people in Jakarta are too busy that cannot prepare their own *takjil* needed to break their fast in Ramadan. This is also portrays the local conditions in the local environment around the *takjil* selling center. This local condition has also been catered by sellers by providing various *takjil* so they can shop for *takjil* to break their fast. In addition to these four local conditions, the existence of several Betawi typical *takjil* that sold at *takjil* selling center also shows the existence of the element of local wisdom in the phenomenon of *takjil* selling in Ramadan in Jakarta in 2017—2019.

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