

Processes of Everyday Resilience:
The Reassembling of Informal Vending in Urban Spaces of Malang, Indonesia

Adnya Sarasmita

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Reading Committee:

Robert Mugerauer, Chair

Jeffrey Hou, Co-Chair

Manish Chalana

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University of Washington

ABSTRACT

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Adnya Sarasmita

Chairs of the Supervisory Committee:
Robert Mugerauer, Department of Urban Design and Planning
Jeffrey Hou, Department of Landscape Architecture

This dissertation is part of the larger movement in urbanism scholarship to acknowledge the elements and processes of the ordinary that have been left out from the rational urban planning and policy discourses. Through following the actors and stories told by actors of informal street vending systems in the everyday urban spaces of Malang, Indonesia, this dissertation provides a detailed empirical study of informal street vending as a form of counter-hegemonic placemaking and a grounded conceptualization of the practices, struggles, and power relations in the resilience of its every day. Grounding the resilience approach on the processes of the everyday also offers a contextual and decentered view of power, through which this dissertation addresses the void in resilience scholarship with regards to issues of power.

By examining these processes, I seek to understand how various street vending systems are able to constantly reassemble themselves into spatial-temporal patterns that produce relatively favorable outcome despite the unfavorable situations that are associated with the informality of their activities and presence in the everyday urban spaces. Three broad research questions emerge from my inquiries of the processes of everyday resilience as they apply to such social-spatial system in urban spaces: 1) How may an informal social-spatial system reassemble itself in response to challenges in its environment; 2) What role does power relations between actors of the everyday plan in the constant reassembling of the spaces

of an informal social-spatial system; and 3) What effects do processes of the everyday reassembling of a contested social-spatial system have on its overall functioning.

In an attempt to stay true to the core subject-centered value of the actor-network theory, the exploration of each case study site in this research begins with the vendors' distinct individual stories. I did not begin with a set of themes, let alone hypothesis, in mind. Though not hypothesized, much less predicted, discernible behavior-spatial patterns did display themselves. While stories and observations of individual cases are plotted as data points, their complexity is generated as we follow the relationships that they have formed. Congruent with complexity theory, no exact repetition is found in the empirical research, as would be the case with the purely natural-material phenomenon. Rather, from the description of each event and the tracing of each relationship, enough themes emerge to form a composite picture of the vendors' everyday practices and struggles, which informs the overall processes of the resilience of their everyday life.

First, there exist identifiable spatial-temporal patterns even in urban spaces that appear visually messy and are perceived as spatially disruptive. These patterns emerge from the rhythmic reassembling of spaces of the everyday that is made possible by two fundamental qualities of such informal social-spatial system: the capacity for learning and adaptation, and the capacity for rules-creation. Second, power relations and the discretion of its exercise are an enabling factor for the creation and preservation of unwritten, oftentimes unspoken informal rules that underlie the capacity of an informal social-spatial system to continue to reassemble itself, and therefore is instrumental to the everyday resilience of the system. Third, the notion of system's functioning can be used to frame the processes of everyday resilience by examining how the constant reassembling of a contested social-spatial system by way of persistence, adaptation, and transformation may impact its ability to perform its essential functions.

In an attempt to take a step back from the solution-driven model that is the hallmark of modernist, rational planning, this dissertation is a step towards paying attention to the social construction of a social-spatial system that is often perceived to be an 'urban problem'. As opposed to continuing the dominant narrative of urban governance which views informal street vending as one of the sources of urban

inefficiency and lack of visual order, this dissertation suggests an approach to genuinely seeing informal street vending as a functioning system that is embedded in the city's urban spaces, and whose participants contribute to the larger social-economic processes of the city. While an empirical exploration of one set of case studies cannot – and should not be relied on to – provide the knowledge required to form a broader policy on informal street vending, it does offer a few lessons that cities in other parts of Indonesia or Southeast Asia can take into account when getting to know their own informal urban systems.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A pulse of an everyday urban space

A Saturday night in Alun-Alun Kota Malang is full of life. Visitors from all walks of life swarm Malang's central public space as the sun starts to set, and the temperature slowly goes down to an acceptable level of heat. Children cling to the metal fence that encloses a large water fountain, eagerly waiting for the water show to come on – nobody is sure of its schedule. Smaller children are jumping, climbing, swinging their evening away in the playground, parents watching closely nearby. Young adults are sitting in groups – or with their significant others – deep in conversation or are simply people watching. As the sun sets, the grand mosque across the street sings its call to prayers, and visitors pause their activities to make their way across the street. When they return to Alun-Alun Kota Malang some fifteen minutes later, they are greeted with another group familiar to its night scene: street vendors. On a busy night like this, the vendor count goes from zero to about three dozen in a matter of minutes. Instead of the water fountain, children are now fixated on the flashing, flying toys that toy vendors dangle on their arms and in their baskets, while adults make a beeline for the food vendors that have suddenly become available. This scene lasts between one to two hours, until shouts of “Satpol! Satpol! Satpol!” are heard, and vendors hastily pack up and flee the site. Just like that, as quickly as they appeared, the vendors disappeared. All that is left of their brief presence in Alun-Alun Kota Malang are the visual clues of flashing, flying toys that parents have bought for their children, and the street food that visitors are still eating. This scene will all repeat itself on the following night, and the night after that, until something forces the vendors to rewrite their game plan.

The above scene is one of the ubiquitous scenes of informality that unfold in the everyday urban spaces of Global South cities. In Malang, Indonesia, I had grown up surrounded by these informal yet mundane reassembling of urban space, which entailed the sharing of spaces by people of different walks of life and activities of different degrees of informalities – a concept that I have come to learn from the planning classes that I took much later in my academic life. To many of us living our lives in these everyday realities, this arrangement – this assembly of people, activities, and trades in a shared space – just works. Except when it does not. Every now and again, these mundane spaces of the everyday are punctuated by an abrupt unmaking of space, triggered by threats – and sometimes the very action – of eviction and dispossession of informal street vendors. Before the void even settles, however, the beats of the everyday resume – with the same vendors returning and new ones arriving. This capacity of informal vendors to consistently and swiftly disassemble and reassemble urban spaces in response to mundane changes and imminent threats tends to be understated and overlooked, precisely due to the mundanity and persistency of their practices. We take it for granted that our favorite vendors will show up at the same place and time tomorrow, and the days after that. In 2017, however, an existential threat to informal vendors in the street of Bangkok, Thailand, that was issued by its municipal government sparked a global outcry. Anyone who has been to Bangkok, or most Asian cities in general, can recall their first impression of the city – dense, loud, messy, and ever saturated with fragrant aromas and calls emanating from street vendors. Without this familiar scene, Asian cities would not be what they are.

This international exposure of Bangkok's street vending's contested status elevated what was mostly a mundane, silent struggle experienced by informal street vendors all across the Global South cities into a subject of debates even among those not directly impacted by the phenomenon, suggesting the values that such everyday practice and space still hold in today's society. The restrictive official regulations and policing of informal street vendors, however, have sought to erase or at least hide informality from the visible urban spaces of a city, as it is seen as a sign of underdevelopment. This perception is partly due to the fact that even though most urban growth and transformation in the twenty-first century is taking place in developing cities of the Global South, much of the urban theories and planning remain rooted in developed cities of the Global North, which imagine Global South cities to be problem-ridden and in need

of reform and regulation.¹ De Certeau (1984) warned us that this disciplining of the everywhere makes it all the more urgent for us to recognize how members of society resist being reduced to the grid of classification, calculation, and division.

In response to calls from proponents of alternative planning theorization and practices to shift the urbanism discourse from professional planning and planners toward real practices by everyday people, this dissertation seeks to bring appreciation and attention to the everyday resilience of an alternative mode of placemaking in the form of informal street vending. Building on the work of Lenette et al. (2013), Vyas and Dillahunt described everyday resilience as “an ongoing social process enacted through ordinary practices of everyday life and situated in people's local contexts that enable them to achieve favorable outcomes in relatively unfavorable situations” (2017, pp. 105:1-2). It is in this everyday life and space that people, particularly those who are deprived of the rights and privileges of the official realm, make do with their informal practices and resources to resist the challenges of both the formal and informal worlds. Unsuccessful attempts at street vendor relocation suggest that the social and economic networks that support the practices of urban informality cannot merely be transplanted or replaced by urban policy and design strategies that are conceived from a simplistic interpretation of the everyday practices of informality. Though far from being a utopian space of refuge for the urban ‘others’, spaces of urban informality such as street vending can serve as a social and economic safety net for many in times of adversity. In that sense, practices of informality subconsciously perform a significant role as a counter-hegemonic mode of placemaking in the urban spaces that are increasingly controlled by those with which the official and capitalist power resides.

Recognizing informal street vending as an alternative mode of placemaking contributes to the discourse of Indonesian urban spaces in particular by adding another layer of critical lens. Basundoro (2015) has provided a comprehensive account on the changing of popular perceptions of Malang's formal public space, Alun-Alun Kota Malang, throughout history. Dovey and Permanasari (2010) examined the

¹ Cities of the Global South, however, are also complicit in perceiving Global North cities as an ideal, normative model to be replicated (Roy, 2004).

shifting political meanings and everyday uses of Jakarta's Monas and Merdeka square. Lim and Padawangi (2008) followed the transformation and (re)construction of the spatial identity of Bandung's *alun-alun*.² Sheri Gibbings, with her social-cultural anthropology approach, has provided ethnographic accounts of street vending relocation in Yogyakarta with regards to the urban politics and informal leadership that were involved (2013), a 'resisting' vendor figure and his role in navigating social and political change (2013), and the notion of street vending as 'ethical citizenship', in which street vendors' 'being' in a public space is validated through societal norms (2016). Along the same line, Harjoko (2016) challenged the dominant paradigm of formal legitimation through a discussion on processes of informal legitimation of informal ambulant traders' communicative actions. Despite such critical positions, there is still a tendency for domestic scholarship on urban spaces to view informality from a policy-centered approach, often through the evaluation of regulations pertaining to informal vending in public spaces.³ Surakarta, for instance, is celebrated as host to a widely-cited success story of informal street vendors relocation, which acknowledged the importance of inviting street vendors to the negotiation table. This supposedly 'radical' approach had helped boost the popularity of Surakarta's Mayor at the time, Jokowi, who eventually became elected as Indonesia's seventh and current President.⁴ This 'success', however, has been criticized by Song and Taylor (2016), whose empirical study examined why many of the relocated informal vendors ended up returning to the streets. Their study pointed to several underlying reasons, which included: non-functional design of the places of relocation, invisible or inaccessible new locations, failure to prepare vendors for the changing business environment, and the neglect of the vendors' needs. Such findings suggest the need for a more empirically grounded study of urban space from the perspective of the everyday people who occupy and shape these spaces.

² In a typical Javanese town, *alun-alun* is the most recognizable landmark that also indicates the traditional center of a town. Historically, *alun-alun* were typically square or rectangular, consisting of an open field and a few old-growth banyan trees. Alun-Alun Kota Malang is one of the two *alun-alun* located in the city of Malang, Indonesia. Throughout this dissertation, Alun-Alun Kota Malang and *alun-alun* are used interchangeably.

³ For instance, see: Fajrin & Rahmawati (2016), Permatasari, Putro, & Nuraeni (2014), Puruhita (2015), Nugroho (2010).

⁴ Jokowi became the first President of Indonesia who did not come from an elite political or military background, and who was elected on his populist platform.

As such, this dissertation is part of the larger movement in urbanism scholarship that acknowledges the elements and processes of the ordinary that have been left out from the rational urban planning and policy discourses. Through following the stories told by actors of informal street vending systems in the urban spaces of Malang, Indonesia, this dissertation provides a detailed empirical study of informal street vending as a form of counter-hegemonic placemaking and a grounded conceptualization of the practices, struggles, and power relations in the resilience of its every day. Grounding the resilience approach on the processes of the everyday also offers a contextual and decentered view of power, through which this dissertation addresses the void in resilience scholarship with regards to issues of diversity, inequality, and power. Last but not least, I hope that by understanding the organic functioning and practices of urban informality, official urban planning and design can shift their approach from trying to reinvent their urban spaces into another modern rendition of 'everywhere else' to finding ways to nurture the resilience of their already existing everyday spaces and the people who are embedded within them.

Context: Informal street vending in Malang, Indonesia

Malang is a mid-size city in East Java, with a metropolitan area population of nearly three million. Although incomparable to the likes of Jakarta, Singapore, Bangkok, or other Southeast Asian megapolises, Malang is experiencing its share of steady urbanization and gentle pressures of modernization. Its built environment is horizontally dense, although the city is building more and more structures over ten-story high over the last two decades. Like most other urbanized areas in developing nations, land development in Malang is relatively patchy, with some parts of the city experiencing a higher competition over space than others. Throughout its modern history, urban growth in Malang has mostly occurred in and around business and commercial districts as well as areas with public and social facilities, as highlighted in FIG. 1.1. This tendency has placed urban spaces in these areas under higher scrutiny from the state, particularly those that are most visible from the public realm. This scrutiny and pressure from developments have overtime resulted in the various tactics that the everyday people use to (re-)produce, appropriate, and govern their spaces. Because these everyday practices are typically considered to be outside of the formal realm, they

routinely face challenges presented by various actors who may be involved in both the formal and informal realms.

One particular group in the everyday urban spaces of Malang that is under constant State scrutiny are informal street vendors who ubiquitously occupy the crevices of its urban spaces. Unlike many of the more prominent Southeast Asian cities, informal street vendors in Malang are less congregated and operate more independently of one another. While there do exist agglomerations of street vendors around markets and notable public places (FIG. 1.2) or during scheduled events (FIG. 1.3.), most street vendors disperse along urban roads (FIG. 1.4) and woven deeper into residential areas (FIG 1.5). Therefore, although the presence of informal street vendors in critical nodes of the city is often perceived as a nuisance, many street vendors who operate in non-central, less visible urban spaces of the city still experience considerably low pressure from the state or the overall urban growth.



*FIGURE 1.1. Critical areas of growth in Malang.
A: old town center around Alun-Alun Kota Malang. B: New town center around Universitas Brawijaya.
Based on: 2030 Malang Spatial Planning Map; edited by author*



FIGURE 1.2. Street vendors spilling out of Malang's Cukam market.
Retrieved February 27, 2017 from <http://jelajahmalang.blogspot.com/2015/03/mengenal-cukam.html>



FIGURE 1.3. Rows of vending tents during a Sunday Market in Malang.
Retrieved September 19, 2019 from <http://nisamufti.blogspot.com/2011/09/jalan-pagi-di-pasar-minggu-di-kota.html>



*FIGURE 1.4. A vending cart commonly found along the city's roadsides.
Source: Author's personal collection.*



*FIGURE 1.5. A highly mobile street vendor in a residential area.
Source: Author's personal collection.*

The general stance of Malang's municipal government has been that of a push for informal street vending towards a more systematic assemblage the likes of Singapore's hawker centers (FIG. 1.6).⁵ Despite that, there continue to be discrepancies between Malang's official codes and policies with regards to street vending practices and how they are implemented on the ground. The 2000 Malang city ordinance on the street vending regulation and development states that "to participate in an economic enterprise, be it in the formal sector, non-formal sector, or street vending, is a right of the community members' with regards to fulfilling their basic needs."⁶ This seemingly favorable statement with regards to street hawking is reiterated in article 17, clause 2(l) of the 2011 Malang city ordinance on spatial planning for the year 2010-2030.⁷ It expresses that the city is committed to easing of capital funding and technical support for the informal sector, as well as forming a collaboration with other parties to promote it. The same provisions, however, also declare that in addition to such right, community members – including street vendors – are obligated to actively participate in the creation and maintenance of a "clean, beautiful, orderly, safe, and pleasant" city.⁸ This clause, in particular, has served as a base for the state's efforts to regulate, relocate, or eradicate informal street vending sites.

⁵ In the region, Singapore is often considered as a poster child of successful street vending licensing and regulation, as part of the city-state's modernization efforts (Bhowmik, 2005; Kurfürst, 2012).

⁶ *Perda nomor 1 tahun 2000 tentang pengaturan PKL di wilayah Kota Malang*. Adapted from a phrase in Bahasa Indonesia *pedagang kaki lima*, a literal translation of which would be 'five-legged vendor'. Many believe that this term refers to the vendor's own two legs and their cart's three legs or wheels, when it actually refers to the width of sidewalk (five feet wide – 'foot' is *kaki*, which also means 'leg' in Bahasa Indonesia) required for every major street during the Dutch colonialism. These sidewalks become popular spots for vendors to anchor their carts.

⁷ *Perda nomor 4 tahun 2011 tentang rencana tata ruang wilayah Kota Malang tahun 2010-2030, Pasal 17, Ayat 2, Butir l*.

⁸ *Perda nomor 1 tahun 2000 tentang pengaturan PKL di wilayah Kota Malang*



FIGURE 1.6. Makansutra, a more upscale hawker center in Singapore's waterfront area. Source: Author's personal collection.

Other relevant clauses emphasize the need to regulate the aesthetics and forms of street vendors, as well as limit their movement to only specific locations and times. However, these supposed locations and times are subject to further resolution by the mayor as head of municipal government. Because the mayor is an elected official, mayoral resolutions are frequently temporal and can be significantly different from mayor to mayor. Furthermore, mayor decrees are largely piecemeal and are rarely made public prior to their execution, which continually causes outcries and pushback from impacted groups. In some cases, the aftermath of such confrontation involves the retraction of ordinances and the redrawing of plans. In other cases, such confrontation can last for much longer, sometimes outlasting the mayor's term of appointment itself. In Malang's street vending scene, this typically involves recurring raids (FIG. 1.7) and the resulting adaptive tactics employed by the informal street vendors.

The modern Singaporean model of organized hawker centers, on the other hand, was achieved under what many critics would regard as an authoritarian government. While Indonesia has had its share of authoritarian leaders in the past, it is by and large a democratic nation today. To some extent, this often translates into literal governance by the people, where it can be challenging for elected officials to enact

measures that are unpopular, especially those accused to impact a significant portion of the population adversely. Regulating, relocating, and evicting informal vendors are among these highly controversial and visible measures with which many major Indonesian cities have been grappling.



FIGURE 1.7. Vendor raid by the city's special force (Satpol PP). Retrieved February 27, 2017 from <http://satpolpp.malangkota.go.id/2016/03/01/penertiban-pkl-di-sekitar-man-3-malang/>

Urban spaces in Global South cities

'Urban space' has been used as an all-encompassing term that includes a broad range of collective spaces in a city, be it exterior and interior, physical, or social spaces (Brown, 2006b). This term will be used throughout this dissertation to refer to space with some form of accepted communal access or alternative use right. The definition of this term is meant to be independent of ownership and property rights. It instead acknowledges that many of our everyday urban spaces, both public and private in the conventional notion of ownership, can be a common property resource with constantly negotiated boundaries. This conscious move away from the separation of spaces of the everyday into 'public space' and 'private space' acknowledges that some spaces operate in the gray area in between, and that the Anglo-American

dichotomy may be too narrow when applied in the non-western contexts (Brown, 2006b; Drummond, 2000; Lefebvre, 1991b).⁹

It was not until the early 1900s that the general binaries of good and evil, order and disorder, primitive and modern, public and private, were introduced to Southeast Asian's early cities by colonist Europeans. The arrival of the Europeans to Southeast Asia had transformed the region into a highly stratified society with glaring racial and class divisions. In colonial Indonesia, at the top of the racial and class division were the European colonists, followed by the Chinese and Indo-Europeans (Eurasians) at the middle, and the indigenous population at the bottom (Kusno, 2016). These groups lived, worked, and built in immensely different ways, guided by their resources, needs, and values. Malang was one of the colonial towns designated as a place of leisure and recreation for the Europeans who, at that time, had mostly resided in nearby Surabaya. To remind them of home, the town – mainly European residential areas – was planned and designed to resemble European towns. Thomas Karsten, a well-respected Dutch engineer, architect, and urban planner, planned the growth of Malang to center around the city's town square (*alun-alun*) (Patmadjaja, 2008) which is one of the sites in this dissertation.

In colonial Saigon and Cholon of present-day Vietnam, the French colonists wanted to protect themselves from the 'dirty' and 'dangerous indigenous people; however, they also acknowledged that every European district needed a native counterpart in order to operate (Kim, 2015). This conundrum has produced a dualistic spatial structure in many Southeast Asian cities, in which they are divided into discrete European compounds and indigenous quarters (Ramli, 1992). The Explanatory Memorandum of the 1938 Town Planning Ordinance, the first document that conceptualized a colonial city, portrayed this coexisting of colonial society negatively, referring to it as a 'battlefield' where diverse ethnic groups competed for urban space resulting in the sense of disorderliness (Kusno, 2016). On the one hand, streets served to curb the natives who had come from the countryside from swarming colonial city centers where the Europeans

⁹ 'Public space 'has been defined as the "common ground where people carry out the functional and ritual activities that bind a community, whether in the normal routines of daily life or periodic festivities" (Carr, Stephen, Francis, Rivlin, & Stone, 1992, p. xi). 'Private space', in contrast, refers to a confined space into which strangers cannot enter without negotiation (Madanipour, 2003).

resided. On the other hand, streets also became a space for these newcomers to make a living as vendors. As the indigenous population grew rapidly and increasingly closer to the European quarters, so did the visibility of disorder on the streets, as perceived by the Dutch authorities. They saw the unruliness as out of place and even a source of danger (Kusno, 2016).

Back in colonial Indonesia, Henrik Tilema, a Dutch social reformist, in the early 1900s had urged Dutch authorities to improve infrastructure and the livability of places as a condition for prolonging their colonialism (Kusno, 2016). This reform was meant to 'enlighten' the indigenous residents of the European values of the proper, orderly ways of urban living. Following the 1922 and 1925 congresses on housing and planning in colonial Indonesia, cities became increasingly subject to town planning (Kusno, 2016). The construction and imposition of definitional categories regarding social and spatial relations became a form of exercise of colonial power, which penetrated both the private and public realms of colonial societies (Yeoh, 1996). This form of behavioral determinism presumed that the formal qualities and meanings imbued into a particular space could be used to predict or control how people behave in that space. The sidewalks were for people to keep moving. The streets were for connecting home and workplace. This desire to maintain a uniform, well-demarcated public streets and spaces in the interest of an abstract 'public' became increasingly determined by the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In colonial Singapore, however, attempts to transplant the British standard of acceptable behavior and regulate the public spaces were met with difficulty (Yeoh, 1996), as the vernacular Asian urban landscape favored flexibility and overlapping of activities in close proximity.

Today, this dualistic spatiality of urban spaces has persisted in many Southeast Asian cities, where formal public space is perceived to embody state control, while the (back) streets and alleyways contain a contrasting vibrant everyday urban life (Hou, 2010a). With the present rapid modernization and growth, however, many cities of Global South are finding themselves hovering between a vernacular framework, which allows for multiplicity and simultaneity, and a modernist model of rational state planning and investment-driven control by the private sector. This duality is especially visible in the use and governance of their urban spaces, as an alternative mode of being for urban inhabitants whom Bharne (2013) pointed out are struggling to find their place in the rapidly changing cities.

Cities are increasingly keen on pursuing a 'world-class' modern city vision (Schindler, 2013) to attract global investors and visitors. This vision often renders sites and sights of informality as out of place in the modern city landscape (Bunnell & Harris, 2012). Moreover, the demands from the growing middle class for more transparent and accountable municipal governance, well-ordered urban environment and unobstructed access to public space are often hastily translated into the substantial remaking of 'dilapidating' urban spaces which may threaten the sustainability of existing communities (Simone & Rao, 2012). Among those who take refuge in the informality of urban spaces are street vendors, who are particularly vulnerable to 'clean-up' efforts to remake the city because they exist and operate in the very places that are meant to 'showcase' the city (Schindler, 2013).

Because its parts and processes are functionally and spatially integrated into the wholeness of a city, however, informality cannot merely be erased without moving it elsewhere (Dovey, 2012). Even so, the state often presumes that existing communities along with their informal social network and local economies can simply be transplanted elsewhere, without recognizing that some layers of sedimentation, spatial memory, and diversity within the urban spaces are not easily replaceable by intentional policy and design strategies (Simone & Rao, 2012). As urban development is guided more and more by the ideology of space that redevelops spaces and buildings rather than people's everyday socio-economic experience (Roy, 2004), we need to reflect and earnestly consider the role that informality plays in different aspects of urban spaces and societies. Failure to do so would result in a growing incompatibility between various modes of urbanization and the everyday people who are embedded within the everyday urban space.

Research questions

The focus of this research is to explore the processes of everyday resilience in urban spaces, using informal street vending as an example of a social-spatial system that experiences a multitude of challenges and changes in its actors' everyday environment. Through these processes, this dissertation seeks to understand how various street vending systems are able to constantly reassemble themselves into relatively favorable outcomes despite – and perhaps due to – the unfavorable situations that are associated

with the informality of their activities and their presence in the everyday urban spaces. There is value to examining this unmaking and remaking of the spatiality of the everyday, as a way of understanding the extent to which a social-spatial system is capable of responding to – and by extension coping through – events of adversity.

In examining the processes of everyday resilience of social-spatial systems that operate in urban spaces, we can begin by observing what is visible: the spatial and temporal patterns of a system. What are the tangible forms of everyday urban spaces? Are there any spatial or temporal patterns in their organization? Next, we investigate the less visible organizers behind those patterns. Whom are the actors involved? What are the power dynamics that drive the norms of an informal organization? Lastly, we question what this all means to the functioning of a system. What role do the organizing patterns have in maintaining a system's function? In pursuing these interrelated inquiries, three broad research questions emerge:

1. How may an informal social-spatial system reassemble itself in response to challenges in its environment?
2. What role does power relations between actors of the everyday play in the constant reassembling of the spaces of an informal social-spatial system?
3. What effects do processes of the everyday reassembling of a contested social-spatial system have on its overall functioning?

Dissertation structure

This dissertation consists of seven chapters, which include this introduction as the first chapter and some concluding remarks as the last chapter. The first chapter introduces the contexts, purpose, and significance of this research. Chapter 2 revisits the existing bodies of literature that contribute to the formation of my research inquiries. These include scholarships on urban informality – particularly those relevant to informal street vending, counter-hegemonic forms of planning and placemaking, the everyday

life and spaces, and the resilience of such everydayness. Chapter 3 lays out my methodological framework – actor-network theory with a spatial ethnographic approach using the tools of qualitative methods, and research design, in which introduce my multiple case study sites. This chapter also includes some reflections on the challenges that I faced during my fieldwork. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 offer discussions on themes that emerge from my investigation of the processes of everyday resilience of informal street vending. Chapter 4 starts the discussion off by examining the more visible, albeit subtle, self-organization of street vending practices into discernible spatial and temporal patterns. Chapter 5 delves into the less visible processes of power relations that are embedded in the everydayness of informal street vending system. Chapter 6 explores the notion of system's functioning in relation to its everyday resilience and how it responds to various challenges and perturbances. Although my intention is to organize each of the emergent themes and their subthemes into its own chapters, overlaps between chapters and stories do occur, as the realities of the everyday consist of abundant interacting layers that often cannot be clearly untangled. Deliberately avoiding such overlap would be unnatural; therefore, some theme's subthemes may be included in the discussion of another theme. Chapter 7 concludes with summarizing the findings from each discussion and offers possible future pathways in this line of scholarship.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Urban informality

Cities of the Global South are increasingly keen on pursuing a 'world-class' modern city vision (Schindler, 2013), which often renders sites and sights of informality as out of place in its landscape (Bunnell & Harris, 2012). Moreover, demands from the growing middle class for a well-ordered urban environment and unobstructed access to public space are often hastily translated into the substantial remaking of 'dilapidating' urban spaces, a practice of urban governance which may threaten the sustainability of existing communities (Simone & Rao, 2012). Among those who take refuge in the informality of everyday urban spaces are informal street vendors, who are particularly vulnerable to 'clean-up' efforts to remake the city for the reason that they exist and operate in the very spaces that are meant to 'showcase' the city (Schindler, 2013). The visibility of spaces like streets and sidewalks is, therefore, what makes them subject to discursive and regulatory scrutiny.

There are two dominant views from which informality in the developing world is perceived. One perceives informality as a sign of dystopian underdevelopment, while the other sees it as romantic evidence of creativity, ecological superiority, and heroic entrepreneurship (Blackman, 2010).¹⁰ In their reviews of the informal street vendor literature and debate, Donovan (2008) and Forkuor et al. (2017) synthesized public perceptions and arguments about informal street vending. While there exist positive views on informal vending's role as an alternative source of income particularly during times of financial crisis (Chung, Ritoper, & Takemoto, 2010; M. Harper, 1996; Neuwirth, 2013), as a social safety-net in the absence of a welfare system (R. Bromley, 2000), as an avenue for entrepreneurship (Boels, 2014; J. Cross & Morales, 2007;

¹⁰ In the more recent decades, the latter has encouraged the application of solutions from Global South cities to address problems of Global North cities. When pursued without contextual knowledge, this can lead to not only a pragmatically naïve but also methodologically problematic appropriation of 'best practices' (Roy, 2004).

Harjoko, 2016; Williams, 2007; Williams, Round, & Rodgers, 2011; Xue & Huang, 2015), and as a street crime deterrent (Anjaria, 2006; Skinner, 2008), urban authorities continue to overwhelmingly focus on the perceived negative impacts that street vendors have on cities, particularly with regards to the cities' pursuit of modernity (Anjaria, 2006; Crossa, 2009; Rajagopal, 2001; Stillerman, 2006; Turner & Schoenberger, 2012; Yatmo, 2009). This view of informality as an impediment to modernizing can be traced back to de Soto's depiction of informality as being in a state of extralegal, therefore operating in inefficiency and general wastefulness that would result in underdevelopment (de Soto, 1989). In addition to being seen as a sign of under-development, informal street vending is also stigmatized as a source of many of the urban challenges, from waste management to actual crime (Lawanson, 2014).

These antagonistic ways of viewing informal street vending – and urban informality in general – have led to a wide range of punitive proposals with which urban politicians are determined to erase all visible traces of informality in their cities (Neuwirth, 2013).¹¹ A widely adopted albeit increasingly controversial 'best practice' is the policing and criminalization of informal street vendors by municipal authorities. This model goes as far back as the eighteenth-century Dutch towns, as revisited by van den Heuvel (2015). Those who lived on the margins of the society – the poor, independent women, and immigrants – had to rely on various casual forms of work to make a living, which included peddling and hawking. Due to restrictive regulations at the time, peddlers and hawkers often had to cross the line into the realms of illegality and black markets, which relegated them to even more vulnerability. Van den Heuvel (2015) argued that the policing of peddlers and hawkers left room for misuse, involving bribes for municipal officials and abuse of power to harass competitor traders.

¹¹ Roy and AlSayyad used the phrase 'urban informality' in referring to the "manifestation of informal processes in the urban environment" (2004, p. 1). The term 'informal' itself was used by Keith Hart in the early 1970s to make a general distinction between formal and informal economic sectors in Ghana based on types of employment (Hart, 1970, 1973). As a result, employment outside of the established systems become lumped under one category of the 'informal sector', despite the substantial heterogeneity in urban economies. Later, Hernando de Soto, a Peruvian economist, adopted the term into discourses on property ownership and integration of the informal sector through means of legalization (de Soto, 1989, 2000), which envisions the informal sector to eventually be integrated into the modern, formal economy. In 2005, Ananya Roy contrasted this 'right to property' view to Henry Lefebvre's (1991b) notion of 'the right to the city'. She argued that when it comes to urban informality, we also need to consider how claims and appropriation of urban spaces that would not otherwise fit into the ownership model of property can constitute the right to the city (Roy, 2005).

Despite similar consequences, many contemporary cities in the Global South continue to employ restrictive regulations and the policing of informal street vendors. In Lagos, Nigeria, street vending, alongside open defecation and urination in open spaces, is considered “environmental abuse and uncivilized disposition” and is punishable with confiscation, fines, and imprisonment (Lawanson, 2014, p. 46). Lawanson's study reported that vendors faced institutional harassment despite various formal and informal levies, suggesting that criminalization of street vendors only furthered corruption and extortion, and increased discrimination and violence toward vulnerable groups. In Ecuador, where revitalization and ‘sanitation’ of the city are intertwined with exclusionary strategies toward certain races and ethnicities, neoliberal urban policies have created an opportunity for corrupt practices by police officers, who are severely underpaid and eager to accept bribery (Swanson, 2007). Despite the often-violent abuses by municipal police, informal street vendors in the Ecuadorian cities of Quito and Guayaquil have found a way to persist, by hiding in stores and doorways to avoid having their goods confiscated. In Chinese cities, Hanser (2016) suggested that increasingly restrictive regulations and policing of street vending have resulted in a dramatization of state power in the public sphere. The visible conflicts between vendors and *chengguan* – enforcers of municipal laws that primarily pertain to the use of public spaces – vividly illustrate China’s unequal and authoritarian power. Additionally, *chengguans* have been criticized by the public for their mafia-like conduct when enforcing street vending regulations and confronting street vendors.

There is an increasing recognition that because its parts and processes are functionally and spatially integrated into the wholeness of a city, informality in urban spaces cannot merely be erased without moving it elsewhere (Dovey, 2012). Urban authorities today are becoming more aware that merely evicting informal street vendors from their urban spaces will not only create negative publicity that often has political consequences but also that doing so will only displace the street vendors to another desirable location. As a compromise between satisfying people’s right to work in the city and pursuing a modern image, many municipalities turn to de Soto’s vision of legalization, which suggested that in order to solve the perceived menaces that stemmed from the culture and practices of informality, the informal sector needed to be integrated into the modern, formal economy, through the means of legalization (de Soto, 1989, 2000). This view has led to a widely practiced strategy of formalizing street vending by way of spatial resettlement into

government-sanctioned and regulated areas. Authorities, however, often presume that existing communities along with their informal social network and local economies can simply be transplanted elsewhere, without recognizing that some layers of sedimentation, spatial memory, and diversity within the urban spaces are not easily replaceable by intentional policy and design strategies (Simone & Rao, 2012).

Scholars of urban informality and Global South urbanism have sought to examine the impacts that this informal street vending formalization and resettlement phenomena have on the displaced vendors. Carriery and Murta (2011) adopted the concept of 'human herding' to illustrate Belo Horizonte's effort in shepherding peddlers from its downtown into an indoor marketplace, which allowed for more precise surveillance. Their research concluded that this relocation had not solved the problem of unemployment, and further increased the political and social insecurity that the vendors faced. Kayuni and Tambulasi (2009) analyzed the impact that forced relocation of street vendors in Malawi had on the livelihood of the vendors. They found that the formerly informal vendors had either returned to farming in rural areas or continued to occupy the new market into which the vendors had been relocated. However, those who stayed in the market were found to have experienced loss of revenue, increased tension, and generally poor working environment. Similarly, Josephine Smart's (1986) study of Hong Kong's hawking-permitted places found significant dissatisfaction among vendors, commonly with regards to poor location and small size of the fixed pitched stalls that were assigned to them. Michael Donovan (2008) revealed that informal vendors in Bogota might have been a willing participant of the relocation projects not for economic reasons, but security reasons. In exchange for this prospect of security, vendors had to trade in the flexibility and mobility of their formerly informal practices, and resort to boxing themselves in non-specialized permanent markets with higher costs and a fixed schedule.

Counter-hegemonic planning and placemaking

As urban informality becomes recognized as the norm and formal urbanization is seen as irregularity, there is a question whether the existing rational models associated with cities of Global North are still appropriate to guide urban processes in cities of Global South, or if new models that would allow

for a more sophisticated interpretation of the complexity in contemporary cities of Global South are required (Revell, 2010).¹² The struggle of rational planning model and urban governance in addressing and adapting to the realities of informality in urban spaces has led scholars and urbanists to call attention to the importance of counter-hegemonic modes of placemaking. This call echoes that of contemporary urbanists of the Global North, who have expressed the shortcomings of modernist planning model in addressing their increasingly diverse, and thus complex, cities. In her seminal work, *Towards Cosmopolis: Planning for Multicultural Cities*, Leonie Sandercock pointed out that modernist planning has predominantly been "... 'solution-driven', rather than attentive to the social construction of what are held to be 'urban problems'" (1998, p. 35). It prioritizes rational and effective decision making rooted in positive science and views professional planner's role as controlling the production and use of space. In her book, Sandercock imagined a *cosmopolis*, a post-modern utopia within which the planning paradigm has shifted toward grounded experiential and contextual knowledge and practical wisdom found in the practices of local communities. To her, insurgent planning practice:

...already exists, and not only in the interstices, the cracks in space and time, but in the very face of power, staring down its barrel, so to speak. Further, on occasions an insurgent practice has won state power and used it for transformative purposes, albeit almost always of limited duration. But it is the very nature, or process, of transformative politics, that it meets opposition, must counter it, and is often defeated. Two steps forward, one step back,

¹² In urban studies, there are two parts to the dominant perspective in viewing the relationship between formal and informal processes of urbanization. The first part suggests that informality is not a new way of life or a novel phenomenon and had, in fact, historically preceded formality. The morphology of traditional villages and medieval cities, for instance, had, to an extent, been produced informally through micro-adaptation over time (Dovey, 2012). Others have depicted the public spaces in pre-colonial Global South to be – by today's standards – informal, predicated by a system of commonness, lacking clear boundaries, and produced by emergent practices (Arabindoo, 2012). The second part suggests that informality be understood not as the object of state regulation but rather as produced and reproduced by the state itself, through the construction and reconstruction of categories of legitimacy and illegitimacy (Roy, 2005). This argument echoes AlSayyad and Roy's thesis (2004) which claimed that the binary distinction between 'formal' and 'informal' has been heightened by the introduction of planned economy which rendered private economic activities outside of the norms established by formal institutions to be illegitimate, therefore 'informal', or when taken to the extreme, 'illegal'. Through this designation of illegality, the state has the power to determine which forms of informality can thrive and which shall disappear. Although depicted to be operating outside the control of the state (Dovey, 2012), the extent to which urban informality may persist continues to be determined by influences of the state and those with whom more power resides. The fact that its capacity to define what is legitimate and what is illegitimate allows the state to reproduce power suggests that the categorization of informality itself is not always a fair and reliable process (Revell, 2010).

can often seem like the opposite as we live through it in real hours and days and years. Enduring change takes generations, but life seems short and we are all impatient and want to give up or try some other model that promises speedier results. (Sandercock, 1998, p. 157)

In her keynote speech at the 2016 World Congress of Planning Schools, Faranak Miraftab raised insurgent planning and practices as an alternative kind of planning toward more humane urbanism.¹³ She suggested that as an epistemological and ontological shift in the theorization of planning practices, insurgent planning recognizes citizens' practices as a form of planning; one that does not seek inclusion through representation or symbolic participation as advocated by practices of modern inclusionary planning. Beyond that, insurgent planning shifts the focus from professional planning and planners toward real practices by everyday people. This lens is particularly appropriate in the Global South, where material reality is widely observable through the spontaneous, unplanned activities of insurgent urbanization (Miraftab, 2009). Furthermore, the fact that most residents of Global South cities occupy their dwelling in various degrees of illegality and are to varying extents engaged in the informal economy only suggests that only a fraction of urban practices and developments occur through and thus can be regulated by a purely formal structure and professional planning.

Grassroots insurgent planning, or insurgent practices, builds on the concept of insurgent citizenship introduced by Holston (1995) that challenges the state as the only legitimate source of citizenship rights, meanings, and practices. Holston referred to spaces within which this struggle over redefining citizenship and introducing new identities and practices that often run in opposition to the established structures as 'the spaces of insurgent citizenship'. As a counter-hegemonic form of planning, insurgent practices destabilize the order of things and relations that have been normalized by the hegemonic power (Miraftab, 2009). This concept acknowledges the alternative spaces of society, ones that are not produced by modernist planning and political projects. Insurgent planning is fluid, because its role as a counter-

¹³ The keynote, entitled "Insurgency, Planning and the Prospect of a Humane Urbanism," was delivered at the opening of the World Congress of Planning Schools, "Global Crisis, Planning and Challenges to Spatial Justice," July 3-7 2016, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

hegemonic movement shifts in relation to the shifting of hegemonic power production. It is also non-binary, as its practices transcend the boundaries between spaces for citizen participation as sanctioned by the state and spaces that are invented or re-appropriated by counter-hegemonic practices.

In *Insurgent Public Space*, Jeffrey Hou (2010a) highlighted alternative modes of production of a public space that are outside of the conventional practices of urban planning and archetypal categories of public spaces. Insurgent public spaces take shape in self-made urban spaces, informally reclaimed and appropriated crevices of the city, and ephemeral events that give a new definition to the city's collective realms. Their modes of production are participatory, spontaneous, and typically more inclusive. It is through these insurgent public spaces that “alternative identities, meanings, and relationships can be nurtured, articulated, and enacted” (Hou, 2010a, pp. 15–16). Insurgent public space can thus be seen to emerge as an opposition to the increasing regulation and control of official public spaces by the state (Hou, 2010a). This role is critical in contemporary cities whose ‘formal’ public spaces are often produced as a means of exclusion, power exhibit, or political control.

In a similar vein, urban scholars and activists have explored the concept of ‘urban commons’, which builds on the premise of collective sharing and self-regulating of commons.¹⁴ Although they rarely appear on conventional maps, urban commons are everywhere; they “occupy measurable space, have physical reference points, grow out of social relations, and represent formal value system” (Geisler, 2000, p. 80). Beyond the ecological commons, urban commons take form in the civic commons, which include streets and sidewalks, public spaces, public transit, cultural practices, and other ‘public goods’, which Gidwani and Baviskar (2011) argue to be rapidly diminishing due to the many methods of urban enclosure – erasure, disrepair, rezoning, redevelopment, privatization, militarization, and so forth. It is important to note, however, that although the terms ‘public’ and ‘commons’ are sometimes used interchangeably, ‘public’

¹⁴ The ‘commons’, historically and etymologically, refer to dynamic and collective resources that “lie at the frontiers, or within interstices, of the territorial grid of law” (Gidwani & Baviskar, 2011). Traditionally, it has been used in its ecological context to describe the collective resources that rural communities rely on for supplying their needs, such as pastures, forests, and water bodies. The conservative interpretation of commons is that it belongs to everybody and, therefore, to nobody at once (Gordon, 1954). However, scholars have argued that a commons tends to be accessible only to a particular group of people, who regulate it, either institutionally or culturally, to ensure that it continues to provide them with the resources they need (D. W. Bromley, 1991; Ciriacy-Wantrup & Bishop, 1975; Feeny, Berkes, McCay, & Acheson, 1990; Huron, 2015; McCay & Acheson, 1987).

suggests lawful governance and ownership by the state, which is tied to the public-private dichotomy of property rights regime. 'Commons', on the other hand, is produced through rigorous patterns of use and collective habitation (Blomley, 2008) below the State's gaze and outside of purely capitalist commodification of space.

Peter Linebaugh (2008) used the term 'commoning' to refer to the collective and relational ways that commons are continuously being produced. This use of active verb addresses the limitations inherent to understanding the commons as a pre-existing, static material resource that is bounded by a monolithic use, ownership, and organization. Commoning is a social process in which everyday members of a commons generate their own "collective forms of ownership, production, and decision-making that depart from the alternatives of public and private" (Bresnihan & Byrne, 2015, p. 51). In his study of Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, Blomley (2008) examined the production of commons by the poor by way of consistently and intensively using a place through sustained patterns of collective habitation. In their study of Dublin's 'independent spaces', Bresnihan and Byrne (2015) suggested that urban commons emerges as people's response to limits that are imposed on the spaces of the city. The 'independent spaces' of Dublin, as an example, refer to grassroots spaces that are collectively opened up to accommodate activities and events that could not otherwise take place, and operate beyond the protection of private or public property rights. Commoning thus consists of the practical means and strategies that people use to escape and challenge the various forms of 'enclosure' created by the private market and public forces.

The more subtle, albeit conscious, collective action outside of the formal planning and regulatory framework is captured by Victoria Beard (2002) in the concept of 'covert planning'. Covert planning, she described, differs from the more radical or insurgent planning because it does not overtly challenge the dominant power relations. Nevertheless, it is through these quiet, emergent, and incremental forms of planning, she argued, that social transformation in a restrictive political environment occurs. This silent resistance builds on James Scott's (1985) notion of 'weapons of the weak', which refers to the significance of the deliberate and sustained, everyday forms of resistance by peasants in rural Malaysia. Beard's conceptualization of covert planning itself was informed by her empirical study of residents of an informal settlement in Indonesia, whose self-established community library played an essential role in the

eradication of illiteracy, thus in the long-term giving the community members the skills and confidence to participate in social and political activism.

Shifting back to the realities of contemporary urbanism in the Global South, most people encounter and are involved in a broad range of institutions, some more formal and some more informal, in their everyday life. Altrock (2012) suggested that the more informal social interactions can exist as either complementary or supplementary to the more formal social arrangements. The complementary role perceives informality as fulfilling the gaps that are not covered by the formal rules, whereas the supplementary role perceives informality as replacing the formal where they do not function properly. The multiplicity of social actors as belonging to both the more formal and more informal socioeconomic transactions has brought attention to the complexity of the formal-informal relationship in contemporary urbanism. Informality is no longer confined to the activities of the poor, particular labor status, or marginalized (AlSayyad, 2004). The emerging patterns of urban informality can take place on both private (or privatized) and public plots of land and involve the constantly shifting groups of actors from all sectors and classes of the economy (Roy & AlSayyad, 2004). Due to their broad reach, informal processes have become not only the domain of the marginalized but also of the middle classes of cities, particularly in the Global South, creating a differentiation within informality itself instead of division between formality and informality.

Ananya Roy, most notably, rejected the notion of a separate informal sector and instead suggested that we view informality as a mode of urbanization which indicates an organizing logic from a system of norms which governs the process of urban transformation (Roy, 2005; Roy & AlSayyad, 2004). Through a constant negotiation of value and the unmapping of spaces, urban informality creates a structure – distinct from a structure formally conceived through the fixing of values and the mapping of space – that establishes the rules of transaction between individuals and institutions (Roy & AlSayyad, 2004). As an organizing logic, urban informality incorporates a multitude of processes, both ‘formal’ and ‘informal’.¹⁵ In that sense,

¹⁵ Understanding informality and the conceptions of its values may thus be understood in terms of a continuum, focusing on the interpretation of formal and informal and their territorial instability beyond dichotomy (Bunnell & Harris, 2012).

informality is, therefore, not a separate sector, but a series of processes that connect different economies and spaces in urban society. Such, the Western ideals of public space as a common ground built on democracy, collectiveness, and inclusiveness as envisioned by scholars are often better served by the insurgent public spaces produced by informal urban processes instead of the officially designated and formally regulated public spaces of contemporary cities.¹⁶

Bunnell and Harris (2012) raised the issue of representation in communities that depend on informal urban processes. Because their livelihoods and general presence in urban spaces are often contingent upon maintaining invisibility from the state, it can be hard for them to take an active role in the political debates, which can be very relevant to their well-being. Bayat (2010) argues that the politics of the informal and the marginalized can be best understood through the notion of ‘the quiet encroachment of the ordinary’. In this model, ordinary people seeking to better their lives through partaking in informal processes can challenge the structure established by the state and those with whom more power resides through a “silent, protracted, but pervasive advancement” in the urban spaces (Bayat, 2010, p. 56). Bunnell and Harris (2012) suggested that in order to understand the dynamics of these informal processes in various contexts, there needs to be an emphasis on ethnographic research approaches, where the voices of actors involved can be heard, and their aspirations understood. Through a careful examination of the everyday, we can begin to comprehend the complex and often invisible processes of informality that is constructed upon the constant negotiability of value as suggested by AISayyad (2004).

The everyday resilience

The above discussion on informality and counter-hegemonic modes of placemaking suggest that we look closely at the everyday – its practices, spaces, actors, relationships – in order to understand the processes – formal, informal, and everything else in between – that shape urban spaces within which multitude complex and resilient social systems are embedded. In his seminal work, *The Critique of*

¹⁶ For more on the politics of public spaces, see: Agacinski, 2001; Brill, 1989; Francis, 1989; Fraser, 1990; Hénaff & Strong, 2001; Low & Smith, 2006; Young, 1986

Everyday Life, Lefebvre described everyday life as intersectional, and occurring in-between "illusion and truth, power and helplessness, the intersection of the sector man controls and the sector he does not control" (1991a, pp. 18–21). In his later work, *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre argued that the mode of existence of social relations is spatial (Lefebvre, 1991b), implying that every society produces its own space, in which social contradictions emerge and spatial practices regulate the everyday life.

In contemporary urbanism, Crawford (2008) described the everyday as a lived experience shared by urban residents that include the banality of their ordinary routines, which, if carefully traced, can reveal a web of space and time produced by a complex realm of social practices. This 'everyday space', both a product and a representation of the physical domain of everyday public activity, is a contrast to the formal public space that is carefully planned and officially designated (Crawford, 2008). The everyday space tends to be ambiguous: it is repetitive, banal, but holds the potential to be transformative; it is evident because it exists everywhere, yet it can be ignored and invisible when needed to be; it can be associated with both oppression and liberation. It is in this everyday space that the lines between the private and the public, the domestic and the productive, and the economic and the political are constantly shifting and contested. Both the classic and contemporary interpretations of the everyday suggest that it is not universal, for it is a space in which all life occurs in response to specific time and place.

Time and temporality have been suggested to have a significant role in the everyday life (de Certeau, 1984; Heidegger, 1962; Lefebvre, 1991a), particularly with regards to maintaining the (in)visibility of its spatiality. Whereas strategies more and more represent the practices conducted by those with whom power resides in establishing a 'proper' place, tactics are the temporal ways – obtained by seizing moments of opportunities – that the ordinary people operate without a 'proper' place (de Certeau, 1984). This 'everyday time', located at the intersection of cyclical and linear repetitions, creates rhythmic bursts of spontaneity that punctuate the more linear pattern of practices steered by rational processes. It is this intersection that de Certeau argued produces endless variations and opportunities to turn the quotidian into a space for creativity and appropriation (Sheringham, 2006). The everyday is, therefore, at once repetitive, occurring day by day, and also temporal, its pulse responding to the urgency of the present.

In *The Critique of Everyday Life*, Lefebvre (1991a) expressed concern for the colonization of everyday life by the rapid embrace of modernization and capitalization. These processes create abstract urban spaces that are designed to be reproduced, fostering generic spaces, and eliminating spaces of differences. Here, in addition to serving as a tool of thought and action, the produced space can also be a means of control, domination, and power (Lefebvre, 1991b). Ross (1995) argued that this was evident in the case of the 1950s and 1960s France, as components of the ordinary people's everyday life came under intense scrutiny and control. In contemporary Asian cities, much of the everyday urban life has survived the state's scrutiny and control by occurring away from the official public domain and maintaining its (in)visibility in the back streets and alleyways (Hou, 2010b). In trying to understand how the everyday urban life has maintained its spatiality despite state control and scrutiny as well as challenges from the informality of its everyday environment, this dissertation uses the framework of everyday resilience as applied to an informal street vending system.

The resilience approach is a relatively recent endeavor in the fields of psychology and environmental science and even more so in urban studies and social sciences. Holling became the first influential thinker of resilience in 1973 when he used the term in discussing an intrinsic characteristic of ecosystems in absorbing change, persisting through a disturbance, and maintaining the relationships between their variables (Holling, 1973). In this seminal work, he distinguished the ecological approach to resilience, which emphasizes a system's capacity to maintain functions amidst unpredictability before having to reorganize into a different state, from the engineering approach to resilience, which has traditionally centered on predictability and the goal of returning to normalcy. This ecological approach to resilience has produced a vigorous strand of research on its application in environmental studies, many of which interpret the resilience of an ecological system as relating to the functioning of such system, rather than focusing on stability of its components or state (Holling, Schindler, Walker, & Roughgarden, 1995; Pimm, 1984).

In Psychology, Ungar (2005) has raised a concern about the tendency to conceptualize resilience as an 'inner' trait possessed by individuals, which acknowledges the outer worlds only as producer of adversity. This perspective can be problematic, particularly when a normative judgment of 'resilience versus

non-resilience' dichotomy, as raised by Lenette et al. (2013), may attach negative meanings to individuals who do not perform an ability to recover from their adversity. Others, however, have understood resilience as a dynamic process of positive adaptation in times of significant adversity or stress (Egeland, Carlson, & Sroufe, 1993; Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000). In studying resilience in human development, Masten (2001) concluded that resilience is made of ordinary rather than extraordinary processes. In their study on the lives of refugee women, Pulvirenti and Mason (2011) argued that it is essential to understand resilience as a collective process rather than a static individual trait; that resilience is a dynamic process that shifts in interaction and adaptation to new challenges and changing circumstances. More recently, works in mental health have shifted the focus from individual resilience and its inner trait to acknowledging the role of communities – within which individuals are embedded – and their social capital (Almedom, 2005).

This broadening of scope and interpretation in the resilience approach has also led to a significant shift in environmental studies. Due to the increasing recognition that humans are the single main driver of environmental and climatic change in this geological epoch of the Anthropocene, environmental resilience is nowadays rarely discussed in isolation from the context of human society, leading to an emergence of a coupled social-ecological system in the resilience discourse. This social-ecological pairing has mostly been used to discuss ecological systems that are “intricately linked with and affected by one or more social systems” (Anderies, Janssen, & Ostrom, 2004, p. 3). The complexity of this pairing is examined in Gunderson and Holling's *Panarchy* (2002), which argued that the capacity of human systems to organize their environments had overtaken the capacity of ecological systems to self-organize. This ability of human systems to not only influence but override ecological processes and the implications that our actions have on the environmental responses have become the focus of many earlier studies on the resilience of ecosystem services (Bennett, Peterson, & Gordon, 2009; Biggs et al., 2012; Holling, 1986) and more recently with research on community resilience to natural hazard and disaster in planning studies (Cutter et al., 2008; Manyena, 2006; Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, & Pfefferbaum, 2008).

Although the resilience approach has crossed many disciplinary boundaries, its application in a predominantly social system – as opposed to a social-ecological system – still invokes discomfort among many. Although it is an intuitively attractive concept, its implementation can be messy and at times,

regressive (Ziervogel et al., 2017). While acknowledging that the resilience of social systems, particularly those that are dependent on a single ecosystem or resource is tied to the resilience of the ecological systems on which they depend, Adger cautioned against simply applying the concept of ecological resilience to social systems, as doing so “assumes that there are no essential differences in behavior and structure between socialized institutions and ecological systems” (2000, p. 350). Olsson et al. (2015) argued that there is an underlying difference in the ways that resilience approach – as derived from ecological sciences – and the social sciences understand society, which creates a fundamental obstacle in applying such approach to social systems. The resilience approach as derived from ecological sciences operates on the understanding of society as having shared norms and values which result in a stable, harmonious society within which slow and predictable changes occur.¹⁷ There is, however, a danger to portraying the social system as a homogeneous group of actors with similar ideas and goals, which is utopian at best. The realities of society are one that is saturated with issues of diversity, inequality, and power (Olsson et al., 2015); it is made up of diverse actors and subgroups with different interests, each of whom is not bounded to only a single system (Widgreen, 2012). This dynamic is where social systems stand in most contrast from their ecological counterparts. Social systems require the accommodation of another dimension, the ability for humans to construct symbolic meanings (L. H. Gunderson & Holling, 2002). This capacity and the individuality of social systems’ actors with regards to their conscious acts and intentionality, the laws that they construct, and their participation in multiple systems in multiple scales create another layer of complexity in the already intricate understanding of resilience.

Despite the interpretation and application challenges of the resilience approach to social systems, many remain optimistic in its ability to address complex, everyday stressors, due to its systems orientation

¹⁷ A number of resilience scholars have described social systems to consist of groups that have identifiable key functions and the capacity to persevere (Stenseke, Lindborg, Dahlberg, & Slatmo, 2012), “A social system is defined as any group of people who interact long enough to create a shared set of understandings, norms, or routines to integrate action, and established patterns of dominance and resource allocation. Like any system, it is dynamic, meaning that it is difficult to change any one part of it without considerable effects on other parts. Depending on how boundaries are drawn, social systems can be as small as a family or as large as a nation. Like natural systems, social systems must fulfill key functions. They must be oriented towards specific goals or objectives, they must create mechanisms for integration and adaptation, and they must create mechanisms for self-reproduction” (Westley, Carpenter, Brock, Holling, & Gunderson, 2002).

and multi-scalar approach (Ziervogel et al., 2017). A system's ability to adapt oneself to changing circumstances stands out as a common feature of what it means to be resilient in many interpretations of and debates on the resilience approach, including that of social systems resilience, as suggested by Walker et al.,

Adaptability of the system is mainly a function of the social component – the individuals and groups acting to manage the system. Their actions influence resilience, either intentionally or unintentionally. Their collective capacity to manage resilience, intentionally, determines whether they can successfully avoid crossing into an undesirable system regime, or succeed in crossing back into a desirable one. (2004, p. 5)

Building on this idea of adaptability, Berkes et al. interpreted resilience as having three dimensions:

the amount of change the system can undergo and still retain the same controls of function and structure, or still be in the same state, within the same domain of attraction; the degree to which the system is capable of self-organization; and the ability to build and increase the capacity for learning and adaptation. (2008, p. 13)

Béné et al. (2014; 2012) conceptualized resilience as emerging from these three capacities, each of which leads to different outcomes – persistence from retaining functions and structure, incremental adjustment from self-organization, and transformational responses from learning and adaptation. As each response can be conceptually linked to a level of shock or change intensity, a linear conceptualization of these responses would be ideal; however, such framework would be pragmatically too simplistic for a system as complex and multi-scalar as a social system. Therefore, there is a need for an understanding of how different systems apply different responses to different types of change or adversity.

As a response to a call for a more empirically grounded conceptualization of the resilience approach (Bouzarovski, 2016; Bouzarovski, Salukvadze, & Gentile, 2011; Ziervogel et al., 2017), this dissertation seeks to investigate the lived realities of resilience processes in the everyday life in the city, in which

individuals and social systems encounter and response to various changes and challenges. To date, resilience in the urban spatial context has focused on policy tools for capacity building in withstanding extraordinarily disturbing, disastrous events such as climate change, hazard mitigation, and security concerns. However, the resilience framework's application in understanding the everyday changes in the social and built fabric of the city has been less extensively explored (Bouzarovski, 2016). It implies that one, urban resilience is often understood as a product government-led of top-down planning and resilience-building interventions (Meerow & Stults, 2016) with externally defined pathways and guidelines set by technocrats (Mackinnon & Derickson, 2013). Two, it associates resilience with large-scale events of adversity, whether it be a natural disaster, an economic recession, or a terrorist attack.

In response to such critiques, several scholars in social, health, and economic sciences (Dicorcia & Tronick, 2011; Lenette et al., 2013; Masten, 2001; Ryan, 2015; Vyas & Dillahun, 2017; Ziervogel et al., 2017) have suggested that we take a step back from the extraordinariness of resilience concept and refocus on the mundanity of the everyday and the collective processes behind resilience. Lenette et al. (2013) suggested that notions of resilience are not pre-defined; they are conceptualized in the dynamic progression of mundane life challenges and opportunities experienced daily by ordinary people in their environments. As highlighted by Harvey (2007), then, the processual nature of resilience is shaped by the environments within which activities and interactions take place. Therefore, scholars of urban resilience (Cote & Nightingale, 2012; Walsh-Dilley & Wolford, 2015; Ziervogel, Cowen, & Ziniades, 2016) have argued for a need to rethink and reimagine resilience in ways that are respectful of on-the-ground realities in diverse yet specific urban context, which include its locally situated processes, knowledges, and norms.

In so doing, this lens of everyday resilience can serve as a counter-hegemonic approach to the ecological models of resilience which have been criticized as being fundamentally anti-political for failing to consider the critical roles of state, politics, and the questions of power and representation in the social systems that make up cities (Evans, 2011; Swanstrom, 2008; J. Walker & Cooper, 2011; Walsh-Dilley & Wolford, 2015). Bouzarovski (2016) spoke in favor of a decentered view of power which focuses on the everyday processes and functioning and argued that "the spatial structures and power topologies of the built environment of the inner city are implicated in the flow of everyday life" (2016, p. 95). John Allen

suggested that “the possibility of the subversion, disruption, and re-appropriation of everyday spaces remains a constant threat and ever-present tension to the superimposed order” (2003, p. 167). Such approach may also start to reclaim the concept of resilience from its technocratic and mechanistic interpretation and policy application. As Ziervogel et al. (2017) have argued, the goal of resilience planning should include just processes and outcomes of development, and therefore the focus should be on the rights and resilience of urban citizens, rather than only on material and ecological infrastructures.

The City Resilience Framework has begun to acknowledge the matter of uneven distribution of power in their definition of city resilience, “The capacity of cities to function so that people living and working in cities – particularly the poor and vulnerable – survive and thrive no matter what stresses or shocks they encounter” (ARUP, 2014, p. 3). Bohle and Warner (2008), in their book on the resilience and social vulnerability of megacities, highlighted the opportunities and challenges that informality presents to a marginalized urban population and the roles that it has in the overall resilience of a megacity. From an anthropological perspective, Katz (2004) interpreted resilience as people’s autonomous initiatives that allow them adapt to changing circumstances in order to get by and make do, illustrating a circumstance in which individuals are required to step in when the state fails to address the vulnerability of its population. Within a framework of rights and justice in urban resilience, Ziervogel et al. (2017) suggested a notion of ‘negotiated resilience’, which does not predefine what resilience could or should look like. Instead, the process of negotiated resilience provides a platform for the interrogation and negotiation of “the interests, values and experiences of diverse interests, including those of marginalized populations” (Ziervogel et al., 2017, p. 131).

The notion of identity has been circulating in the contemporary discourse of resilience. At the heart of this concept is the tenet that a complex system is considered to remain as the same system when it retains a consistent identity (Cumming, 2011). Cumming and Collier (2005) suggested that so long as a system maintains its essential components and relationships continuously, it can be said to have retained its identity. On the other hand, a loss of identity, they argued, occurs when a system has been completely eliminated, or replaced, even if its substitute appears to be a very similar system. Resilience, therefore, can be viewed as “the ability of the system to maintain its identity in the face of internal change and external

shocks and disturbances” (Cumming et al., 2005, p. 976). This interpretation builds on the more classic understanding of resilience, which includes the idea of basins of attraction and alternative stable states.¹⁸ In a social system, however, adoption of the concept of system’s identity has to take into account how different meanings and values will shape how a particular society determines what constitutes its identity.

In operationalizing the everyday resilience as a conceptual framework, this dissertation examines the everyday processes of resilience of social-spatial systems in the context of urban space. In doing so, we cannot leave out the intrinsic roles that diverse actors of the everyday have in them, as well as the dynamic interactions and relationships that they foster with one another. This inclusion underscores the divergence between the resilience lens as applied to social systems and how it is applied to ecological systems and begins to address a common critique of the resilience concept’s neglect of the complex power dynamics of change as raised by urban resilience scholars.¹⁹ Foucault (1982) emphasized power relations as the foundation of any society,²⁰

...power relations are rooted deep in the social nexus, not reconstituted ‘above’ society as a supplementary structure whose radical effacement one could perhaps dream of. In any case, to live in society is to live in such a way that action upon other actions is possible – and in fact ongoing. A society without power relations can only be an abstraction. Which, be it said in passing, makes all the more politically necessary the analysis of power relations in a given society, their historical formation, the source of their strength or fragility, the conditions which are necessary to transform some or to abolish others. (1982, p. 791)

¹⁸ Classical resilience definitions (Folke, 2006; L. H. Gunderson, 2000; L. H. Gunderson & Holling, 2002; Holling, 1973, 1986) have understood complex systems to have multiple attractors, each of which contained in a basin of attraction with certain thresholds. Perturbance to a system can push it over one basin’s threshold into another, causing the system to leave its previous state and into a new one. Therefore, in its simplest interpretation, complex systems can be said to have alternative stable states.

¹⁹ See: Smith (1990), Gandy (2002), Bohle and Warner (2008), Swanstrom (2008), Hornborg (2009), Evans (2011), and Weichselgartner and Kelman (2015).

²⁰ Power relations is discussed further in relation to the actor-network theory in Chapter 3.

Secondly, because the social systems that are the focus of this dissertation are inherently spatial, I seek to highlight the spatial dimensions of their everyday urban resilience. Cumming's (2011) offered an exploration of the concept of spatial resilience,

Spatial resilience refers to the ways in which spatial variation in relevant variables, both inside and outside the system of interest, influences (and is influenced by) system resilience across multiple spatial and temporal scales. It has elements that are both internal and external to the system.

The primary internal elements of spatial resilience include the spatial arrangement of system components and interactions: spatially relevant system properties, such as system size, shape, and the number and nature of system boundaries (e.g. hard or soft, and whether temporally variable or fixed over time scales of interest); spatial variation in internal phases, such as successional stage, that influence resilience; and unique system properties that are a function of location in space.

The primary external elements of spatial resilience include: context (spatial surroundings, defined at the scale of analysis); connectivity (including spatial compartmentalization or modularity); and resulting spatial dynamics, such as spatially driven feedbacks and spatial subsidies.

Both internal and external elements must be considered in relation to other aspects of system resilience, including such things as the number and nature of components and interactions, the ability of the system to undergo change while maintaining its identity, system memory, and the potential inherent in the system for adaptation and learning.
(2011, p. 21)

Thirdly, a system's everyday resilience cannot be considered without the temporal dimension of the everyday. This refers to the significance of time in the everyday life, as discussed by de Certeau (1984) and Lefebvre (1991a), in which ordinary people who operate without a 'proper' place – in this case, the

informal street vendors – have to make their advancements and protect their presence in space by seizing moments of opportunities. A close investigation of the everyday life may reveal its hidden and oftentimes suppressed potential of the marginalized to withstand and even challenge the hegemonic power. Michel de Certeau (1984) illustrated this in a distinction between the concepts of strategy and tactic:

I call a 'strategy' the calculus of force-relationships which becomes possible when a subject of will and power (a proprietor, an enterprise, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated from an 'environment'. A strategy assumes a place that can be circumscribed as proper (propre) and thus serve as the basis for generating relations with an exterior distinct from it [...] I call a 'tactic', on the other hand, a calculus which cannot count on a 'proper' (a spatial or institutional localization), nor thus on a borderline distinguishing the other as a visible totality. The place of a tactic belongs to the other. A tactic insinuates itself into the other's place, fragmentarily, without taking it over in its entirety, without being able to keep it at a distance. (p. xix)

I will conclude this literature review by returning to the significance of the everyday and its resilience to the direction of our contemporary urban space. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2008) argued that because activities produce spatial forms, the performance of the ordinary people is central to the (re-)production of the urban space. This argument is in line with Lefebvre's thesis of social space as a social product (Lefebvre, 1991b), imprinted with each society's value systems that structure their spatial practices and perceptions. Because these spaces emerge out of the lived experiences and specific concerns of various urban individuals and groups, they carry with them the potential for a broader, bottom-up social change (Crawford, 1999; Kaplan & Ross, 1987). The everyday responds to the disciplining mechanisms by manipulating them, evading them by way of 'conforming', and appropriating spaces that are structured to follow the disciplining grids. It is through these creative tactics that actors of the everyday accumulate a tacit network with a capacity to not only complement and supplement the status quo, but also to challenge the top-down strategies of the restructuring of urban space. Hence, understanding the resilience of and within contemporary urban spaces in cities of the Global South requires a tacit comprehension of the

everyday, predominantly informal, performances as well as the power relations that constitute the bottom-up restructuring of urban space.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

A methodological framework

Formulating a relational and subject-centered view of power and agency (Bouzarovski, 2016, p. 87) is key to understanding how a wide range of human and non-human actors are engaged in the construction and performance of a complex adaptive system that is a city (Edensor, 2011). Such a relational perspective rejects the notion that power and agency in the spaces of a city are materialities that are 'stored' in people or material elements; rather, they are produced from dynamic relations and performed by way of an active being. Cities are, therefore, multiple objects, for different realities are being enacted at various sites and times (Farias, 2010). Viewing the urban as an assemblage (Bender, 2010; DeLanda, 2006), assembled in multiple ways by the heterogeneous associations between social actors and material elements, informs my approach in adopting the actor-network theory as a methodological framework of this research. In applying the actor-network theory, I choose to return to the inherent qualities of its framework and the insights into a complex system that it is capable of providing. In short, the actor-network theory for the purposes of this research serves as a framework which focuses on the connections between both human and non-human entities. The following passage by Bruno Latour in *On Recalling ANT* illustrates what he perceived as the essence of actor-network theory:

For us, the actor-network theory was simply another way of being faithful to the insights of ethnomethodology: actors know what they do, and we have to learn from them not only what they do, but how and why they do it. It is us, the social scientists, who lack knowledge of what they do, and not they who are missing the explanation of why they are unwittingly manipulated by forces exterior to themselves and known to the social scientist's powerful gaze and methods. (1999, p. 19)

Rydin and Tate (2016a) pointed out the different ways that actor-network theory has influenced academic discourses. For some, the actor-network theory has provided a fully developed theoretical framework, which they apply in its entirety.²¹ For others, the actor-network theory has offered conceptual ideas that can be paired with other compatible frameworks. Moreover, for some others, the actor-network theory has brought about a heightened awareness of the relational understanding of society and the positionality of social researchers. From early on, Latour believed that the actor-network theory is a raw method for learning from actors about their capacity to build their lifeworld (Callon & Latour, 1981). It is not a theory of the social, nor does it operate on a theoretical deduction of the complex lifeworld (Latour, 1999). Law (1999), in his introduction to *Actor-Network Theory and After* (Law & Hassard, 1999), also cautioned against viewing actor-network theory as a single theory with a single set of uses or models. He highlighted the diversity of actor-network theory translations and the diasporic nature of their practices, while still emphasizing the partial connections of their components.

In reference to DeLanda's (2006) account on assemblage thinking, Rydin and Tate (2016b) acknowledged the potential that actor-network theory has in unveiling the power dynamics that emerge from the associations of actors. Rather than presuming that power can only be possessed by individuals in a static network, actor-network theory recognizes that power arises in a dispersed and context-specific manner from the causal relationships between elements in diverse and dynamic networks. From an actor-network theory perspective, there is a power that is inherent to the routines enacted by the relationships of the everyday actors. Through their ability to include and exclude, routines can be considered as organizing relations (Feldman & Pentland, 2005). Because routines emerge out of agreements between actors involved that uphold their practices and relationships, they are regularly reshaped by shifting alliances and emerging new needs (Vilches & Tate, 2016).

This recognition that power is not a static capital, that it has to be "produced, made up and composed" (Latour, 2005), and then channeled through actors and objects in tangible or abstract forms

²¹ To this end, I should make explicit that I am less interested in the technical particularities that such entirety entails, such as when the theory is applied to technological inquiries.

offers a way that we can bring the discussion of power into resilience thinking. Brownill (2016) highlighted the value of assemblage thinking in actor-network theory in capturing some of the complexities in the shifting power relations between different levels and forms of governance, which in this research is crucial for a system's reassembling. Within this framework, power is seen as operating through the negotiations and tensions that emerge from an assemblage of actors (Allen & Cochrane, 2010), which plays a significant role in the organizing logic of spaces of urban informality. This notion of power demands that we appreciate the motion that it is constantly in and the various points of interaction that it travels on (Rydin & Tate, 2016b).

Adopting actor-network theory as a methodological framework requires researchers to “follow the actor” wherever it may be (Latour, 2005) and to concentrate our attention on the idea of movement. This framework offers a way for social scientists to access sites and travel from one space to the next, though Latour (2005) suggested that sites are not necessarily defined by spatial boundaries or scale and instead are defined by types of activities. Spaces, he argued furthermore, emerge through the networks that are connecting these different sites. How, then, do we follow these actors?

In following the actors that enact sites of informality and understanding the ways that spaces emerge from their associations, this dissertation adopts a spatial ethnographic approach. Spatial ethnography aims to integrate social science research and physical spatial analysis to understand how spaces are actually used, as well as the social processes and meanings behind that use (Kim, 2015). When used within the framework of actor-network theory, it can record and register the ways that actors are able to negotiate their positions in the networks from which spaces emerge and are reassembled – as Law suggested, an actor or material element “retains their spatial integrity by virtue of their position in a set of links or relations” (1999, p. 6).

In her sidewalk study of Ho Chi Minh City, Kim (2015) enlisted spatial ethnography methods in collecting social narratives about what constitutes a legitimate use of sidewalk space, investigating how the claim is enforced and by whom, and identifying people's personal experiences in negotiating and defending their claims to the use of the sidewalk. By directly engaging people in their spatial practices and interactions, she was able to observe the physicality of these dynamics, which allows integration of ethnographic data

and physical space dimensions. Spatial ethnography seeks to interpret spatial phenomena through the unpacking of their complexity without reducing it into an undifferentiated assembly. By preserving the rich details, it highlights the roles of diverse actors in shaping the spatial urban environment, as well as how these actors negotiate with one another in reassembling these spaces.

Qualitative methods of spatial ethnography

This section discusses the specific methods, in reference to instruments of data collection, in operationalizing the principles of actor-network theory as my methodology. These research methods include observation, interview, visual documentation, textual analysis, and critical cartography. In her book on remapping Ho Chi Minh City's sidewalks as public space, Annette Kim argued that "we cannot understand the built environment nor the public space use we physically observe in the city without knowledge about the sociopolitical processes that produced them" (2015, p. 152). Since the urban social systems consist of a wide variety of actors who possess different motives and are engaged in diverse spatial practices, there can be multiple claims of legitimate use in a single space. Hence, many patterns can overlap in the same physical space (Ishikawa, Silverstein, & Alexander, 1977), creating a highly malleable and temporal spatiality which may not be discernible through a single lens. A city, in this sense, is multiple objects in which different realities are being enacted at different sites and times, and therefore Farias (2010) encouraged that we trace the heterogeneous connections between different materials, spaces, and relationships that assemble the city. The actor-network theory, as ethnomethodology, provides a framework for examining such a complex system with dynamic and 'messy' spatiality.

This research covers four informal street vending systems, two of which share the same physical space; thus, three different sites are observed and analyzed. Assisted by three research assistants, I gathered qualitative, spatial, and temporal data onsite using spatial ethnography methods, which include interviews, observation, visual documentation, and textual analysis, as detailed further in this section.²² The

²² Members of the research assistant team from Universitas Brawijaya, Malang: Umamah Al Batul (Architecture), Oktavia Rudinanda (Urban and Regional Planning), Agung Satria (Urban and Regional Planning).

first round of fieldwork took place in June through August of 2017, followed by a second round in April and May of 2018. Following the data collection of each round, I transcribed and analyzed each interview on its own, noting both the ordinary and the peculiar while cross-checking events and activities that were mentioned with our on-site observations. After analyzing multiple interviews, common themes began to emerge, both within each system and across systems. These themes guided my reflection on the kinds of inquiries that I should be investigating and informed me of the kinds of associations I should be following in order to recognize how the actors may provide the answers to those inquiries.

Before I continue, I should make explicit here that I enlisted the help of three research assistants in collecting my research data during two phases of fieldwork in Malang, Indonesia. The three of them were at the time attending a local state university, Universitas Brawijaya, and are enrolled in majors related to the built environment - two in urban in regional planning, and one in architecture. This decision to enlist the help of local research assistants was, in part, a reflection of my positionality as both a native daughter of the region and an academic from a foreign land. My familiarity with the culture and spoken language has indeed made communication with vendors and local actors more seamless, and my interpretation of certain phenomena more contextually grounded. However, having lived in the United States for around seven years at that time, I was a little bit conscious of how street vendors and the locals would perceive me. Being among community members to whom such affiliation was rare, I had to be conscious of what that piece of information on myself would do in terms of their perceived power balance, even though I considered myself as much local as the vendors and actors were.

In operationalizing the data collection in the spatial ethnography approach of this research, I consider qualitative research methods to be appropriate due to their openness to a multiplicity of perceptions and interpretations, as well as their ability to be multi-scalar in making connections (Kim, 2015). These qualities are essential, considering that informally occupied and reassembled spaces in cities of the global south can be messy, contradictory, and consisting of multi-scalar flows of power and interaction. Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the researcher in the world that they are trying to make sense of (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). There in that world, qualitative researcher experiences phenomena in their natural setting and tries to interpret the meanings that people bring to that phenomena.

Qualitative research is inherently multimethod in its approach. Qualitative researchers acknowledge that objective truth or reality does not exist or can never be captured because we only come to know a phenomenon through its representations (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Because a phenomenon is rarely isolated, especially when it takes place in an urban space, it influences and is influenced by a multitude of factors and actors, who, in turn, interpret and represent said phenomenon into multiple fragmented realities. This multiplicity of representations of reality requires various methods of data collection. Triangulation, as this process is commonly referred to, is using different forms of data to confirm a theory (D. Harper, 2008), or to provide us with a deepened yet still thoroughly partial understanding of a phenomenon (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2008). Data collection methods in this research primarily included observation, interview, visual documentation, and supplementary text analysis of historical archive and official documents on spatial planning. In total, my research assistants and I spent over 250 hours collecting data on the sites during our 2017 and 2018 rounds of fieldwork, which include 56 interviews of varying depths with diverse actors, from both the more formal and more informal processes of street vending.

Observation

The first method, observation, is considered a fundamental base of research methods in social and behavioral sciences (Adler & Adler, 1994), as well as a cornerstone of the ethnography tradition (Werner & Schoepfle, 1987). Observation of space allows us to collect information about the unconscious parts of spatial practices that users of the space are not verbalizing to researchers (Kim, 2015). In the past, maintaining scientific objectivity was one of the most crucial aspects of scientific research to be considered valid. In the social sciences, this would include studies that are based on disengaged, 'objective' observation. Today, however, there is a move towards looking at observation as a context for interaction among both sides involved in the research collaboration (Angrosino, 2008). With the former goal in mind, I had initially arranged to conduct space observations prior to any communication with the actors involved in the early stage of data collection. After the first couple of observations, however, I quickly realized that there was a lot I did not understand about the events and organizations of space that I was witnessing. From there on out, I decided to conduct the observations in conjunction with interacting with the actors who were involved and were knowledgeable about the relevant events and practices.

Participant observation requires a long-term immersion in the everyday life of a particular community, actors of informal street vending in this case, so that I, as a researcher, can establish a rapport with that community. Through my continuous presence on the sites of street vending and interaction with their actors, for instance, I was able to identify prominent actors whom I should approach to help me collect more stories and gain access to other actors and relevant events. Due to the fluid nature of informal street vending, in the sense that it depends on constant movement and temporality, however, it could be difficult at times to closely and extensively follow the actors. Furthermore, on a site that was under constant surveillance, street vendors had a very limited time where they allowed themselves to be visible, therefore inserting myself and my research objectives in such rare occasions at times felt like an intrusion to their opportunity to be productive. In these instances, I learned that it was best to step back, observe, and save my inquiries for a more appropriate time.

While I wished to have a complete observation of the space and the people within it, it was temporally unfeasible to keep an eye on all the complex, moving parts of a spatiality that was not small in terms of scale. Some of the ways that I tried to compensate for the human's limited vision and attention span were to split our team up either according to space or time. Although sufficient in collecting the information that we needed, this tactic was not without its fault.²³ As I began to process the data, I detected a few inconsistencies with regards to locations or forms of certain spatial elements. Learning from these earlier gaps of knowledge, we strived to better coordinate and be more consistent with the next sequences of observations. That said, as this spatial information is being depicted in a cartographic form in this dissertation, I should clarify that those diagrams are illustrative representations meant to assist readers in visualizing the spatial and temporal patterns that emerge from the processes of everyday resilience of these vendors and their spaces.

²³ Throughout this dissertation, I will use a first-person plural pronoun (we/us/our) when referring to the data collection phase and processes, to recognize the help that I have received from my three fieldwork research assistants. When referring to my personal decisions, ideas and reflections, I will use a first-person singular pronoun (I/me/my).

Interview

The second, concurrently executed, part of my research triangulation was interviewing actors who were involved in the associations and practices of informal street vending. Through interviews, researchers can gain access to parts of reality that would otherwise remain inaccessible through mere observation, such as people's subjective experiences and attitudes (Peräkylä, 2008). Similar to the disengaged observation method, a conventional, positivist view of interviewing is founded upon the concept of neutrality on the part of the interviewer, a view which is now considered to underestimate the “complexity, uniqueness, and indeterminateness of each one-to-one human interaction” (Scheurich, 1995). The postmodern critique of research interviewing, in contrast, stresses the role of interviewer as a historically bounded and contextually situated person, carrying conscious and unconscious motives, desires, feelings, and biases (Fontana & Frey, 2008). Therefore, it would be naïve to expect them to be a neutral tool of objective data extraction, considering both the interviewer and the interviewee are shaped by their personal values and experiences.

The type of interviewing that had been conducted for this research was primarily semi-structured interviews. Due to its flexibility, a semi-structured interview is equipped with the capacity to address specific dimensions of the research questions while also leaving enough room for the participants or collaborators to introduce new meanings to the study through open-ended questions (W. E. Cross & Galletta, 2013). Interview questions on personal and occupational background contributed to my understanding of how to approach the research question on how informal vendors, their practices, and their associations reassemble an urban space. Narratives on their relationships with other vendors as well as with actors external to their immediate system helped illustrate the social structures of their system, and how they might shape power relations. A comprehensive list of questions that was used to guide our semi-structured interviews is included in Appendix B and C. In order to acquire more contextual responses, 56 interviews were held on location, which included urban spaces, governmental offices, and non-governmental institutions.

Contrary to my initial apprehension prior to conducting fieldwork, the informal street vendors turned out to be reasonably approachable. When they were not in the middle of a transaction or a promotion, they

were willing to entertain our questions, with a good portion – though still not a majority – of them leading to a more in-depth conversation. Going into the process, I was aware that language would play a crucial role in my attempt to communicate and build a relationship with the vendors. As a native Indonesian, my mother tongue is Bahasa Indonesia, which is the official and unifying language of the country and is spoken to varying extents by the majority of the population. Due to their complex socio-economic and cultural background, however, most street vendors in Malang are more comfortable communicating in their own regional dialects. This is also typical in other urbanized areas of Indonesia because street vendors typically migrate from the more rural areas of Indonesia, where Bahasa Indonesia is less spoken actively compared to those in urbanized areas. In the case of Malang, a vast majority of street vendors have either Javanese or Madurese as their first language. Growing up in Java, I have had substantial exposure to and thus comprehension of Javanese language, as it is still the default language spoken by the elders of my extended household. My ability in spoken Javanese, however, is limited to its lower form, meaning that it is the form being spoken between peers of similar age and socioeconomic status, or when one is speaking to a younger person not of higher socio-economic status. To appeal to street hawkers, all of whom older than myself, then, I needed to work with someone well-versed in the higher forms of the Javanese language. Two of my research assistants, who grew up in the more rural areas of Java, were indispensable in creating a pleasant interview setting since the vendors felt highly valued when we spoke with them in the higher, more polite form of Javanese. Unfortunately, I was not able to find any research assistant with a spoken Madurese skill, but as we found out in our fieldwork, street vendors from Madura were able to communicate in Bahasa Indonesia and were less concerned about the speech hierarchy that would otherwise pertain to the Javanese language.

What caught me off guard, however, were the multiple bureaucratic barriers that I had had to jump in order to even come face to face with any city apparatus involved in the regulation of informal street vending in Malang's urban spaces. Guided by my research assistants who were more familiar with the research procedure in Malang, we spent the first month of our fieldwork navigating the bureaucratic maze involved with the permitting process. What was especially interesting was that this permit was not for us to conduct our actual fieldwork with the street vendors because such systems and practices were considered

informal and, therefore, out of the city's official jurisdiction. The permit was, in fact, needed for us to be able to sit down with any city official or agency, who would otherwise be unauthorized to speak on the record to researchers. This permit, referred to by the institution as *Surat Keterangan Penelitian* (research certificate), was to be issued by *Badan Kesatuan Bangsa dan Politik*, roughly translated as the Agency of National and Political Unity, an agency tasked with creating and enforcing regional policies for national unity, domestic politics, and security of the people (Appendix E).²⁴ With regard to research, the agency is responsible for overseeing research conduct in the context of awareness of the negative impacts that are expected to arise from the research process, which does not include the substance of the research itself.²⁵ Contrary to my initial concern about street vendors' reluctance to talk to an outsider, talking to the more formal system was considerably more challenging to do. Moreover, once we were permitted to meet with the city officials in their offices, they tended to provide us with well-rehearsed answers, though they also made plenty of anecdotes in between – which I thought were more valuable in terms of drawing up the connections between actors and events. On a couple of occasions, we were able to approach Satpol PP officers on the field, with whom we struck up a more casual conversation without any bureaucratic strings attached.²⁶ This less formal setting allowed them to speak candidly and allowed us to corroborate their statements with the phenomena that we were witnessing on the ground.

Visual documentation

Visual documentation as another part of research triangulation helps put an image to data collected from the observation of space. It is particularly helpful when activities in a given space are constantly changing and overlapping, causing things to escape observations of the present through the naked eye. Visual documentation is a process of abstraction that will not on its own construct anything resembling a complete story (Collier, 1967). In this research, it will be combined with mapping exercises to spatially contextualize how the shifting of actors and activities produces and reproduces a space throughout rolling

²⁴ <https://bakesbangpol.malangkota.go.id/profil/tupoksi/>, retrieved on February 21, 2019.

²⁵ Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri Republik Indonesia Nomor 3 Tahun 2018 tentang Penerbitan Surat Keterangan Penelitian.

²⁶ Satpol, or Satpol PP, is short for *Satuan Polisi Pamong Praja* (Public Order Municipal Police Unit).

timeframes. The forms of visual documentation include diagrams, photographs, and digital videos. Although these methods seem to capture and depict the precise material reality of a phenomenon, it is, in fact, both true in an empirical sense as well as constructed (D. Harper, 2008), in a sense that the researcher makes unilateral decision on what needs to be captured, how it is captured, and the context in which it is viewed. Therefore, it is important for me as a researcher to acknowledge the possibility of a biased framing of the space and time, as well as the practices and associations that take place within it. The way that I can minimize this bias is to increase my awareness that the visual documentations are one of multiple parts of the research triangulation and make a conscious effort to validate the frames of observation with the actors' own accounts. To respect the privacy of the participants and prevent identifiable information – though the fact that informal street vendors operate in spaces that are publicly accessible already makes them easily identifiable – I try to select images in which their faces are not in full, zoomed-in view. Interestingly, though, none of the vendors appeared to be concerned about the issue of privacy. In fact, many of them did want to be in the pictures, consciously posing with their vending items whenever they realized that we were taking photos of them.

Textual analysis

My fourth research method is a textual analysis of historical archive and official policy documents on spatial planning. Although its role is supplementary to the previous three methods, it also provides essential complementary data and perspectives which the researcher is unable to attain from real-time observation or personal interviews. Additionally, official policy documents and archived literature provide us with insights from remote actors who may not be physically present in a space but are actively invested in its production – or its termination – through setting the conditions within which space may exist. Although parts of these texts are available online today, not all of them are well-archived – a common issue that many researchers of an Indonesian subject are familiar with – and I was hoping that the city would be able to help provide official planning documents relevant to this research. Through my fieldwork, I was able to get a hold of the guideline for determining which city streets that hawkers were technically banned from, and the official rationales behind the selection. I was also able to compile publications on the past and present conditions of the Indonesian public spaces that bear some parallels to the urban public spaces of

Malang that are the focus of this research. It has been, however, quite difficult to find literature that can fulfill the specificity of my sites due to the current lack of research interest in smaller urban areas of developing nations.

Critical cartography: A narration of the less visible

My dissertation seeks to communicate the qualitative data collected with spatial ethnographic methods through two primary means of representation: narrative text, and critical cartography, which supplements the main narrative text. Throughout history, maps have been a fundamental instrument of power, a way of representing space that facilitates the ruling society's domination and control (Crampton & Krygier, 2006; Lacoste, 1973). Maps were criticized as a big part of the imperialist and post-colonial projects, as they presented a distorted picture of the world to the advantage of the white colonial masters of the time (Morris, 1973). A movement towards undisciplining cartography that has taken place within the last three decades attempts to free the practice of cartography from the confines of the academic and the powerful, thus opening it up to the people (Crampton & Krygier, 2006). Therefore, some of the narrative power that mapping holds can be redistributed to allow others to make a competing and equally compelling claims of their space. Counter to modern cartographic principles that expect 'high-quality' maps to stand on their own with minimal explanation (Kim, 2015), being critical in conducting and presenting cartographic representations will most likely require incorporation of texts. Together, then, critical cartography and narrative text can provide a contextually grounded, counter-hegemonic narration and representation of the everyday space and placemaking, through following the everyday people in their everyday struggle and reflection – spatially, temporally, internally, and relationally.

Critical cartography rethinks mapping as the production of space as well as the socio-political identities of the people who inhabit and make use of these spaces (Crampton & Krygier, 2006). It emphasizes the role of maps in the everyday human experience, revealing overlooked spaces and people (Kim, 2015). Activities such as informal uses of sidewalk or street vending practices are not represented in official and planning maps, thus rendering the spaces that they produce unrecognized, invisible, or invalid.

The mapping of the everyday space and people such as these can be a means of promoting social change and political resistance, by providing an alternate knowledge claims and arrangements of space that are not acknowledged nor represented by official state agencies. Understanding how such spaces are constructed and why they are being used the way they are can be the first step towards a more equitable approach to shaping the urban spaces. However, researchers and cartographers also need to be aware of the situational context in which making visible these spaces and practices could be harmful to the very spaces and practices that they are trying to validate. As a historically bounded and contextually situated person, a qualitative social researcher needs to be aware of how their relative power position, values, and motives are carried over to their cartographic representation of realities.

That said, I realize that the focus on spatiality and temporality of this dissertation presents a risk of 'exposing' the practices and movements actors of informality, particularly with regards to the more contested site of Alun-Alun Kota Malang. This is a normative issue that has received relatively little emphasis in current literature of urban informality, and thus my approach in addressing this confidentiality concern is also limited to my personal judgment. Although the stories that are the foundation of this research belong to individuals, my spatial mappings in this dissertation represent the informal vending as a larger system. This is part of an effort to avoid singling out any individual vendors and their movement patterns. As an overall system, on the other hand, informal street vending in Malang's urban spaces are not hidden, however discreet their patterns may be. Street vending by nature operate in the very spaces of the city that are highly visible, and as illustrated by the spatial-temporal maps in this dissertation, vendors rely on the temporality of their tactics to control the degree of this visibility. In critical urban spaces where street vending is a subject of formal contestation such as Alun-Alun Kota Malang, informal street vendors control the visibility of their presence by staying under the radar and avoiding direct confrontation with the formal city apparatus, through a game or pretend hide-and-seek.²⁷ At times when pressure for the city to keep up its

²⁷ Alternatively, as Chiu (2013), in their study of Taipei night market street vendor policing, put it, a 'performance', a kind of 'theatrical' strategy. Shilin Night Market street vendors would 'perform' a routine act of ceasing their operation as the police arrive. In response, the police will 'perform' a loose policing, acknowledging the vendors' performance as demonstrating respect and a willingness to cooperate, even though they know that the vendors will resume their activities as soon as the police leave the market. Chapter 5 of this dissertation further discusses this dynamic as based on personal discretion.

orderly appearance is lower, Satpol PP on-site would exercise a level of personal discretion that gives street vendors an unspoken permission to tiptoe around them and figure out a safe distance that they can get to the urban space – in plain view – without provoking the officers. Therefore, the information that the maps and diagrams in this dissertation convey is publicly observable and is not anything that city apparatus was not already aware of. Ultimately, I hope that the information that the cartography exercises in this dissertation provide can offer a more in-depth understanding of counter-hegemonic placemaking and recognize the vendors' alternative claim to urban space.

Research design

Because the actors and variables that are engaged in the everyday processes of a society constantly change and evolve, no two societies produce identical patterns (Ishikawa et al., 1977). Therefore, Yin (2003) suggested that multiple cases be used to strengthen the robustness of an exploration of the social. When designing a multiple-case study, the typical approach is first to conduct a within-case analysis where each case is described and examined in detail. In this phase, the researcher identifies themes and recognizes patterns that emerge from the stories and observations through an iterative and reflexive process. The next phase is to use the emergent themes and patterns from within-case analysis to form broader concepts (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

In an attempt to stay true to the core subject-centered value of the actor-network theory, the exploration of each case study site in this research begins with the vendors' distinct individual stories. I did not begin with a set of themes, let alone hypothesis, in mind, as the only set of knowledge I had possessed of the informal street vending system was those I have gathered mainly from society's dominant narratives – the media, official regulations, and pieces of relevant concepts as they applied to other nevertheless distinct contexts. Though not hypothesized, much less predicted, discernible behavior-spatial patterns did display themselves. While stories and observations of individual cases are plotted as data points, their complexity is generated as we follow the relationships that they have formed. Congruent with complexity theory, no exact repetition is found in the empirical research, as would be the case with the purely natural-

material phenomenon. Rather, from the description of each event and the tracing of each relationship, enough themes emerge (FIG. 3.1) to form a composite picture of the vendors' everyday practices and struggles, which informs the overall processes of the resilience of their everyday life. Everyday resilience would have multiple contexts: the context of the relationships of vendors to each other, the context of the relationships between vendors and their support network, the context of the relationships of vendors to the immediate police powers, the context of routine city governance, and the context of city governance under the pressure of external public relations. These contexts operate in response to the notion of perturbation, which shapes the ways that various human and non-human actors interact and create socially and spatially flexible patterns. From these patterns, we can begin to learn and understand the complexity of how actors of the everyday construct, defend, and to some extent, transform their lifeworld.

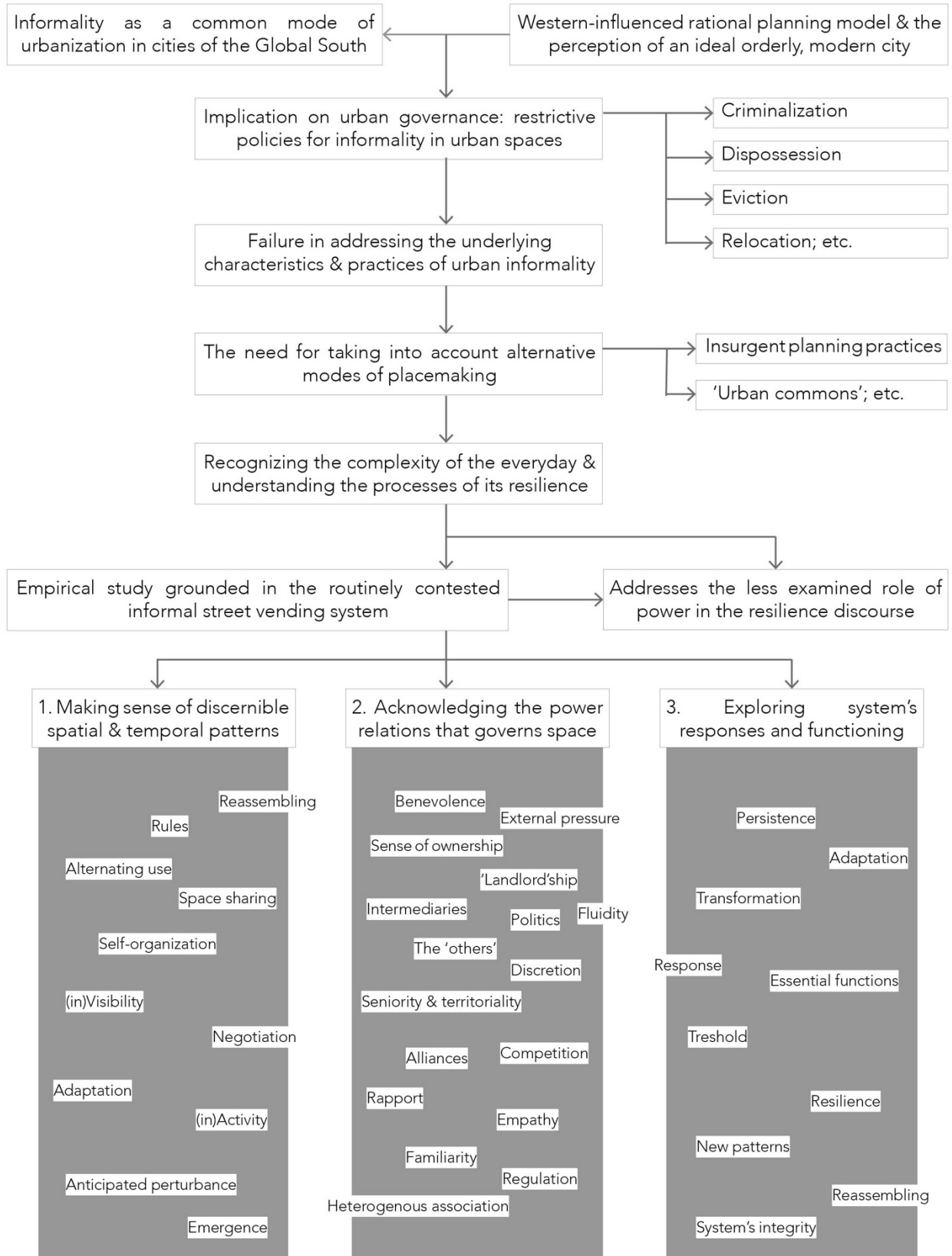


FIGURE 3.1. Research structure from which themes and sub-themes emerge (bottom three columns).
Source: Drawing by author.

Case study sites

This dissertation examines four informal street vending systems in the city of Malang, Indonesia, two of which share the same physical space though occupying them in different temporal patterns (FIG 3.2, 3.3). These sites were chosen for the structural and locational variance of their informal vending practices, the types of challenges that they are facing in their everyday life, as well as the degree of 'looseness' that results in each site. As suggested by Franck and Stevens (2007b), an urban space becomes 'loose' when the everyday people appropriate space through their actions and beings. In a loose urban space, definitions of expectations and degrees of publicness are less exclusive and more fluid, therefore providing greater accessibility and freedom for people to infuse them with a variety of functions. This looseness creates everyday urban spaces that possess multiple meanings and functions and allows them to be appropriated for new and temporary uses (Crawford, 1999). These everyday spaces can be publicly owned, such as sidewalks and alleyways, but they are also often privately owned, such as vacant lots and house yards. In cities of the Global South where there are high unmet demands for the use of space and negotiable forms of urban governance (Dovey & Polakit, 2007), everyday spaces can also take form in activated leftover spaces.²⁸

The first site, Alun-Alun Kota Malang, is the city's central, formal public space, around which the traditional center of the city was formed. Due to its prominence alone, this space is highly scrutinized, and it is thus suggested to possess the lowest degree of looseness. The second site, located about half a mile southeast of Alun-Alun Kota Malang, is host to two informal street vending systems in this study: South Chinatown daytime vendors, and Malang Night Market. This corridor south of Malang's Chinatown is also referred to as South of Central Market (*Kidul Pasar*), due to its proximity to Malang's Central Market. By nature of its location, the daytime vendors in South Chinatown are interlinked with the surrounding area's commercial activities, and this immersion may indicate a significant degree of spatial looseness. The last site, University Kampung, is located near Malang's largest public university campus, Universitas Brawijaya,

²⁸ Leftover spaces are typically publicly owned but without any assigned function (Franck & Stevens, 2007b). These include spaces under bridges, along riverbanks, and on the edges of spaces with more defined functions such as railroad tracks and highways.

around which the contemporary center of the city is formed.²⁹ This residential area is an example of a quintessential everyday space that exists in most Global South cities, where functions overlap and boundaries between the public and the private are blurred. On top of that, its relative invisibility from the formal ‘public’ realms allows its spaces to possess a high degree of looseness.



*FIGURE 3.2. Malang's position in Indonesia.
Based on: Google Maps (retrieved on March 2, 2019; edited by author.*

²⁹ *Kampung* is an ‘urban village’, where migrants from outside of an urbanized area would to settle and preserve some of their rural ways of life. Traditional urban village consists of interconnected, narrow alleyways and dense low-rise houses. When no appropriate English equivalence to an Indonesian term exists, the original Bahasa Indonesia term will be used. A glossary will be included as an Appendix A to this dissertation.



FIGURE 3.3. Location of sites.
Based on: www.malang.go.id (retrieved on March 2, 2019); edited by author.

Alun-Alun Kota Malang

In a typical Javanese town, *alun-alun* is the most recognizable landmark that also indicates the traditional center of a town. Traditionally, it would be located directly in front of a *keraton* (Javanese palace), or a residence of the *bupati* (regent), laid out as part of a sacred axis based on cosmological beliefs.³⁰ When Islamic kingdoms arrived in Java, they added alongside *alun-alun* a place of worship in the form of a

³⁰ A regent, or *bupati*, is the head of one form of municipal government in Indonesia. It used to be an appointed administrative position during the pre-colonial monarchies of Java and under the Dutch colonial government. Nowadays, a regent is directly elected through popular votes.

grand mosque. Thus, Javanese town centers not only served as an administrative hub, but also civic and spiritual center (FIG. 3.4).

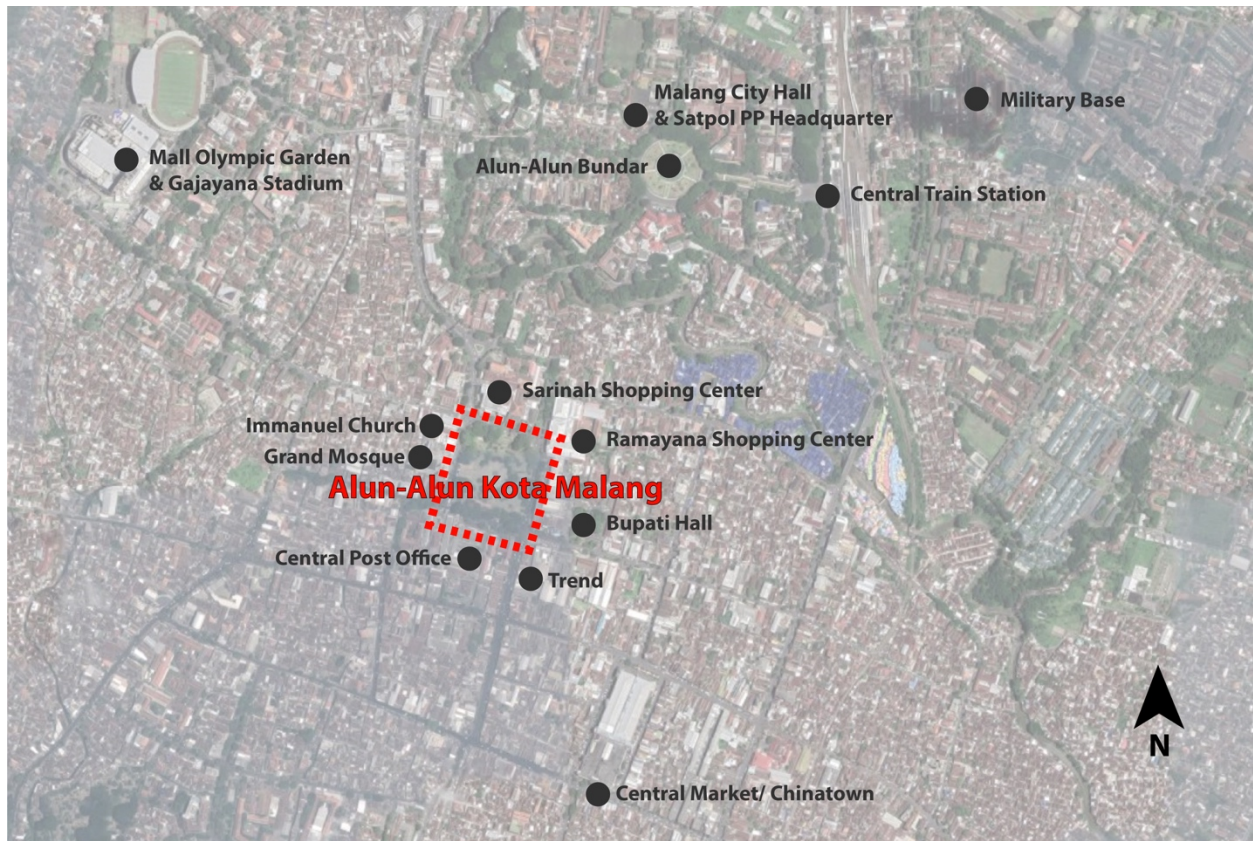


FIGURE 3.4. Alun-Alun Kota Malang, in relation to other landmarks and nodes of activities. Based on: Google Maps (retrieved on September 6, 2019); edited by author.

The history of *alun-alun* as a traditional public space dates back to the time of precolonial Javanese monarchs. Under their rule, *alun-alun* was conceived in part to fend off a popular uprising by giving commoners a sense of representation and a symbolic place in the town hierarchy. However, such spaces also have a long, dynamic history of accommodating processes of ‘othering’, such as those currently in evidence in Malang. Several studies of the significance of *alun-alun* by scholars of Indonesian urbanism have recognized this phenomenon. Notable are those by Merlyna Lim and Rita Padawangi (2008) on the transformation and (re)construction of the spatial identity of *alun-alun* in Bandung; Kim Dovey and Eka Permanasari (2010) on the changing political meanings and everyday uses of Jakarta’s Monas and

Merdeka Square; and by Purnawan Basundoro (2015) on changing popular perceptions of Alun-Alun Kota Malang throughout history.



FIGURE 3.5. Kinderen onder een boom op de aloen-aloen te Malang (*Children under a tree in aloun-aloun, Malang*), circa 1895.

Source: Leiden University Libraries, KITLV 16473³¹

Alun-alun in present-day Javanese cities has adopted modern aesthetics that are a far cry from their modest traditional appearance. This change of physical attributes is often a means to redefine the publicness of *alun-alun* and remap the kinds of activities – and by extension, people – that are welcomed in the space. Historically, *alun-alun* were typically square or rectangular, consisting of an open field and a few old-growth banyan trees (FIG. 3.5).³² In Jakarta, Dovey and Permanasari (2010) found that while the militaristic spatial transformation of Monas and Merdeka Square – the nation’s most monumental public square – has to a certain extent been welcomed by the middle classes of Jakarta, it has also reframed the space as an unapproachable spectacle drained of the life that had previously been produced by its everyday

³¹ <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:783662>, retrieved on March 23, 2018.

³² Although there also exist non-traditional *alun-alun*, the likes of Alun-Alun Bundar (circular *alun-alun*) in Malang that was designed and built by the Dutch colonists, not by Javanese monarchs.

street economy. In their study of the transformation of *alun-alun* in Bandung, Lim and Padawangi (2008) argued that, despite the declining role that the post-New Order state has in shaping urban development, it remained an important actor in the (re-)production of Indonesia's urban spaces.

In Malang, its *alun-alun*, Alun-Alun Kota Malang, has undergone multiple spatial transformations throughout the years. These redesigns, interestingly, seemed to have a direct result in the practices of informality, particularly those of informal street vendors. In earlier parts of the 2000s, Alun-Alun Kota Malang was enclosed with short fences and bollards, as a way to physically barricade the space from street vending carts – although this did very little in terms of barring the vendors with baskets from entering the space. The most recent redesign in 2015, on the other hand, opted out of using physical means of limiting street vendors' movement and did away with the fences and bollards. Instead, the state has chosen to deploy its manpower, Satpol PP officers, to monitor the Alun-Alun Kota Malang and keeping street vendors out nearly around the clock. The word 'nearly' here is key, for it has created almost rhythmic though brief moments of vacuum in which street vendors reclaim their space. It is these informal bursts of enactments of knowledge, of perseverance, of relationships, and of sense of belonging in an everyday space that makes Alun-Alun Kota Malang a valuable case in exploring the processes of everyday resilience in urban spaces.

My exploration of the everyday resilience of Alun-Alun Kota Malang's vending system focuses on its responses to the multiple everyday disturbances that it faces. The most visible of these disturbances is produced by the presence of Satpol PP officers who oversee the space and ensure that informal street vendors have as little opportunities as possible to conduct their practices within the limits of Alun-Alun Kota Malang. While vendors have been able to regularly (though briefly) reclaim their space from these state apparatus, moments of unpredictability do exist in the form of a raid, which results in the total (albeit temporary) disruption of the vending patterns (FIG. 3.6). Less visible forms of disturbance of *alun-alun's* vending system that occur on a more individual level include competition and practices of exclusion among vendors.



FIGURE 3.6. Satpol PP raid on informal street vending around Alun-Alun Kota Malang in 2015. Retrieved September 19, 2019 from <https://photo.sindonews.com/view/13275/penertiban-pkl-di-alun-alun-merdeka-malang-diwarnai-adu-mulut>

Daytime South Chinatown and Malang Night Market

Whereas Alun-Alun Kota Malang is a prime example of how informal street vending activities occupy and reassemble an officially designated public space, daytime South Chinatown vending activities are embedded into an existing spatial network of commercial activities. This corridor, familiarly referred to by the locals as *Kidul Pasar* (market's south), is located in the southern part of Malang's Chinatown (*pecinan*) that surrounds the Malang Central Market (FIG. 3.7). Chinatown's traditional role as a trading and commercial center that had predated the Dutch colonial occupation in Malang was strengthened with the addition of a modern Central Market (*Pasar Basar Malang*) in 1992. Presently, the 2001-2010 city ordinance on spatial planning has designated this area as a trade and service area, which includes large-scale wholesale and small-scale retail operations, as well as an area of strategic economic growth.³³ The

³³ Peraturan Daerah Kota Malang No. 7 Tahun 2001 tentang Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah Kota Malang Tahun 2001-2010

ordinance also pushes for inclusion of the informal sector, including street vendors, within the interior confines of the Central Market, therefore removing them from the visible pockets of urban spaces.

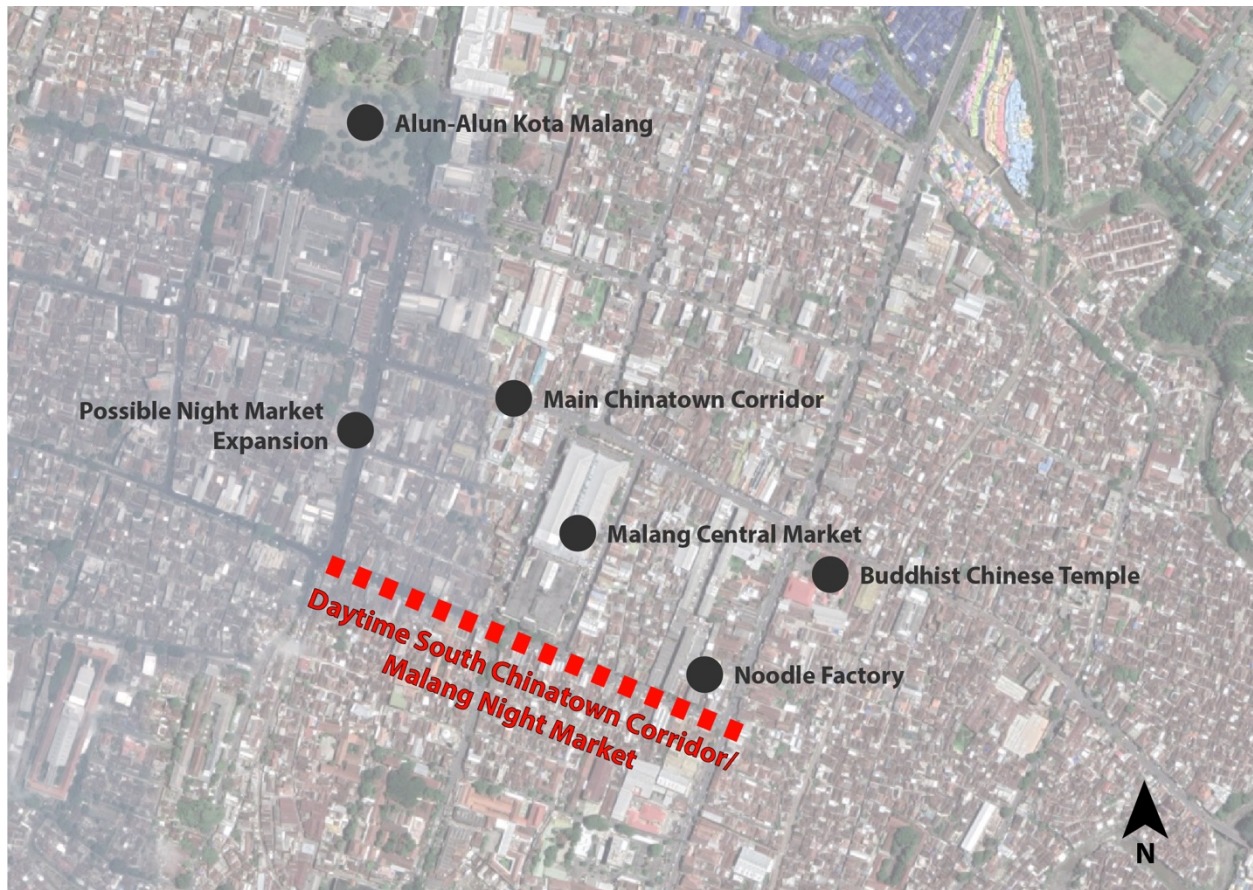


FIGURE 3.7. South Chinatown corridor, in relation to other landmarks and nodes of activities. Based on: Google Maps (retrieved on September 6, 2019); edited by author.

The second and third sites of this research incorporate *Jalan Kyai Tamin* corridor, a local road 550 meters in length that runs parallel to *Jalan Pasar Besar*, where Malang Central Market's main entrance is located. Although the presence of informal street vendors on this corridor is not nearly as scrutinized by the state as Alun-Alun Kota Malang, it has been widely criticized both by the public, media, and local scholars alike to have caused congestion problems in the area. One of the most frequently cited claims is the inconvenience that street vendors cause for pedestrians due to their messy occupation of the sidewalks (Fajrin & Rahmawati, 2016; Riztyawan, Antariksa, & Maulidi, 2014). Furthermore, street vendors are often blamed for traffic congestion in the area by taking up road shoulders when the sidewalks are fully occupied

(Fajrin & Rahmawati, 2016). Therefore, informal street vendors are seen to exacerbate the gridlock caused by the typologically narrow and commercially busy streets of Chinatown.

In February of 2015, Satpol PP held one of the most highly publicized raids along *Jalan Pasar Besar*, Chinatown's main thoroughfare north of the South Chinatown study site.³⁴ Fifty officers were dispatched to confiscate street vendors' merchandise and vehicles in this attempt to deter vendors from returning to the area. While the raid's objective was to clear the sidewalks and streets surrounding the Central Market, our case study site, *Jalan Kyai Tamin* corridor, was excluded from this operation. Compared to the highly restricted vending activities of Alun-Alun Kota Malang, then, this corridor experiences relatively fewer imminent disturbances, particularly the formal, structural kinds. However, this vending system still makes a valuable case of how, despite being left alone by the state, street vendors still have to maintain their temporality due to the nature of informal sharing in the urban commons. This informal sharing of the urban spaces oftentimes depends on negotiations and the observance of norms, which requires one's capacity to learn and build interpersonal relationships. The daytime informal street vendors, for instance, have to find a way to nestle themselves in between the flow of the more formal commercial spaces and activities, and ensure the continuity of their spatial occupation.

In the evening, the corridor is transformed into a night market, the first formally conceived and recognized night Market in Malang and appropriately named Malang Night Market (in the English language) (FIG. 3.8). Malang Night Market is a government-led initiative that started in 2014, meant to house informal street vendors who had been relocated from other areas around the city and those who were the original informal street vendors in the area, while boosting the city's tourism sector.³⁵ As the name suggests, this market operates during evening, from 7 to 11 pm daily. In December of 2014, two months after the night market officially opened to the public, the city claimed that there were 250 vendors already occupying the

³⁴ <https://malangkota.go.id/2015/02/28/satpol-pp-kota-malang-tertibkan-pkl-di-kawasan-pasar-besar/>; <http://suryamalang.tribunnews.com/2015/02/25/kawasan-pecinan-kota-malang-harus-steril-pkl>; both retrieved on February 25, 2019.

³⁵ Inspired by many successful models both from other Asian cities and Indonesian cities such as Surakarta, Semarang, and Surabaya.

official tents of the night market.³⁶ In the following month, however, the city retracted that count, stating that only 140 of the 240 tents were leased out, 70 of which were vendors who relocated from Alun-Alun Kota Malang.³⁷ My observation and accounts from people I have spoken to also suggested that only a fraction of those vendors operated at the night market on a regular basis. In addition to inconsistency over the statistics, rumors have also spread that the tents – which were supposedly assigned to vendors free of charge – were allegedly being resold to third parties.



FIGURE 3.8. Part of South Chinatown corridor is closed for through traffic every evening to make space for Malang Night Market.

Source: Author's personal collection.

The city's claims of Malang Night Market's success could be seen as noise marketing to attract more visitors to the market; more visitors would lead to more vendors participating, which would attract more visitors. It can also be interpreted as their refusal to admit defeat on their first attempt at formalizing

³⁶ <http://mediacenter.malangkota.go.id/2014/12/dewan-siap-bantu-pemkot-malang-terkait-mnm/#axzz4a6CC4I4F>, retrieved on March 1, 2017.

³⁷ <http://mediacenter.malangkota.go.id/2015/01/mnm-selalu-ramai-pengunjung/#axzz4a6CC4I4F>, retrieved on March 1, 2017.

hawking activities. Despite unreliable flows of visitors on weekday nights, which caused uncertainty on the part of vendors' day-to-day operations, the city is currently exploring plans to expand the night market to eventually connect the current location to the more popular Alun-Alun Kota Malang several blocks away. Because this endeavor is relatively new, however, it is important to consider that its many relationships are not yet well-established, creating delicate dynamics between the state, the vendors at the night market, the visitors, and the local community members in the area. Unlike Alun-Alun Kota Malang informal street vending system that is responding to present disturbances, then, many Malang Night Market street vendors are struggling with the aftermath of past, major, disturbances: the formalization of their originally informal street vending system, and for some vendors, the relocation of their spatial-economic practices into the night market. This case presents valuable insight into how such drastic transformation may impact the everyday practices of the vendors and actors involved.

University Kampung

In this dissertation, I refer to this area that serves as a bedroom community and service provider to Malang's largest institution of higher education as University Kampung. This is in reference to the traditional form of urban villages (*kampung*) along small, winding alleyways that connect the area to the campus, the main road, and to each other. This newer node of development has been rapidly growing in the past two decades, primarily due to the presence of multiple university campuses in the area. Before the main campus of Universitas Brawijaya broke ground in its current location in 1969, the area mostly consisted of wetlands.³⁸ The campus and surrounding area are now home to over 60.000 students, after peaking in 2017-2018 at almost 70.000.³⁹ Nearby, two other universities and one college have a combined student body of over 40.000.⁴⁰ Along with the growth of these campuses, the surrounding communities

³⁸ <https://situsbudaya.id/sejarah-universitas-brawijaya/> (retrieved on February 28, 2019)

³⁹

<https://forlap.ristekdikti.go.id/peguruinggi/detail/OTIBM0I3QUYtNjQ3MC00RDE4LThCMDYtMDk5NDFFNjYzQjA3>, retrieved on March 4, 2019.

⁴⁰

<https://forlap.ristekdikti.go.id/peguruinggi/detail/N0FDNTEyNjUtRUNDMi00NEQ3LThGQjItNzE3RDNDNRjFBQkM1>
<https://forlap.ristekdikti.go.id/peguruinggi/detail/MDVBRDAwMDItRDBCOC00MTEzLThCMEUtNkM3Q0MyNkUwN0I3>

have also been experiencing steady but significant growth. These areas have become a profitable investment, due to their role as a residential backbone for university campuses, providing housing and other daily needs for tens of thousands of their student body. Over the decades – single-family homes have been converted into denser *kos-kosan*, a local term for boarding house (Figure 3.10). Accessory structures have been added to the front or side of the main building to house economic activities (Figure 3.11). Front yards are leased to hawkers with carts or tables (Figure 3.12).



FIGURE 3.9. University Kampung corridor, in relation to other landmarks and nodes of activities. Based on: Google Maps (retrieved on September 6, 2019); edited by author.

<https://forlap.ristekdikti.go.id/perguruan tinggi/detail/RDE2MTAzNkQtQ0Y4QS00MDhFLUIxNEYtRDIGNUI0QkE4Rkly>, all retrieved on March 4, 2019.



*FIGURE 3.10. Denser, often multi-story boarding houses along the corridor.
Source: Author's personal collection.*



*FIGURE 3.11. Add-on space for supporting economic activity.
Source: Author's personal collection.*



*FIGURE 3.12. Students waiting in line at a cart vendor parked in front of a private property.
Source: Author's personal collection.*

According to the 2011-2031 Detailed Spatial Plan for Northern Malang, it is projected that close to 1,000 acres of the lands surrounding the Universitas Brawijaya campus will be designated as a housing growth area and will see more than 20,000 new houses. The main *Jalan MT Haryono* corridor is planned to support the growth of modern commercial activities and services as well as a center for street vendors. It remains unclear, however, how this concentration of street vendors will take form. A similar attempt to regulate and concentrate street vendors around Universitas Sebelas Maret (UNS) in Solo has been unsuccessful, with the disconnect of demands and supplies and a drastic as well as long-term loss of income for the vendors due to their new, less convenient location (Nugroho, 2010). Therefore, even though relocation and regulation are not an imminent threat to the informal vendors of the *Jalan Kertosentono* corridor, it may be a possible future scenario, should the municipal government desire to enter and regulate the more residential parts of the city.

Although informal street vendors in residential areas have yet to experience pushback from the state, it does not mean that they do not face their own challenges. Property values in areas that are within

proximity to a large institution of higher education have been observed to increase significantly (Harris & Ernawati, 2015; I. N. T. Prayoga, 2013). In his research on a similar bedroom community for Universitas Diponegoro in Semarang, Prayoga (2011) stated that there had been a 90.83% increase in the number of housing between 2006 and 2010, along with around 167% increase in property value. He also suggested that many of the new homeowners were coming from outside of the area and that around 40% of the residents overall had lived there for less than ten years. This higher turnover in property ownership may present a challenge for informal vendors who depend on leasing stability. Although there has not been a quantitative study on the property value or homeownership turnover in Universitas Brawijaya's kampung area, its physical growth and the ever-expanding student body have visibly attracted new types of business models into the area. The scale and relative formality of these new vending models are slowly transforming the appearance of the area, which in the long run may cause further disturbance to the existing function and fabric of the community, which include the more traditional, residentially associated street vending practices. While such transformation is not yet significant, this predominantly residential corridor provides an insight into the mundane yet critical practices and spaces of informal vending that blur the more conventional division of public and private spaces.

CHAPTER 4

EMERGING PATTERNS AND REASSEMBLING OF URBAN SPACES

The notion of urban assemblages in the plural form offers a powerful foundation to grasp the city anew, as an object which is relentlessly being assembled at concrete sites of urban practice, or, to put it differently, as a multiplicity of processes of becoming, affixing sociotechnical networks, hybrid collectives and alternative topologies. From this perspective, the city becomes a difficult and decentered object, which cannot any more be taken for granted as a bounded object, specific context, or delimited site. The city is rather an improbable ontological achievement that necessitates an elucidation. (Farias, 2010, p. 2)

Borrowed from the literature on actor-network theory, a verb ‘assembling’ in this dissertation refers to the action of “bringing and holding together the diverse and potentially contradictory element” (Brownill, 2016, p. 81) into a coherent albeit provisional form (Newman & Clarke, 2009). With regards to the analysis of social-spatial relations, Anderson and MacFarlane defined ‘assembling’ as a “process of ‘co-functioning’ whereby heterogeneous elements come together in a non-homogeneous grouping” (2011, p. 125). Building on such interpretation, ‘reassembling’ stresses on the relentlessness of the coming together of these diverse social-spatial elements, in which they are drawn together “at a particular conjuncture only to disperse or realign, and the shape shifts” (B. Anderson & McFarlane, 2011, p. 125). In this regard, spatiality and temporality play an essential role in making sense of the patterns that emerge from the continuously shifting forms.

The case studies in this chapter offer a reading of how informal street vending activities are reassembling their everyday urban spaces into discernible, albeit temporal, spatial patterns. Here I would like to briefly return to my earlier application of the ‘loose space’ concept in the determination of my research sites. Because the everyday urban spaces, particularly those of the Global South cities, possess a certain

'looseness', their continuity is never guaranteed, due to the temporality of the very activities that loosen these urban spaces in the first place (Franck & Stevens, 2007b). This looseness is what enables the dispersion, realignment, and shapeshifting associated with the processes of space reassembling, which is particularly relevant in cities of the Global South where urban spaces are always being reassembled through the contestation and negotiation of their uses. The first site, Alun-Alun Kota Malang, is an example of how a formal public space, which is commonly planned with a certain degree of tightness, also possesses a degree of looseness. This looseness allows the emergence of a pattern of pulsating occupation of space by informal street vendors despite – and perhaps due to – a threat of dispossession and eviction. The second site, South Chinatown, showcases how temporality as a cornerstone of a loose urban space accommodates the sharing of space through staggered and simultaneous spatial activities by informal street vendors. The third site, University Kampung, provides a more classic example of how the looseness of everyday spaces allows informal vendors to redefine the function of space and blur the boundary of private and public spaces.

In the following sections, I attempt to unpack the perceived messiness of informal street vending systems in urban spaces and the ways that they interact with their environment in responding to challenges. From this exploration, I suggest that certain patterns emerge from the ways that seemingly messy, individual activities spatially and temporally reassemble themselves. Proponents of complexity theory in the organization science suggest that a complex system tends to exhibit a self-organizing behavior and that the interaction between its agents can result in complex patterns (P. Anderson, 1999; Holland, 1996; Kauffman, 1993). It suggests that when afforded the opportunity, a spatial system can sort itself out into certain patterns, in response to a change in its environment. Borrowing the properties of complex adaptive systems, then, I argue that the informal street vending system's capacity of learning and rules creation are conditions for these patterns to emerge.

A contested reassembling of space

“Satpol! Satpol! Satpol!”

As these shouts are faintly heard from the northern corners of Alun-Alun Kota Malang street vendors across the *alun-alun* instantly pack their belongings and begin to disperse out of its southern margins. Among them, a roast-corn vendor runs with a clay bowl full of burning coal on her head. Others discreetly slip smaller-sized goods back into their pockets or sling bags, blending in with the crowd. First-timers to this public space in the center of Malang City, East Java, may find this scene bewildering, but this is a drill that the street vendors and regular visitors have memorized by heart.

Since its most recent redesign in 2015, a typical day and night on and around Alun-Alun Kota Malang bring a choreographed routine, as vendors pirouette around Satpol PP officers (members of the special unit charged with maintaining public order). The 2015 redesign was part of an effort to rebrand Malang as a clean, orderly city; indeed, the transformation of Alun-Alun Kota Malang through modernistic design and aggressive policing was central to that reimagining. Alun-Alun Kota Malang, due to its centrality and historical significance, has become ground zero in a state effort to discipline the public into accepting new ‘civilized ways’ to occupy public space. Using the logic of ‘returning’ space to the general public, the state will no longer tolerate the presence of informal street vendors and squatters in of *alun-alun*, an attitude that has effectively (re)produced these groups as ‘others’.

The election of Mochamad Anton in 2013 signaled the beginning of a significant redefinition of the form and image of Alun-Alun Kota Malang. Sworn into office on September 13, 2013, he launched a public competition for the redesign of Alun-Alun Kota Malang a mere seven days later.⁴¹ Among the city’s rationales for revitalizing the space was that it had to “become more impressive than Alun-Alun Kota Batu”

⁴¹ <https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/di-jakarta-ada-ahok-di-malang-ada-abah-anton.html>; <https://jatim.antaranews.com/berita/118088/desain-alun-alun-merdeka-kota-malang-dilombakan>, both retrieved on June 2, 2018.

(in a neighboring suburb of Malang), indicating their ambition to make Alun-Alun Kota Malang a beacon in reimagining the city.⁴² The redesigned space officially opened to the public in June of 2015.⁴³

The new Alun-Alun Kota Malang now features a central dancing water fountain, a children's playground, an open amphitheater, a skateboard park, manicured grass and beds of flowers, and park benches. It is also, ironically, devoid of the fences that had previously surrounded the space (FIG. 4.1, 4.2). The Mayor claimed that this removal of fences was a reminder that all members of the public were equal and therefore had equal access, a symbolic gesture to welcome all into Alun-Alun Kota Malang.⁴⁴ In reality, however, there appear to be particular groups that the new *alun-alun* intends to exclude: the hawkers and the beggars, thereby (re)producing them as the 'others'. Moreover, instead of using passive design measures to keep them out, as had previously been the case (and is the case in more prominent Monas and Merdeka Square in Jakarta), the city now relies on public militarization through the presence of Satpol PP officers (FIG. 4.3).⁴⁵

⁴² <https://jatim.antaranews.com/berita/118088/desain-alun-alun-merdeka-kota-malang-dilombakan>;
<https://mediacenter.malangkota.go.id/2013/10/sayembara-penataan-alun-alun-kota-malang/>, both retrieved on June 2, 2018.

⁴³ <https://mediacenter.malangkota.go.id/2013/10/sayembara-penataan-alun-alun-kota-malang/>, retrieved on June 2, 2018.

⁴⁴ <https://malangkota.go.id/2015/06/18/face-off-alun-alun-malang-sukses/>, retrieved on June 2, 2018.

⁴⁵ For more on Monas and Merdeka Square, see: Dovey, K., & Permanasari, E. (2010). New Orders: Monas and Merdeka Square. In K. Dovey (Ed.), *Becoming places: Urbanism/architecture/identity/power* (pp. 153–166). New York: Routledge.



*FIGURE 4.1. A central feature in the redesigned Alun-Alun Kota Malang.
Source: Author's personal collection.*



*FIGURE 4.2. Fences that had previously surrounded Alun-Alun Kota Malang were removed in the new design.
Source: Author's personal collection.*



FIGURE 4.3. One of Satpol PP's monitoring points along Alun-Alun Kota Malang.
Source: Author's personal collection.

Section 3, Article 3, Clause 1(a) of the 2000 Malang city ordinance on the street vending regulation and development states that “All street vendors are strictly prohibited from conducting vending activities in and around Alun-Alun Kota Malang.” This ordinance has further been reinforced by the notices that the city posted circa 2000. Mr. Rajak, a division head of Satpol PP, shared their efforts in enforcing this regulation:

We started putting up signs all over the city in the 2000s, announcing that certain areas are off-limit for vending. Even when we caught vendors violating the rules, we would only give them a warning for the first few times. However, they continued to break the rules, so we had no other choice. Our officers always try to conduct themselves fairly and courteously, even during a raid. They always humanize the vendors. If a vendor volunteers to relocate permanently but does not have the means to do so, our officers will help their relocation process with manpower and transportation. Sometimes, however, it is the vendors themselves who like to overreact during a raid. They overturn their goods, making

a mess of the place, and scream to attract attention and make it appear as though the officers were destroying their livelihoods.

When I conducted the first phase of my field study in 2017, there were three units of Satpol PP officers assigned to patrol the city's public spaces, each led by a commander with different character and approach to vendors. According to the street vendors, the three commanders for each unit were: Mr. M, Mr. N, and Mr. S. Three individuals we interviewed (two vendors and one parking attendant) provided a similar account of Mr. M in particular. As a *kerupuk* vendor recalled:⁴⁶

The duration that a Satpol PP unit stays guard in alun-alun depends on the unit's commander. Earlier today it was Mr. M, so the officers were on guard in alun-alun around the clock, always sweeping the premises from end to end. Now we know that his unit will be back in three days.

Moreover, as a Jakartan vendor said candidly, referring to her status as an 'outsider' from the capital city: "Mr. M instills panic in the hawkers' minds. I personally respect Mr. N, because he does not discriminate among vendors." A parking attendant shared his own observation of what typically occurred during Mr. M's rotation:

He is known to be the least forgiving of all the unit commanders. When it is his turn on the field, a lot of the hawkers know to vend out of plastic bags to blend in. That does not help them in terms of sale, however, since visitors may be unaware that they are selling something.

A typical morning for street vendors on Alun-Alun Kota Malang started around 6:30 AM. Regulars included a *soto* vendor with his three-wheeled cart that was parked on the side of the street at the southwest corner of *alun-alun*; a *kerupuk* vendor carrying one or two big plastic sacks who walked the ground; a few

⁴⁶ *Kerupuk* is fried, tapioca-based cracker, usually in garlic, prawn, or fish flavoring

beverage vendors, one of whom kept his vending kit and goods on a *becak* parked across the street; a few toy vendors who stayed close to the playground, especially when children were present; a newspaper vendor who was always on his feet; and about a handful of fritter vendors who were typically more discreet in carrying their goods around, often using unassuming plastic bags (FIG.4.4, 4.5).⁴⁷



*FIGURE 4.4. A vendor using small plastic bags in an attempt to be discreet.
Source: Author's personal collection.*

⁴⁷ *Soto* is a turmeric-based chicken or beef soup served with rice, commonly found in many regions of Indonesia; *becak* is a pedaled, three-wheeled taxi, otherwise known as 'pedicab'.



FIGURE 4.5. A vendor with his three-wheeled cart standing by on the outer periphery of Alun-Alun Kota Malang.
Source: Author's personal collection.

A *kerupuk* vendor we met early in our fieldwork walked us through the pattern that all vendors had to follow on a daily basis. She would arrive in *alun-alun* around 6:30 every morning with a big sack of *kerupuk*, two on Sundays. Other vendors would arrive around the same time, between 6 and 7 AM. Many of them would spend most of their time circling the south side of *alun-alun*, where the children's playground was located, and more visitors with kids would gather. Every now and then, vendors would take a lap around *alun-alun*, stopping at its center, where people would typically sit and linger the water fountain. However, instead of loudly trying to catch customers' attention as a typical street vendor would, they would approach visitors discreetly and speak to them in a lower volume.

Around 7:30 AM, the vendors would start to become more alert, keeping an eye out for incoming Satpol PP trucks from the north side. Those who displayed their goods on the ground and chairs would

start to pack them back into their bags or baskets. Everyone would then start to inch towards the south side of *alun-alun*, or wherever their preferred route of escape was. A fritter vendor would hop on a *becak* that was always waiting nearby for her (FIG. 4.6). The *soto* vendor would wheel his cart one block to the west, where he would wait for his last customers to finish eating. As he explained, “I will keep the cart here and retrieve the bowls later, to avoid getting caught by the officers.”



FIGURE 4.6. A vendor moving to a safer area around the outer periphery in anticipation of Satpol PP officers' arrival. Source: Author's personal collection.

As soon as the officers' trucks turned the corner between 8:00 and 8:30 AM, it would take less than a minute for the vendors to clear the space (FIG. 4.7). So quick would the transition be that if one were a first-time visitor, they might not even catch it unfold. Where the vendors went varied widely. The *soto* vendor would move two blocks east, where he would set up a regular spot behind a police station. The *kerupuk* vendor would ride her scooter home, with whatever remained of her goods from the morning tied to the back of her scooter. Some of the other vendors, not having another location they could vend from, would head home – to do household chores or pursue other jobs. Some, such as the *kerupuk* vendor, would later return to *alun-alun* in the evening.

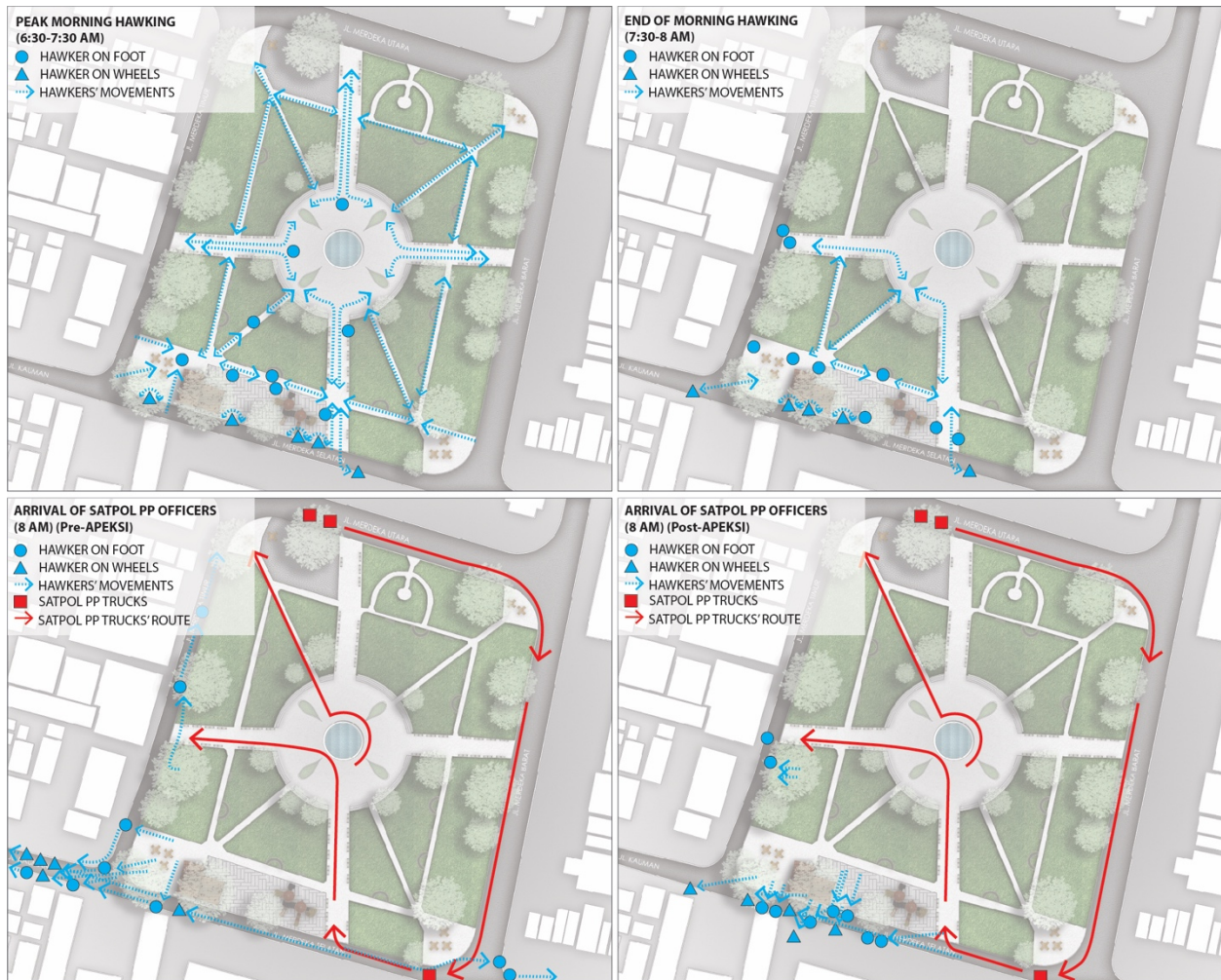


FIGURE 4.7. Diagrammatic temporal mapping of morning vendors' movements in response to Satpol PP's presence. Source: Drawing by author.

The same pattern of self-organized movements would then be reenacted every evening around 6:30 PM when the officers on the day shift headed back to their headquarters (FIG. 4.8). It would typically take around an hour or two for a new group of officers to arrive for the night shift. As soon as the trucks of the day-shift officers left the area, vendors would storm *alun-alun* from all four corners. Cries of “*Peraaang...! Perang!!*” [“*War...! War!!*”] would then be heard faintly from vendors, signaling to their comrades that it was now safe for them to enter the grounds. When we asked how they knew of the officers' whereabouts, one toy vendor explained, “We have a WhatsApp [a mobile messaging application popular in Asia] group for the night vendors here to exchange information and forewarn each other.” A toy vendor

from Jakarta who was new to the area informed us that she and her daughter usually waited around the parking lot until the officers left. They would pack their goods in a small, unassuming black suitcase that they stored on their scooter. However, she elaborated, “Other local vendors prefer to hide one block away and wait because they fear that the officers have already recognized their faces” (FIG. 4.9).

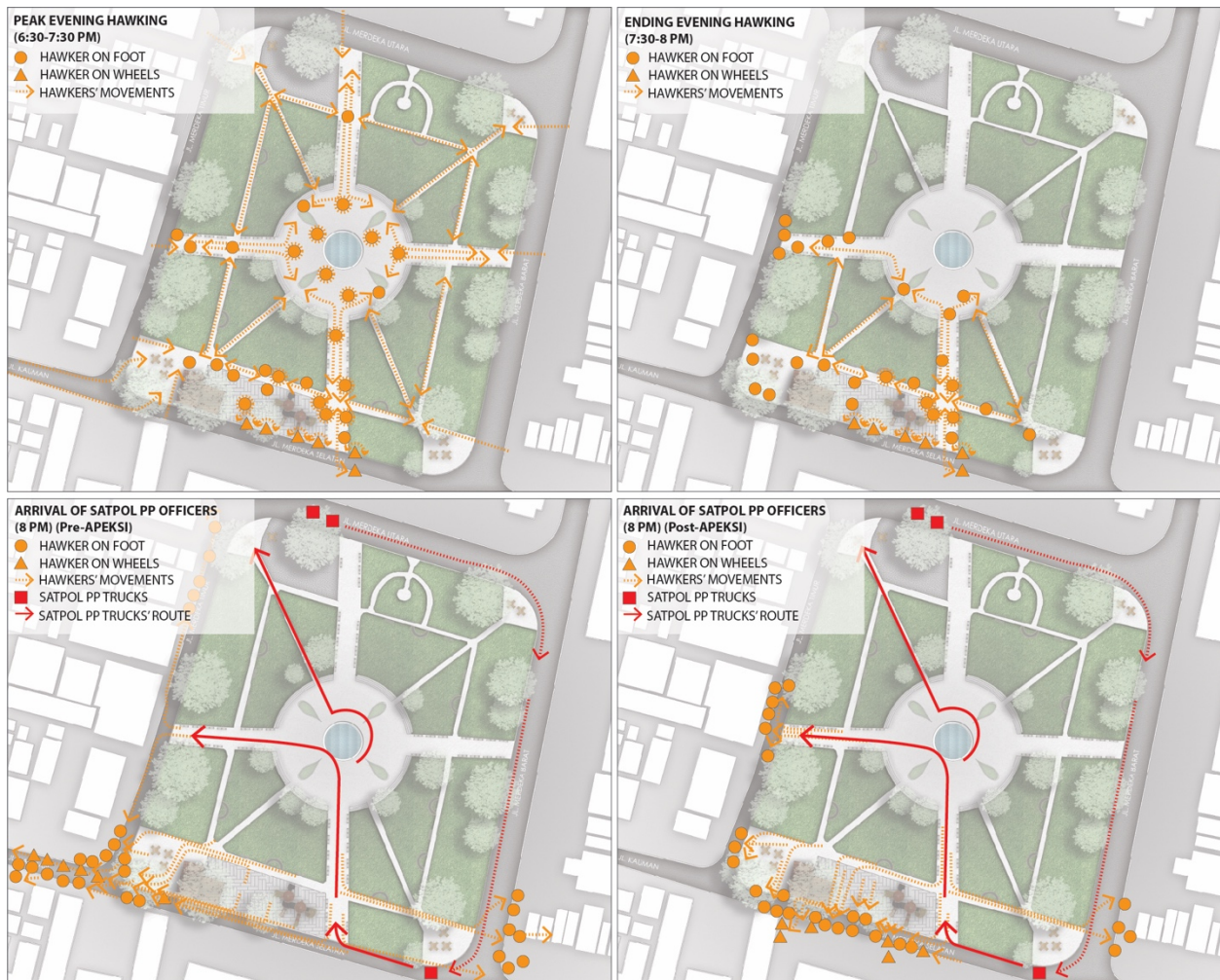


FIGURE 4.8. Diagrammatic temporal mapping of evening vendors' movements in response to Satpol PP's presence. Source: Drawing by author.



FIGURE 4.9. Evening vendors waiting for Satpol PP officers to end their rotation from across Alun-Alun Kota Malang
Source: Author's personal collection.

A few of the morning vendors, like the *kerupuk* and tofu vendors, would return in the evening; but most of the evening vendors were exclusively there during the night when there would significantly be more visitors. More than half of the vendors would sell various children's toys since evening visitors tended to bring their children more than the morning ones. On a peak Saturday or Sunday night, there might be as many as two dozen hawkers on the *alun-alun* grounds, in addition to the ones along the streets on the south and west sides.⁴⁸ In general, evening hawkers were less discreet about their presence compared to those in the morning. The *kerupuk* vendor would carry around two big sacks of *kerupuk* in the evening, as opposed to one in the morning. Vendors of children's toys would sell objects that would light up in bright, flashing colors (FIG. 4.10). Instead of small hand baskets, tofu vendors would carry their goods in a big basket (FIG. 4.11). The most eye-catching personage was perhaps the roast-corn vendor. Sitting on the

⁴⁸ This is an informed estimation since the hawkers tend to be highly mobile.

ground at an intersection of walking paths, she vigorously fanned a handful of corns at a time over a large clay bowl full of burning coals (FIG. 4.12).



*FIGURE 4.10. An evening vendor with a bucket of flashing toys.
Source: Author's personal collection.*



*FIGURE 4.11. Evening vendors tend to carry a larger amount of goods.
Source: Author's personal collection.*



*FIGURE 4.12. A roast-corn vendor fanning corn cobs over a bowl of burning coals.
Source: Author's personal collection.*

Within a mere one or two hours, the familiar scene of vendors frantically fleeing the site would return in an intensity higher than the morning time, due to the number and visibility of the evening vendors. The roast-corn vendor ran with a clay bowl full of burning coal on her head. Vendors with smaller-sized goods discreetly slipped their goods back into their pockets or sling bags, blending in with the crowd. The traces of a vibrant yet ephemeral evening vending scene could only be seen in children playing with the brightly lit toys that their parents had purchased from the vendors and the snacks that visitors were still enjoying.

Street vendors in Alun-Alun Kota Malang have become so familiar with the layout of the land that they had the Satpol PP officers' schedule memorized by heart. They knew not only when the officers would leave and return, but also who would be in charge. This information helped them in their decision-making process in terms of how they would go about their vending practices and how cautious they needed to be at any particular time. This window of opportunity created a relatively stable temporal dynamic, where time and space aligned to allow the emergence of nonprescribed uses of the space. A single conductor did not

orchestrate this pattern. Instead, it emerged from an accumulation of relationships and experiences that produced a shared network of knowledge.

A negotiated (co)production of space

Although centrally located urban spaces in which informal activities are highly contested have primarily been the focus of scholarly works in the discourse of informal urbanism, there also exist the in-between urban spaces that are continually being reassembled by informal activities. This reassembling of space is predicated upon mutual understanding and negotiation between the actors who are involved. On the one hand, the actors, activities, and spatial attributes that are involved in an informal street vending system are diverse. On the other hand, in-between spaces in contemporary cities of Global South are increasingly squeezed out by urban growth and formal regulations. This spatial restriction often results in the overlapping of spatial patterns in one space. The two case study sites, daytime South Chinatown and University Kampung, present patterns of space-sharing based on temporality and negotiations. The first is an alternating pattern of space, meaning that one spatial pattern emerges as another retires. The second allows for multiple spatial patterns to coincide, typically within previously negotiated boundaries.

In the daytime, South Chinatown is known as home to a cacophony of different uses of space. The public realm of this corridor is shared among medium-sized wholesalers and their big trucks, smaller retail shops and their customers, and informal street vendors with a variety of spatial attributes. The most prominent feature of this corridor is its road shoulders: parking spaces endlessly occupied by a mix of big trucks, medium and small cars, rows of motorbikes and scooters, *becak*, and vending carts (FIG. 4.13).⁴⁹ Local commuters are aware of these overlapping activities and tend to find alternative routes during regular business hours between 10 in the morning and 4 in the afternoon. From the outside looking in, it may appear that there exists no particular rhyme or rhythm to these spaces within which activities occur. Through extensive observation, however, a pattern starts to reveal itself. The temporality of informal practices in

⁴⁹ In the context of this research, the 'public realm' mostly refers to the space around a building and between a building and the street, which consists primarily of stoops, sidewalks, road shoulders, and alleyways.

urban spaces creates a rhythm that allows for alternating use of space. Furthermore, in some cases, the adaptability of informal practices also allows for the simultaneous sharing of space, which requires a mutual understanding and negotiation between the actors involved.



FIGURE 4.13. South Chinatown corridor and its dense roadside parking scene.
Source: Author's personal collection.

Every day before dawn, this busy South Chinatown corridor would wake up to a relatively calm start as it welcomed the first wave of informal street vendors. A *sawi* vendor, together with her husband, has been vending at the same location for around 16 years.⁵⁰ They would set up their posts and lay out their produce on the stoop outside of a closed storefront (FIG. 4.14). This vendor couple lived in Tumpang (a highland suburb of Malang), around 40-minute drive from South Chinatown. Each morning they would wake up around 3:30, and by 4:30, her husband would set off for South Chinatown on a scooter, a carrier full of produce strapped on each side. Because many of their neighbors were also *sawi* (*choy sum*) vendors heading to all corners of Malang, including South Chinatown, they would sometimes share a pickup truck

⁵⁰ Leafy green vegetable commonly used in Asian cuisine, more popularly known in the rest of the world as *choy sum* (Chinese).

to carry a more substantial amount of their produce into the city. Meanwhile, his wife would stay at home to prepare breakfast for their children. She would then drive her oldest to school on her scooter around 6 AM. After dropping him off at school, she would head to South Chinatown to take over the vending so that her husband could get to his day job at their village's Town Hall by 7 AM. Before he left South Chinatown, he would have his breakfast from a *soto* vendor whose cart was parked nearby (FIG. 4.15). Because meals from mobile vendor's carts are typically very affordable, they have become indispensable in supporting other vendors' daily routines.



*FIGURE 4.14. Piles of sawi laid out on the stoop of a closed storefront.
Source: Author's personal collection*



FIGURE 4.15. Vendors and passersby grabbing a quick breakfast from a nearby soto vendor
Source: Author's personal collection.

Half a block away, another street vendor took up almost the entire width of a sidewalk to display her produce (FIG. 4.16). This vendor has been selling herbs, spices, and a limited variety of fresh produce for almost her entire adult life after being handed the operation by her mother.⁵¹ Unlike the *sawi* vendor, however, this produce vendor lived in a nearby neighborhood just on the other side of where she vends that was accessible through a small alleyway a few meters away. This proximity made disassembling and reassembling her vending site convenient. With the help of her daughter, the produce vendor would set up her operation around 4 AM, just before the morning call to prayer, and would wrap up around 9 am, as the rest of the city kicked into full gear.

⁵¹ It is quite common for informal street vending to stay in the family for generations; increasingly, however, vendors are expressing a desire for their children to be able to attain higher education and more stable jobs (typically referring to employment in the more formal sector), so that they will not have to resort to street vending as their parents do.



FIGURE 4.16. A morning vendor making use of the less busy sidewalk in the morning.
Source: Author's personal collection.

Despite growing up in the area, I had never had an encounter with the early morning vendors here, nor had I been aware of who their target customers were, as regular residents of the city tend to go to a nearby traditional market or neighborhood bodega for their early morning grocery run. Our first exchange with one of the South Chinatown street vendors brought to our attention an existence of a significant anchor business that drew most of the supporting vendors into the area: a noodle factory. *Mie ayam* is one of the quintessential quick street meals in Indonesia, and fresh handmade noodles are the star of the dish.⁵² According to the produce vendors, most if not all of their regular customers were *mie ayam* vendors who would come from all corners of the city to get their noodles from the factory. Having produce vendors who sold complementary ingredients for the dish within the vicinity of the noodle factory made it convenient for these *mie ayam* vendors.

⁵² *Mie ayam* is a traditional Indonesian chicken noodle dish commonly sold from street vending carts.

Even though the vendors sold similar, if not the exact same products, there appeared to be no visible competition among the produce vendors. According to the vendors we spoke with, this was due to several reasons. First, many of them originated from the same area, Tumpang, a large producer of produce for Malang, including South Chinatown, and therefore they have known each other for a long time, at least by association. Secondly, because these vendors have been vending at their current sites for over a decade, they have each established a solid customer base, and there was no apparent attempt to steal each other's regulars as there was a large enough pool of *mie ayam* vendors who needed their service. Thirdly, because the vendors sourced their produce from the same marketplace, everyone had set their prices fairly and similarly.

The South Chinatown vending activities in the early morning occurred in part due to the inactivity of the rest of the corridor at such an early time in the day. This brief inactivity allowed for some appropriation of the public realm – storefront stoops, sidewalks, road shoulders – by informal street vendors, customers, and the supporting parking spaces. The vendors would start their operation before dawn and wrap up their vending sites almost simultaneously between 8 and 9 AM. By that time, *mie ayam* vendors would have all finished collecting their ingredients for the day, and brick and mortar storefronts along the corridor would begin to open for business. The *sawi* vendor would pack up her remaining produce from the storefront stoop before the store even opened, so there had never been an issue between her and the storeowner, although they had run into each other on occasions. Towards the end of our conversation, she pulled out a small brush and dustpan from her scooter and started sweeping bits and pieces of *sawi* off of the stoop and the patch of sidewalk outside of the store. We asked if she was doing that upon the storeowner's request, and she said, "No, I do it out of consideration for the store owner and the pedestrians. If we started leaving litters around here, that would create some tension with the property owners sooner or later." The nearby produce vendor would clear the sidewalk of her sprawling product display around 9 AM each morning. She did, however, have the option to stay open longer since the owner of the storefront that she abutted had passed away in 2013, and the store has not been in operation ever since. Even when the store was still open, the produce vendor shared, its owner would allow her to continue vending past the store opening

time, so long as she moved to the side as to not block the store's entrance. This suggests that some vendors were able to maintain a good relationship with store or property owners whose space they occupied.

Farther down towards the west end of the corridor, one vendor occupied the public realm a little differently from most of the others. A *kue* vendor ran a more sophisticated form of vending operation out of a spacious tent, complete with tables and chairs (FIG. 4.17).⁵³ This *kue* vendor was a local to the neighborhood, living in an agglomeration of *kampung* connected to the main corridor and to each other by a maze of alleyways. She has been producing and selling *kue* for 12 years after inheriting the business from her mother, who had previously kept it running for 17 years. Her family started their business out of a rented kiosk inside the central market following a fire that burned down the marketplace in the late 1980s. After the most recent fire in May of 2016, the *kue* vendor decided to become a street vendor and moves to her current location on an on-street parking space. She did not want to return to the central market because she believed that the city had not done an adequate job renovating the kiosks. She did maintain her rights to use the kiosk, however, so that she would have direct access to it should the city decide to renovate the market in the future.

Before moving to her current vending location, she had gone to the homes of the local neighborhood associations' leaders and asked for their permission to set up a tent on the roadside.⁵⁴ The associations gave her a blessing to vend in the mornings, so long as she would disassemble her tent around mid-morning, as brick-and-mortar businesses kicked into gear, to make space for their parking. On top of that, she asked for permission from the owner of the house and storefront behind where her tent would be, and the owner said that that would not be a problem. She hypothesized that their generosity and willingness to share the space – although nobody technically owned that roadside pace – might have come from the fact that they lived in the same neighborhood and had known one another for a long time. Interestingly, no other vendors seemed to occupy this part of the corridor, “There are more vendors here on Sunday

⁵³ *Kue* is an assortment of traditional Indonesian baked, steamed, or fried snacks or desserts, usually in bite-sized pieces.

⁵⁴ In Indonesia, neighborhood associations take form in RW (*Rukun Warga*) and RT (*Rukun Tetangga*) and are part of the official local governance. The memberships of RW and RT are voluntary based, even though their leaders are elected by residents of the neighborhood.

mornings as part of the Sunday market. However, on a typical weekday morning, it is only me, and later close to noon, there is another vendor with a cart who is also a home renter in this neighborhood.” At night, this very space would become part of Malang Night Market, another vending site in this research.



FIGURE 4.17. A rather elaborate set up of a kue vendor operation.
Source: Author's personal collection.

Whereas the aforementioned vending scenes were examples of a temporal sharing of space that required alternating patterns of space in relation to time, there were also those in South Chinatown who depended on the simultaneous sharing of space, where multiple patterns could overlap in one space. Several vendors would stay open late into the day, even as the brick-and-mortar businesses went into full swing, and their customers came and went. Based on our observations, these vendors tended to provide goods and services that supported the daily operation of businesses in the area. *Soto* vendors on carts, for instance, were the go-to for many of the laborers who worked in the stores, other non-food vendors, parking attendants, patrons of other establishments, and even people coming from other parts of the city. Owners of the brick-and-mortar businesses were also sometimes seen eating a bowl of *soto* in their stores.

We interviewed one *soto* vendor who had the most elaborate set up for his cart operation. He had been selling *soto* out of his cart for twelve years. In his first four years, he used to push his cart from one part of the city to another, including to his current spot in South Chinatown. After making a frequent stop there, he finally asked the parking attendant if he could park his cart longer on one of his on-street parking spaces.

I asked the parking attendant, could I stay here? To which he agreed, saying that rather than walking around the city, it would be okay for me to stay here. The parking attendant knew my father because my father used to run a soto kiosk nearby. Other vendors who come here have to pay a certain fee to him, but I do not have to. Instead, I serve him a bowl of soto whenever he wants to have a meal.

Unlike the early morning produce vendors who were solely anchored to the *mie ayam* industry, *soto* vendors were woven into the general hustle and bustle of the area. Whereas produce vendors had a specific customer base with a fixed timeline, which allowed them to retire before the daytime rhythm of the city started, *soto* vendors had a more diverse customer base that would come and go at different times throughout the day. Early in the morning, he would serve breakfast for the nearby produce vendors. Early mornings would also be a good time for customers who were coming on personal vehicles from other parts of the city because it was easier for them to find parking when the brick and mortar businesses were still asleep. Later in the morning, employees from nearby offices would stop by on their way to work. Around noon, laborers from the surrounding stores would refuel with a bowl of *soto* before continuing their day. To avoid conflict over space, the *soto* vendor came prepared with two different spatial arrangements, deployed at different times of the day. In the early morning, when the storefront on which he abutted was still closed, he would set two plywood tables against the store's shutters and arrange several plastic chairs alongside the table (FIG. 4.18). This set up was quite a luxury for a mobile vendor with a cart. Although he had an agreement with the store owner to continue using the parking space outside of the store until the afternoon, the owner wanted him to clear the tables out when the store opened. Around 9 AM, then, he stored the tables on the roof of his cart, unfolded a smaller counter that was attached to the side of his cart, and arranged a few chairs around it.



*FIGURE 4.18. Soto vendor with a makeshift dining table against the shutter of a closed storefront.
Source: Author's personal collection.*

The reassembling pattern of informal vending in this corridor is illustrated by a spatial-temporal map of space sharing in FIG. 4.19. Here we can observe the shifting of spatial uses throughout the day, which starts with the arrival of morning-time vendors, many of whom begin to retreat as the storefronts become active one by one. Others, however, can be seen to overlap with the storefronts' activities throughout the day. Some of these street vendors stay for a more extended period, while others drop in the area briefly before continuing elsewhere. As the day progresses into the evening, the corridor quiets down, as storefronts begin to close, and Malang Night Market vendors begin to set up.

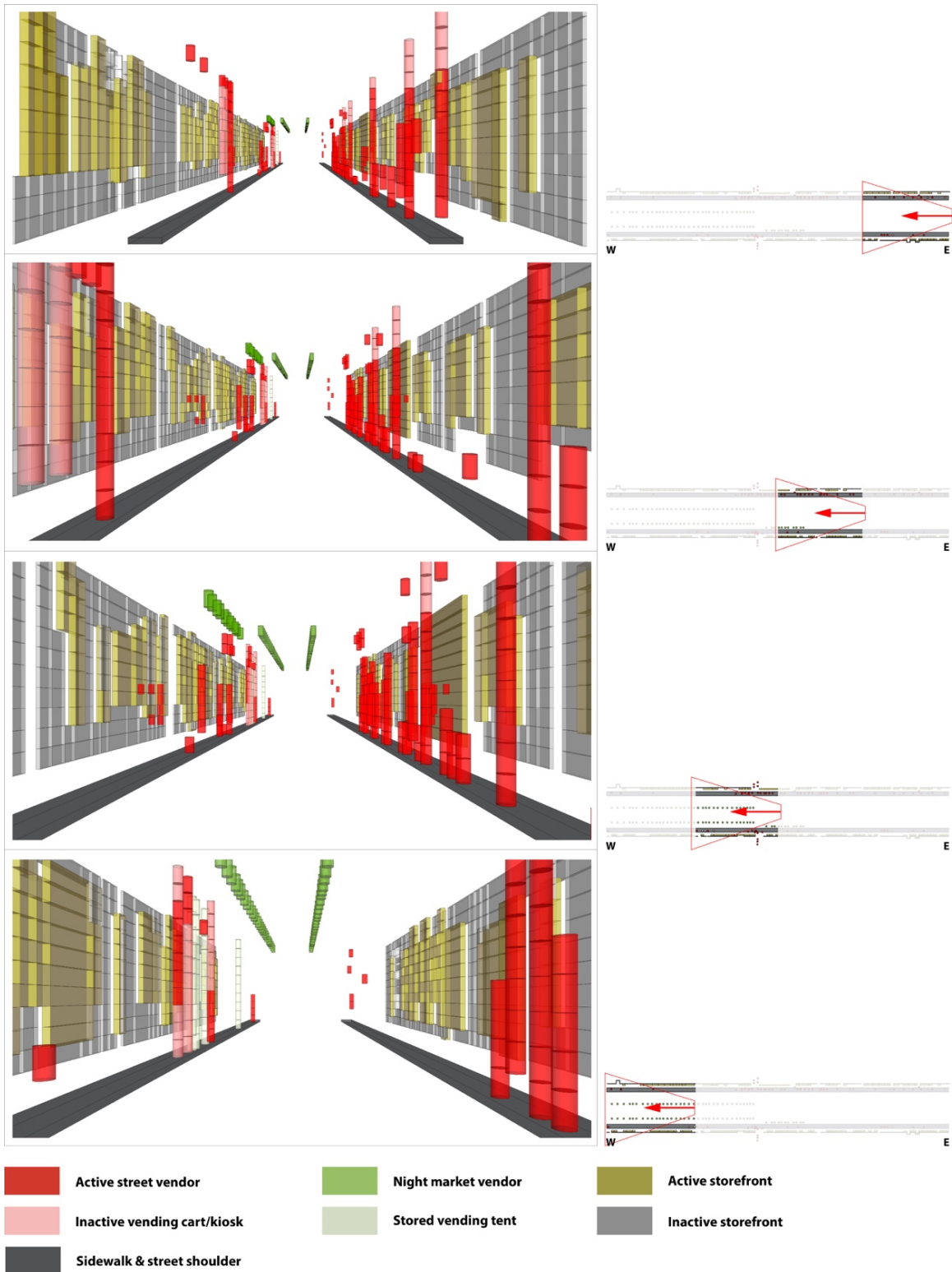


FIGURE 4.19. Diagrammatic temporal mapping of South Chinatown corridor street vendors and storefronts, moving from east to west (6:30 am-5:30 pm). Each row represents the time of day, in one-hour intervals. Note that street vendors (red cylinders) are the most active in the morning (lower rows) when storefronts are mostly still inactive (white walls).

Source: Drawing by author.

Space sharing that is operated upon negotiation was also the main organizing logic of vending activities in the University Kampung area, near Malang's largest state university, Universitas Brawijaya campus. Daytimes street vendors in this area consisted of a mix of mobile vendors and stationary – typically out of a kiosk – vendors (FIG. 4.20). For mobile vendors, there was less expectation for a mutual agreement between the vendor and residents or community members, though, over time, a sense of familiarity would tend to develop between them. Stationary vendors, however, required having a certain membership in the community, or longevity of the spatial occupation.



FIGURE 4.20. A mixture of various forms of mobile and stationary vending in University Kampung neighborhood.
Source: Author's personal collection.

Mbah, or grandma, an Indonesian term of fondness for elders, was sitting overlooking a spread of essential grocery items, from fresh produce to meat and fish, every morning (FIG. 4.21).⁵⁵ Now somewhere in her 70s, she claimed to have been vending in the same neighborhood for over twenty years. Based on

⁵⁵ It is typical for small neighborhood grocers in Indonesia to buy meat and fish from the market in a small quantity and sell them to household customers smaller cuts. Because these grocers only operate for two to three hours in the early morning, they can get away without refrigerating these fresh cuts of meat and fish.

the stories that she shared with us, however, she seemed to have been on the profession for much longer, “I have been here since before I was married, and now I have grandchildren.” She also recalled the time when the area was still relatively undeveloped, consisting of only smaller, older homes and dense trees. A customer of hers chimed into our conversation, recalling when the area began to develop as a bedroom community for university students in the early 1980s. In the first few decades, *Mbah* had occupied on the front yard of nearby a lot. After the property owner passed away, his widow moved away to another city, and the property was put in the rental market. Because *Mbah* was unable to negotiate a new term of space sharing with the renters, she decided to shift her location to the current site. At the time, the house that was sitting on the site was being renovated, so she talked her way into getting the construction workers to allow her to use their front yard free of charge, an agreement that has continued to date. In her case, although *Mbah* had no official ties with the neighborhood, she was considered as part of the community, especially as she had been there for longer than most of the neighborhood's current residents, and she was familiar with many of the residents.

Along with the longevity of *Mbah*'s presence in the neighborhood, the nature of her type of vending has made it possible for her to be accepted into the community. In Indonesian residential areas, neighborhood grocers typically serve as a kind of small neighborhood hub, towards which residents make their way each morning, at the crack of dawn, to get the ingredients they need for that day. This routine, however, does not merely consist of an exchange of goods for money. Instead, neighborhood grocers also provide residents a space for an exchange of pleasantries, live updates, and even gossips. Therefore, a grocer like *Mbah*, small as they may be in scale, plays a significant role as a host of a space that binds a community together, day by day, and therefore is often regarded as a member of that community themselves, regardless of their formal residency. When asked if she was familiar with the local residents of this neighborhood, a customer of *Mbah*'s responded on her behalf, “Very much so, she is one of us.”



FIGURE 4.21. Mbah (sitting on the bench), a local grocer who is perhaps the longest running vendor in the neighborhood.
Source: Author's personal collection.

Like Mbah, many vendors in the University Kampung neighborhood have established some forms of membership within the community; some were property owners, while others were long-time renters. A vendor selling *nasi pecel* out of a small counter along one of the alleyways lived at the end of a smaller alleyway behind her vending counter (FIG. 4.22).⁵⁶ A *bakso* vendor started as a cart-based vendor before later buying and turning the house adjoining hers into a *bakso* restaurant (FIG. 4.23).⁵⁷ This new spatial

⁵⁶ *Nasi pecel* is a traditional Javanese salad consisting of boiled or steamed mixed vegetables in a creamy peanut sauce. It is usually served with steamed white rice or rice cakes.

⁵⁷ *Bakso* is a popular street food dish in Indonesia, a bowl of which typically consists of chewy meatballs, steamed and deep-fried wontons, tofu pieces, and sometimes noodles, served in a warm, clear broth. *Bakso* most typically is sold out of street vending carts. It is also considered to be one of Malang's signature street foods.

arrangement not only gave her ease of access but also allowed her to keep an eye on her young child while she tended her kiosk. A *rendang Malangan* vendor converted her living room into a dining space for customers.⁵⁸ Even with that additional indoor space, however, she still needed to occupy the side and front of her house for food preparation and display (FIG. 4.24). Her sister, who took over her previous vending operation, was now renting a space on the next-door neighbor's front yard (FIG. 4.25). An evening vendor has been selling *lalapan* since 2011 and lived not far from his vending location; thus, he was also familiar with many of the neighborhood's residents.⁵⁹ Although his vending cart would allow his operation to be mobile, he chose to remain stationary against the fence of one of the locals' homes (FIG. 4.26). That way, his regulars would be able to find him at the same location, at the same time every night, addressing the issue of reliability that is typically a big challenge for mobile vendors. Whereas daytime vending carts were generally able to stay in one location free of charge, evening vending carts were more dependent on the abutting property for access to electricity. Creating a makeshift electricity hookup was an informal practice commonly adopted by vendors and property owners out of necessity. In exchange for electricity, these vendors would pay a small amount of fee – which would come from a negotiation process – to the property owner.

⁵⁸ *Rendang* is one of the most well-known and widely available traditional dishes in Indonesia, originating from the people of *Minangkabau* on the island of Sumatra. It is a slow-cooked meat dish simmered in rich coconut-based curry-like spices. *Rendang Malangan* is a take on the traditional *rendang* dish with a little twist of Malang ingredients.

⁵⁹ *Lalapan* refers to a popular plate of a meal consisting of steamed jasmine rice, fried meat, fish, or tempeh, *sambal* (fresh traditional chili paste), and raw vegetable cuts.



FIGURE 4.22. Smaller vending counters like this are commonly found along the alleyways or on a property's porch.
Source: Author's personal collection.



FIGURE 4.23. A house-kiosk arrangement is a preferred mode of vending for those with the means to afford it.
Source: Author's personal collection



FIGURE 4.24. Vending activities that are spilling out onto the alleyways.
Source: Author's personal collection



FIGURE 4.25. The sister of Rendang Malangan vendor now runs a vending cart next door.
Source: Author's personal collection



*FIGURE 4.26. University students waiting in line at a lalapan vendor for their dinner.
Source: Author's personal collection*

In both the South Chinatown and University Kampung sites, the continuance of informal vending practices depended on a kind of relationship that each vendor has developed not only with the space around them, but also with the community within which their operation existed. While some of these relationships were a product of negotiation and could be strictly business in their nature, others have grown into a more personal bond which subsequently recognized the vendors as part of their community. In such cases, the vendors could be regarded as a sort of a permanent fixture in the community and would have a better chance of withstanding any possible shift to the spatial patterns of informal street vending, such as the case of *Mbah*, the grocer vendor who has been part of the everyday space of the community for decades.

Self-organization: Emerging patterns in a complex fluid system

A city that operates on informality is inherently porous, consisting of networks of everyday urban spaces that run through the city's organic grids. When viewed through a rationalist lens, such porous urban spaces possess a relatively higher degree of looseness and may appear disorderly. This lack of order is often seen as inefficient and disruptive (Franck & Stevens, 2007b). Likewise, the informal activities that are afforded by and consequently reassemble these loose spaces are often associated with poverty and are farmed as a problem that needs to be fixed. This perception is prompted by a lack of understanding of the less visible processes that are embedded within the spatial practices of urban informality. As Bayat (2004) points out, those who operate informally in the looseness of urban spaces tend to function as much as possible below the formal gaze of the State, and therefore depend on the relationships that they have fostered with other actors. The sustained reassembling of these everyday spaces then, therefore, depend on the trust, reciprocity, and negotiations between various stakeholders.⁶⁰ These processes and the ways that they respond to disturbances and changes in their environment, however, are not well understood by the formal institutions that defer to modernist planning ideologies where spatial identities and politics are clearly demarcated.

John H. Holland's (1996) passage in his book on complexity and order suggests the existence of a sort of order even in a system that is fluid and consisting of multiple moving parts:

The mystery deepens when we observe the kaleidoscopic nature of large cities. Buyers, sellers, administrations, bridges, and buildings are always changing, so that a city's coherence is somehow imposed on a perpetual flux of people and structures. Like the standing wave in front of a rock in a fast-moving stream, a city is a pattern in time. No single constituent remains in place, but the city persists. To enlarge on the previous question:

⁶⁰ Further discussion on this from the perspective of power relations can be found in Chapter 5

What enables cities to retain their coherence despite continual disruptions and a lack of central planning?

How do Alun-Alun Kota Malang's patterns of informal street vending emerge, amidst being constantly challenged by the state? How have the practices of informal sharing of space in South Chinatown and University Kampung been conducted, and continued through the decades despite changes to their environment?

Dovey (2012) suggested that we employ the help of complex adaptive system theory to make sense of the dynamics of complex systems, the behavior of which is a product of unpredictable interactions between its actors.⁶¹ In his mathematical modeling of complex adaptive systems, Holland (1996) pointed to adaptation as an essential condition that organisms or objects possess. In its most rudimentary biological usage, adaptation can be understood as a process through which an organism adjusts itself into its environment. An organism or agent learns from their experience to guide the changes in their structure and the decisions that they make in making better use of their environment. Furthermore, Holland (1996) views all complex adaptive systems as composed of interacting agents who are capable of creating their own rules. As their collective experience accumulates, these agents adapt to their environment by changing their rules of interaction. These two capacities to learn and to create rules are fundamental qualities that allow actors in an informal social-spatial system to reassemble itself into discernible, though subtle, and more stable patterns.

A complex system consists of independent and interdependent parts that interact and self-organize in relatively unpredictable ways (Dovey, 2012). As an individual, each street vendor in Alun-Alun Kota Malang internalizes their personal experience of encountering Satpol PP officers. They make a mental note

⁶¹ Dovey further suggested that when applied to the context of urban informality, 'complex adaptive assemblage' would be a more accurate label, as he perceived the term 'system' to be associated with conditions of predictability and control, and therefore lends itself more to the realm of formality. Assemblage thinking, he argued, shares the lens of complex adaptive systems theory in understanding multi-scale relations without "reducing the micro-scale to epiphenomena of larger-scale processes and structures." Although I agree with this notion, in this dissertation I maintain the use of 'system' to describe the informal street vendors, their activities, relationships, and space within which they are contained, because I believe that having the term 'informal' is effective in illustrating the nonconforming nature of their processes.

of the officers' spatial and temporal patterns and adjust theirs accordingly. A *soto* vendor parks his cart on the side of *alun-alun*, where he will have the most time to escape the officers coming from its opposite end. A beverage vendor stores his vending equipment on a *becak* that is parked across the street. Vendors that circulate deeper into *alun-alun* become more alert as the predicted arrival time of Satpol PP officers draws closer. As a system, vendors share the information that they have individually gathered and collectively use it to guide their decision on when to remain invisible and when it is safe to emerge out of their hidings places. Communication platforms such as their WhatsApp group messaging have been critical in relaying real-time information when anything out of pattern occurs.

Whereas the outcome of a vending system's capacity for learning and adaptation can be visually observed through its spatial and temporal patterns, its capacity for rules-creation can be less visible. Part of this is because informal rules in society take form in norms that are mundane and therefore tend to be unnoticeable until they are breached. In a self-organizing informal system, rules are primarily based on mutual understanding, though what is considered mutual here may not necessarily mean that all actors have an equal say, or an equal power to advocate for their interests. The existence of rules in a self-organizing informal system can sometimes be observed in a couple of ways. First, it may become visible when a trust, or mutual understanding, is violated by one of the actors in the system. We witnessed such instances during our observation of the Alun-Alun Kota Malang street vending scene. As we were talking with a relatively new vendor from Jakarta about her struggles as an outsider, her daughter was confronted by an older, more senior male toy vendor from Madura, a nearby island from which many of the vendors originate.⁶² The eleven-year-old reported to her mother that the man had shoved her and yelled at her. The mother then told us that it was not the first time that other vendors have harassed them, and that one time, her daughter was hit by one of the female vendors. When the male vendor approached us, we recognized him as one of the vendors we spoke with the night before. When we asked him that night about the competition among vendors, he had claimed that there was no unhealthy competition between the vendors because everyone was aware of 'their place'. The unfolding scene between him and the mother-daughter

⁶² It is uncommon for a street vendor in Malang to originate from the capital city. The vending scene in Malang is generally dominated by local hawkers and hawkers from the neighboring island of Madura or rural areas of East Java; this will be discussed in more length in Chapter 6

vendors demonstrated to us what would happen if someone was to 'forget their place'. He raised his voice at the mother-daughter team,

What did you tell her? What did your daughter tell you? Tell her that this is not the way to vend! You are supposed to stick to your territory and not go roaming into other people's! If you steal a customer one more time, I will hit you!

That the aggressor had previously mentioned a 'proper place' that each vendor was aware of suggests that there is an underlying rule which guides the vendors in making a decision on where and how to conduct their vending. It is worthwhile to note and consider, however, that such rules, in this case, were not only unwritten but also rarely spoken. This made it difficult for newcomers who have not established a rapport with the existing vending community to even be aware of the existence of rules of conduct that they should follow. The limited window of opportunity to vend also hindered their learning process, as their encounter with other vendors was ephemeral at best, pirouetting in and out of Alun-Alun. The above encounter was one of the rare occurrences when unwritten and unspoken rules became visible. This public confrontation suggested that the vending system's spatial pattern had been momentarily disrupted by the breaching of its unwritten, informal rules, with one component of the system behaving out of sync. In such a contentious informal system, the task of upholding the rules tends to fall onto those who benefit the most from the perpetuation of the patterns. While this may help protect and maintain the operation of the whole system, it also brings the question of justice and oppression within the informal system itself, a discourse commonly used to address the dynamics between informal systems and the forces of formal governance acting upon them.

The second way through which the existence of rules in a self-organizing informal system can become visible is a careful observation of and interaction with the everyday. As described by Crawford (2008), the 'everyday' is the lived experience shared by urban residents that include the banality of their ordinary routines, which, if carefully traced, can reveal a web of space and time produced by a complex realm of social practices. Ordinary routines suggest the presence of patterns that have been internalized by the actors of the everyday, in response to specific times and places. Various scholars of the everyday

(de Certeau, 1984; Heidegger, 1962; Lefebvre, 1991a; Sheringham, 2006) have emphasized temporality as a key factor through which actors of informality seize moments of opportunities and create rhythmic bursts that punctuate the otherwise more linear pattern of practices guided by rational processes. It is within these rhythmic bursts that the patterns of informality emerge, though when viewed through the lens of rationality, these temporal patterns which respond to urgency and needs may also appear as moments of messiness.

It is from this careful observation and interaction with the everyday that rules which govern spatial and temporal patterns in less contentious spaces of informality can become visible. In a street vending system where an open confrontation between a 'violating' party and a party who serves as a gatekeeper rarely occurs, sometimes the only way for an outside observer to understand its organizing principles is through close verbal interaction with actors of the day-to-day vending operation. In South Chinatown, for instance, it was through a series of interviews that we learned how the vendors' learning capacity informed them of an economic opportunity that was spatially tied to the local noodle factory. A parking attendant for the eastern part of the South Chinatown corridor phrased it nicely when I asked him how the vending scene started, "Because of demand. Because there is a demand for them here." The vendors' agility in responding to those demands has woven them into the everyday fabric of the community, through which they are able to negotiate the rules for their presence and interactions with the more established owners or occupants of the space. Unlike the brief pulses of co-existence between vendors in Alun-Alun Kota Malang, the sharing of space between South Chinatown vendors and the owners or occupants of spaces that they abut occurs for a longer and more stable duration with a predetermined set of boundaries. Therefore, most of the vendors we have spoken with were able to articulate the informally binding rules that governed their spatial patterns, such as maintaining the space in a clean condition, leaving by a specific time, not encroaching others' territories, and in some cases paying dues in various forms.

Vending practices in areas surrounding University Kampung demonstrated the necessity of familiarity and informally agreed-upon rules even further, as they existed on the delicate line between the private and the public and between the domestic and the productive. Most vendors in this predominantly residential area have developed a relationship with their surrounding community, which served as a strong

foundation in their immersion into the environment. Some vendors were even community members and property owners themselves. Others who were not, unless they were mobile vendors briefly passing through the area, were expected to ask for a verbal, albeit still informal, permission from the neighborhood association, and when directly abutting private residential property, were agreeing to a particular set of informal rules set by the property owners or occupants. Similar to the informal street vending system in daytime South Chinatown, the patterns of vending scene University Kampung have emerged out of the lived experiences and specific concerns of various individuals and groups within the system and afforded by the looseness of their everyday spaces.

These two qualities of complex system components, the ability to learn and adapt, and the capacity for rules creation, are inherent to individuals taking part in an informal social-spatial system such as a street vending. These qualities are what allow them to reassemble into discernible patterns. As illustrated above, some informal spatial systems are inherently contested. To such system, this capacity to reassemble is especially crucial in its reorganizing period following a disturbance, out of which a new pattern may emerge. Others, commonly found in the spaces of the everyday, are less contested and are organized by rules that are more explicitly negotiated. Both scenarios, however, suggest that spaces of informality that are ephemeral, seemingly erratic, and often oscillating between various uses, actually possess identifiable spatial and temporal patterns that are continuously being reassembled through the processes of learning and adaptation, as well as the creation and maintenance of informal rules.

CHAPTER 5

POWER RELATIONS: AN EXPLORATION OF THE ACTORS OF SYSTEM'S REASSEMBLING

Power relations are rooted in the system of social networks. That is not to say, however, that there is a primary and fundamental principle of power which dominates society down to the smallest detail; but, taking as point of departure the possibility of action upon the action of others (which is coextensive with every social relationship), multiple forms of individual disparity, of objectives, of the given application of power over ourselves or others, of, in varying degrees, partial or universal institutionalization, of more or less deliberate organization, one can define different forms of power. (Foucault, 1982, p. 793)

In Chapter 4, I discussed how discernible spatial and temporal patterns emerge from complex and fluid informal street vending systems, suggesting that a level of self-organization in the reassembling of a social-spatial system exists among its mutually participating, somewhat consensual, actors. This second part of the three discussion chapters attempts to highlight the role of power relations in the everyday reassembling of informal street vending systems. It includes the emergence of power from relationships that are formed in the spaces of the social, within which the everyday lives are embedded, and the ways that power is channeled by way of its exercise over another actor. This power relations, I argue, is an enabling factor for the creation and preservation of unwritten, oftentimes unspoken informal rules that underlie the capacity of an informal social-spatial system to continue to reassemble itself.

I approach this exploration of power relations through the lens of actor-network theory, which recognizes the recursive yet dynamic nature of power, as the associations through which it emerges can be fragile (Doak & Karadimitriou, 2007). This dynamic resonates strongly with an informal system within which alliances – and therefore rules – are fluid and contingent upon negotiated yet non-binding terms of agreement. Proponents of the actor-network theory (DeLanda, 2006; Latour, 2005; Law, 1986, 1991, 1992)

have argued that power is not a reservoir nor a capital that remains static. It instead has to be produced; it emerges from the associations of heterogeneous actors. Power, in this sense, does not remain within a single actor alone; it is channeled through the ebb and flow of diverse relationships, as old alliances are dissolved, and new ones assembled. The key to understanding what encourages, enables, allows, prohibits, or alters the reassembling of a social system, therefore, is to follow the actors among whom relationships are formed, and power is exercised. Because the everyday resilience of informal street vending systems depends on its ability to reassemble themselves in ways that allow them to maintain their essential functions, this exploration of power relations in the everyday also fills in the gap within the conventional resilience discourse.

The former *preman* who returned

Mr. P is a parking attendant of the roadside parking space across the southern edge of Alun-Alun Kota Malang, mostly abutting the sidewalk in front of Malang's Central Post Office. In his spare time, Mr. P would take on odd jobs working at construction sites, painting houses, and scalping home game tickets for the city's football team. He would occasionally turn a profit of IDR 5,000,000 (USD 350) scalping football tickets, more than he would ever make in a day as a parking attendant. Mr. P was one of the few parking attendants in this area who were native to the region. As a child, he was practically raised on the site by his father, who had also been a parking attendant on the west side of Alun-Alun-Kota Malang and would bring him along to work every day.

After the passing of his father in the early 1980s, Mr. P set out to the big capital city of Jakarta, where his older stepbrother was residing. During the twenty years that he spent in Jakarta, Mr. P was drawn to the *preman* scene and became one himself.⁶³ When he finally decided to return to Malang in 2001, he

⁶³ The closest English translation of the term '*preman*' would perhaps be a 'thug'. The application of *preman* in the Indonesian context is, however, more nuanced. The work of James Siegel (1998) on Indonesia's notion of criminality provided a political backdrop for the *preman*-state under the New Order leadership. Once petty criminals, *premans* had formed relationships with the police and thus had been recognized by the State and given a quasi-legal protection (Bertrand, 2004). These *premans* were disseminated into civil society as part of the State's surveillance system and were kept in check by the New Order by violence means if it appeared that they were going too far in taking advantage of the privileges that had been given to them by the State. Though considerably less centralized and less widely

discovered that his father's former domain had been taken over by another parking attendant. He emphasized the origin of the new parking attendant, "He was a person of Madurese ethnicity." Upon finding out that he could no longer reclaim his father's territory, Mr. P confronted the new parking attendant and later engaged him in a physical fight in the middle of Rampal, a large open space about two-kilometer northeast of Alun-Alun Kota Malang that was part of an army base. The memory of that brawl was something that he now felt ashamed of, and ironically, the two of them have grown closer over the years and now maintained a good relationship. Since then, Mr. P has acquired a new parking space to the south of Alun-Alun Kota Malang, where he continued to bear witness to the changes that have occurred in Malang's central public space throughout the years (FIG. 5.1). He recalled three phases of the redesign that Alun-Alun Kota Malang had undergone in the past. He had a particularly clear memory of a big Banyan tree in the center of the square, so old that it had probably dated as far back as the colonial period. Around 1975, that tree was replaced by a sizeable two-tiered water fountain – an older version of the current water feature – signifying the beginning of the city's vision to create a more modern image for Alun-Alun Kota Malang.

acceptable, the *premans* of today are to an extent still involved with the workings of corrupt local government officials, particularly in the occupation of urban spaces. Triatno Harjoko's (2016) work on Jakarta's informal economy captured the continued centrality of *preman*'s role in the informal legitimation of those engaged in the informal trading. Informal vendors in his study recognized the authority of *preman* and respected their presence because the *premans* were able to provide security backings to the vendors, thus legitimating their claim to urban space. Lower level *premans* were typically responsible for overseeing certain locations and collecting 'protection' fees from informal vendors or users of space. Upper level *premans*, on the other hand, worked more covertly with the local government officials. These bosses appeared to be not only invisible, but also untouchable, due to the power that emerged from their relationships with various actors of the more formal sectors.



FIGURE 5.1. Mr. P's roadside parking spaces.
Source: Author's personal collection.

Despite city officials' earlier attempts to modernize and by extension, formalize the city's urban spaces, Mr. P recalled that much of its public spaces had for a long time continued to support informal activities, including Alun-Alun Kota Malang. According to Mr. P, parking spaces around the city used to be – and in many less centralized locations still were – controlled by a network of *premans* who would act as a sort of informal 'landlords'. Parking attendants like himself and street vendors had to pay 'rents' to a collector assigned for each area. These collectors acted as middlemen between parking attendants or street vendors and *premans* of the upper tiers, with whom people like Mr. P had never had any personal contact. This informal 'leasing' system was no longer feasible in the more central parts of the city due to higher scrutiny from the state by way of Satpol PP officers on the ground. Mr. P, however, brought up an intriguing account on the temporary return of this practice during the Ramadhan month of 2017, something that we had also briefly heard from some of the street vendors. It appeared that during the fasting month, the city had loosened its surveillance on some parts of the *alun-alun* area. As street vendors realized this, they began to make themselves more comfortable in the space, and soon enough, so did one collector known

by the nickname *Kancil*.⁶⁴ Mr. P had heard from some of the vendors that they had to pay IDR 400,000 (USD 28) to *Kancil* for a space to park their cart. Though nobody knew where the money had gone to upstream, some vendors believed that they would have been raided by Satpol PP officers had they not paid their dues to *Kancil*, drawing a speculative line between the network of collectors and the state apparatus. After the month of Ramadhan ended, Mr. P recalled that the street vending scene in Alun-Alun Kota Malang returned to its 'regular' beat and pattern, which consisted of a perpetual game of hide-and-seek with Satpol PP officers as described in Chapter 4.

Regarding his own contact with street vendors in Alun-Alun Kota Malang, Mr. P expressed sympathy for their unfortunate circumstances. He believed that these vendors should be allowed to operate on the sidewalks and the outer edges of Alun-Alun Kota Malang provided that they did not enter the *alun-alun* premises,

I pity the vendors; they are just poor people trying to make an honest living. Many of them express grief to us parking attendants about their situation. Most of the street vendors follow our direction to keep out of the parking spaces and stay on the sidewalk or the other side of the street. Back in the days, many people were fearful of me because they knew I am an ex-convict. But honestly, when a vendor asks nicely, sometimes we let them use a little bit of our space, usually about three moped spaces. In exchange, they usually offer to give us some of their goods as a form of payment. The tofu vendor, for instance, would give me one plastic bag full of tofu, but I refused to take all of them, one tofu was enough for me. Sometimes, when a vendor is looking to borrow money to stock up on their goods, and I happen to have some extra money, I will lend them the money. No interest. If somebody tries to return the money with interest, I tell them to buy themselves a pack of smoke with it.

⁶⁴ From an Indonesian fable about a clever mouse-deer, who is weak and small yet very cunning.

Whenever he had to witness vendors' belongings being taken away during a raid, Mr. P felt the urge to challenge the Satpol PP officers, but he was afraid of getting arrested. He had been imprisoned for gambling in 2010, and while that has helped him build a reputation in the world of turf wars, he would rather not relive the experience,

All the Satpol PP officers do is sit around all day. They sit here; they sit over there. Now that the city is preparing for the event, they take laps around alun-alun throughout the day.⁶⁵ Otherwise, during ordinary days, all of them just sit around, particularly the female officers. They are basically receiving gaji buta.⁶⁶ I personally would not want to do this job of doing nothing, even if I was getting paid five million rupiahs (USD 350) monthly. I even pity them sometimes. I am better off this way, without a fixed income, compared to these salaried officers, who wear a uniform, but as soon as they arrive around nine or ten in the morning, they get on their phones. Sometimes they stay in their car for hours, to the point of falling asleep.

From the above account, we can see how someone with a seemingly straightforward role of being a parking attendant could be such a complex and multiple self, shaped by his sense of belonging in the space that he occupied, his relationships with the wide range of actors around him, and his personal history and struggle. As a roadside parking attendant, he was an integral part of informality in urban spaces in several capacities. The practice of attending roadside parking itself used to be a purely informal operation, as parking attendants occupied and laid claim on the public right-of-way without any authorization from the state. Because informal roadside parking has become arguably vital to the functioning of the city itself, there is little that cities in developing countries can do to clear out these spaces. Instead, rather than letting organized *premans* continue to take advantage of the informal parking attendance, there has been a push from the part of the city to formalize these roadside parking spaces such that the parking attendants would

⁶⁵ This refers to APEKSI, as discussed later in this chapter

⁶⁶ The direct translation of this expression is 'blind salary', meaning getting paid while doing next to nothing on the job.

be working with the state. Instead of paying informal dues to *preman* collectors, then, parking attendants would pay a set amount of fee to the city in lieu of a formal lease of their space.

In another capacity, Mr. P also saw himself as a custodian of the space, not only the particular parking spaces that he oversaw, but also the spaces of Alun-Alun Kota Malang in general. However, due to the inherent informality of this role, this capacity would often be limited to becoming a bystander, an observer of the space. He expressed quite bluntly his frustration towards the Satpol PP officers and his inclination to help street vendors, followed with an acknowledgment that getting involved aggressively in such altercation might not be best for his personal interest. Mr. P's ability to relate to the street vendors was especially remarkable when we take into account his personal history as a member of a *preman* group in Jakarta, although he did not elaborate further to me on his role in that membership. It could be that by observing the spaces of Alun-Alun Kota Malang on a daily basis, by witnessing the many raids that street vendors have had to push through, and just by being in direct contact with many of these street vendors, he has developed meaningful relationships not only with the space itself but also with the people and activities that continued to assemble and reassemble these spaces.

Lastly, with their capacity as an informal custodian of a public space, parking attendants like Mr. P could also become an informal 'landlord' to street vendors, if they so choose, by hosting them in a small pocket of their parking spaces. However, unlike *premans*, parking attendants with whom we have spoken stated that they generally would not accept money from the street vendors that they hosted. Mr. P earlier mentioned that street vendors would offer him some of the goods that they were selling, from which Mr. P would only take a small amount. A similar exchange also occurred in South Chinatown, where we learned from a *soto* vendor how he came to settle in a parking space operated by a parking attendant with whom he had become acquainted. That being said, not all parking attendants would allow such vending activity to occur in their territory, and those who do would not take on just any street vendors coming their way, at least not for free. The South Chinatown *soto* vendor made a note that while he paid the parking attendant back by serving him a bowl of *soto* whenever he wanted to have a meal, other parking attendants might expect monetary fees from vendors with whom they were not as well acquainted. This expectation was confirmed by the South Chinatown parking attendant,

Some parking attendants consider these vending carts as being parked in their space, so they will charge them a parking fee as if a vehicle was parked there. However, while a vehicle is only parked for a few hours at most, these carts stay a lot longer, so some parking attendants will charge these vendors an all-day parking rate. But that is them. I myself do not have the heart to do that because, at the end of the day, we are all just trying to make ends meet. Especially those whom I have known for a long time, I consider them friends or even relatives.

This illustrates the importance of familiarity and kinship in influencing the decisions of actors of urban informality in the sharing of their resources and allowing certain spaces for informal street vending to emerge. This flexibility would otherwise be lacking in spaces that are tightly regulated, be it through formal means of the state, or by an organized network of *premans*, which, while very much informal, is also a rigid system with an established hierarchical structure. The absence of such established structures in these spaces of informality allows power to be distributed more flexibly on the ground level, by way of the relationships that actors in these spaces foster with one another.

The vendor with no competitor

Mr. G is a newspaper vendor who has spent most of his life in Alun-Alun Kota Malang. Mr. G had caught our attention early in our fieldwork due to the air of calmness that always seemed to surround him. We noticed from our observation of Alun-Alun Kota Malang street vendors that Mr. G generally remained unbothered when other vendors would start to look over their shoulders for incoming Satpol PP officers. At times we had even spotted him roaming around the *alun-alun* grounds when the officers were on duty, and no other vendors were in sight. When asked about this confidence of his, he responded,

When the Satpol PP first began to patrol Alun-Alun Kota Malang, even newspaper vendors like myself were not allowed to be here. But then I protested to the officers; I told them that I have been selling newspapers here since I was a little boy. By selling newspapers, it is

like I am promoting our city, and selling newspapers does not pollute the environment with litters anyways if that is what they are concerned about. Nowadays, even though it is still officially prohibited from doing any kind of vending here, including selling newspapers, the officers tend to leave me alone as long as I keep moving on my feet when they get here. That is why I have to keep on circling around, because if I stayed in one spot, then other vendors might follow suit.

Mr. G migrated with his parents to Malang from the nearby island of Madura in 1987, when he was still a young boy. Only knowing how to read and write, he became a newspaper vendor in Alun-Alun Kota Malang right away. He explained to us that the vast majority of street vendors in Malang today originated from Madura, or were Madurese in ethnicity, who migrated – or whose parents migrated – to seek a more stable income outside of the agricultural sector, a common occupation in Madurese towns and villages. Among these migrants were his parents, who used to work at a tobacco plantation in rural Madura. Mr. G was now a parent to three children himself, all of whom were receiving education much higher than what he had been,

For most Madurese back home, the most important rite of passage in a young boy's life is knowing how to read the Qur'an. After that, they are expected to go on one of only two routes: continuing their education at an Islamic boarding school or migrating off the island and trying their luck in the big city.

Upon their migration to Malang, Mr. G's parents built a cigarette kiosk in Alun-Alun Kota Malang. This was the period long ago when semi-permanent structures were still tolerated on the premises. Mr. G now has a conflicting feeling about the way that Alun-Alun Kota Malang used to be,

I have lived through multiple Mayors of Malang, and I could feel the impact that each one had on Alun-Alun Kota Malang. In the past, this area had older trees with bigger canopies, sheltering the space from the midday heat. There was more freedom in the ways that people used the space, particularly with regards to street vending. However, alun-alun was

run by premans, and pick pocketers were running rampant, especially during the day when it was most crowded. At evening, there were drunkards harassing vendors who were staying overnight in their kiosks. Brawls around Alun-Alun Kota Malang were also a common occurrence in the 1980s, particularly following a football match between our team and Surabaya's team.⁶⁷

For us, poor people, life was more relaxed during Mr. Peni's administration.⁶⁸ The city generally let us be, and on the rare occasions that they had to hold a raid, for whatever reason, the information would be disseminated to us in advance so that we could be prepared. Under Mr. Anton, I am witnessing for myself that alun-alun has become a much safer place, even though the lack of shade and the increasing temperature make it a less pleasant place to be.⁶⁹ Even though he has been away for some time, nothing truly changed.⁷⁰ I suppose someone else has stepped up and continued to carry out his programs, even though the council building is basically empty.

Even though his presence as a newspaper vendor in Alun-Alun Kota Malang has become somewhat more limited today, Mr. G still preferred it over having the *alun-alun* revert back to the way things had been in the distant past. Although he understood the wishes of the other street vendors to be able to operate in *alun-alun* as freely as they used to be, Mr. G also had another perspective in viewing the circumstances,

⁶⁷ Surabaya is the second biggest city in Indonesia and also the nearest big city to Malang (about two hours' drive away). It is home to Persebaya (*Persatuan Sepak Bola Surabaya*), an archrival to Malang's football team, AREMA (*Arek Malang*).

⁶⁸ Mr. Peni was Malang's Mayor from 2003-2013 and was known to be accommodative towards informal street vendors.

⁶⁹ Mr. Anton is Malang's current mayor and is known to rule with an iron fist when it comes to informal street vending in Malang's public spaces.

⁷⁰ The current mayor, Mr. Anton, and a significant number of local representatives were at the time of the research embroiled in an alleged corruption case and became inactive.

The street vendors would not ever leave if you gave them an inch, so I can understand how troublesome it is for the city officials.⁷¹ If the city does not provide vendors with any space, the vendors will lament that they cannot provide for their family, that they cannot put food on the table. When a city does designate a space for vendors, it gets out of control quickly, just like that street one block south of here where the fruit vendors have started using tents and building semi-permanent shacks. That should not have been permitted. There was even supposed to be a curfew, that the road was supposed to be cleared out during the day. That is how troublesome it is. That is just how human beings behave. There is no perfect solution. Every now and then, the Satpol PP officers have an altercation with the vendors, but then again, they are just doing their duty given by the city officials. These officers are also just trying to provide food for their families. I sympathize with them, knowing that they do not have extended contracts; they are being paid daily by the city and could be dismissed at any time.

With regards to competition among vendors, Mr. G admitted that there did exist some friction, through mostly insignificant, among vendors. Like many others, he tried to not make a big deal out of the competition, believing that their fate was out of their control, and therefore there was no need for a clash among vendors, even those with similar goods,

It would be completely fine for me to share this space with other newspaper vendors. Everyone's fortune is determined by God. All we can do as humans are to work our hardest and make a living in an honest way. Then we leave the result up to God. That way, we can live more peacefully with ourselves.

We found that such an attitude was not uncommon among other street vendors we spoke with. Despite the competitive nature of this world of informal street vending, particularly among vendors with

⁷¹ From the Indonesian proverb, *dikasih hati, minta jantung*, the direct translation of which is give them a liver, they will ask for a heart. The closest reference that it has to an English proverb is 'give him an inch and he will take a mile', used to describe someone who will take advantage of you if you are the slightest bit kind to them.

similar goods, vendors tended to brush off our questions regarding the possible existence of conflict amongst themselves, citing that they have all agreed to keep their prices within a similar range to maintain a leveled playing field. Echoing Mr. G's view of fate and fortune, most – if not all – vendors referred to the term *pasrah*, a notion which acknowledges that most things in this life are out of one's control, and therefore it is futile to worry about them, particularly to the point of taking actions that would cause harm to others. In everyday life, this rather submissive perspective of one's life is commonly followed by a recital of more words of wisdom; '*nasib manusia ada di tangan Tuhan*' – 'our fate is in the hands of God', or a variation of it, '*semua orang punya rejekinya masing-masing*' – 'everyone has their own fortune', which cannot be interfered with by another person.⁷²

With that attitude, Mr. G claimed to welcome other newspaper vendors into *alun-alun*, should they want to. He insisted that he would not find them threatening to his livelihood because, again, everyone's fortune has been written, and a little competition would not change it. Despite that notion of openness, I did not witness any newspaper vendor in Alun-Alun Kota Malang other than Mr. G throughout my months of observation. A plausible explanation for this is that even though Mr. G has never explicitly nor intentionally prevented other newspaper vendors from entering Alun-Alun Kota Malang, his decades-long presence in *alun-alun* alone has been effective in shutting potential newspaper vendors out of the area. This intimate relationship that he has built with the space conveyed a message to other newspaper vendors that *alun-alun* was indeed his territory. Furthermore, the rapport that he has built with Satpol PP officers and the fact that they have, for the most part, allowed him to continue to operate in *alun-alun* when no other vendors could have validated Mr. G's perceived ownership of the space. Until another newspaper vendor takes a chance and breaks this informal and unwritten yet seemingly exclusive contract between Mr. G, the spaces of *alun-alun*, and Satpol PP officers, he will continue to be the undisputed newspaper vendor of Alun-Alun Kota Malang.

⁷² This worldview is held not only by those associated with the world of informal street vending but also by ordinary Javanese people in their everyday life. For more on the Javanese cognition system and local wisdom, see Setiyadi & Bambang's *Discourse analysis of Serat Kalatidha* (2013).

The Madurese and the 'others'

In the 1990s, Pakong, a rural area south of Malang, experienced a significant socio-economic shift, which I will discuss in more length in Chapter 6. This shift forced a good portion of its predominantly agricultural population to migrate to large urban centers of East Java, such as Gresik, Surabaya, Malang, and even as far as Jakarta (Spaan & Hartveld, 2002). Among these migrants were people of Madurese origin who had previously migrated to Pakong from their island of Madura. Madura, a small island off the northeastern coast of Java, is formally part of the East Java province. Even though the island itself is relatively well-populated compared to outer islands of its size located farther away from Java, it has, for a long time, been one of the least developed regions of East Java and Java in general. It was only in the last decade that a cable-stayed bridge, the longest in Indonesia, was built to connect Bangkalan, the westernmost town on the island of Madura, to Surabaya, the largest city in East Java. Opened for vehicular traffic in 2009, this bridge was hoped to spur a more even development and economic growth in Madura.

Even though agriculture is said to be the primary source of employment in Madura, the island does not have the same fertile farming soil that the neighboring island of Java has. Among the limited crops to grow on Madura's soil are tobacco and cloves, the island's two main export products. Due to the uncertain nature of its farming, Madura is known for its centuries of outmigration. Its population is on the constant lookout for employments with a more stable income off the island. As the newspaper vendor noted earlier, moving to big cities in Java in search of better living is a choice that many Madurese young adults have had to make. Like many other urbanization stories around the developing world, the lack of higher education and professional skills of these new urbanites severely limits the types of formal employments that they can access. Subsequently, migrants typically resort to creating their own employment opportunities by way of the informal sectors, working as *becak* drivers or street vendors. Although this type of employment comes with its own challenges due to its inherent informality, the Madurese street vendors we spoke to generally seemed to be content with their new urban lives. A *soto* vendor who migrated to Malang in 1991 said he had no regrets even though many of his extended family members were still back in Madura, "I like it better here because I make more and steadier income. Instead of waiting for months for a harvest, I make money every day as a vendor." A vendor who sells clothing articles at Malang Night Market told us that he had

been unemployed in Madura before deciding to migrate to Malang in 2014, “The harvests just stopped coming so I did not have any work to do. I came here, found a business partner, and started vending right away.”

Even though larger Indonesian cities are becoming less tolerant of informal activities in their urban spaces, particularly to street vending, young Madurese are still finding cities to be an appealing alternative to the rural farming life in Madura, which is also becoming less stable. Decades of migration to Malang has created a vast network of street vendors of Madurese origin who still maintain familial ties to family members who are still living in Madura. Many Madurese street vendors we spoke to migrated to Malang because they had a sibling, or knew someone from Madura, who had previously migrated to the area. Our *soto* vendor migrated to Malang following the footsteps of his older brother, “He is also a *soto* vendor, he taught me all I know about the craft of making this dish. Even this cart is a hand-me-down from him.” A sweet corn snack vendor also followed the path that his older brother had created, “He is also a sweet corn vendor in Gadang, so he taught me how to make this snack.”⁷³ We asked the clothing vendor why he chose Malang over another medium to large cities in Java, particularly Surabaya which is significantly larger and is closer to Madura, “Well, I do not know anyone in Surabaya, all of my relatives are already in Malang, so it makes more sense for me to go to Malang. I knew it would be easier.”

The newspaper vendor we spoke with made a rough estimate that around eighty percent of street vendors in Malang originated from Madura, or of Madurese descent. Prof. Abdul Juli Andi Gani, a professor of Business Administration at Universitas Brawijaya, Malang, who conducted a study on informal vending regulations in Malang circa 2003, also acknowledged this phenomenon, “Most of the informal street vendors in Malang are – pardon me – Madurese. Madurese people, whenever one person comes over today, the rest of their family members and relatives will also come within a month or two.” Beyond following their predecessor’s pattern of migration, vendors of similar origin tend to cluster together in their new hometown (FIG. 5.2). The corn snack vendor shared, “Many my neighbors in the *kampung* are people I already knew

⁷³ An area in the southern part of Malang, about fifteen minutes’ drive away from Alun-Alun Kota Malang

back in Madura. Some of them are also vendors right here, that *soto* vendor and that *batagor* vendor.”⁷⁴ While this creates a secure network that can readily support incoming Madurese migrants looking to get into the city's informal street vending scene, this also produces an otherness for the minority group consisting of non-Madurese street vendors in Malang.

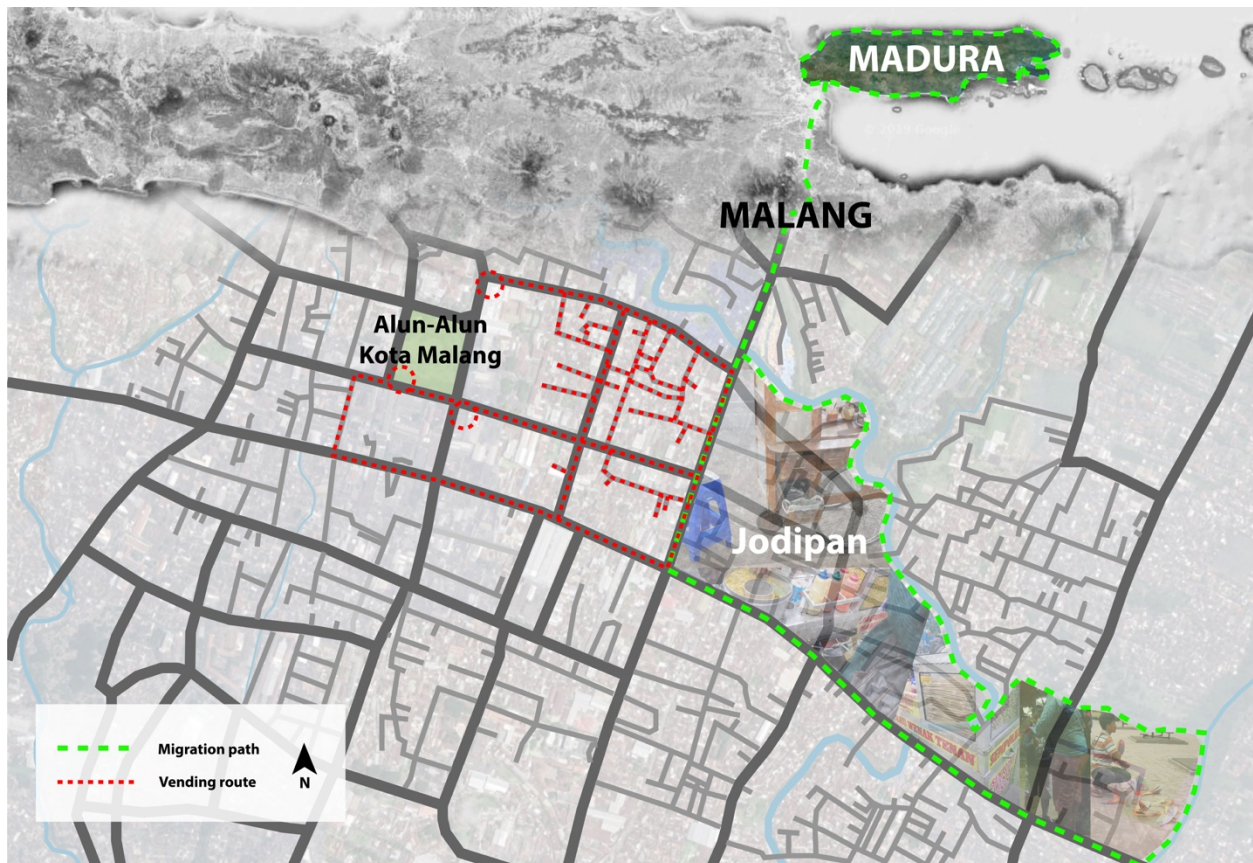


FIGURE 5.2. Diagrammatic map of Madurese vendors' migration and places of residence in Malang.
Source: Author's personal collection.

Our interviews with street vendors suggested that they have fostered an overall positive relationship with other vendors. Most of them gave a positive response when asked about how they were getting along with other vendors. They claimed to be well-acquainted with one another, with one, in particular, referring to another vendor as her 'friend'. On the surface, these informal street vendors appeared to take pride in

⁷⁴ *Batagor* is short for *bakso tahu goreng* – fried tofu stuffed with meatball.

their harmony and comradery, which have been demonstrated in the ways that they looked out for one another, be it in the form of verbal alerts or incoming Satpol PP officers, or the sharing of information through their group messaging network.⁷⁵ As our interviews went into more depth, however, street vendors who were not of Madurese origin expressed a distinct kind of struggle that Madurese vendors did not seem to have a problem with. Ms. T, a toy vendor in Alun-Alun Kota Malang from Jakarta, shared her experience as an outsider in the area,

I used to be a banker in Jakarta, and my daughter and I were quite comfortable financially. However, I got carried away and started an unlawful side hustle that was still related to my capacity as a banker.⁷⁶ Around the same time, I noticed that my daughter was rebelling, for which I felt immense guilt. I wondered if it was because of the 'dirty' money that I made,⁷⁷ and the fact that she had basically been raised by a nanny since I was rarely around. One day I just decided to end that way of life and left everything that we had in Jakarta behind. We only took our tikar and a little cash enough to get us around.⁷⁸ I wanted to move to a place where we knew nobody, to start over. I told my daughter that if we did not know anyone, then we would not be embarrassed even if we had to become street vendors. I brought my daughter to Bali, and eventually, we ended up in Malang. When we got to Malang, we started selling bakpao on an old bicycle that we bought, from kampung to kampung.⁷⁹ Nobody showed us the rope; we had to figure everything out by ourselves. Eventually, we figured out that it was not a very practical choice of goods to sell, and we ended up selling children's toys instead.

⁷⁵ As discussed in Chapter 4.

⁷⁶ The vendor disclosed to me in relative detail of what this side hustle was, but I am omitting that detail from her account to retain her privacy and avoid any possible incrimination.

⁷⁷ In other parts of our conversation, the vendor also referred to this 'dirty' money as *riba*, an Islamic concept of exploitative gains made in business or trade that is illegal under the Sharia law.

⁷⁸ *Tikar* is a traditional straw mat that is a common possession in Indonesian households. It is lightweight and can be rolled up like a long yoga mat, making it highly portable.

⁷⁹ *Bakpao* is an Indonesian take on Chinese steamed buns (*baozi*), typically filled with savory meat or sweet paste fillings.

When we started vending here, other vendors were pretty hostile to us, because we were newcomers. There were also other new vendors, but they were Madurese, and Madurese tend to arrive in groups. Even now, we have been here for a few years, but we are still considered outsiders because we are the only ones from Jakarta. The vendors here particularly dislike my daughter because she is a talented salesperson. This woman next to us, hates me very much, to the point of calling my daughter a 'whore'.⁸⁰ She said it in Madurese, so at first, I did not even understand what she was calling her. My daughter is eleven years old; she is big-boned, but she is only in fifth grade! She also dresses modestly and wears a hijab; I cannot believe she is being called names like that.

When I mentioned how other street vendors responded positively to my question of competition among vendors, Ms. T refuted that popular claim,

No, nobody is truly in harmony. They may appear so on the surface, but it is often a different story underneath. Nobody is genuinely happy when another vendor makes a sale. We do, however, still look out for each other when it comes to Satpol PP, even though we also act like enemies to each other sometimes.

Despite her distance from other vendors in Alun-Alun Kota Malang, there was one person that Ms. T considered a friend, "The lady who sells bubbles there is from Madura, but she has lived here for a long time. She is the only one who has been kind to me and always looking out after us." It was as we were wrapping up this interview that the altercation between Ms. T and a male spinning dragonfly vendor from Madura described in Chapter 4 occurred. After a few minutes, a group of male spinning dragonfly vendors who seemed to be associated with the upset Madurese male vendor eventually pulled him back and deescalated the situation. When I returned for the second phase of my fieldwork in 2018, I sought out Ms. T to ask whether there has been any improvement in her relationships with the other, predominantly Madurese, vendors in the area. She told us that she had not gotten into anymore altercation since that

⁸⁰ The person she referred to was a toy vendor of Madurese origin.

moment, for the most part because her daughter had learned her 'place', "I told her to stay away whenever a spot was already claimed by another vendor, to look for another spot that was farther away so that others did not think that she was trying to steal their customers."

Ms. I, a local *kerupuk* vendor, was of Javanese ethnicity and was born and raised in Malang. She was one of the few vendors in Alun-Alun Kota Malang, who did not originate from the island of Madura. Although her experience as a new vendor in the area many years ago had not been as unpleasant as that of the Jakartan vendor's, she remembered her struggle as a relative 'other',

I did not know anyone at this particular place. The only reason I moved here was that I was not doing too well; there were not too many customers at my former vending place. When I first got here around ten years ago, I did not know what to do; I did not know how or where to sell. I started at one spot and kept shifting eastward until one vendor called me and told me to stay there with her. We became close, and I started to enjoy vending here. But not everyone here is as friendly, some vendors sulk and rant when others are doing well. Like that roast corn vendor, she gets upset when someone else is making good sales, even though they are not even selling the same things.

An exception to this dynamic in the vendors' place of origin seems to be the University Kampung site, where its street vendors are still predominantly local vendors from Malang. Because the spaces in this neighborhood that the vendors occupied were a quasi-public realm, they were still closely tied to the residents around them, most of whom were locals of the Malang area. The vending that occurred in this area took place in various parts of the *kampung*; the public alleyways, the quasi-public front yards of residential properties, and even the formerly private residential spaces that have been converted into quasi-public vending spaces. In these spaces, access to enter the vending scene still depended largely upon the

discretion of the local residents, thus making it somewhat more difficult for vendors who did not have any history or meaningful tie in the area, such as those of Madurese origin, to penetrate.⁸¹

While the more discernible factor of the 'othering' in these spaces of informal vending appeared to have been rooted in the vendors' places of origin and its share of the dominant network, a less understood but still plausible factor is class relations. In this dissertation, the issue of social-economic class differences within the informal street vending system was not explicitly explored, because stories gathered from the street vendors themselves had made no mention of it. That said, I can think of a couple of instances where such class distinction might have had an impact as to how certain vendors were perceived. Ms. T and her daughter, who hailed from the capital city of Jakarta, had previously lived a comfortable life when Ms. T worked as a banker in Jakarta. Having been a banker, she presumably also had advanced education, relative to the common informal street vendors. Such advanced education and experience in the formal financial sector are a rare credential among conventional informal street vendors, many of whom belong to the lower economic classes.⁸² Whether or not this distinction had been relevant to how she was perceived as an outsider and excluded from the primarily Madurese vending network, however, is something that I at the moment cannot definitively support nor deny, due to the lack of verbal confirmation from the actors involved in the act of 'othering'. A second vendor with a distinct social-economic background was Mr. L, whose story we will follow in the next section. Mr. L's sophisticated social and political affiliations have, in a way, helped elevate his role in the local informal vending scene, a kind of 'othering' that is distinct from that of Ms. T's, one that afforded him access to the production of power.

⁸¹ This local identity, along with the perceived threat of the arrival of 'outside' vendors, will be explored in more length in Chapter 6.

⁸² I should point out, however, that in Indonesian larger cities, the informal street vending profession has begun to include those from the middle economic classes, many of whom hold higher education degrees. These are the vendors who experiment with selling novelty items out of the back of their cars or extensively modified carts, as well as those with an expanded franchised vending enterprise. How these new types of vending and vendors may interact with the more conventional informal street vendors are out of the scope of this research but could be a valuable future research pursuit.

The intermediaries

After suggesting to Mr. Anton, Malang's current mayor, that the city uses the South Chinatown area as a relocation venue for displaced informal street vendors, Mr. L became the head of the Community of South of Market Vendors. The Mayor latched onto his suggestion, and when it evolved into a grand project of Malang Night Market, Mr. L was tasked with the organizing of Malang Night Market vendors (FIG. 5.3). Mr. L came to be personally acquainted with the Mayor through his active involvement in the Malang chapter of the Indonesian National Youth Council (*Komite Nasional Pemuda Indonesia*, or KNPI for short).⁸³ As an activist, Mr. L had built a rapport with local politicians and city officials, as well as with local community members, particularly the youths, giving him a strategic position to straddle both the formal realm of city governance and the more informal community realm in an urban *kampung*.

In his community, Mr. L used to own a newspaper kiosk on the side of the road, run daily by some of the local youths that he employed. Early in 2017, he decided to start his own vending enterprise at Malang Night Market. Using an old van that has been gutted and refurbished into a coffee bar, he opened a coffee shop on the fringe of the night market, where more space was available to park the van and provide outdoor seating for coffee connoisseurs. He claimed that this venture was not oriented for profit, and instead was dedicated to providing apprenticeship to his young nephews. Eventually, Mr. L would like to relocate his coffee shop to a more permanent location near the Brawijaya University campus, though he wished that it could be the other way around, that the night market could become attractive to university students, both as a gathering space and an incubator for entrepreneur endeavors.

⁸³ KNPI is a nationwide youth organization founded in 1973 by the New Order regime. Claimed by the government to have been a unifying platform for the diverse youths of Indonesia, scholars such as Liddle (1978), Ryter (1998), and Naafs and Ben (2012) argue that the council was created as a political vehicle for the New Order to quell the emerging opposition from other youth movements. After the fall of New Order, the council dissociated itself from the New Order identity and today continues to produce influential figures in Indonesia's politics.



FIGURE 5.3. One of Malang Night Market staff, who is also a local South Chinatown youth, assembling a vending tent.

Source: Author's personal collection.

The first time that our team interviewed Mr. L at his coffee van, we were introduced to Ms. D, another member of KNPI, who became involved in the later development of Malang Night Market. She happened to be present at our interview location for another occasion and jumped into our conversation, offering some of her own accounts on the workings of the night market. When we met Mr. L separately for the second time, he disclosed to us how Ms. D had, in fact, not been involved in the planning and conception of Malang Night Market, and only later established herself as a spokesperson of the night market, unsolicited,

We knew each other personally from KNPI, and I had made an open invitation for anyone in the KNPI who would be interested in getting the night market off the ground to come to help us. So, Ms. D was the one who showed up to the night market's inauguration. A few months ago, she showed up bearing news that the World Bank was interested in opening lines of credit for Malang Night Market vendors who needed some capital. When I asked

her where the World Bank's office was so I could get in touch with them directly, she said that everything would have to go through her, and all she needed from the vendors to apply for the credits were their Resident Identity Card. I told her that that was a risk I was not willing to endorse, and that was the end of it. She likes to pull stunts like that. Whenever there is media coverage on the night market, she always wants to be on the front line, getting interviewed. And most of the time, she manages to do just that because she knows a lot of people and often hears the news first. But honestly, she does not always get the facts straight. Some of the information she brought up in our last conversation with you was not accurate, because the truth is, she had not even been involved from the beginning.

In 2017, a local newspaper published a statement by a member of the Regional People's Representative Assembly (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*, or DPRD for short) that called for the dissolution of Malang Night Market due to its lack of growth. One of the local community members who happened to be a local reporter for a national TV network sought out Mr. L and informed him that words had spread among local journalists that members of the South Chinatown youth group were planning to confront that local newspaper to demand clarification on the representative's statement. To us, Mr. L explained why such rumor was spreading, "To be honest, this area's community members used to – and perhaps still do to a degree – have a reputation for standing up for ourselves at best, or stirring up trouble at worst." Following that lead, Mr. L reached out to a local TV station to refute the representative's statement and provide them with the night market's side of the story. In his statement, Mr. L accused the representative of deliberately causing a stir with the intention of sparking opposition to the Mayor's newly minted project.

When the night market just started, many sides underestimated our efforts, some outwardly scoffed at us, betting that we would not even make it past the two months' mark. Even one of the organizing city officials had significant doubts about our success. After the market took off, arguably, I decided to step back and not be as involved, because all the negativities had taken a toll on me.

In the beginning, Mr. L used to be directly involved with individual vendors and the everyday functioning of Malang Night Market. After a while, as it became overwhelming for him, he stepped back and appointed Mr. K to become a field coordinator to deal with the vendors on a more personal level. There seemed to be a clear division of role and responsibility between Mr. S as the head of the Community of South of Market Vendors and Mr. K as the field coordinator of Malang Night Market,

Mr. K has a sociable personality, so I knew he would enjoy the task of interacting with all the vendors. Plus, he gets a free meal from the vendors every night, because he has gotten to know them so well. Nowadays, only around half of the vendors are familiar with me, but every single one of them knows Mr. K. That is because I do not make regular visits anymore. I only step in when there is a serious issue that needs to be addressed. When there is not any problem, Mr. K's presence is more than enough.

Every night, Mr. K would walk around the night market, going from vendor to vendor to collect their nightly fees. According to Mr. K, the official nightly rate to be collected from each vendor was IDR 15,000 (USD 1), 8,000 of which would go towards tent rental, setup, and storing, while the rest was an official fee for garbage pickup and street cleaning by the city's Parks and Sanitation Agency (*Departemen Kebersihan dan Pertamanan*, or DKP for short). Vendors who used their own tents or did not even use tents were charged an IDR 10,000 (USD 0.70) nightly fee for the space, garbage pickup, and street cleaning, and an additional IDR 2,000 (USD 0.14) for electricity hookup, an additional service that vendors could opt in to. Although the fees were necessary to keep night market operations running, especially since they were no longer receiving funding from the city government, their approach to fee collection was not a rigid affair. Mr. K was not opposed to showing some leniency when a vendor was not attracting many customers on a given night, "Sometimes we do not collect a flat IDR 15,000 fee. We know that when it is a slow night, the vendor is barely making anything for themselves. It would not be fair of us to demand that they pay the full amount." His claim was corroborated by one of the vendors we spoke to, who told us that sometimes, when things were really slow, Mr. K and his staff would understand and not even collect any fee from them.

The case of Malang Night Market is unique with regards to the presence of an intermediary between the regulations set by the city and the everyday operation of the vendors. As Malang Night Market was becoming a reality, Malang Tourism Agency as an extension of the city forged a partnership with Mr. L and the newly founded Community of South of Market Vendors, which mostly consisted of members of the South Chinatown youth association, in order to tap into their well-established relationship with the local evening street vendors. Although dubbed as a partnership, the relationship between the appointed city agency and Mr. L's Community of South of Market Vendors was more nuanced, as the former's position was securely nestled within the city's formal structure, while the latter more closely dealt with the everyday people and space, lending the two an access to distinct kinds of power and influences.

On the ground, the Malang Night Market case presented a hybrid of a formally recognized system and a community built on personal affiliations and trust. Mr. K, a personification of the formal power of the city but also as an extension of the local community, regularly practiced personal discretion in his exercise of power. This discretion could be observed through the judgment that he made for the amount of fee that he would collect from certain vendors on a given night. Such judgment call required a certain familiarity with the actors involved and close attention to how well each vendor was doing on any given night. If Mr. K were to bypass personal judgment altogether and demanded an equal fee from all vendors, it might become an overwhelming burden to some, which may eventually lead to the termination of a vendor's operation at that location. Because the success and longevity of organized events like this night market depend on the individual success and continued participation of its vendors, disruption to a significant number of individual vendors could mean a disruption to the whole system. Therefore, what Mr. K has exercised is, in fact, the maintenance of a system's balance, though he personally may not necessarily view his role in such gravity.



FIGURE 5.4. A martabak vendor (right side) shared her tent with an ice cream vendor (left side), free of charge. Source: Author's personal collection.

Similar acts of generosity were also performed by vendors with higher financial means, as exhibited in the way that a *martabak* vendor shared her tent with an ice cream vendor who lacked the financial means to lease his own tent (FIG. 5.4).⁸⁴ Even though the *martabak* vendor could easily demand that the ice cream vendor pay his fair share of the tent space, she would refuse to receive any payment from him, at least until he started to make a good amount sale every night consistently. Individually, this kind of arrangement would be based on personal relationships built on generosity and goodwill. Collectively, these acts could play a significant role in maintaining the diversity and the critical mass of vendors that the night market so desperately needed to continue to attract visitors and maintain a thriving operation.

⁸⁴ *Martabak*, or *murtabak* as it is referred to in Malaysia and Singapore, is stuffed pan-fried thin bread commonly found in the Arabian Peninsula as well as Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore. In its Indonesian version, its stuffing mainly consists of eggs, meat, curry seasoning, and some varieties of onion.

Personal discretion: Satpol PP field officers and informal landlords

One Monday morning in July 2017, no street vendors were to be seen in Alun-Alun Kota Malang. When our research team had visited a few days before, we had asked one of the street vendors whether she knew of an upcoming event in the city called APEKSI. There appeared to be a general understanding among street vendors of that event was and what it entailed for them, as one vendor informed us of their upcoming schedule, “Vending is strictly prohibited on Monday, but we will be here on the Sunday before because there will be many visitors here.”

APEKSI is short for *Asosiasi Pemerintah Seluruh Indonesia*, or the Association of Indonesian Municipalities. Each year, mayors and representatives from municipalities across the country gather in a host city to discuss regional, national, and global issues, particularly with regards to socioeconomic development and partnership between local governments.⁸⁵ Host municipalities typically use this event to demonstrate their advancements in infrastructure, tourism industry, and wealth.⁸⁶ Leading up to its staging in Malang, one Satpol PP officer had informed us that his force would be increasing the frequency of its patrols and enforcement of local regulations, among which is the eviction of informal street vendors from the city’s visible public spaces. Alun-Alun Kota Malang was one of the city landmarks that delegates from other municipalities would visit, as a representation of what a modern and orderly city square should be – an image which informal street vendors did not fit into. The image of a modern city in contemporary Asia is typically one that highlights the efficacy of municipal government because the modern image is not only about beauty but also about political power and legitimacy (Kim, 2015). An orderly city thus suggests that the state has made significant investments in infrastructure, public safety, and public health – attributes considered key to the growth of the overall economy.

⁸⁵ <http://apeksi.net/> (retrieved on June 2, 2018).

⁸⁶ <https://malangkota.go.id/2016/08/29/kota-malang-terpilih-menjadi-tuan-rumah-rakernas-apeksi-tahun-2017/> (retrieved on June 2, 2018).



FIGURE 5.5. Street vendors lingering along the periphery of Alun-Alun Kota Malang even after the arrival of Satpol PP officers.

Source: Author's personal collection.

A couple of weeks following the APEKSI, we returned to Alun-Alun Kota Malang and were able to observe a stark contrast between how much vending was now being allowed to occur there compared to the period before and during the event. Our visit took place on a Sunday morning when the space would typically be noticeably more crowded than on a weekday morning. Normally, there would have been plenty of vendors in and around the space on a Sunday morning, but they would have disappeared by the time Satpol PP officers arrived around 8 AM. On this particular Sunday morning, however, the vendors continued to linger around the periphery of Alun-Alun Kota Malang even after officers arrived on the scene (FIG. 5.5). When we asked several vendors why they were not running away from Satpol PP officers, they explained that it was now okay for them to vend across from the *alun-alun* outside the Central Post Office and the Grand Mosque.

This morning scene reminded us of our slightly out-of-the-ordinary observation from the previous night. Along the western edge of the *alun-alun*, facing the Grand Mosque, we had at that time observed a

group of about half a dozen Satpol PP officers standing and sitting around. Meanwhile, across the street, several balloon and toy vendors were displaying their goods and making sales, unfazed by the officers' presence. It was a situation that would clearly not have existed in the lead-up to the APEKSI event. Moreover, one officer we approached confirmed that the vendors were actually not supposed to be vending at that location,

What we do, normally, is trying to keep the vendors off the street and sidewalks. They may technically be allowed to vend on the mosque's yard because that is a privately-owned space and therefore is outside of our jurisdiction. But then the mosque's caretakers do not want the vendors on their property either. But...when it is a 'stomach business', the vendors will do whatever it takes...⁸⁷

The episode showed us that there is always a degree of personal discretion involved in decision-making on the part of the field officers with regard to disciplining vendors. It could clearly encompass a shift in the officers' attitudes — ergo, in those of the vendors' — prior to and after a big event such as the APEKSI. Similar shifts have been identified in studies of Seoul, South Korea, and Guangzhou, China. Although street vendors in Seoul are faced by constant harassment, it is only when the city is playing host to an international event that they may be forcibly removed by the authorities, at times aided by gang members (Bhowmik, 2005). A similar fluctuation in the degree of law enforcement with regard to street vending has been observed on the streets of Guangzhou, China, reflecting the government's desire to protect the city's image while hosting mega-events, yet allowing the survival of informal street vendors at other times (Xue & Huang, 2015). These findings are further consistent with Ray Bromley's (2000) review showing that aggressive policing of a city's public spaces may be particularly notable prior to major events as part of an effort to improve the image of that city to visitors. Informal street vendors in Alun-Alun Kota Malang, therefore, have been able to maintain their presence and reassemble their space not only due to

⁸⁷ A direct translation of '*urusan perut*', an Indonesian expression commonly used to describe a situation where people are willing to do almost anything to fulfill basic necessities, e.g., not going hungry.

individual perseverance and collective sharing of knowledge but also due to the ways that Satpol PP officers would choose to or choose not to strictly enforce the formal regulations on any given day.

This personal discretion of those with whom more power resides can also be observed from the relationships between informal 'landlords' and their tenant vendors, as well as between informal street vendors with more means and those with fewer means. In urban public spaces or quasi-public spaces without formal oversight from city officials, these informal 'landlords' become the de facto creators and enforcers of 'rules of conduct' or norms. These informal landlords come in different shapes and forms, depending on the characteristics of the public or quasi-public realm that they have some degree of control over. In Alun-Alun Kota Malang, the presence and reach of these informal landlords have declined significantly upon the formal regulating and oversight of the space. Along its peripheries, parking attendants like Mr. P still possessed some discretion over how street vendors might occupy their parking spaces during certain times of the day and the kinds of compensation that they might be expecting from the vendors. Contingent upon the personal rapport that individual street vendors have built with such parking attendants, they might set aside a small space and allow the vendors to use that space. By extension, these parking attendants provided a sort of protection for the continuity of the vendors' presence in those spaces. During raids, some parking attendants would even provide sanctuary for the fleeing vendors and shield them from Satpol PP officers, although this act of camaraderie has become less common due to the risks associated with it, such as getting arrested themselves for obstructing officers on duty.

A similar dynamic, aside from the unique pressure coming from Satpol PP officers that the street vending scene in Alun-Alun Kota Malang experienced, also occurred in the daytime street vending scene of South Chinatown. Many street vendors in South Chinatown seemed to rely on the generosity of parking attendants whose parking spaces they occupied, or the store owners whose property they abutted. For those vending in between parking spaces, a typical space sharing between a vendor and a parking attendant would begin only after they have become familiar with one another, as an interview previously included in Chapter 4 exemplified,

I asked the parking attendant, could I stay here? To which he agreed, saying that rather than walking around the city, it would be okay for me to stay here. The parking attendant actually knew my father, because my father used to run a soto kiosk nearby. Other vendors who come here have to pay a certain fee to him, but I do not have to. Instead, I serve him a bowl of soto whenever he wants to have a meal.

For vendors occupying the sidewalk abutting storefronts, it was rare for them to cross paths and therefore engage in an informal verbal agreement with store owners. It was because most storefronts would still be closed when the street vendors were in operation early in the morning. By the time the stores were opening up, most street vendors were already done for the day and have left the premises. However, these street vendors were aware of the unwritten, often unspoken norms for conducting vending activities in such space, in which the street vendors had to be mindful of their presence and the traces that their brief but reoccurring presence might leave behind and possibly inconvenience other occupiers of the shared space. This awareness could be observed in the way that the *sawi* vendor would clean up the storefront's stoops every morning before she left, and how most vendors, in general, would either vacate their space before the abutting storefronts opened for the day, or shift their posts out of the storefronts' way.

In the quasi-public realm of University Kampung street vending, informal 'landlords' more closely resembled the role that landlords would in their conventional interpretation, in a sense that a transfer of currency in exchange for space between street vendors and private property owners did occur regularly, albeit along a spectrum of informality. Some property owners would allow vendors with whom they have built a personal relationship to use and occupy part of their property that abutted the public realm for free. Others, who might not be as well-acquainted with the vendors but have developed some degree of trust, would allow the vendors to rent or abut part of their property or use their electricity for an agreed-upon fee. In the recent years, the fostering of any meaningful interpersonal relationship between property owners and informal vendors has become increasingly irrelevant, particularly with the influx of more prominent vendors with a more established business plan and a significant capital. In such cases, close personal relationships would play a smaller role than the monetary value that these vendors were willing to pay the would-be landlords. When such instances occur, the working association between a landlord and their property renter

becomes somewhat more rigid, as money becomes the primary currency, and a sense of kinship and comradery becomes obsolete. When an adversity falls upon this kind of association, particularly one that interrupts the flow of money as its primary currency, there tends to be less room for personal discretion and compassion on the part of the power holder, in this case typically the landlord, as not enough interpersonal connection has been built between the vendor and the landlord. Such a situation may lead to the severance of association between a landlord, the vendor with the expiring lease, and customers who have built a degree of dependency on goods and services that the vendor has been providing them with. Compared to this mostly – or strictly – monetary association, a vendor who has built a trusting interpersonal relationship with their informal landlord or property owner from whom they are leasing their vending space may be able to negotiate some flexibility when it comes to unforeseen circumstances that affect their ability to fulfill their end of the informal agreement, and therefore maintain the continuity of their vending space until they recover from such adversity.

Connecting the non-human actors

Through stories, we are able to ‘follow’ actors across time and space, which gives us a deeper understanding of not only the actors as individuals but also of their worlds beyond the spatial scope of our inquiries (FIG. 5.6, 5.7, 5.8, 5.9). In this pursuit, we learned from Mr. P that football game ticket scalping was a lucrative business and that he was perhaps as financially dependent on how well Malang’s home team was doing as he was dependent on how many visitors Alun-Alun Kota Malang was attracting on a daily basis. From that little bit of seemingly arbitrary information that Mr. P shared with us, we understood that he belonged in multiple networks – the predominantly informal parking scene within which he was spatially bound, and the informal network of football game tickets resale. These did not even include his past involvement in the world of *premanism* that he briefly disclosed to us but did not expand on. We learned that before becoming a toy vendor in Malang, Ms. T had lived comfortably as a banker in Jakarta, making her one of the few – if not the only – vendors we spoke to who made the transition from being part of a largely formal economic system to conducting informal practices in said formal system, to committing herself – and by extension her daughter – to the mostly informal world of street vending, for personal moral

reasons. We learned from Mr. L's story that the controversial National Youth Council (KNPI) movement that was started in 1973 still has a trickledown effect in today's local politics, producing influential actors both in the predominantly formal and mostly informal sectors.

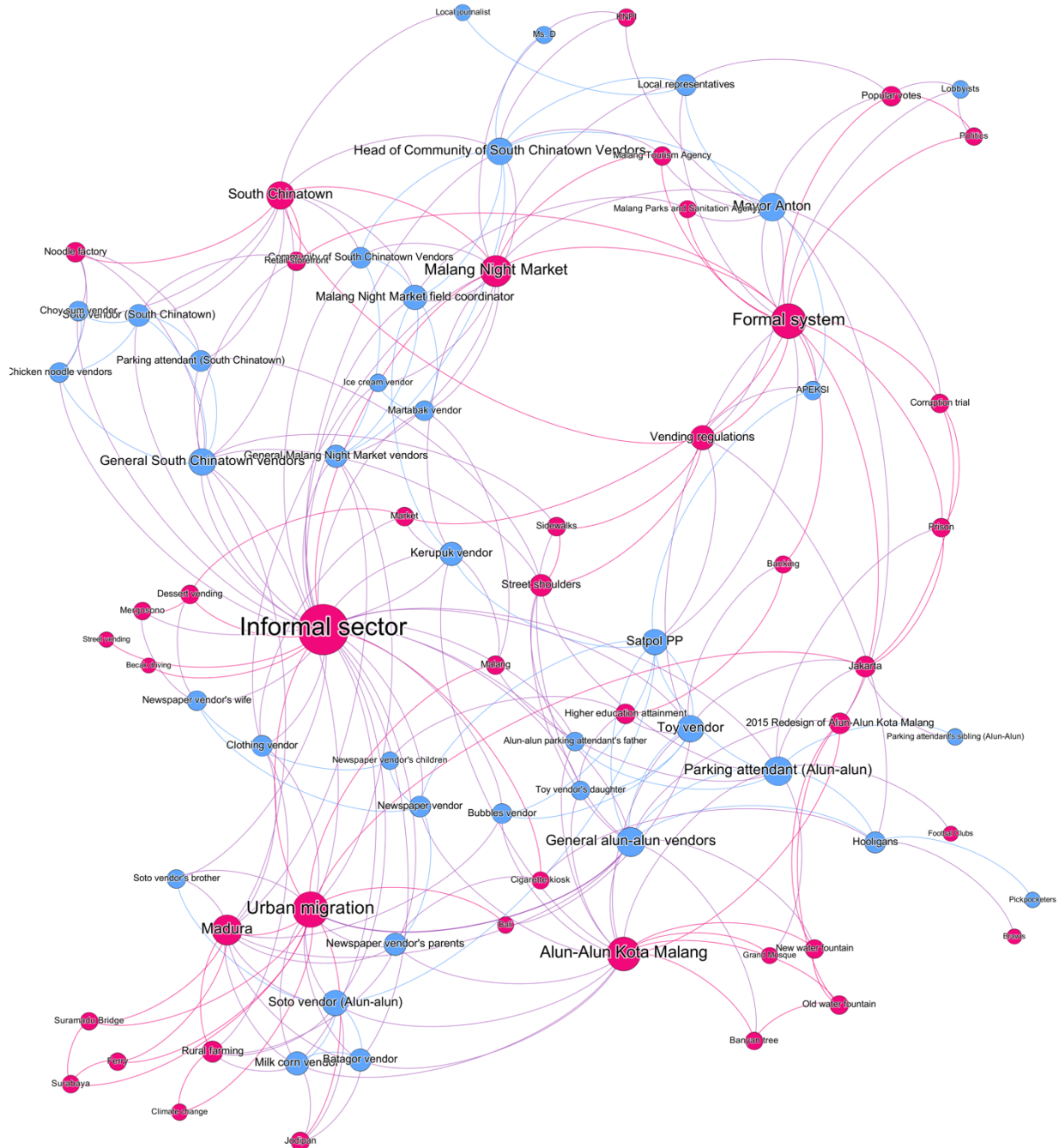


FIGURE 5.6. Diagrammatic network mapping of human (blue nodes) and non-human (magenta nodes) actors from the stories of this chapter. The bigger nodes indicate actors with more associations with other actors (at least as retold in these individual accounts), and thus can be considered as significant components in the everyday functioning of informal street vending systems in Malang's urban spaces. A quick study of this map also suggests that the actors of informal sector and the formal system are essentially intertwined.
Source: Drawing by author.

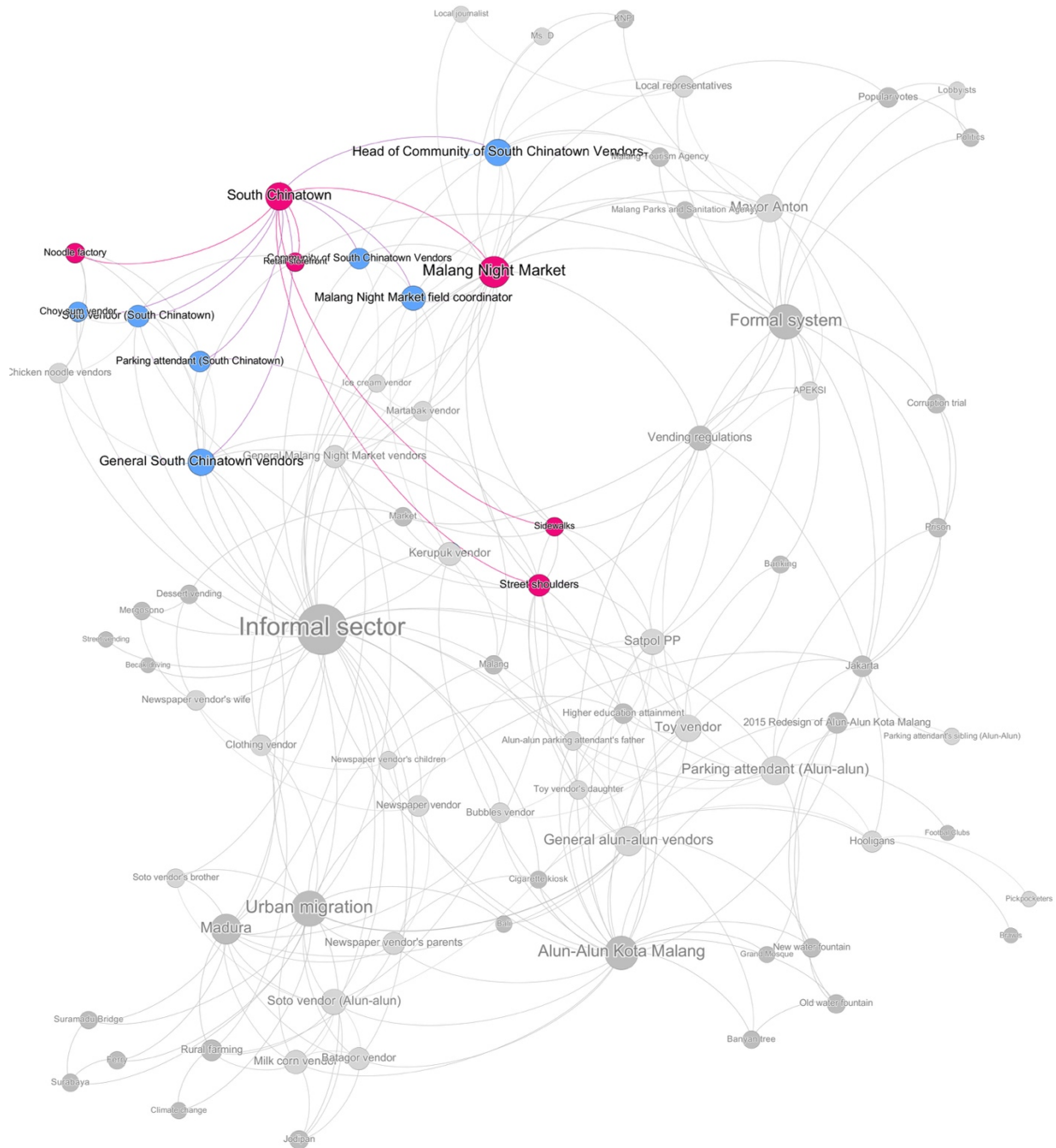


FIGURE 5.8. Diagrammatic network mapping of spatially bounded first-degree associations for daytime South Chinatown vending.
 Source: Drawing by author.

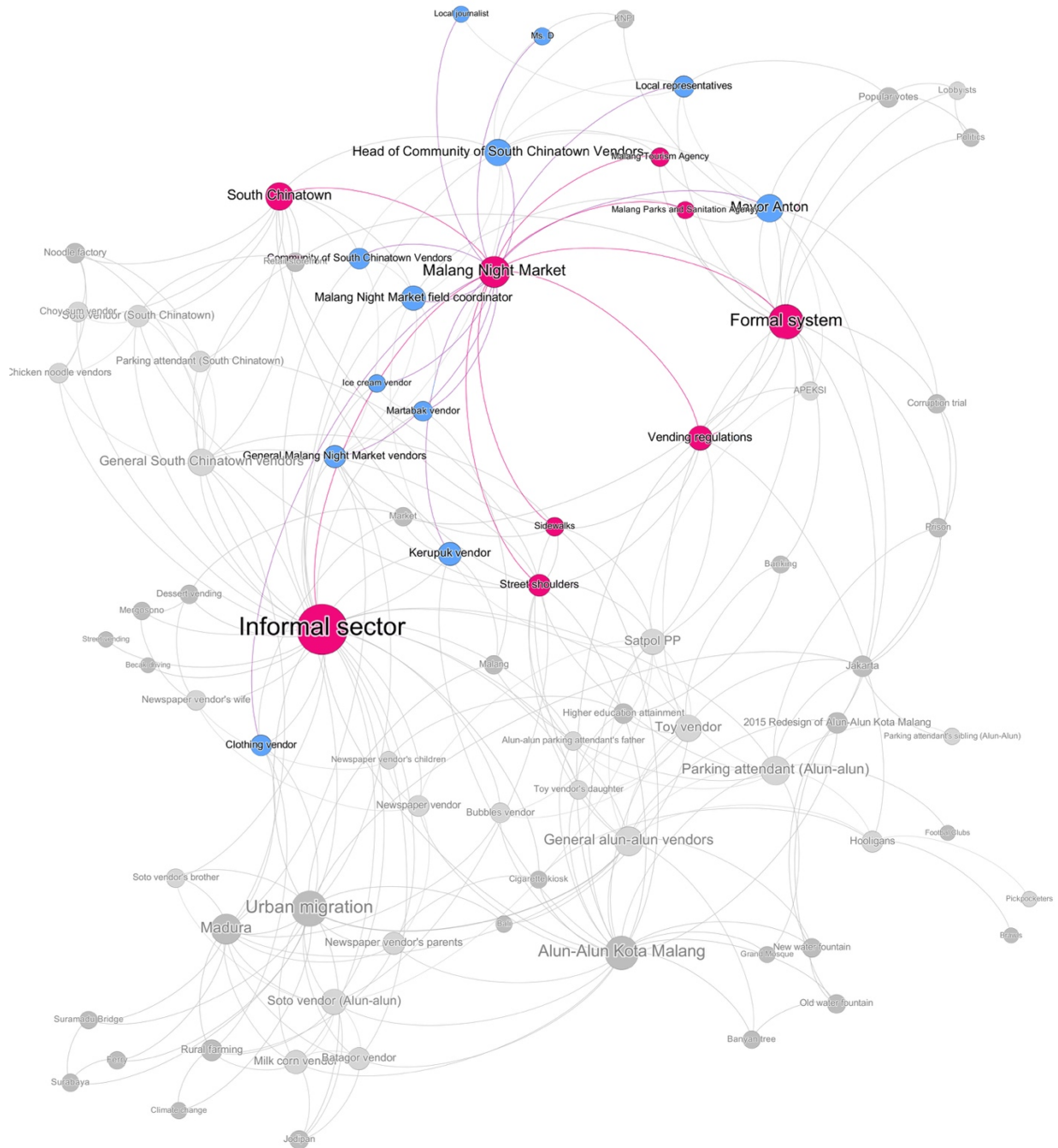


FIGURE 5.9. Diagrammatic network mapping of spatially bounded first-degree associations for Malang Night Market vending.
 Source: Drawing by author.

While all of these spatially and temporally distant snippets were essential pieces that have shaped the individual actors and their worldview, we also need to pay close attention to the spatial contexts that bound our immediate actors together and enabled them to re-assemble their spatial systems. It is pertinent that this spatially grounded thesis considers how the more abstract social relations and the power that emerges from them shape the spatial patterns within a system. In order to have more understanding of this spatial patterning, every now and again, we need to stop moving and following the actors (Guggenheim, 2016). Doing so allows us to refocus on the two non-human actors in these informal street vending systems: the spaces themselves, and the city ordinance pertaining to informal street vending in public spaces.

The 2000 Malang city ordinance on the street vending regulation and development states that “to participate in an economic enterprise, be it in the formal sector, non-formal sector, or street vending, is a right of the community members’ with regards to fulfilling their basic needs.”⁸⁸ This seemingly favorable statement with regards to street vending is reiterated in article 17, clause 2(l) of the 2011 Malang city ordinance on spatial planning for the year 2010-2030.⁸⁹ It expresses that the city is committed to easing of capital funding and technical support for the informal sector, as well as forming a collaboration with other parties to promote it. The same provisions, however, also declare that in addition to such right, community members – including all vendors – are obligated to actively participate in the creation and maintenance of a “clean, beautiful, orderly, safe, and pleasant” city.⁹⁰ This particular clause has served as the base of all measures to regulate, relocate, or eradicate informal street vending sites, carried out by Satpol PP officers on the field.

This ordinance is a living non-human actor in the informal street vending system, in a sense that it is primarily subject to further resolutions by each head of the local governing body – in this case, whoever is the current Mayor of Malang, and therefore possesses a degree of fluidity. Furthermore, mayor’s decrees are largely piecemeal and made in response to the current social and political climate, creating a direct

⁸⁸ *Perda nomor 1 tahun 2000 tentang pengaturan PKL di wilayah Kota Malang.*

⁸⁹ *Perda nomor 4 tahun 2011 tentang rencana tata ruang wilayah Kota Malang tahun 2010-2030, Pasal 17, Ayat 2, Butir l.*

⁹⁰ *Perda nomor 1 tahun 2000 tentang pengaturan PKL di wilayah Kota Malang.*

relationship between the human social-political actors beyond the Mayor himself/herself and the non-human city ordinance. On the other end of the street vending ordinance, there are informal street vendors who are affected by the ways that the ordinance is carried out by Satpol PP as an extension of the City. In the following sequence, we will follow how power emerges and moves between actors, influencing one another.

Constituents and lobbyists create a political climate that influences how elected officials, the city Mayor included, make decisions in order to obtain and maintain their support. Power here emerges from the elected officials' dependence on their constituents and the lobbyists. Therefore, the constituents and lobbyists are in a strategic position to exercise power on elected officials. The decisions made by elected officials are then immortalized in ordinances, cementing them as a non-human actor in this chain of social-political relationships. In the realm of informal street vending, city ordinance on street vending has a direct influence over how street vendors may or may not conduct their practices. Although an ordinance has legal standing, it cannot exercise itself and therefore does not generate power on its own. In Malang, Satpol PP was created as a special police unit to carry out Mayor decrees pertaining to the maintenance of public order, of which the ordinance on informal street vending is considered a significant part. The presence of these human actors as an enforcer of the ordinance allows for power to emerge, which enables the ordinance to exert real influence on actors of the street vending scene.

The difference between a Mayor, who creates ordinances, and Satpol PP officers, who enforce ordinances, however, lies in the fact that Satpol PP is a non-political entity. Satpol PP officers are not political appointees and therefore are not beholden to the current political environment. Many of Satpol PP officers, including its top officers, have been on the scene for a long time, longer than most political appointees in the city. Many of them are locationally tied to the informal street vending systems and have fostered a degree of familiarity with street vendors and actors of the informal spaces whom they encounter daily. Cases discussed in this chapter suggest one thing in common: the production, the reassembling, and thus the continuity of informal spatial systems such as the street vending depended largely not only on the fluidity of power, but also the individual discretions that influenced the very exercise of this power, and Satpol PP field officers were no exclusion to this dynamic. Our observations and interviews revealed how

Satpol PP officers were straddling the two realms – the formal and the informal – through the way that they regularly exercised their personal discretion in enforcing the city ordinance on street vending. This personal discretion is Satpol PP officers's way of balancing the compassion that they have personally developed for the informal street vendors under their watch and upholding the law entrusted upon them.

This case is illustrative of the relative flexibility in how power is actually exercised at the lower level, in which personal discretion performed by lower-level officers on the field could at times take precedence over the official orders from upper-level government apparatus who are more removed from the everyday realities and informal politics of the urban space. The benevolence that the Satpol PP officers chose to perform at certain occasions, however, could also be seen as a way for them to maintain a sort of dependency on the part of the informal street vendors. Because vendors could not be certain of how the officers would perform on any given day, they always had to be conscious of the officers' presence while remaining a hopeful recipient of their benevolence, which ensured that the power balance tip favorably toward the officers. As discussed above, Satpol PP officers would become less lenient around critical periods where the city's public spaces were under greater pressure to put on their best appearances, such as for the APEKSI event. During moments such as these, Satpol PP officers realized that continuing their acts of benevolence and completely abandoning the official orders would likely cost them their jobs and their own livelihoods.

Space, another non-human actor, is an entity within which power emerges and upon which power is projected. The possession of space, be it a formal ownership title or an established informal occupation of it, is itself an association between the perceived human actor owner of the space and the space as a non-human actor. Formal ownership of space generates power for the owner to exercise as they see fit. In the case of informal vending in University Kampung, formal owners of space would informally lease out their space – or part of it – to vendors, thus sharing the space and its agency. This leased space, then, enabled the vendor to conduct their vending activities, empowering them to pursue their livelihoods. In other cases, such as Alun-Alun Kota Malang or the sidewalks and streets of South Chinatown, a different sense of 'ownership' comes into play because public spaces are inherently public and cannot be privately owned. As suggested by the excerpts above, seniority in terms of the informal occupancy of public spaces could

play a significant role in the territoriality dynamic among street vendors. The longer a vendor has occupied the space, the stronger the relationship that they have fostered with that space is, and the more power emerges from that relationship, which the vendor could then exert upon newer vendors or those whom they consider an outsider, such as the case of the altercation between Ms. T, a relatively new toy vendor from Jakarta, and a male Madurese toy vendor whom vendors considered to be one of the more senior vendors in Alun-Alun Kota Malang.

This exploration of various relationships between actors of informal street vending systems is a way to observe how different power emerges from those associations and is exercised upon others. These constant generations and movements of power are critical in the spatial and temporal reassembling of informal street vending in the face of challenges posed by the formal governance, as well as by the internally competitive nature of the system. I argue that this constantly shifting power relations among the actors of informal street vending is an enabling factor for the creation and preservation of the unwritten, oftentimes unspoken informal rules that underlie the capacity of an informal social-spatial system to continue to reassemble itself, and therefore is instrumental to the everyday resilience of the system.

CHAPTER 6

SYSTEM'S RESPONSES TO CHANGE AND ITS MAINTENANCE OF FUNCTIONS

The capacity of cities to function so that people living and working in cities – particularly the poor and vulnerable – survive and thrive no matter what stresses or shocks they encounter. (ARUP, 2014, p. 3)

Everyday resilience focuses on the everyday processes and functioning (Bouzarovski, 2016), as does city resilience as defined by ARUP (2014), which highlights the capacity of cities to function so that their inhabitants thrive despite perturbances. In this research, then, I suggest that a system's everyday resilience is constructed upon its functions, and therefore it is considered to possess resilient attributes when it is able to continue performing its essential functions. Desouza and Hensgen's (2005) proposed that we view cities as networked complex systems that operate in a three-dimensional sphere: evolutionary, which involves interactions between social agents and non-human objects; spatial, which links vastly diverse components; and temporal, acknowledging the past and present. In maintaining its essential functions, then, an informal street vending system as a complex system has the capacity to respond to perturbances in evolutionary, spatial, and temporal ways. In this dissertation, I use the term 'structure' to refer to the key components internal and external to the system and the relationships that they foster with one another, in place of evolutionary as used by Desouza and Hensgen.

As the findings of Chapter 4 suggest, the capacity of a complex and dynamic social-spatial system to learn from and adapt to its environment allows it to reassemble itself into a discernible pattern in response to a perturbation or changes in its environment. Upon this reassembling, a system may return to its pre-disturbance pattern and relational structure. However, it is also possible for a new pattern and relational structure to emerge from the system's processes of learning and adaptation. Whether or not a new pattern or relational structure causes a significant shift in a system's essential functions is a question that I intend to explore in this chapter. This chapter also seeks to engage the idea of a system's critical threshold, within

which a system's components are able to absorb disturbances without being at risk of losing its identity (Bohle & Warner, 2008; Cumming et al., 2005; Sakdapolrak et al., 2008). I will discuss three sites from my case studies that embody the various levels of response that a complex system can have to a perturbation: persistence, adaptability, and transformability.⁹¹ In each site, I will identify the critical function(s) of its informal street vending system as the core of its everyday resilience, perturbation(s) or change(s) to the system, the ways by which a system responds to changes – structurally, spatially, and temporally, and how such responses influence the system's functioning.

Persisting through the decades: Residential vending in University Kampung

This area in the northwest corner of Malang has undergone a significant transformation in the past five decades. The formerly swamp lands used to be far removed from the historic center of Malang, which had grown around Alun-Alun Kota Malang as its civic center, and the nearby Pasar Besar Malang (Malang Central Market) as its commercial node. It was not until Universitas Brawijaya decided to relocate its main campus to this then sparsely populated area in 1969 that these swamplands began to see a demand for developments.⁹² This growth followed a similar pattern that the area south of the new campus had started a decade earlier with the establishment of Universitas Negeri Malang (State University of Malang) campus, and later on of Institut Teknologi Nasional Malang (Malang National Institute of Technology) campus.

Despite earlier exposure to twentieth-century modernist town planning brought by Dutch architects and town planners, growth in post-independence Indonesian towns tended to emerge out of immediate demand and necessity as opposed to having followed the rational model of town master planning. The western architects and town planners pointed to the resulting *kampung* and its supposed characteristics of

⁹¹ Persistence, adaptability, and transformability have been suggested by Walker et al. (2004) to be complementary attributes of a complex system's resilience in response to perturbances. Although not always the case, these attributes can also possess a kind of temporal hierarchy, whereby persistence can be considered a first-order response, followed by adaptation as a second-order response, and transformation, where the identity of the system is changed, as a last resort in responding to a sustained disturbance (Tuvendal & Elmqvist, 2012).

⁹² <https://situsbudaya.id/sejarah-universitas-brawijaya/>

being unplanned, disorderly, unhygienic, and dangerous as the antithesis of modernization (van Roosmalen, 2015).⁹³ *Kampung* in Dutch Indies was used to refer to the previously autonomous lands primarily inhabited by an indigenous Indonesian population.⁹⁴ Today, *kampung* refers to an 'urban village', where migrants from outside of an urbanized area would to settle and preserve some of their rural ways of life. *Kampung*, which had been deemed by the Dutch planners as an enemy of modernization, has continued to emerge and flourish in rapidly developing Indonesian cities, due to their capacity to provide housing on limited lands.

Unlike the Euclidean zoning model of modernist planning which separates land uses in the city, an organic model of land development in the form of *kampung* allows different uses to co-exist within very close proximity to one another (FIG. 6.1), a concept now popularized in the western world as 'mixed-use development'. As the new campus for Universitas Brawijaya broke grounds in 1969, so did the lands around it. The area organically became a bedroom community to support the students of Malang's largest institution of higher education. Property owners transformed their homes into boarding houses, and as the university grew, housing began to be built upwards and even more densely. Other supporting services shortly followed as street-level spaces became storefronts and eateries, and mobile vendors carved regular routes out of the snaking alleyways of *kampungs*. While it used to be these services that followed where students were planting their roots, it has become a symbiotic relationship where students now find areas with access to ample services, most of which are informal, to be more attractive.

⁹³ *Kampung*, alternatively spelled as *kampoeng* or *kampong* (Malaysian) is said by the Oxford English Dictionary to be the origin of the English word 'compound,' which is defined as "an open area enclosed by a fence."

⁹⁴ Dutch Indies – also translated into English as Dutch East Indies to differentiate from Dutch West Indies or Dutch Caribbean – was used to refer to the Indonesian Archipelago that was colonized by the Dutch Empire from the early 1600s to mid-1900s.

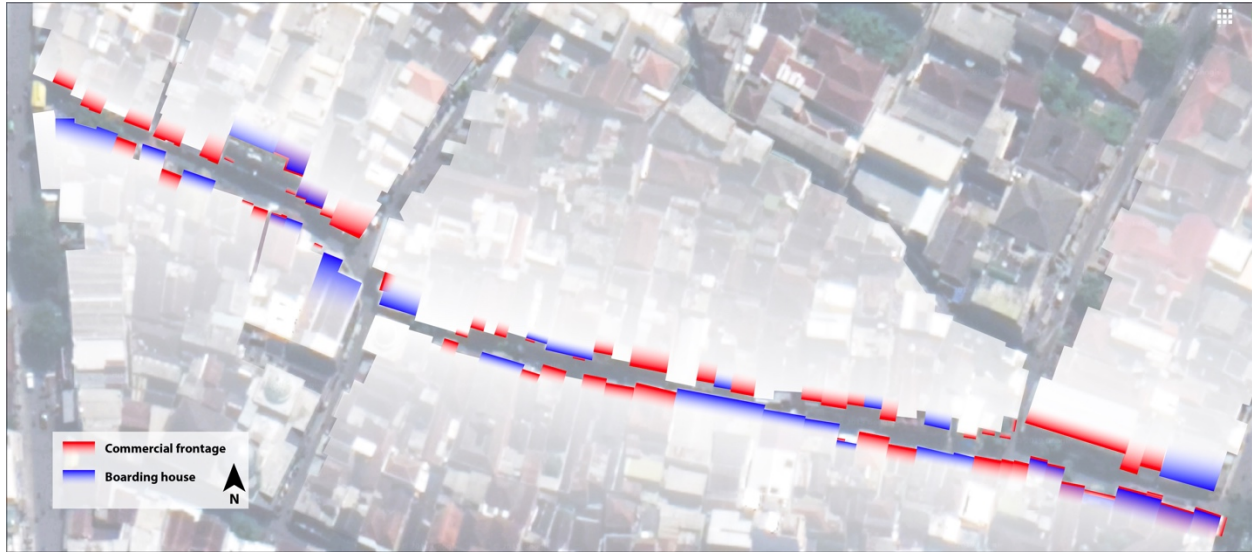


FIGURE 6.1. Diagrammatic map of mixed building frontages in University Kampung.
Source: Author's personal collection.

Today, providers of these services can be regarded as being on different points along the spectrum of informality. Traditional informal vendors, particularly those who are mobile or more temporal, are currently still the norm. Some, like *Mbah* from Chapter 4, have maintained the same routine for decades, from before the area became as developed and populated as it is today. A *jamu* (traditional herbal health tonic) mobile vendor, has gone on the same vending route every day for fifteen years. In the beginning, she used to carry bottles of homemade *jamu* in a cloth carrier on her shoulder, which wrapped around her torso and rested on her hip while she made her way through the maze-like *kampung*s and nearby residential neighborhoods. Nowadays, to keep up with her sprawling route, she would ride her pink vintage bicycle with the *jamu* bottles neatly stacked in a red Coca-Cola crate strapped to its rear seat (FIG. 6.2). In the middle of our conversation, a motorcycle pulled up behind us. Its rider turned out to be a regular customer of this *jamu* vendor, so I asked him how he knew that she was here. He told us he lived nearby and saw her from afar, so he took his motorcycle out to go after her. While mobile street vendors commonly aspire to scale up their enterprise and eventually own a brick-and-mortar kiosk, this *jamu* vendor claimed to be quite content with the way she was running her vending, "I would just like to keep cycling around, it is better that way. The quicker my *jamu* sells out, the quicker I can be home. If I were to be stationary in a kiosk, then I would have to wait for my customers to come to me, and that would require more time."



FIGURE 6.2. A jamu vendor with a makeshift crate built into the back of her bicycle.
Source: Author's personal collection.

Kiosks are a more spatially permanent form of vending, though in many cases just as informal, in a regulatory sense of the word, as mobile street vendors. One such kiosk that was well-known amongst university students in the area was popularly called *Warung Pojok*, a literal translation of which would be 'Corner Kiosk' (FIG. 6.3). This kiosk was located in one corner of an intersection near the entrance gate into the College of Engineering. It sold coffee, cigarette, and a short list of home-cooked style meals mostly to engineering students. This kiosk has been in operation since 2002, after its owner, Ms. W, graduated from a vocational school. By running this vending enterprise, Ms. W followed her mother's footsteps, who used to also be a vendor in a kiosk a few blocks away. Her mother was eventually evicted from her kiosk because the property owner wanted to build a boarding house on the space that her kiosk was on. Previously, the structure that was now Ms. W's kiosk had been used by local residents as a neighborhood watch post. Ms. P had to pay an annual lease to the community's neighborhood association for using this small space as a kiosk, which had gone from IDR 500,000 (USD 35) per year when she started, to IDR 10,000,000 (USD 700) per year when we spoke to her in 2017, an almost two thousand percent increase

within 15 years. On top of that, she had to pay the kiosks' garbage, water, and electricity bills, just like ordinary residential housing.



FIGURE 6.3. A neighborhood watch post-turned-corner kiosk.
Source: Author's personal collection.

Even so, Ms. W thought that it was still one of the most affordable leases in the area, which could run up to IDR 25,000,000 (USD 1,750) for a space that would be closer to the main road. Nowadays, only vendors with more substantial capital and a more formal business model were able to afford that kind of lease in the area. Local chain eateries were starting to enter the university *kampung* market. Several brick-and-mortar eateries were now designed with a theme, often involving bold signage (FIG. 6.4). Older home-based eateries, in comparison, were rarely elaborately designed, nor did they have a flashy name posted out front. Several of them, including Ms. W's, had tattered banners with the name of their kiosk, stand, or cart written in a standard font with a big cigarette picture or logo – not having anything to do with what the vendors were actually selling – that had been gifted to them by cigarette companies (FIG. 6.5). When asked if she felt threatened by this new type of competitors, Ms. W responded with a firm “no.” She was confident that she would not lose her long-time regulars, “Engineering students work on campus around the clock,

and we are one of the only few that stay open twenty-four hours a day around here, so they keep coming back to us.”

Ms. B, a *bakso* vendor, was one of the local vendors who could be benefitting financially from the upward trend of leasing rate for brick-and-mortar and kiosk spaces in the neighborhood. She was in this position by owning the brick-and-mortar space that she was vending in, which was connected to her house. She told us that her own *bakso* business had been experiencing some uncertainties due to an unreliable supplier and the transitory nature of college students, which would prevent vendors from accumulating a steady customer base. However, Ms. B was not interested in leasing out her space to bigger vendors, even though she had been receiving some offers of high value throughout the years. She wanted to keep the space for their own vending because having her place of work connected to her house allowed her the flexibility of interacting with her kids when business was slow.



FIGURE 6.4. One of the newer brick-and-mortar eateries in the area.
Source: Author's personal collection.



*FIGURE 6.5. A typical neighborhood vending with cigarette advertising banner.
Source: Author's personal collection.*

Ms. R, the owner, sole cook, and operator of *Rendang Malangan*, offered her perspective on the growth in the area and the trickling of external vendors into the neighborhood. Upon graduating from college with an English Literature degree in 1984, Ms. R began participating as a festival vendor during Independence Day celebrations before deciding to turn it into a full-time business in 1989. She then rented a local resident's front yard to sell *rendang* out of a humble portable stand. Eventually, she was able to purchase the property next to it and built a home for her family. She continued to vend on her now-neighbor's front yard for some time, but as her vending grew, she decided to turn her home's living room into a dining area and relocated her production to a small outdoor aisle adjoining her house, which was now spilling out onto the *kampung* street. Her sister recently took over her lease on the neighbor's front yard to start her own food vending. When we asked Ms. W how she thought the area has changed, Ms. R voiced her concerns about new vendors in the area,

Nowadays, many outside vendors are entering the area, and they skew the market rate for food around here. These more prominent vendors have access to larger-scale production

elsewhere, so they can offer their food at a lower price and even hold promotional deals, such as a 'buy-one-get-one-free'. But their portions tend to be smaller, and in my opinion, their food is not as high in quality nor as hygienic. And I think the consumers realize that, so I have not been losing much of my regulars. I have expressed my concerns to the locals here, saying that while it is okay to lease their homes or parts of their homes out for businesses, we should not let in too many large-scale food vendors in order to maintain a healthy competition.

Unlike eateries that were owned and run by local or long-time vendors, the daily operation of newer, large-scale food vending owned by outsiders to the neighborhood were often conducted by contract employees. To hear their side of the story, we made several attempts to speak to the employees, but most of them declined out of apprehension that their employers would not approve of our exchange. They were also reluctant to get us in touch with the business owners or simply claimed that they did not know how to do that. We managed, however, to casually chat with Ms. C, a contract vendor of a *Cokelat Klasik* cart. *Cokelat klasik* is a chocolate-based beverage franchise business that has established its own office and factory in Malang. Its owner started the business with one cart, and now owned and partnered with more than a dozen café-based operation and more than a hundred cart-based operation nationwide.

Ms. C recently graduated from vocational school but failed to get accepted into the colleges of her choosing, so she decided to take the year to prepare for another college entrance exam. To finance her year off, her cousin, who was also a contract vendor employed by a *Cokelat Klasik* franchise owner, helped her get into their training program, which led to this employment. Ms. C worked directly for Mr. A, who purchased a *Cokelat Klasik* franchise and now owned about two dozen *Cokelat Klasik* carts around Malang. Mr. A dealt with all the administrative and logistical matters of the business, such as choosing locations and securing leases, as well as keeping a close count on all smaller materials such as cups and straws. Ms. C mentioned that keeping track of the smaller materials has become one of the biggest inconveniences for contract-based vendors, “We must replace in monetary value the number of straws and cups that were not accounted for. If we are lucky, we only get scolded for missing straws, but cups we must replace, and usually, it is taken out of our paycheck.” This situation could particularly be an issue when several carts

from different franchises were clustered together in one pod, such as the case for Ms. C's pod. It was set up on the front porch of a boarding home, along with three other franchised vending carts (FIG. 6.6). Although it has not happened to her, Ms. C has heard stories from other vendors about getting hazed by employees of neighboring vending carts. They would break into the *Cokelat Klasik* carts only to loot the cups because they knew that the contract vendor would have to replace all of the missing cups at a full price of a beverage. Each employee's contract would only last for three months, and many would choose not to renew their contract due to an unfavorable work environment. Since most of them were youths right out of high school, they would be more likely to find opportunities elsewhere.



FIGURE 6.6. A pod of franchised vending carts.
Source: Author's personal collection.

This section illustrates how nearly five decades of growth in the University Kampung area has influenced and perhaps even altered the ways that its informal vending system operated. Spatially, it seemed to have maintained much of its spatial-temporal patterns and variations, although the more traditional form vending which involved the blurring of productive and domestic spaces was incrementally being replaced by a vending model with a more clear-cut separation between the home and the economic

space. The relational structure amongst its components, however, has somewhat adjusted to reflect the new business model. Overall, with regards to its level of responses to the slow yet steady changes in its environment in the form of growth and introduction of external agents, University Kampung's informal vending system has thus far managed to persist and for the most part, continued to serve the same essential function for the surrounding students, which was to provide them with accessible and affordable food options. Its function as an income generator for existing residents and people who have built personal ties with the area, however, has started to experience a slow but steady change, as larger business practices with no residential roots in the area are beginning to enter the market.

Becoming temporal: Tactical adaptation of the everyday in Alun-Alun Kota Malang

Chapter 4 unfolds the spatial-temporal tactics that informal vendors in Alun-Alun Kota Malang have adopted in order to continue their daily functioning despite perturbances from the state's attempts to eradicate informal vending in the area. As a place that holds spatial and symbolic significance, Alun-Alun Kota Malang has in fact never been void of tension between a broader political or developmental ideology of a public space and a struggles of the ordinary people to reclaim this space and shape it into an everyday space that is a contrast to the formal public spaces that tend to be carefully planned and officially designated (Crawford, 2008). In this section, I will explore the ways that informal vendors have throughout history played a significant role in responding to the changing depictions of Alun-Alun Kota Malang as prescribed by those with more power and the impact that these responses have in the functioning of their everyday vending activities.

To understand the spatial and symbolic significance of Alun-Alun Kota Malang requires establishing its relationship to the early Javanese concept of *alun-alun* as a public space. Under the old Javanese monarchies, *alun-alun* played three formal roles: it symbolized authority over a certain territory; it served as a sacred place of ritual; and it was instrumental for displaying sovereign supremacy, mainly by accommodating the official functions of a traditional Javanese monarch (Santoso, 2008). As a spatially and symbolically central element of a kingdom's capital and its image of celestial order, it was thus more

valuable to projecting the greatness of a kingdom's culture and the integrity of the state than to facilitating actual governing practices (Wheatley, 1983).⁹⁵ Informally, however, *alun-alun* was also a place where everyday people could practice *pepe*: sitting or lying on the ground in the full sun facing the palace as a form of protest against bureaucratic misconduct, or misconduct by the ruler himself (Santoso, 2008).

With the arrival of the Dutch, the Javanese concept of *alun-alun* became a focus of interest for colonial administrators because of its relation to the concept of power. Indeed, all across Java, as the Dutch set foot in old towns, they began to use *alun-alun* to symbolize their conquest of territory by appropriating it as a symbol of their sovereignty. *Alun-alun* was thus surrounded by colonial administrative and entertainment buildings built using the typologies and styles of nineteenth-century European architecture, and a colonial assistant resident's house would commonly be situated to the south of the *alun-alun*, alongside the native regent's house, to emphasize the shift of authority.⁹⁶

Malang's relationship with its *alun-alun*, however, was distinct from that of most other Javanese towns because the highland city had not had one in the precolonial era.⁹⁷ Thus, when the Dutch created one under the name of Aloon-Aloon in 1882, it was not a traditional *alun-alun* in any sense of the word.⁹⁸ To begin, the configuration of the colonial Aloon- Aloon did not follow the spatial principles or north-south axis of an old Javanese town center, as based on local cosmological beliefs and practices. For instance, instead of being located to its south, the house of the native regent was situated to its east, alongside a prison. The house of the regent was also somewhat removed since it was not oriented toward Aloon-Aloon but faced south toward another main street. Meanwhile, to the south, where the palace of the regent would traditionally have been, stood the house of the Dutch assistant resident, which did face Aloon-Aloon.

⁹⁵ Discussion on Clifford Geertz's Doctrine of the Exemplary Center and the Doctrine of the Theater State (1968).

⁹⁶ An assistant resident, who would report to the resident, served as an extension of the Dutch colonial government in Javanese municipalities. Even though ceremonially the highest administrative position still belonged to the native regent, the real power lied in the hands of the Dutch assistant resident. See more: Moerdjoko, *Alun-Alun Ruang Publik Bersejarah Dan Konservasi* (Jakarta: Penerbit Universitas Trisakti, 2005).

⁹⁷ Another Javanese town with Dutch-constructed town center and *alun-alun* is Bandung; see more: Lim and Padawangi (2008).

⁹⁸ Kota Malang, *40 Tahun Kota Malang* (Malang: Dewan Pemerintahan Kota Malang: 1954). The Dutch name Aloon Aloon will be used in place of Alun-Alun Kota Malang when discussing this space during the colonial period.

Moreover, to the north stood buildings for the Bioscoop Rex and Societeit Concordia – a social club and an entertainment center, respectively, for colonial society.⁹⁹ Significantly, these two establishments also played a critical role in projecting a sense of Western grandeur, in which the city's colonized inhabitants were not allowed to take any part.¹⁰⁰

Produced primarily to imitate an old Javanese *alun-alun* and signify conquest by the Dutch, Malang's Aloon-Aloon was never imbued with such meaning or significance. On the contrary, it primarily provided a stage on which the colonized could demonstrate their silent resistance to the practices of colonialism. Thus, dozens of locals would sit under its banyan trees, selling food and drink and using it as they would any other public space, without observing the sacred meanings it was intended to reproduce in the interest of reinforcing the narrative of colonial superiority (FIG. 6.7). It established a pattern of local vending, traditional dancing, and theatrical performances that allowed the colonized locals to congregate against a backdrop of Western balls, pool and card games, and movie theaters, from which they were excluded.

The presence of such activities, which claimed and appropriated a space central (both spatially and symbolically) to Dutch governance, subtly, yet directly, challenged the symbolic power of the European establishments around the space. To a certain extent, this challenge succeeded, as the Dutch administration eventually ceased to view Aloon- Aloon as a suitably modern, European-dominated center of command (Basundoro, 2015). Realizing that they had failed to (re)produce Aloon-Aloon in a way that would project an aura of colonial greatness and integrity similar to that of the old Javanese kingdoms, the Dutch in 1922 instead chose to construct a second *alun-alun*, the JP Coen Plein - what is now known as Alun-Alun Bunder (circular *alun-alun*), as their new municipal center (Basundoro, 2015).

⁹⁹ Kotapradja Malang, *Kotapradja Malang 50 Tahun* (Malang: Kotapradja Malang, 1964).

¹⁰⁰ Throughout this section, the use of 'the colonized inhabitants of Malang' is interchangeable with 'the colonized locals', or simply 'the colonized'.



FIGURE 6.7. Markt op de aloen-aloen te Malang [Market in aloon-aloon, Malang], circa 1895. Source: Leiden University Libraries, KITLV 12030 (<http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:703245>).

The above history helps reveal how various meanings of Alun-Alun Kota Malang have been produced and reproduced by both sovereign power and the local population since its earlier days. What is significant here is that the very conception of this space was initially based on a shift away from a traditional spatial arrangement primarily based on cosmological beliefs to a configuration of space whose dominant narrative was the transfer of power. The creation of Aloon-Aloon by the Dutch thus bypassed the democratic, albeit symbolic, role that traditional *alun-alun* played in accommodating the needs and concerns of a ruled Javanese population. Instead, Aloon-Aloon became a place of ‘othering’, where the city’s colonized inhabitants experienced their exclusion from the city’s spatial-structural hierarchy, but where they could still come together to stage silent resistance by way of ‘place-making’ — appropriating the conceptualized public space for vernacular, noncolonial practices.

Alun-alun and other public spaces took on a new meaning during the country’s independence movement circa 1945 by becoming a stage for public political orations. Soekarno, the leader of the movement who went on to become Indonesia’s first president, was known for his passionate and

charismatic orations, which helped mobilize grassroots politics and encourage the occupation of public spaces by the Indonesian people. In Malang, the reclamation of Aloon-Aloon involved the appropriation of the surrounding European establishments, as their names were changed, and they were opened to the formerly colonized residents of the city. Thus, although the space and its buildings were not altered physically, these changes reaffirmed the ownership and reassembled the meanings and functions of not only the space but also the surrounding buildings by the Indonesian people.

Following the fall of Soekarno and the rise of Soeharto as Indonesian president in 1968, however, the country embarked on a new economic and political course, commonly referred to as *Orde Baru*, or the New Order. From then on, capitalist ideology ushered in new programs of foreign investment, industrial growth, and increased productivity (Hellwig & Tagliacozzo, 2009). The economic boom that followed in the 1970s and 80s was significantly fueled by oil income from state-owned enterprises and was accompanied by agricultural modernization in rural areas of Java (Spaan & Hartveld, 2002). However, across the archipelago, uneven economic growth and access to opportunity subsequently spurred a mass movement of population between regions, and from rural to urban areas.

In their study of socioeconomic changes in rural Java, Ernst Spaan and Aard Hartveld (2002) found that in the early 1990s, many residents of Pakong, a rural area in the southern district of Malang, who had previously depended on agricultural employment, were being forced to migrate to East Java's major urban centers, such as Gresik, Surabaya, and Malang — or even as far away as Jakarta. It is relevant to note that many of these residents had originally migrated to Pakong from the island of Madura — known for centuries of outmigration — and from rural areas in Central Java. Their outmigration to urban centers also created a new network between their places of origin and the urban centers. In these urban areas, Malang included, migrants typically resorted to creating their own employment opportunities by way of the informal sector, working as *becak* (pedaled, three-wheeled taxi) drivers or street vendors. Not much, if anything, has been written about the state of Malang's *alun-alun* or other public spaces during this period. The New Order regime, however, was notorious for selling control of urban spaces to the highest bidders or large-scale investors (Budiman & Basundoro, 2009). Urban public spaces were to 'repair' their physical appearance. Streets were thus cleared of uneducated laborers from the countryside, of *becak* drivers and street vendors,

of peddlers and prostitutes. Such people were not only seen as unattractive, but also perceived as a threat to public order, and were therefore criminalized (Jaya, 1977).

Following the violent fall of the New Order in 1998, national and local authorities embraced a more populist approach to governance. In terms of urban governance, this included taking a small step back from the militaristic attitude toward its public spaces and the spatial othering of the poor and informal. In the years that followed, street vendors and informal workers moved to state a stronger claim on the urban spaces without fear of eviction and criminalization. In Malang, Alun-Alun Kota Malang became a center for this new pattern of occupation of the public domain by informal street vendors and other semi-permanent squatters.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, in a study of power relations in Bandung in conjunction with the 2000 renovation of the adjacent Grand Mosque, Lim and Padawangi (2008) suggested that, despite the decline in the state's role in urban development since the New Order, the state remained an important actor in the reproduction of urban spaces such as the city's *alun-alun*.

After the fall of the New Order in 1998, Malang has had three different mayors: Suyitno (1998-2003), Peni Suparto (2003-2013), and Mochamad Anton (2013-present). From 1994 to 2000, I was attending a primary school located across the northeastern corner of Alun-Alun Kota Malang. I can recall sneaking out of school with my classmates during recess and walking over to a book kiosk that was located in one corner of *alun-alun* to check whether the newest edition of our favorite magazine had arrived. In those years, I do not recall the space being overcrowded with tents and shacks of vendors, though there were permanent structures in each corner that were used for informal economic activities, such as the one used as the book kiosk. The mobile cart vendors, on the other hand, had been allowed inside the *alun-alun* grounds. A newspaper vendor recalled Mr. Suyitno's firmer stance on prohibiting vending activities in Alun-Alun Kota Malang, plausibly influenced by his military background. During his incumbency, he attempted to spatially reinvent *alun-alun*, although it did not receive much exposure. Pak Peni (Mr. Peni), on the other hand, has left a positive impression with many of the vendors in Alun-Alun Kota Malang, who repeatedly told us how much easier their lives were during his two five-year terms. During his administration, although

¹⁰¹ Alun-Alun will be referred to as Alun-Alun Kota Malang again from here on out.

street vendors were not exactly welcomed, they were left alone, free to roam around and even camp on the city's *alun-alun* grounds. According to one vendor, "Back when Pak Peni was the mayor, life was good for us [street vendors]. He was very tolerant, so there was no fear of eviction among us." This vendor echoed the reflection of many other vendors that their vending activities in and around Alun-Alun Kota Malang had changed under different municipal administrations.

Although viewed positively by most street vendors, Pak Peni's lack of action with regard to Alun-Alun Kota Malang did prompt a different evaluation from visitors – and even a few vendors. One visitor told us they had not visited the space until recently and gave a lack of attractions and order as the reason. Surprisingly, a few street vendors agreed with this view. One newspaper vendor who had practically grown up vending in the area recalled the messiness and lack of safety in Alun-Alun Kota Malang in the 2000s. At that time, many vendors were able to set up tents and semi-permanent kiosks all over the space, and pickpocketing was rampant. To secure their 'tenancy' of the space, vendors had to pay 'rent' to a group of *premans* who at that time had significant clout over the city's public and in-between spaces. Another vendor recalled the state of Alun-Alun Kota Malang circa the 2000s, "At one point, there must have been around 200 vendors here, selling all sorts of things, including clothes and women's undergarments. It was unsightly."

Mr. Rajak, one of the division heads within Satpol PP, confirmed Alun-Alun Kota Malang's conditions in the 2000s,

Some of the kiosks were painted. The hawkers even drilled their own boreholes and acquired electricity. They slept, and they defecated on the site. We tried to talk them into vacating the area, but it was challenging. They argued that the land belonged to God. So then I said, "The land in front of your house also belongs to God, would you object to me building a shack there?" We eventually had to come in with the heavy equipment.

The election of Mochammad Anton in 2013 has led to a significant reproduction of the form and image of Alun-Alun Kota Malang, followed by heightened surveillance of the space. Signs that explicitly

banished informal street vendors from the area were posted in and around Alun-Alun Kota Malang (FIG. 6.8). To prove that this regulation was not toothless, Satpol PP would periodically conduct a raid on informal street vendors in the area. While we did not witness any Satpol PP raid taking place during our fieldwork, one of our vendor friends described a typical raid scene,

Everybody just sprints as the officers get here. The roast corn hawker would run while her coals are still burning. During the last raid, I fell down when they chased me. I told them, "Let me pull myself together, and you can take whatever goods I have." They wrote me up, so I asked them how much the fine would be, and they said around 250,000 Rupiah [around USD 18]. Usually, I would not even pay the fine, I would be okay not redeeming my goods, but this time they took my KTP, so I will have to appear before a judge on the 23rd.¹⁰² I feel bad for other hawkers who have to pay a more considerable amount of fine, like the beverage or toy vendors. The officers will also confiscate the carts from hawkers with carts and carry the carts on the back of their trucks along with other goods they have confiscated.



FIGURE 6.8. Street vendors are strictly prohibited from vending along this corridor.
Source: Author's personal collection.

¹⁰² KTP, short for *Kartu Tanda Penduduk*, is a national identification card for residents.

For the last four years, this constant surveillance and raids have been the new reality to which informal street vendors have had to adjust their spatial practices yet again. As we have observed in Chapter 4, new spatial-temporal patterns have emerged within the network of informal street vendors in Alun-Alun Kota Malang as a means to sustain their core functioning, which was to make a living from vending to Alun-alun Kota Malang visitors. By operating around Satpol PP's generally predictable schedule and making use of their collective knowledge, street vendors were able to transition from a predominantly semi-permanent stable pattern to a mostly ephemeral pattern which, despite facing a higher level of perturbances has developed a way to maintain their stability while responding to perturbances. Once again, occupants of Alun-Alun Kota Malang had to adapt their spatial-temporal patterns in response to the introduction of new spatial meanings prescribed to Alun-Alun Kota Malang by those with which more power resides. This adaptation played a significant role in the preservation of the informal vending system's essential function.

Transforming the informal: Formalization of an evening vending scene

Malang Night Market is a project by the city that attempts to formalize street vending practices in its urban spaces, for the sake of creating and maintaining a “clean, beautiful, orderly, safe, and pleasant” city.¹⁰³ In its ordinances, as mentioned earlier in this dissertation, the city repeatedly expresses its commitment to supporting the informal sector in exchange for some form of formal regulation over its practices, which puts into question the impact that being absorbed into the formal system would have on the functioning of an informal street vending system, which, is inherently informal. Because Malang Night Market was the only site in our case study in which the state had a supposedly constructive role, I had expected to be able to obtain substantial information from city officials who had started this high-profile project. Surely it would be less complicated than staking out informal street vendors who might or might not trust us enough to want to talk to us at all? I was proven incorrect on two counts. First, meeting, let alone talking to, city officials was significantly more difficult than engaging informal street vendors, courtesy of bureaucratic red tape that was in place due to the overall unwelcoming attitude on the part of national

¹⁰³ *Perda nomor 1 tahun 2000 tentang pengaturan PKL di wilayah Kota Malang*

government toward external researchers. Secondly, the city did not exactly start the Malang Night Market project by itself, a knowledge that we gained from speaking to local vendors at the night market.

On our second night observing Malang Night Market, we began to engage a few vendors, and soon they were directing me to Mr. K, a field coordinator of the night market. Every night around 8:30, Mr. K would walk around the night market, going from tent to tent and vendor to vendor (not all vendors had a tent) to collect their nightly fees. This relatively small amount of fee was used for the nightly field operation of the night market, including tents rental, storage, set-up and tear-down, truck rental for transporting the tents between the night market site and their storage unit, and garbage pick-up by the city's Sanitation and Landscaping Agency (*Dinas Kebersihan dan Pertamanan*). Mr. K was also a coordinator for the Community of South of Market Vendors (*Paguyuban Pedagang Kaki Lima*), an association founded in 2014 in conjunction with the establishment of Malang Night Market. Members of this community mostly consisted of youths from the surrounding neighborhood, who now conducted the day-to-day operation of the night market. Our encounter with Mr. K led us to Mr. L, founder of the Community of South of Market Vendors and a co-founder of Malang Night Market, who worked alongside the city's Tourism Agency (*Dinas Pariwisata*).

While all of the night market vendors were familiar and would directly interact with Mr. K every night, only a few of them knew of Mr. L, mostly those whose vending enterprise predated the night market. Mr. L, perhaps in his mid-50s, has been involved with the conception of Malang Night Market since the very beginning. According to him, the creation of a night market in the South of Central Market part of Chinatown was not purely the city's initiative. Rather, the idea had originated from his encounter with Mr. Anton, who at that time was a newly elected mayor. Mr. S was personally acquainted with Mayor Anton through their involvement in the KNPI.¹⁰⁴ At the time, the mayor had been going around to communities, which he was known to do, looking for ideas on how to better use the city's public realm. In a casual conversation, he mentioned to Mr. L the city's struggle in relocating and finding a relocation place for informal street vendors from various nodes of the city. Mr. L, who had, for a long time, been involved with the local youth group in

¹⁰⁴ As discussed in Chapter 5

South Chinatown *kampung* pitched an impromptu idea to create a night market in their part of the city since a considerable number of evening food vendors were already informally operating in the area. It would not be too problematic to shut part of the streets down since the area not considered to be a major transportation corridor at night.

The founding of the South Chinatown youth group itself was intertwined with the growth of informal street vendors in the area. Being close to places of employment in the city center where many government offices and commercial activities were located, there was an abundance of office and store employees in the area. Many of them were renting houses and rooms in a nearby *kampung*; others would pass through on their way to and from work. Because much of this workforce was young, unmarried, and would work long hours, there was a market for food provision that was quick and affordable.¹⁰⁵ Over the years, street vendors have established their food enterprise along the area's main roads, and those with a tie with the neighborhood were able to penetrate into the alleyways of the *kampung*. As the evening culinary life grew, so did the concern of surrounding community members about people coming in from outside of their community and gathering in these evening vending tents. Out of that concern, the idea of creating a community youth group was born. Community youth groups (*Karang Taruna*) are common in residential neighborhoods, to provide a platform for the youth members of the community to channel their leisure time into a creative avenue. In South Chinatown, this community youth group also became a means of neighborhood watch, embracing evening vendors while ensuring that outsiders who were congregating around their neighborhood would not negatively affect their community.

We spoke to a *martabak* vendor whose operation in the area had preceded Malang Night Market. She was a native in the neighborhood, and before the night market came into the area, she had been vending *martabak* for around six years, most of which out of her home in one of the *kampung* alleyways right across from one of the local schools. A few years before the night market started, she joined around a dozen other evening vendors who operated where the night market was now located. According to her

¹⁰⁵ In Indonesian cities, it is more convenient for younger people living alone to eat out rather than cook, since many of them are living in boarding houses with limited access to a full kitchen, and because there are a lot of affordable food options, most of which coming from informal street vendors.

account, only around ten of the night market's current vendors had been the area's original vendors. She lamented that the night market did not hit the ground running. Its first year had been a slow one because the night market was still unknown among residents in other parts of Malang. To supplement her evening vending, she continued her daytime residential vending, since its proximity to a local school provided some stability in terms of clientele. Even today, as the night market started to receive more visitors, she still kept her daytime vending in operation.

If the *martabak* vendor was a local who voluntarily joined Malang Night Market, a *lalapan* vendor we spoke with was a newcomer in the area, after having been relocated from another part of the city. Before relocating to the night market in 2016, he had been vending at a busy intersection behind Malang's Gajayana football stadium since 2000. Due to the centrality of its location, that intersection became a target of the city's cleanup effort, and its vendors were directed to relocate to Malang Night Market. While all of the tented vendors had no other choice than to leave permanently, some of the cart-based vendors continued to linger at the intersection, since their relative mobility would allow them to vacate at a moment's notice, similar to the case of Alun-Alun Kota Malang vendors. Although Malang Night Market's primary location is on the west side of Jl. Kyai Tamin, this *lalapan* vendor chose to reestablish his tent to the east of the entrance. His reason behind this choice was that the street on the east side of the entrance was not partially closed off from vehicular traffic like the west side of the market was. Vendors would only occupy one side of the road shoulder, and therefore maintained direct access to customers on vehicles (FIG. 6.9),

This entire row of tents on this side of the street up to the official night market entrance are vendors who were relocated from the stadium intersection. We are all relatively new here, give or take one year. We could have joined the main part of the night market, on the west side of the entrance, but we did not want to since there is no access for vehicular traffic on that side. Here, our customers are able to park their vehicles next to our tents, which makes it more convenient for them.



FIGURE 6.9. Street vendors west of Malang Night Market entrance are only occupying one side of the corridor.
Source: Author's personal collection.

When we inquired about his current income compared to his previous vending location, the *lalapan* vendor shared that his profit was not even half of what it used to be. His previous location at the stadium intersection had been more accessible from other more populated parts of the city and also closer to other evening activities. In the relocation process, he had lost most if not all of his regular customers from his previous location and has not been able to build a strong customer base at the night market. However, he remained grateful that he at least was still given an option to continue vending, instead of simply being evicted with no other choice.

Contrary to those vendors who experienced a significant transformation early in their integration into the night market, a *sate* vendor we spoke with continued to see a thriving business in the midst of her transition into the night market.¹⁰⁶ Her husband had been a *sate* vendor before they met, and after they

¹⁰⁶ *Sate*, or *satay* in its Malay and English spelling, is skewered chunks of seasoned meat, traditionally grilled over coal, and served with a sauce – most commonly peanut sauce. In Indonesia, Madura is one of the regions famous for its version of *sate*.

were married, she followed in his footsteps and became a *sate* vendor herself. It was uncommon for women to be a mobile *sate* vendor – or any mobile vendor with a cart – but she would go around neighborhoods with her *sate* cart by herself because, at that time, her husband was vending *sate* on another island. In addition to the *sate* cart that she was running, she also owned three other vending carts for an iced cappuccino brand that she started. For these, she hired her sister and other employees for the day-to-day operation. When the night market first opened, she had jumped on the opportunity and leased three stall spaces, one for her *sate* cart and two for the iced cappuccino carts. She shared that so far, her income from the night market has been relatively stable. Even on slow nights, her *sate* vending would still bring in around IDR 1.500.000 (USD 100). She believed that one advantage of selling *sate* is that it is a meal appropriate for all types of weather; rain or shine her customers would still come. Even though she might have been able to reach a broader consumer base by being a mobile vendor, staying in one location did offer the stability that she would not otherwise have as a mobile vendor, where unexpected events would sometimes get in her (literal) way.

Though the three vendors above had different experiences when it comes to how they came to join the night market, there is a commonality in regard to how the night market has changed the pattern that they would operate in and for whom they were operating. Before Malang Night Market existed, the three vendors had had a somewhat solid base of regular customers for whom buying a meal from these vendors was a necessity and was part of their daily routine. After becoming part of the night market, their customer base shifted in a significant way to mostly recreational buyers, those who would run into these vendors by chance because they were there to visit the night market. In contrast to the previously somewhat loyal customers, their new customer base was less likely to become a returning customer. Its new spatial-temporal pattern had shaped the night market to be a destination that people would go and spend time in periodically, whereas before, the area had been part of a corridor where people would conveniently and regularly stop for a quick meal. Functionally, in addition to the existing evening vendors in the area who predated the night market, the night market's new tenants consisted of vendors who had been relocated from other parts of the city, mostly from major nodes and landmarks that were subject to the city's 'clean up' efforts. These vendors now not only consisted of food-related enterprises but also vendors offering

amusements, which included a mini merry-go-round, jumping house, ball pool, and toy fishing pond, and vendors selling knickknacks and fashion items such as clothes and shoes. The transformation of this area into a night market not only significantly altered its vending system's spatial-temporal pattern and relational structures, but also transformed its function from meeting the regular needs of its clientele to being part of a larger attraction for visitors who mostly would not be making a regular visit to these vendors.

Retaining a system's essential functions in the midst of change

A conventional interpretation of resilience thinking emphasizes a system's ability to maintain essential functions that are reflected in the goals and objectives of a system during and after a disturbance. A system that is able to serve the same functions before, during, and after a perturbation suggests that it has largely maintained its everyday resilience. When a system is no longer able to maintain its essential functions, on the other hand, it can be suggested to have crossed a critical threshold. Critical threshold (Bohle & Warner, 2008; Cumming et al., 2005; Sakdapolrak et al., 2008) has been described as the extent to which components of a system are able to absorb disturbances without being threatened in their existence. Gunderson and Holling (2002) suggest that instabilities within a system that are caused by disturbances can gradually build up, causing fluctuations that may eventually exceed this threshold. In this dissertation, my interpretation of a threshold is based on the idea that it is dynamic, flexible, oftentimes porous, and never fixed at one point. This is particularly important to recognize in the context of a spatial-social system, where the emergence and exercise of power, which intricately influences a system's threshold, is contingent upon the everchanging relationships between the actors within and external to the system. After such threshold has been crossed, actors within the system may act to stabilize the system and facilitate the system to reorganize itself into a new stable state, thus can be considered to have acquired an overall new function. The system's previous state, in that sense, is no longer resilient. However, this does not suggest anything with regards to the resilience of its new state; thus, a normative judgment should not be composed before a critical examination of the system in its new state is conducted.

In the earlier decades, most vendors in University Kampung were residents of the area or nearby area and therefore were built into the local social network. In recent years, higher enrollment in Universitas Brawijaya and the general expansion of the city's new commercial center have brought with them substantial growth to the University Kampung area, both in residential and commercial uses. The area has become a fertile ground for small enterprises that support the functioning of the university and its students, attracting business owners to come in from outside the area. The *Cokelat Klasik* vending cart is an example of such an enterprise run by actors external to the local community. Typically, the day-to-day operation of these vending enterprises is run by contract employees, who may or may not extend their initial contract. From the account from a *Cokelat Klasik* employee that we spoke with, most of the employees were short-term and would typically move on to another job after their contract expired. This temporality would limit the depth of interactions that the contract employees could have with other vendors, local community members, and even their customers. It could be challenging for contract-based vendors to build a genuine relationship with the existing support network that the local, long-time vendors had with community members and their customer base. Overall, the relational structure of its components has shown some signs of change, though none seemed to be significant enough to cause the system to become unrecognizable.

Spatially, though a flexible sharing of in-between spaces based on an informal agreement was still the norm, the University Kampung area has started to see an arrival of more established vending enterprises that embraced a more formalized business model. Instead of individual vendors assembling their space from below, vending spaces in this model would be built and overseen from above, sometimes remotely. Visually, this model stood out from the local, more informal vendors through its more elaborate architecture and design. The brick-and-mortar eateries would have a carefully curated and arranged furniture that would be contained within the boundaries of the site. Similarly, vending carts that were part of a franchise network would use bold graphics and colors. Their vending equipment would also appear polished and were arranged methodically. In contrast, independent vending carts owned and run by local community members or long-time vendors in the area would appear to be less meticulously designed and were organized in ways that might only make sense to themselves. Kiosks owned and run by local community members or long-time vendors in the area were often built on the edge of the streets or carved

into an existing residential building and spilling over into the public realm, thus blurring the boundary of private and public spaces.

In general, informal vending site in University Kampung has persisted decades of slower but nevertheless steady growth of the area, all the while clearly maintaining one of its essential functions: to provide accessible and affordable food options and other necessary services to surrounding students of Universitas Brawijaya. Its other essential function, which was to serve as an income generator for existing residents of the area and those with significant personal ties with the area, however, was beginning to see an impact from the arrival of business players with no residential or personal ties with the area or its community members. If this trend of externally-operated new business model continues, the vending system in this area will reach a tipping point where its spatial-temporal and relational structures have been transformed beyond recognition, and the system itself will have lost one of its essential functions as an income generator for people and community members who have for a long time been embedded in the everyday life and spaces of the area.

Somewhat similarly, the street vending system in Alun-Alun Kota Malang has also maintained its essential functions as an alternative mode of placemaking and spatial occupation in urban spaces and as a ground for tactical resistance to the state. Its historical account conveys how different groups have over centuries taken turns in the reassembling of Alun-Alun Kota Malang's space to stage their claim to the city, despite the state's attempts to designate the space as an extension of their current ideology. Remarkably, informal vending has long played a significant role in this tactical resistance, whether as a means of social gathering and protest by the colonized in the case of 19th-20th-century Dutch occupation, or as a purely economic means in surviving the capitalist city in the cases of New Order and post-New Order contemporary era.

Today, substantial state resources have been allocated to detach Alun-alun Kota Malang from informal vending and paint a new image for this central public space. Such attempts have so far been rendered futile, as informal vending has become such an essential part of the public life in Alun-Alun Kota

Malang, so much to the point that its total elimination could mean the loss of *alun-alun*'s basic function, as one visitor suggested,

Honestly, on the positive side, Alun-Alun Kota Malang has become a lot cleaner since the regular monitoring of informal vendors. However, on the negative side, not having informal vendors around has been harder on visitors, especially on parents with children. While the children are playing in the playground, what are we supposed to do? We cannot buy snacks from vendors and eat while we wait for our children.

For Indonesians, much of their public life is intertwined with food. They expect to have easy access to food in the public realm, including formal public places like Alun-Alun Kota Malang. The flexibility and availability of informal street vendors are, therefore, what makes our public spaces vibrant. When an informal vending system loses its essential function, so does the urban space that it activates. The tactical use of space and time by Alun-Alun Kota Malang's informal vendors has produced a new spatial-temporal pattern which so far has allowed them to retain an access to their customer base, however limited, thus maintaining their capacity to serving the system's essential function.

Spatially, today's informal vending practice perhaps more closely resembles its structure during the Dutch colonization period, where the colonized population would reassemble Alun-Alun Kota Malang into space for informal, unsanctioned gathering and vending. Its current spatial-temporal pattern is a contrast to that of the era immediately following the fall of the New Order authoritarian regime. During that period, informal vendors in Alun-Alun Kota Malang had considerably more freedom, enough to establish their presence in and occupation of the space by building four-sided semi-permanent kiosks, which also doubled as their sleeping quarters. This presents an interesting dynamic where a spatial system is able to maintain its essential function while having to continuously adjust its spatial and temporal structure in response to the broader political or developmental ideology of the public space of the time.

Contrary to the two systems above, this chapter's third case study site, Malang Night Market, has undergone a transformation substantial enough to alter not only the informal street vending system's

relational structure and spatial-temporal patterns, but also its essential function. Originally, evening street vendors in South Chinatown's basic function had been to meet the local demand for a quick and affordable meal option for employees from the surrounding areas. Structurally, the vendors had been a member of the local community or had overtime built a relationship with the local community. Because of the steady demand, the vendors had also been able to build a stable local customer base with whom they developed a mutual reliance. Spatially, the vendors had been easily accessible as they were part of an open street network where customers could park their vehicles right next to or in front of the vendors' tents or carts. Their customers, regular or otherwise, would come any night of the week, because people need dinner every day of the week, weeknight or weekend night, rain or shine.

Its transformation to an officially designated Malang Night Market has brought significant changes to the composition of the vending system and the ways that individual vendors could conduct their practice, which in turn contributed to the overall functioning of the system. In addition to local or otherwise long-time vendors of the area, the night market now consisted of relatively new vendors who had either voluntarily joined one of Malang's newest attractions or had been relocated by the city to the night market from other critical nodes of Malang. Relationships that used to be built on rapport and reciprocity between vendors and surrounding community members have now become more formalized and transactional, though it remains a possibility that what started out as a formal and transactional relationship could over time evolve into something more personal.

Functionally, visitors to the night market now typically came for the experience; thus, they would expect to see a cohesive unit of diverse vendors. Therefore, the more vendors that were present, the more visitors that the night market could attract, and more visitors would incentivize more vendors to join the spectacle. According to Mr. L, however, while there could now be up to 140 vendors on a Saturday night and sometimes Sunday night, only around 80 of them would regularly be present on weeknights (Monday to Friday). That number would drop even lower when it rained, as many of the vendors were without tents. Even vendors with tents had expressed their reluctance to set up when it rained, some stating the low quality of rental tents as a reason, while others saw little point in opening since customers would not come to the night market when it rained. This lack of visitors has also been repeatedly used as the reason why

the overall number of vendor attendance was always lower on weeknights, as Mr. K, the night market field coordinator suggested, “It is never busy when school is in session. When the schools were on a long break like they were a few weeks ago, on the other hand, the night market became busy every night.”

In the first year after its inauguration, Malang Cultural and Tourism Agency was working closely with the Community of South of Market Vendors to increase the number of vendors and visitors to Malang Night Market. The Agency had provided funding to provide more entertainment at the night market, which would mostly consist of traditional music and dance performances. They also hired a private event organizer to promote the night market, an effort that Mr. L did not believe in having been successful. He claimed that out of the budgeted IDR 25,000,000 (USD 1,700), sixty percent had gone to the organizer’s fee, and only forty percent had gone to advertising strategies, which, according to Mr. L, left a lot to be desired. In the following year, however, support from the government started to decline, culminating with the termination of entertainment and promotion funding. Mr. L felt that this had been prematurely done, as the night market was still in its infancy. Nowadays, the Community of South of Market Vendors became the sole provider of occasional performances to entertain visitors to the night market. However, all forms of promotion strategies for Malang Night Market have effectively been put on hold due to lack of funding, leaving the oscillating attendance of the night market unaddressed.

Structurally, evening vendors in South Chinatown who had preceded the night market had previously maintained a single operation, involving only themselves and their customers. Supported by ample of space that had allowed customers to come and go conveniently, this vending system had been beating to a regular, albeit individually variable, rhythm. After the vendors were consolidated under the umbrella of Malang Night Market, however, their rhythm became more complex, involving more actors. They became bound to a predetermined, less flexible spatial structure shaped by a regulated sharing of space. The previously loose space became tightened through the process of formalization, suggesting that not only could tight space become loose, loose space could also be made tighter. Because they were now part of a system of attraction, the vendors could no longer rely just on their personal customers. The system’s function has been transformed from providing a necessary supply to a stable demand into becoming a unit of attraction that was beating to an oscillating, less reliable pulse.

In a complex system, the ability to maintain essential functions is perhaps the most often cited component of a system's resilience, such that it headlines Salt and Walker's book on the topic, *Resilience practice: Building capacity to absorb disturbance and maintain function* (Salt & Walker, 2012). Two out of three case study sites in this chapter have demonstrated a social-spatial system's ability to maintain its essential function amidst different forms of disturbances and challenges. Structurally, each case study site has demonstrated a different kind of response to a disturbance to its spatial system. The University Kampung informal vending system seemed to have maintained much of its spatial-temporal patterns and characteristics, while the relational structure amongst its components has been altered by the arrival of external vendors with a new business model. Despite the arrival of new actors, however, the University Kampung vending system has continued to maintain its essential function to support the basic needs of university students in the area. The Alun-Alun Kota Malang vending system, on the other hand, has yet again had to respond to a prescription of another spatial meaning by those in power, which resulted in an emergence of a new tactical spatial-temporal pattern. Relationally, the surveillance by Satpol PP officers has eliminated the hierarchical necessity for informal vendors to answer to the coerciveness of informal 'landlords' of the space, thus allowing vendors to focus on their tactical spatial-temporal strategies in order to maintain the system's essential function. Lastly, the South Chinatown vending system case presented the starkest transformation out of all the case study sites. Its conversion into an officially sanctioned Malang Night Market not only altered its vending system's spatial-temporal patterns and relational structures but also transformed its essential function from a stable provider of necessary daily service into a fluctuating point of attraction.

This exploration of system's functioning offers a point of reference in thinking about the system's resilience and the threshold with which it is associated. Following a perturbation, a complex system is able to respond in ways that allow it to reassemble itself into different trajectories: returning to its original state or transitioning into a new state. Returning to its original state means that a system persists and retains its essential function and much of its spatial-temporal patterns and relational structures, such as the case of the University Kampung vending system thus far. Transitioning into a new state, however, could mean two things. First, it can mean that a system has transformed into a whole new system, such as the case of

Malang Night Market. Here, the new spatial-temporal patterns and relational structures actually drive the changing of the system's essential function. In such a case, it can be inferred that the system has crossed a threshold that leads to a new set of identities. However, a transition into a new state can also suggest that a system has had to significantly adapt its spatial-temporal patterns and relational structures in order to maintain its essential function, such as the case of Alun-Alun Kota Malang vending system. Because of the centrality of functioning in the processes of everyday resilience, I argue that so long as a system is able to maintain its essential function, no threshold has been crossed, even if to do, so it has to adapt its spatial-temporal patterns and relational structures over time to the changing circumstances.

CHAPTER 7

PROCESSES OF EVERYDAY RESILIENCE: PATTERNS, POWER RELATIONS, AND FUNCTIONING

Bayat's (2010) notion of 'the quiet encroachment of the ordinary' would perhaps best frame the motivation behind my attempt to apply resilience thinking as a conceptual framework in examining the practices of informal street vending systems in Indonesian urban spaces, and to use the processes of their everyday resilience to add to the power discourse in social resilience literature. Vyas and Dillahunty described everyday resilience as "an ongoing social process enacted through ordinary practices of everyday life and situated in people's local contexts that enable them to achieve favorable outcomes in relatively unfavorable situations" (2017, pp. 105:1-2). It is in this context of unfavorable situations that the 'quiet encroachment of the ordinary' conveys the politics of the informal and the marginalized, in which ordinary people better their lives and challenge the structure established by the state and those with which more power resides, through the "silent, protracted, but pervasive advancement" (Bayat, 2010, p. 46). For informal street vendors, these advancements are made by appropriating and reassembling urban spaces through various patterns of vending activities. Informality in contemporary urban spaces is, therefore, largely a result of a series of actions – or enacted relationships – that ordinary people take as a way to cope with various forms of adversity in their everyday life, situating the notion of resilience in the everydayness of urban spaces.

In the last two decades, we have seen growth in literature on informal cities and unintended uses of urban spaces, written in ways that embrace both their complexity and mundanity, represented by Watson's *City Publics* (2006), Laguerre's *The Informal City* (1994), Roy and AlSayyad's *Urban Informality* (2004), Franck and Steven's *Loose Space* (2007a), Chase et al.'s *Everyday Urbanism* (2008), Hou's *Insurgent Public Space* (2010b), Hou et al.'s *Now Urbanism* (2015), and Chalana and Hou's *Messy Urbanism* (2016). This strand of literature actively takes into account the stories of everyday people and

their persistence in everyday life, to which I hope this dissertation has paid proper respect. This dissertation joins the larger movement within urbanism scholarship in the pursuit of alternative planning theorization and practices through acknowledging the elements and processes of the ordinary that have been left out from the rational urban planning and policy discourses. In her seminal work, *Towards Cosmopolis: Planning for Multicultural Cities*, Sandercock (1998) called for a move away from the traditional planning model, which is rooted in positive science and prioritizes rational and effective decision making by professional planners. She imagined a *cosmopolis*, a post-modern utopia within which the planning paradigm has shifted towards grounded experiential and contextual knowledge and practical wisdom found in the practices of local communities. As an attempt to shift the urbanism discourse from professional planning and planners toward real practices by everyday people, then, this dissertation provides a detailed empirical study of informal street vending as a form of counter-hegemonic placemaking, through a grounded conceptualization of the practices, struggles, and power relations in the resilience of its every day.

The following three sections provide a summary of how each chapter of this dissertation addresses a research question posed in Chapter 1. Together, they form a sequence of processes in recognizing and understanding the everyday resilience of an informal, seemingly messy, spatial system. I hope that these processes can shift our approach to urban planning and policy towards finding ways to nurture the resilience of everyday urban spaces that already exist in the contemporary cities and the people who are embedded within them. To conclude this concluding chapter, I include a possible future direction for further inquiries in this line of scholarship and excerpts of wishful thinking from informal street vendors that have not made it into the main bodies of discussion in this dissertation.

One: Making sense of discernible spatial-temporal patterns

How may an informal social-spatial system reassemble itself in response to challenges in its environment?

Activities produce spatial forms; thus, urban spaces can be said to emerge out of the lived experiences of a diverse range of urban individuals and groups, who act out of their specific concerns (Crawford, 1999; Kaplan & Ross, 1987). These dynamics are ever-present in the seemingly mundane everyday spaces of urban informality, such as those shaped by informal street vendors, demonstrated by the constant reassembling of these urban spaces. Anderson and MacFarlane defined 'assembling' as a "process of 'co-functioning' whereby heterogeneous elements come together in a non-homogeneous grouping" (2011, p. 125). 'Reassembling', then, points to the relentlessness of the coming together of these diverse social-spatial elements, in which they are drawn together "at a particular conjuncture only to disperse or realign, and the shape shifts" (B. Anderson & McFarlane, 2011, p. 125). Because the diverse elements of urban spaces are potentially contradictory, then, making sense of how they are brought into a coherent, albeit provisional, form requires a tacit understanding of their everyday performances – in this case, the ordinary people of street vending system – who are central to the (re)production of these urban spaces (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2008). Through this careful observation and interaction with the everyday, we are able to discern a variety of spatial patterns that emerge out of sustained, albeit not unchallenged, informal reassembly of urban spaces and the temporality that these spaces afford. The existence of such patterns suggests that the rational lens, which often perceives urban spaces of the Global South as inefficient, disruptive, and lacking visual order stems from the absence of understanding of the less visible self-organizing processes that are embedded within the spaces of urban informality.

The case studies in Chapter 4 offer a reading of how informal street vending activities are reassembling their everyday urban spaces into discernible, albeit temporal, spatial patterns. I suggest that this constant reassembling and the dispersion, realignment, and shape-shifting that are associated with its processes are enabled by the inherent looseness of everyday urban spaces in the cities of Global South. Because urban spaces possess varying degrees of looseness, the ways in which the systems that inhabit them respond to various changes and challenges will also differ. In an informal system like street vending, the ways through which it interacts with its environment in response to these changes and challenges are often perceived as being 'messy'. In this chapter, however, I present an argument that certain discernible spatial-temporal patterns actually emerge from the ways that seemingly messy, individual activities

reassemble their system. This argument aligns with the application of complexity theory in the organization science, whose findings suggest that a complex system tends to exhibit a self-organizing behavior and that the interaction between its agents can result in complex patterns (P. Anderson, 1999; Holland, 1996; Kauffman, 1993).

Dovey (2012) suggested that we employ the help of complex adaptive system theory to make sense of the dynamics of complex systems, the behavior of which is a product of unpredictable interactions between its actors. Building on the tenets of complex adaptive systems, I further suggest that an informal social-spatial system such as street vending possess two fundamental qualities that enable the reassembling of its systems: the capacity for learning and adaptation, and the capacity for rules-creation. As individuals, street vendors internalize their personal experiences in encountering challenges, examine the traits of those challenges, and adapt their tactics accordingly. As a system, street vendors build a network of trust and communication to disseminate information and knowledge that are pertinent to the preservation of their preferred spatial patterns. As the collective experience of a system accumulates, it regulates its environment internally by creating and modifying its rules of conduct. An informal system's capacity for such rules-creation is less visibly communicated, and therefore requires an even closer interaction with the everyday actors to identify, as an outside entity may 'see' something without truly understanding the underlying principles to a pattern's organization. In a contested informal street vending system, these rules are largely based on a mutual understanding that is oftentimes nuanced by the relationships – thus power relations – among its actors.

Two: Acknowledging the power relations that govern space

What role do power relations between actors of the everyday play in the constant reassembling of the spaces of an informal social-spatial system?

This dissertation recognizes resilience as an ongoing collective process that is situated in person-environment interactions. This perspective is particularly relevant to street vendors, who, due to their

informality, tend to function as much as possible below the formal gaze of the state and have to depend on trust, reciprocity, and negotiations with other actors in order to construct and continue to reassemble their spaces. In his seminal work on power-dependence relations, Emerson argued that power emerges from social relations, and “resides implicitly in the other’s dependency” (1962, p. 32). An extended sharing of space facilitates casual interactions to develop into more meaningful relationships, which entail ties of mutual dependence between the actors (Emerson, 1962). Mutual dependence among actors of an informal street vending system, for instance, allows negotiations based on trust and reciprocity to occur, with which actors reassemble their spaces into a more favorable pattern. This is consistent with Ungar’s (2004) constructionist perspective, which views resilience as an outcome of negotiations between individuals and their environments to endure conditions that are collectively considered as adverse. In examining the processes of everyday resilience of an informal social-spatial system, therefore, we cannot leave out the roles that power relations between actors of the everyday have in the shaping and reassembling of their everyday space. This power relations, I argue, is an enabling factor for the creation and preservation of unwritten, oftentimes unspoken informal rules that underlie the capacity of an informal social-spatial system to continue to reassemble itself, and therefore is instrumental to the everyday resilience of the system.

In Chapter 5, I approach this exploration of power relations through the lens of actor-network theory, which recognizes the recursive yet dynamic nature of power, as the associations through which it emerges can be fragile (Doak & Karadimitriou, 2007). This lens believes that power does not remain within a single actor alone and instead emerges from the associations of heterogeneous actors in the spaces of the social. Spaces, as suggested by Latour (2005), emerge through the networks that are connecting different sites. In this research, the actor-network theory as a methodological framework guides the tracing and the registering of the ways in which diverse actors are able to negotiate their position in these networks. The pursuit to better comprehend the processes of resilience in ordinary and mundane spaces of urban informality, therefore, requires not only a careful examination of the visible yet subtle spatial-temporal patterns that emerge, but also the less visible interactions and negotiations that take place behind each act of persistence, adaptation, and transformation. Through following the vendors’ actions and stories, this

dissertation has explored how interactions that they have with their environments, which include human and non-human actors alike, have allowed them to negotiate their presence in urban spaces.

Using individual stories of actors involved with informal street vending practices in the urban spaces of Malang, Chapter 5 highlights the role of power relations in the everyday reassembling of informal street vending systems. This includes the emergence of power from relationships formed in the spaces of the social, within which the everyday lives are embedded, and the ways that such power is channeled by way of its exercise over another actor. The cases that are presented demonstrate that the changing environment in informal street vending is not only caused by challenges posed by formal governance and developmental ideologies, but also by the internally exercised power among vendors. The key to understanding what encourages, enables, or prohibits the reassembly of the system into certain spatial-temporal patterns, therefore, is to follow the actors among whom relationships are formed, and between whom power is exercised. I used stories as told by informal vendors and research participants to follow the actors across time and space, which, paired with local spatial observations, gives us a more holistic understanding of their lives as individuals as well as their worlds beyond the spatial scope of my inquiries. Cases discussed in this chapter suggest a common theme: the production, reassembly, and continuity of an informal street vending system depends largely not only on the fluidity of power relations itself, but also the individual discretions that guide the very exercise of this power, most vividly demonstrated by Satpol PP officers' shifting balance of personal judgment and law enforcement. This case is illustrative of the relative flexibility in how power is actually exercised at the lower level, in which personal discretion performed by lower-level officers on the field could at times take precedence over the official orders from upper-level government apparatus who are more removed from the everyday realities and informal politics of the urban space.

Three: Exploring system's responses and functioning

What effects do processes of the everyday reassembling of a contested social-spatial system have on its overall functioning?

Following Holling (1973), scholars have interpreted the concept of resilience in many variations and adopted the concept of resilience in various contexts. Despite the numerous directions that this concept has taken, most of its interpretations have maintained the centrality of the capacity of a system to retain its essential functions while experiencing change, disturbance, or shock. Because everyday resilience focuses on the everyday processes and functioning (Bouzarovski, 2016), Chapter 6 of this dissertation explores how a system's responses to change impact the maintenance of its functions. As such, a system can be considered to possess resilient attributes when it is able to continue performing its essential functions by way of a structural, spatial, or temporal reassembling as a response to changes and disturbances in its environment. In this dissertation, a 'structural' response refers to persistence, adaptation, or transformation of the essential components internal and external to the system and the associations that they have fostered with one another.

Using the notion of functioning to frame the processes of everyday resilience, Chapter 6 examines how the reassembling of a contested social-spatial system may significantly shift its essential functioning. The three cases of informal street vending systems discussed in Chapter 6 represent the various levels of response that a complex system can have to a perturbation: persistence, adaptation, and transformation. Two of the three cases demonstrate a capacity for maintaining their essential functions amidst different levels of perturbations and changes in their environments. One of the two systems, informal street vending in Alun-Alun Kota Malang, has notably preserved its key functions despite having had to significantly adapt its spatial-temporal patterns, precisely in order to retain those essential functions. On the other hand, the third case of Malang Night Market has undergone a substantial transformation that altered not only the system's relational structure and spatial-temporal patterns but also its essential functions.

This exploration of a system's functioning offers a point of reference in thinking about its processes of resilience and the threshold with which it is associated. When new spatial-temporal patterns and relational structures drive the transformation of a system's essential functions, it can be inferred that the system has crossed a threshold. However, when the transformation of a system's structural relations or spatial-temporal patterns enables it to retain its essential functions, it demonstrates the system's capacity to learn from and adapt to its ever-changing environment, one of the two fundamental qualities that allow a

social-spatial system to self-organize and reassemble itself as discussed in Chapter 4. It is important to keep in mind, however, that this capacity, however intrinsic, is profoundly shaped by the structural social-political processes that may limit the ways that an individual or a system, particularly the marginalized and the vulnerable, can respond to a perturbation.

Implication on planning practices and future direction

In an attempt to take a step back from the solution-driven model that is the hallmark of modernist, rational planning, this dissertation is a step towards paying attention to the social construction of a social-spatial system that is often perceived to be an 'urban problem'. As opposed to continuing the dominant narrative of urban governance which views informal street vending as one of the sources of urban inefficiency and lack of visual order, this dissertation suggests an approach to genuinely seeing informal street vending as a functioning system that is embedded in the city's urban spaces, and whose participants contribute to the larger social-economic processes of the city. While an empirical exploration of one set of case studies cannot – and should not be relied on to – provide the knowledge required to form a broader policy on informal street vending, it does offer a few lessons that cities in other parts of Indonesia or Southeast Asia can take into account when getting to know their own informal urban systems.

First, framing the everyday resilience of urban spaces as one's capacity to respond to everyday challenges, opportunities, and changing environments offers a way for urban policy makers to recognize their urban spaces as a complex network which consist of diverse functioning social-spatial systems – which, in Indonesian and Southeast Asian cities operate in the formal realm, informal realm, and everything in between. The conventional response that cities have to the informal sides of their urban spaces has been to attempt to decomplexify the underlying dynamics of their presence and create a more rationalized form that is perceived to have been successful in producing the world's modern cities. Such approach undermines the idiosyncrasies of everyday life and implies a certain generalizability of such complex and contextually grounded phenomenon that is urban informality. Therefore, every social-spatial urban system requires a contextually grounded analysis, each of which may result in a distinctive set of policy responses

that is respectful to the system's identity and everyday resilience. By acknowledging that even the seemingly messy informal urban processes can produce a fully functioning and resilient social-spatial system such as the informal vending, cities can begin to appreciate the elements that make such system works. Rather than simply erasing the practices, people, and culture that are embedded within their urban spaces, then, cities should learn from the ability of informal social-spatial systems in persisting, adapting, or transforming their spatial, temporal, or relational attributes in order to maintain their essential functions.

Policies on the relocation or formalization of informal street vendors, for instance, need to seriously consider how changes in the location and spatial-temporal patterns would affect the overall functioning of their vending practices, which contributes to their everyday resilience. Informal street vending, by nature, relies on the public interface, therefore its operation needs to take place in the urban spaces that are highly visible. Relegating vendors to more remote, hidden spaces – which is the modus operandi of many of contemporary relocation projects – only promises their demise. Informal street vendors are aware of the threat that such measure would have on their everyday resilience, thus they are willing to take the risks that come with continuing to operate in the informal ways that they know will work. What is operative in a street vending system is not any specific formal regulation; it is the social context within which cooperation and acts of benevolence occur not only among actors of informality, but also between actors of informality and those who are part of the official realm. At every level of interaction, people are entrusted to use their good judgment, based on the value system of their community. This exercise of personal discretion is enabled by the informality that still underlies much of the urban processes in the Global South today. Therefore, policies on relocation or formalization of informal urban practices also need to take into account the relational structures that have supported their functioning, and whether changes to or elimination of such relationships could negatively impact the various urban networks that said informal urban practices support and are supported by. Instead of abolishing the spatial context within which an informal cooperative culture has been the organizing norm of urban processes, cities should consider an alternative avenue that would nurture such valuable attribute.

Secondly, this approach to paying more attention to the everyday processes through which resilience outcomes are achieved enables us to apply resilience thinking more critically. It acknowledges

that everyday resilience is not strictly a static 'inner' trait, nor is it imposed by a top-down regulatory measure. It is an ongoing process that allows ordinary people to respond to everyday challenges, opportunities, and changing environments. In an informal social-spatial system, this process can take form in the constant reassembling of its components – by way of persisting, adapting, or transforming its spatial-temporal patterns or relational structure – in order to maintain its essential functions. This examination of resilience as an ongoing process recognizes that there exist multiple 'stable' patterns and structures, as spaces of informality can be temporal and are in a state of constant reassembling. It acknowledges that actors who are more typically considered a source of adversity can also be viewed as a source of resilience, and vice versa, because in social systems – particularly those that are largely informal – individuals belong to multiple networks, and power relations are always shifting as negotiations and personal discretions are made and circumstantial alliances are formed.

This multiplicity of individuals and urban social-spatial systems is central to the discussion of the value of informal urban processes in contemporary Global South cities, particularly with regards to my future exploration of the street vending system. When street vending is regarded as being purely informal, it does not take into account not only the vast yet concealed economy that supports it (Brown, 2006a) but also the understated services that it provides to the urban population from all walks of life and who are in various points of the formality spectrum. It would be naïve to assume that only the poor benefit from the goods and services that street vending provides. Moreover, in Southeast Asian cities where street vending is ubiquitous, this notion of 'otherness' that is associated with its informality considerably diminishes. Picture the following scenes. For breakfast, a young professional in Kuala Lumpur stops by a street vendor cart that is conveniently located across the street from their office on the twenty-fourth floor of a proud high-rise tower. A middle-class housewife living in a two-story townhome in a gated community of Jakarta asks her maid to purchase ingredients for tonight's dinner from a mobile grocer who regularly circles their housing complex each morning. A group of architecture students at Chulalongkorn University takes a break in-between studio work for a midnight snack of *pad thai* from a makeshift stall just ten-minute walk from their campus.

While the above archetypes are all intimately connected to the informal system, a demise of the latter would affect them differently than it would the city's housemaids, factory laborers, pedicab drivers, parking attendants, and other odd workers, whose lower wages only allow them to access affordable goods and services provided by the more informal sectors such as street vending. For the professional workers, middle class, and those with higher educations, there exist alternative – perhaps more formally regulated – sources of goods and services, because they can afford the higher costs. For the lower income 'others', however, the elimination of the urban informality, including street vending, may severely impair their everyday resilience. By following the threads made by the multitude associations between actors from various points of the formality (or informality) spectrum, I wish to explore what a twenty-first-century Southeast Asian city – real, composite, or imagined – without any trace of informality would look like, and how such void would influence the everyday resilience of its ordinary inhabitants.

Lastly, this research has thus far focused on the processes behind the everyday resilience of informal street vendors as a social-spatial system. It has not, however, extensively discussed the everyday resilience processes of informal street vendors as individuals, and the role that the everyday resilience processes of the informal street vending system may have in supporting their personal wellbeing. A more comprehensive understanding of what this means for individual resilience processes is especially important when resilience discourses move towards a value-laden determination of what is considered a 'good' coping for a larger system. While this normative valuation is out of the scope of this research, our semi-structured interviews collected several narratives from individual vendors with regards to what their preferred version of a stable informal street vending pattern is and their place within it. A list of quotes of these narratives are included in Appendix D of this dissertation, but I include below a few quotes chosen to represent the diversity of vendors' perceptions towards vending regulations and of how they have impacted their livelihoods.

After the relocation [to Malang Night Market], we have only been making half of what we used to make in our original spot. But we still consider ourselves lucky in the sense that we are still able to keep our vending operation ... In the future, I hope to be able to acquire a

more permanent vending space, something that does not need to be disassembled and reassembled every time, something like a food court or a hawker center.

(A *lalapan* vendor in Malang Night Market, July 19, 2017 interview)

My wish is for the circumstances to become better. It is hard to say, but it would be easier for us if **things could just go back to the way they were** [before the redesign and heightened surveillance]. When the Night Market first opened, we received instruction to relocate there, but since it has not been thriving, I declined to move. I chose to stay here [Alun-Alun Kota Malang] because it gets busy, especially by the playground, where there are places for visitors to sit and relax. It is, however, becoming more difficult to stay in the city center in general; the space outside of Ramayana is now also off-limits for us, as are the areas around Central Market.¹⁰⁷

(A *soto* vendor in Alun-Alun Kota Malang, June 14, 2017 interview)

I understand the government's intention to be good. If they were to let street vendors run around, the city would decay. It would be like a giant chicken coop. So **providing a vending facility** like this Night Market is good. They sweep the space clean every night. The city stays clean, and the vendors are still able to work. In my opinion, street vendors who refuse to be relocated to a decent place are fair game to be raided.

(A *cilok* vendor in Malang Night Market, July 22, 2017 interview)

I can understand why the government does not allow informal street vendors in public spaces because we are inherently messy. I think that the government should provide a **dedicated vending area** like in Alun-Alun Kota Batu, one such space is enough if it is **highly visible**. I think that would be good for us. It would not be too central, just along the periphery. Or, we could have a legitimate membership card, so that not all vendors could

¹⁰⁷ Ramayana is a shopping mall located northeast of Alun-Alun Kota Malang. Its west-facing and north-facing sidewalks used to be covered with street vendors' tents and carts, but they have now been included in the no-vending zone along Alun-Alun Kota Malang's peripheries.

enter as they please. Right now, we are all considered illegal here ... I am not interested in going back to the formal financial sector; it would be hard for my daughter ... She said she wanted to be in the military, but I think she should work in marketing, even now she is already a better vendor than I am.

(A toy vendor in Alun-Alun Kota Malang, July 14, 2017 interview)

*I would really like to **upgrade** my cart into a brick and mortar kiosk. With a kiosk, I can open in the morning and **work longer hours**. There is always a risk associated with moving to another location, like losing my customers, but it all depends on how well I can conduct my business. But for now, my cart is always busy, and that is enough for me.*

(A *lalapan* vendor in University Kampung, July 25, 2017 interview)

Another future direction that my research can take is an exploration of the linkages between a system's resilience processes and the individual members' resilience processes. Because social systems consist of heterogeneous actors who foster myriad associations and act upon their diverse interests, each individual's processes of resilience would tend to take on different forms. What does a particular informal street vending pattern mean to the individual actors? As suggested by the above interview excerpts, each vendor has a different vision of an ideal pattern, and a closer look at how these visions would shape individual livelihood and thus wellbeing could be helpful in guiding any conceptualization of policies of urban spaces.

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APPENDIX A: Glossary

Alun-alun, Alun-Alun Kota Malang. In a typical Javanese town, *alun-alun* is the most recognizable landmark that also indicates the traditional center of a town. Historically, *alun-alun* were typically square or rectangular, consisting of an open field and a few old-growth banyan trees. Alun-Alun Kota Malang is one of the two *alun-alun* located in the city of Malang, Indonesia. Throughout this dissertation, Alun-Alun Kota Malang and *alun-alun* are used interchangeably.

Bakso. Popular street food dish in Indonesia, a bowl of which typically consists of chewy meatballs, steamed and deep-fried wontons, tofu pieces, and sometimes noodles, served in a warm, clear broth. *Bakso* most typically is sold out of street vending carts. It is also considered to be one of Malang's signature street foods.

Bakpao. An Indonesian take on Chinese steamed buns (*baozi*), typically filled with savory meat or sweet paste fillings.

Batagor. Short for '*bakso tahu goreng*' – fried tofu stuffed with meatball.

Becak. Pedaled, three-wheeled taxi, otherwise known as 'pedicab'.

Bupati. Regent, or *bupati*, is the head of one form of municipal government in Indonesia. It used to be an appointed administrative position during the pre-colonial monarchies of Java and under the Dutch colonial government. Nowadays, a regent is directly elected through popular votes.

Chengguan. The Chinese version of Satpol PP -- enforcers of municipal laws that primarily pertain to the use of public spaces.

Sawi. Leafy green vegetable commonly used in Asian cuisine, more popularly known in the rest of the world as *choy sum* (Chinese)

Gaji buta. The direct translation of this expression is 'blind salary', meaning getting paid while doing next to nothing on the job.

Jamu. Traditional herbal health tonic.

Kampung. An 'urban village', where migrants from outside of an urbanized area would to settle and preserve some of their rural ways of life. Traditional urban village consists of interconnected, narrow alleyways and dense low-rise houses.

Kancil. From an Indonesian fable about a clever mouse-deer, who is weak and small yet very cunning.

Keraton. Traditional Javanese palace.

Kerupuk. Fried, tapioca-based crackers, usually in garlic, prawn, or fish flavoring.

Kidul Pasar. 'South of market' neighborhood; located in the southern part of Malang's Chinatown (*pecinan*) that surrounds the Malang Central Market. It is otherwise referred to in this dissertation as 'South Chinatown'.

Kos-kosan. Boarding house, in which bedrooms are rented out individually, usually to college students or single workers.

Kue. An assortment of traditional Indonesian baked, steamed, or fried snacks or desserts, usually in bite-sized pieces.

Lalapan. Popular plate of a meal consisting of steamed jasmine rice, fried meat, fish, or tempeh, *sambal* (fresh traditional chili paste), and raw vegetable cuts.

Martabak. *Martabak*, or *murtabak* as it is referred to in Malaysia and Singapore, is stuffed pan-fried thin bread commonly found in the Arabian Peninsula as well as Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore. In its Indonesian version, its stuffing mainly consists of eggs, meat, curry seasoning, and some varieties of onion.

Mie ayam. Traditional Indonesian chicken noodle dish commonly sold from street vending carts.

Nasi pecel. Traditional Javanese salad consisting of boiled or steamed mixed vegetables in a creamy peanut sauce. It is usually served with steamed white rice or rice cakes.

Pasar Besar Malang. Malang's central market. By the standards of Indonesian markets, it would be classified as a 'modern' market. By the international standard, however, this market would still be considered to operate in a traditional form.

Pasrah. A notion which acknowledges that most things in this life are out of one's control, and therefore it is futile to worry about them, particularly to the point of taking actions that would cause harm to others.

Pedagang Kaki Lima (PKL). Adapted from a phrase in Bahasa Indonesia *pedagang kaki lima*, a literal translation of which would be 'five-legged vendor'. Many believe that this term refers to the vendor's own two legs and their cart's three legs or wheels, when it actually refers to the width of sidewalk (five feet wide – 'foot' is *kaki*, which also means 'leg' in Bahasa Indonesia) required for every major street during the Dutch colonialism. These sidewalks become popular spots for vendors to anchor their carts. In this dissertation, I refer to PKL as street vendor, or hawker.

Rendang, Rendang Malangan. One of the most well-known and widely available traditional dishes in Indonesia, originating from the people of Minangkabau on the island of Sumatra. It is a slow-cooked meat dish simmered in rich coconut-based curry-like spices. *Rendang Malangan* is a take on the traditional *rendang* dish with a little twist of Malang ingredients.

Rukun Tetangga (RT), Rukun Warga (RW). In Indonesia, neighborhood associations take form in RW (*Rukun Warga*) and RT (*Rukun Tetangga*) and are part of the official local governance. The memberships of RW and RT are voluntary based, even though their leaders are elected by residents of the neighborhood.

Satpol, Satpol PP. Satpol, or Satpol PP, is short for *Satuan Polisi Pamong Praja* (Public Order Municipal Police Unit).

Sate. *Sate*, or *satay* in its Malay and English spelling, is skewered chunks of seasoned meat, traditionally grilled over coal, and served with a sauce – most commonly peanut sauce. In Indonesia, Madura is one of the regions famous for its version of *sate*.

Soto. Turmeric-based chicken or beef soup served with rice, commonly found in many regions of Indonesia.

Tikar. Traditional straw mat that is a common possession in Indonesian households. It is lightweight and can be rolled up like a long yoga mat, making it highly portable.

APPENDIX B: List of semi-structured interview questions (Bahasa Indonesia)

Daftar pertanyaan wawancara semi terstruktur untuk pedagang

Latar belakang pribadi dan pekerjaan

- Dari mana Anda berasal?
- Barang dagangan/makanan apa saja kah yang Anda jual?
 - Mengapa Anda memilih berdagang barang tersebut?
 - Dari mana Anda mendapatkan bahan-bahan setiap hari nya?
- Sudah berapa lama Anda berjualan?
- Apakah usaha ini milik Anda sendiri?
 - Jika tidak, bisa Anda jelaskan sedikit tentang struktur pengelolaan usaha ini?
- Apakah berjualan merupakan satu-satunya pekerjaan yang Anda lakukan?
 - Apakah Anda memiliki pekerjaan lain sebelumnya? Jika iya, pekerjaan apa itu? Dan apa yang menyebabkan Bapak/Ibu beralih pekerjaan menjadi berjualan?

Apropriasi (penggunaan) ruang: bagaimana aktivitas berjualan mulai beroperasi

- Bagaimana Anda menentukan lokasi ini untuk berjualan?
 - Apakah lokasi ini merupakan satu-satunya tempat berjualan Anda?
 - Apakah Anda tinggal di sekitar kawasan ini?
 - Apakah Anda mengenal seseorang yang mengerti dengan baik tata cara berjualan di kawasan ini?
- Mengapa Anda memilih untuk menggunakan peralatan dagang ini (gerobak, pikulan, tenda, dll.)?
- Apa saja tantangan yang Anda hadapi dalam memulai usaha berjualan ini?
- Bagaimana proses asimiliasi yang terjadi sehingga usaha Anda dapat diterima di kawasan ini?
- JIKA Anda pegawai (bukan pemilik usaha), siapakah yang mengatur penentuan lokasi berdagang? Apakah Anda masih harus berhubungan langsung dengan penduduk/pengusaha sekitar?
 - Apakah Anda pernah melakukan modifikasi terhadap peralatan atau lokasi dagang?
 - Apakah Anda melakukannya dengan sepengetahuan pemilik usaha?

Peraturan tempat dan persaingan: bagaimana mempertahankan aktivitas berjualan agar tetap beroperasi

- Bagaimana hubungan Anda dengan sesama penjual dan anggota komunitas di sekitar?
 - Apakah terdapat persaingan antar sesama penjual dan anggota komunitas sekitar dalam hal penggunaan dan kepemilikan tempat berjualan?
- Seberapa pesatnya pertumbuhan di daerah ini?
 - Apakah ada perubahan signifikan yang terjadi (sejak awal berdagang di lokasi ini)? Apakah perubahan yang terjadi lebih baik atau kah lebih buruk?
 - Berapa lama perubahan ini sudah terjadi?
 - Apakah Anda merasakan tekanan dari adanya pertumbuhan tersebut?
 - Bagaimana Anda/para penjual lainnya bisa mengatasi/menyikapi kondisi tersebut (contoh)?
- Seberapa jauh peraturan pemerintah kota diterapkan di kawasan ini?
 - Secara keseluruhan, bagaimana pengaruh peraturan kota tersebut terhadap penjual dan aktivitas berjualan?

Aspirasi

- Menurut Anda, bagaimana perubahan situasi perdagangan yang akan terjadi di masa mendatang dalam jangka waktu dekat dan jauh?
- Kondisi seperti apa yang Anda dan pedagang lainnya harapkan di masa mendatang?
 - Mengenai peraturan dan/atau persaingan
 - Mengenai tempat dan/atau ketersediaan tempat
 - Mengenai kesempatan dan/atau pergerakan sosial

Daftar pertanyaan wawancara semi terstruktur untuk asosiasi PKL

Tentang perwakilan

- Apakah anda sendiri pernah/sedang menjadi seorang pedagang kaki lima/pedagang informal?
 - Jika iya, kapan dan untuk jangka waktu berapa lama?
 - Jika tidak, apa pekerjaan utama anda dan bagaimana pekerjaan tersebut berhubungan dengan pedagang kaki lima?
- Bagaimana awal anda mulai berkecimpung sebagai anggota asosiasi ini?
- Dalam kapasitas apa anda mewakili pedagang kaki lima/pedagang informal?
 - Seberapa resmi/formal kah peran anda dalam mewakili para pedagang kaki lima/pedagang informal?
 - Apa tanggung jawab utama anda kepada para anggota asosiasi ini?
 - Sedekat apa anda dengan para anggota?
 - Seberapa baik anda mengetahui tentang aktivitas dan perdagangan saat beroperasi di lapangan?
 - Menurut anda, seberapa besar kepercayaan para pedagang informal/pedagang kaki lima terhadap asosiasi ini?
- Dapatkah anda menceritakan beberapa kasus kejadian mengesankan (positif/negatif) mengenai konflik yang pernah anda tangani antara para penjual atau dengan aparat pemerintah dan pihak lainnya?

Tentang hubungan dengan aparat pemerintah

- Seberapa sulit kah anda mengikuti perkembangan perubahan aturan pemerintah tentang pedagang kaki lima/pedagang informal?
- Bagaimana pendapat asosiasi terhadap peraturan pemerintah tentang pedagang kaki lima/pedagang informal?
 - Apakah ada aspek dari peraturan tersebut yang didukung/disetujui oleh asosiasi?
 - Apakah ada aspek dari peraturan tersebut yang tidak didukung/disetujui oleh asosiasi?
- Seberapa jauh pihak asosiasi bekerja sama dengan aparat pemerintah dalam menerapkan peraturan pemerintah tentang pedagang kaki lima/pedagang informal?
 - Seberapa jauh pihak asosiasi dapat menantang peraturan pemerintah tentang pedagang kaki lima/pedagang informal dan dalam penerapannya di lapangan?

Tentang aspirasi

- Menurut anda, bagaimana perubahan situasi perdagangan yang akan terjadi di masa mendatang dalam jangka waktu dekat dan jauh?
- Kondisi seperti apa yang asosiasi dan para pedagang lainnya harapkan di masa mendatang?
 - Mengenai peraturan dan/ atau persaingan
 - Mengenai tempat dan/atau ketersediaan tempat
 - Mengenai kesempatan dan/atau pergerakan sosial

Daftar pertanyaan wawancara semi-terstruktur untuk pelanggan

- Apakah anda tinggal atau bekerja di kawasan ini?
 - Jika tidak, apa yang membuat Anda datang ke lokasi perdagangan kaki lima ini?
- Seberapa sering Anda membeli makanan/produk dari pedagang ini?
 - Seberapa sering Anda membeli makanan/produk dari pedagang kaki lima secara keseluruhan?
- Menurut Anda, seberapa penting adanya akses untuk membeli produk dari pedagang kaki lima?
 - Dapatkah Anda membayangkan kota/kawasan ini tanpa pedagang kaki lima? Apa yang akan Anda rasakan jika hal tersebut terjadi?
- Seberapa baik Anda mengetahui peraturan pemerintah kota mengenai pedagang kaki lima dalam beroperasi?
 - Apa posisi Anda terhadap peraturan tersebut dan penerapan di lapangan apa yang Anda ketahui?

Daftar pertanyaan wawancara semi-terstruktur untuk pemerintah kota

Peraturan pemerintah kota dan pemetaan

- Dapatkah Anda menjelaskan secara singkat tentang struktur pemerintah kota yang berhubungan dengan penataan dan penanganan pedagang kaki lima atau pedagang informal?
- Apa saja peraturan pemerintah kota (yang paling krusial) mengenai pedagang kaki lima/ pedagang informal saat ini?
 - Apakah warga kota / publik dapat dengan mudah mengakses peraturan tersebut?
 - Seperti apakah (jika ada) bentuk sosialisasi dari pemerintah kota mengenai peraturan tersebut?
 - Secara berkala, bagaimana intensitas perubahan yang terjadi pada peraturan tersebut? Dan seberapa signifikan perubahan yang terjadi?
- Apakah ada perbedaan antara peraturan kota bagi pedagang kaki lima / pedagang informal yang beroperasi di ruang publik (milik pemerintah) dengan yang beroperasi di ruang privat (milik warga)? Jika ada, apa saja?
- Apakah pemerintah kota memiliki peta lokasi-lokasi dimana PKL dilarang berjualan, dan dimana PKL diperbolehkan berjualan (pada waktu tertentu)?
 - Apakah hasil dari pemetaan tersebut tersedia untuk diakses oleh publik / warga kota?
 - Apa saja kriteria yang menentukan diperbolehkan atau tidaknya PKL beroperasi pada lokasi tertentu?
- Apakah pemerintah kota pernah melakukan pemetaan akan titik lokasi pedagang kaki lima / pedagang informal ?
 - Apakah hasil dari pemetaan tersebut tersedia untuk diakses oleh publik / warga kota?

Contoh penerapan di lapangan

- Apakah anda bisa menyebutkan salah satu atau beberapa usaha pemerintah untuk 'mengarahkan dan membimbing' pedagang kaki lima / pedagang informal di kota Malang?
 - Apakah usaha tersebut berjalan dengan baik? Apa rintangan yang dihadapi pemerintah dalam menerapkannya?
- Kawasan mana saja yang saat ini dianggap pemerintah sebagai area 'hot spots' (titik panas/ penting) dalam menerapkan peraturan pedagang kaki lima/ pedagang informal di kota Malang?
- Apakah dibentuknya Malang Night Market merupakan salah satu usaha pemerintah dalam menata PKL?
 - Mengapa pemerintah kota memilih lokasi tersebut untuk Malang Night Market?
 - Setelah kurang lebih 4 tahun berjalan, apakah pemerintah kota pernah mengadakan evaluasi akan kesuksesan Malang Night Market?
 - Target-target apa sajakah yang telah tercapai dengan adanya Malang Night Market?
 - Apakah ada kemungkinan akan diadakan Night Market lainnya di Kota Malang? Jika iya, lokasi mana sajakah yang memiliki potensi tersebut?
- Apakah Anda familiar dengan APKLI (Asosiasi Pedagang Kaki Lima Indonesia)?
 - Dalam menerapkan peraturan kota tentang pedagang kaki lima/ pedagang informal, apakah pemerintah kota bekerja sama dengan perwakilan asosiasi pedagang kaki lima dan perwakilan pebisnis dengan skala lebih besar?
 - Apa saja contoh kerja sama yang dilakukan?

Perkembangan kota

- Tipe pembangunan ruang-ruang seperti apa yang saat ini diprioritaskan oleh pemerintah kota Malang?
 - Bagaimana pengaruh hal tersebut terhadap aktivitas pedagang kaki lima/ pedagang informal di kota ini?
- Bagaimana perencanaan visi kota Malang dalam 10 tahun mendatang, dalam kaitannya dengan perdagangan, baik informal maupun formal?
- Pada akhirnya, apa tujuan utama pemerintah kota Malang berkenaan dengan pengaturan pedagang kaki lima / pedagang informal?

APPENDIX C: List of semi-structured interview questions (English)

List of semi-structured interview questions for vendors

Personal background and occupation

- Where are you from?
- What kind of merchandise do you sell?
 - How did you choose to sell such merchandise?
 - Where do you source your merchandise from?
- How long have you been vending?
- Is this your own enterprise?
 - If it is not, could you elaborate on the enterprise's management structure?
- Is vending your only occupation?
 - Have you held another occupation? If yes, what was it? And what caused you to switch to street vending?

Space appropriation: how the vending operation starts

- How did you decide on this location for your vending operation?
 - Is this your only vending location?
 - Do you live around this area?
 - Do you know anyone who has the knowledge of vending etiquettes in this location/area?
- Why did you choose the vending tool(s) that you are choosing (cart, basket, tent, etc.)?
- What were some of the challenges that you faced when you started this vending operation?
- What was the assimilation process like for you and your operation to have been accepted in this area?
- IF you are a vendor employee (not the vending owner), who arranged your vending location? Do you need to directly correspond with the local community members/vending owners?
 - Have you modified your vending tool(s) or location yourself?
 - Did you conduct that modification with the knowledge of the vending owner?

Rules of conduct and competition: how to maintain a vending operation

- What are your relationships with community members and other vendors like?
 - Is there any competition between vendors and/or local community members with regards to the use and ownership of space?
- How quickly (if any) is the growth of this area?
 - Has there been any significant change with the area since you started vending here? If yes, is the change for the better or worse?
 - How long has this change been taking place?
 - Do you feel any pressure from the growth?
 - How do you/other vendors respond to such condition (example)?
- How far/seriously are official municipal regulations are upheld in this area?
 - Overall, how have the regulations affected vendors and vending practices?

Aspiration

- What are your thoughts on the future (short term and long term) of street vending practices/situation?
- What kind of future vending condition would you and other vendors wish for?
 - On regulations and/or competition
 - On space and/or space availability
 - On opportunity and/or social mobility

List of semi-structured interview questions for vendors association

On representation

- Are/were you also a street vendor yourself?
 - If yes, since when and for how long have you been vending?
 - If not, what is your primary occupation and how is that occupation related to street vending?
- How did you get involved in being a member of this association?
- In what capacity do you represent street vendors?
 - How official/formal is your role in representing the street vendors?
 - What is your main responsibility toward the association members?
 - How close are you to the other members?
 - How well do you know of vending activities on the ground?
 - How much faith do you think the vendors have in this association?
- Could you tell us some memorable events or conflicts between vendors or between vendors and municipal apparatus that you have been involved with?

On relationship with municipal apparatus

- How easy/difficult is it for you to follow municipal regulations on informal street vending?
- What does the association think about municipal regulations on informal street vending?
 - Does the association agree with any aspect of such regulations?
 - Does the association oppose any aspect of such regulation?
- How intimately does the association work with municipal apparatus in upholding municipal regulations on informal street vending?
 - How far would the association push back on municipal regulations on informal street vending and its application on the ground?

On aspiration

- What are your thoughts or prediction on the future (short term and long term) of street vending practices/situation?
- Kondisi seperti apa yang asosiasi dan para pedagang lainnya harapkan di masa mendatang?
 - On regulations and/or competition
 - On space and/or space availability
 - On opportunity and/or social mobility

List of semi-structured interview for customer of street vending

- Do you live or work in this area?
 - If not, what brings you to this vending location?
- How often do you purchase food/product from this vendor?
 - How often do you purchase food/product from street vendors overall?
- How important do you think is access to street vendors?
 - Could you imagine this city/are without street vendors? How would you feel about that?
- How well do you know of the municipal regulations on informal street vending?
 - What is your position regarding such regulations, and what kind of on-the-ground application of them do you know of?

List of semi-structured interview questions for municipal government official

Municipal regulations and mapping

- Could you talk about the structure of municipal government office that oversees the regulation of informal street vendors?
- What are some of the most crucial municipal regulations on informal street vending today?
 - Are those regulations accessible to the city residents/general public?
 - Has there been any effort on the part of the municipal government to disseminate information regarding such regulations?
 - How often are changes made to the regulations? How significant are the changes?
- Is there any difference between municipal regulations for informal vendors who operate in the public sphere (owned by the state) and those who operate in the private/semi-public sphere (privately owned)?
- Does the city have maps of locations within which informal street vendors are prohibited from, and those that are available for vending?
 - Can the maps be accessed by the city residents/general public?
 - What criteria determine whether or not informal street vendors can operate in certain locations?
- Has the city done a mapping of informal street vending locations?
 - Can the maps be accessed by the city residents/general public?

Examples of application on the ground

- Could you give an example of how the municipal government has attempted to 'direct and guide' informal street vendors in Malang?
 - Has that effort been successful? Was there any challenge in pursuing such effort?
- Which areas does the city consider as 'hot spots' for regulating informal street vending in Malang?
- Was Malang Night Market an effort by the government to regulate informal street vending?
 - Why did the city choose that location for Malang Night Market?
 - After around 4 years, has the city evaluated the success of Malang Night Market?
 - What are some of the targets that have been accomplished by Malang Night Market?
 - Is there any possibility of other night market locations in Malang? If so, which locations would have such potential?
- Are you familiar with APKLI (Indonesian Association of Street Vendors)?
 - Does the municipal government work alongside the association in implementing the municipal regulations on informal street vending, particularly in a larger scale?
 - What would be an example of such collaboration?

Urban growth

- What types of space development does the Malang municipal government currently prioritize?
 - How would such priority affect informal street vending practices?
- How does the city envision itself in the next 10 years, particularly with regards to vending and trading?
- What is the city's eventual goal with regards to regulating informal street vending?

APPENDIX D: Partial excerpts of vendors' narratives on their aspiration of the future

*My wish is for the circumstances to become better. It is hard to say, but it would be easier for us if **things could just go back to the way they were** [before the redesign and heightened surveillance]. When the Night Market first opened, we received instruction to relocate there, but since it has not been thriving, I declined to move. I chose to stay here [Alun-Alun Kota Malang] because it gets busy, especially by the playground where there are places for visitors to sit and relax. It is, however, becoming more difficult to stay in the city center in general; the space outside of Ramayana is now also off-limits for us, as are the areas around Central Market.¹*

(A soto vendor in Alun-Alun Kota Malang, June 14, 2017 interview)

*My goal is to **become a wholesaler** [laughs]. Because, how should I say it, being a wholesaler would mean that I can fry my own kerupuk, and sell them to retailers and vendors like me. The profit would be higher. But for now, in terms of street vending, I hope that the government will **allow us to vend along the peripheries** [of Alun-Alun Kota Malang]. And that they will stop conducting raids and taking our goods away. I know that the government has tried to provide us with a dedicated vending space at the Night Market, but it is dead over there, I can only make IDR 20,000 [USD 14] a night. Sometimes, the organizer will not even charge my nightly fee because he pities me. It is just not the right location; the visitors are mostly residents of the surrounding kampung. I have heard some rumor about expanding the Night Market to the street block where Trend is, so it forms a letter 'L' and connects to Alun-Alun Kota Malang, but nothing has happened yet. [Ramayana is a shopping mall located northeast of Alun-Alun Kota Malang. Its west-facing and north-facing sidewalks used to be covered with street vendors' tents and carts, but they have now been included in the no-vending zone along Alun-Alun Kota Malang's peripheries.]*

(A kerupuk vendor in Alun-Alun Kota Malang, June 14, 2017 interview)

*I do not blame the Mayor, but they should have found us **an alternative vending space that is as thriving** as Alun-Alun Kota Malang is. Like this street over here [the street that runs along the south side of Alun-Alun Kota Malang] is dead, it is not being used by through traffic too much, and it is in the center of tourism activities. They can arrange it to be a dedicated vending space like the way that Batu does. I think that is an aspiration of the vendors here. [Batu is a neighboring community northwest of Malang that has also been struggling with disciplining its public spaces, particularly its *alun-alun*. As a solution, a large area immediately to the south of Alun-Alun Kota Batu has been converted to accommodate informal street vendors from the *alun-alun* and other parts of the city. This move has been considered to be relatively successful, because vendors have been able to retain their customer base, and even gain some, due to the centrality and visibility of their new location.]*

(A toy bird vendor in Alun-Alun Kota Malang, June 16, 2017 interview)

*I can understand why the government does not allow informal street vendors in public spaces because we are inherently messy. I think that the government should provide a **dedicated vending area** like in Alun-Alun Kota Batu, one such space is enough if it is **highly visible**. I think that would be good for us. It would not be too central, just along the periphery. Or, we could have a legitimate membership card, so that not all vendors could enter as they please. Right now, we are all considered illegal here ... I am not interested in going back to the formal financial sector; it would be hard for my daughter ... She said she wanted to be in the military, but I think she should work in marketing, even now she is already a better vendor than I am.*

(A toy vendor in Alun-Alun Kota Malang, July 14, 2017 interview)

*I have been vending in this space [on a sidewalk in South Chinatown area] for decades, and nobody has ever objected to it. Pedestrians who walk by every morning also know that this is a vending space. And I am out of here by nine in the morning anyway, leaving the space clean, like I was never even here. And so far, the government has not attempted to regulate this space; we are all fine here. I would like to **stay here for the long run**. I already have a customer base here, the chicken noodles vendors. This arrangement allows us to start operating very early in the morning, compared to the Central Market over there that does not open until seven-thirty. Here, the chicken noodles vendors are already starting to arrive at four in the morning to pick up their noodles. As long as the noodles factory is in operation, I will be here. Because my customers know where to find me. There are more competitions inside the market, and I would have to pay the rental fees ... In the morning my daughter helps me transport my vending goods and equipment before she goes to work. She is thirty-three years old now and is working as a store attendant at Ramayana. We have not talked about whether she would be taking over this vending operation or start her own business.*

(A spice vendor in South Chinatown, July 19, 2017 interview)

*I would like to stay here [on a sidewalk in South Chinatown area], that is all I want, just do not evict me from this space. The conditions can just **stay the way they are now** ... I would like for my children to go to college, so they will not have to sell vegetables like their mom so that they can get a more comfortable job.*

(A produce vendor in South Chinatown, July 19, 2017 interview)

*I hope to be able to **have my own store** so that the production and the sale can take place in the same space, I would not need to transport things and set them up every time, which takes time. Production time would also be more efficient, right now we are often unable to take on a large order, because the dough has to be produced at home, and then carried over here ... I am also joining an IT startup business based out of Florida, called Talk Fusion ... But even if that takes off, I will still continue my kue vending operation.*

(A traditional kue vendor in South Chinatown, July 19, 2017 interview)

*I often see Satpol PP officers driving by this area, but so far they have not done anything about our presence, so it has been safe to vend here. I **would not want to move away** from this location, because starting over would be very hard, I would lose my regulars.*

(A soto vendor in South Chinatown, July 21, 2017 interview)

*I have never been bothered by Satpol PP officers, but even if they tried to evict me, I **would continue to vend here**; this is the only space I know. I would consider relocating if they gave me another spot, but only if it is free. If it is not free, then I would not move. Because it is free here.*

(A coconut ice vendor in South Chinatown, July 21, 2017 interview)

*After the relocation [to Malang Night Market], we have only been making half of what we used to make in our original spot. But we still consider ourselves lucky in the sense that we are still able to keep our vending operation ... In the future, I hope to be able to acquire a **more permanent vending space**, something that does not need to be disassembled and reassembled every time, something like a food court, or a hawker center.*

(A lalapan vendor in Malang Night Market, July 19, 2017 interview)

I would like to stay here [Malang Night Market] for a long time because it is very close to my house. So if I ever forget anything, I can just run back home to get them ... I enjoy having my own small business; we have had our share of working for other people. My husband works for a factory, Teh Botol Sosro, and it is tiring when you work for someone else. I used to work for a cosmetics company as a sales promotion girl. Now I can stay home with my children while I make money.

(A martabak vendor in Malang Night Market, July 19, 2017 interview)

*I understand the government's intention to be good. If they were to let street vendors run around, the city would decay. It would be like a giant chicken coop. So **providing a vending facility** like this Night Market is good. They sweep the space clean every night. The city stays clean, and the vendors are still able to work. In my opinion, street vendors who refuse to be relocated to a decent place are fair game to be raided.*

(A cilok vendor in Malang Night Market, July 22, 2017 interview)

*I am quite **satisfied** with the Night Market, but I am still looking to expand to more locations and hire employees. But I feel bad to the other vendors for acquiring more stands here; I already have multiple beverage stands. Each of the other vendors has one stand, but I have multiple. I do not want people to think that I am trying to monopolize the Night Market.*

(A sate vendor in Malang Night Market, July 22, 2017 interview)

*I want to **keep being a mobile vendor** on my bicycle; it takes less time this way. If I were to stay in one place, I would have to wait for customers to come to me, and that would take longer. My husband used to work at a factory, but now we have a little kiosk at home. Working from home is better for our family; there is always someone to stay with the children, which would not be possible if both of us worked away from home.*

(An herbal drink vendor in University Kampung, July 25, 2017 interview)

*I would really like to **upgrade** my cart into a brick and mortar kiosk. With a kiosk, I can open in the morning and **work longer hours**. There is always a risk associated with moving to another location, like losing my customers, but it all depends on how well I can conduct my business. But for now, my cart is always busy, and that is enough for me.*

(A lalapan vendor in University Kampung, July 25, 2017 interview)

*I wish to be able to **expand** my kiosk in the future. I would open a new branch when money becomes available. I could make more money by leasing out part of my kiosk to another vendor, but I like using the space just for us. When business is a little slow, I can use the space to spend time with my children and help them with their homework.*

(A bakso vendor in University Kampung, July 28, 2017 interview)

*I have no plan to rent a kiosk, my vending cart is **plenty sufficient for now**, and it is free. It **would be nice to have a more permanent space, but the cost just would not make any sense**, it is not appropriate for our current scale ... I used to have a bigger vending operation, selling lalapan, but now there are too many competitions ... This area has become denser, but I feel like there are fewer customers. Kids nowadays prefer to use online food delivery services, and do not go out to the local vendors as often.*

(A tuna tofu snack vendor in University Kampung, July 28, 2017 interview)

APPENDIX E: Surat Keterangan Penelitian (research certificate), issued by Badan Kesatuan Bangsa dan Politik Malang (Malang Agency of National and Political Unity)



PEMERINTAH KOTA MALANG
BADAN KESATUAN BANGSA DAN POLITIK
Jl. A. Yani No. 98 Telp. (0341) 491180 Fax. 474254
M A L A N G

Kode Pos 65125

REKOMENDASI PELAKSANAAN PENELITIAN
NOMOR : 072/60.07.P/35.73.406/2017

Berdasarkan pemenuhan ketentuan persyaratan sebagaimana ditetapkan dalam Peraturan Walikota Malang Nomor 24 Tahun 2011 Tentang Pelayanan Pemberian Rekomendasi Pelaksanaan Penelitian dan Praktek Kerja Lapangan di Lingkungan Pemerintah Kota Malang Oleh Badan Kesatuan Bangsa dan Politik Kota Malang serta menunjuk surat Lurah Gadang Kec. Sukun Kota Malang No. 470/153/35.73.04.1002/2017 tgl. 12 Juli 2017 perihal : Keterangan, kepada pihak sebagaimana disebut di bawah ini :

- a. Nama : ADNYA PUNIA SARASMITA. (peserta : - orang terlampir).
- b. Nomor Identitas : 3,573004410888E+16.
- c. Judul Penelitian : Pedagang Informal di Kota Malang : Peruntukkan, Pertentangan & Pertahanan Ruang Lentur Perkotaan).

dinyatakan memenuhi persyaratan untuk melaksanakan penelitian tugas disertasi yang berlokasi di :

- Dinas Perdagangan, Satpol PP & DPUPR Kota Malang.

Sepanjang yang bersangkutan memenuhi ketentuan sebagai berikut :

- a. Tidak melakukan penelitian yang tidak sesuai atau tidak ada kaitannya dengan judul, maksud dan tujuan penelitian;
- b. Menjaga perilaku dan mentaati tata tertib yang berlaku pada Lokasi tersebut di atas;
- c. Mentaati ketentuan peraturan perundang-undangan.

Demikian rekomendasi ini dibuat untuk dipergunakan sebagaimana mestinya, dan masa berlaku rekomendasi ini adalah sejak tanggal *ditetapkan s/d 12 Agustus 2017*.

Malang, 12 Juli 2017
An. KEPALA BAKESBANGPOL
KOTA MALANG
Sekretaris,

DICKY HARYANTO, SH., MM.
Pembina
NIP. 19690511 199703 1 002

Tembusan :
Yth. Sdr. - Lurah Gadang Kec. Sukun Kota
Malang;
- Yang bersangkutan.



PEMERINTAH KOTA MALANG
BADAN KESATUAN BANGSA DAN POLITIK
 Jl. A. Yani No. 98 Telp. (0341) 491180 Fax. 474254
MALANG

Kode Pos 65125

Malang, 12 Juli 2017
 Kepada

Yth.

di

SURAT PENGANTAR

NOMOR : 072/60.07.P/35.73.406/2017

Nomor	Jenis yang dikirim	Banyaknya	Keterangan
1.	Rekomendasi Permohonan Ijin Penelitian An. ADNYA PUNIA SARASMITA. (peserta : - orang terlampir).	1 (satu) lembar	Di kirim dengan hormat untuk mendapatkan proses lebih lanjut.

An. KEPALA BAKESBANGPOL
 KOTA MALANG
 Sekretaris,



DICKY HARYANTO, SH., MM.
 Pembina
 NIP. 19690511 199703 1 002