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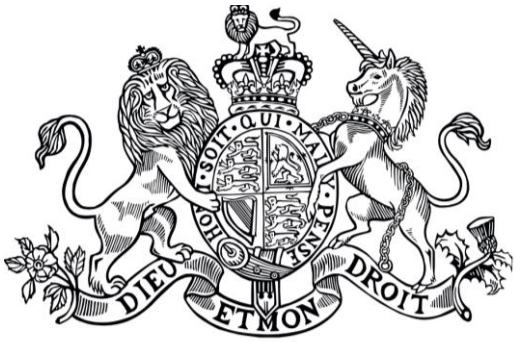

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Street Vending and Participatory Interior Urbanism in Jakarta

Rara *(Anak Agung Ayu Suci)*
Warakanyaka

A thesis submitted to the School of Architecture of the Royal College of Art

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Abstract

Jakarta's streets hold deep social and economic value. A major contributor to this role is street vending—an informal commercial practice and mode of urbanisation carried out by ordinary citizens in response to limited employment opportunities and inadequate social services. Despite its importance, street vending is often overlooked and prosecuted by both Jakarta's provincial and Indonesia's central governments, which continue to prioritise planning and regulatory strategies that favour visual order, formal aesthetics and high-rise development. These urban visions rely heavily on Eurocentric and modernist methodologies that marginalise everyday informal practices. Nevertheless, these approaches have not halted the growth of street vending. Instead, vendors have developed adaptive socio-spatial strategies that allow them to operate discreetly while actively shaping Jakarta's urban character. The disparity between government visions, regulatory narratives, and everyday realities motivates this research, which seeks to bridge this gap and offer ways to understand street vending beyond the dominant perspectives that work against it.

To do so, the thesis positions street vending as a form of *Participatory Interior Urbanism* (PIU): a mode of *reverse urban interiorization* that temporarily transforms existing urban environments into habitable, relational, and participatory interior-like spaces. Through this lens, street vending is understood as a creative situated intervention that emerges from precarious circumstances and introduces intimacy, domesticity and sociality into the urban environment. To explore this aspect of street vending, the research

analyses various forms of street vending in Jakarta using a two-stage anthropological approach designed to capture the essence of the practice from the perspective of *insiders* (vendors, patrons and street users). The first stage—*mind-walking*—uses *virtual methods* on Instagram to observe, at a distance, the everyday practices of street vending in Jakarta, a methodology that was highly influenced by the limitations imposed by the COVID-19 lockdown. The second stage—*walking*—involves in-situ fieldwork to deepen and calibrate insights from the first phase. *Inductive coding* informed by grounded theory is used to analyse the remote dataset, while an adaptation of autoethnography termed *interior writing*, paired with *Reflective Thematic Analysis* (RTA), is used to interpret fieldwork materials. In addition, *drawing* is used throughout both stages as a non-intrusive interpretive tool to distil spatial qualities and illustrate modes of engagement between people, objects and existing settings. Together, these two-stage anthropological approaches enable a more situated, less prescriptive investigation of urban informality by recognising insiders as the primary experts of the spaces they co-produce.

The research offers several key findings. A typology of actions is developed to articulate the mechanisms of PIU expressed through Jakarta's street vending practices. The interdisciplinary approach also reveals the socio-economic and socio-spatial significance of street vending, demonstrating its crucial role in supporting inclusive urban liveability. Finally, the research identifies contemporary issues that constrain the practice and complicate its integration into existing governance frameworks. Collectively, these findings challenge conventional assumptions about urban informality and invite reconsideration of how everyday interior practices contribute to the making of urban environments.

Keywords: Jakarta, street vending, participatory interior urbanism, reverse urban interiorization, anthropological methods, urban informality

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Chapter 0

Introduction

Street vending is one of the most widespread forms of informal economic activity in cities around the world. It is generally understood as the sale of goods or services on the streets—most commonly on pavements, roadsides, and areas with high pedestrian movement. Although sellers are known by many different names across languages and contexts, the term "street vendor" is commonly used to refer to the figure behind such activity. The historical origins of street trading are difficult to trace precisely, but evidence of such practices appears across early urban civilisations, including Ancient Rome and other early trading centres, where streets served as primary sites of commercial and social exchange.[1]

Historically, urban streets offered conspicuous and strategic locations for trade because they connected human activities, channelled movement, and facilitated encounters.[2] Thus, beyond their function as networks, streets have socio-cultural dimensions. It is both an infrastructure and a public space, a

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[1] For the history of street vending in Ancient Rome please see Holleran (2012) and for the history of street vending in general from antiquity to present, please see Calaresu and Van den Heuvel (2016): Claire Holleran, 'Street Traders, Hawkers, and Pedlars', in *Shopping in Ancient Rome: The Retail Trade in the Late Republic and the Principate*, ed. Claire Holleran (Oxford University Press, 2012), https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199698219.003.0006; Melissa Calaresu and Danielle Van Den Heuvel, eds, *Food Hawkers: Selling in the Streets from Antiquity to the Present*, 1st edn (Routledge, 2016), https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315582665.

[2] Graeme Brooker, 'The Street : Disposition and the Urban Interior', in *The Interior Urbanism Theory Reader*, ed. Gregory Marinic (Routledge, 2024), https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429443091-4.

social space where cultures, goods, and interactions circulate.[3] In this sense, street vending naturally arises from the dynamic interplay of components that make up urban life. Its practice is embedded within the everyday flows of people and things on the streets.

In the last century, however, the socio-cultural qualities of the street have shifted. As modern cities increasingly developed the technological ability to condition indoor environments, many commercial and social activities migrated to climate-controlled interiors such as shopping centres and malls. These enclosed spaces then became sites for public life.[4] Consequently, the street gradually lost its status as a key urban social stage and was redefined primarily as a space of circulation and transport. Those who continued to trade or gather on the street—often the urban poor—came to inhabit what scholars describe as the residual public places, positioned as the urban "others" who fall outside dominant visions of modernity.[5]

In this context, street vending persists but often from a precarious and marginalised position. While it continues to offer vital economic opportunities for people excluded from formal labour markets and provides affordable alternatives for citizens seeking low-cost goods, many cities consider street vending incompatible with aspirations toward modern, orderly urban development. Everyday street consumption activities are frequently framed as undesirable and visually disruptive. Gill Valentine, for

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[3] Jan Gehl, 'A Changing Street Life in a Changing Society', *Places* 6, no. 1 (1989): 8, https://escholarship.org/uc/item/46r328ks.

[4] Peter Jackson, 'Domesticating the Street: The Contested Spaces of the High Street and the Mall', in *Images of the Street: Planning, Identity and Control in Public Space*, ed. Nicholas Fyfe (Routledge, 1998), 177.

[5] Gerald Daly, 'Homelessness and the Street: Observations from Britain, Canada and the United States', in *Images of the Street: Planning, Identity and Control in Public Space*, ed. Nicholas Fyfe (Routledge, 1998), 121.

instance, notes that in the United Kingdom, street food is commonly associated with working-class communities and is often perceived as disorderly, polluting or linked to unregulated mass consumption.[6] As a result of such stigma, street vendors across many cities face criminalisation, eviction and restrictive regulation.

These dynamics are also pronounced in Indonesia. Sociologist Sharit Bhowmik notes that street vending tends to flourish in countries with limited industrial capacity, unstable formal employment sectors, and high unemployment rates—conditions that describe Indonesia and, especially, its capital, Jakarta.[7] Within this context, street vending contributes significantly to Jakarta's economy: it absorbs a substantial portion of the workforce, supports formal businesses, reduces crime, and provides essential goods at prices accessible to low-income residents.[8]

Nevertheless, the tension between regulation and lived realities remains acute. Street vending clashes with Jakarta's long-standing modernisation agenda and its prioritisation of visual order, formal aesthetics, high-rise development, and the expansion of shopping malls—an agenda shaped by pro-neoliberal policies that have strongly influenced national development over the past four decades.[9] Within this vision, vendors appear "out of place", disturbing the desired images of modern urban progress, and making visible

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[6] Gill Valentine, 'Food and the Production of the Civilised Street', in *Images of the Street: Planning, Identity and Control in Public Space*, ed. Nicholas Fyfe (Routledge, 1998), 195.

[7] Sharit K. Bhowmik, 'Street Vendors in Asia: A Review', *Economic and Political Weekly* 40, no. 22/23 (2005): 2256.

[8] Yandi Andri Yatmo, 'Street Vendors as "Out of Place" Urban Elements', *Journal of Urban Design* 13, no. 3 (2008): 392, https://doi.org/10.1080/13574800802320889.

[9] Guntur Adi Saputra et al., 'Analysis of The Implementation of Prohibition Buying of Street Vendors in Koja Sub-District North Jakarta', *Ilomata International Journal of Social Science* 2, no. 3 (2021): 195, 3, https://doi.org/10.52728/ijss.v2i3.296.

the social and economic inequalities that the city seeks to obscure. Consequently, despite its economic and social value, street vending is legally prohibited, and government efforts to eliminate it are persistent.

These efforts, however, have been largely unsuccessful. Jakarta's street vending continues to grow; in 2019, the vendor population was estimated at approximately 600,000.[10] Vendors develop adaptive socio-spatial practices that enable them to continue operating and, in doing so, actively shape Jakarta's urban characteristics. Although international discourse has increasingly supported the legalisation and recognition of street vending, such shifts have not yet translated into policy frameworks that adequately protect vendors' rights in Indonesia—especially in Jakarta. Street vendors remain largely invisible in official labour statistics, and existing urban regulations often work against their presence.[11] This regulatory stance stands in tension with Article 27(2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, which obliges the state to ensure citizens' rights to employment and to a decent standard of living.

This research arises from the contradiction between the lived realities of street vending and the narratives that regulate it. While scholarship on Jakarta's street vending has explored its political, economic and cultural dimensions, limited attention has been given to its spatial production and interiority—how vendors and street users create and inhabit micro-scale spatial environments, and how these environments shape social interactions

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[10] Dicky Rachmawan et al., 'Vulnerability and Survival Strategy by Food Street Vendors: Case Study in Triangle Gold of DKI Jakarta', *JSW (Jurnal Sosiologi Walisongo)* 5, no. 2 (2021): 112, 2, https://doi.org/10.21580/jsw.2021.5.2.6049.

[11] Ian Douglas Wilson, '"The Streets Belong to Who?": "Governance" and the Urban Informal Sector in Jakarta, Indonesia', in *The Elephant in the Room: Politics and the Development Problem* (Asian Research Centre, Murdoch University, 2010), 123.

and urban experience.[12] This gap obscures the socio-spatial intelligence embedded in street vending and constrains alternative ways of understanding urban informalities beyond dominant urban planning paradigms. The aim of this research is therefore to move beyond the framings that reduce street vending to a regulatory problem and focus on the complex social and spatial logics that sustain it.

In response, this research seeks to examine Jakarta's street vending from within, foregrounding the everyday actions through which vendors and street users negotiate the city. Instead of treating informality as a deviation from formal urbanism, the research approaches street vending as a form of spatial production that transforms Jakarta's streets from the "inside out". Through this perspective, the thesis proposes a reframing of street vending as a process of *Participatory Interior Urbanism* (PIU)—a mode of r*everse urban interiorization* in which temporary, relational and porous interior conditions are collectively produced in public space.

The investigation is guided by three research questions:

1) how do street vendors, faced with contradictory public and regulatory narratives, negotiate the social, political and spatial dimensions of Jakarta's urban environment?

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[12] Here is a few published studies about Jakarta's street vending. None of them explored the socio-spatial logics of the practice. See: Yatmo, 'Street Vendors as "Out of Place" Urban Elements'; Laura Arciniegas, 'The Foodscape of the Urban Poor in Jakarta: Street Food Affordances, Sharing Networks, and Individual Trajectories', *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability* 14, no. 3 (2021): 272–87, https://doi.org/10.1080/17549175.2021.1924837; Saputra et al., 'Analysis of The Implementation of Prohibition Buying of Street Vendors in Koja Sub-District North Jakarta'; Triatno Yudo Harjoko, 'I Dwell in [Im]Possibility: Legitimating the Informal Economy around the Bus Terminal in Kampung Melayu, Jakarta', *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 29, no. 1 (2017): 51–62; Rachmawan et al., 'Vulnerability and Survival Strategy by Food Street Vendors'; Sheri Lynn Gibbings, 'Street Vending as Ethical Citizenship in Urban Indonesia', *Anthropologica* 58, no. 1 (2016): 77–94; John Taylor and Lily Song, 'Return to the Streets', *Cityscape* 18, no. 1 (2016): 71–88.

2) How can the everyday spatial and social practices of Jakarta's street vending be explored to further understand the practice from within? Moreover,
3) How do Jakarta's street vending practices challenge dominant interior, architectural and urban paradigms, and what questions do they raise about everyday agency and informality in shaping urban life?

To address these questions within the PIU framework, the research employs a two-stage anthropological methodology. Anthropological perspectives are adopted to foreground the lifeworlds of the producers, co-producers and users of PIU rather than privileging expert-driven or top-down framings. This orientation supports a more grounded and less prescriptive investigation. Accordingly, the research combines remote digital method—referred to as *mind-walking*—with in-situ fieldwork—referred to as *walking*. Together, these methods provide an intimate, situated understanding of street vending as it is lived and experienced, enabling the research to access insider knowledge and attend to the micro-scale interactions that shape Jakarta's streets.

Through this approach, the thesis offers four key findings: (1) *a typology of actions* that articulates the mechanisms through which vendors reconfigure urban space; (2) an account of the socio-economic dimensions of street vending; (3) an analysis of the socio-spatial implications of vendors' practices on street experience; and (4) a discussion of the contemporary issues that constrain the practice. Together, these findings challenge conventional assumptions about urban informality and provoke new ways of understanding how everyday practices contribute to the making of urban environments.

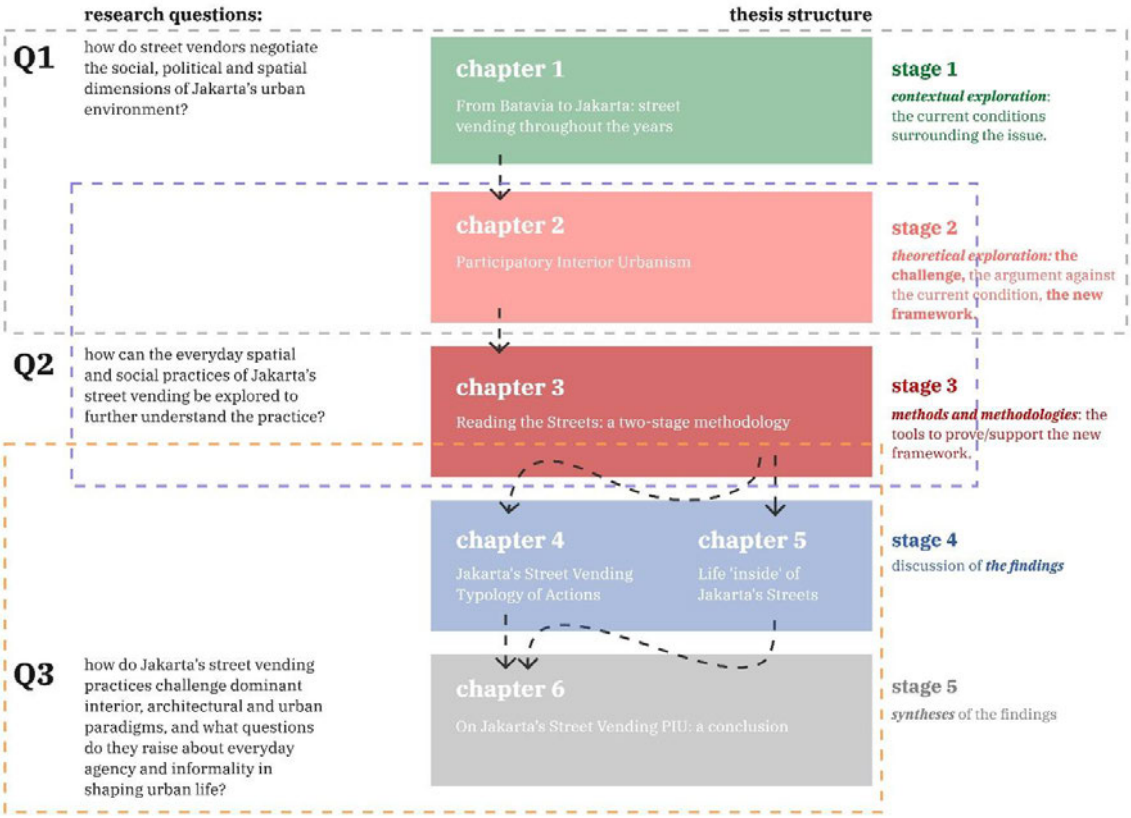

Figure 1. The thesis structure illustrates how each chapter is linked to the research stages and how it addresses the research questions. Source: Author.

The thesis is organised as follows (See Figure 1):

Chapter 1 provides a contextual exploration of the social, cultural, political and economic dimensions of street vending in Jakarta, tracing its historical development and examining the disconnections between policy, public discourse and everyday practice.

Chapter 2 develops the theoretical framework, introducing the concept of participatory interior urbanism (PIU) and situating it within existing debates on urban informality, placemaking, and interiority.

Chapter 3 outlines the two-stage methodological approach, informed by anthropological methods of mind-walking and walking, and by interior and architectural visual methods and drawings.

Chapters 4 and 5 present the empirical findings from the mind-walking and walking phases: the typology of actions and the intangible dimensions of the practice.

And finally, **Chapter 6** synthesises these findings and discusses the theoretical, methodological and empirical contributions of the research, while also identifying limitations and outlining directions for future studies.

Chapter 1

From Batavia to Jakarta: street vending throughout the years.

Jakarta has functioned as an urban capital for almost five centuries. Throughout this period, its urban morphology has been subject to continual transformation, shaped by recurring socio-political upheavals, ecological disruptions, and rapid technological change.[13] As a result, few elements of the city have remained static. One enduring feature, however, is Jakarta's role as the primary centre of trade in *Nusantara*, a position that has consistently attracted settlers from both within and beyond the archipelago.[14] A direct consequence of this long-standing role has been the proliferation of informal commercial activities, most notably street vending.[15]

As one of the city's most persistent urban phenomena, street vending in Jakarta has retained many of its fundamental characteristics over time. Although the types of goods exchanged and the mechanisms of trading have evolved, the practice continues to be widely understood as a *merakyat* form of economic activity.[16] This quality is reflected in its sustained economic

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[13] This statement is based on several studies of Jakarta's urban transformation. For example, see: Jorgen Hellman et al., eds, *Jakarta: Claiming Spaces and Rights in the City* (Routledge, 2018), i, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315111919; Euis Puspita Dewi et al., 'Canals to Streets: Postcolonial Studies on the Urban Transformation of Colonial Batavia', *Engineering Heritage Journal* 6, no. 1 (2022): 25, https://doi.org/10.26480/gwk.01.2022.25.30.

[14] *Nusantara* is a poetic term for the Indonesian archipelago. For a discussion of how Jakarta has long attracted settlers, see: Herald Van Der Linde, *Jakarta: History Of A Misunderstood City* (Marshall Cavendish Int (Asia) P/L, 2021), 12.

[15] Van Der Linde, *Jakarta*, 72–73.

[16] *Merakyat* means being humble or close to the people.

significance, as street vending has long provided livelihoods and access to affordable everyday goods for a substantial proportion of Jakarta's vulnerable population.[17] Despite this enduring relevance, street vending is presently positioned within public discourse as a marginalised and illegal practice, as outlined in the introduction to this thesis. This contradiction raises critical questions: how has such a paradoxical condition emerged, and in what ways do street vendors navigate and experience their everyday lives within this context?

This chapter establishes the contextual foundation of the thesis by drawing upon historical and socio-political evidence. Its aim is not only to address the questions posed above, but also to develop a grounded understanding of street vending and its significance within Jakarta's urban fabric. By tracing the evolution of the practice from the seventeenth-century colonial period to its most recent manifestations, the chapter examines how policies and public discourse have framed street vending, the motivations underpinning these frameworks, and the ways in which they continue to shape contemporary social and spatial practices associated with street vending in Jakarta

To achieve this, the chapter employs a literature review drawing upon historical accounts, academic scholarship, news media, and public policy documents. It engages with the work of scholars such as Susan Blackburn, Herald van der Linde, Sheri Lynn Gibbings, Ian Douglas Wilson, and Christopher Silver, among others who address the subject either directly or indirectly. Collectively, these authors contribute insights into the historical,

[17] The argument is based on various studies of the role of street vending in Jakarta. For example, see: Arciniegas, 'The Foodscape of the Urban Poor in Jakarta', 273–74; Hendrina Pattiradjawane et al., *Negotiating Informal Urban Space: Female Cake Vendors at the Pasar Kue Subuh Senen Night Market in Jakarta, Indonesia* (Technische Universität Darmstadt, 2013), 15, http://tuprints.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/id/eprint3637.

anthropological, political, and urban-spatial dimensions of street vending. Examining the practice through these multiple perspectives is essential to developing a comprehensive understanding of street vending's contemporary position within public discourse, as well as the ways in which it has persisted, adapted to, and frequently challenged formal systems of urban governance.[18]

1.1 Street Vending in Batavia (1619 – 1942)

The history of street vending in Jakarta may predate the occupation of the Indonesian Archipelago by the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) in the early seventeenth century. However, most written records from the period preceding VOC rule have been lost, either due to prolonged conflicts between local kingdoms or an absence of written historical documentation.[19] As a result, no definitive evidence exists regarding when, where, or how street vending first emerged in the city. What is known, however, is that by around 1300, Jakarta—then known as Sunda Kelapa—had developed as a small entrepôt within the Pajajaran Kingdom. It functioned as a trading hub for international merchants and sailors, particularly from Arab regions, India,

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[18] In Jakarta and other Indonesian cities, academic sources rarely examine the history of street vending in isolation; instead, it is usually addressed as background to broader discussions of urban policy, citizenship, lived experience, or the socio-political impacts of vending. See: Taylor and Song, 'Return to the Streets'; Sheri Lynn Gibbings and Fridus Steijlen, 'Colonial Figures: Memories of Street Traders in the Colonial and Early Post-Colonial Periods', *Public History Review* 19 (December 2012): 63–85, https://doi.org/10.5130/phrj.v19i0.2870; Gibbings, 'Street Vending as Ethical Citizenship in Urban Indonesia'; Sheri Gibbings, 'Unseen Powers and Democratic Detectives: Street Vendors in an Indonesian City', *City & Society* 25, no. 2 (2013): 235–59, https://doi.org/10.1111/ciso.12018; Sheri Lynn Gibbings et al., 'Mobilizing the Masses: Street Vendors, Political Contracts, and the Role of Mediators in Yogyakarta, Indonesia', *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 173, nos 2–3 (2017): 242–72, https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-17301004; Wilson, '"The Streets Belong to Who?": "Governance" and the Urban Informal Sector in Jakarta, Indonesia'.

[19] It is generally acknowledged that there is a lack of written records from the pre-VOC era, with the exception of certain cultures in the Indonesian archipelago, such as in Bali and Lombok. See: Hans Hägerdal, 'Eastern Indonesia and the Writing of History', *Archipel*, no. 90 (October 2015): 75–97, https://doi.org/10.4000/archipel.369.

and China, who replenished supplies before continuing their journeys throughout the archipelago.[20] In 1527, Sunda Kelapa was conquered by the Kingdom of Demak and renamed Jayakarta, meaning 'the victorious city'.

Owing to its strategic position as an international gateway to the Spice Islands in the eastern archipelago, Jayakarta attracted the interest of several European imperial powers.[21] The Portuguese arrived in 1522, followed by the British in 1602. It was not until the arrival of the Dutch, however, that the city was permanently seized by a foreign power. The VOC, a privately financed trading corporation representing the Dutch Republic's economic and military ambitions across Africa and Asia, identified the archipelago as a source of immense profit.[22] In 1619, as part of its commercial expansion, the VOC established its regional headquarters in Jayakarta. Under the leadership of Jan Pietersz Coen, the city was forcibly captured, razed, and subsequently renamed Batavia.[23]

As the VOC's administrative centre and an international port, Batavia offered employment across a wide range of sectors, from high-ranking company officials to domestic and manual labourers. This economic opportunity attracted migrants from both local and international contexts, resulting in

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[20] Van Der Linde, *Jakarta*, 12.

[21] Van Der Linde, *Jakarta*, 16–20.

[22] For accounts of how the VOC organised its finances and accumulated wealth during its heyday, see: Claudia Schnurmann, '"Wherever Profit Leads Us, to Every Sea and Shore...": The VOC, the WIC, and Dutch Methods of Globalization in the Seventeenth Century', *Renaissance Studies* 17, no. 3 (2003): 485; Kaleena Fraga, 'Inside Batavia, The Indonesian City Violently Seized By The Dutch For Its Nutmeg', All That's Interesting, 8 January 2022, https://allthatsinteresting.com/batavia.

[23] Van Der Linde, *Jakarta*, 24.

rapid population growth and increasing density.[24] *In Jakarta: History of a Misunderstood City*, Herald van der Linde observes that this demographic transformation generated anxiety among the Dutch authorities, who, despite their political dominance, constituted a numerical minority.[25] In response, the VOC sought to impose order upon Batavia's heterogeneous population through the application of Simon Stevin's *Ideal Plan for a City*, which served as an influential model for urban planning in the Netherlands at the time.[26] This approach produced a rectilinear, walled city structured around a canal-based grid, within which populations were spatially organised according to ethnic identity and regulated access to urban resources (Figure 2).

Art historian Marsely Kehoe argues that this urban form was not merely "a pragmatic and egalitarian order later corrupted by the colonial situation", but rather a deliberate instrument of domination.[27] Through this spatial strategy, the VOC enabled Dutch and European residents to occupy the most desirable areas of the city, such as the Tijgersgracht (Tiger Canal), where administrative buildings and key infrastructures were concentrated.[28] Free workers of various ethnic backgrounds were settled in the north-west near the warehouses, enslaved populations were confined to the south-eastern corner adjacent to the city walls, and the Chinese community was largely restricted to the western part of the city.

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[24] In 1673, about 27,000 people lived within the city walls of Batavia, of whom only 2,000 were Dutch. See: Marsely L. Kehoe, 'Dutch Batavia: Exposing the Hierarchy of the Dutch Colonial City', *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 7, no. 1 (2015): 18, https://doi.org/10.5092/jhna.2015.7.1.3.

[25] Van Der Linde, *Jakarta*, 75.

[26] Kehoe, 'Dutch Batavia', 11.

[27] Kehoe, 'Dutch Batavia', 4.

[28] Kehoe, 'Dutch Batavia', 19.

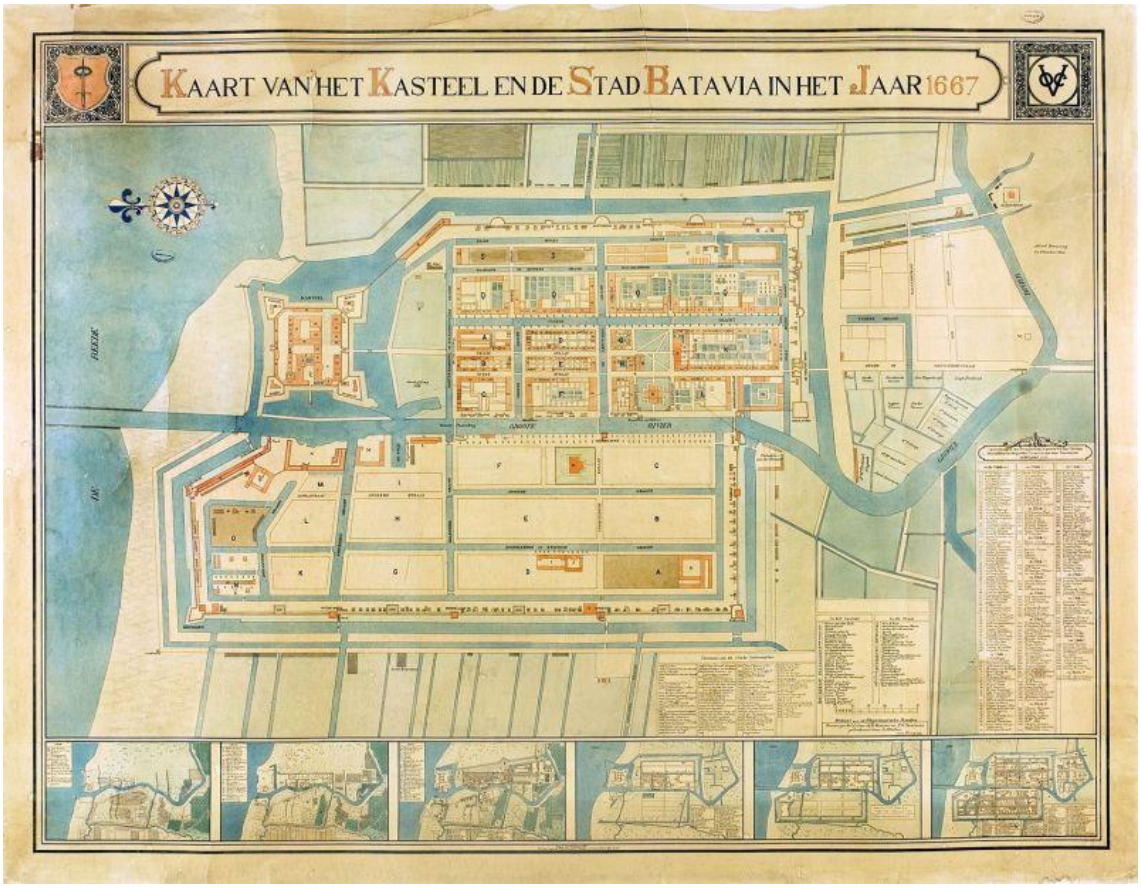

Figure 2. Map depicting the Castle and the City of Batavia in 1667, showing a configuration inspired by Simon Stevin's *Ideal Plan for the City*. Source: *Kaart voorstellende het Kasteel en de Stad Batavia in het jaar 1667* (1919), watercolour on paper, 182.5 × 229.5 cm (71 7/8 × 90 3/8 in.), Wereldmuseum, https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/153129

VOC authority was further reinforced in 1660 through the introduction of regulations prohibiting bamboo dwellings within the city walls. This policy forcibly displaced many poor indigenous residents, commonly referred to as *inlanders*, to settlements outside the walls in a southern area known as the Ommelanden.[29] As Kehoe suggests, Batavia's urban governance exemplified "the idea of control imposed by the built environment", a defining characteristic of colonial urbanism that asserted the dominance of the

[29] *Inlander* was a derogatory term used by the Dutch for indigenous Indonesians during colonial rule. For discussion of how the *inlander* was indirectly forced to move beyond the city walls, see: Van Der Linde, *Jakarta*, 59–60.

coloniser over subordinated populations.[30] Comparable strategies of spatial segregation were evident in British and French colonial cities in Africa, often justified under the pretext of safeguarding European health, which resulted in the creation of exclusive European enclaves separated from indigenous populations.[31]

According to a study by Robert Weebers and Yahaya Ahmad in 2006, the VOC's approach to urban planning was likely influenced by the Italian Renaissance concept of the *Ideal City*. This concept envisioned an urban environment defined by spatial and social order, aesthetic harmony, and rational design, in contrast to the organically developed medieval city.[32] It envisions a utopian city free from physical and societal 'malady'. In Batavia, this vision translated into the systematic segregation of groups perceived as potential threats to VOC authority, including indigenous populations, the Chinese, and their socio-cultural expressions.[33] The VOC's ideal city was realised through the preservation of a culturally Dutch urban core, while populations deemed undesirable were relegated to peripheral areas.[34]

Under VOC rule, inlanders of similar ethnic backgrounds were relocated to settlements beyond the city walls known as kampungs. Although the term *Kampung* traditionally refers to a village or hometown, in the urban context it has come to denote a lower-income neighbourhood predominantly

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[30] Kehoe, 'Dutch Batavia', 10, 19.

[31] Ambe J. Njoh, 'The Segregated City in British and French Colonial Africa', *Race & Class* 49, no. 4 (2008): 87–95, https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396808049004602.

[32] Robert Weebers and Yahaya Ahmad, *The Dutch Settlements in South-East Asia: Historical Background and Planning* (2006), 203–4.

[33] Kehoe, 'Dutch Batavia', 39.

[34] Kehoe, 'Dutch Batavia', 2.

inhabited by migrants.[35] These settlements did not emerge organically but were deliberately established by the VOC to limit interaction between different indigenous groups and thereby reduce the risk of collective resistance. Lacking sufficient manpower and military resources, the VOC relied on strategies of indirect rule and division to maintain control.[36] Ironically, over time, the social and spatial separation of kampungs from elite populations fostered a degree of autonomy, allowing local customs, social structures, and traditions to develop with relative independence.[37]

This pattern produced what Jieming Zhu and Hendricus Simarmata describe as a *Dual City Structure* in their 2015 study of Jakarta, referring to the stark disparities between the areas inside and outside the city walls.[38] Within the walls, European Batavia was defined by planned spatial order and strict social regulation; beyond them, kampungs evolved as more organic settlements. Indonesian architectural historian Bagoes Wiryomartono notes that this contrast was clearly legible in the physical landscape: Dutch Batavia was characterised by flattened land cleared of vegetation, symbolising human dominance over nature, while kampungs were integrated into existing trees and rice fields, reflecting inhabitants' negotiation with the local terrain.[39] The

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[35] For discussion of the *kampung* as a type of settlement in Jakarta, see: Paul McCarthy, 'Understanding Slums: Case Studies for the Global Report 2003 - Jakarta, Indonesia', The Bartlett Development Planning Unit: Global Report, 2003, https://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/Global_Report/cities/jakarta.htm.

[36] Lilawati Kurnia, 'Pasar Baru: Colonial Space and Contemporary Hybridity', *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 12, no. 4 (2011): 553, https://doi.org/10.1080/14649373.2011.603918; Bagoes Wiryomartono, 'Batavia, Dutch Indies 1602–1800: A Cultural History of Colonial Urbanism', in *Traditions and Transformations of Habitation in Indonesia*, by Bagoes Wiryomartono (Springer Singapore, 2020), 67, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-3405-8_4.

[37] Van Der Linde, *Jakarta*, 67; Wiryomartono, 'Batavia, Dutch Indies 1602–1800', 67.

[38] The further discussion of Jakarta's dual city structure is available at: Jieming Zhu and Hendricus Andy Simarmata, 'Formal Land Rights versus Informal Land Rights: Governance for Sustainable Urbanization in the Jakarta Metropolitan Region, Indonesia', *Land Use Policy* 43 (February 2015): 65, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2014.10.016.

[39] Wiryomartono, 'Batavia, Dutch Indies 1602–1800', 65–73.

organic form of the kampung can thus be understood as a product of self-reliance and improvisation, shaped by the limited infrastructure and support provided by colonial authorities.

While this planning approach appeared effective in 'concealing' the presence of inlanders within Batavia, the confinement of indigenous populations beyond the city walls gradually produced unintended benefits, particularly for new migrants arriving from other parts of the archipelago. These newcomers typically sought accommodation in kampungs, where kinship and regional networks enabled them to access temporary shelter, employment opportunities, or entry points into urban life.[40] Those unable to secure formal employment often turned to small-scale trading activities, including street vending. Vendors sold food in bazaars and markets and were occasionally present within the city walls, even during periods when indigenous settlement there was otherwise restricted.[41]

During the seventeenth century, street vending constituted one of the few occupations that inlanders could pursue within Batavia's city walls, aside from domestic labour and enslavement.[42] As participants within Batavia's commercial networks, street vendors interacted with multiple social groups, including the Dutch, thereby disrupting the otherwise rigid socio-spatial segregation imposed by colonial planning.[43] Susan Blackburn suggests that this permeability may have stemmed from the relatively small size of the Dutch population, which limited their capacity for economic self-sufficiency–

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[40] Van Der Linde, *Jakarta*, 67.

[41] Van Der Linde, *Jakarta*, 72–75.

[42] According to Wiryomartono, "slaves" here refers not only to unpaid labor but also to all forms of hard labor, including builders, ship-construction workers, and those maintaining public facilities. See: Wiryomartono, 'Batavia, Dutch Indies 1602–1800', 69.

[43] Kehoe, 'Dutch Batavia', 22.

particularly in relation to everyday domestic needs.[44] Consequently, while Batavia's formal urban structure embodied an exclusive Dutch society, daily commercial exchanges brought together socially and spatially segregated communities.[45] This interaction is vividly captured in Andries Beeckman's 1662 painting *The Castle of Batavia* (Figure 3).

Figure 3. The Castle of Batavia, a painting by Andries Beeckman (1662), illustrating commercial activities outside the VOC's headquarters and depicting the city's diverse population mingling together. Source: Andries Beeckman, *The Castle of Batavia* (1662), oil on canvas, 108 × 151.4 cm, Rijksmuseum, https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/SK-A-19

However, the coexistence depicted in Beeckman's painting was far from harmonious. As Batavia's population expanded, growing numbers of

[44] Susan Blackburn, *Jakarta: Sejarah 400 Tahun* (Komunitas Bambu, 2011), 48.

[45] Wiryomartono, 'Batavia, Dutch Indies 1602–1800', 66.

vendors—predominantly from indigenous and Chinese communities—began occupying pavements to conduct trade. According to a study by Hideo Izumida, this development prompted VOC authorities to prohibit such practices on the grounds that they disrupted the uniformity and regularity of the streetscape.[46] Despite these regulations, enforcement proved difficult, likely due to limited administrative capacity, and tensions intensified between Dutch authorities, inlanders, and Chinese residents. Izumida attributes this conflict to competing cultural conceptions of urban space: while Dutch planning prioritised the realisation of the ideal city, Asian practices favoured more immediate, flexible, and dynamic uses of streets.[47]

For inlanders, these spatial practices were likely rooted in traditional Indonesian understandings of urban life. Ria Hutabarat Lo's research on pedestrian spaces in Indonesia suggests that pre-colonial Jayakarta may have adhered to Javanese town-planning principles, in which pedestrians and other modes of movement coexisted and public spaces were framed by both formal buildings and informal commercial activity.[48] This logic extended to the *alun-alun*, the traditional town square, which functioned as a flexible communal space rather than a strictly ceremonial one. Anthropologist and sociologist Michal Jan Grzegorzewski further argues that, despite monarchical governance, public spaces in traditional Indonesian societies, such as alun-alun, were not formally designed but emerged organically, characterised by openness and social equality.[49] In these contexts, spiritual,

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[46] Hideo Izumida, 'Kaki Lima as Contesting Space between European and Asian Values', *Malay Architecture as Lingua Franca* 2005 (November 2005): 3, https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.1.3657.6721.

[47] Izumida, 'Kaki Lima as Contesting Space between European and Asian Values', 3.

[48] Ria Hutabarat Lo, 'The City as a Mirror: Transport, Land Use and Social Change in Jakarta', *Urban Studies* 47, no. 3 (2010): 546, https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098009348557.

[49] Michal Jan Grzegorzewski, 'Shopping Malls and Climate Escapism; Urban Lifestyle in Jakarta, Indonesia', SSRN Scholarly Paper no. 5164586 (Social Science Research Network, 4 March 2025), 8, https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.5164586.

political, social, and economic activities were spatially intertwined. Such values stood in sharp contrast to Dutch attempts to impose rigid spatial order in Batavia, thereby contributing to persistent conflicts between street vendors and colonial authorities.

In 1799, the VOC formally declared bankruptcy and was dissolved, transferring control of Batavia to the Dutch state and marking the beginning of direct colonial administration. This period was briefly interrupted during the Napoleonic Wars, when British forces occupied the archipelago between 1811 and 1815. Under Governor Stamford Raffles, several urban reforms were introduced, including a directive requiring building owners along major streets to construct five-foot-wide pavements for pedestrians.[50] Raffles also issued regulations requiring street vendors to locate their stalls five feet away from building facades, facilitating pedestrian circulation.[51]

Unlike earlier Dutch policies, this approach allowed vendors and pedestrians to coexist within a regulated spatial arrangement, creating semi-enclosed walkways along streets. This model was later adopted in other British colonies, including Singapore and Malaysia, and evolved into what is now recognised as the Southeast Asian 'five-foot way' (5FW).[52] In Indonesia, the term *Pedagang Kaki Lima* (five-foot vendors) remains in use to describe street vendors, reflecting the enduring influence of this colonial planning intervention.[53] Raffles' policies thus represent an early effort to integrate street

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[50] Nur Hadi, 'Five Feet Traders in the Cross of Economic History', *El-Jizya : Jurnal Ekonomi Islam* 6, no. 2 (2018): 258, https://doi.org/10.24090/ej.v6i2.2040; Hendaru Tri Hanggoro, 'Mula Pedagang Kaki Lima', *Historia - Majalah Sejarah Populer Pertama Di Indonesia*, 2013, https://historia.id/urban/articles/mula-pedagang-kaki-lima-D8mZv/page/1.

[51] Hadi, 'Five Feet Traders In The Cross Of Economic History', 258.

[52] Andrew James Harding, 'Five-Foot Ways as Public and Private Domain in Singapore and Beyond', *Journal of Property, Planning and Environmental Law* 10, no. 1 (2018): 37.

[53] Hanggoro, 'Mula Pedagang Kaki Lima'.

vending into formal urban governance, albeit within narrowly defined spatial constraints, illustrating how European planning conventions continue to shape urban practices in ASEAN cities long after the end of colonial rule.

Following the restoration of Dutch control, Batavia's urban centre was relocated southwards from the walled city to Weltevreden. This shift was driven by the failure of the canal system to resolve drainage problems, resulting in flooding, water contamination, and malaria outbreaks.[54] At the same time, territorial expansion across the archipelago increased population inflows, particularly among colonial elites.[55] These residents generated demand for daily necessities within Weltevreden's residential districts. Although markets were established in the area, their distance from some neighbourhoods created opportunities for street vendors to provide door-to-door services, including food, beverages, household goods, toys, and repair services, as depicted in Figure 4.[56]

Weltevreden also featured broad boulevards inspired by French modern urbanism, particularly the Grand Travaux de Paris.[57] Lined with tamarind trees and neo-classical architecture, these streets were primarily designed to accommodate horse-drawn carriages and later steam trams introduced in

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[54] Blackburn, *Jakarta: Sejarah 400 Tahun*, 59.

[55] Van Der Linde, *Jakarta*, 118.

[56] Gibbings and Steijlen, 'Colonial Figures', 68; Van Der Linde, *Jakarta*, 123.

[57] Following an ecological disaster, the city abandoned its canal system and developed streets to connect sites within the city (Dewi et al). For the French modern urban planning at the time see Choi (2023). The influence of this vision also explored in Nugteren (2020) and Van der Linde (2021). See: Puspita Dewi et al., 'Canals to Streets: Postcolonial Studies on the Urban Transformation of Colonial Batavia', 27; Hosoon Choi, 'Paris, Origin of Urban Modernism', *Urban, Planning and Transport Research* 11, no. 1 (2023): 4, https://doi.org/10.1080/21650020.2023.2246541; Bastiaan Nugteren, 'Universal, Colonial, or Indonesian Heritage? A Multi-Scalar Approach to the Historical Representations and Management of Colonial Heritage in the Old Town of Jakarta (*Kota Tua*) during Its Bid for World Heritage Nomination in 2015–2018', *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 26, no. 6 (2020): 84, https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2020.1811248; Van Der Linde, *Jakarta*, 122.

1881.[58] They nonetheless also became sites of pedestrian activity and street vending, as illustrated by Dutch minister Sytze Roorda Van Eysinga's account of urban life in Batavia, which vividly describes the intermingling of Europeans, Asians, traders, and vendors across the city's streets:

> Hundreds of carriages of European officials and shop-people raising clouds of dust on the streets… Rich Arabs and Chinese rode through the streets, half-clad Javanese carried heavy loads, shabby Eurasian clerks walked beneath their sunshades to their offices, old women sold cakes, an Indian sat calmly eating his rice on a banana leaf, and vegetable, milk and fruit sellers, butchers and hill-dwellers offering monkeys and birds all mingled together in the crowd.[59]

Despite infrastructural improvements, these developments disproportionately benefited Europeans and their associates, while indigenous populations—who relied on walking and non-motorised transport—received little attention.[60] As in the seventeenth century, technological advancements reinforced existing social, economic, and racial hierarchies.[61] Limited investment was made in pedestrian infrastructure, reflecting prevailing European attitudes that regarded walking as undesirable or unfashionable.[62]

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[58] Puspita Dewi et al., 'Canals to Streets: Postcolonial Studies on the Urban Transformation of Colonial Batavia', 27.

[59] Quoted by Susan Blackburn in the earlier edition of her book when she was known as Susan Abeyasekere. See: Susan Abeyasekere, *Jakarta : A History* (Singapore ; Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1989), 53.

[60] Puspita Dewi et al., 'Canals to Streets: Postcolonial Studies on the Urban Transformation of Colonial Batavia', 29.

[61] Puspita Dewi et al., 'Canals to Streets: Postcolonial Studies on the Urban Transformation of Colonial Batavia', 29.

[62] Evawani Ellisa, 'The Recreational Landscape of Weltevreden Since Indonesian Colonization', *Journal of Urban Culture Research* 17, no. 1 (2018): 22, https://doi.org/10.58837/CHULA.JUCR.17.1.4.

Figure 4. Undated postcard of a Batavian inlandsche koopman (Indonesian street vendor) in front of a house in Weltevreden. Source: Uitgave Boekhandel Visser & Co, *Inlandsche Koopman. Batavia*, n.d., postcard. (Private collection – author's scan).

Evawani Ellisa further highlights racial disparities in access to leisure and social amenities. European districts in Weltevreden at the time contained clubhouses, cafés, department stores, and beer gardens (Figure 5), while kampungs lacked such facilities.[63] In response, inlanders appropriated streets as spaces for leisure, social interaction, and trade (Figure 6), effectively transforming them into informal communal public places.[64] This appropriation can be understood as a spatial negotiation of marginalisation, whereby inlanders asserted presence and agency through everyday practices.

Figure 5. The Harmony Society in Batavia, an elite social club in Weltevreden. Source: *Sociëteit de Harmonie in Batavia* (1900), digital image, Digital Collections, Leiden University Libraries, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:698190

[63] Ellisa, 'The Recreational Landscape of Weltevreden Since Indonesian Colonization', 19–20.

[64] Ellisa, 'The Recreational Landscape of Weltevreden Since Indonesian Colonization', 22.

Figure 6. Women and children with displayed goods along the roadside in 1912, illustrating how the inlanders used the streets for both social activities and trading. Source: Onnes Kurkdjian, *Vrouwen en kinderen met uitgestalde waren langs de kant van de weg* (1912), daglichtgelatinezilverdruk, 176 × 238 mm, Rijksmuseum, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200339310

Influenced by French planning ideals and the American *City Beautiful* movement, the Dutch Indies government perceived these informal street uses as disorderly and sought to suppress them.[65] The motivations, however, were not solely aesthetic. In 1891, amid concerns over growing anti-colonial sentiment, a public order bylaw restricted street vending to situations where markets lacked capacity. According to Anthropologist Sheri Lynn Gibbings,

[65] City Beautiful movement promote aesthetic urban design as a mans of social uplift (See Kriehn). The exploration of this movement and it influences to the development of Weltevreden, see Ellisa: George Kriehn, 'The City Beautiful', *Municipal Affairs* 3, no. 4 (1899): 594–601; Ellisa, 'The Recreational Landscape of Weltevreden Since Indonesian Colonization', 22.

the regulation aimed to prevent vendors from functioning as informal messengers disseminating nationalist ideas.[66]

Further measures followed in 1910, confining vendors to fixed marketplaces to prevent street gatherings.[67] By the 1930s, street vending was formally contained within enclosed markets, reflecting persistent suspicions of vendors' affiliations with radical independence movements. Additional markets were constructed to accommodate this policy, though enforcement remained inconsistent due to limited administrative capacity.[68]

As regulatory efforts were undermined by resource constraints, many vendors—particularly mobile ones—continued operating with relative autonomy.[69] These mobile vendors left lasting impressions on Dutch children raised in Batavia. In interviews conducted by Gibbings and Fridus Steijlen, former residents recalled the distinctive sounds, movements, and presence of street vendors as integral to their childhood memories.[70] As one interviewee remarked, "To have lived in the Dutch East Indies was to know street vendors' words, sounds, and movements".[71]

These accounts illustrate that, despite extensive efforts to regulate and marginalise indigenous populations, street vendors remained embedded in Batavia's everyday life. Serving both the indigenous population and the colonial elite, street vending emerged as one of the few urban practices

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[66] Gibbings, 'Street Vending as Ethical Citizenship in Urban Indonesia', 81.

[67] Gibbings, 'Street Vending as Ethical Citizenship in Urban Indonesia', 81.

[68] Gibbings, 'Street Vending as Ethical Citizenship in Urban Indonesia', 81.

[69] Ellisa, 'The Recreational Landscape of Weltevreden Since Indonesian Colonization', 22.

[70] Gibbings and Steijlen, 'Colonial Figures', 69.

[71] Gibbings and Steijlen, 'Colonial Figures', 69.

capable of transcending colonial boundaries. As Gibbings and Steijlen argue, this everyday commerce fostered shared urban experiences that subtly challenged rigid colonial hierarchies.[72] Street vending can thus be understood as a form of quiet resistance, through which inlanders claimed space, visibility, and agency within an exclusionary urban system.

1.2 Japanese Occupation (1942 – 1945)

In March 1942, Japanese forces occupied Batavia, prompting the Dutch surrender. In an effort to eliminate colonial associations, the city was renamed Jakarta, an abbreviation of its old name Jayakarta.[73] The Japanese occupation was marked by severe repression, particularly towards former Dutch officials, many of whom were imprisoned or sent to labour camps, while their families were placed under house arrest. Academic literature on street vending during this period remains limited; however, existing studies suggest that while vending persisted, Japanese authorities prohibited vendors from trading with Europeans.[74] As food shortages intensified, access to basic necessities such as clothing and medicine became increasingly difficult for the former colonial elite.

Blackburn notes that many indigenous residents—predominantly migrants—remained in Jakarta rather than returning to rural areas, where living conditions had similarly deteriorated.[75] In response to shortages, they cultivated vegetables, cooked meals, and sold food on the streets, alongside

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[72] Gibbings and Steijlen, 'Colonial Figures', 64.

[73] Van Der Linde, *Jakarta*, 163.

[74] Gibbings and Steijlen, 'Colonial Figures', 73; Van Der Linde, *Jakarta*, 164; Blackburn, *Jakarta: Sejarah 400 Tahun*, 202.

[75] Blackburn, *Jakarta: Sejarah 400 Tahun*, 202–3.

producing soap and smuggling cigarettes.[76] By late 1942, informal commercial activity expanded across Jakarta's pavements, encompassing services such as bicycle repairs and second-hand goods trading.[77]

Despite official prohibitions, vendors continued supplying food to Dutch families. Interviews collected by Gibbings and Steijlen recount families relying on vendors who risked punishment to provide provisions. They said:

> I was privileged because I had that bakery where the sellers came if they could, because they were not allowed to sell to the Europeans. But it was also their living… Where they got it I don't know but they brought it to us because they thought we needed it.[78]

While this narrative portray vendors as heroic figures, Blackburn and Van der Linde caution that such actions were likely driven by economic necessity rather than humanitarian intent. Under Japanese rule, all populations faced severe hardship, and street vendors operated within precarious socio-political conditions to sustain their livelihoods.[79] This brief yet tumultuous period in Jakarta's history period highlights the adaptive and inclusive nature of street vending. Vendors served marginalised communities—including, paradoxically, Europeans—demonstrating their capacity to resist authority, navigate crisis, and fulfil essential social and economic functions during periods of instability.

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[76] Van Der Linde, *Jakarta*, 164.

[77] Blackburn, *Jakarta: Sejarah 400 Tahun*, 203.

[78] Gibbings and Steijlen, 'Colonial Figures', 73.

[79] Gibbings and Steijlen, 'Colonial Figures', 73; Blackburn, *Jakarta: Sejarah 400 Tahun*, 203.

1.3 Under the Old and New Order Regimes (1945 – 1998)

Following independence in August 1945, the young country, now called Indonesia, retained Jakarta as its capital. Rapid urbanisation accompanied nation-building efforts, as migrants arrived from across the archipelago in search of economic opportunity. As in earlier periods, newcomers relied on kampung-based family networks for access to housing and employment.[80] Those unable to enter formal sectors frequently turned to informal work, including street vending.[81]

During the 1950s, Jakarta's urban development was shaped by nationalist ideals under the *Orde Lama* (Old Order) regime led by President Soekarno. Seeking to assert an Indonesian identity free from colonial influence, the government prioritised monumental architecture to symbolise national pride.[82] Iconic landmarks such as the *Patung Selamat Datang* (Welcome Monument—Figure 7) and the *Monumen Nasional* (National Monument) were constructed to project an image of progress and modernity.[83]

This vision, however, conflicted sharply with socio-economic realities. Dense kampung settlements and widespread informality challenged the state's idealised urban image.[84] Rather than addressing underlying inequalities, the regime identified informal practices as obstacles to development. As Blackburn notes, Soekarno and the *Dewan Perwakilan Kotapraja Sementara*

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[80] Van Der Linde, *Jakarta*, 168.

[81] Van Der Linde, *Jakarta*, 170.

[82] Van Der Linde, *Jakarta*, 172; Peter J. M. Nas, 'The Urban Anthropologist as Flâneur: The Symbolic Pattern of Indonesian Cities', *Wacana* Vol. 14, no. No. 2 (2012): 435.

[83] Nugteren, 'Universal, Colonial, or Indonesian Heritage?', 84.

[84] Van Der Linde, *Jakarta*, 174.

(the Provisional Representative Council) explicitly categorised illegal land occupation, homelessness, and street vending as major impediments to Jakarta's progress.[85]

Figure 7. *Patung Selamat Datang* (Welcome Monument) with Hotel Indonesia behind it, both products of the Old Order regime's urban vision, contrasted with a street vendor and a rickshaw driver passing in the foreground. Source: Co Rentmeester, *The Welcome Monument, with Hotel Indonesia behind it* (1965), photograph, Time Life, https://lostjakarta.com/tag/co-rentmeester/.

Street vendors, despite their economic importance, were increasingly framed as detrimental to urban order and aesthetics.[86] In the 1960s, Mayapada, a government-controlled magazine, described street vending as a primitive commercial practice that undermined the city's appearance and damaged

[85] Blackburn, *Jakarta: Sejarah 400 Tahun*, 279.

[86] Blackburn, *Jakarta: Sejarah 400 Tahun*, 282.

Indonesia's international reputation.[87] This narrative reinforced the longstanding association of street vending with disorder, marginality, and underdevelopment within Jakarta's urban discourse.

Nevertheless, perhaps due to limited budgetary resources or insufficient human resources, the government had few effective means of intervention at the time; its response was primarily confined to issuing verbal warnings, urging street vendors to maintain cleanliness, and requesting that they relocate.[88] This relatively 'soft' approach to managing public disorder was arguably influenced by the lack of space within formal marketplaces to accommodate displaced street vendors, thereby leaving authorities with no viable legal recourse.[89] Consequently, street vending continued to expand, becoming more deeply embedded in Jakarta's urban life throughout this regime.[90]

Furthermore, although not a direct outcome of this vision, the formation of the *Satuan Polisi Pamong Praja* (Public Order Police), commonly known as Satpol PP, occurred during this regime, with the institution officially established in March 1950.[91] It is a civil police force under the Ministry of Home Affairs, whose purpose is to enforce regional regulations and administer public order rather than enforcing the law like the regular police force, the *Kepolisian Negara Indonesia* (the Indonesian National Police). The concept of Satpol PP and its independence from the 'regular' police force was inherited from the Dutch colonial government, which, during its regime,

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[87] Hanggoro, 'Mula Pedagang Kaki Lima'.

[88] Blackburn, *Jakarta: Sejarah 400 Tahun*, 282.

[89] Blackburn, *Jakarta: Sejarah 400 Tahun*, 282.

[90] Blackburn, *Jakarta: Sejarah 400 Tahun*, 282.

[91] Satpol PP DKI, 'Sejarah', Satpolpp.Jakarta.Go.Id, accessed 7 October 2022, https://satpolpp.jakarta.go.id/profil/sejarah.

separated police into three institutions: the Civil Police (Bestuurpolitie), the Regular Police (Algemeene Politie), and the Armed Forces Police (Gewapende Politie).[92] The post-independence Indonesian government retained the same structure, with some modifications, distinguishing between the Satpol PP, the National Police, and the Armed Forces. Since its establishment, Satpol PP has served as an instrument of state or local government efforts to manage urban 'disorder', including street vendors.[93]

The Old Order era lasted for nearly two decades. In 1967, the Republic was led by a new regime known as the *Orde Baru* (New Order) led by Indonesia's second president, Soeharto, which remained in power for the next 31 years. Under this new administration, the government's primary emphasis shifted from nationalism to economic development. To achieve this vision, Indonesian anthropologist Sjafri Sairin notes that "all government policies were oriented toward the Western world," with modernisation discourses aligned with Western frameworks, particularly those of free-market economies and neoliberal ideas, as found in the United States and the United Kingdom.[94]

Urban planning-wise, Christopher Silver, in his book *Planning the Megacity: Jakarta in the Twentieth Century*, observes that to modernise Jakarta, the New Order government maximised public investments, allowing non-

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[92] Kendar Umi Kulsum, 'Hari Pamong Praja: Melihat Kembali Sejarah dan Peran Satpol PP', kompas.id, 9 September 2021, https://www.kompas.id/baca/paparan-topik/2021/09/10/hari-pamong-praja-melihat-kembali-sejarah-dan-peran-satpol-pp.

[93] Exploration of the role of Satpol PP, can be found in these literature: Pattiradjawane et al., *Negotiating Informal Urban Space: Female Cake Vendors at the Pasar Kue Subuh Senen Night Market in Jakarta, Indonesia*, 40; Wilson, '"The Streets Belong to Who?": "Governance" and the Urban Informal Sector in Jakarta, Indonesia', 120; Harlan Dimas, '"Street Vendors: Urban Problem and Economic Potential"', Working Paper in Economics and Development Studies, Department of Economics, Padjadjaran University, June 2008.

[94] Sjafri Sairin, 'Modernization and Westernization: A Never-Ending Discourse in Indonesia', *JGD – Journal of Governance and Development* Vol. 7 (2011): 4–5.

governmental actors—including private businesses—to play a central role in shaping the city.[95] This approach enabled the business elite to undertake urban development in areas where the government was unable to deliver. As a consequence, this creates an ambiguous line of authority, with many urban initiatives emerging outside the local planning structure and often following the interests of those with capital.[96] Grzegorzewski notes that many urban planning violations occurred during this era without repercussions, as the government favoured private developers' interests over the city's urban planning agenda.[97]

With many actors involved in Jakarta's urban development, however, Silver observed a unifying vision: the aspiration to elevate Jakarta's status on the international stage to create a 'world city'.[98] The government's neoliberal ideal led to a conceptualisation of modern world city development that hinged on attracting foreign investment. This ideal, in turn, led to the construction of numerous skyscrapers, shopping malls, flyovers, and toll roads (Figure 8).[99]

The New Order government made it clear that street vendors would be excluded from Jakarta's modernisation. In 1970, then-governor Ali Sadikin initiated a 'cleaning operation' to remove unwanted occupations from the

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[95] Christopher Silver, *Planning the Megacity: Jakarta in the Twentieth Century*, Planning, History and Environment Series (Routledge, 2008), 11.

[96] Silver, *Planning the Megacity*, 13.

[97] Grzegorzewski, 'Shopping Malls and Climate Escapism; Urban Lifestyle in Jakarta, Indonesia', 9.

[98] Silver, *Planning the Megacity*, 13.

[99] Nugteren, 'Universal, Colonial, or Indonesian Heritage?', 844; Peter J. M. Nas and Pratiwo, 'The Streets of Jakarta: Fear, Trust and Amnesia in Urban Development', in *Framing Indonesian Realities: Essays in Symbolic Anthropology in Honour of Reimar Schefold*, ed. Peter Nas and Reimar Schefold, Verhandelingen van Het Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde 209 (KITLV Press, 2003), 283.

streets of Jakarta, including *becak* (rickshaw) driving and street vending.[100] The reasons, according to Blackburn, were first that these occupations provide jobs for low-skilled migrants, and their elimination would then stop the unwanted migration to Jakarta. Second, these informal sectors were perceived as not aligning with Jakarta's modern aspirations.[101]

Figure 8. The development of skyscrapers, high-rise buildings, and shopping malls along Thamrin Road in Central Jakarta in the 1970s. Source: (left) Boy Lawson, *Indonesia, West Java (Djakarta). Gezicht op de Djalan Tamrin naar het noorden gezien* (1971), cellulose acetate photographic process, 6 × 6 cm (2 3/8 × 2 3/8 in.), https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/276476; and (right) Boy Lawson, *Indonesië, West-Java. Gezicht vanuit Hotel Kartika Plaza op de rotonde Djalan Thamrin/Djalan Imam Bondjol voor Hotel Indonesia* (1971), cellulose acetate photographic process, 6 × 6 cm (2 3/8 × 2 3/8 in.), https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/276475.

For the cleaning operation, Sadikin was more prepared than the Jakarta authorities in the 1950s. Several new marketplaces were established in the city, and the government planned to regulate these vendors within these

[100] Blackburn, *Jakarta: Sejarah 400 Tahun*, 327.

[101] Blackburn, *Jakarta: Sejarah 400 Tahun*, 327.

designated spaces.[102] However, in reality, these solutions were unattainable. Blackburn notes that many of these vendors could not pay market kiosk rent and were more likely to lose to competition from better-equipped, established merchants who could attract customers.[103] Furthermore, in fact, there was still not enough space in the marketplaces to accommodate all the displaced vendors.[104]

Figure 9. A cleaning operation conducted by Satpol PP in 1984 captured by the *Jakarta Post*. Source: Hendro Suwito, *Razia PKL* (4 October 1984), *The Jakarta Post Images*, https://www.thejakartapostimages.com/images/view/31809.

However, these issues did not deter the government from using Satpol PP to crack down on illegal street vending activities, issuing fines and confiscating their belongings (Figure 9). Moreover, to make matters worse for the vendors, the Sadikin administration also failed to provide alternative job opportunities

[102] Blackburn, *Jakarta: Sejarah 400 Tahun*, 329–30.

[103] Blackburn, *Jakarta: Sejarah 400 Tahun*, 330.

[104] Blackburn, *Jakarta: Sejarah 400 Tahun*, 330.

for those who lost their livelihoods as a result of this cleaning operation.[105] Thus, life was especially hard for street vendors in this era, who had to earn a living while constantly fearing ambush.

Wiyogo Atmodarminto, Sadikin's successor, also has a similar attitude towards street vending. He issued Local Regulation No. 11 of 1988 on Public Order, which legally prohibited the use of pavements, streets, and public spaces for commercial activities.[106] Around the same time, on a national scale, as part of efforts to further modernise the country, President Soeharto launched a nationwide movement aimed to "discipline people in all aspects of their lives," promoting values such as cleanliness, beauty, order, comfort, and safety.[107] According to Gibbings, this movement was used to justify that era's large-scale cleaning operation targeting public 'disorder', during which hundreds of street vendors were arrested alongside other undesirable groups, including thugs, squatters, sex workers, cross-dressers, and street children.[108]

According to a 1998 study by Tommy Firman, while this regime's policies and approaches were harsh for marginalised communities, they were effective in reforming Indonesia's industrial and financial situations. The government's investment in infrastructure attracted many foreign and domestic investors to Jakarta, which subsequently led to increased development in the city, high-skilled job opportunities, and urban sprawl.[109] In the early 1990s, the middle-class population was reported to have increased from 19,000 in 1992 to 40,000

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[105] Blackburn, *Jakarta: Sejarah 400 Tahun*, 334.

[106] Pattiradjawane et al., *Negotiating Informal Urban Space: Female Cake Vendors at the Pasar Kue Subuh Senen Night Market in Jakarta, Indonesia*, 40.

[107] Gibbings, 'Street Vending as Ethical Citizenship in Urban Indonesia', 82.

[108] Gibbings, 'Street Vending as Ethical Citizenship in Urban Indonesia', 82.

[109] T Firman, 'The Restructuring of Jakarta Metropolitan Area: A "Global City" in Asia', *Cities* 15, no. 4 (1998): 236–37, https://doi.org/10.1016/S0264-2751(98)00015-8.

by 1994.[110] Large-scale, exclusive residential developments at the fringe of Jakarta were built to accommodate this newly emerging population.[111] These residential developments were planned to become 'self-contained' towns, meaning that, aside from housing, they would feature shopping centres and office spaces, and some would even have modern golf courses.[112] Many kampungs in Jakarta were cleared to make way for these new developments, forcing many urban poor out of their homes.[113]

The New Order government's relationship with the West led to Indonesia becoming a major recipient of the World Bank and other similar grants and loans. In the transport sector, according to Hutabarat Lo, these lending agencies favoured large projects that imitated Western, particularly US, approaches, such as freeway or toll road development.[114] In response, the New Order government lowered import taxes and made loans more accessible, leading to a surge in private car and motorbike ownership.[115] The economic policies of the time encouraged road-based expansion and the utilisation of streets as spaces of flow within Jakarta.[116] Similarly, as exclusive residential areas developed, freeways and toll roads emerged at the expense of kampungs and the displacement of the urban poor.[117]

Thus, as a result of the clearance of kampungs and ongoing rapid urbanisation, slums emerged around the city. Van der Linde observed that

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[110] Firman, 'The Restructuring of Jakarta Metropolitan Area', 237–38.

[111] Firman, 'The Restructuring of Jakarta Metropolitan Area', 237–38.

[112] Firman, 'The Restructuring of Jakarta Metropolitan Area', 237–38.

[113] Firman, 'The Restructuring of Jakarta Metropolitan Area', 238; Van Der Linde, *Jakarta*, 182.

[114] Hutabarat Lo, 'The City as a Mirror', 536.

[115] Hutabarat Lo, 'The City as a Mirror', 537.

[116] Hutabarat Lo, 'The City as a Mirror', 537.

[117] Hutabarat Lo, 'The City as a Mirror', 537.

many inhabitants of these settlements sell food on the streets to survive[118]—thereby making this urban development, which focused on advancing Jakarta's infrastructure, ironically, contribute to the growth of the street vendors' population. The slums persisted amid modern office buildings and exclusive residential areas, while informal commercial activities, such as street vending, persisted adjacent to modern malls and shopping centres.[119]

Haryo Winarso, in his contribution to *Megacities: Urban Form, Governance, and Sustainability*, refers to this phenomenon as 'urban dualism'.[120] This concept closely parallels the 'dual city structure' introduced by Zhu and Simarmata, discussed earlier in this chapter, which describes the coexistence of two opposing urban realities—the planned and unplanned, the rich and poor—cohabiting and characterising Jakarta's urban fabric. According to Winarso, urban dualism "exacerbate(s) social disparities because it simultaneously insulates the bourgeoisie and sharpens and mobilizes class and racial conflicts".[121]

Despite the ideological shift from colonial rule to a republican state, dualism in Jakarta persisted. While no longer dictated by race, it was shaped by economic and social status, emphasising the exclusion of people with low incomes. Nonetheless, urban development during this period remained primarily oriented towards capitalist development that favoured the wealthy and the emerging middle class.

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[118] Van Der Linde, *Jakarta*, 183.

[119] Haryo Winarso, 'Urban Dualism in the Jakarta Metropolitan Area', in *Megacities: Urban Form, Governance, and Sustainability*, ed. André Sorensen and Junichiro Okata (Springer Japan, 2011), 164, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-4-431-99267-7_8.

[120] Winarso, 'Urban Dualism in the Jakarta Metropolitan Area', 164.

[121] Winarso, 'Urban Dualism in the Jakarta Metropolitan Area', 165.

This structural imbalance became starkly visible when the Asian Financial Crisis struck the country in 1997. The severe economic downturn exposed the vulnerabilities of marginalised communities, many of whom had been neglected by the regime. In response to the rising living costs, food shortages, limited access to healthcare, and widespread unemployment, civil unrest and riots erupted in the city. This occurrence significantly undermined the authority of the New Order government, particularly President Soeharto, ultimately leading to the regime's overthrow in 1998.

1.4 Reformation (1998 – now)

The period following 1998 represents a critical phase in the history of street vending in Jakarta. As a direct consequence of the mass unemployment brought about by the Asian Financial Crisis, large numbers of people turned to street vending and other forms of informal work—such as rickshaw driving and scavenging—that had been formally prohibited under the New Order regime.[122] The crisis affected not only low-income groups but also segments of the middle class. According to a World Bank report published in 2006, approximately 25 per cent of street vendors in Indonesia in the aftermath of the crisis could not be classified as poor, with many originating from middle-class backgrounds.[123] Gibbings suggests that this shift reflected a broader change in public perception, as citizens increasingly felt that political elites were no longer concerned with improving conditions for the majority.[124] Consequently, many individuals assumed responsibility for securing their own livelihoods. Estimates at the time indicate that the number of street

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[122] Gibbings, 'Street Vending as Ethical Citizenship in Urban Indonesia', 82.

[123] the World Bank, *Making the New Indonesia Work for the Poor (Vol. 1 of 2)*, Poverty Assessment no. 37349 (The World Bank, 2006), 40, http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/880681468267341607.

[124] Gibbings, 'Street Vending as Ethical Citizenship in Urban Indonesia', 82.

vendors in Jakarta rose dramatically, from around 95,000 in 1997 to approximately 270,000 by October 1998.[125]

The expansion of the street vendor population was further influenced by increased migration from rural areas to Jakarta, as the economic crisis also severely affected conditions in the countryside.[126] In response, the Indonesian government adopted a degree of tolerance towards street vending for pragmatic reasons. On the one hand, informal trading provided a vital means of economic survival for many households; on the other, there were concerns that outright prohibition could provoke renewed unrest and instability.[127] Nevertheless, this apparent tolerance did not reflect a substantive shift in official attitudes towards street vending. In practice, the authorities continued to reshape public spaces in ways that restricted vendors' presence, including the erection of fences around public areas and the strategic placement of large flowerpots and planters on pavements to marginalise street trading.[128]

Gibbings argues that such interventions were deeply rooted in New Order ideals of beauty, order, comfort, and safety—normative values that continue to exert a strong influence on approaches to urban modernisation in Indonesia.[129] Even more than two decades after the fall of the Soeharto regime, the practice of occupying pavements with decorative urban elements remains visible in many parts of Jakarta (Figure 10). These measures not only

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[125] Tim Bunnell and Michelle Ann Miller, 'Jakarta in Post-Suharto Indonesia: Decentralisation, Neo-Liberalism and Global City Aspiration', *Space and Polity* 15, no. 1 (2011): 38, https://doi.org/10.1080/13562576.2011.567899.

[126] Firman, 'The Restructuring of Jakarta Metropolitan Area', 239.

[127] Gibbings, 'Street Vending as Ethical Citizenship in Urban Indonesia', 82; Rafael Martinez and Irna Nurlina Masron, 'Jakarta: A City of Cities', *Cities* 106 (November 2020): 3, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2020.102868.

[128] Gibbings, 'Street Vending as Ethical Citizenship in Urban Indonesia', 82.

[129] Gibbings, 'Street Vending as Ethical Citizenship in Urban Indonesia', 82.

prevent street vendors from using pavements but also obstruct pedestrian movement, often forcing people to share space with vehicular traffic. This persistence reflects a continuing aversion towards street vending within urban governance and a preference for particular aesthetic visions over the accessibility, comfort, and safety of public space for all residents.

Figure 10. Potted plants placed on the pavement in Sudirman, South Jakarta, to prevent street vendors from using the space. This measure also obstructs pedestrians and forces them to walk on the vehicle lane. Source: Author's photograph, August 2022.

In 2001, several years into the Reform era, Indonesia formally adopted a decentralisation framework. Under this arrangement, Jakarta became administratively equivalent to a province while retaining its status as the national capital. The city is now governed by a democratically elected governor and is administratively divided into five municipalities, each headed by a mayor, as well as one regency led by a regent. Despite this decentralised structure, Jakarta's central role within national economic networks causes national-level political processes and policy shifts continue to exert a

significant influence over urban governance and decision-making in the city.[130]

Benefiting from relative political and economic stability following decentralisation, the provincial government initiated renewed campaigns to 'clean' public spaces and embarked on an extensive urban beautification agenda, within which street vendors were once again framed as a major 'obstacle'.[131] These initiatives explicitly sought to advance the New Order ambition of transforming Jakarta into a 'world city', revealing that the transition towards democratic governance produced little substantive change in the underlying priorities of urban planning.[132] As under earlier regimes, the Reform government continued to mobilise urban planning primarily as a tool to realise large-scale development visions and global competitiveness, rather than as a means of improving everyday living conditions through responsive and inclusive urban management.[133]

As Gibbings notes, these campaigns involved efforts to "regulate, relocate, and order street vendors in an attempt to return the street to something more closely resembling the New Order's goal of 'idealised absence'".[134] This notion of *idealised absence* may be understood as the deliberate removal of urban elements perceived as incompatible with modernisation, including visible poverty, disorder, and informal economic practices such as street vending.[135]

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[130] Bunnell and Miller, 'Jakarta in Post-Suharto Indonesia', 36.

[131] Gibbings, 'Street Vending as Ethical Citizenship in Urban Indonesia', 83.

[132] Silver, *Planning the Megacity*, 13.

[133] Zhu and Simarmata, 'Formal Land Rights versus Informal Land Rights', 70.

[134] Gibbings, 'Street Vending as Ethical Citizenship in Urban Indonesia', 83.

[135] Helga Leitner and Eric Sheppard, 'From Kampungs to Condos? Contested Accumulations through Displacement in Jakarta', *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 50, no. 2 (2018): 450, https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X17709279.

Through the continuation of this planning logic, the Reform government has perpetuated Jakarta's condition of urban dualism, in which the needs and lifestyles of affluent groups are prioritised, while poorer populations are rendered marginal or invisible. As Hellman et al. observe in their introduction to *Jakarta: Claiming Spaces and Rights in the City*, this dualism remains a defining feature of the city's contemporary urban condition:

> Over the past decades, scholars have described Jakarta as a city that is not only highly unequal in an economic sense—with pro-elite and neoliberalist policies marginalising hundreds of thousands of slum dwellers… but also as a city that is run by state and corporate actors, while average citizens… remain to be excluded…[136]

In addition to the placement of decorative elements to sideline vendors and the continuous utilisation of Satpol PP to intimidate informal practices, another instrument employed in these beautification campaigns was the strategic use of the 'rumour'. Anthropologists Peter J. M. Nas and Pratiwo trace the emergence of this 'rumour' to the late 1998 upheavals, arising from the widespread fear and collective trauma produced by riots, looting, and arson that accompanied the collapse of the New Order regime—events that resulted in significant civilian casualties.[137]

In the aftermath, Jakarta's streets became imbued with anxiety, as residents lived with the persistent fear that instability and violence might resurface. Nas and Pratiwo argue that rather than attempting to counteract or destabilise this negative image of the street, the Reform government instrumentalised

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[136] Jorgen Hellman et al., eds, 'Introduction: Shaping Jakarta', in *Jakarta: Claiming Spaces and Rights in the City* (Routledge, 2018), 3, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315111919.

[137] Nas and Pratiwo, 'The Streets of Jakarta: Fear, Trust and Amnesia in Urban Development', 289–90.

public fear by encouraging citizens to retreat from the streets into enclosed environments, particularly shopping malls, which were frequently portrayed as "places of refuge in a hostile city".[138]

This process marked the beginning of a second surge of what Rem Koolhaas terms *Junkspace* in Jakarta, following its initial expansion during the New Order era. Junkspace refers to spatial products of consumerism and globalisation in which every component is calibrated to deliver a specific standard of comfort in the service of profit.[139] Such comfort, however, is not spatially neutral. Junkspace is typically produced without meaningful engagement with the existing social or spatial context, instead relying on technological and architectural interventions—such as air-conditioning, artificial lighting, CCTV surveillance, lifts, and escalators—to manage environmental and social conditions.[140] Occupants of these spaces are consequently expected to consume in exchange for access, transforming what might otherwise function as public environments into commercialised interiors governed by exclusionary market logics.

A shopping mall is one of the archetypes of Junkspace. As explored earlier, the boom in shopping malls in Jakarta began during the New Order regime, characterised by the rise of the middle class.[141] This trend continued in the Reform era, when private developers capitalised on people's fear and anxiety

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[138] Nas and Pratiwo, 'The Streets of Jakarta: Fear, Trust and Amnesia in Urban Development', 292.

[139] Rem Koolhaas, 'Junkspace', *October* Vol. 100, no. Obsolescence (Spring, 2002) (2002): 176; Francesco Proto, 'The Automatic Writing of the City: Psychosis and Junkspace', in *Lacan + Architecture*, ed. John Shannon Hendrix and Francesco Proto (Springer Nature Switzerland, 2024), 91, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-63257-0_5.

[140] Bobby Chong Thai Wong and Ryan Bishop, 'Junk Space', *Theory, Culture & Society* 23, nos 2–3 (2006): 153, https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276406023002 25.

[141] Grzegorzewski, 'Shopping Malls and Climate Escapism; Urban Lifestyle in Jakarta, Indonesia', 8–9.

on Jakarta's streets to promote the development of shopping malls, which were seen as a means to encourage economic vitality.[142] In doing so, many private developers continued to breach Jakarta's spatial planning, though they were seldom sanctioned or punished, and often received support from the central government. Grzegorzewski reveals an example of this violation in his study about Jakarta's shopping malls:

> The Jakarta Spatial Plan 2000–2010 and the draft Jakarta Spatial Plan 2010–2030 designated the site of an unused amusement park as a green area. However, the construction of a shopping mall on this land directly violates these plans, a decision facilitated by the developer with support from the central government. The State Secretariat, which holds full authority over the site, disregarded Jakarta's spatial plan by leasing the land to the developer.[143]

To further advance this agenda, private developers also exploited Jakarta's extreme climatic conditions and severe air pollution to entice residents indoors. Grzegorzewski observes that shopping malls effectively "monopolised solutions to urban climate challenges", offering temporary relief that enabled visitors to remain indoors for extended periods without exposure to the street environment.[144]

However, Junkspace is not designed for universal access. Data from the Urban Poor Consortium indicates that in 2009 only around 500,000 of Jakarta's 9.6

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[142] Hutabarat Lo, 'The City as a Mirror', 548.

[143] Grzegorzewski, 'Shopping Malls and Climate Escapism; Urban Lifestyle in Jakarta, Indonesia', 9.

[144] Grzegorzewski, 'Shopping Malls and Climate Escapism; Urban Lifestyle in Jakarta, Indonesia', 1.

million residents were financially able to shop in malls.[145] Through defensive architectural features, gated access points, and screening protocols targeting those deemed 'undesirable', shopping malls spatially separate affluent users from the poverty associated with street life, reinforcing the city's entrenched dualism.

Figure 11. Skyscrapers, high-rise office towers, shopping malls, and large boulevards dominating Jakarta's most prominent cityscape. Source: Author's photograph, August 2022.

The rapid expansion of shopping malls also fulfilled a symbolic function within the Reform government's developmental agenda. As Francesco Proto suggests, such environments visually express dominant political paradigms and power structures.[146] In the pursuit of repositioning Jakarta as a 'world city' integrated into global economic networks, mall development became a tangible indicator of urban progress for both provincial and national

[145] Pattiradjawane et al., *Negotiating Informal Urban Space: Female Cake Vendors at the Pasar Kue Subuh Senen Night Market in Jakarta, Indonesia*, 38.

[146] Proto, 'The Automatic Writing of the City', 95.

authorities. Today, Jakarta contains approximately 170 shopping malls, with the largest accommodating more than 500 retail units within floor areas exceeding 360,000 square metres (Figure 12).[147] This pattern of development aligns with Sharon Zukin's notion of 'sites of delectation'—spaces that simulate homogenous middle-class belonging while quietly regulating participation and visibility.[148] Through such spatial strategies, the urban poor are systematically excluded from prominent public arenas, reinforcing a sanitised and idealised urban image.

Figure 12. Interior of Mall Taman Anggrek, the largest shopping mall in Jakarta to date, housing 500 shops and spanning an indoor area of approximately 360,000 square metres. Source: Matthew Kenwrick, *Mal Taman Anggrek* (4 December 2011), photograph, https://www.flickr.com/photos/58847482@N03/6893825079/.

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[147] Kate Lamb, 'Inside the Bubble: The Air-Conditioned Alternate Reality of Jakarta's Megamalls', Cities, *The Guardian*, 24 November 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/nov/24/jakarta-megamalls-air-conditioned-alternate-reality; 'Factsheet', Mall Taman Anggrek, 2022, https://www.taman-anggrek-mall.com/about/factsheet.

[148] Sharon Zukin, '"Whose Culture? Whose City?": From The Cultures of Cities (1995)', in *The Urban Sociology Reader*, 2nd edn (Routledge, 2012), 436.

This dominance of shopping malls stands in sharp contrast to the scarcity of inclusive, open, and green public spaces in Jakarta, which collectively account for less than five per cent of the city's total area (approximately 33,061,500 square metres).[149] Moreover, many existing parks and public squares have been gradually converted into built structures, depriving large segments of the population of formal communal spaces.[150] As a result, low-income residents increasingly rely on any available outdoor areas to compensate for insufficient public infrastructure, reinforcing patterns in which the affluent inhabit controlled interiors while the poor remain exposed outdoors.[151]

Alongside these beautification campaigns and the second rise of Junkspace, the central government enacted Act No. 38 of 2004, which formally redefined streets as transportation infrastructure.[152] Article 12 of the Act prohibits any activity perceived to disrupt the functional zones of the street, including the *ruang manfaat jalan* (street space), ruang milik jalan (street-owned space), and *ruang pengawasan jalan* (street supervision space) (Figure 13). This legal redefinition coincided with Indonesia's renewed engagement with international lending programmes first established under the New Order. Hutabarat Lo argues that such institutions prioritised the construction of privatised toll roads to facilitate urban expansion, reflecting a top-down planning logic that treated streets primarily as conduits for movement rather

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[149] R. Setiowati et al., 'Green Open Space Masterplan at Jakarta Capital City, Indonesia for Climate Change Mitigation', *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science* 200, no. 1 (2018): 012042, https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/200/1/012042.

[150] Grzegorzewski, 'Shopping Malls and Climate Escapism; Urban Lifestyle in Jakarta, Indonesia', 7–8.

[151] Paramita Atmodiwirjo et al., 'Outside Interior: Traversed Boundaries in a Jakarta Urban Neighbourhood', *IDEA JOURNAL* 2015, no. Urban + Interior (2015): 78–79; Evawani Ellisa, 'Coping with Crowding in High-Density Kampung Housing of Jakarta', *Archnet-IJAR*, Regular Section, Volume 10, no. Issue 1 (2016): 203.

[152] UU No. 38 Tahun 2004, 38, Pemerintah Pusat, Undang-undang (UU) LN.2004/ No.132 (2004), http://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/40785/uu-no-38-tahun-2004.

than as social spaces.[153] This development might have resulted in characterising Jakarta as a car-oriented city.[154] Consequently, practices such as street vending—particularly those utilising the streets—were increasingly criminalised.

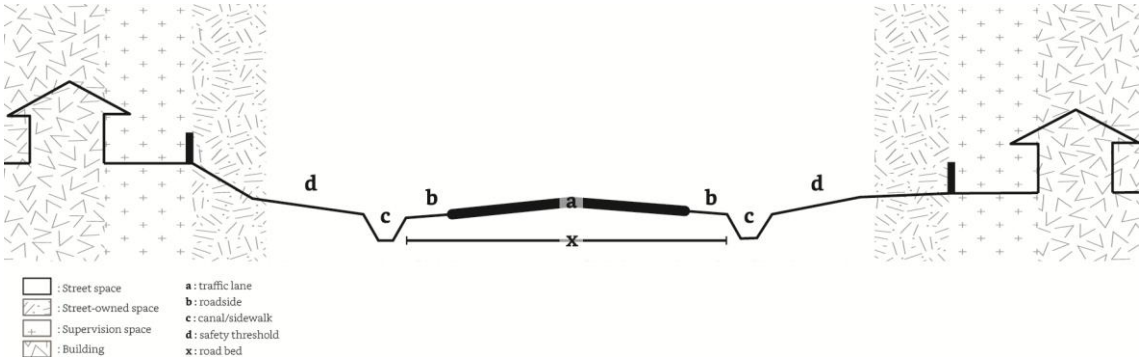

Figure 13. Street diagram issued with the Republic of Indonesia, Act No. 38 of 2004, showing the street and its components to be kept free from objects and activities other than traffic and pedestrian movement. Source: Republic of Indonesia, *Act No. 38 of 2004*; reproduced by the author.

This period therefore witnessed extensive road construction as part of Jakarta's broader expansion strategy, leading to heightened levels of motorisation.[155] Urban infrastructure development overwhelmingly prioritised private vehicles, while investment in public transport and pedestrian facilities remained limited.[156] As Hidayati et al. note, this model deepened socio-economic divisions by rendering marginalised groups "captive pedestrians" with constrained mobility, excluding poorer residents

[153] Hutabarat Lo, 'The City as a Mirror', 538.

[154] Hutabarat Lo, 'The City as a Mirror', 538.

[155] Isti Hidayati et al., 'Realised Pedestrian Accessibility of an Informal Settlement in Jakarta, Indonesia', *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability*, 31 August 2020, 5, https://doi.org/10.1080/17549175.2020.1814391.

[156] Hidayati et al., 'Realised Pedestrian Accessibility of an Informal Settlement in Jakarta, Indonesia', 5.

not only from elite spaces like shopping malls but increasingly from the streets themselves.[157]

Framing streets solely as spaces of flow is fundamentally misaligned with the living realities of residents in kampungs and other high-density, low-quality housing environments such as *rusunawa* (abbreviation for *Rumah Susun Sederhana Sewa* or low-cost apartment complex). Overcrowding, combined with Jakarta's tropical climate and the widespread inability to afford air conditioning, compels residents to conduct much of their daily lives outdoors.[158] In the absence of accessible public alternatives—and with malls largely catering to elite populations—streets function as vital social spaces where neighbours gather, children play, and everyday life unfolds (Figure 14).[159] Within this informal public realm, street vendors play a central role. As Laura Arciniegas demonstrates, they remain the primary providers of daily food needs for low-income populations.[160] For these communities, streets carry not only infrastructural significance but also deep sociocultural meaning, forming an indispensable component of everyday urban life.

Supports for the urban poor—and street vendors in particular—worsened further in 2007, when Governor Sutiyoso amended the 1988 Public Order Regulation by introducing Jakarta Bylaw No. 8/2007. This revised regulation not only prohibited commercial activities on public streets but also criminalised the act of being a street vendor, as well as the provision of money

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[157] Hidayati et al., 'Realised Pedestrian Accessibility of an Informal Settlement in Jakarta, Indonesia', 1.

[158] For more on how residents of Jakarta cope with overcrowding by spending time outdoors, see: Ellisa, 'Coping with Crowding in High-Density Kampung Housing of Jakarta', 202.

[159] Winda Hutami Tatyana et al., 'Negotiation of Objects in Urban Kampong Street: A Case Study in Ampiun Alley, Cikini', *International Journal of Built Environment and Scientific Research* Volume 3, no. Number 01 (2019): 8.

[160] Arciniegas, 'The Foodscape of the Urban Poor in Jakarta', 274.

to vendors, except in locations explicitly authorised by the governor.[161] Compared to the earlier 1988 regulation, the new bylaw was considerably more punitive, as it criminalised both vendors and their predominantly vulnerable customers, thereby transforming routine and previously tolerated activities into illegal acts. Consequently, this bylaw became the regulatory instrument most frequently invoked by enforcement bodies—particularly Satpol PP—to legitimise clearance operations

Figure 14. Life on the street in one of Jakarta's kampungs, where the street functions not only as infrastructure but also as a social setting. Source: Magy Kervan and Tsvetin Kervan, "Jakarta – Impressions of the Megalopolis, Baduy – the Keepers of the World," *Magic Kervan* (blog), 20 July 2017, https://magickervan.com/2017/07/20/jakarta-impressions-of-the-megalopolis-baduy-the-keepers-of-the-world/.

[161] Peraturan Daerah Nomor 8 Tahun 2007 Tentang Ketertiban Umum, Pub. L. No. 8, LD Nomor 8 Tahun 2007 (2007), https://jdih.jakarta.go.id/dokumen/detail/13441.

Sutiyoso justified the introduction of this bylaw as part of his broader ambition to reshape Jakarta into a 'modern' city, drawing inspiration largely from Singapore and Hong Kong.[162] During his tenure, the regional budget allocated to Satpol PP increased to Rp. 303.2 billion (approximately £15 million), substantially exceeding spending on primary education (Rp. 188 billion, approximately £9.2 million) and public healthcare (Rp. 200 billion, approximately £9.8 million).[163] This disparity signals a clear prioritisation of order and visual regulation over investment in basic social services that might have more directly enhanced the overall welfare of Jakarta's residents.

In 2008, Indonesia was also impacted by the global financial crisis, widely regarded as the most severe economic disruption since the Great Depression.[164] Bunnell and Miller's 2011 study indicates that the crisis resulted in a significant expansion of the informal economy, which came to absorb up to 70 per cent of the national workforce.[165] As unemployment increased and living costs rose, many residents of Jakarta once again adopted survival strategies familiar from the Asian Financial Crisis a decade earlier, turning back to street-based livelihoods.[166] In the later stages of the crisis, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono publicly acknowledged the role of street vending as an important buffer against poverty. A 2009 report in *The Jakarta Post*

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[162] Wilson, '"The Streets Belong to Who?": "Governance" and the Urban Informal Sector in Jakarta, Indonesia', 119.

[163] Wilson, '"The Streets Belong to Who?": "Governance" and the Urban Informal Sector in Jakarta, Indonesia', 120–21.

[164] For a comparison between the 2008 financial crisis and the Great Depression, see: Wayne Duggan, 'A Short History Of The Great Recession', Forbes Advisor, 21 June 2023, https://www.forbes.com/advisor/investing/great-recession/.

[165] Bunnell and Miller, 'Jakarta in Post-Suharto Indonesia', 43.

[166] Pattiradjawane et al., *Negotiating Informal Urban Space: Female Cake Vendors at the Pasar Kue Subuh Senen Night Market in Jakarta, Indonesia*, 38–39.

noted his appeal to local leaders to avoid forcibly evicting street vendors during the implementation of spatial planning initiatives.[167]

This conciliatory approach, however, proved temporary. Following economic stabilisation, the central government swiftly reversed its position. Article 27, Clause (1), point 22 of the 2009 Public Order Law prohibited individuals and groups from engaging in activities including begging, street vending, and informal car washing.[168] At the provincial level, this shift was reinforced by Governor Regulation No. 33/2010, which set out programmes aimed at removing street vendors from public streets and incorporating them into the formal economy.[169]

One such initiative—referred to here as 'localisation' (a term adopted for analytical clarity in the absence of an official designation)—involved grouping vendors into designated zones based on criteria such as the type of goods sold or operating schedules. Vendors were subsequently relocated into purpose-built facilities known as *Lokasi Binaan* (training locations, commonly referred to as *lokbin*), which provided basic trading infrastructure. A parallel initiative, termed 'relocation', sought to transfer street vendors from roadside locations into existing market complexes across the city, echoing earlier colonial interventions in 1910 as well as policies pursued under Ali Sadikin in the 1970s.[170] As Taylor and Song's 2016 study notes, similar relocation programmes

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[167] See this article to read about the quote of president speech: Prodita Sabarini, 'Unemployed Turn to the Streets for a Living', The Jakarta Post, 26 October 2009, https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2009/10/26/unemployed-turn-streets-a-living.html.

[168] UU No. 22 Tahun 2009, 22, Pemerintah Pusat, UU LN. 2009/ No. 96 (2009), http://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/38654/uu-no-22-tahun-2009.

[169] UU No. 22 Tahun 2009; Peraturan Gubernur Nomor 33 Tahun 2010 Tentang Pengaturan Tempat Dan Pembinaan Usaha Mikro Pedagang Kaki Lima Di Provinsi Daerah Khusus Ibukota, Peraturan Gubernur 33 (2010), https://jdih.jakarta.go.id/dokumen/detail/12197.

[170] Taylor and Song, 'Return to the Streets', 77.

were implemented nationwide, suggesting that Jakarta's approach reflects broader national regulatory attitudes towards informality.[171]

Although these initiatives did not always involve direct physical eviction, they may nonetheless be understood as forms of displacement. By reframing street vending as part of *Usaha Kecil dan Menengah* (UKM, or small and medium-sized enterprises), the state attempted to formalise informal practices—an approach commonly adopted to govern urban informality across the Global South.[172] However, a growing body of research, including that of Taylor and Song, indicates that such strategies have been largely unsuccessful in removing street vendors from public space.[173] On the contrary, the number of vendors continued to rise, increasing from an estimated 300,000 in 2012 to approximately 600,000 by 2019.[174]

A central factor behind the limited effectiveness of localisation and relocation lies in the financial burden imposed on vendors. For instance, in 2019, street vendors seeking to relocate into *Pasar* Senen (Senen Market) in Central Jakarta were required to pay between Rp. 44 million and Rp. 300 million (£2,400–£16,400) for a 20-year lease.[175] Such costs are prohibitive for most vendors, prompting many to abandon their relocated premises and return to

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[171] Taylor and Song, 'Return to the Streets', 74.

[172] Ananya Roy, 'Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning', *Journal of the American Planning Association* 71, no. 2 (2005): 148, https://doi.org/10.1080/01944360508976689.

[173] Taylor and Song, 'Return to the Streets', 78; Rachmawan et al., 'Vulnerability and Survival Strategy by Food Street Vendors', 112; Dimas, '"Street Vendors: Urban Problem and Economic Potential"'.

[174] Wilson, '"The Streets Belong to Who?": "Governance" and the Urban Informal Sector in Jakarta, Indonesia'; Rachmawan et al., 'Vulnerability and Survival Strategy by Food Street Vendors'.

[175] 'Intip Daftar Harga Sewa Kios di Pasar Senen', Rumah.com, 2019, https://www.rumah.com/areainsider/jakarta%20pusat/article/harga-sewa-kios-di-pasar-senen-8973.

their original street locations. Additional expenditures related to transportation, stall maintenance, and promotion—necessary in order to compete with established market tenants—further undermined the economic viability of relocation.[176]

Figure 15. Lokbin Kota Intan in Kota Tua, West Jakarta, built in 2017. By 2022, only about 25 per cent of the space was occupied by displaced street vendors. Source: Author's photograph, September 2022.

Furthermore, spaces allocated to relocated vendors within markets were often situated away from areas of high pedestrian traffic, as more strategic locations were reserved for traders able to pay higher rents. Consequently, many displaced vendors experienced significant declines in customer numbers and daily income.[177] Similar outcomes characterised localisation schemes, as lokbin facilities were frequently constructed in peripheral or low-visibility

[176] Taylor and Song, 'Return to the Streets', 78.

[177] Taylor and Song, 'Return to the Streets', 78.

locations. Media accounts regularly documented vendors returning to their former pitches within weeks or months.[178] Findings from my own fieldwork conducted in 2022 further corroborate this pattern, revealing that several officially designated lokbin remained partially or entirely unoccupied (Figure 15).

Comparable patterns are also evident in long-standing removal strategies, such as forced evictions and confiscations, which have been employed since the Old Order era and continue to be enacted by Satpol PP. A 2021 study by Rachmawan et al. found that 83 per cent of Satpol PP clearance operations were conducted summarily, leaving vendors with little or no opportunity to appeal decisions or present their cases prior to removal.[179] Another study further reports that such operations frequently resulted in physical confrontations, causing injuries on both sides.[180] Furthermore, in 77 per cent of eviction cases, no follow-up solutions were provided, perpetuating a cycle of displacement and return.[181] These practices have proven not only economically, physically, and psychologically damaging for vendors, but also ineffective in producing lasting outcomes.

Another reason for the limited success of intimidation-based strategies is the development of sophisticated spatial and social tactics by street vendors to evade enforcement. A 2019 *Channel News Asia* report described how vendors utilise informal communication networks involving buskers, parking

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[178] Herman, 'Keluhan PKL Pasar Minggu Setelah Dipindahkan ke Lokbin', beritasatu.com, 12 August 2013, https://www.beritasatu.com/news/131184/keluhan-pkl-pasar-minggu-setelah-dipindahkan-ke-lokbin; Silvia Ng, 'Lokbin Kota Intan Ditolak PKL karena Sepi, PPUKM: Sekarang Sudah Beda', detiknews, 2022, https://news.detik.com/berita/d-6310205/lokbin-kota-intan-ditolak-pkl-karena-sepi-ppukm-sekarang-sudah-beda.

[179] Rachmawan et al., 'Vulnerability and Survival Strategy by Food Street Vendors', 112.

[180] Dimas, '"Street Vendors: Urban Problem and Economic Potential"'.

[181] Rachmawan et al., 'Vulnerability and Survival Strategy by Food Street Vendors', 112.

attendants, and homeless individuals to monitor the movements of Satpol PP and coordinate rapid withdrawals in advance of raids.[182] Similarly, a report published in *Kompas* that same year recounted the case of Mamat, a vendor operating in Kota Tua, West Jakarta, who expressed little concern over potential confiscations, as he kept multiple spare *bakul* (rattan baskets) at home to replace any equipment seized by authorities.[183] These examples illustrate the ways in which street vendors negotiate and adapt to an urban governance system that systematically marginalises them, demonstrating resilience, ingenuity, and persistent agency in the face of repeated exclusion.

Figure 16. Cleaning operation conducted by Jakarta's Satpol PP involving the confiscation of vendors' belongings, usually carried out without notice to ambush street vendors in the act. Source: Muhammad Aulia, "Target Penataan Kawasan, PKL di Jalan Tanjung Selor

[182] Nivell Rayda, 'Peddlers versus Pedestrians? Jakarta Governor's Plan to Legalise Street Vendors Divides the City', Channel News Asia (CNA), 13 September 2019, https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/asia/indonesia-jakarta-peddlers-pedestrians-governor-plan-legalise-11894728.

[183] Nikolaus Harbowo et al., 'Pemprov DKI Akan Atur Trotoar Jadi Multifungsi', Metropolitan, *Kompas*, 29 August 2019.

Ditertibkan," *Pemerintah Kota Administrasi Jakarta Pusat* (Gov), 30 July 2024, https://pusat.jakarta.go.id/v2/?/news/2024/target-penataan-kawasan-pkl-di-jalan-tanjung-selor-ditertibkan.

Ultimately, these cleaning measures have proven ineffective because they are not primarily driven by an intention to improve vendors' welfare, economic security, or long-term business viability. As Taylor and Song argue, such programmes are instead oriented towards reclaiming urban space and arranging street vendors within visually ordered settings, privileging aesthetic control and symbolic governance over substantive social justice.[184] The Reform-era government, much like earlier regimes, has thus failed to deliver viable long-term solutions for street vendors or to address the structural inequalities that underpin their reliance on informal economic activity.

This situation is exacerbated by a complex and often inconsistent legal framework governing street vending. Ministerial Regulation No. 41/2012, issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs, stipulates that street vendors are permitted to operate in designated locations provided they do not damage street infrastructure.[185] Meanwhile, Ministerial Regulation No. 3/2014 promulgated by the Ministry of Public Works and Housing recognises streets as spaces that may accommodate social interaction and commercial activity.[186] These provisions, issued at the national level, directly contradict earlier legislation, including Jakarta Bylaw No. 8/2007 and Article 27 of the 2009 Law on Public Order, thereby placing street vendors in a state of legal ambiguity. As noted by Hellman et al., such regulations are rarely enforced in a

[184] Taylor and Song, 'Return to the Streets', 72.

[185] PERMENDAGRI No. 41 Tahun 2012, 41, Kementrian Dalam Negeri, Permendagri (2012), http://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/139082/permendagri-no-41-tahun-2010.

[186] Permen PUPR No. 03/PRT/M/2014 Tahun 2014, 03/PRT/M/2014, Kementerian Pekerjaan Umum dan Perumahan Rakyat, Permen PUPR (2014), http://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/128205/permen-pupr-no-03prtm2014-tahun-2014.

consistent manner and are frequently mobilised selectively to advance specific political interests.[187]

This legal uncertainty creates fertile conditions for corruption. Street vendors are often compelled to make informal payments in exchange for 'protection' that enables them to continue operating. According to political sociologist Ian Douglas Wilson, Jakarta's street vendors collectively paid an estimated Rp. 417 billion (approximately £20.5 million) in illicit protection fees in 2010 alone—a figure that is likely to have increased in subsequent years.[188] Some political elites are reportedly resistant to formalisation initiatives precisely because of their connections to organisations that benefit financially from these informal arrangements.[189]

For other political actors, however, the precarious status of street vendors has been strategically instrumentalised for electoral purposes. During campaign periods, candidates frequently express public solidarity with vendors and pledge to safeguard their interests.[190] Joko Widodo (commonly known as Jokowi), Indonesia's seventh president, repeatedly featured imagery of street

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[187] Hellman et al., 'Introduction: Shaping Jakarta', 3.

[188] Wilson, '"The Streets Belong to Who?": "Governance" and the Urban Informal Sector in Jakarta, Indonesia', 116.

[189] For reports on links between politicians and organisations demanding illegal retribution from street vendors in Jakarta, see: Ayomi Amindoni, 'Preman ikut menata Tanah Abang? Siapa sebenarnya mereka?', *BBC News Indonesia*, 14 November 2017, https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/majalah-41964940; Rakhmat Nur Hakim, 'Profil Hercules, Mantan Preman Tanah Abang yang Kini Jadi Tenaga Ahli PD Pasar Jaya Halaman all', Kompas, 22 February 2022, https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2022/02/22/09051951/profil-hercules-mantan-preman-tanah-abang-yang-kini-jadi-tenaga-ahli-pd; Andrew Pattymahu, 'Astaga Pendapatan Preman Tanah Abang Kalahkan Bos Perusahaan Besar', Tribun Manado, 2013, https://manado.tribunnews.com/2013/08/02/astaga-pendapatan-preman-tanah-abang-kalahkan-bos-perusahaan-besar; 'Preman Tanah Abang Kuasai Lahan Parkir Liar di Bahu Jalan, Per Unit Motor Ditarif Rp10 Ribu', VOI, 2023, https://voi.id/berita/271484/preman-tanah-abang-kuasai-lahan-parkir-liar-di-bahu-jalan-per-unit-motor-ditarif-rp10-ribu.

[190] Wilson, '"The Streets Belong to Who?": "Governance" and the Urban Informal Sector in Jakarta, Indonesia', 123.

vending and other merakyat practices—symbolising everyday life among ordinary citizens—in his social media messaging, particularly in festive communications (Figure 17). Such representations contributed to his public image as a humble leader closely aligned with the people, strengthening his electoral appeal and facilitating his re-election.[191] In practice, however, Jokowi's administration introduced few substantive reforms to formally legalise street vending or protect vendors' rights to use public space. Notably, it was during his tenure as Governor of Jakarta (2012–2014) that the 2013 street vendor relocation programme was implemented .[192]

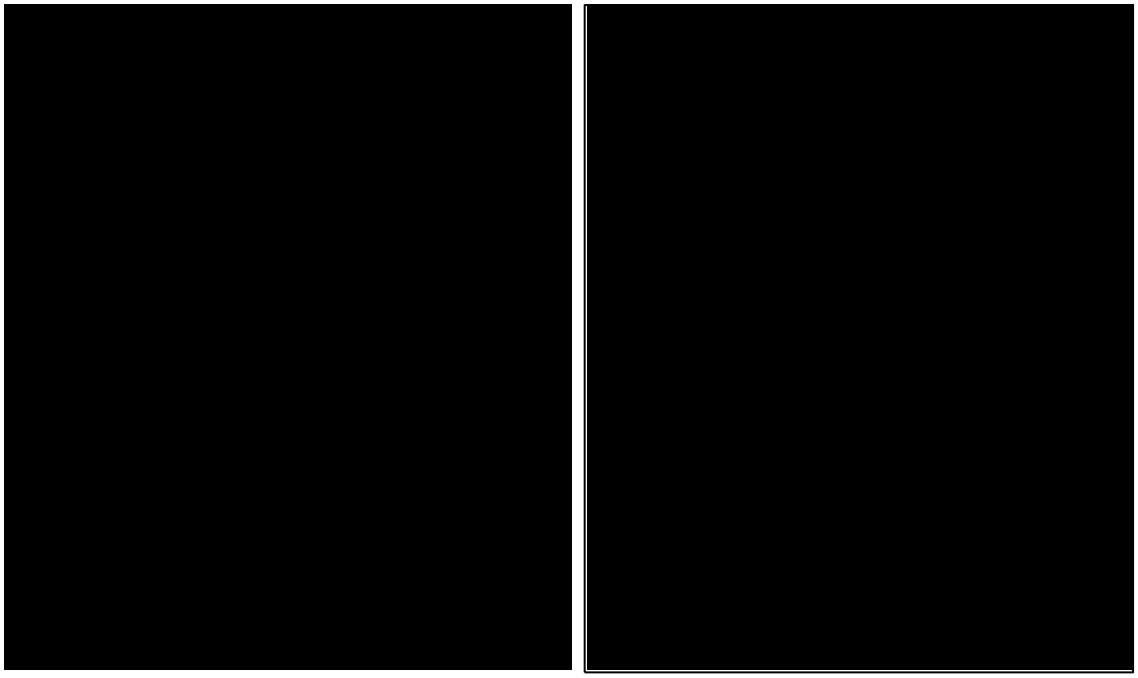

Figure 17. Screenshots of Jokowi's Instagram posts highlighting street-vending activity as part of the national identity, despite the lack of support from the central government during his administration. Source: (left) Joko Widodo, "Apa Yang Patut Kita Kenang Dari Tahun 2022...," *Instagram*, @jokowi, 31 December 2022, https://www.instagram.com/jokowi/; and (right) Joko Widodo, "Marhaban Ya Ramadan. Selamat Datang Bulan Ramadan...," *Instagram*, @jokowi, 22 March 2023, https://www.instagram.com/jokowi/.

[191] Kate Lamb, 'Indonesian President Jokowi's Approval Rating at All-Time High, Poll Shows', Asia Pacific, *Reuters*, 22 January 2023, https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/indonesian-president-jokowis-approval-rating-all-time-high-poll-2023-01-22/.

[192] Taylor and Song, 'Return to the Streets'.

Following Jokowi's departure from the governorship, Jakarta experienced a series of leadership changes, each accompanied by differing approaches to street vending. Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (commonly known as Ahok), who served as governor from 2014 to 2017, adopted a markedly confrontational stance.[193] His administration oversaw numerous forced evictions and confiscation operations intended to deter vendors from occupying public space and issued Governor Regulation No. 10/2015, which expanded prohibitions to include mobile vendors operating from motor vehicles, such as food trucks.[194]

Under Ahok's successor, Anies Baswedan (2017–2022), government attitudes towards street vending softened slightly. In December 2017, Baswedan attempted to legalise street vending in Tanah Abang, one of Jakarta's major commercial districts. By exploiting a loophole in Jakarta Bylaw No. 8/2007—specifically Article 25, which allows vending in areas designated by the governor—he temporarily closed Jati Baru Street to vehicular traffic and repurposed it as a pedestrian-only zone where vendors could legally operate.[195] Baswedan also expressed an intention to replicate this approach in other parts of the city.[196]

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[193] See news article for Ahok's initiatives: Rr Laeny Sulistywati, 'Ahok to Conduct Massive Evictions', Republika, 2016, https://www.republika.co.id/berita/o9jde1317/ahok-to-conduct-massive-evictions.

[194] Peraturan Gubernur Nomor 10 Tahun 2015 Tentang Penataan Dan Pemberdayaan Pedagang Kaki Lima, 10, Peraturan Gubernur (2015), https://jdih.jakarta.go.id/dokumen/detail/9188/peraturan-gubernur-nomor-10-tahun-2015-tentang-penataan-dan-pemberdayaan-pedagang-kaki-lima.

[195] Tria Sutrisna and Nursita Sari, 'Kontroversi Anies-Sandiaga, Tutup Jalan Jatibaru demi PKL Tanah Abang', *Kompas*, 22 June 2021, https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2021/06/22/19112641/kontroversi-anies-sandiaga-tutup-jalan-jatibaru-demi-pkl-tanah-abang.

[196] Putri Anisa Yuliani, 'Anies Kembali Rencanakan PKL di Trotoar', *Media Indonesia*, 31 August 2020, https://mediaindonesia.com/megapolitan/340984/anies-kembali-rencanakan-pkl-di-trotoar.

This initiative triggered significant public controversy and legal opposition. Two members of the *Partai Solidaritas Indonesia* (PSI or Indonesian Solidarity Party) filed a lawsuit with the *Makamah Agung* (Supreme Court), arguing that Baswedan had "misused public facilities" and undermined the broader public interest by disrupting traffic and pedestrian order.[197] On 18 December 2018, the Supreme Court ruled against Baswedan, revoking his authority to apply the bylaw in this manner and once again rendering street vending in the affected area illegal (Figure 18).[198]

Despite this legal setback, other aspects of governance during Baswedan's administration suggested a modest shift towards a more accommodative regulatory approach. While Satpol PP retained responsibility for enforcing public order, their methods became comparatively less coercive. Interviews reported in the media indicate that officers increasingly relied on verbal and written warnings prior to confiscation.[199] When seizures occurred, vendors were typically permitted to reclaim their belongings through court proceedings and the payment of fines ranging from Rp. 150,000 to Rp. 200,000 (£7.50–£10), equivalent to approximately two to three days' wages.[200] Although street vending remained informal and precarious, these practices reflected a

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[197] See several news articles were published to report about this legal action, such as: Muhammad Fida Ul Haq, 'Kader PSI Menang Gugatan Vs Anies soal Penutupan Trotoar Tanah Abang', *detiknews* (Jakarta), 19 August 2019, https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4672200/kader-psi-menang-gugatan-vs-anies-soal-penutupan-trotoar-tanah-abang; Redaksi, 'Dikalahkan Kader PSI Dalam Gugatan Trotoar, Apa Kata Anies?', *CNBC Indonesia*, 20 August 2019, https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20190819223032-4-93168/dikalahkan-kader-psi-dalam-gugatan-trotoar-apa-kata-anies.

[198] Indonesian Supreme Court's verdict Number 38/P.PTSVIII/2019/42P/HUM/2018: revoked Article 25 Paragraph 1 Jakarta by-law No. 8 the Year 2007 using Constitution Law Article 27 Clause (1) No.22 2009 as justification.

[199] 'Tak Diusir, PKL Tanah Abang Sebut Era Anies Lebih Nyaman', nasional, accessed 4 July 2024, https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20181113175309-20-346252/tak-diusir-pkl-tanah-abang-sebut-era-anies-lebih-nyaman.

[200] 'Ratusan PKL di Jakarta Barat Jalani Sidang Tipiring', SINDOnews.com, accessed 20 April 2022, https://metro.sindonews.com/berita/1205906/171/ratusan-pkl-di-jakarta-barat-jalani-sidang-tipiring.

more calibrated form of governance that acknowledged the socio-economic importance of street vending while continuing to impose regulatory oversight.

Figure 18. Screenshot of a Tempo news article published in August 2019, reporting that the Supreme Court revoked Anies Baswedan's authority to use the 2007 Jakarta bylaw to legalise street vending in Tanah Abang. Source: Ricky Mohammad Nugraha, "Supreme Court Revokes Leeway Rule for Jakarta Street Vendors," *Tempo.co* (Jakarta), 15 August 2019.

The COVID-19 pandemic further illuminated both the resilience and indispensability of street vending within Jakarta's urban economy. Despite

stringent lockdown measures, media reports in *Kompas* documented vendors continuing to trade along pavements near Kebayoran Lama Station in South Jakarta during the peak of the pandemic in 2020.[201] Similar reports across Indonesia recorded individuals turning to street vending after the loss of formal employment.[202] These examples underscore the critical role of street vending as a livelihood strategy and as a provider of essential goods during periods of acute crisis.

Any apparent improvements in policy, however, proved short-lived. Following Anies Baswedan's resignation in October 2022 to pursue a presidential bid, his successor, acting governor Heru Budi Hartono, quickly adopted a more restrictive stance. Shortly after assuming office, he ordered the removal of street vendors from two of Jakarta's most prominent vending areas—Kota Tua and Sudirman—to accommodate increased traffic flows and install decorative urban features such as fountains, bollards, planters, and street furniture.[203] This abrupt shift underscores a recurring lack of policy continuity in Jakarta's urban governance, where development priorities remain heavily contingent upon the political orientation of the incumbent administration.[204]

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[201] Wawan H. Prabowo, 'Kasus Lonjakan Covid-19 Di Jakarta', Galeri Foto, *Kompas*, 18 July 2020.

[202] Raditya Helabumi, 'Warteg Keliling Suparman', *Kompas*, 15 July 2020, https://www.kompas.id/baca/metro/2020/07/15/warteg-keliling-suparman.

[203] Tiara Aliya Azzahra, 'Kawasan Grand Indonesia Steril dari PKL, Begini Suasananya', detiknews, 9 January 2023, https://news.detik.com/berita/d-6506778/kawasan-grand-indonesia-steril-dari-pkl-begini-suasananya; Tiara Aliya Azzahra, 'Heru Budi Jamin Konsisten Tertibkan PKL Bandel di Kota Tua: Supaya Rapi', detiknews, 20 January 2023, https://news.detik.com/berita/d-6526495/heru-budi-jamin-konsisten-tertibkan-pkl-bandel-di-kota-tua-supaya-rapi.

[204] Wilmar Salim et al., 'Spatial Planning and Urban Development in Jakarta's Metropolitan Area', in *Jakarta: Claiming Spaces and Rights in the City*, ed. Jorgen Hellman et al. (Routledge, 2018), 72, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315111919.

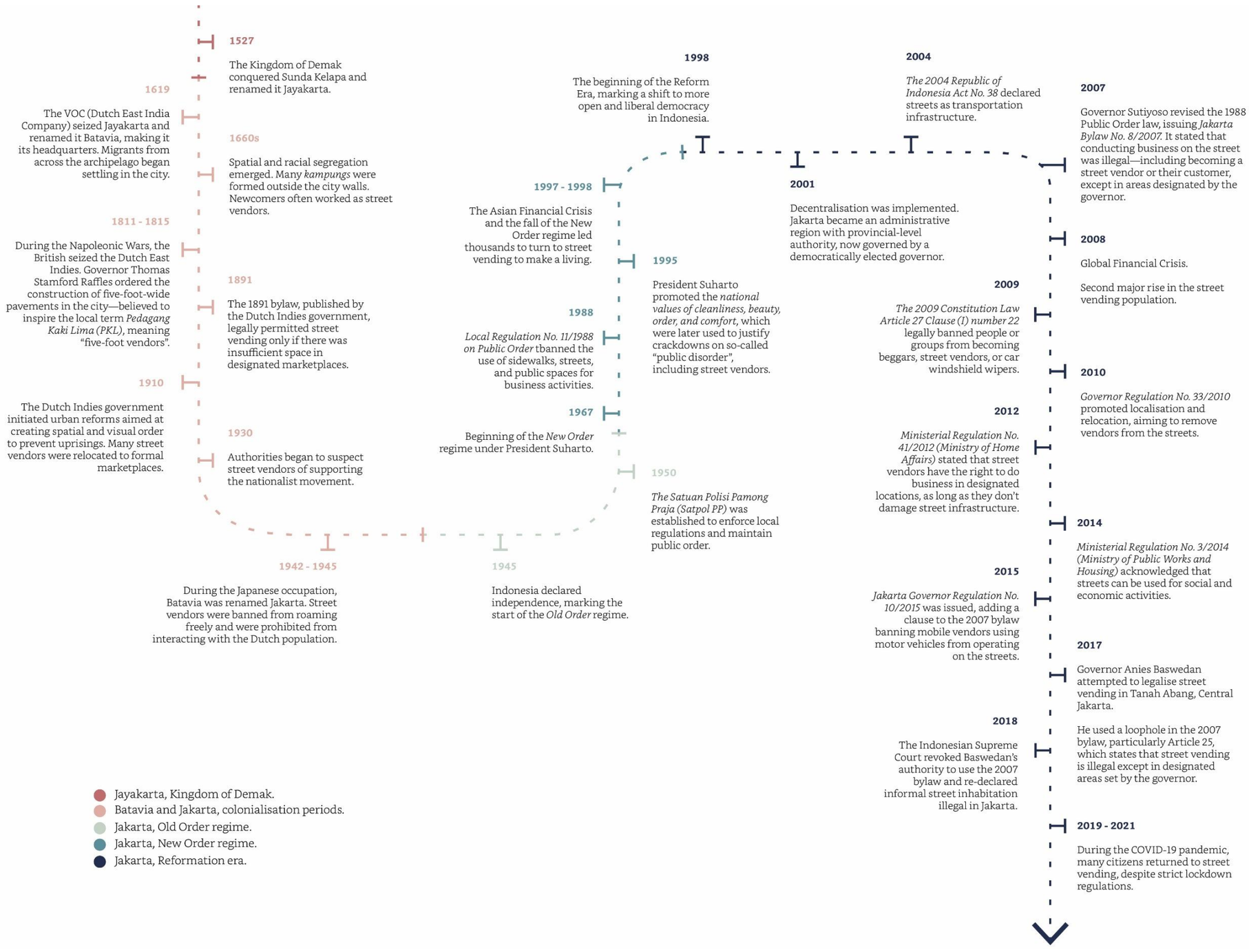

Figure 19. Diagram showing a historical overview of key dates and legislation against street vending in Jakarta, as discussed in this chapter. Source: Author.

Taken together, this analysis demonstrates that street vending—an outcome of Jakarta's long-standing role as a regional trading hub—is not a marginal or temporary phenomenon, but a persistent and deeply embedded component of the city's urban fabric. It continues to provide vital employment opportunities, particularly for low-income residents and migrants with limited access to formal labour markets, while remaining integral to Jakarta's commercial networks by supplying affordable goods to marginalised communities.

For many residents, the social significance of street vending is equally pronounced. In kampungs and rusunawa, vendors enable the appropriation of outdoor spaces as informal communal environments that help alleviate overcrowded domestic conditions. For others—such as those who grew up in colonial Batavia—the presence of street vendors and their distinctive spatial practices forms an enduring symbol of everyday urban life. This sentiment is echoed in the recollections of former United States President Barack Obama, who spent part of his childhood in Jakarta. During a 2010 state visit to Indonesia, he recalled interactions with street vendors as emblematic of the warmth and industriousness of the city's residents.[205] Such memories illustrate the extent to which street vending is woven into Jakarta's social and spatial identity.

Despite its socio-economic and cultural significance, urban policy and public discourse continue to frame street vending as what architect Yandi Andri Yatmo describes as a 'nuisance element'—an urban presence perceived as

[205] The White House, 'Remarks by the President at the University of Indonesia in Jakarta, Indonesia', Whitehouse.Gov, 10 November 2010, https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2010/11/10/remarks-president-university-indonesia-jakarta-indonesia.

disrupting visual coherence and social order.[206] This framing exposes a persistent disjunction between planning visions—shaped by colonial legacies, global models, and ambitions for international competitiveness—and the lived realities of the city's inhabitants. Salim et al., in *Spatial Planning and Urban Development in Jakarta's Metropolitan Area*, identify:

> We argue that there is a large gap between plans and reality. Planning has simply been unable to keep up with the speed at which organic development has been taking place. Urban development is following the interests of private investors rather than government directives…[207]

This disconnection is historically rooted. As shown in this chapter, its origins can be traced to the VOC era, when the concept of the 'ideal city' was imposed to construct a culturally Dutch urban core that excluded the majority of non-European residents. Following independence, successive political regimes—whether driven by nationalist ideologies, neoliberal reforms, or democratic aspirations—have reproduced similar planning logics under the banner of global competitiveness. Contemporary infrastructure-led development continues to privilege the lifestyles and interests of urban elites, now defined primarily by wealth and consumption rather than race. Within this paradigm, street vending and other informal practices associated with poverty are framed as incompatible with modernity and are subjected to strategies of displacement, confinement, localisation, relocation, and punitive enforcement.

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[206] Yatmo defines "nuisance elements" as "temporary or non-fixed elements, whose presence is not planned well in advance and exist as a result of everyday use of urban spaces." See: Yatmo, 'Street Vendors as "Out of Place" Urban Elements', 387.

[207] Salim et al., 'Spatial Planning and Urban Development in Jakarta's Metropolitan Area', 59.

Paradoxically, these development trajectories have contributed to the continued expansion of street vending. Large-scale infrastructure projects and the proliferation of shopping malls and other forms of Junkspace have failed to improve quality of life for large segments of the population and have, in many cases, reinforced socio-economic inequalities and dependence on informal livelihoods. This dynamic reflects broader institutional neglect and has produced a persistent form of urban dualism that continues to shape Jakarta's social and spatial organisation.

The recent growth of the street vendor population exemplifies this condition. Vendors exercise a degree of socio-spatial autonomy through adaptive and creative practices that allow them to evade enforcement and sustain their livelihoods, while remaining active participants in Jakarta's commercial networks. At the same time, this autonomy remains precarious. Legal ambiguity and inconsistent regulation foster corruption, expose vendors to extortion, and perpetuate insecurity.

The enduring tension between policy, public discourse, and the everyday practices of street vending in Jakarta thus underscores the necessity of adopting an alternative conceptual lens—one that moves beyond top-down planning approaches. Understanding street vending from within, through close attention to vendors' socio-spatial practices, negotiations, and forms of agency, offers a more grounded interpretation of their role in shaping the city's urban fabric. Such a perspective not only reframes street vending within Jakarta's development trajectory but also contributes to wider debates on

urban informality and governance in rapidly growing cities, particularly across the Global South, where such challenges remain most pronounced.[208]

[208] This closing argument is based on the study of urban informalities in the Global South. See: Peter Mörtenböck and Helge Mooshammer, eds, *Informal Market Worlds Atlas: The Architecture of Economic Pressure* (NAI010 Publ, 2015); AbdouMaliq Simone, 'The Urban Poor and Their Ambivalent Exceptionalities: Some Notes from Jakarta', *Current Anthropology* 56, no. S11 (2015): S15–23, https://doi.org/10.1086/682283; Kristina Graaff and Noah Ha, eds, *Street Vending in the Neoliberal City: A Global Perspective on the Practices and Policies of a Marginalised Economy* (Berghahn Books, 2020).

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Chapter 2

Participatory Interior Urbanism

Building upon the contextual discussion presented in Chapter 1, this chapter critically examines the disjunction between dominant urban frameworks—those shaping policy and public discourse on street vending in Jakarta—and the lived realities of the practice as it unfolds on the streets. As previously established, street vending constitutes a significant socio-economic urban phenomenon that plays a vital role in sustaining the livelihoods of marginalised and vulnerable populations. It has repeatedly functioned as a crucial survival strategy during periods of instability, including the Japanese occupation, the 1998 Asian financial crisis, the 2008 global financial crisis, and, most recently, the COVID-19 pandemic. Despite its persistence and social value, street vending remains largely marginalised within formal urban discourse and is frequently framed as a 'nuisance'.

The chapter begins by examining prevailing conceptualisations of urban informality and the enduring division between the 'formal' and the 'informal'. By interrogating this binary, it explores how the gap between official urban frameworks and lived urban experience has been produced and sustained, and how this division shapes dominant understandings of street vending as an informal practice. The discussion engages with the work of scholars such as Ananya Roy and Ambe Njoh, who have critiqued the limitations of binary approaches to informality, and draws on theoretical literature that foregrounds the spatial practices of ordinary citizens, including *everyday urbanism*, Deleuze and Guattari's notion of *rhizomatic urbanism*, and *participatory urbanism*. The aim is to establish a conceptual basis for

rethinking street vending not as peripheral to the city, but as intrinsic to urban life.

Following this theoretical framing, the chapter turns to the social and spatial practices embedded in street vending. Rather than analysing these practices through conventional planning paradigms, it adopts alternative conceptual lenses that foreground everyday spatial practice and its capacity to shape the city from within. The discussion engages with theorists central to spatial and placemaking discourse in architecture and interior design, including Kim Dovey, Suzie Attiwill, and Michel de Certeau, all of whom emphasise the production of space through everyday actions and negotiations. Central to the argument is the proposition that street vending constitutes a form of placemaking through processes of *interiorization*, producing temporary urban interiorities infused with elements of domesticity within otherwise open public space. This conceptualisation challenges entrenched binaries such as public/private and inside/outside, while foregrounding the socially and tactically produced nature of urban space as shaped through active inhabitant engagement. I conceptualise this phenomenon as a form of *Participatory Interior Urbanism* (PIU): a process of *reverse urban interiorization*, whereby existing environments are temporarily inhabited through negotiation and participation, employing non-confrontational spatial tactics.

The chapter concludes by examining real-world cases in which street vending has been incorporated into formal systems of urban governance. These examples demonstrate the potential of participatory approaches that recognise ordinary citizens not merely as users of urban space, but as active agents in its production. In doing so, the chapter establishes both a theoretical and methodological framework for examining the interaction between street vending and Jakarta's streetscape. It introduces conceptual tools for

understanding street vending as a situated and lived mode of spatial production. This departure from conventional planning approaches is not intended to negate their relevance, but rather to open space for alternative perspectives and questions. These perspectives will inform the subsequent analysis of street vending's socio-spatial practices and their implications for everyday urban life in Jakarta, which will be explored through primary research in the following chapter.

2.1 Rethinking urban informality

In *Understanding Urbanism*, Dallas Rogers defines *urbanism* both as a mode of inquiry into cities and as a professional practice encompassing the design, management, and governance of urban environments.[209] This broadly accepted definition positions professionals such as urban planners, designers, architects, and heritage managers as the principal agents of urbanism.[210] Within this framework, street vendors are typically excluded as legitimate urban actors, as they operate 'informally', which is based on The Global Development Research Centre (GDRC) informality means work undertaken outside state regulation and beyond officially designated spaces.[211] As a result, street vending is frequently framed as illegitimate, disorderly, and in need of control, with its contributions rendered invisible within formal governance structures and professional discourse.

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[209] Dallas Rogers, 'Understanding Urbanism', in *Understanding Urbanism*, ed. Dallas Rogers et al. (Palgrave Macmillan Singapore, 2020), 3, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-4386-9_1.

[210] Rogers's book is a textbook for undergraduate and postgraduate students studying urbanism. Alongside Rogers, other publications that explicitly centre design professionals as the primary actors in shaping urban form include: Stephen Marshall, *Cities Design and Evolution* (Routledge, 2009); Matthew Carmona, *Public Places Urban Spaces: The Dimensions of Urban Design*, 3rd edn (Routledge, 2021), https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315158457.

[211] 'Urban Informal Sector: Definitions at a Glance', The Global Development Research Center, accessed 25 April 2022, http://www.gdrc.org/informal/1-ataglance.html.

This exclusionary logic is not unique to Jakarta, but reflects a broader pattern across cities in the Global South.[212] The disconnection between public discourse and lived urban realities is reinforced by a binary understanding of informality that is closely tied to dominant conceptions of urbanism. Ananya Roy argues that this binary positions informality as fundamentally separate from formality—ungovernable rather than governable, spontaneous rather than ordered.[213] Under this logic, informality is treated as an anomaly or externality to be managed, corrected, or eliminated. Roy further contends that such framings are rooted in urban theories and policy models developed in the Global North, which are subsequently exported and presented as universal templates.[214] Informality is thus cast as deviant in relation to a presumed normative framework. Scholars including Graaff and Ha, have critiqued this approach as inherently *Eurocentric*.[215]

Juanita Sundberg defines Eurocentrism as a worldview that positions Europe as "the bearer of universal values and reason" and, consequently, as the benchmark for progress and development.[216] Although originating in imperial

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[212] In cities such as Dhaka, Manila, and Seoul, street vendors are still regarded as disruptive urban elements despite generating income for the urban poor. Until recently, the City of Los Angeles banned street vending for the same reasons. See: Kenny Cupers, 'The Urbanism of Los Angeles Street Vending', in *Street Vending in the Neoliberal City: A Global Perspective on the Practices and Policies of a Marginalised Economy*, ed. Graaff, Kristina and Ha, Noah (Berghahn Books, 2020); Benjamin Etzold, 'Selling in Insecurity, Living with Violence: Eviction Drives against Street Food Vendors in Dhaka and the Informal Politics of Exploitation', in *Street Vending in the Neoliberal City: A Global Perspective on the Practices and Policies of a Marginalised Economy*, ed. Graaff, Kristina and Ha, Noah (Berghahn Books, 2020); Bhowmik, 'Street Vendors in Asia'; Raphael M Bostic et al., 'Contesting the Streets: Vending and Public Space in Global Cities', *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research*, Contesting the Streets, vol. 18, no. 1 (2016): 3–10.

[213] Roy, 'Urban Informality', 148.

[214] Roy, 'Urban Informality', 147 and 156.

[215] Graaff and Ha, *Street Vending in the Neoliberal City: A Global Perspective on the Practices and Policies of a Marginalised Economy*, 3–4.

[216] J. Sundberg, 'Eurocentrism', in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, ed. Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift (Elsevier, 2009), 638, https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-008044910-4.00093-6.

Britain, Eurocentrism later expanded in influence—particularly through the United States—and now encompasses any context that self-identifies as an inheritor of European cultural, political, and institutional traditions.[217] Eurocentric thinking commonly operates through binary distinctions such as civilised/barbaric, modern/traditional, and core/periphery, using European histories and spatial practices as universal standards against which others are measured.[218] Ambe Njoh notes that within this framework, non-European practices are frequently characterised as primitive or underdeveloped, while Western approaches are positioned as progressive and rational.[219] Historically, this dichotomy has been used to legitimise the imposition of Eurocentric planning frameworks as tools to "transform developing countries into modern rational civilizations".[220]

Such perspectives continue to shape contemporary modes of knowledge production, including dominant approaches to urbanism. Njoh argues that since the Second World War, the United States has positioned urban planning as an instrument for advancing Western ideological and cultural agendas globally.[221] Richard Florida exemplifies this tendency in *The New Urban Crisis*, where he advocates for the international export of an American urban model as a solution to urban challenges in the Global South.[222]

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[217] Sundberg, 'Eurocentrism', 638.

[218] Sundberg, 'Eurocentrism', 640.

[219] Ambe J. Njoh, 'Europeans, Modern Urban Planning and the Acculturation of "Racial Others"', *Planning Theory* 9, no. 4 (2010): 376, https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095210368880.

[220] Njoh, 'Europeans, Modern Urban Planning and the Acculturation of "Racial Others"', 376.

[221] Njoh, 'Europeans, Modern Urban Planning and the Acculturation of "Racial Others"', 374.

[222] Richard L. Florida, *The New Urban Crisis: Gentrification, Housing Bubbles, Growing Inequality, and What We Can Do about It*, Updated paperback edition (Oneworld, 2018).

However, scholars including Njoh have critically questioned the applicability of Eurocentric planning models in non-Western contexts. He argues that such frameworks are frequently ill-equipped to address the realities of Global South cities, where rapid urbanisation, structural poverty, and limited institutional capacity differ fundamentally from Western conditions.[223] Similarly, Schindler and Silver critique Florida's universalising prescriptions, arguing that continued reliance on Western urban models obscures context-specific challenges and produces superficial or misaligned interventions.[224] Ann Varley's research in Latin American cities further demonstrates that Eurocentric approaches to informality have contributed to the systematic marginalisation of informal practices, despite their centrality to everyday urban life.[225]

A comparable dynamic is evident in Jakarta, where Eurocentrism was first embedded through colonial urbanism and subsequently reinforced during the New Order regime. This later phase was shaped significantly by the influence of international development agencies, such as the World Bank, which promoted urban development models grounded in Western—particularly American—paradigms.[226] The outcomes of this trajectory are visible in Jakarta's dual urban structure, car-oriented development, proliferation of Junkspace, and the persistent exclusion of informal practices from planning policy and public discourse, as outlined in Chapter 1.

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[223] Njoh, 'Europeans, Modern Urban Planning and the Acculturation of "Racial Others"', 375.

[224] Seth Schindler and Jonathan Silver, 'Florida in the Global South: How Eurocentrism Obscures Global Urban Challenges—and What We Can Do about It', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 43, no. 4 (2019): 794, https://doi.org/10.111/1468-2427.12747.

[225] Ann Varley, 'Postcolonialising Informality?', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 31, no. 1 (2013): 6, https://doi.org/10.1068/d14410.

[226] Hutabarat Lo, 'The City as a Mirror', 536 and 539.

Figure 20. The JORR Elevated Cikunir–Ulujami Toll Road construction in Jakarta, exemplifying the ongoing influence of Eurocentric urban development agendas in the city. Source: Antara, "JORR Elevated Cikunir-Ulujami Toll Road Construction Starting July 2024, Investment Value Reaches IDR 21.26 Trillion," *VOI – Waktunya Merevolusi Pemberitaan*, 17 October 2023, https://voi.id/en/economy/320554.

Terry McGee, whose research examined street vending across several Southeast Asian cities, including Jakarta, during the 1970s, offers a critical assessment of the limitations inherent in Eurocentric interpretations of informal urban practice. He argues:

> All suggest that public policy has been developed towards street vendors on the basis of misinformation, or utilizing ideas from the Western experience which are not applicable. Even when new information became available that pointed to the 'madness' of these policies there was no guarantee that this would lead to revision. Planners and those in political power in these societies have their own ideology, their own vision, which they find difficult to change.[227]

[227] T. G. McGee, 'Eurocentrism and Geography: Reflections on Asian Urbanization', in *Power of Development*, 1st Edition, ed. Jonathan Crush (Routledge, 1995), 195.

In response to such critiques, there has been a growing call to explore alternative conceptual frameworks that move beyond dominant Eurocentric paradigms when engaging with urban informality in non-Western contexts.[228] As McGee suggests, departing from Eurocentric assumptions "can release a new set of ideas for the study of urbanisation in parts of Asia".[229] Njoh characterises this shift as a move towards a 'postmodernist framework': an approach that embraces plurality, contextual sensitivity, and non-traditional modes of knowledge production.[230] Rather than imposing universalised models, this framework privileges local perspectives, indigenous knowledge systems, and participatory forms of decision-making. Importantly, this does not entail rejecting dominant planning frameworks outright, but rather resisting their uncritical application. Maintaining a critical and open-minded stance towards alternative approaches may not only benefit cities in the Global South, but also offer valuable insights for cities in the Global North as they grapple with increasingly complex urban crises.[231]

In the context of Jakarta's street vending—or informal practice more broadly—adopting such a postmodern orientation requires, among other things, a rethinking of the binary distinction between the formal and the informal. This entails reconsidering what constitutes 'informality' and interrogating its relationship to formally regulated urban processes. Louis Wirth's influential 1938 essay, *Urbanism as a Way of Life*, provides a useful point of departure. Wirth argued that urban life depends upon specialised institutions and formal systems of regulation to organise everyday behaviour and social relations.[232]

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[228] Roy, 'Urban Informality', 148; Graaff and Ha, *Street Vending in the Neoliberal City: A Global Perspective on the Practices and Policies of a Marginalised Economy*, 3.

[229] McGee, 'Eurocentrism and Geography', 188.

[230] Njoh, 'Europeans, Modern Urban Planning and the Acculturation of "Racial Others"', 376.

[231] Schindler and Silver, 'Florida in the Global South', 803.

[232] Louis Wirth, 'Urbanism as a Way of Life', *American Journal of Sociology* 44, no. 1 (1938): 18–19.

In this model, the state—or other authoritative bodies—plays a central role in structuring urban life.

While Wirth's formulation may initially appear to exclude informal practices, and therefore to align with dominant institutional views of urbanism, it also provides a framework for understanding why informality emerges. Informal practices can be read as responses to the structural conditions produced by formal urban systems—such as inequality, population density, and labour specialisation.[233] This interpretation resonates with the work of Graaff and Ha, who conceptualise street vending as a response to 'spatio-economic injustice', arising where structural inequalities constrain access to urban space and opportunity.[234]

Wirth further defined urbanism as "a set of attitudes and ideas, and a constellation of personalities engaging in typical forms of collective behaviour and subject to characteristic mechanisms of social control".[235] Read in this way, informal practices such as street vending can be understood as embodying urban attitudes shaped by systems of control, even as they operate outside formal regulatory frameworks. As Graaff and Ha observe, street vending often involves "the circumvention or bending of formal laws", highlighting the continuous negotiation between vendors and authorities.[236] Rather than existing outside urbanism, street vending can therefore be understood as an alternative mode of urban participation: embedded within, yet marginal to, dominant institutional structures.

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[233] Wirth, 'Urbanism as a Way of Life', 12–16.

[234] Graaff and Ha, *Street Vending in the Neoliberal City: A Global Perspective on the Practices and Policies of a Marginalised Economy*, 6.

[235] Wirth, 'Urbanism as a Way of Life', 19.

[236] Graaff and Ha, *Street Vending in the Neoliberal City: A Global Perspective on the Practices and Policies of a Marginalised Economy*, 3.

Jakarta offers a particularly compelling illustration of this entanglement between formality and informality. Research by AbdouMaliq Simone, Anthony Sihombing, and Hellman et al. demonstrates that Jakarta's urban economy is characterised by a high degree of interdependence between formal and informal sectors, with continuous exchanges of goods, services, labour, money, and information.[237] These interactions are often visible and partially regulated, revealing blurred boundaries between registered and unregistered, formal and informal, and developed and underdeveloped domains. Such dynamics underscore the understanding of informality not as an isolated condition, but as an ongoing process shaped by, and deeply intertwined with, formal urban systems.[238]

In the case of street vending, its informal status—as an unregistered economic activity—has not always been treated as a primary concern by central or provincial governments, which have generally refrained from enforcing comprehensive formalisation.[239] This may partly reflect the sector's strong linkages with formal economic structures, and partly a pragmatic recognition of its scale and importance: the informal sector accounts for nearly 70 per cent of employment nationally and contributes up to 38 per cent of Indonesia's GDP.[240] In such a context, the boundary between formal and informal is arguably already porous. Yet despite these interdependencies and

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[237] A. M. Simone, *Jakarta: Drawing the City Near* (University of Minnesota Press, 2014); Antony Sihombing, *Conflicting Images of Kampung and Kota in Jakarta: The Differences and Conflicts, and the Symbiotic Links between Kampungs and Kota* (LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing, 2010); Hellman et al., 'Introduction: Shaping Jakarta'.

[238] Roy, 'Urban Informality', 148.

[239] Wilson, '"The Streets Belong to Who?": "Governance" and the Urban Informal Sector in Jakarta, Indonesia', 116.

[240] Asian Development Bank and BPS-Statistics Indonesia, *The Informal Sector and Informal Employment in Indonesia*, Country Report 2010 (Asian Development Bank and BPS-Statistics Indonesia., 2011).

contributions, street vending remains largely excluded from formal urban governance, suggesting that additional factors are at play.

One such factor is the spatial and visual presence of street vending within public space. Initiated and operated predominantly by ordinary citizens, many street vending practices lack access to formal design expertise, infrastructure, or capital. As a result, vendors frequently rely on improvisation, utilising readily available materials and tacit, experiential knowledge to negotiate space. Yatmo's widely cited 2008 study of Indonesian street vendors argues that these ad hoc spatial practices produce a visual condition that is perceived as 'disruptive' within the prevailing urban order—an element that is highly visible and difficult to ignore.[241]

Although street vending is often associated with issues such as traffic congestion, hygiene, and crowding—factors commonly linked to concerns over public safety—Yatmo contends that it is primarily the perception of visual disorder that underpins its exclusion from formal governance.[242] Street vending is widely believed to "contribute negatively to the physical appearance of the urban environment".[243] Beyond questions of functionality, this rejection is rooted in symbolic associations: street vending is seen to signify poverty, informality, and public incivility—conditions viewed as incompatible with idealised visions of urban modernity.[244] This perception reflects broader processes of social exclusion and aligns with the modernising, Eurocentrically informed vision of Jakarta discussed in Chapter 1. It also echoes Rogers' professionalised conception of urbanism, wherein ordinary

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[241] Yatmo, 'Street Vendors as "Out of Place" Urban Elements', 387.

[242] Yatmo, 'Street Vendors as "Out of Place" Urban Elements', 391.

[243] Yatmo, 'Street Vendors as "Out of Place" Urban Elements', 391.

[244] Yatmo, 'Street Vendors as "Out of Place" Urban Elements', 397.

citizens are implicitly regarded as unqualified to shape the city, reinforcing a divide between expert authority and everyday spatial practice.

Figure 21. Street vendors in Kota Tua, West Jakarta. The visual disorder associated with Jakarta's street vending is what excluded them from formal governance, rather than the wider issues linked to the activity. Source: Author's photograph, March 2022.

However, a number of alternative urban theories challenge this logic by foregrounding lived experience and grassroots spatial production. One such approach is Chase, Crawford, and Kaliski's concept of *everyday urbanism*, which emphasises engagement with the city through the ordinary routines and practices of daily life.[245] From this perspective, street vending is neither marginal nor disorderly, but rather a meaningful urban practice that actively produces space from the ground up. John Kaliski, for instance, describes

[245] Margaret Crawford, 'Introduction', in *Everyday Urbanism*, ed. John Chase et al. (Monacelli Press, 1999), 8.

informal activities such as curbside auto repair and street food vending as constitutive elements of the "everyday city", addressing practical needs through creative, often temporary, spatial interventions.[246]

Rather than privileging abstract urban ideals or formal design principles, everyday urbanism centres on what is "uniquely comprehensible to ordinary people", locating urban meaning within the rhythms, negotiations, and adaptations of everyday life.[247] Agency is shifted away from experts and towards inhabitants, recognising the city not as a finished product but as something continually made through use.[248] Viewed through this lens, street vendors emerge as co-producers of urban life. Their practices—shaped by necessity, creativity, and ongoing spatial negotiation—can thus be understood as legitimate, if often unrecognised, forms of urbanism.

Street vending can also be examined through the lens of *participatory urbanism*, a framework that foregrounds the capacity of ordinary citizens to temporarily reinterpret or reconfigure existing urban infrastructure for purposes that fall outside formal systems of governance.[249] Brooke Wortham-Galvin observes that such forms of urbanism frequently bypass the bureaucratic processes of professional planning, driven instead by motivations such as activism, cultural practice, or commerce.[250] In doing so, participatory urbanism challenges established conventions regarding where and how urban life should unfold. Within this framework, street vending

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[246] John Kaliski, 'The Present City and The Practice of City Design', in *Everyday Urbanism*, ed. John Chase et al. (Monacelli Press, 1999), 90.

[247] Crawford, 'Introduction', 11.

[248] Crawford, 'Introduction', 12.

[249] Brooke D. Wortham-Galvin, 'An Anthropology of Urbanism: How People Make Places (and What Designers and Planners Might Learn from It)', *FOOTPRINT*, 1 June 2013, 23, https://doi.org/10.7480/footprint.7.2.768.

[250] Wortham-Galvin, 'An Anthropology of Urbanism', 23.

emerges as a form of spatial intervention and resistance, through which non-experts actively reshape public space in real time and assert alternative modes of urban participation. Similar to everyday urbanism, this perspective affirms the agency of informal actors as legitimate contributors to urban form and dialogue.

Another conceptual approach that challenges top-down models of urbanism can be drawn from Deleuze and Guattari's metaphor of the *tree and the rhizome*.[251] In this schema, the tree represents formal urbanism: hierarchical, stable, predictable, and deeply rooted. By contrast, the rhizome symbolises informal urbanism, characterised by emergence, multiplicity, and relational flexibility. Koster and Nuijten, in their interpretation of this metaphor, argue that these two systems do not exist in opposition but in symbiotic relation.[252] Each planning intervention, they suggest, produces new entanglements between formal and informal practices.

From this perspective, informal actors such as street vendors are not rogue elements, but 'inventive navigators' of urban systems—individuals who engage urban structures through adaptability, resourcefulness, and everyday tactical action.[253] This challenges the notion that cities develop through linear, top-down processes and instead promotes an understanding of urban growth as negotiated, relational, and contingent. In this sense, street vendors are not merely informal workers but co-producers of urban space, whose practices

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[251] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (University of Minnesota Press, 1987).

[252] Martijn Koster and Monique Nuijten, 'Coproducing Urban Space: Rethinking the Formal/Informal Dichotomy', *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 37, no. 3 (2016): 285, https://doi.org/10.111/sjtg.12160.

[253] Koster and Nuijten, 'Coproducing Urban Space', 282.

embody claims to participation and reflect broader notions of the 'right to the city'.[254]

Taken together, these frameworks suggest that street vending—and urban informality more broadly—does not exist outside urbanism, but instead constitutes a distinct mode of it: one that is emergent, lived, and continually negotiated. They unsettle the formal–informal binary by foregrounding interdependence rather than separation, and by recognising the agency of informal actors in shaping the urban landscape. In doing so, they position informal practitioners as no less significant than formal institutions in the ongoing production of the city's socio-spatial fabric.

Attempts to eradicate or conceal such practices, as frequently observed in Jakarta's governance frameworks, risk denying the lived realities through which the city is continuously made. To better understand this mode of urbanism, there is therefore a need for closer examination of street vending's spatial practices—specifically its modes of spatial production, organisation, negotiation, and inhabitation within existing urban environments.

2.2 From Assemblage to Interiorization: Street Vending as a Form of Participatory Interior Urbanism

In his work on Indonesian street vending, Yatmo characterises street vendors as 'out of place' elements within the city. Drawing on Mary Douglas's concept of matter out of place, he argues that street vending is widely perceived as a

[254] Koster and Nuijten's argument builds on David Harvey's concept of the "right to the city" in relation to informal sectors and practices. See: Koster and Nuijten, 'Coproducing Urban Space', 282; David Harvey, 'The Right to the City', *New Left Review*, no. 53 (October 2008): 23–40.

disruptive presence—an urban element whose characteristics are regarded as threatening to its surroundings.[255] This framing leads governing authorities in Jakarta to treat street vendors as isolated entities or "standalone objects", detached from their broader spatial and social contexts.[256] Consequently, interventions such as eviction, localisation, and relocation are constructed as appropriate responses to what is interpreted as spatial disorder.

Yatmo challenges this object-based reading by arguing that street vending should instead be understood through the social and spatial tensions it produces.[257] In practice, street vendors engage actively with their surroundings, adapting to existing conditions while generating new spatial realities—at times constraining pedestrian or vehicular movement, but simultaneously fulfilling critical economic, social, and spatial functions. As discussed in Chapter 1 through the work of Arciniegas and Ellisa, street vendors cultivate relationships that support daily life for a wide range of urban residents.[258] Street vending, therefore, is not 'out of place'; rather, it is embedded within and shaped by its context. Yatmo suggests that these tensions and encounters warrant close analysis, as they reveal fundamental processes underpinning the production and experience of urban space.

This perspective aligns closely with Kim Dovey's conceptualisation of place as an *assemblage*: a contingent and often unstable constellation of relations among people, practices, materials, and spatial conditions.[259] Drawing on

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[255] Yatmo, 'Street Vendors as "Out of Place" Urban Elements', 394.

[256] Yatmo, 'Street Vendors as "Out of Place" Urban Elements', 400.

[257] Yatmo, 'Street Vendors as "Out of Place" Urban Elements', 400.

[258] Arciniegas, 'The Foodscape of the Urban Poor in Jakarta'; Ellisa, 'Coping with Crowding in High-Density Kampung Housing of Jakarta'.

[259] Kim Dovey, *Becoming Places: Urbanism/Architecture/Identity/Power* (Routledge, 2009), ch. 2, para. 8, https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203875001.

Deleuze and Guattari's *A Thousand Plateaus*, Dovey argues that place cannot be reduced to essence or fixed form, but is constituted through continuously evolving relations.[260] From this standpoint, place is not static or predefined, but always in a process of *becoming*.[261] Within such a framework, street vending is neither isolated nor anomalous; instead, it functions as an active agent in shaping the street as place through everyday negotiation, adaptation, and socio-economic exchange.

Dovey's relational understanding of place also provides a framework for analysing street vending's placemaking through Deleuze and Guattari's dual processes of *territorialisation* and *deterritorialisation*.[262] Territorialisation refers to the temporary stabilisation of an assemblage through boundaries, routines, or spatial ordering that generate internal coherence amidst potential disorder.[263] This coherence may be material, functional, or social, and is produced through mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion.[264] Deterritorialisation, by contrast, describes the destabilisation or undoing of such arrangements.[265] These processes exist along a continuum, forming what Dovey describes as a "synthetic process that enables wholes to emerge from parts".[266]

Within this framework, the meaning of place is always provisional and contingent, shaped by shifts in elements and relationships. Place is thus not defined through enclosure or permanence, but through continuous

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[260] Dovey, *Becoming Places*, ch. 1, para. 10.

[261] Dovey, *Becoming Places*, ch. 2, para.1.

[262] Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 88–89.

[263] Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 319–20; Dovey, *Becoming Places*, ch. 2, para.12.

[264] Dovey, *Becoming Places*, ch. 2, para. 13.

[265] Dovey, *Becoming Places*, ch. 2, para. 13.

[266] Dovey, *Becoming Places*, ch. 2, para. 13.

transformation. Dovey suggests that this understanding moves placemaking away from Eurocentric traditions that prioritise fixed identities and formal spatial orders.[267] Instead, it positions informal, event-based practices—such as street vending—as central to the ongoing production of urban space. Meaning is generated through acts of negotiation, appropriation, and inhabitation, where place is something enacted rather than designed.

The street occupies a pivotal position within this process. As an open, interstitial, and often marginal space, it accommodates the fluid nature of informal placemaking.[268] Gerald Daly argues that although the street functions as a public domain, it is also frequently socio-economically peripheral, becoming the primary spatial resource for those excluded from formal urban processes.[269] For marginalised groups, the street exceeds its role as a corridor of movement and becomes a site of expression, negotiation, and resistance—where dominant normative uses may be contested and alternative spatial practices articulated.[270]

Street vendors exemplify this condition. In Jakarta, they use the street not solely for economic exchange, but also for social interaction, information circulation, and everyday negotiation. As Rachmawan et al. have noted, vendors often depend on informal information networks as forms of *social*

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[267] Dovey notes that "for Deleuze all identities are produced out of differences, and the privileging of stable identities is a central tenet of Western metaphysics that needs to be overturned." See: Dovey, *Becoming Places*, ch. 2, para. 23.

[268] Jackson, 'Domesticating the Street: The Contested Spaces of the High Street and the Mall', 176–77; Kim Dovey and Hesam Kamalipour, 'Informal/Formal Morphologies', in *Mapping Urbanities*, ed. Kim Dovey et al. (Routledge, 2017), 223–24.

[269] Daly, 'Homelessness and the Street: Observations from Britain, Canada and the United States', 125.

[270] Daly, 'Homelessness and the Street: Observations from Britain, Canada and the United States', 111.

capital to navigate the risks inherent in their practice.[271] These networks—comprised of relationships with parking attendants, buskers, informal guards, and fellow vendors—enable vendors to respond to uncertainty and shifting regulatory conditions. Such relational practices constitute acts of territorialisation, through which vendors temporarily stabilise their presence and establish localised spatial coherence amidst broader urban volatility. These tactical negotiations highlight the productive capacity of peripheral urban spaces such as the streets.[272]

Processes of informal territorialisation also operate at a cultural level. Triatno Yudo Harjoko argues that many street vendors in Jakarta—particularly rural migrants—are able to recognise and adapt to street conditions precisely because they operate outside formal urban institutions.[273] Lacking the forms of institutional knowledge expected in modern civil society, these migrants draw instead on internalised values, norms, and spatial practices rooted in rural or semi-rural social systems.[274] Such traditions often reflect more fluid understandings of public space, in which formal and informal activities are not rigidly distinguished. Yet, echoing colonial classifications of the eighteenth century, these practices are frequently rejected by authorities as incompatible with modern urban ideals.[275] Nonetheless, ongoing processes of urbanisation and globalisation ensure sustained interaction among diverse groups, allowing informal practices to persist, adapt, and co-evolve alongside formal systems.[276]

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[271] Rachmawan et al., 'Vulnerability and Survival Strategy by Food Street Vendors', 114.

[272] Daly, 'Homelessness and the Street: Observations from Britain, Canada and the United States', 123.

[273] Harjoko, 'I Dwell in [Im]Possibility', 53.

[274] Harjoko, 'I Dwell in [Im]Possibility', 53.

[275] Harjoko, 'I Dwell in [Im]Possibility', 54.

[276] Harjoko, 'I Dwell in [Im]Possibility', 54.

Harjoko's observations extend beyond street vendors to Jakarta's urban population more broadly. Many city residents—particularly those living in kampungs—are migrants who retain socio-spatial values that diverge from dominant modernist norms.[277] As elaborated in Chapter 1, these residents frequently embrace and reproduce informal spatial practices, such as appropriating streets to extend domestic life. Atmodiwirjo et al., in their 2015 study of Kampung Cikini in Central Jakarta, describe this phenomenon as the creation of *outside interiors*, in which exterior spaces take on the functional and affective qualities of interior domestic environments.[278] These adaptations are shaped by climatic conditions, socio-economic constraints, and deeply embedded cultural traditions.[279]

Viewed through this lens, street vending emerges as an ongoing process of territorialisation and deterritorialisation. Vendors establish territory by assembling stalls, cultivating social relations, and embedding themselves within the temporal rhythms of the street, thereby producing temporary spatial coherence. These arrangements are routinely disrupted by formal interventions—such as surveillance, eviction, or regulatory enforcement—constituting acts of deterritorialisation. In response, vendors reassemble elsewhere or return to previous locations, demonstrating the fluid, adaptive nature of the urban assemblage. What is often perceived as spatial disorder thus emerges as an iterative and negotiated form of urban production. The street appears not as an inert backdrop, but as a productive and affective territory, continuously co-constituted through contingent alliances and relational practices.

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[277] Martinez and Masron, 'Jakarta', 6.

[278] Atmodiwirjo et al., 'Outside Interior: Traversed Boundaries in a Jakarta Urban Neighbourhood', 80.

[279] Atmodiwirjo et al., 'Outside Interior: Traversed Boundaries in a Jakarta Urban Neighbourhood', 79.

Within assemblage thinking, such spaces cannot be understood solely through physical metrics or fixed attributes, but through their *intensity*—what Dovey describes as experiential qualities such as heat, colour, movement, encounter, and atmosphere.[280] This emphasis on affective and relational dimensions of space resonates with Christine McCarthy's concept of *interiority*, which she defines as the layered social, physical, and emotional experiences produced through processes of inclusion and exclusion.[281] Interiority, in this sense, extends beyond architectural enclosure to describe a spatial condition generated through acts of *interiorization*—shaping how space is occupied, negotiated, and lived.[282]

While street vending's placemaking can be examined through both conceptual lenses, their emphases diverge. Territorialisation and deterritorialisation describe multi-scalar processes through which place is claimed, negotiated and destabilised, operating across urban, infrastructural, social, and regulatory dimensions. Interiorization, by contrast, functions as a tool for exploring the intimate and situated spatial transformations within an existing or host environment. McCarthy argues that interiority emerges from a *responsive* rather than *generative* practice, shaped through layered interactions between spatial conditions and human behaviour.[283] Street vendors, for example, may appropriate a street corner, pavement, or underpass in ways that enable temporary commercial activities attuned to the particular affordances and constraints of the site. Such spatial practices are inherently relational, formed in response to material limits, temporal rhythms, and patterns of use. Taken together, territorialisation,

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[280] Dovey, *Becoming Places*, ch. 2, para. 31.

[281] Christine McCarthy, 'Toward a Definition of Interiority', *Space and Culture* Vol. 8 No. 2 (2005): 116, https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331205275020.

[282] McCarthy, 'Toward a Definition of Interiority', 113.

[283] McCarthy, 'Toward a Definition of Interiority', 114.

deterritorialisation and interiorization provide a layered analytical lens through which to understand both the placemaking strategies of street vendors and the types of spaces they produce.

The notion of interiorization as a mode of placemaking is a relatively recent development within the discipline of interiors, gaining substantial attention only over the past two decades. Historically, the discipline emerged in the nineteenth century, largely within the domestic sphere, where it functioned to produce a sense of retreat and insulation from the unpredictability of the external world—particularly for affluent social groups.[284] This history has shaped the dominant understanding of interior space as room-like enclosure within the built environment: spatially distinct, yet systematically linked to a broader architectural context, an understanding that continues to inform contemporary practice.[285]

One of the most established approaches to interior production is *interior architecture*. Fraser Hay defines this as the manipulation of space within existing structures, undertaken with sensitivity to a building's structural logic as well as its historical, cultural, and social context.[286] Interior architecture shares many theoretical foundations and skills with architectural practice and

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[284] The term *interior* was first used in the early 19th century to describe the spatial use of a building's inside in Thomas Hope's *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* (1807). This fact is also explored in Rice (2004). See: Thomas Hope, *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration*, with Smithsonian Libraries (T. Bensley for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme ..., 1807), http://archive.org/details/HouseholdfurnitooHope; Charles Rice, 'Rethinking Histories of the Interior', *The Journal of Architecture* 9, no. 3 (2004): 275, https://doi.org/10.1080/1360236042331296107.

[285] Mark Pimlott, *The Public Interior as Idea and Project* (Jap Sam Books, 2016), 9.

[286] Frazer Hay, 'Interior Architecture', in *Thinking Inside the Box: A Reader in Interior Design for the 21st Century* (Middlesex University Press, 2007), 34–35.

typically frames the interior through a tectonic lens, emphasising spatial construction and the production of built artefacts.[287]

An alternative strand within interior discourse adopts a more expansive, both figurative and literal, approach. Lois Weinthal argues that the interior should not be confined to the limits of a building, but understood as operating across multiple spatial scales, from the body to the city.[288] Drawing on Norberg-Schulz's *The Phenomenon of Place*, she contends that interior space is fundamentally a response to experiential, ephemeral, and subjective phenomena.[289] Within this framework, tectonic concerns assume a secondary role, functioning as tools rather than objectives, while affective and sensory experiences become central. Weinthal further positions interior practice as inherently interdisciplinary, capable of drawing from fields beyond architecture, including art, psychology, and cultural studies.[290]

In 2012, Suzie Attiwill advanced this position by placing interiorization at the centre of interior practice. She defines interiorization as a process of selecting and arranging elements to create *intensive space*—space that enables subjective inhabitation and sustained spatial engagement.[291] Rather than privileging enclosed architectural interiors, Attiwill's framework attends to relational dynamics: how people move, interact, and form relationships with objects,

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[287] Hay, 'Interior Architecture', 35–38.

[288] Lois Weinthal, 'Towards a New Interior', in *Thinking Inside the Box: A Reader in Interior Design for the 21st Century* (Middlesex University Press, 2007), 113.

[289] Weinthal, 'Towards a New Interior', 114; Christian Norberg-Schulz, '"The Phenomenon of Place": From Architectural Association Quarterly (1976)', in *The Urban Design Reader*, 2nd edn (Routledge, 2012).

[290] Weinthal, 'Towards a New Interior', 120.

[291] Suzie Attiwill, 'Beyond Building: Interior Designs', *IDEA Symposium 2012*, no. Interior: A State of Becoming (2012): 5.

others, and space itself.[292] Through these interactions, interiority can be produced at any scale by activating social and affective connections between spatial components. This reconceptualisation shifts interior practice away from enclosure and towards the design of inhabitable spatial conditions, including open, temporary, or informal ones. In doing so, it aligns with wider placemaking theories that prioritise lived, relational space over formal structure.[293]

Where Dovey emphasises placemaking as fluid and dynamic—defined by emergence, movement, and shifting territorial conditions—Attiwill's notion of interiorization can be understood as a stabilising tool that operates within these dynamics to produce inhabitation.[294] Rather than opposing flux, interiorization works through it: through acts of selection, arrangement, and inhabitation, it momentarily anchors these shifting assemblages, producing legible but provisional conditions of interiority.

In the context of street vending, Dovey's framework elucidates how vendors navigate and negotiate urban space through ongoing cycles of territorialisation and deterritorialisation, enabled by practical knowledge and social networks. Attiwill's framework extends this reading by foregrounding how the effects of territorialisation and deterritorialisation are internalised and made inhabitable at an intimate scale. Street vendors stabilise their presence by producing momentary interiors, not necessarily through architectural enclosure, but through spatial arrangements, proximities, and

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[292] Suzie Attiwill, 'Interiorizt', in *The Handbook of Interior Architecture and Design*, 1st edn, ed. Greame Brooker and Lois Weinthal (Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 110.

[293] Attiwill, 'Interiorizt', 110–11.

[294] Suzie Attiwill, 'Urban and Interior: Techniques for an Urban Interiorist', in *Urban Interior: Informal Explorations, Interventions and Occupations*, ed. Rochus Urban Hinkel (Spurbuchverlag, 2011), 14.

patterns of occupation that generate a sense of interiority. As McCarthy suggests, such practices are intrinsically responsive, shaped by the host environment and the relational dynamics at play. Together, these frameworks demonstrate how street vending produces spatial and affective intensity through nested processes: dynamic territorial negotiations that are continuously interiorised through situated practices of inhabitation (Figure 22).

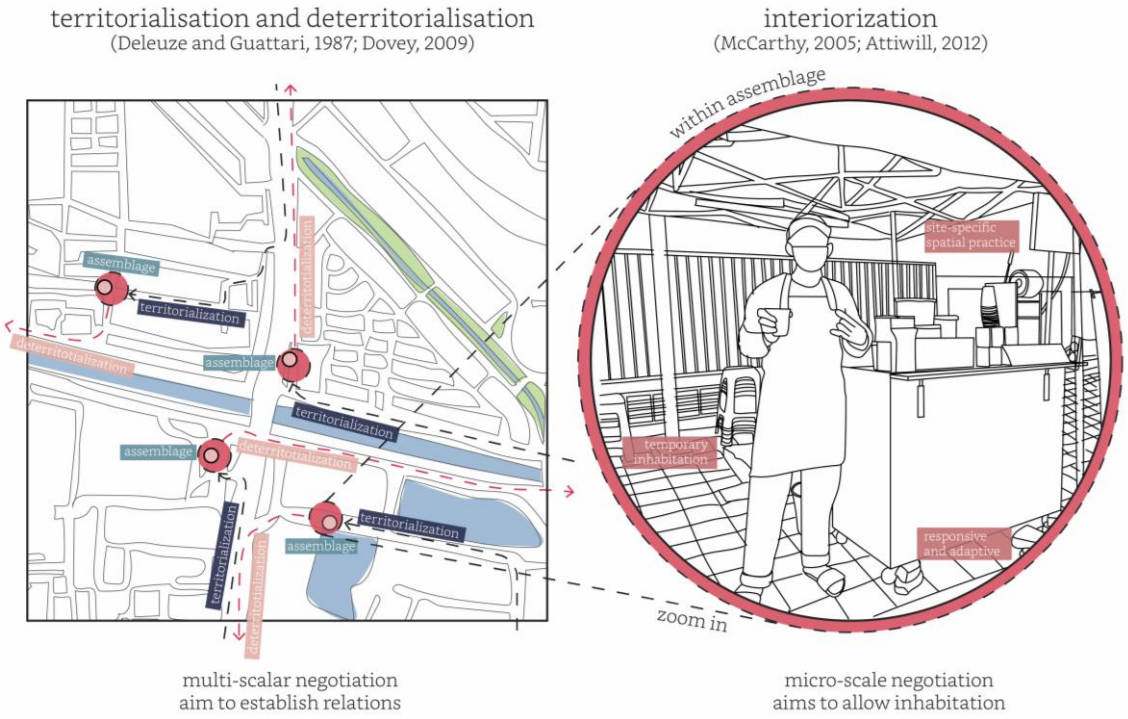

Figure 22. Diagrams illustrating the distinctions and correlations among territorialisation, deterritorialisation, and interiorization in the context of street vending. Source: Author.

This transformation of territorialised street practices into sites of interiorised experience can be further understood through the emerging concept of *interior urbanism*, which provides a broader framework for interpreting informal yet affectively rich modes of spatial production in urban contexts. Like interiorization, interior urbanism has only gained traction in the past two decades, although its intellectual roots extend back to debates of the

1960s.[295] The term remains fluid and is often used interchangeably with *urban interior*, with no single, fixed definition.[296] It may refer either to interior practices situated within existing urban environments,[297] or to the creation of urban-scale interior spaces through spatial or programmatic interventions.[298] For the purposes of this thesis, the term interior urbanism is adopted, with emphasis on the suffix -ism to foreground it as an active, processual mode of practice rather than a static spatial category.

Despite its definitional plurality, two recurring themes appear across much of the literature. First, interior urbanism is concerned with practices that support and intensify human occupation. Second, it recognises informality as a key condition—not only in spatial tactics, but also in relation to who produces these spaces. As Attiwill notes in the introduction to the 2015 *IDEA Journal: Urban + Interior*, one of the defining characteristics of interior urbanism is that it is frequently shaped by 'amateurs', rather than by conventional urban experts. She writes:

> To date, this collective (urban interior) has included different practices and disciplinary nuances from interior design, industrial design, landscape architecture, architecture, visual art, craft, fashion, performance-based practices and sound. The professions traditionally charged as experts of the urban environment—urban planners and

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[295] Jacopo Leveratto, 'Urban Interiors: A Retroactive Investigation', *Journal of Interior Design* 44, no. 3 (2019): 162–65, https://doi.org/10.1111/joid.12153.

[296] Leveratto, 'Urban Interiors', 163–65.

[297] For this definition, see: Rochus Urban Hinkel, ed., *Urban Interior: Informal Explorations, Interventions and Occupations* (Spurbuchverlag, 2011); Attiwill, 'Beyond Building: Interior Designs'.

[298] For this definition, see: Charles Rice, *Interior Urbanism: Architecture, John Portman and Downtown America* (Bloomsbury Academic, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2016).

> urban designers—are absent as new ways of inhabiting and experimenting in the urban environment are foregrounded.[299]

While Attiwill uses the term 'amateurs' to describe interior practitioners operating outside conventional planning disciplines, subsequent scholarship extends this categorisation to include ordinary citizens as interior urbanists in their own right. Studies by Nuttinee Karnchanaporn and Evelyn Kwok, for instance, examine how Bangkok shopkeepers interiorise pavements to extend commercial activity, and how Filipino domestic workers temporarily transform Hong Kong's public walkways into communal interiors.[300] These examples situate interior urbanism at the intersection of professional design practice and everyday urbanism, recognising the spatial agency of actors typically excluded from formal discourse, including street vendors. In doing so, they challenge normative spatial hierarchies and broaden understandings of what constitutes legitimate urban placemaking.

The distinction between professional and everyday forms of interior urbanism lies primarily in their modes of spatial production and governance, differences that are elaborated in the following sections. In *Urban and Interior: Techniques for an Urban Interiorist*, Attiwill identifies three techniques that underpin interior urbanism.[301] The first is the *flâneur*, derived from Charles Baudelaire's figure of the urban wanderer. This technique frames the city as an extension of the room, expanding interior territory into the urban realm.[302]

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[299] Suzie Attiwill et al., 'URBAN + INTERIOR', *IDEA JOURNAL* 2015, no. Urban + Interior (2015): 4.

[300] Nuttinee Karnchanaporn, '150cm domestiCITY', *SITUATION Symposium and Exhibition Proceedings*, 2014, 229–41; Evelyn Kwok, 'Agency In Appropriation: The Informal Territory of Foreign Domestic Helpers in Hong Kong', *IDEA JOURNAL* 2015, no. Urban + Interior (2015): 102–17.

[301] Attiwill, 'Urban and Interior: Techniques for an Urban Interiorist', 13–15.

[302] Attiwill, 'Urban and Interior: Techniques for an Urban Interiorist', 13; Charles Baudelaire, *Selected Writings on Art and Literature*, trans. P. E Charvet (Penguin, 1992).

Through practices of movement, observation, and occupation, the flâneur engages with exterior urban spaces as potential interiors, reinterpreting the city not as a fixed landscape of circulation but as a field of possible dwelling.

A canonical example of this approach is Paley Park in midtown Manhattan. This small, enclosed garden offers seating, shelter, and clearly defined edges, producing a sense of containment while maintaining visual connection to the surrounding city. Merwood-Salisbury and Coxhead describe it as an *urban living room*: an outward extension of interior domestic space that enables intimate social interaction within a dense urban environment.[303] Here, the façades of surrounding buildings act as boundaries, producing what they describe as an inversion, in which exterior surfaces are perceived in interior terms (Figure 23).[304]

Although conceptually related, this differs from Terry Farrell's notion of the *urban room*, which refers to purpose-built civic spaces for exhibitions, learning, and dialogue, informed by Patrick Geddes' ideas of civic survey and reflection.[305] While Farrell's urban rooms prioritise public education and civic engagement, the urban living room emphasises everyday inhabitation and affective experience. As Farrelly and Mitchell note, the shared reference to the

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[303] Joanna Merwood-Salisbury and Vanessa Coxhead, 'Exterior Interiors: The Urban Living Room and Beyond', in *Interiors beyond Architecture*, ed. Amy Campos and Deborah Schneiderman (Routledge, 2018), 140.

[304] Merwood-Salisbury and Coxhead, 'Exterior Interiors: The Urban Living Room and Beyond', 140.

[305] Farrells, *The Farrell Review of Architecture & the Built Environment*, The Farrell Review (Farrells and Department for Culture, Media & Sport, 2013), 52, https://farrells.com/publications/publication/TheFarrellReview; Mark Tewdwr-Jones et al., 'A Room within the City: A Place for Dialogue and Planning Imagination', *Town and Country Planning : The Quarterly Review of the Town and Country Planning Association* 83, no. 9 (2014): 383, 9.

'room' implies a space scaled to human interaction, sufficiently bounded to contain and support lived experience.[306]

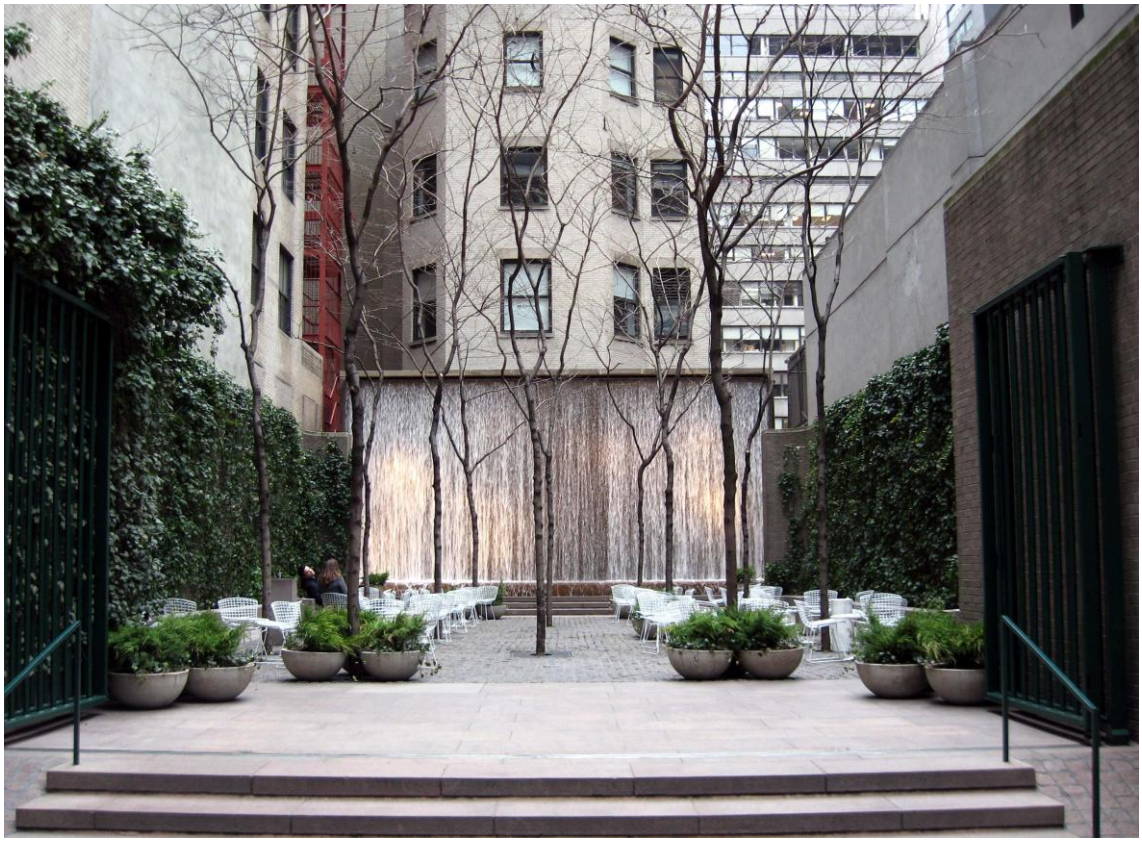

Figure 23. Paley Park, Midtown Manhattan, New York City, opened in 1967. Source: Henderson, Jim. *Paley Park on a Cloudy, Chilly Late Winter Afternoon*. 13 March 2008. https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Paley_Park&oldid=1215728769.

William H. Whyte's *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces* further reinforces Paley Park's status as a paradigmatic example of urban living room. Whyte highlights qualities closely aligned with Attiwill's flâneur: opportunities for interaction through varied seating, personalisation via movable chairs, lingering supported by shade, water, and food, and observation facilitated

[306] Lorraine Farrelly and Belinda Mitchell, 'Interior Room Urban Room', in *Interior Tools Interior Tactics: Debates in Interiors Theory and Practice* (Libri Publishing, 2011), 238–39.

through visual permeability to the street.[307] Together, these features recreate the comfort and atmosphere of a domestic interior within an open urban context, translating interior qualities into an exterior setting.

The second interior urbanism technique identified by Attiwill is the *collector*, inspired by Walter Benjamin's Arcades Project.[308] Whereas the flâneur extends the interior outward into the city, the collector brings fragments of the city inward, reconditioning them into curated interior experiences.[309] Charles Rice's analysis of John Portman's architectural work exemplifies this approach. In *Interior Urbanism: Architecture, John Portman and Downtown America*, Rice argues that Portman's *atrium* buildings function as interiorised urban environments, where elements of the city are "transported, in miniature but fully formed".[310] The Atlanta Marriott Marquis Hotel, for example, incorporates pedestrian bridges, platforms, and vertical circulation that simulate the experience of navigating a dense urban public realm within an enclosed interior setting (Figure 24).

These atrium spaces operate as interiorised urban pockets within larger complexes such as the Peachtree Center, blurring distinctions between inside and outside, public and private. As Rice observes, the atrium emerged as "a distinct way of conceiving and constructing the city", functioning as both a spatial connector and a mediating device.[311] Yet, while informed by urban elements, such spaces generate an urbanism that is *sui generis* or of its own kind. These spaces operate through a dynamic interplay of interior and

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[307] William Hollingsworth Whyte, *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces* (Project for Public Spaces, 1980).

[308] Attiwill, 'Urban and Interior: Techniques for an Urban Interiorist', 14.

[309] Attiwill, 'Urban and Interior: Techniques for an Urban Interiorist', 14.

[310] Rice, *Interior Urbanism*, 1.

[311] Rice, *Interior Urbanism*, 4.

exterior sensibilities, producing a spatial condition that is neither entirely public nor entirely private, a space 'in between'.[312] The externalities drawn inside are carefully curated, enclosed, and monetised, transforming the atrium into not only a spatial phenomenon but also an economic strategy.[313]

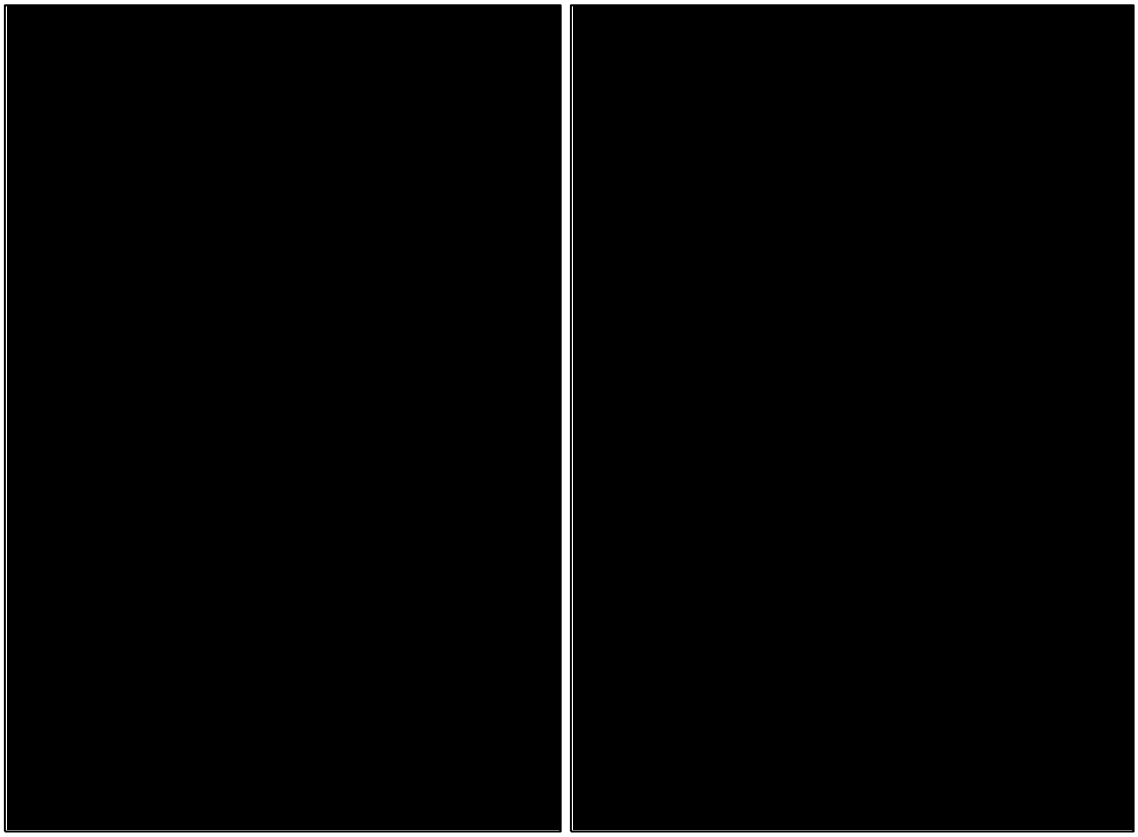

Figure 24. John Portman's Atlanta Marriott Marquis Hotel. Source: Portman Architects. 'Atlanta Marriott Marquis Hotel : Portman Architects'. Accessed 23 July 2025. https://portmanarchitects.com/project/atlanta-marriott-marquis-hotel/.

Rice characterises this capacity to absorb and reframe external urban conditions as *an atrium effect*, a tool for urban transformation that extends influence beyond the building itself, shaping surrounding development and

[312] Rice, *Interior Urbanism*, 7.

[313] Rice, *Interior Urbanism*, 39.

patterns of use.[314] In this sense, the collector demonstrates how interiorised space can exert agency over urban life, influencing how it is experienced, governed, and commodified.

Both flâneur and collector rely on displacement as a strategy of interiorisation, but differ in context. The flâneur operates in open urban space, while the collector works within architectural enclosures. The third technique proposed by Attiwill—*spatial inversion*—extends beyond both conditions. Rather than being defined by location, spatial inversion focuses on activity and experience as the generators of interiority, detaching interiorization from fixed spatial typologies and emphasising how interior conditions can emerge wherever particular patterns of inhabitation occur.[315]

According to Attiwill, one example of spatial inversion can be found in the Situationist International's concept of *détournement*, a spatial tactic of hijacking, misappropriating, or rerouting existing forms.[316] Through détournement, spatial and social norms are subverted to produce temporary ambiences that disrupt the regular function of a given space. The aim is to introduce new dispositions and provoke alternative ways of thinking, acting, and relating within the urban environment. In this sense, spatial inversion reconfigures meaning not through architectural form, but through experiential interventions that challenge dominant assumptions about how urban space is used and understood.

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[314] Rice, *Interior Urbanism*, 34.

[315] Attiwill, 'Urban and Interior: Techniques for an Urban Interiorist', 15.

[316] Attiwill, 'Urban and Interior: Techniques for an Urban Interiorist', 17; Simon Sadler, *The Situationist City* (MIT Press, 1998), 17.

A notable example of spatial inversion is REBAR's Park(ing) project, first initiated in 2005 in downtown San Francisco. In this intervention, REBAR transformed a single metered parking bay into a temporary urban park, complete with elements symbolically associated with green public space—including grass, bench seating, and potted plants—designed to encourage spontaneous social engagement among street users (Figure 25).[317] Unlike Paley Park, which was purpose-built to facilitate leisure and interaction, REBAR's installation hijacked a pre-existing piece of urban infrastructure not originally intended for such use.

However, the aim of Park(ing) was not merely to create a micro-scale green space, but to prompt critical reflection on how public space is allocated and to raise awareness of the scarcity of accessible, human-centred environments in contemporary cities.[318] In keeping with the Situationist notion of détournement, the project subverted the normative logic of urban infrastructure and temporarily replaced it with a new experiential agenda. The intervention was deliberately distinct from its surroundings—both visually and functionally—to attract attention and stimulate public dialogue. Its impact extended beyond the initial disruption: later that year, REBAR was invited to meet with representatives of the San Francisco Mayor's Office, which eventually led to Park(ing) being institutionalised as an official city programme.[319]

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[317] Blaine Merker, 'Taking Place: Rebar's Absurd Tactics in Generous Urbanism', in *Insurgent Public Space: Guerrilla Urbanism and the Remaking of Contemporary Cities*, ed. Jeffrey Hou (Routledge, 2010), 46; Catriona Stuart, 'Rebar [Dispatch]', *Places* 18, no. 3 (2006), https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3767d251.

[318] Amelia Thorpe, 'A Day for Turning Parking Spaces into Pop-up Parks', The Conversation, 14 September 2016, http://theconversation.com/a-day-for-turning-parking-spaces-into-pop-up-parks-65164.

[319] Stuart, "REBAR [Dispatch]."

REBAR's Park(ing) is widely recognised as a pioneering example of *tactical urbanism*. As Wortham-Galvin argues, the term itself is rooted in the ethos and methodology of Park(ing).[320] Tactical urbanism refers to modest, often temporary, citizen-led interventions that seek to improve the urban environment while seeding broader structural change. Such actions typically function as prototypes or provocations, forming part of a phased approach to longer-term transformation.[321] In REBAR's case, the 2005 installation succeeded not only in catalysing momentary social interaction and spatial awareness, but also in influencing municipal policy.

Figure 25. REBAR's 2005 Pak(ing) project is an example of spatial inversion or detournement technique. Source: REBAR. 'Park(Ing) Day'. Park(Ing) Day. Accessed 10 July 2024. https://www.myparkingday.org.

[320] Merker, 'Taking Place: Rebar's Absurd Tactics in Generous Urbanism', 49; Wortham-Galvin, 'An Anthropology of Urbanism', 21.

[321] Merker, 'Taking Place: Rebar's Absurd Tactics in Generous Urbanism', 49; Wortham-Galvin, 'An Anthropology of Urbanism', 23.

Wortham-Galvin further suggests that interventions such as Park(ing) can be understood as a variation of participatory urbanism—a form of urban engagement in which ordinary citizens reinterpret and repurpose existing infrastructure for alternative uses, as discussed earlier in this chapter. Participation, in this sense, is evident not only in the design and intent of the intervention, but also in REBAR's approach to dissemination. By releasing the project under a Creative Commons licence, they invited others to replicate and adapt the concept, provided it was not used for commercial profit.[322] This open-source model of urban experimentation reflects an ethos of collective authorship, in which everyday citizens actively participate in reimagining the city not as passive users of space, but as creative agents in its ongoing transformation.

Building on this interpretation, Merwood-Salisbury and Coxhead argue that the techniques employed in projects such as Park(ing)—involving lightweight, rapidly deployable components—more closely reflect the temporality of *interior design* than that of conventional urban design.[323] Moreover, the scale, form, and materiality of such interventions (intimate, human-centred, and impermanent) sit squarely within the conceptual and practical repertoire of the interior discipline. These qualities exemplify what becomes possible in the urban realm when interior design logics are applied beyond the confines of architecture.[324] Thus, while Park(ing) clearly operates as tactical urbanism (in its aims and methodology) and as participatory urbanism (in its openness, dissemination, and civic engagement), it may also be interpreted as a form of interiorization. Here, urban space is temporarily reappropriated as a *public*

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[322] Merker, 'Taking Place: Rebar's Absurd Tactics in Generous Urbanism', 46.

[323] Merwood-Salisbury and Coxhead, 'Exterior Interiors: The Urban Living Room and Beyond', 141.

[324] Merwood-Salisbury and Coxhead, 'Exterior Interiors: The Urban Living Room and Beyond', 152.

interior: a fleeting zone of occupation and rest that attracts not only particular users but also spontaneous, non-committal passers-by.[325]

Spatial inversion may initially appear to resemble the techniques employed by street vendors, particularly in their capacity to temporarily transform and reassign meaning to everyday urban spaces. However, the resemblance is limited. As Attiwill notes in her discussion of the three urban interiorization techniques, although each employs different strategies, they share a curatorial impulse: the desire to stabilise the uncontrollable forces of the urban environment by containing them within an interior condition, whether through processes of exclusion, inclusion, or transformation.[326] The aim is to introduce consistency and predictability into spatial experience—qualities that stand in deliberate contrast to the unruly and unpredictable nature of the city. This effort to stabilise produces a 'room-like' condition, even in the absence of conventional architectural enclosure.

Thus, although Attiwill's concept of urban interiorization marks a significant development from traditional interior practice, her techniques remain rooted in the production of controlled environments—distinct, curated, and differentiated from their surroundings. Interiorization, in this framework, is about slowing movement, imposing rhythm, and managing urban flux.[327] In hindsight, these curatorial processes are not entirely dissimilar to the logics of colonisation which, as Mark Pimlott argues, seek to tame the 'wilderness' of a given setting by subjecting it to new systems of *order* and *control*.[328] In both

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[325] Matthijs De Boer, *Public Interiors: Architecture and Public Life Inside Amsterdam* (Architectura & Natura Press, 1993), 15.

[326] Attiwill, 'Urban and Interior: Techniques for an Urban Interiorist', 22.

[327] Attiwill, 'Urban and Interior: Techniques for an Urban Interiorist', 22.

[328] Pimlott, *The Public Interior as Idea and Project*, 26.

cases, occupation is made possible only once space has been rendered legible, manageable, and contained.

The centrality of control in interiorization is further underscored in McCarthy's formulation of interiority. She asserts that *regulation* is a defining quality of interior space and ultimately what distinguishes an interior from its exterior counterpart.[329] One of the most tangible manifestations of this control is the presence of a *threshold*, which may be physical, symbolic, or psychological. As Alexa Griffith Winton explains in *Inhabited Space: Critical Theories and the Domestic Interior*, the threshold functions as a kind of "watchman", responsible for policing, dividing, and regulating access.[330] It delineates rightful occupants and enforces behavioural norms within the space. In the context of interior urbanism, the threshold's primary function is to establish dominance by clearly articulating the boundary between what is considered 'inside' and 'outside'.

All of the examples discussed thus far in relation to urban interiorization techniques operate through thresholds, even when they lack conventional architectural enclosures. Paley Park, for example, though open-air and visually connected to the public footpath, employs spatial and managerial strategies that distinguish it from the surrounding street. Its inward-facing layout, slight elevation via steps, and clearly defined edges create a perceptible sense of seclusion and enclosure. Moreover, the park is subject to explicit behavioural regulations—including bans on pets, smoking, and professional photography—that are actively enforced by on-site staff.[331]

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[329] McCarthy, 'Toward a Definition of Interiority', 113.

[330] Alexa Griffith Winton, 'Inhabited Space: Critical Theories and the Domestic Interior', in *The Handbook of Interior Architecture and Design*, 1st edn, ed. Greame Brooker and Lois Weinthal (Bloomsbury Academic Press, 2013), 42.

[331] 'About Paley Park', Paley Park, accessed 1 July 2024, https://www.paleypark.org/about.

Although Paley Park appears to function as a public space, it is more accurately described as a *Privately Owned Public Space* (POPS): a publicly accessible environment owned and operated by private entities.[332] In this case, it is managed by The Greenpark Foundation, Inc., with support from the William S. Paley Foundation.[333] The same applies to John Portman's Atlanta Marriott Marquis atrium, whose urban interiority is defined by clear spatial thresholds and managerial oversight.

While the broader discourse of interior urbanism often celebrates informality, particularly through examples led by non-professional actors, many successful interventions still depend on institutional support. Even in the case of Park(ing), REBAR ensured the legality of their intervention by limiting its duration to two hours, in line with the maximum time allowed on the parking meter. This careful legal strategy granted them temporary control over the space, including its design, use, and interaction. Their ability to navigate these systems was underpinned by professional expertise: the group comprised artists, designers, and architects with access to tools, knowledge, and networks.[334] As Wortham-Galvin notes, participatory urbanism of this kind often requires formal sanction—financial or legal—to be sustained or legitimised.[335]

These conditions rarely apply to street vending because vendors cannot fully control the spaces they use. Streets are public and dynamic environments,

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[332] Jeremy Németh, 'Defining a Public: The Management of Privately Owned Public Space', *Urban Studies* 46, no. 11 (2009): 2464, https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098009342903.

[333] Paley Park, 'About Paley Park'.

[334] Bela, 'Hacking Public Space With the Designers Who Invented Park(Ing) Day', Next City, 18 September 2015, https://nextcity.org/urbanist-news/hacking-public-space-designers-parking-day.

[335] Wortham-Galvin, 'An Anthropology of Urbanism', 23.

shared by multiple users and subject to continuous flux, making it neither practical nor legally permissible to claim exclusive ownership or enforce strict behavioural rules—particularly in Jakarta. In addition, most vendors lack the financial resources, social authority, or institutional recognition necessary to manage space in the ways that private organisations or formal actors can. As a result, the interior-like environments shaped by street vendors differ significantly from those produced through formal urban interiorization. Their practices can be understood as a more precarious form of urban interiorization.

Street vendors' interiorising practices are best understood as *tactical* rather than *strategic*, following Michel de Certeau's distinction in *The Practice of Everyday Life*.[336] De Certeau defines strategies as top-down measures developed by institutions or those in positions of power to establish order or achieve particular objectives. Tactics, by contrast, are opportunistic and improvised everyday actions used by individuals to navigate or negotiate systems imposed upon them.[337] In this sense, street vendors operate tactically: they adapt to shifting urban conditions, responding to eviction, adverse weather, or fluctuating footfall—all of which directly affect their survival. Their continued presence on the street is driven not by a desire for spatial experimentation, but by economic necessity. To maintain their position and sustain their livelihoods, vendors employ subtle, non-confrontational tactics—flexible and temporary—that minimise disruption while enabling ongoing negotiation with authorities and passers-by.

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[336] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (University of California Press, 1984), 35–38.

[337] De Certeau's concepts of strategy and tactic are also central to Manovich's discussion of similar ideas. See: Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 36–37; Lev Manovich, 'The Practice of Everyday (Media) Life: From Mass Consumption to Mass Cultural Production?', *Critical Inquiry* 35, no. 2 (2009): 322, https://doi.org/10.1086/596645.

This raises an important question: *can street vending still be considered a form of interior urbanism if vendors lack control over their environment?*

I would argue that it *can*—although it departs from dominant interpretations of interior urbanism. As discussed earlier, contemporary theories of interior urbanism, such as those articulated by Attiwill, often focus on creating controlled environments: outdoor spaces designed to feel like interiors or interiors that simulate urban openness. These environments are carefully curated to stabilise experience, often through enclosure or managed thresholds.

Street vending, by contrast, moves in the opposite direction. Vendors do not control or invert the public realm in the same way. Instead, they allow the 'inside'—the everyday, domestic, and commercial life usually contained within interiors—to spill out into the street. Rather than enclosing or transforming public space, they insert intimate, home-like practices into it, producing hybrid spaces in which public and private coexist. Their practice blurs spatial and social boundaries not by sealing off space, but by embedding themselves within its flows.

This can be described as a form of *reverse urban interiorization*: the act of bringing typically interior functions into the urban realm and making visible what is usually concealed. This practice lacks clearly defined thresholds, both physical and social. As a result, street vending generates pseudo-domestic environments that bleed into the street and adapt fluidly to their surroundings (Figures 26 and 27). In Dovey's terms, this remains a form of placemaking through assemblage, but one that resists formal coherence and embraces contingency. Its spatial logic is less concerned with control than with inhabitation.

By doing so, street vending reconfigures the boundary between private and public life, reversing conventional expectations by staging activities such as cooking, eating, cleaning, and socialising within the public domain. These environments invite engagement—through direct interaction or passive co-presence—forming shared, affective territories within some of the city's most contested spaces.

Figure 26. Street vending reverses interiorization by promoting indoor activities outdoor, publicising what might otherwise be considered private affairs. With no real threshold, its interior blends into the surrounding urban elements. Source: Author's photograph, August 2022.

Thus, from this perspective, street vending can still be regarded as a form of interior urbanism, insofar as it involves deliberate acts of interiorization within existing urban environments. However, this interiorization works in reverse. The interior spaces produced through this process are porous, due to the absence of strong thresholds, yet still intensive, in the sense that users' experiences are nurtured and needs accommodated. Crucially, these are not

merely spaces to be *occupied*, but to be *inhabited*—a distinction that carries significant weight in architecture, geography, and anthropology.[338] Tim Ingold, in *Bindings against Boundaries: Entanglements of Life in an Open World*, distinguishes between occupied and inhabited space. Occupied space is equipped with pre-existing things and predetermined conditions, whereas inhabited space is continually coming into being, shaped by the active involvement of its occupants.[339]

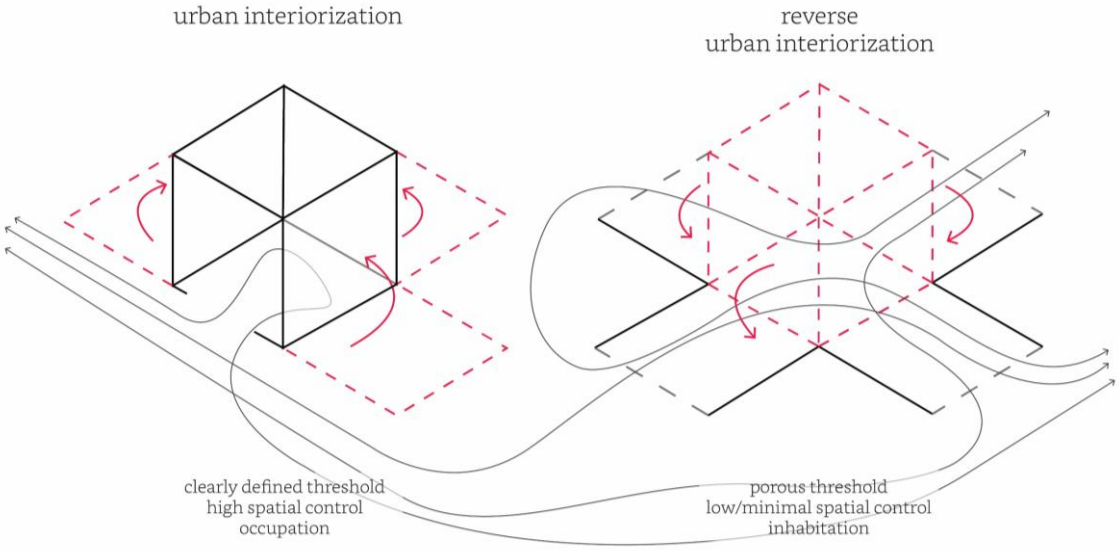

Figure 27. Diagram showing the distinction between urban interiorization and reverse-urban interiorization. Source: Author.

[338] For studies that examine the distinction between occupation and inhabitation, see: Raymond J. Cole et al., 'Re-Contextualizing the Notion of Comfort', *Building Research & Information* 36, no. 4 (2008): 323–36, https://doi.org/10.1080/09613210802076328; Tim Ingold, 'Bindings against Boundaries: Entanglements of Life in an Open World', *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 40, no. 8 (2008): 1796–810, https://doi.org/10.1068/a40156; Peter Kraftl and Peter Adey, 'Architecture/Affect/Inhabitation: Geographies of Being-In Buildings', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 98, no. 1 (2008): 213–31, https://doi.org/10.1080/00045600701734687.

[339] Ingold, 'Bindings against Boundaries', 1796.

Interior practice—concerned with the design and arrangement of living environments—can engage with both forms. However, many formal examples of interior urbanism, such as Paley Park, lean more towards occupation than habitation. In such cases, spatial elements are predetermined and installed by designers or owners. Users are invited to occupy the environment, but are not permitted to alter or co-produce it; spatial production is complete, and the role of the user largely passive. By contrast, street vending fosters inhabitation because the spaces it produces are always in flux, continuously shaped and reshaped by context and use. These spaces are never static; they are in a constant state of becoming, due to their informal, temporary nature and the unpredictability of the street environment. Their relationship with the urban context is persistently territorialised and deterritorialised, meaning that vendors—as core inhabitants—can never reproduce the same spatial configuration twice. Each iteration is contingent, responsive, and improvised.

Importantly, inhabitation in these settings is not limited to vendors. It extends to customers, who participate in shaping space through embodied interaction. Because the tools and furnishings employed by vendors are often simple and mobile, customers must actively engage with the environment to create a sense of comfort. Eating in the street may, for example, require them to appropriate nearby elements—such as planters, bollards, or balustrades—as makeshift tables or seating. Even where chairs are provided, customers must decide where and how to position them, often dragging them into shade or closer to another surface. Such improvised adjustments are not incidental; they are integral to spatial production. They reveal that reverse urban interiorization, in this context, is a co-creative process. Space takes shape through dynamic interactions between people, objects, and the street. There is no final or fixed version of the interior, only a succession of evolving spatial configurations

Like other forms of interiorization, reverse urban interiorization also involves acts of *personalisation*.[340] In the context of street vending, this is evident in how customers reconfigure seating or repurpose urban elements to support their activities—tactics akin to those found in more canonical examples of interior urbanism. Yet, due to the lack of environmental control, reverse interiorization cannot offer the same degree of comfort, privacy, or aesthetic consistency as more formal interior spaces.[341] Instead, it leverages personalisation as a means of encouraging *participation.* Here, domesticity or familiarity emerges not from private enclosure, but from the active involvement of inhabitants in shaping intimate, everyday encounters within public space.

Because spatial control is minimal and thresholds are often absent, vendors cannot fully regulate who enters, interacts with, or contributes to these spaces. As a result, every passer-by has the potential to participate in shaping the interior. Rather than producing private, enclosed living spaces within the city, street vending fosters what Cole et al. describe as *social comfort*: "the phenomenon of collective understandings of experienced comfort and the co-development of agency for achieving comfort".[342]

This was reflected in a 2019 interview conducted by *Kompas*, in which several pedestrians in Jakarta reported that the presence of street vendors contributed to a vibrant and safe atmosphere, particularly at night.[343] This dynamic echoes Jane Jacobs' well-known concept of "eyes upon the street", the idea that

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[340] Attiwill, 'Beyond Building: Interior Designs', 5.

[341] Colin Ellard, *Places of The Heart: The Psychogeography of Everyday Life* (Bellevue Literary Press, 2015), 71.

[342] Cole et al., 'Re-Contextualizing the Notion of Comfort', 332.

[343] M Puteri Rosalina, 'Trotoar Multifungsi Dalam Benak Warga', Surveu Warga, *Kompas.Id* (Jakarta), 13 October 2019.

active, watchful presence in public space can promote psychological comfort and security.[344] In this way, even those who do not directly patronise street vendors benefit from the informal interior they help to co-create. Street vending thus produces a shared spatial condition in which participation and presence—rather than ownership or design—form the basis of comfort and belonging, albeit often unintentionally.

Figure 28. Street vendors are the *eyes upon the street* in Jakarta, providing a feeling of safety to pedestrians, especially at night. Source: Author's photograph, March 2022.

Thus, through its spatial practices, street vending does more than serve immediate commercial needs: it reshapes the atmosphere of the street and contributes to its social vitality. Rather than occupying space in isolation, vendors become part of an *urban assemblage*, enabling casual encounters,

[344] Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Vintage Books ed (Vintage Books, 1992), 35.

social familiarity, and spontaneous public life. This human presence—often absent in more regulated urban areas—introduces what Jan Gehl, in *Cities for People*, calls the *human dimension*: a crucial ingredient in creating cities that are not only functional but also lively and inclusive.[345] Importantly, this form of informal interiorization stands in sharp contrast to Junkspace, which is designed primarily for passive consumption rather than active inhabitation. While street vending is undeniably commercial, it operates differently: it depends on shared public space, invites participation, and frequently fosters interactions that are not solely transactional.

These insights suggest the need for conceptual refinement within the discourse of interior urbanism. The spatial practices of street vendors—marked by *temporality*, *reverse urban interiorization*, *negotiation*, and *collective inhabitation*—do not align neatly with models that rely on design authorship, enclosure, or regulatory thresholds. Instead, they point towards a distinct mode of urban interiorization: one that is tactical in its responsiveness to shifting conditions and everyday constraints, and participatory in its reliance on shared use and co-production.

I propose the term *Participatory Interior Urbanism* (PIU) to describe this form of placemaking: a practice that brings interior life into the street not through imposition, but through negotiation; not through enclosure, but through inhabitation. PIU challenges conventional notions of interiority by making the intimate visible in public space, and prompts a rethinking of boundaries between inside and outside, designer and user, permanence and flux. In cases such as Jakarta's street vending, PIU assumes a particularly tactical character: informal, adaptive, and shaped by continual everyday negotiation.

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[345] Jan Gehl, *Cities for People* (Island Press, 2010), 17.

The key distinction between PIU and more established frameworks such as tactical or participatory urbanism lies not only in its emphasis on interiority as a spatial logic, but also in its mode of engagement. Tactical and participatory urbanism tend to be goal-oriented and strategic, often tied to explicit agendas of advocacy or long-term transformation. As Wortham-Galvin notes, participatory urbanism typically adopts a "phased approach to permanent change".[346] PIU, by contrast, does not emerge from a strategic vision; it is rooted in everyday, improvised practices of inhabitation. It is less concerned with shaping the future than with negotiating the present.

Moreover, while participatory urbanism focuses on procedural participation—ensuring communities have a voice in shaping space—PIU is characterised by embodied participation.[347] It is not about representation or formal decision-making, but about direct, performative engagement. Participation occurs through doing, adapting, and dwelling, often without formal recognition. In this sense, PIU is a tacit and experiential mode of spatial production: responsive, situated, and grounded in lived, interiorised urban experience. A conceptual comparison of the urbanisms discussed in this chapter is summarised in Table 1.

Situating street vending within the framework of PIU is critical for reframing its narrative, from being viewed as an 'out-of-place' or disruptive presence to being recognised as a creative, adaptive, and non-confrontational spatial practice. Through PIU, ordinary citizens actively produce inhabited urban space, thereby informally claiming *urban citizenship*, not through legal entitlement, but through everyday participation. This participatory dimension allows street vending to contribute to urban life both physically

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[346] Wortham-Galvin, 'An Anthropology of Urbanism', 23.

[347] Wortham-Galvin, 'An Anthropology of Urbanism', 24.

and socially, primarily by addressing structural inequalities and providing access to city spaces for those excluded from dominant urban lifestyles due to socioeconomic constraints. Thus, a closer inquiry into street vending as PIU is necessary, not only to understand its spatial agency but to foreground its potential role in shaping more socially equitable urban futures. In the context of Jakarta, this means recognising street vendors not as nuisances but as agents of placemaking whose practices contribute to the production of habitable, inclusive urban environments.

urbanism concept	approach	participation	spatial logic	longetivity	related research
everyday urbanism	through the mundane and ordinary daily activities	implicit and informal	emergent space shape by practices uniquely comprehensible to ordinary people	ongoing and iterative	Chase et al., 1999; Crawford, 1999
participatory urbanism	spatial resistance and intervention outside general convention	procedural, engagement to shape urban dialogue	community driven spatial techniques	short-term or long-term (usually this would require formal sanction)	Wortham-Galvin, 2013; Paulos et al., 2009; Heyden, 2011
tactical urbanism	short-term interventions to provoke systemic change	designer or activitst led	strategical modifications in public space	short-term	Merker, 2010; Webb, 2018; Wortham-Galvin, 2013
interior urbanism	interiorization in open space urban context or existing architectural enclosure to create a space in between urban and interior	from professional or institution-led to ordinary people	enforcing enclosure, threshold, and curated experience	short to long-term	Attwill, 2011, 2012, 2015; Giunta, 2009; Hinkel, 2011; Mace, 2015
participatory interior urbanism (PIU)	reverse urban interiorization through participation and lived experience	informal; embodied and performative	producing interiority through negotiation and co-habitation	immediate and contingent	proposed in this thesis

Table 1. Comparison between 'alternative' urbanisms and participatory interior urbanism (PIU). Source: see footnote.[348]

[348] Crawford, 'Introduction'; Wortham-Galvin, 'An Anthropology of Urbanism'; Eric Paulos et al., 'Citizen Science: Enabling Participatory Urbanism', in *Handbook of Research on Urban Informatics*, ed. Marcus Foth (IGI Global, 2009), https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-60566-152-0.ch028; Mathias Heyden, 'Evolving Participatory Design: A Report from Berlin, Reaching Beyond', in *Urban Interior: Informal Explorations, Interventions and Occupations*, ed. Rochus Urban Hinkel (Spurbuchverlag, 2011); Merker, 'Taking Place: Rebar's Absurd Tactics in

Furthermore, in an increasingly globalised and mobile urban world, characterised by the constant movement of people across cities, understanding Jakarta's street vending PIU also offers insight into emerging modes of inhabitation. As Valerie Mace observes, contemporary urban life is less defined by permanence and singular spatial encounters, and more by "transient and composed of short bursts of 'instantaneous experiences'".[349] The spatial practices of street vendors resonate with this shift, suggesting an evolving habitus that values temporality, flexibility, and intimacy on a small scale. Accordingly, studying the socio-spatial logics of street vending can inform more agile, adaptive urban strategies; ones that accommodate short-lived, small-scale, and mobile practices of everyday life.

Ultimately, this theoretical exploration demonstrates that street vending, by bringing private functions into public space, produces porous, lived-in environments that foster spatial, social, and economic participation. Unlike formal interior urbanisms that stabilise environments through thresholds and enclosure, the spatial logic of street vending is rooted in negotiation rather than regulation. Because of its often-precarious and unauthorised status, it cannot rely on the domination or remaking of space, but instead deploys subtle, minimal, and adaptive tactics to enable temporary yet intense inhabitation.

Generous Urbanism'; David Webb, 'Tactical Urbanism: Delineating a Critical Praxis', *Planning Theory & Practice* 19, no. 1 (2018): 58–73, https://doi.org/10.1080/14649357.2017.1406130; Attiwill, 'Urban and Interior: Techniques for an Urban Interiorist'; Attiwill, 'Beyond Building: Interior Designs'; Attiwill et al., 'URBAN + INTERIOR'; Elena Enrica Giunta, 'Urban Interiors. Artificial Territories: Designing "Spatial Script" for Relational Field', *IDEA Journal 2009*, n.d.; Hinkel, *Urban Interior*; Valerie Mace, 'The Transfigured Phenomena of Domesticity in the Urban Interior', *IDEA JOURNAL* 2015, no. Urban + Interior (2015): 44–55.

[349] Mace, 'The Transfigured Phenomena of Domesticity in the Urban Interior', 56.

In doing so, PIU challenges dominant Eurocentric paradigms of placemaking, which prioritise spatial production that is designed, owned, and fixed. It also destabilises the binary between formal and informal urbanisms, demonstrating how informality can function as a productive and legitimate mode of spatial practice. Rather than seeing street vendors as 'others' to the existing urban system, PIU positions them as contributors to the city's evolving placemaking processes. Their practices invite us to reconsider the spatial production of participation and citizenship in Jakarta and many similar cities across the Global South.

2.3 Models of street vending "participatory" frameworks[350]

Having established PIU as a theoretical framework for understanding the spatial practices of street vending, it is critical to consider how, if at all, such practices are recognised or supported within real-world urban governance. Examining how cities around the world integrate street vending into formal systems allows this research to identify whether and how PIU principles already operate in practice, and what lessons might be drawn for Jakarta's urban challenges. While these cities may not explicitly frame street vending as PIU or as interior urbanism, they nonetheless acknowledge and incorporate vending within planning frameworks without, in some cases, erasing its participatory, tactical, or interiorised qualities. This exploration helps bridge the conceptual gap between informal placemaking and institutional governance, demonstrating that integration is both possible and, in certain contexts, already underway.

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[350] The earlier version of this sub-chapter has been published in 2024 as part of this publication: Anak Agung Ayu Suci Warakanyaka, 'Mind-Walking through Instagram: Extracting the Essences of Jakarta's Street Vending', *Articulo – Revue de Sciences Humaines* 24 (2024), https://doi.org/10.4000/articulo.5754.

This inquiry adopts a comparative case-study approach, focusing on four cities where street vending is legal, or afforded a degree of legal leniency, and where its spatial practices are not merely tolerated but actively facilitated to varying extents. By analysing public legal documents, media reports, academic literature, and government-issued toolkits, I identified recurring patterns and strategies that demonstrate how cities can design with, rather than legislate against, street vendors. Although the socio-political and economic contexts of these cities differ markedly from Jakarta, their approaches offer valuable insights. Together, they present a range of spatial and legal frameworks that may inform the development of more inclusive, participatory, and contextually grounded street-vending policies in Jakarta.

The first case is New York City (NYC), which, despite having a relatively modest vending population of around 20,000, has a long regulatory history, having legalised street vending as early as 1983.[351] This long-standing legal recognition has generated a complex but instructive set of strategies for integrating vending into the city's spatial and economic fabric. Still within the United States, Los Angeles (LA) provides a contrasting regulatory trajectory. Although home to fewer vendors (approximately 10,000), its legalisation process was far more contentious.[352] Street vending was banned in LA from 1930 until 2020, when it was finally recognised as a legal economic activity following a twelve-year advocacy campaign led by the LA Street Vendor Campaign (LASVC).[353] LA shares several characteristics with Jakarta: both are heavily motorised, sprawling cities with exclusive suburban

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[351] 'The Street Vendor Project', The Street Vendor Project, accessed 21 September 2022, http://streetvendor.org/.

[352] This number is according to the LA Times in 2023. See: Chelsea Hylton, 'Street Vendors, a Core Part of L.A.'s Culture, Often Struggle to Survive', Los Angeles Times, 11 July 2023, https://www.latimes.com/delos/story/2023-07-11/los-angeles-street-vendors-permits-violence-survival-living-wages.

[353] *LA Street Vendor Campaign – Campaign to Legalize Street Vending on the Sidewalks of Los Angeles*, n.d., accessed 21 November 2022, https://lastreetvendors.org/.

imaginaries that often marginalise street vendors, who are typically poor immigrants (or domestic migrants, in Jakarta's case).[354] The evolution of LA's framework therefore offers particularly relevant lessons.

The third case is Kolkata, which shares key features with Jakarta: both are cities of the Global South with large street-vendor populations and colonial legacies. The key distinction lies in the Indian government's recent stance on vending. In 2014, India's national government passed the Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihood and Regulation of Street Vending) Act (SVA), which not only legalised street vending but mandated the formation of Town Vending Committees (TVCs), 40 per cent of whose members must be vendors.[355] These committees are tasked with co-developing vending regulations grounded in local practice.[356] Although implementation in Kolkata has been gradual, by 2018 the city had established its TVC and, by August 2023, nearly 59,000 vendors had received official vending certificates and identification numbers.[357]

The final case is Bangkok, selected not only for its geographical proximity to Jakarta but also for its international reputation as a street-food city. In 2018, Bangkok was home to approximately 240,000 vendors and was ranked by *Al*

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[354] Cupers, 'The Urbanism of Los Angeles Street Vending', 139.

[355] Ritajyoti Bandyopadhyay, 'The Street Vendors Act and Pedestrianism in India: A Reading of the Archival Politics of the Calcutta Hawker Sangram Committee', in *Street Vending in the Neoliberal City: A Global Perspective on the Practices and Policies of a Marginalised Economy*, ed. Graaff, Kristina and Ha, Noah (Berghahn Books, 2020), 193–96.

[356] Tathagata Chatterji and Souvanic Roy, 'From Margin to Mainstream: Informal Street Vendors and Local Politics in Kolkata, India', *L'Espace Politique. Revue En Ligne de Géographie Politique et de Géopolitique*, no. 29 (September 2016): para. 68, 29, https://doi.org/10.4000/espacepolitique.3903.

[357] Subhajoy Roy, 'Kolkata Municipal Corporation Invites Applications from Hawkers', Telegraph India, 08 2023, https://www.telegraphindia.com/my-kolkata/news/kolkata-municipal-corporation-invites-applications-from-hawkers/cid/1959463.

Jazeera as the world's leading street-food destination.[358] Street food is central not only to everyday life but also to the city's global image. Jay Fai, a street vendor awarded a Michelin star in 2017, gained worldwide exposure through *Netflix's Street Food Asia*.[359] Yet, paradoxically, the national government banned street vending in public areas. At city level, however, the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) has adopted a more flexible stance, issuing licences and enforcing city-level regulations that permit certain forms of vending to continue.[360]

The comparative analysis revealed several commonalities in the frameworks governing street vending across these four cities, summarised in Table 2. First, all recognise street vendors as legitimate economic actors, typically through systems of licences, permits, or certificates. Formal registration requires vendors to apply and pay monthly or annual fees. This not only legitimises their presence in public space but also acknowledges their economic contributions and holds them accountable for safety and order.

Second, each framework accords particular importance to mobility. Cities such as Los Angeles and Kolkata actively encourage mobile vending over stationary operations. With the exception of Bangkok, none implements a reservation-based policy that guarantees fixed locations. The absence of permanent pitches promotes more equitable access to vending opportunities,

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[358] Adam Bemma, 'Thai Street Food Sellers Battle Bangkok's Clearance Campaign', Al Jazeera, 21 October 2018, https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2018/10/21/thai-street-food-sellers-battle-bangkoks-clearance-campaign.

[359] 'Jay Fai – Bangkok', MICHELIN Guide, accessed 31 October 2023, https://guide.michelin.com/gb/en/bangkok-region/bangkok/restaurant/jay-fai.

[360] Chonticha Tangworamongkon, *Street Vending in Bangkok: Legal and Policy Frameworks, Livelihood Challenges and Collective Responses*, WIEGO Law and Informality Resources (WIEGO, 2014), 4.

prevents monopolisation of high-footfall areas, and encourages vendors to remain responsive to shifting street conditions.

Third, all four cities enforce no-vending zones, but these are not designed to exclude vendors wholesale. Instead, they aim to ensure safety and circulation by restricting vending near sensitive areas such as transport nodes, crosswalks, hospitals, schools, and places of worship. These spatial restrictions can be read as strategies of coexistence, seeking to keep key infrastructures functional while avoiding pushing vendors entirely to the margins.

Finally, none of the cities attempts to fully standardise or homogenise vendors' physical setups. Rather than imposing strict aesthetic controls, regulations tend to prioritise functional criteria such as minimum clearances for pedestrian movement, hygiene standards, and safe positioning of units. This approach allows flexibility in design and cultural expression, while ensuring that vendors operate responsibly within shared urban environments.

While all four cities regulate similar aspects of vending—such as vendor categories, unit types, designated zones, and spatial rules—the specific policies and classifications vary substantially. New York City, for example, categorises vendors by both legal/civic status (such as veterans or First Amendment vendors) and by merchandise type. Los Angeles classifies them by what they sell and where they operate (for instance, in parks or on pavements). Kolkata's framework distinguishes primarily between mobile and stationary vendors, while Bangkok differentiates between those operating in designated areas and those in officially recognised vending zones.

Differences also arise in how non-vending zones are defined. In New York City, restrictions cluster around business and financial districts; in Los Angeles, they target major tourist attractions and cultural landmarks. In Kolkata and Bangkok, non-vending zones generally include public institutions and high-traffic areas such as major transit points, places of worship, and government buildings. Such variations indicate that each city's regulatory approach is shaped by its distinctive spatial, social, and institutional context.

Cities	Vending Categories	Vending Unit	Vending Zones	Non-vending Zones	Vending Spatial Rules
New York	Primary categories based on the goods sold: Mobile Food Vendors & General Vendors	Maximum size unit for stationary units (table) = < 8 foot long and < 3 foot wide.	Roadside (for food and ice cream truck) and pavement.	Street-wide/district-wide restrictions. All vending in the area surrounding the World Trade Centre. General vending in Midtown Manhattan. Vending on streets in certain zoning districts: downtown Flushing, Queens, and in an area surrounding Dyker Heights, Brooklyn at certain times of the year, unless the vendor is an eligible veteran with a specialized vending license.	The schedule of street opening are available in the NYC government website.Vending is only allowed on a sidewalk that has a 12 foot clear path for pedestrians.
	Secondary categories based on military record and the nature of the goods: Veterans Vendors & First Amendment Vendors	Maximum size unit for mobile units (pushcart) = < 10 foot long and < 5 foot wide. This including food truck and ice cream truck.			No vending is allowed within 20 feet of a building entrance or within 10 feet of any subway entrance or crosswalk.
		Issued the requirement of the tools used in the units especially for food vending based on the type of food and drinks sold.			Keep the units in registered storage while not in use: Commissaries, Depot or Private garage.
Los Angeles	Primary categories based on the goods sold: Merchandise & Food.	Pushcart, kiosk, food truck, and car that has met the health and safety standard.	Pavement and park.	Points restriction - vending is prohibited within 500 feet of: The Hollywood Walk of Fame, Universal Studios, the El Pueblo de Los Angeles Historical Monument, Staples Centre, Dodger Stadium, etc. Also around private kindergarten, elementary or secondary schools.	Vendor must maintain at least a 5 feet width passage on any walkway and sidewalk.Vendors must pick up trash within 50 feet of the cart.
	Secondary categories based on vending location: Sidewalk & Park.				Keep at least 3 feet distance with existing urban fixture. No stationary vending allowed in front of any building.
Kolkata	Based on mobility: Stationary & Mobile.	Mobile unit is encouraged. Unit needs to be comply with the state government's standard issued by Bureau of Indian Standards: for example, working surface at least 60 - 70 cm above the ground.	Footpath, pavement, embankment, etc.	Points restriction: Bus stop, public buildings, and congregation/worship area. Gates of hospitals and gates of offices. Narrow footpaths/streets/lanes.	Allow 2/3 portion of footpath free for pedestrian. Do not block any exits, entrances and traffics.
					Not using fire while vending and no inflatable materials should be used at all time (including tarpaulin).
Bangkok	Based on areas: designated areas & outside designated areas with official recognition (reviewed areas)	Display must not exceed 2 sq. meters in width or 1.5 m. in height. Vending activities must be on the same side, leaving space no less than 1 meter in width.	Footpath & pavement.	No-vending areas where vending is prohibited include those that are (1) within ten meters of bus stops and entrances to sky trains and subways; (2) within two meters of pedestrian bridges; 3) At crosswalks; 4) In areas surrounding public phone booths, mail boxes, and public toilets; and (5) Entrances of buildings that are used.	Street vendors to ensure orderliness; not causing obstruction to pedestrians and road users; cleanliness of the vending areas; and hygienic vending operation, including personal hygiene of vendors and their equipment.
					Time is allocated for day and night shifts of vending. A vendor is allowed to set out two dining sets (a set comprises one table and four chairs) or less.

Table 2. Case-study analysis of street-vending frameworks in four cities: New York, Los Angeles, Kolkata, and Bangkok. Source: see footnote.[361]

[361] West Bengal Urban Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihood and Regulation of Street Vending) Rues. 2018, 461/MA/O/C-4/A1A-10/2011(Pt. 11), Government of West Bengal (2018);

These differences can be interpreted as attempts by local governments to accommodate, to varying degrees, the specific characteristics of street vending within each urban setting. Rather than enforcing uniform standards, the four cities adopt regulatory strategies that seek to balance vendors' economic practices with wider priorities such as pedestrian mobility, public safety, and heritage conservation. This process may be described as *integration*, understood here as the inclusion of distinct practices within a shared system without requiring full conformity, thereby allowing such practices to retain their particular identities.[362] In this sense, integration makes room for the coexistence of informal vending alongside other formal urban functions.

This stands in contrast to approaches more aligned with *assimilation*, which expect vendors to fully conform to dominant norms.[363] In Jakarta, relocation and localisation programmes lean towards assimilation by attempting to redefine street vending in ways that prioritise order, standardisation, and visibility as part of formalisation and control. These initiatives reflect a Eurocentric planning logic, consistent with the views of thinkers such as Hernando de Soto, who advocates 'disciplining' urban informality to align it with a modern urban system.[364] Such perspectives often cast street vending as

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Bureau of Street Services, 'Vending Program', Streetsla.Lacity.Org, accessed 21 September 2022, https://streetsla.lacity.org/vending; City of New York, 'Street Vending in NYC', Nyc.Gov, The Official Website of the City of New York, accessed 21 September 2022, https://www1.nyc.gov/site/dca/businesses/street-vendors.page; Kolkata Municipal Coorperation, 'KMC Trade License', Kmcgov.In, accessed 7 October 2022, https://www.kmcgov.in/KMCPortal/jsp/KMCTradeLicenseHome.jsp; Str. Vend. Proj., 'The Street Vendor Project'; Tangworamongkon, *Street Vending in Bangkok: Legal and Policy Frameworks, Livelihood Challenges and Collective Responses*.

[362] 'Integration', *Cambridge Dictionary*, 25 October 2023, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/integration.

[363] 'Assimilation', *Cambridge Dictionary*, 25 October 2023, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/assimilation.

[364] Hernando de Soto, *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else* (Black Swan, 2001); Harvey, 'The Right to the City', 36.

'traditional' and assume that it will disappear with modernisation.[365] Yet, as discussed in Chapter 1, these strategies have largely failed to contain vendors within markets or remove them from the streets.

In a case strikingly similar to Jakarta, Kenny Cupers recounts how, in 1999—two decades before legalisation—Los Angeles attempted to manage vending by relocating vendors into designated marketplaces.[366] These efforts failed because they ignored the lived realities of vendors, many of whom were undocumented immigrants from Latin America. Cupers argues that such approaches undermine vendors' agency and calls instead for recognising their "right to mobility" as central to vending policy.[367] For many, vending is not simply a livelihood, but a form of everyday autonomy, enabling flexible management of time, labour, and income in response to rapidly changing urban conditions. This example illustrates that even in Global North contexts, particularly in relation to non-European communities, Eurocentric planning solutions can prove ineffective and misaligned with lived experience.

Jakarta's current regulatory approach could therefore benefit from deeper engagement with the everyday spatial and economic practices of street vendors. Without a grounded understanding of these practices, it is difficult to design responsive and inclusive policies. To borrow a metaphor, developing an effective regulatory framework is akin to writing a recipe: one must first understand the ingredients before knowing how to combine them. As Table 2 suggests, the case-study cities have, to varying degrees, sought to understand vending 'ingredients'—local tools, routines, and spatial logics—

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[365] Irene Tinker and Monique Cohen, 'Street Foods as a Source of Income for Women', *Ekistics* 52, no. 310 (1985): 83.

[366] Cupers, 'The Urbanism of Los Angeles Street Vending', 151.

[367] Cupers, 'The Urbanism of Los Angeles Street Vending', 153.

and incorporate them into context-specific policies. This bottom-up orientation may offer useful insights for Jakarta in shaping more inclusive and locally responsive frameworks.

It is important to recognise, however, that such forms of integration are not without difficulty. All four cities face ongoing challenges in incorporating vending into formal governance. In New York City, for example, a longstanding issue has been the 'cap' on the number of vendor permits issued. Although vending was legalised in 1983, the cap remained fixed for more than thirty years at 3,000 permits, resulting in a large informal economy of unlicensed vendors.[368] As Ryan Thomas Devlin notes in his WIEGO report, political reluctance to confront powerful stakeholders such as real-estate interests and Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) contributed to a persistent unwillingness to reform the system.[369] Only through sustained advocacy—led by the Street Vendor Project (SVP) and amplified by public protests, media campaigns, and heightened attention during the COVID-19 pandemic—was the cap increased to 9,300 in 2021.[370] This example highlights the political fragility of formalising informal practices even in contexts with relatively robust regulatory frameworks.

Similar tensions are evident in Bangkok, where vendors have long contributed to the city's identity and economy, particularly through tourism. Despite this, in 2018 the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration launched a clearance campaign under the slogan "return the pavement to pedestrians",

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[368] Ryan Thomas Devlin, 'Winning a Right to the Sidewalks: Street Vendors in New York', *WIEGO*, WIEGO Organizing Brief No.11, November 2021, 8.

[369] Devlin, 'Winning a Right to the Sidewalks: Street Vendors in New York', 4.

[370] Devlin, 'Winning a Right to the Sidewalks: Street Vendors in New York', 10.

aimed at removing vendors from key public areas.[371] As reported by *Al Jazeera*, this move faced strong resistance from vendors, advocacy groups, academics, and celebrities, who argued that it erased the social and cultural value of vending.[372] The campaign illustrates how efforts to 'clean up' the city can conflict with public support for vending as a legitimate urban practice, underlining the importance of bottom-up advocacy in shaping policy.

These case studies reveal that informal practices such as street vending do not inherently stand in opposition to formal governance. On the contrary, they can be selectively accommodated, and even enabled, through legal and regulatory frameworks. This resonates with Roy's argument that "informality must be understood not as the object of state regulation but rather as produced by the state itself".[373] Seen in this light, street vending in Jakarta, when reframed through the lens of PIU, appears not as a transgression but as a form of spatial participation operating within a context already shaped by selective formalisation. Rather than seeking to assimilate vending through top-down measures that suppress its informality, urban governance could shift towards an integrative model that acknowledges vendors as co-producers of urban space.

This orientation echoes Henri Lefebvre's notion of *autogestion*—the self-management of urban space by its inhabitants.[374] Lefebvre conceived autogestion as a way to re-embed urban space within social life, to de-alienate

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[371] Bemma, 'Thai Street Food Sellers Battle Bangkok's Clearance Campaign'.

[372] Bemma, 'Thai Street Food Sellers Battle Bangkok's Clearance Campaign'.

[373] Roy, 'Urban Informality', 149.

[374] Mark Purcell, 'Possible Worlds: Henri Lefebvre and the Right to the City', *Journal of Urban Affairs* 36, no. 1 (2014): 147, https://doi.org/10.1111/juaf.12034.

the city from total structural control by encouraging greater integration and participation.[375] He argued:

> ...the proletariat can invest its social and political activity in the realization of urban society... It therefore has the capacity to produce a new humanism, different from the old liberal humanism which is ending its course—of urban man for whom and by whom the city and his own daily life in it become *oeuvre*, appropriation, use value (and not exchange value)...[376]

Read alongside Dovey's assemblage theory, this suggests that PIU practices led by ordinary citizens—such as street vending—reintegrate space through informal negotiation and relational inhabitation as a mode of claiming *the right to the city*. The city belongs not only to those who regulate it, but also to those who live in, activate, and shape its spaces through everyday practice. Participation thus becomes a means of claiming citizenship, not only in legal terms but also through spatial agency.

Moreover, the case studies challenge the assumption that informality is unique to cities of the Global South. Informal practices such as vending also emerge in highly developed, capitalist contexts such as New York and Los Angeles, cities often cited as exemplars of advanced urban governance.[377] This not only destabilises the formal/informal binary but also questions the notion that informality is simply a by-product of economic instability or state failure. Instead, these examples demonstrate that informality is a structural feature of urbanisation globally, and that its recognition can benefit both marginalised

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[375] Purcell, 'Possible Worlds', 149.

[376] Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, ed. Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 180.

[377] Graaff and Ha, *Street Vending in the Neoliberal City: A Global Perspective on the Practices and Policies of a Marginalised Economy*, 4.

groups and the wider urban public. By defamiliarising dominant narratives, this analysis opens space for more inclusive, nuanced, and context-sensitive approaches to urban policy—particularly in cities such as Jakarta, where informal practices are simultaneously essential and criminalised.

Ultimately, this chapter has argued that street vending can be understood as a legitimate mode of placemaking through the lens of Participatory Interior Urbanism—a framework that challenges Eurocentric paradigms, disrupts the formal/informal binary, and foregrounds spatial practices rooted in everyday life, negotiation, and collective agency. It offers an alternative conceptual lens that moves beyond top-down perspectives and instead seeks to understand street vending from within. These conceptual foundations set the stage for the next chapter, which turns to the lived realities of Jakarta's street vendors, examining how they navigate, negotiate, and inhabit urban space, and how their practices might inform more inclusive and socially just forms of urbanism.

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Chapter 3

Reading the streets: a two-stage methodology

This chapter sets out the methodological framework adopted for the study. The preceding chapter positioned street vending as a form of participatory interior urbanism (PIU)—a mode of reverse urban interiorization grounded in lived participation. As PIU, street vending encompasses intertwined social, cultural, political, and spatial dimensions within everyday placemaking practices. Chapter 2 also emphasised that, as an adaptive and highly responsive activity, street vending is profoundly shaped by local context and manifests distinctively in each urban setting. Understanding Jakarta's street vending as PIU therefore required a multifaceted methodological strategy—one capable of revealing these varied dimensions and examining how vendors negotiate and adjust to the specific conditions of Jakarta's urban environment.

The methods employed draw largely on anthropological inquiry and include digital/virtual ethnography, mind-walking, walking, participant observation, and autoethnography. These were supported by a suite of visual techniques, alongside grounded theory and reflective thematic analysis (RTA) as interpretative tools. The rationale for employing multiple approaches was to construct an account of street vending grounded in the perspectives and practices of those directly involved. Rather than confirming a predetermined model or solution, the research instead adopts an open and reflexive stance, foregrounding insider knowledge, situational complexity, and my evolving position as a researcher.

The investigation unfolded in two successive phases: an initial remote stage devised in response to COVID-19 travel restrictions, followed by in-situ fieldwork once travel became possible. Together, these phases constitute a layered qualitative methodology designed to engage with Jakarta's streets through both mediated and embodied modes of knowing. This chapter outlines how data were gathered, coded, and interpreted to build an understanding of how Jakarta's street vendors inhabit, shape, and reconfigure urban space.

Earlier versions of this two-stage study have been published in three peer-reviewed articles: the first stage, *Tracing London's Urban Living Room* and *Mind-Walking through Instagram: Extracting the Essences of Jakarta's Street Vending*, and the second stage, *Street Vending in the Liveable City: An Autoethnographic Exploration*.[378]

3.1 Reflexivity and methodological framework

As established in Chapters 1 and 2, the Eurocentric conception of urbanism adopted by Indonesia's central government and Jakarta's provincial authorities has profoundly shaped public and institutional understandings of street vending—particularly its socio-spatial practices of interiorising the street. To avoid replicating this epistemic bias within my own research, I chose not to rely exclusively on dominant discourses in urban studies, architecture, or interior design. Instead, I began by examining my own positionality, recognising the importance of situating my social location in

[378] Anak Agung Ayu Suci Warakanyaka, 'Tracing London's Urban Living Room', *ARSNET* 1, no. 2 (2021): 2, https://doi.org/10.7454/arsnet.v1i2.24; Warakanyaka, 'Mind-Walking through Instagram'; Anak Agung Ayu Suci Warakanyaka, *Street Vending in the Liveable City: An Autoethnographic Exploration*, vol. 2 (New York City College of Technology & AMPS, 2023).

relation to the phenomenon under study and considering how this might condition my interpretations.

Roni Berger characterises this practice as *reflexivity*.[379] In her article *Now I See It, Now I Don't: Researcher's Position and Reflexivity in Qualitative Research*, she outlines three broad positional categories: the *insider*—someone intimately connected with the field; the *near-insider*—an individual who is close to, or in the process of acquiring, insider experience; and the *outsider*—someone with no direct or prior association with the subject.[380]

Within this research, street vendors and their customers can be regarded as insiders. Vendors generate PIU through their spatial and social practices, while customers act as co-users of the interior spaces created on Jakarta's streets. Even other passers-by—pedestrians who may not transact with vendors—contribute to the inhabitation of these spaces through their presence, bodily negotiations, and incidental interactions. They, too, therefore participate in producing the lived interiority of the street.

By contrast, my own relationship to Jakarta's street vending practices is less proximate. Although I lived in the city for more than two decades, much of this research was undertaken while based in the United Kingdom, and my everyday experiences of Jakarta were predominantly shaped by the private car and indoor commercial environments such as shopping malls rather than by

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[379] Roni Berger, 'Now I See It, Now I Don't: Researcher's Position and Reflexivity in Qualitative Research', *Qualitative Research* 15, no. 2 (2015): 219, https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794112468475.

[380] Berger, 'Now I See It, Now I Don't', 219.

public, street-level engagement.[381] Accordingly, I do not share the embodied familiarity of those who inhabit Jakarta's pavements on a daily basis, and I must acknowledge my position as that of an outsider.

This outsider status means I lack the situated, experiential knowledge held by street vendors, customers, and even occasional pedestrians—knowledge that shapes, and is shaped by, their habitual socio-spatial practices. In this respect, my position is not dissimilar to that of policymakers and urban professionals whose decisions structure the city's streets. Yet my methodological stance diverges from theirs.

Rather than perpetuating the top-down framings critiqued in Chapter 1—framings that often exclude or undervalue insider perspectives—I approach the phenomenon with what Berger terms a stance of "informed ignorance", recognising insiders as experts whose perspectives must guide interpretation.[382] This does not entail passivity; as Berger suggests: "a researcher unfamiliar with the specific experience under study may approach it from afresh and different viewpoint posing new questions that may lead to innovative directions".[383] Reflexivity thus becomes a methodological safeguard, enabling continual interrogation of assumptions while supporting a fuller, more grounded understanding of the phenomenon.

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[381] My experience of Jakarta reflects that of the urban middle class. As discussed in Chapter 1, this perspective was shaped by the New Order regime's neoliberal urban policies, which promoted shopping malls as dominant public spaces and encouraged private vehicle use. For further discussion, see: Simone, *Jakarta*; Joanne Sharpe, 'Meet Indonesia's Middle Class | Lowy Institute', Lowy Institute, 19 February 2014, https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/meet-indonesia-s-middle-class.

[382] Berger, 'Now I See It, Now I Don't', 227.

[383] Berger, 'Now I See It, Now I Don't', 227.

The question that follows is what kinds of methods are appropriate for an outsider seeking to study PIU through street vending while maintaining reflexive awareness. Here, I found anthropological approaches to be particularly generative. In *Making: Anthropology, Archaeology, Art and Architecture*, Tim Ingold argues that learning about others' lifeworlds requires relinquishing preconceived categories rather than imposing them—thereby avoiding premature or distorted interpretation.[384] *Anthropology*, as he proposes, is almost "anti-disciplinary": it resists prescriptive academic framings and instead draws knowledge from engagement with everyday practices.[385] This aligns well with the challenge of understanding street vendors' spatial tactics from a position outside their lived worlds.

Ingold also observes that the anthropology of architecture remains underdeveloped, with much scholarship analysing architecture rather than engaging with the spatial and social practices that produce it.[386] This observation points to a disciplinary gap that this research engages with—by examining street vending as a form of PIU, the study explores how anthropological approaches can be used to observe and interpret spatial practices often overlooked in architectural and interior design discourse.

In proposing a closer alignment between anthropology and architecture, Ingold suggests that researcher "think of architecture as a discipline that shares with art and anthropology a concern to explore the creative processes that give rise to the environments we inhabit, and the ways we perceive them".[387] This interdisciplinary framing underpins my methodological

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[384] Tim Ingold, *Making: Anthropology, Archaeology, Art and Architecture* (Routledge, 2013), 2.

[385] Ingold, *Making*, 10.

[386] Ingold, *Making*, 10.

[387] Ingold, *Making*, 10.

choices and affirms the value of studying how street vending is lived, enacted, and materially configured.

Given these considerations, and acknowledging my outsider status, I adopted a two-stage qualitative methodology that integrates both remote and embodied modes of inquiry. The first stage involved mind-walking—a digitally based, interpretive engagement with Instagram as a mediated field site. This phase emerged partly in response to the restrictions imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic, but it also offered a means of entering the insider milieu through their own visual and textual representations.[388]

The second stage comprised walking-based fieldwork in Jakarta, using embodied observation of participation to encounter street vending practices directly. Although methodologically distinct, these stages are conceptually interwoven: each enriches and recalibrates the other, producing a more reflexive and situated understanding of PIU as it unfolds on the city's streets (see diagram in Figure 29).

By combining mediated and bodily forms of engagement, this research navigates between forms of distance and proximity, enabling an iterative process of learning that remains sensitive to my positionality while seeking to understand how street vendors reverse-interiorise Jakarta's streets.

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[388] As a UK-based PhD student at the Royal College of Art (2019–2024), there were periods during the COVID-19 pandemic when I was unable to travel to Indonesia due to border closures and travel restrictions. For official updates during this period, see: 'Coronavirus - Indonesia Travel Advice', GOV.UK, accessed 2 May 2022, https://www.gov.uk/foreign-travel-advice/indonesia/coronavirus; 'Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia to the United Kingdom, Ireland, and IMO, , London', accessed 2 May 2022, https://kemlu.go.id/london/en.

	medium	role and purpose	activity	tool	key output
1. remote anthropological approach: mind-walking	social media platform: Instagram	researcher as *observer* to generate patterns and initial understanding	data collection	clues	spatial configurations
			analysis	inductive coding: open coding + tracing axial coding + diagram selective coding	spatial characteristics
2. in-situ anthropological approach: walking	Jakarta streets	researcher as *observer* and *participant* to situate and deepen understanding	data collection	observation of participation: photography videography 3D scanning informal conversations semi-structured interview observation notes reflective notes	typology of actions socio-economic implications socio-spatial impacts critique to the current urban framework
			analysis	interior writing RTA	

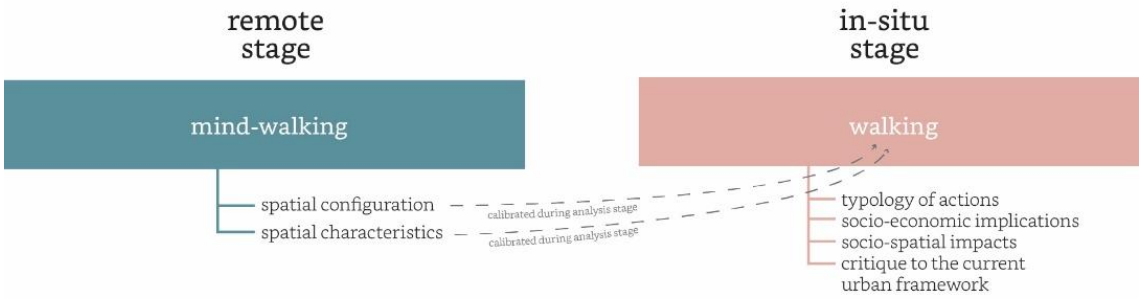

Figure 29. Diagram of the two-stage anthropological approach for recognising, analysing, and understanding street vending in Jakarta as a form of PIU. The upper diagram outlines the steps in each stage, while the lower diagram shows how the stages connect. Source: Author.

3.2 Stage one: mind-walking

3.2.1 Aims

As outlined earlier, the purpose of this first stage was to trace the patterns through which Jakarta's street vending operates as a form of PIU. This stage was shaped primarily by the constraints of the COVID-19 pandemic, which rendered in-person fieldwork temporarily impossible. Yet, as Ingold observes, although fieldwork sits at the centre of anthropological practice, it is not the sole means of achieving an anthropological understanding. He characterises anthropology as comprising "ways of knowing and feeling shaped through transformational engagements with people from around the world, both within and beyond the settings of fieldwork".[389]

In recent years, remote and digitally mediated alternatives to conventional fieldwork have become increasingly common in anthropology, particularly as everyday life becomes ever more entangled with digital platforms. Social media content, online imagery, and virtual interactions constitute part of the lived milieu through which people communicate, imagine, and navigate the world.[390] Correspondingly, scholars such as Heather Horst and Daniel Miller (with *digital anthropology*), Sarah Pink (*digital ethnography*), and Christine

[389] Ingold, *Making*, 6.

[390] Sarah Pink and Shanti Sumartojo, 'Introduction', in *Refiguring Techniques in Digital Visual Research*, 1st ed. 2017, ed. Edgar Gómez Cruz et al., Digital Ethnography (Springer International Publishing : Imprint: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), xvii, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-61222-5.

Hine (*virtual methods*) have developed methodological frameworks for engaging with digital and virtual environments.[391]

Horst and Miller's digital anthropology focuses on how digital media shape cultural expression. The digital is not treated merely as methodological apparatus but as an ethnographic subject, illuminating what it means to be human in digitally saturated societies.[392] Their approach often involves digitised adaptations of traditional methods—for instance, conducting interviews via recorded calls rather than face-to-face meetings.[393]

Similarly, Pink's work explores how digital tools—such as action cameras or hypermedia—can be incorporated into ethnographic practice to support data production and analysis.[394] However, her emphasis is on how such technologies mediate the communication and interpretation of ethnographic knowledge.[395] Hine's virtual methods take a related but distinct approach. Like Horst and Miller, she advocates for the digitisation of traditional methods—such as interviews, observation, and surveys—via tools like mobile phones, email, and video conferencing.[396] Hine's virtual methods parallel these digitised adaptations but also extend the ethnographic lens more explicitly into online environments—treating digital spaces themselves as field

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[391] Heather A. Horst and Daniel Miller, eds, *Digital Anthropology*, English ed (Berg, 2012); Sarah Pink et al., eds, *Digital Ethnography: Principles and Practice* (SAGE, 2016); Christine Hine, 'Virtual Methods and the Sociology of Cyber-Social-Scientific Knowledge', in *Virtual Methods: Issues in Social Research on the Internet*, ed. Christine Hine (Bloomsbury Academic, 2005), https://doi.org/10.5040/9781474215930.

[392] Horst and Miller, *Digital Anthropology*, 4.

[393] Horst and Miller, *Digital Anthropology*, 12.

[394] Sarah Pink, 'Technologies, Possibilities, Emergence and an Ethics of Responsibility: Refiguring Techniques', in *Refiguring Techniques in Digital Visual Research*, 1st ed. 2017, ed. Edgar Gómez Cruz et al., Digital Ethnography (Springer International Publishing : Imprint: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 5–6, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-61222-5.

[395] Sarah Pink, 'Introduction: Situating Visual Research', in *Working Images: Visual Research and Representation in Ethnography*, ed. Sarah Pink et al. (Routledge, 2006), 1.

[396] Hine, 'Virtual Methods and the Sociology of Cyber-Social-Scientific Knowledge', 3.

sites, including social media platforms, online forums, or chatrooms.[397] See Table 3 for a comparative overview of methodological and conceptual orientations.

concept	approach	main focus	methods	sources
digital anthropology	digital as subject of anthropological study	how culture is shaped by and expressed through digital media	interviews via phone/video calls; analysis of digital content and practices	Horst and Miller, 2012
digital ethnography	digital as methodological integration within anthropological study	how digital technologies shape production & communication of ethnographic knowledge	GoPro cameras, hypermedia platforms, digital tools for data collection/analysis	Pink et al., 2016; Pink, 2017;
virtual methods	digital as both method and field site of anthropological study	extending ethnography into virtual spaces as cultural sites	mobile phones, email, video conferencing; observation in social media, forums, chatrooms	Hine, 2005; Hine, 2015

Table 3. Comparison of methodological and conceptual approaches in digital and remote anthropology. Source: see footnote.[398]

Drawing from these methodological developments, it became clear that undertaking remote anthropological research—treating the online sphere as a mediated field site and employing digital tools for both data collection and analysis—was not only feasible but also appropriate for the circumstances. Horst and Miller argue that "there is no such thing as pure human immediacy; interacting face-to-face is just as culturally inflected as digitally mediated communication".[399] Likewise, Hine highlights that virtual environments offer distinctive opportunities to engage with marginal or

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[397] Christine Hine, *Ethnography for the Internet: Embedded, Embodied and Everyday* (Bloomsbury Academic, An imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2015), 158.

[398] Horst and Miller, *Digital Anthropology*; Pink et al., *Digital Ethnography*; Pink, 'Technologies, Possibilities, Emergence and an Ethics of Responsibility: Refiguring Techniques'; Hine, 'Virtual Methods and the Sociology of Cyber-Social-Scientific Knowledge'; Hine, *Ethnography for the Internet*.

[399] Horst and Miller, *Digital Anthropology*, 12.

otherwise overlooked forms of expression, partly due to the anonymity afforded by online platforms, which may promote more candid self-representation.[400]

As an outsider, and unable to build personal rapport with insiders in Jakarta, digitised versions of traditional methods—such as conducting interviews or surveys remotely—were neither practical nor ethically advisable. Consequently, the study gravitated towards what Hine describes as an *unobtrusive method*—an approach that relies on publicly available online material that may be observed and interpreted without direct participant engagement.[401] Such material functions as a "proxy for behaviours that the researcher is interested in but cannot necessarily ask about or observe directly".[402] Examples include comment threads on YouTube or public conversations on Twitter, which may reveal cultural dynamics or collective sensibilities despite the researcher's distance from the scene.

Hine also acknowledges the limitations of unobtrusive methods. Such approaches may narrow one's perceptual field, risking the loss of nuance or contextual depth.[403] She argues that "only by ethnographic immersion can a confident thick description be produced".[404] *Thick description* is a concept developed by Clifford Geertz in 1973, which refers to detailed accounts of a phenomenon including the "multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them superimpose upon or knotted into one another".[405] It goes

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[400] Hine, 'Virtual Methods and the Sociology of Cyber-Social-Scientific Knowledge', 1.

[401] Hine, *Ethnography for the Internet*, 157.

[402] Hine, *Ethnography for the Internet*, 159.

[403] Hine, *Ethnography for the Internet*, 161.

[404] Hine, *Ethnography for the Internet*, 161.

[405] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures; Selected Essays* (New York, Basic Books, 1973), 10.

beyond superficial accounts to illuminate the layered, interwoven structures of meaning, intention, and context.[406] While unobtrusive methods cannot capture the full complexity of lived experience, they can nonetheless surface foundational patterns, contextual sensitivities, and underlying values, as well as raise fruitful *new questions*.[407]

With these limitations in mind, remote unobtrusive research was adopted as an initial means of inquiry—appropriate under the constraints of the pandemic and generative as a preliminary stage. While such an approach cannot replace the richness of immersive fieldwork, it allows for a reflexive and contextually attuned understanding to develop in constrained circumstances. Crucially, this method was never intended to operate independently. It was envisaged from the outset that it would later be complemented by embodied fieldwork to produce a more holistic account of Jakarta's street vending as PIU. The next step, therefore, was to define a specific form of remote, unobtrusive methodology—one that worked within the limitations of physical distance, remained grounded in reflexivity, and enabled exploration of the multidimensional dynamics shaping Jakarta's street vending as PIU.

3.2.2 Mind-walking: tracing clues through Instagram

To address the methodological challenges outlined above, I utilised *mind-walking*, a practice introduced by Tim Ingold in his 2010 essay *Ways of Mind-Walking: Reading, Writing, Painting*. Mind-walking may be conceived as the mediated counterpart to physical *walking*—a situated mode of inquiry that

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[406] Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures; Selected Essays*, 27.

[407] Hine, *Ethnography for the Internet*, 162–63.

allows one to apprehend and interpret the world from ground level.[408] Walking has long been recognised as a methodological tool in anthropology, geography, and urban studies; it demands an active, embodied engagement with place, where knowledge is produced through movement, perception, and direct encounter.[409] It is a situated form of inquiry in which each step affords a response, and each response reflects the knowledge imparted.

As a remote variation of this practice, mind-walking similarly involves engagement—though the interaction occurs not with the material environment but with mediated realms such as texts, imagery, audio, or other artefacts.[410] It encourages an imaginative, interpretative form of participation: observing, scrolling, reading, touching—and subsequently translating these encounters into acts of writing, drawing, composing, or narrating.[411] Like embodied walking, mind-walking unfolds through a bi-directional sequence of encounter and response. Its methodological value lies in its capacity to suspend pre-existing assumptions and allow understanding to emerge through the process itself rather than through predetermined frameworks.

Ingold illustrates this through historical examples, such as medieval monastic practices in which monks imaginatively traversed sacred texts.[412] Their engagement with scripture extended beyond exegetical reading; it required a form of imaginative inscription, whereby reflections on what they 'encountered' were materialised through drawings, diagrams, architectural

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[408] Tim Ingold, 'Ways of Mind-Walking: Reading, Writing, Painting', *Visual Studies* 25, no. 1 (2010): 15, https://doi.org/10.1080/14725861003606712.

[409] Tim Ingold and Jo Lee Vergunst, eds, *Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot*, Anthropological Studies of Creativity and Perception (Ashgate, 2008), 5.

[410] Ingold, 'Ways of Mind-Walking', 16.

[411] Ingold, 'Ways of Mind-Walking', 16.

[412] Ingold, 'Ways of Mind-Walking', 17.

sketches, or maps. The Mappa Mundi is cited as one such outcome, demonstrating how spatial knowledge may be generated through symbolic and textual navigation rather than physical travel (Figure 30).[413] Mind-walking thus offers a generative means of engaging with a phenomenon from afar—supporting not only the collection of material but also the formation of *interpretative insight* through *reflective practice*.

The methodological task for this research was therefore threefold: (1) to identify a suitable medium for mind-walking; (2) to establish a mode of immersion within that medium; and (3) to develop a coherent approach for reflecting on and analysing the knowledge derived from the process.

As the previous section outlined, online platforms were selected as the mediated field site. Digital news outlets were eliminated due to pronounced biases identified in a preliminary study undertaken in 2020 (see appendices). That analysis revealed that 32.6% of articles on street vending in Jakarta adopted a negative framing, while 15% constructed Satpol PP as heroic enforcers of public order—celebrating eviction and confiscation activities. One news outlet, *Poskota*, went as far as establishing a WhatsApp hotline for reporting street vendors.[414]

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[413] Ingold, 'Ways of Mind-Walking', 18.

[414] An example of this "encouragement" can be seen in Poskota news report, see: 'Ganggu Pengguna Jalan, Lapak PKL Ditertibkan', *Poskota* (Jakarta), 27 August 2020.

Figure 30. The Hereford Mappa Mundi, containing over 500 drawings depicting cities, biblical events, plants, animals, and mythical creatures. Source: Richard of Haldingham, *Hereford Mappa Mundi* (c. 1300), scanned by Scott Ehardt from Roderick Barron, *Decorative Maps*, 4,200 × 4,989 pixels, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hereford_Mappa_Mundi.jpg.

These findings indicated a persistent partiality in journalistic representations, frequently aligned with political agendas or serving the sensibilities of particular readerships.[415] In the case of street vending, this resulted in narratives that often reinforced official discourses or middle-class ideals rather than capturing situated, lived realities. Such distortions rendered digital news unsuitable for a study grounded in reflexive, bottom-up knowledge production.

Instead, I turned to social media, specifically Instagram. Unlike news platforms, social media is designed to facilitate personal expression.[416] *Instagram*, in particular, provides visual—and often textual—insights into everyday life as experienced and articulated by ordinary users. Posts are typically created for small, familiar audiences—family, friends, acquaintances—rather than for mass public consumption. Consequently, they tend to offer candid, less institutionally mediated glimpses into urban practices, including informal activities such as street vending.[417]

The decision to use Instagram as a medium for mind-walking draws on an expanding body of scholarship that employs the platform to investigate urban and social dynamics. Johanes et al., for instance, have utilised geotagged posts to interpret "mundane" urban spaces, while Boy and Uitermark have

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[415] A prominent case of media partisanship in Indonesia occurred during the 2019 presidential election, when outlets such as MNC Group and Media Indonesia supported Joko Widodo, while Kompas Gramedia backed Prabowo Subianto. See: Hendra Sapitri and Nisma Laela Nurafifah, 'Private Television Media and Political in Presindential Election 2019 from the Agenda Setting of Perspective', *Jurnal Penelitian Komunikasi dan Opini Publik* 24, no. 2 (2020): 2, https://doi.org/10.33299/jpkop.24.2.3024.

[416] Nadav Hochman and Lev Manovich, 'Zooming into an Instagram City: Reading the Local through Social Media', *First Monday*, ahead of print, 17 June 2013, https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v18i7.4711.

[417] Mikhael Johanes et al., 'Constructing the Meaning of Mundane Urban Places through the Mapping of Geo-Tagged Social Media Content', September 2017, 1.

examined location-based content to explore how everyday practices reinforce broader urban imaginaries.[418] While these studies highlight Instagram's value as a source of spatialised data, others—such as Elisa Serafinelli—demonstrate how visual and textual content can illuminate social relations and urban affect.[419]

Lev Manovich and Agustin Indaco push this further, arguing that platforms like Instagram not only document daily life but actively participate in constructing a city's identity. As they write:

> The identity of any city today is as much composed of the (social) media content shared in that city via social networks as of its infrastructure and economic activities, and must therefore be considered in any urban analysis.[420]

This perspective aligns closely with the aims of this research. Instagram's emphasis on visuality—especially photographs and videos—makes it a productive medium for mind-walking, offering a form of virtual immersion that extends beyond passive consumption into active spatial interpretation. In this sense, Instagram becomes not merely a repository of data but an encounter space in its own right.

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[418] Johanes et al., 'Constructing the Meaning of Mundane Urban Places through the Mapping of Geo-Tagged Social Media Content', 1; John D. Boy and Justus Uitermark, 'How to Study the City on Instagram', *PLOS ONE* 11, no. 6 (2016): 2, https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0158161.

[419] Elisa Serafinelli, 'Analysis of Photo Sharing and Visual Social Relationships: Instagram as a Case Study', *Photographies* 10, no. 1 (2017): 91–111, https://doi.org/10.1080/17540763.2016.1258657.

[420] Lev Manovich and Agustin Indaco, 'The Image of Data City: Studying the Hyperlocal with Social Media', in *4D Hyperlocal: A Cultural Toolkit for the Open-Source City*, ed. Lucy Bullivant, Architectural Design Profile, no 245 (John Wiley & Sons, 2017), 112.

Practical considerations reinforced this choice. By 2023, Instagram was Indonesia's second most widely used social media platform after Facebook, with more than 81 million active users.[421] Its extensive reach enables access to diverse insider perspectives on street vending—from vendors, customers, and passers-by alike. Additionally, while both platforms offer privacy controls, Instagram provides comparatively open access to publicly shared posts, particularly through hashtags and geotagged content, without requiring reciprocal connections.

3.2.3 Instagram as a Mediated Field Site: Approaches to Data Collection

Before establishing methods of immersion, reflection, and interpretation, it was first necessary to delineate the boundaries of the field. Having identified Instagram as the medium through which mind-walking would take place, it became clear that unstructured browsing would not produce meaningful insights. As a research technique, mind-walking requires direction, intentionality, and methodological clarity. The initial task, therefore, was to assemble relevant *datasets*—specifically, Instagram content depicting street vending in Jakarta—which would serve as the material foundation for the subsequent interpretative work.

To construct these datasets, I relied on Instagram's geotagging and timestamp features, an approach also evident in the studies reviewed earlier. Three locations in Jakarta—Tanah Abang, Sudirman, and Kota Tua—were selected, informed by findings from the preliminary media analysis (see appendices), which identified these areas as key sites of street vending activity.

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[421] Hanadian Nurhayati-Wolff, 'Indonesia: Most Used Social Media Platforms 2022', Statista, 2022, https://www.statista.com/statistics/1343136/indonesia-most-used-social-media-platforms/.

Although vending takes place across numerous parts of the city (see Figure 31), these three locations were deliberately chosen because they reflect distinct urban conditions. Tanah Abang is a major commercial district and home to Southeast Asia's largest textile market complex; Sudirman is the city's principal business district, marked by high-density office towers; and Kota Tua is Jakarta's historic core, containing preserved fragments of Dutch colonial architecture. Choosing these contrasting environments allowed the investigation to consider whether street vending practices—and their PIU characteristics—vary according to local spatial and historical contexts.

A temporal boundary was also established, focusing on posts created between 1 January 2019 and 1 January 2021. This period was chosen to ensure the dataset reflected the most contemporary forms of street vending at the time the research was undertaken (early 2021). Importantly, it also captured significant governance shifts following the 2018 court ruling, as well as the pre-pandemic landscape, the COVID-19 lockdown period, and the early stages of post-lockdown recovery (see Figure 18 in Chapter 1 for a detailed timeline of regulatory change concerning street vending in Jakarta).

With these parameters defined—both spatial and temporal—the next step was a *manual sorting process*. This refers to the deliberate, post-by-post examination of Instagram content to identify material relevant to the study. Rather than adopting automated approaches such as text mining, algorithmic image recognition, or scraping tools typically associated with big-data analysis, this research employed a *small-data* strategy. Small-data methodologies privilege depth, context sensitivity, and interpretive richness

over scale, aligning more closely with the epistemological commitments of mind-walking.[422]

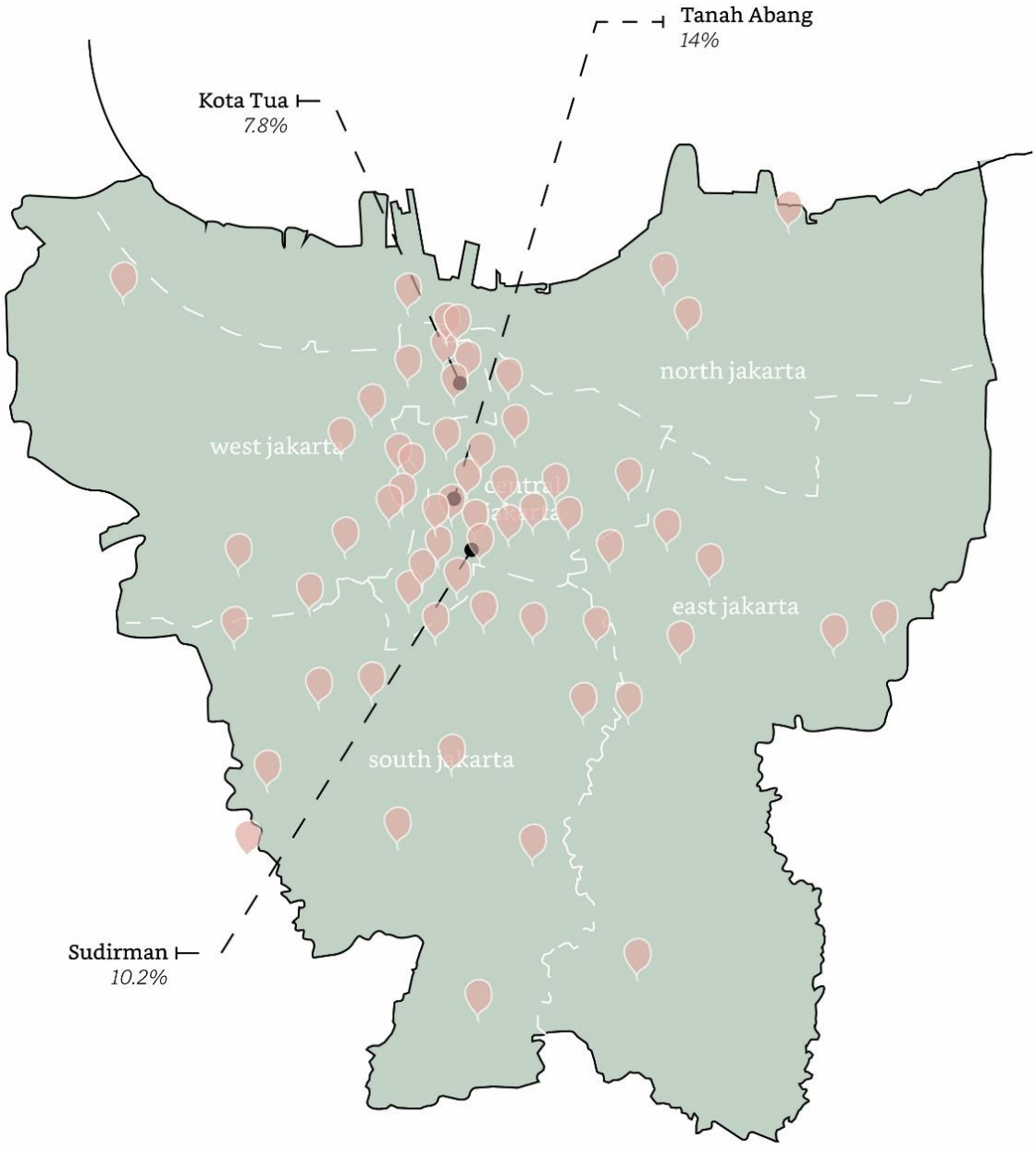

Figure 31. A map showing the result of the quantitative reading of street vending activity locations in Jakarta according to media texts gathered from 2019 - 2020. Source: Author.

[422] Jianxiang Huang et al., 'The Image of the City on Social Media: A Comparative Study Using "Big Data" and "Small Data" Methods in the Tri-City Region in Poland', *Landscape and Urban Planning* 206 (February 2021): 1, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2020.103977.

Accordingly, for the manual sorting process, I viewed, read, and interpreted each post personally, attending to both visual and textual cues to determine whether the content depicted street vending. This slow, attentive method reflects the situated mode of engagement that mind-walking demands: knowledge emerges not through high-volume extraction, but through deliberate and reflective encounters with individual images and their surrounding context.

Other researchers working with social media have adopted similarly interpretive approaches. Kylie Budge, for instance, advocates a holistic reading of Instagram posts—scrutinising all available elements, from captions and hashtags to visual composition—to determine their relevance in studies of urban placemaking.[423] Her approach underscores the importance of attentiveness over automation, a principle this research likewise adopts.

An Instagram post was included if it clearly depicted street vending activity. While both visual and textual information were examined, visual evidence became the primary determinant, as many posts either contained minimal captioning or lacked descriptive tags altogether. Given the improvised, irregular nature of Jakarta's street vending, identification relied upon recognising *visual clues*.

In reading studies, clues are described as contextual hints that assist in interpreting unfamiliar or ambiguous meanings.[424] A similar concept exists in

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[423] Kylie Budge, 'Visually Imagining Place: Museum Visitors, Instagram, and the City', *Journal of Urban Technology* 27, no. 2 (2020): 64, https://doi.org/10.1080/10630732.2020.1731672.

[424] Constance M. McCullough, 'The Recognition of Context Clues in Reading', *The Elementary English Review* 22, no. 1 (1945): 1–38; Robert Emans and Gladys Mary Fisher, 'Teaching the Use of Context Clues', *Elementary English* 44, no. 3 (1967): 243–46.

anthropology, where Ingold and Vergunst liken footprints to clues—traces signalling the presence of knowledge or activity and guiding interpretive inquiry.[425] In this research, clues were treated as indicators of possible vending activity. Drawing on the government's 2004 'ideal' street diagram (see Figure 13, Chapter 1) as a baseline, I looked for visual irregularities—features that deviated from official representations—and considered whether they signified: (1) vending units or improvised appropriations of street space; (2) the presence of vendors and customers; (3) uses of the street unrelated to circulation; and (4) domestic objects or tools deployed in commercial activity (see Figure 32).

This clue-based interpretive process mirrors the logic of mind-walking, which involves navigating mediated environments through attentive observation, imaginative engagement, and reflective interpretation. Each Instagram post became a landscape to be read, its traces offering openings into the socio-spatial practices that shape Jakarta's streets. Both mind-walking and clue interpretation require the researcher to notice the mundane or easily overlooked, while continually situating those observations within a broader contextual understanding.

Before immersing myself in the dataset, it was necessary to stabilise the material by transferring it from Instagram—a dynamic, editable platform—to a secure archival format. Each selected post was captured as a PNG screenshot, preserving key elements such as the image or video still, caption (if any), geotag, timestamp, and top-level comments. Where multiple posts clearly depicted the same vendor or scene, only one was retained to avoid unnecessary duplication.

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[425] Ingold and Vergunst, *Ways of Walking*, 7.

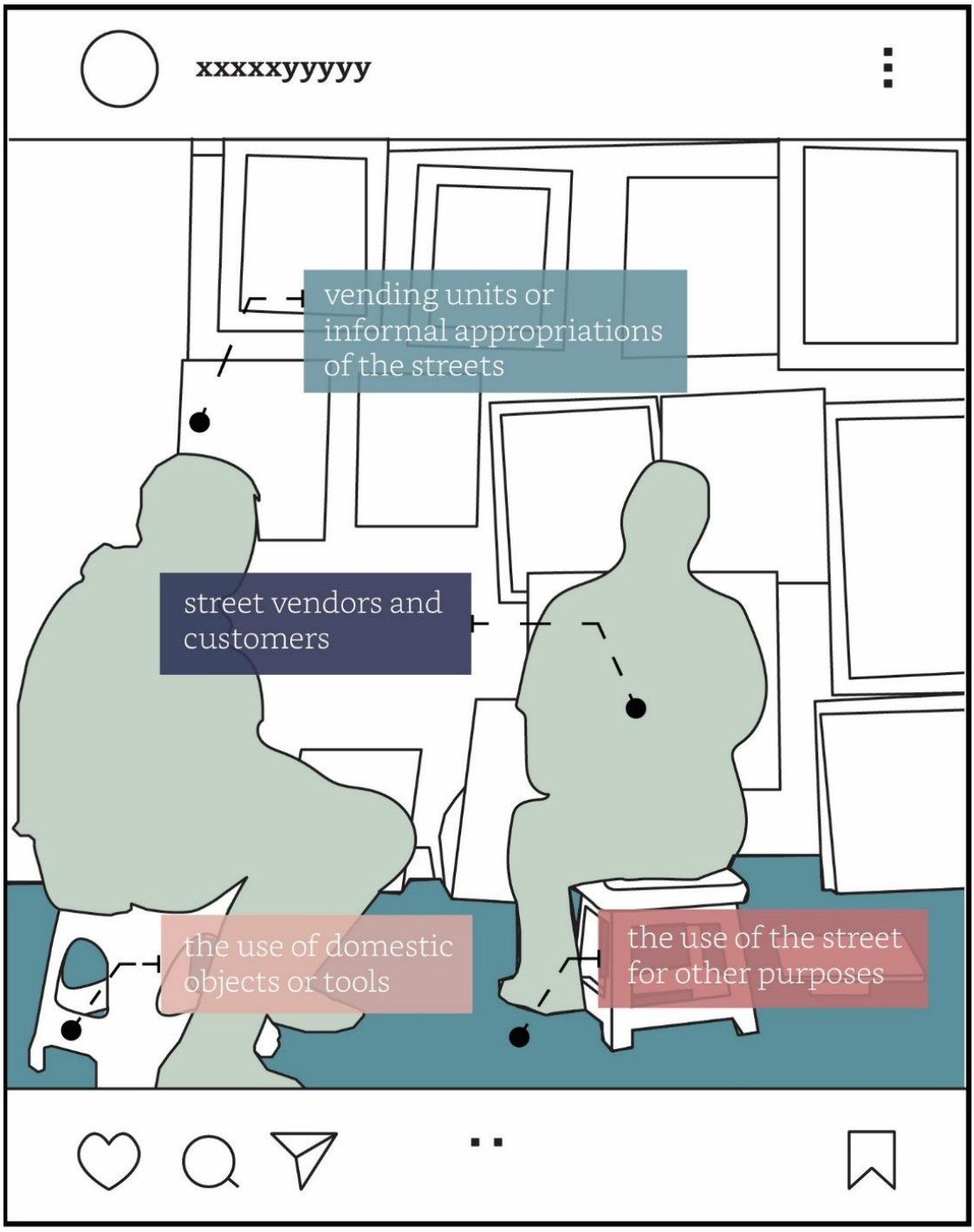

Figure 32. Diagram showing the visual clues used to extract relevant data during the mind-walking experiment, highlighting visual 'abnormalities' linked to street vending activities that determine whether an Instagram post is included. Source: Author.

All posts included were drawn from publicly visible accounts. As Ravn et al. argue, such material constitutes *naturally occurring* data—content voluntarily shared by users for open circulation.[426] Institutional ethics guidelines generally do not require informed consent for the use of public social media data, provided identifiable personal information is excluded.[427] Posts from public figures, businesses, or institutions were omitted, as their content often reflects strategic messaging rather than everyday lived experience.[428] This careful, manual sorting process ultimately produced a dataset of **1,089 Instagram** posts, forming the empirical basis for the mind-walking stage of the research.

3.2.4 Analysis: Inductive coding

Despite the careful and systematic process through which the dataset was assembled, a key challenge at the analytical stage was ensuring that neither my personal history nor my professional background shaped the way I interpreted the material. As someone who grew up in Jakarta within a middle-class milieu, I am acutely aware of how readily negative assumptions about street vending can surface—particularly given that, within Indonesia's built environment professions (where I have worked for more than fifteen years), such activity is frequently cast as a disruptive presence to be eliminated. To counter this tendency, I adopted an *inductive coding* approach to structure my engagement with the data.

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[426] Signe Ravn et al., 'What Is "Publicly Available Data"? Exploring Blurred Public–Private Boundaries and Ethical Practices Through a Case Study on Instagram', *Journal of Empirical Research on Human Research Ethics* 15, nos 1–2 (2020): 41, https://doi.org/10.1177/1556264619850736.

[427] Ravn et al., 'What Is "Publicly Available Data"?', 41.

[428] Accounts owned by public figures or companies are typically marked with a blue check, signalling online credibility. Social media platforms verify these accounts, hence the term "verified account".

Corbin and Strauss describe *coding*—widely used in grounded theory—as an analytical device that enables researchers to interrogate the underlying properties and dimensions embedded within data.[429] They frame coding as a means of probing beneath the surface of what is immediately observable. As they write:

> It involves interacting with data (analysis) using techniques such as asking questions about the data, making comparisons between data, and so on, and in doing so, deriving concepts to stand for those data, then developing those concepts in terms of their properties and dimensions.[430]

In this context, coding refers to the interpretive act itself, while codes are the conceptual categories produced through that act. Crucially, coding provides a mechanism for unsettling preconceived ideas, enabling new interpretations of a phenomenon to emerge from the data rather than from prior expectations.[431]

Coding may proceed inductively or deductively. As Chandra and Shang note, *inductive coding* works without predetermined categories, inviting concepts and meanings to arise organically from the material.[432] *Deductive coding*, in contrast, tests data against existing theories, hypotheses, or analytical frameworks.[433] For the purposes of this study, inductive coding offered a

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[429] Juliet M. Corbin and Anselm L. Strauss, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*, 3rd ed (Sage Publications, Inc, 2007), 67.

[430] Corbin and Strauss, *Basics of Qualitative Research*, 66.

[431] Corbin and Strauss, *Basics of Qualitative Research*, 67.

[432] Yanto Chandra and Liang Shang, *Qualitative Research Using R: A Systematic Approach* (2019), 91, https://link-springer-com.ezproxy.eui.eu/book/10.1007/978-981-13-3170-1.

[433] Chandra and Shang, *Qualitative Research Using R*, 92.

valuable means of mitigating bias: it required me to remain attentive to patterns and meanings that surfaced directly from the Instagram posts, treating them as mediated insights into the socio-spatial dynamics of Jakarta's street vending. This orientation aligns with the reflexive ethos underpinning mind-walking, ensuring that interpretation was grounded in the material rather than imposed upon it.

Budge—cited earlier for her small-data approach to Instagram research—also employs inductive coding in her analyses of digital placemaking in Australian cities. In *Visually Imagining Place: Museum Visitors, Instagram, and the City and Museum Objects and Instagram: Agency and Communication in Digital Engagement*, she uses inductive techniques to identify interpretive themes that reveal how museum visitors utilise Instagram in their spatial experiences.[434] Her work demonstrates how inductive coding can sustain analytical openness, allowing insights to arise directly from the dataset rather than being directed by the researcher's assumptions.

Following Corbin and Strauss, coding in this study unfolded across three interconnected stages: *open coding*, *axial coding*, and *selective coding*.[435] While these procedures resonate with the principles of mind-walking, the mediated nature of this first research stage revealed early on that inductive coding alone generated insights that remained largely descriptive. Initial codes identified visible elements in the posts but did not adequately account for the spatial logics underlying them. To address this, I incorporated two drawing-based interpretive techniques—tracing and diagramming—into the first two phases

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[434] Kylie Budge and Alli Burness, 'Museum Objects and Instagram: Agency and Communication in Digital Engagement', *Continuum* 32, no. 2 (2018): 137–50, https://doi.org/10.1080/10304312.2017.1337079; Budge, 'Visually Imagining Place'.

[435] Juliet M. Corbin and Anselm Strauss, 'Grounded Theory Research: Procedures, Canons and Evaluative Criteria', *Zeitschrift Für Soziologie*, no. Jg. 19, Heft 6 (Dezember 1990): 423–24.

of coding. As unobtrusive analytical tools, these visual methods complemented the inductive process by illuminating spatial patterns and relationships without compromising interpretive neutrality. Together, these techniques enabled a more comprehensive reading of the dataset and supported the development of grounded, spatially attuned insights. Consequently, the mind-walking process was organised into three stages: open coding combined with tracing; axial coding combined with diagramming; and, finally, selective coding.

3.2.4.1 Open coding + tracing

Open coding involves disaggregating the data into smaller components in order to identify emerging conceptual categories. As Corbin and Strauss emphasise, this phase is concerned with "opening up the data to all potentials and possibilities" by assigning interpretive labels—codes—that distil the conceptual significance of what is observed.[436] These *labels* usually take the form of short words or phrases. Their generation relies on analytical questioning and comparison across the dataset—for instance, identifying recurrent features or singularities.[437] With more than 1,000 Instagram posts assembled for this study, undertaking such comparative work solely on screen quickly became impractical.[438]

To encourage a more embodied and attentive form of engagement, I printed each screenshot and arranged them across the walls of my workspace. This physical configuration afforded a more tactile interaction with the material,

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[436] Corbin and Strauss, *Basics of Qualitative Research*, 160.

[437] Corbin and Strauss, *Basics of Qualitative Research*, 66.

[438] This limitation stems from the number of posts that can be displayed on the computer screen at once, which makes thorough comparisons for assigning labels more difficult.

reinforcing the immersive ethos at the heart of mind-walking. The posts were organised according to geotag—Tanah Abang, Sudirman, and Kota Tua—to facilitate location-specific coding and attend to the spatial particularities of Jakarta's street vending PIU. Removable Post-it notes were used to record codes and affix them directly to the printed images (see Figure 33), enabling codes to be shifted, clustered, or rearranged as patterns became discernible. The resulting labels represented the initial interpretive outcomes of this reflective engagement.

Through this process, I produced roughly six to eight codes per Instagram post. Yet, notwithstanding the benefits of this hands-on method, the codes generated at this stage tended to be somewhat generic, capturing primarily what was visually evident. This limitation resonates with Gemma Orobitg Canal's observation in *Photography in the Field: Word and Image in Ethnographic Research* that many dimensions of field encounters remain imperceptible to the unaided eye.[439] Nevertheless, the exercise was far from redundant. Rather, it operated as a *sampling mechanism*, reducing the original dataset of 1,089 posts to a more concentrated subset of 105 posts, each containing distinctive features that warranted further, more detailed investigation.

[439] Gemma Orobitg Canal, 'Photography in the Field: Word and Image in Ethnographic Research', in *Working Images: Visual Research and Representation in Ethnography*, ed. Sarah Pink et al. (Routledge, 2006), 31.

Figure 33. Pinned-up printed screenshots of Instagram posts on the walls with Post-it notes that label the clues. Source: Author.

To address the lack of nuance in the open coding, I introduced *tracing*—a drawing technique that involves re-drawing the original material using a transparent layer. Although seldom treated as a formal research tool within built environment disciplines, tracing possesses analytical potential. In *The Discipline of Tracing in Architectural Drawing*, Ray Lucas notes that tracing is often dismissed as a mechanical act of replication; yet, he argues, it is in fact curatorial.[440] The act of tracing compels the drawer to decide what to highlight and what to omit, producing a transformed and reinterpreted rendering of the source image.[441] Tracing thus enables a more attentive reading of material, illuminating irregularities, patterns, and overlooked spatial cues. It functions as both an inscriptive and an iterative practice through which new knowledge may be generated.

Tracing became a crucial interpretive device in this study, allowing me to examine the peculiarities and subtle operations of street vending that had escaped my earlier coding. It ensured that fine-grained details—those easily missed in a first pass—were incorporated into the analysis. The earlier sampling step proved essential here. Attempting to trace more than a thousand images would have been unmanageable, whereas mind-walking's prioritisation of depth over scale (small data rather than big data) justified working with a highly focused sample.

While tracing in interior and architectural design is typically applied to two-dimensional representations such as plans, sections, or elevations, this research applied tracing to three-dimensional photographs—the only visual material available. This adaptation revealed unexpected analytical value.

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[440] Ray Lucas, 'The Discipline of Tracing in Architectural Drawing', in *The Materiality of Writing: A Trace Making Perspective*, ed. Christian Mosbæk Johannessen and Theo van Leeuwen, Routledge Studies in Multimodality (Routledge, 2017), 1.

[441] Lucas, 'The Discipline of Tracing in Architectural Drawing', 4.

Lucas argues that tracing perspective drawings—and by extension photographs—can expose geometric and spatial relationships that flat drawings rarely reveal.[442] As I traced these photographs, the process became surprisingly intimate, compelling attention towards the relational dynamics between bodies, objects, and their surroundings.

Unlike the earlier manual coding phase, tracing was carried out digitally in Adobe Illustrator (AI). This choice preserved the colour, resolution, and detail of the original Instagram posts—qualities that were diminished in printed form. AI effectively replicates analogue tracing, enabling the creation of layered drawings over a source image, with each layer dedicated to a specific analytical focus.

Rather than diminishing the embodied quality of tracing, using AI enhanced it. Features such as zooming, layering, and undo provided a more sensitive, responsive engagement with the data. Combined with tablet and stylus use, the practice maintained a tactile dimension consistent with anthropological accounts—including those by Ingold—regarding the cognitive work of bodily movement and muscle memory in processes of drawing and knowing.[443] In this way, tracing became fully integrated into mind-walking: an inscriptive act through which insights evolved through iterative visual engagement.

At its core, tracing involves following the contours of an image with lines, using variations in weight, stroke, and colour to differentiate types of information.[444] To ensure methodological consistency, I adopted a

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[442] Lucas, 'The Discipline of Tracing in Architectural Drawing', 12.

[443] Tim Ingold, ed., *Redrawing Anthropology: Materials, Movements, Lines*, Anthropological Studies of Creativity and Perception (Ashgate, 2011), 2.

[444] Lucas, 'The Discipline of Tracing in Architectural Drawing', 4–5.

standardised tracing protocol across all images. Using the visual clues diagram (Figure 32) as a guide, I first traced all relevant visual components—vendors, customers, passers-by, vending units, urban features, and tools—using continuous lines. This constituted Layer 2, with Layer 1 holding the original screenshot (Figure 34). Layers 3–4 added dashed arrows marking newly detected codes, while Layer 5 introduced interpretive conceptual labels. As Figure 35 demonstrates, tracing substantially expanded the number of generated codes, particularly by revealing subtle elements overlooked during manual coding.

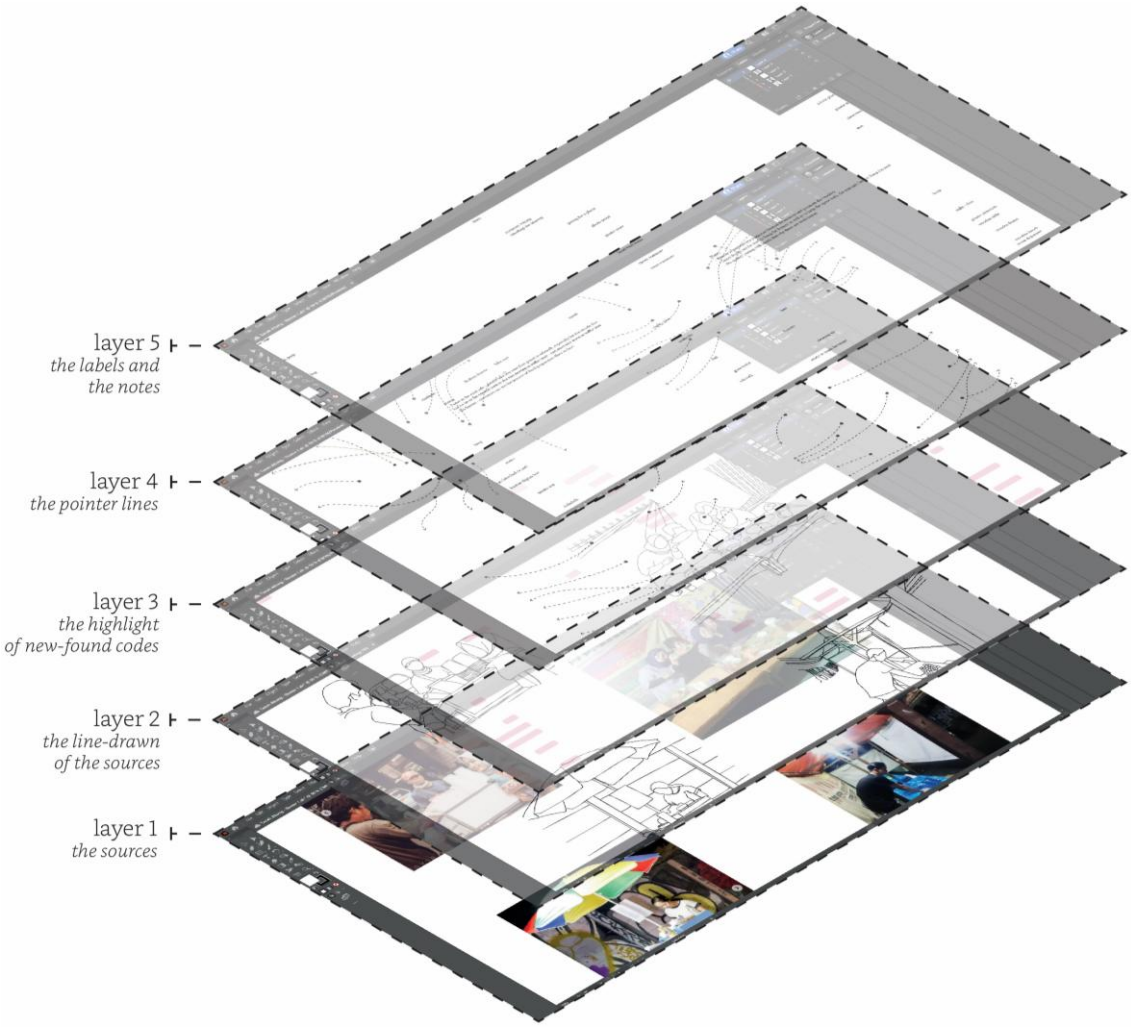
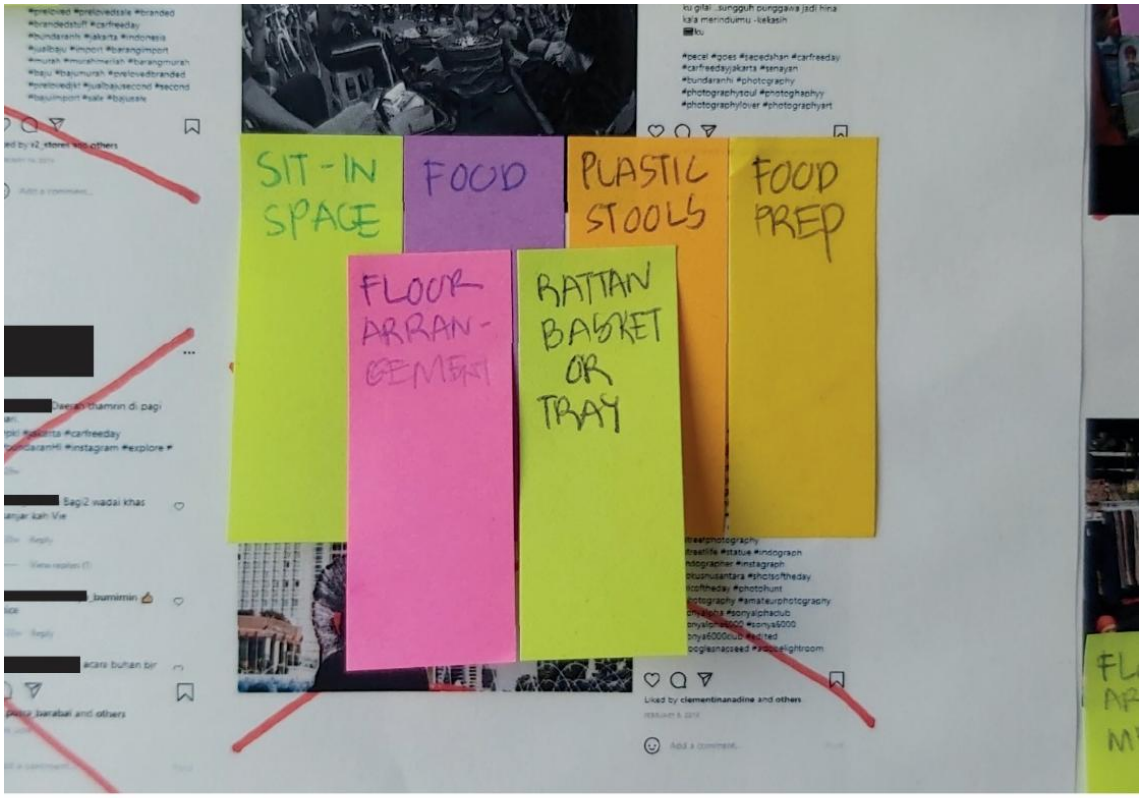
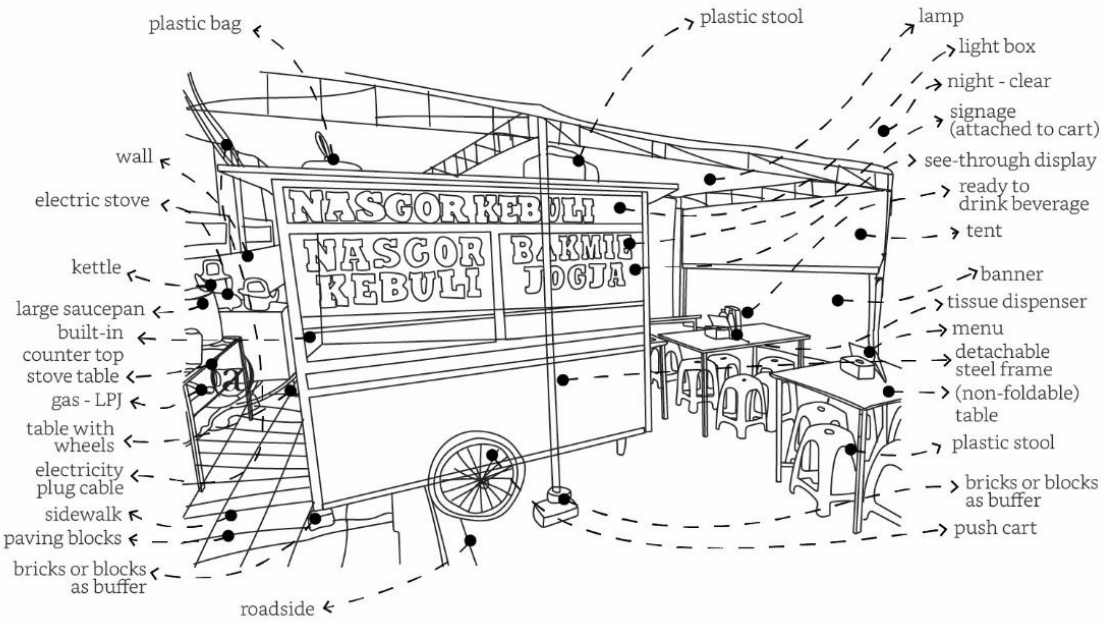


Figure 34. Tracing using Adobe Illustrator allowed this research to work with layers, mimicking the manual tracing process. Source: Author.



(a)



(b)

Figure 35. Comparison between the codes generated by open coding (top) and tracing (bottom). Source: Author.

Across the dataset, tracing yielded 663 codes—176 from Tanah Abang, 208 from Sudirman, and 279 from Kota Tua—each corresponding to a characteristic of street vending practice (see appendices for complete tracing process). Some codes appeared across all three locations—such as 'push-cart', 'pavement', and food—indicating shared features in the PIU of Jakarta's street vending. Yet, as illustrated in Figure 36, each area also generated unique codes. 'Car Free Day (CFD)', for instance, was specific to Sudirman, while 'fortune telling' and 'tattooing' were found only in Kota Tua. Such distinctions reinforce the research proposition that different sites in Jakarta may exhibit distinct forms of PIU.

Differences in the number of codes may also suggest varying degrees of spatial complexity, with Sudirman and Kota Tua potentially hosting more layered or heterogeneous vending practices than Tanah Abang. However, this remains speculative. Open coding and tracing serve primarily to surface the structural components of the dataset—to identify directions for inquiry rather than to settle conclusions. These emerging patterns require further, spatially grounded analysis in the subsequent phase of mind-walking.

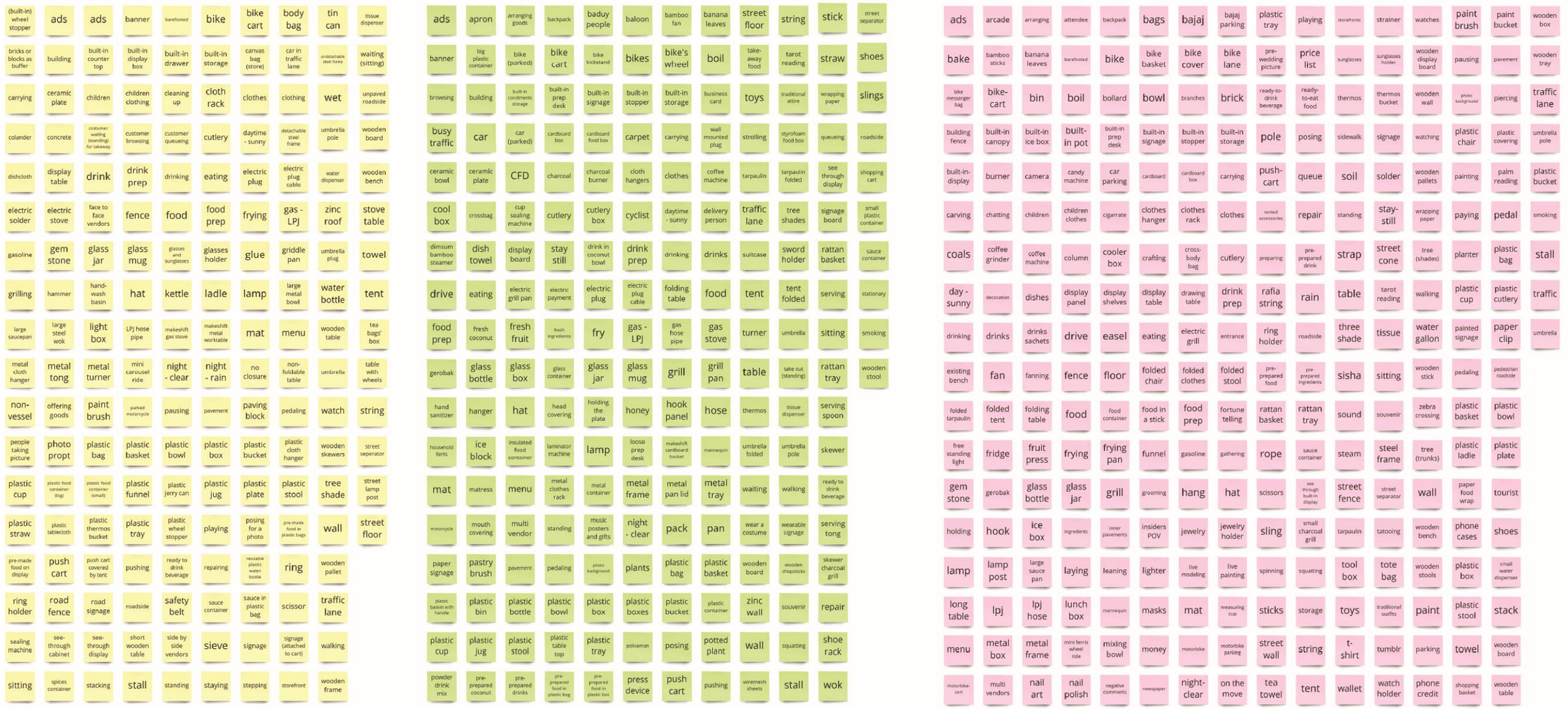


Figure 36. Codes were generated through open coding and tracing in three locations: yellow indicates Tanah Abang, green for Sudirman and red for Kota Tua. Source: Author.

3.2.4.2 Axial coding + diagramming

The second phase of inductive coding—*axial coding*—entails examining and regrouping existing codes into *categories* and overarching *themes* according to shared attributes.[445] Its purpose is to reveal connections between codes and clarify their roles within the broader phenomenon. Following this logic, I began clustering codes by similarity—for example, 'push-cart', 'bike-cart', and 'shopping-cart' were grouped under the category 'analogue', whereas 'car' and 'motorbike-cart' were placed under 'motorised'. Both categories describe different forms of vending units and were therefore subsumed under the broader theme of 'vending unit'.[446]

This procedure led to the identification of five principal themes, each of which was present across all three study areas—Tanah Abang, Sudirman, and Kota Tua—despite each site also producing its own distinctive codes. However, the categories underpinning these themes varied by location (Table 4). In this sense, the shared themes substantiated the earlier proposition that Jakarta's street vending as PIU may be locally differentiated.

On its own, however, axial coding did not allow this hypothesis to be fully substantiated. The classificatory process privileged the most immediately visible attributes of each code, frequently leading to categories that were overly reductive. While it clarified the values represented by each code, it did not adequately disclose the relationships between categories or their specific roles within Jakarta's street vending practices. Relying solely on written codes made it difficult to apprehend how these elements interact spatially.

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[445] Corbin and Strauss, 'Grounded Theory Research: Procedures, Canons and Evaluative Criteria', 423.

[446] The whole axial coding process can be seen in appendices.

Nonetheless, as with manual open coding, axial coding remained valuable: it produced useful typologies of vending activity structured around time, vending unit, commodity, street setting, and mobility. What was missing was a spatial dimension, which required an additional analytical layer to better understand how these elements operate in situ.

themes / categories	time	vending unit	commodity	street setting	users' activity
Tanah abang	daily	analogue (mobile) stationary	food, fuel, merchandise, service	pedestrian non-pedestrian	stationary mobile
Sudirman	daily weekly	analogue (mobile) motorised (mobile) stationary	food, merchandise, service	pedestrian non-pedestrian	stationary mobile
Kota tua	daily	analogue (mobile) motorised (mobile) stationary	food, consumable, fuel, merchandise, service, rental	pedestrian non-pedestrian	stationary mobile

Table 4. The result of the axial coding process. The three locations shared five themes with different variants of categories. Source: Author.

To deepen this spatial understanding, it was necessary to employ a tool capable of extending and supporting these classifications. For this, I turned to *diagramming*—a drawing-based technique used to visualise relationships and configurations, showing how different components combine to form a coherent system. Within architecture, diagrams are particularly valued for their analytical power. As Gasperoni and Gretsch suggest, diagrams assist in interrogating spatial transformations across multiple dimensions and scales.[447] Complementing this, Bernard Tschumi describes diagrams as instruments for depicting the interaction between a complex range of architectural conditions, such as event, movement, and space.[448] These perspectives align with my intention: to deploy diagrams not merely as

[447] Lidia Gasperoni and Sarah Gretsch, eds, *Experimental Diagrams in Architecture: Construction and Design Manual* (DOM publishers, 2022), 19.

[448] Bernard Tschumi, 'The Diagrams of Bernard Tschumi', in *The Diagrams of Architecture*, ed. Mark Garcia, AD Reader (Wiley, 2010), 198.

representational devices, but as interpretative and generative tools capable of assembling fragmented codes and categories into a spatial logic that reveals how Jakarta's street vending operates on the ground.[449]

Diagrams enabled the research to move beyond recording and classification towards theorising and constructing a geometric understanding of the phenomenon.[450] They not only provided a means of organising codes into categories and themes but also facilitated the identification of the socio-spatial roles of each category and their interrelationships in shaping Jakarta's street vending as PIU. This process extended beyond simply conceptualising the codes, positioning them instead within a broader system and assigning each a meaningful role in the operation of street vending as a spatial and social practice.

The diagramming work began by translating the 105 traced samples into *top-view drawings*—akin to site or floor plans. This allowed for an interpretation of the spatial position and function of each code within different street vending situations. These plan drawings made it possible to visualise the urban interiors generated by vending activities and to explore their relationships with the surrounding urban context. While this method is particularly effective for codes that refer to tangible physical elements, it is less suited to more intangible aspects. This limitation derives from the nature of conventional architectural representations—such as plans—designed to depict fixed, strategic spatial arrangements. As a result, they often struggle to

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[449] Gasperoni and Gretsch argue that, in architecture, the diagram was introduced in the 1980s as a medium not only analytical but also dynamic and generative—capable of producing new forms by moving beyond traditional typologies. See: Gasperoni and Gretsch, *Experimental Diagrams in Architecture*, 302.

[450] Lucas similarly contends that drawing has interpretative qualities that push research beyond mere documentation. See: Ray Lucas, *Anthropology for Architects: Social Relations and the Built Environment*, 1st edn (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2020), xv.

convey the dynamic, lived qualities of space. This observation is consistent with Tschumi's critique that "the plans, sections, and perspectives of traditional architectural representation [are] inadequate to represent the relationship between space and event (or movement)".[451]

To address this limitation and complement the top-view drawings, I introduced a second drawing type: a *notational system* composed of simplified lines and arrows to explore activities, interactions, and movements. Tschumi describes notation as the deployment of the smallest possible number of lines to convey the essential qualities of a phenomenon.[452] In this research, such notational drawings helped illustrate the relationships between bodies, objects, and space. They were also inspired by Christine Frederick's *Efficiency Studies in Home Management*, in which she diagrammed kitchen layouts using dashed lines, arrows, graphics, and text to trace the interactions between users and their tools—capturing both animate and inanimate aspects of inhabitation (see Figure 37).[453]

However, notational drawings are also constrained, particularly in conveying the influence of material qualities such as texture, colour, and surface condition. What is largely absent from both Tschumi's arguments and Frederick's diagrams—but is crucial in the context of Jakarta's street vending—is materiality. As indicated by the codes generated earlier (see Figure 35), material conditions play a significant role in shaping how street vending activities are experienced. This observation is supported by established research that underlines the importance of material elements in influencing

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[451] Bernard Tschumi, *Notations* (Artifice Books on Architecture, 2014), 6.

[452] Tschumi, *Notations*, 6.

[453] Christine Frederick, *The New Housekeeping; Efficiency Studies in Home Management*, with University of California Libraries (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, Page & company, 1913), 52–53.

both the physical and psychological comfort of interior spaces.[454] Consequently, I produced a third type of drawing—one incorporating visual representations of *material and object-based elements*—to better understand how these factors mediate interactions between codes and their roles within the wider street vending operation.[455]

Figure 37. Christine Frederick's kitchen diagrams, illustrating the importance of animate components within interior space, expressed through simple geometries of lines and arrows superimposed on floor plans. Source: Christine Frederick, *The New Housekeeping: Efficiency Studies in Home Management* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1913), University of California Libraries.

[454] To read more about the role of materials and surfaces within interior space, see: Julieanna Preston, 'Surface Demonstrations, Neutral, Not So', in *The Handbook of Interior Architecture and Design*, 1st edn, ed. Graeme Brooker and Lois Weinthal (Bloomsbury Academic Press, 2013); George Verghese and Dianne Smith, 'The Poetic Language of Interior Materials and Color', in *The Handbook of Interior Architecture and Design*, 1st edn, ed. Greame Brooker and Lois Weinthal (Bloomsbury Academic Press, 2013).

[455] Throughout the diagramming process, I referred back to the original Instagram posts to ensure each code was interpreted accurately in its spatial and relational context.

To bring the three distinct yet complementary drawing types together into a coherent diagram, I chose not to superimpose them. Instead, each drawing was presented in a separate frame to enable a focused and detailed reading of its interpretative register. To signal that these drawings collectively represented a single instance of PIU in Jakarta's street vending, I arranged them sequentially—beginning with the tracing drawing, followed by the top-view (plan) drawing, the notational drawing, and finally the material and object-based drawing (Figure 39).

This compositional strategy was inspired by Tschumi's *Manhattan Transcripts*, where interpretative drawings are presented side by side to underscore both their individual analytical value and their interdependence within a broader spatial narrative.[456] Unlike Tschumi, however, whose emphasis falls primarily on the movement of the human body as the principal dynamic element, my diagrams attend to a wider range of spatial engagements—including material objects and immaterial conditions, such as weather and other atmospheric factors—as active agents in shaping urban interior space. These representations are central to capturing spatial engagement within interior environments. As Mark Taylor observes in *Diagramming the Interior*, "there is disclosed a relationship between the animate and the material, and the diagrammatic and the representational, that is particular to the discourse of the interior".[457]

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[456] Bernard Tschumi, 'Manhattan Transcripts', *ANY: Architecture New York* March/April 1994, no. No. 5, Lightness (March/April 1994) (1994): 48–49.

[457] Mark Taylor, 'Diagramming the Interior', in *The Diagrams of Architecture*, ed. Mark Garcia, AD Reader (Wiley, 2010), 140.

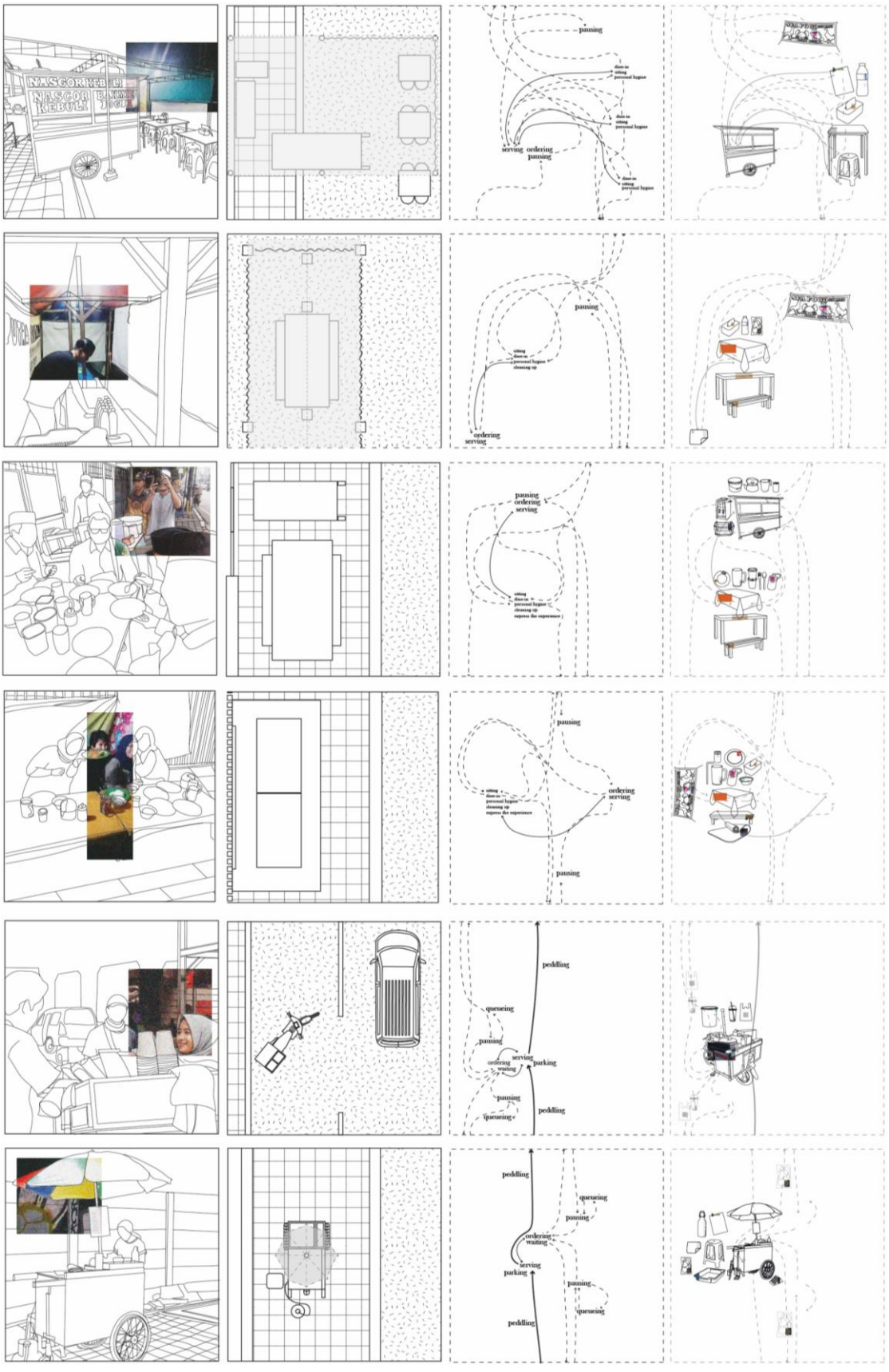

Figure 38. Examples of the four-frame diagram of the axial coding process. Source: Author.

The diagramming process yielded a refined set of categories that organised the codes not only by similarity but also by spatial characteristics and functional roles within Jakarta's street vending as PIU. For example, codes such as 'push-cart' and 'bike-cart' were initially grouped under 'analogue (mobile)' owing to their shared mobility. Diagrammatic analysis, however, revealed that these units also require minimal appropriation of the existing urban surface, prompting a reclassification under 'limited contact with the existing surface'. Similarly, while axial coding had originally grouped 'plastic stool', 'chair', 'table', and 'mat' under 'stationary activity', the diagrams demonstrated that they form a distinct category of 'loose tools'. This category reflects not only how these objects mediate interactions with customers but also their role in supporting vending activities through mobility, flexibility, and attachment to vending units (see Table 5).[458]

themes / categories	response to the temporal condition	engagement with the setting	tool	users' participation	vending area
Tanah abang/ Sudirman/ Kota tua	anticipative responsive	change the appearance and function of the setting responding to the existing setting limited engagement with the existing setting	loose built-in embodied	active passive	multiple interiors single interior

Table 5. The categories and themes are produced through diagrams. Source: Author.

What differentiates the results generated through diagramming from the initial axial coding is that the categories and themes produced through the former remained stable across all three locations. However, it would be premature to dismiss the earlier hypothesis that each area possesses its own form of PIU. The 'ingredients' identified through this process—the categories—are still relatively raw. Although their spatial roles have been

[458] Complete diagramming processes are available in the appendices.

recognised, the ways in which they combine, and the configurations through which they form distinct manifestations of PIU, remain unresolved. The subsequent coding stage therefore focuses on understanding how Jakarta's street vendors assemble and relate these elements.

3.2.4.3 Selective coding

The final stage of analysis, *selective coding*, involves constructing a narrative that links the themes generated in the previous coding phases in order to formulate a coherent 'theory'.[459] Within grounded theory, such a theory typically represents the central phenomenon under investigation. In this research, the narrative aims to articulate the patterns that characterise the social and spatial dimensions of Jakarta's street vending as PIU. However, the variation in codes across locations (as revealed by open coding), alongside the consistency of categories and themes (as demonstrated by axial coding), led me to suspect that multiple configurations or narratives might be required to adequately describe Jakarta's street vending PIU.

This marks a departure from the classic grounded theory model proposed by Corbin and Strauss, which seeks to arrive at a single, overarching explanation.[460] In this context, a unitary theory appears inappropriate. Selective coding is inherently shaped by the research question, which in this case remains deliberately open-ended. As the first step in a two-stage research process, the aim here—as previously outlined—is to grasp contextual sensitivities, identify patterns, and, crucially, generate new questions. The

[459] Corbin and Strauss, 'Grounded Theory Research: Procedures, Canons and Evaluative Criteria', 424.

[460] Corbin and Strauss, 'Grounded Theory Research: Procedures, Canons and Evaluative Criteria', 424.

emergence of multiple narratives, each linked to a different urban setting, should therefore not be seen as problematic but welcomed.

To delineate these narratives, I returned to the 105 traced samples and examined how individual codes related to one another across different categories and themes within each location. This interpretative process revealed distinct spatial practice configurations—recurrent patterns through which street vendors reverse-interiorised Jakarta's streets. It resulted in the identification of six configurations, which I termed *converting*, *assembling*, *laying*, *lingering*, *parking*, and *fleeting* (Table 6). Of these, four appeared in Tanah Abang, five in Sudirman, and all six in Kota Tua. This outcome supports the earlier hypothesis: locations that generated a greater number of codes exhibited more complex and varied street vending spatial practices. Tanah Abang, with the fewest codes, had the least diversity, whereas Kota Tua displayed the most dynamic and multifaceted PIU characteristics.

response to the temporal condition	***engagement with the setting***	***tool***	***users' participation***	***vending area***	***mobility***	***territory***	***spatial configuration***	
themes / *categories*					*selective coding results*			
anticipative	change the appearance and function of the setting	loose and built-in	active and passive	multiple interiors	low	rigid	***converting***	
anticipative	responding to the existing setting	loose and built-in	active and passive	multiple interiors	low	rigid	***assembling***	Tanah abang Sudirman Kota tua
responsive	responding to the existing setting	loose and built-in	active and passive	multiple interiors	low	adaptable	***laying***	
responsive	limited engagement with the existing setting	loose, built-in and embodied	passive	multiple interiors	high	ephemeral	***lingering***	
responsive	limited engagement with the existing setting	built-in and embodied	passive	single interior	high	ephemeral	***parking***	Sudirman Kota tua
responsive	limited engagement with the existing setting	embodied	passive	single interior	beyond	ephemeral	***fleeting***	Kota tua

Table 6. Selective coding process generating configurations of PIU operations utilised by Jakarta's street vendors as key components. Source: Author.

I now turn to the six configurations of street vending's socio-spatial practices, beginning with converting and assembling, which share several central features. Both pre-empt unpredictable temporal conditions by keeping tools

or structures permanently at the ready. Each relies on a combination of built-in and loose tools to sustain activity. The use of loose tools in particular fosters customer participation, allowing people to adjust or borrow items to accommodate their own needs. As a consequence, these configurations frequently produce multiple interior zones, clearly demarcating vendor and customer spaces.

The key distinction lies in their mode of spatial engagement. In converting, vendors physically alter the street environment—leaving visible traces even when no one is present. By contrast, assembling responds flexibly to existing conditions without materially transforming the setting. The spatial arrangement is reconfigured whenever the context shifts. Despite this difference, both configurations exhibit low mobility because of their dependence on the specific setting, the anticipatory nature of their preparation, and the presence of tools that support social interaction. These factors require longer setup and dismantling times and generate more rigid interior territories—spaces with more fixed roles, expectations, and boundaries.

The third configuration, laying, shares affinities with assembling but differs in two principal respects. First, rather than employing anticipatory strategies, it is acutely responsive: equipment is deployed only when needed, rather than in advance. Second, although laying similarly involves built-in and loose tools and invites active customer participation, it is less dependent on context. This confers greater mobility and more adaptable interior boundaries, as it must continuously respond to spatial and temporal uncertainty. Consequently, this configuration is generally more compact and versatile than the previous two.

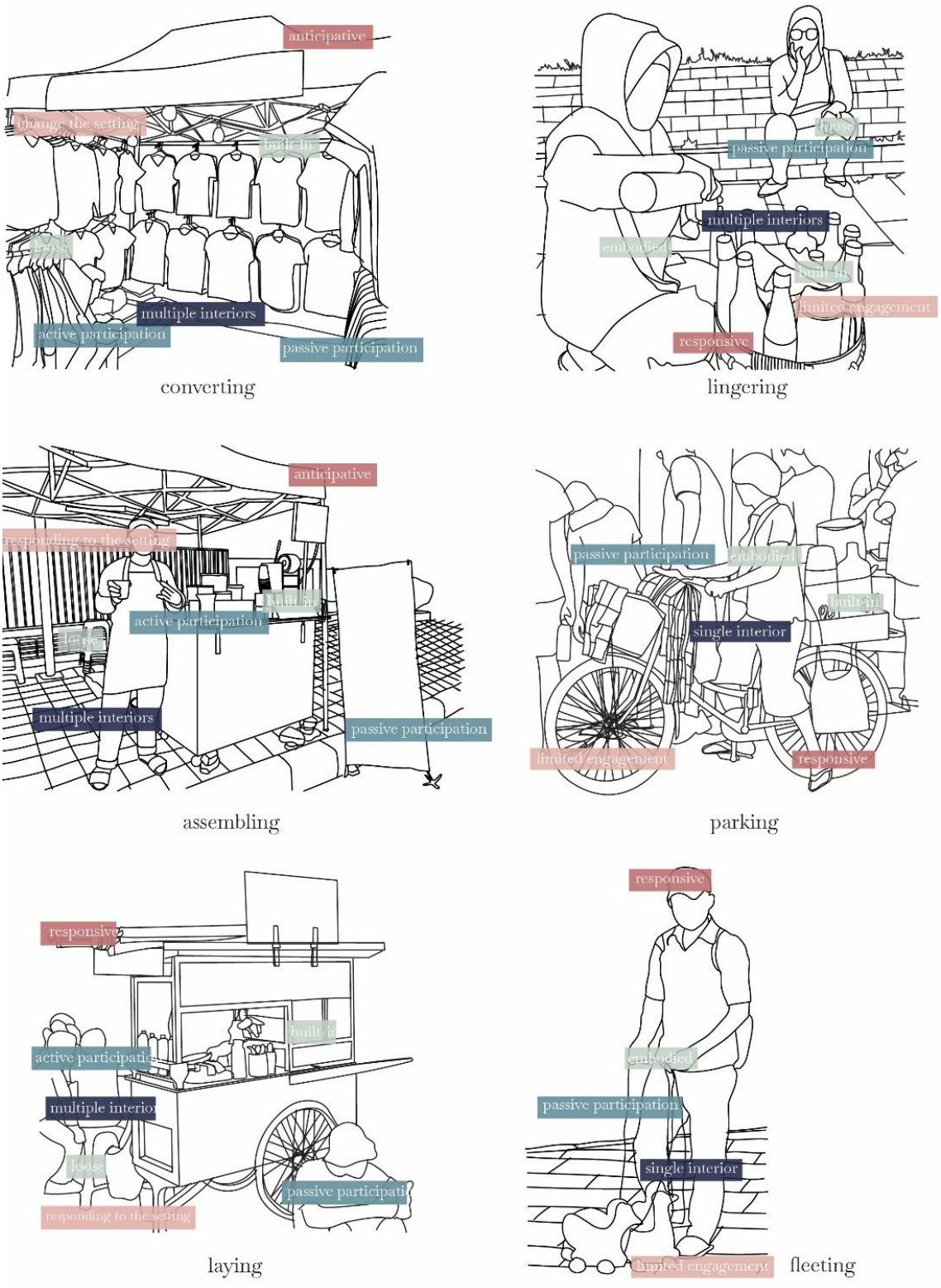

Figure 39. Selective coding process resulting in six socio-spatial configurations of Jakarta's street vending across three locations. Source: Author.

The remaining three configurations—lingering, parking, and fleeting—also share certain characteristics while differing markedly in their engagement with the street. These forms display minimal interaction with the existing environment: they do not adapt their physical form to the setting, nor do they require spatial modifications to function. Instead, they operate in their existing form, responding flexibly to changing conditions without leaving traces or reshaping the urban fabric. The primary distinctions concern the tools deployed and the nature of customer interaction. Lingering fosters social engagement, using tools that promote active participation from customers. By contrast, parking and fleeting are more passive: tools are fixed to the vending unit or the vendor's body, and customer interaction is limited.

Fleeting is characterised by its exclusive reliance on embodied tools—items carried directly on the vendor's body—resulting in brief, transitory exchanges with customers. Lingering, by virtue of its interactive nature, can generate multiple vending zones over time, whereas parking and fleeting typically maintain a single spatial configuration. Despite these differences, all three share high mobility and short operating durations. Their limited attachment to the physical setting, reliance on responsive strategies, and use of body-bound or unit-attached tools produce ephemeral urban interiors with minimal setup and teardown requirements.

Taken together, these configurations illustrate that the spatial function of vending tools does not always correspond neatly with their physical form. Vending units such as bike-carts or push-carts might seem ideally suited to highly mobile configurations like parking, yet in many instances vendors deploy them in fixed positions, constructing temporary shelters to protect their spaces from the weather. In such cases, their practices align more closely with converting or assembling. These nuanced spatial roles would have been

difficult to discern without the analytical support of tracing and diagramming integrated within the mind-walking process.

3.2.5 Key outcomes and limitations

Drawing on the methods outlined above, mind-walking generated initial spatial configurations of Jakarta's street vending activities as a form of participatory interior urbanism (PIU) across three urban locations. These findings both reinforce and complicate the preliminary conceptualisation of street vending as PIU. As discussed in the previous chapter, PIU is characterised by temporality, participation, responsiveness to context, the use of everyday tools, and porous spatial boundaries.

Some configurations—such as laying, lingering, and parking—resonate strongly with this definition. Others, including converting and assembling, produce more structured and semi-permanent urban interiors. In certain cases, participation becomes more passive than active, and spatial boundaries harden, more clearly separating vendors from users. While many configurations are highly responsive, others adopt more anticipatory and pre-structured approaches.

What emerges from these findings is that PIU characteristics—responsiveness, participation, and porosity—do not operate as fixed attributes but as matters of degree. Even the more static configurations hinge on pausing rather than full permanence; their attachments to place remain flexible and reversible. Across all types, spatial forms shift in response to social, physical, or environmental conditions, reiterating the temporal and adaptive nature of PIU. These variations offer an important glimpse into the subtle ways

Jakarta's street vending practices function as participatory forms of spatial production.

Ultimately, this mind-walking experiment demonstrates how publicly accessible digital content can inform the study of informal urban practices. While the methodological tools are not themselves novel, their application to social media data—particularly through tracing, diagramming, and inductive coding—illustrates the adaptability of research methods when translated into mediated contexts. The limitations, however, are evident. Instagram provides only partial, curated depictions of urban life and cannot fully convey the everyday complexities of street vending. Moreover, this stage of mind-walking foregrounded spatial and physical dimensions at the expense of social, economic, and cultural layers of practice, as well as more intangible aspects such as intimacy and sensory experience.

For these reasons, as outlined earlier, mind-walking must be supplemented by a second research stage grounded in embodied, on-site engagement. Only through such a combination can a more holistic and contextually attuned understanding of Jakarta's street vending as PIU begin to emerge.

3.3 Stage two: walking

3.3.1 Aims

While mind-walking sought to provide an engaged means of interpreting spatial practices through digital material, the approach nonetheless positioned me at a remove. As de Certeau suggests, such detached engagement resembles that of a *voyeur*—someone who apprehends the city

"at a distance".[461] It permits the city to be read but not inhabited, leaving the researcher, in many respects, as a spectator.[462] This limitation is reflected in the first-stage findings, which yielded a predominantly physical and spatial understanding of Jakarta's street vending activities, but did not fully capture their more intangible and embodied dimensions.

A more grounded, complementary strategy was therefore required for the second stage—one capable of producing a *thicker description* of Jakarta's street vending as a form of PIU. With the lifting of COVID-19 travel restrictions from 2022 onwards, I was able to undertake *fieldwork* which, as Brown et al. note, is the principal means by which anthropologists generate data to answer their research questions—often through direct association or cohabitation with those they study.[463] The aim, famously, is to make "the strange familiar and the familiar strange".[464]

Although fieldwork and ethnography are well-established paradigms in anthropology, this is less so in architecture and, by extension, interior studies. As Suzanne Ewing observes in her introduction to *Architecture and Field/Work*, the architectural discipline is shaped by a productive tension between theory and practice, and in its 'field working' modes it frequently borrows methods from other disciplines, including anthropology, archaeology, and ecology.[465] Accordingly, this second stage—like the first, which drew on Hine's virtual ethnography and Ingold's concept of mind-

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[461] Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 282.

[462] Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 281–82.

[463] Nina Brown et al., eds, *Perspectives: An Open Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, Second edition (American Anthropological Association, 2020), 47.

[464] Brown et al., *Perspectives*, 47.

[465] Suzanne Ewing, 'Introduction', in *Architecture and Field/Work*, ed. Suzanne Ewing et al., Critiques : Critical Studies in Architectural Humanities (Routledge, 2011), 6–7.

walking—adopts a framework inspired by anthropology, specifically by employing *walking* as the principal research tool for conducting fieldwork.

3.3.2 Walking: an embodied engagement

The general notion of walking as a mode of knowing was briefly introduced in the previous research stage. Here, I elaborate on how walking can be mobilised as a fieldwork method to generate thick descriptions of Jakarta's street vending as PIU.

Within anthropology, Ingold is a key figure in conceptualising walking as a form of knowledge production. He describes those who adopt this method as *wayfarers*—individuals who engage with the world through movement and situated practice.[466] Wayfarers interpret clues encountered on the ground, absorbing information inwardly and, in doing so, not only develop an understanding of the environments they traverse but also reflect upon their own positionality.[467] Although walking has long been significant within anthropology, it has also been explored across multiple disciplines under different names and with varying theoretical emphases. Thinkers such as Charles Baudelaire, Walter Benjamin, the Situationist International (SI), and Michel de Certeau have each contributed to a conceptual lineage in which walking functions as a critical, reflective, and spatial practice.[468] A

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[466] Tim Ingold, 'Footprints through the Weather-World: Walking, Breathing, Knowing', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 16 (2010): s126.

[467] Ingold, 'Footprints through the Weather-World', s126–27.

[468] For further reading about walking as a practice from these authors, see: Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*; Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, 1st paperback ed (Harvard University Press, 2002); Simon Sadler, *The Situationist City* (MIT Press, 1998); Charles Baudelaire, *Selected Writings on Art and Literature*, trans. P. E Charvet (Penguin, 1992).

comparative overview of these perspectives is presented in the matrix below (Table 7).

Across this body of work, several key commonalities emerge. First, rather than forcing observed information into pre-existing theoretical frameworks, these practices embrace the diversity and unpredictability of what is encountered on the ground, allowing new understandings to arise inductively. Second, although many of these walking practices were initially articulated within specific cultural or geographical contexts—especially European ones—they are grounded in basic human capacities such as movement and perception. As such, they are not confined to their original contexts and can be adapted readily to other settings.

This adaptability is especially important for the present research, which seeks to move beyond dominant, often Eurocentric, conceptions of urbanism. Investigating street vending as a form of PIU requires methods that are grounded, adaptable, and sensitive to context—qualities that characterise the walking-based approaches discussed here. Such methods have been effectively deployed to explore social and spatial phenomena outside European and North American contexts without presuming cultural incommensurability. For example, Chen Yi'En drew on de Certeau's notion of walking to examine Singapore's urban environment in *Telling Stories of the City: Walking Ethnography, Affective Materialities, and Mobile Encounters* (2014); Kevin Browne used a similar approach in *City of Cats: On Walking and Fieldwork in Jakarta* (2018); and Peter Nas employed Baudelaire's concept of the flâneur in *The Urban Anthropologist as Flâneur: The Symbolic Pattern of Indonesian Cities* (2012).[469]

[469] Nas, 'The Urban Anthropologist as Flâneur: The Symbolic Pattern of Indonesian Cities'.

author	concept	theoretical context	argument	practicality	expected output	related research
Charles Baudelaire	*Flâneur*	Paris, 1860s	to capture the crowd of today, to understand the beauty of the present, to grasp a subtle understanding of this world.	observing while enjoying the state of **incognito**. to make themselves unseen, flâneur adopts the **blasé** attitude. the practice take form in strolling and taking pleasure in losing themselves in the midst of the urban flow/crowd, which situate flâneur both as observer and participant of the practice.	through bodily interaction with the constructed environment, the flaneur occupied the urban space making and remaking **an individual version of the city**.	(Lucas, 2008); (Nas, 2012); (Edensor, 1998); (Fyfe, 1998); (Church, 2011)
Walter Benjamin	Urban Explorer: Archeologist, Collector and *Flâneur*	Paris, 1920-1930s	both criticised and adapted the concept of flâneur. used it to excavate hidden secrets of particular component of the city (the arcades) that might provoke the awakening from what he saw as the collective, consumer dream world of commodity fetishism.	the archaeologist **excavated the past**, whilst the collector **wrenched objects from their contexts and reconstituting them** to reveal their hidden truth. the flaneur was the one who **traversed the city**, wandered through the urban realm as though it was their living room (pushes the inside out). situate flaneur as participant of the practice.	**organisation and system of relations** from memories and objects gathered through the process of flânerie.	(Lucas, 2008); (Jensen, 2009); (Mace, 2015); (Attiwill, 2011); (Attiwill, 2013)
Situationist International	The *Drift or Dérive*	Europe, 1950-1960s	designed to reveal some deeper reality to the city and urban life. the aim is a radical re-reading of the city that is critical towards the hegemonic scope of modernity.	an organised spontaneity: explore the field using playful-constructive behaviour where one should **abandon** oneself to the attractions of the terrain and the encounters one finds there, **engage** complete strangers in conversation and incorporate various **transgressions**. this situate drifter as the main participant of the practice.	new forms of cartography, capable of representing states of consciousness and feeling: **unités d'ambiance**; emphasises on the **'soft' mutable elements of urban scenes** (the play of presence and absence, of light and sound, of rhythms of human activity in time and space, and the association of memories and places).	(Bassett, 2004); (Jensen, 2009); (Church, 2011); (Attiwill, 2011)
Michel de Certeau	Walking/ *Walker*	USA/Europe, 1980s	the everyday practices done by ordinary people to know the city from below. a spatial enunciation.	**appropriating** the topological system (the present - making selection), spatially **acting-out of the place** (create discreteness), and implying **relations** among different positions (phatic). tactical practice. walker as participant.	**stories**: walking as a particularly inventive process through which pedestrians construct stories, thereby weaving places together in improvisational narratives.	(Yi'En, 2014); (Edensor, 1998); (Merker, 2010); (Ingold, 2004); (Lee, 2007); (Browne, 2018); (Chen, 2010)
Tim Ingold	Walking/ *Wayfarer*	inapplicable	Anthropological practice to grow knowledge that is free from biases and assumptions. to grasp the richness and reality of people's mobility in the world.	relies on footprints/clues on the ground. during practice: perceiving **self and environment** (observe surrounding and turn inwards to produce a particular state of body/mind), creating **routes** (observing others' mobility and do repeated walks), and **social interactions** (walk together). this concept situate the anthropologist as both observer and participants.	visual **documentations**, sound recordings, writing journals/logs.	(Lee & Ingold, 2006); (Gottschalk & Salvaggio, 2015); (Nóvoa, 2015); (Lucas, 2008)

Table 7. Matrix showing a comparative exploration of walking as a situated practice, including the work of Charles Baudelaire, Walter Benjamin, the Situationist International, Michel de Certeau, and Tim Ingold. Source: see footnote.[470]

[470] Lucas, *Anthropology for Architects*; Nas, 'The Urban Anthropologist as Flâneur: The Symbolic Pattern of Indonesian Cities'; Tim Edensor, 'The Culture of the Indian Street', in

Yet, owing to their disciplinary origins and historical contexts, important distinctions persist. Not all walking-based approaches seek immersion in others' lifeworlds. Baudelaire's flâneur, for example, advocates distance—observing anonymously from afar and prioritising spectacle rather than interaction.[471] Similarly, Benjamin's interpretation privileges engagement with physical spaces and objects over social dynamics.[472] In both cases, the social dimension of the environment is largely marginalised.

Another key difference lies in how each concept positions the practitioner or researcher. While Baudelaire discourages direct engagement, he nonetheless casts the flâneur as both observer and participant, encouraging a personal

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Images of the Street: Planning, Identity and Control in Public Space, ed. Nicholas Fyfe (Routledge, 1998); Nicholas Fyfe, ed., *Images of the Street: Planning, Identity and Control in Public Space* (Routledge, 1998); Kate Church, 'Making Visible: Registering the Asynchronous City', in *Urban Interior: Informal Explorations, Interventions and Occupations*, ed. Rochus Urban Hinkel (Spurbuchverlag, 2011); Ole B. Jensen, 'Flows of Meaning, Cultures of Movements – Urban Mobility as Meaningful Everyday Life Practice', *Mobilities* 4, no. 1 (2009): 139–58, https://doi.org/10.1080/17450100802658002; Mace, 'The Transfigured Phenomena of Domesticity in the Urban Interior'; Attiwill, 'Urban and Interior: Techniques for an Urban Interiorist'; Attiwill, 'Interiorizt'; Keith Bassett, 'Walking as an Aesthetic Practice and a Critical Tool: Some Psychogeographic Experiments', *Journal of Geography in Higher Education* 28, no. 3 (2004): 397–410, https://doi.org/10.1080/0309826042000286965; Cheng Yi'En, 'Telling Stories of the City: Walking Ethnography, Affective Materialities, and Mobile Encounters', *Space and Culture* 17, no. 3 (2014): 211–23, https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331213499468; Merker, 'Taking Place: Rebar's Absurd Tactics in Generous Urbanism'; Tim Ingold, 'Culture on the Ground: The World Perceived Through the Feet', *Journal of Material Culture* 9, no. 3 (2004): 315–40, https://doi.org/10.1177/1359183504046896; Doreen Lee, 'Taking the Streets: Activism and Memory Work in Jakarta', *Indonesian Studies Working Papers, the University of Sydney*, no. No.3 (September 2007): 1–24; Kevin Browne, 'City of Cats: On Walking and Fieldwork in Jakarta', *Practicing Anthropology* Vol.40, no. No.3, Summer 2018 (2018): 12–13; Caroline Chen, 'Dancing in the Streets of Beijing: Improvised Uses within the Urban System', in *Insurgent Public Space: Guerrilla Urbanism and the Remaking of Contemporary Cities*, ed. Jeffrey Hou (Routledge, 2010); Jo Lee and Tim Ingold, 'Fieldwork on Foot: Perceiving, Routing, Socializing', in *Locating the Field: Space, Place and Context in Anthropology*, ed. Simon Coleman and Peter Collins (Routledge, 2006), https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/e/9781003085904; Simon Gottschalk and Marko Salvaggio, 'Stuck Inside of Mobile: Ethnography in Non-Places', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 44, no. 1 (2015): 3–33, https://doi.org/10.1177/0891241614561677; André Nóvoa, 'Mobile Ethnography: Emergence, Techniques and Its Importance to Geography', *Journal of Studies and Research in Human Geography* 9, no. 1 (2015): 97–107, https://doi.org/10.5719/hgeo.2015.91.7.

[471] Baudelaire, *Selected Writings on Art and Literature*, 400.

[472] Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, 14–17.

reading of distantly observed events.[473] This, however, can produce superficial or biased narratives, shaped more by the researcher's subjectivity than by grounded social insight. By contrast, SI's dérive and de Certeau's walking emphasise immersion and position the practitioner solely as participant.[474] Yet, by relying exclusively on individual experience, they risk producing partial accounts that neglect the perspectives of others who share the same setting.

These limitations do not invalidate such methods, but they do demand critical reflection—particularly when the objective is to understand insiders' worlds.[475] In this research, such constraints must be acknowledged, as the aim is not merely to observe street vending from the outside but to situate it as a lived spatial practice shaped by those who inhabit and enact it.

Ingold's account of walking addresses many of these concerns. His wayfarer is simultaneously observer and participant and, crucially, engaged in social interaction.[476] Knowledge is thus generated not only by 'looking' at and 'participating' in the phenomenon but also through the exchange of insights in which insiders are recognised as experts in their own environments. The resulting understanding is shaped by the researcher's reflections in dialogue with others' contributions. This shared process yields more grounded, less assumption-driven interpretations, aligning closely with the overarching aims of this study.

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[473] Baudelaire, *Selected Writings on Art and Literature*, 400.

[474] Sadler, *The Situationist City*, 20; Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 285.

[475] Kate Church draws on Baudelaire's flâneur to reveal aspects of urban interiority, suggesting that intimacy and domesticity emerge through the individual's continual remaking of urban experience—much like the protagonist in Italo Calvino's Invisible Cities. See: Church, 'Making Visible: Registering the Asynchronous City'.

[476] Ingold and Vergunst, *Ways of Walking*, 5.

Accordingly, Ingold's notion of walking provides the theoretical framework for this fieldwork. To maintain continuity with the earlier findings, I conducted site walks in the three locations identified during the mind-walking stage—Tanah Abang, Sudirman, and Kota Tua—between August and September 2022. Each area represents distinctive spatial and social characteristics of Jakarta's urban environment. Rather than following fixed routes, I walked within general perimeters corresponding to the spatial footprint of street vending activities previously identified via Instagram data. These areas were confirmed as active vending sites during a brief preliminary visit in May 2022.

In Tanah Abang, the walks focused on the market complex and its adjoining main streets, covering an area of approximately 1.5 km. In Sudirman, I explored the main boulevard from Setiabudi to Bundaran HI, including adjacent pedestrian-oriented streets—an area of around 3.4 km. In Kota Tua, walking encompassed both Fatahillah Square and the surrounding alleyways (approximately 1.3 km). For both consistency and practical reasons, the starting points were predetermined according to the nearest public transport access: MRT Setiabudi Astra Station for Sudirman, Tanah Abang KRL Station for Tanah Abang, and the TransJakarta Kota stop for Kota Tua (see map and table, Figure 4o and Table 8).

The actual distance and duration of each walk were not predetermined but allowed to emerge organically. This enabled a *tactical exploration* of the streets, meaning that my actions and decisions were shaped by opportunities and dynamic conditions encountered in situ. This approach exemplifies the inductive nature of walking as a way of knowing, where observations and participation are grounded in lived experience rather than guided by preconceived assumptions about where and how street vending ought to be studied. Although the findings from mind-walking and the preliminary visit

helped delineate general boundaries, the final routes remained flexible in order to accommodate Jakarta's constantly shifting urban conditions.

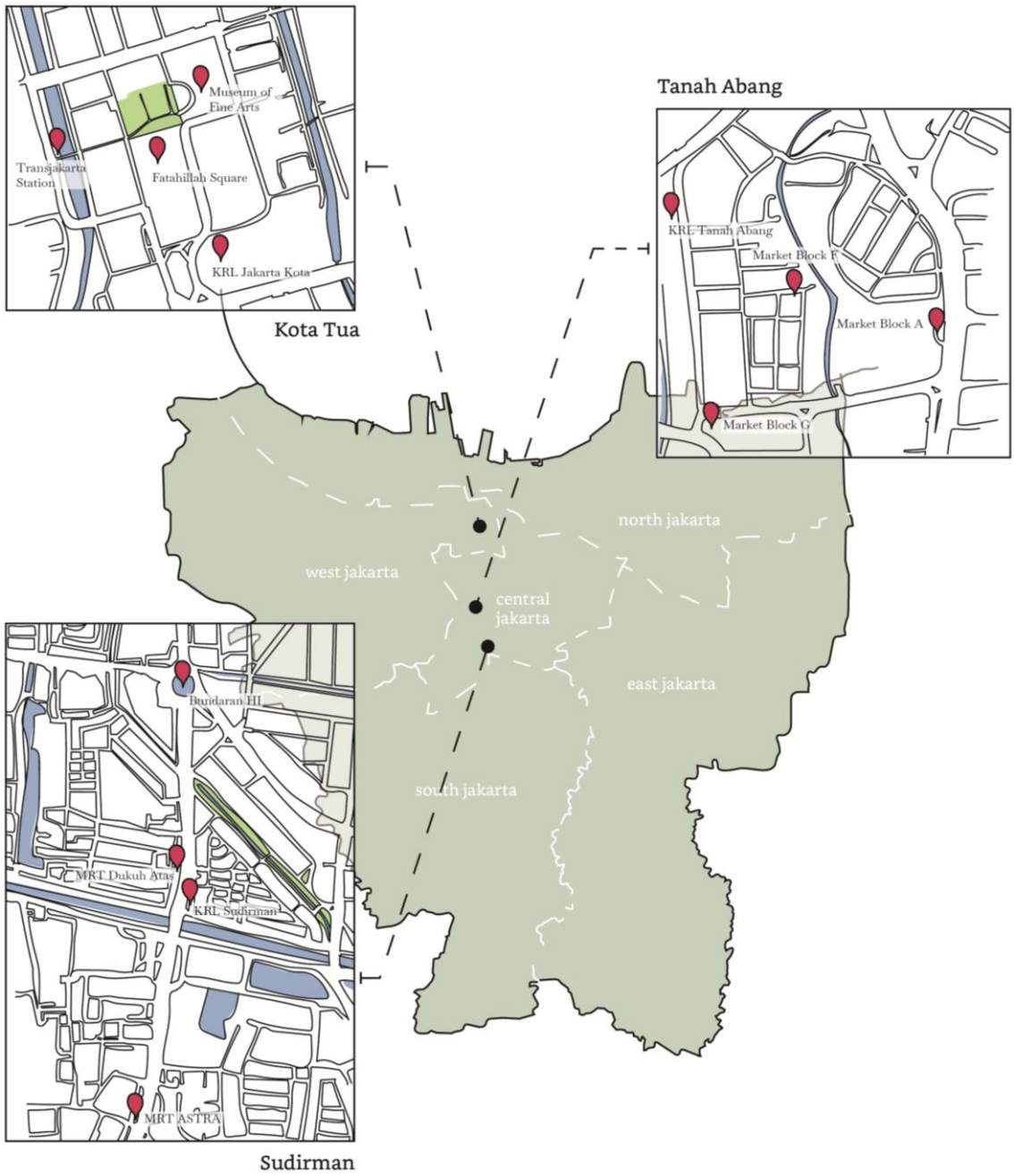

Figure 40. Maps of three Jakarta locations—Sudirman (South Jakarta), Tanah Abang (Central Jakarta), and Kota Tua (West Jakarta)—showing the perimeter areas designated for the walking experiment. Source: Author.

location	description		street vending activities per March 2022 (pre-walking)	street vending schedule
Tanah Abang	1. Series of streets around Tanah Abang Market Complex: Jalan Jati Baru; Jalan KH Mansyur; and Jalan Pasar Tanah Abang 2. Total length: 1552.04 m (1.55 km) 3. Location: Central Jakarta	1. Commercial district 2. The government 'testing' site for regulation. For example the *Peraturan Gubernur No. 41 Tahun 2014* to gives access to private firm to own the land, to *Instruksi Gubernur No. 17 Tahun 2018*, the attempt to 'normalise' street vendors.		Following the market operation time: 7 AM to 4 PM
Sudirman	1. Jalan Jenderal Sudirman (boulevard) and small pedestrian streets. 2. Length: around 3.4 km 3. Location: South Jakarta	1. Business and financial districts (CBD) with government offices and shopping malls 2. An area with integrated public transport facilities (KRL, MRT & Transjakarta). 3. Model for ideal street (based on Spatial Planning for DKI Jakarta Province in 2010-2030), meaning encourage people to use public transport and lessen the traffic congestion (Apritasari, 2021).		Very apparent during CFD (Car Free Day) every sunday, 6 AM to 11 AM.
Kota Tua	1. Series of streets around Fatahillah Square: Jalan Stasiun Kota; Jalan Pintu Besar Utara; Jalan Kali Besar Timur 5; Jalan Kali Besar Timur 4; Jalan Pos Kota; and Jalan Lada 2. Total length: 1303.49 m (1.3 km) 3. Location: West Jakarta	1. Tourist attractions (museums, restaurants, old town neighbourhood, etc.) 2. The subject of government revitalization project to attract more tourist in 2022.		Weekends and holidays are more crowded.

Table 8. Details of each study area, including spatial extent, defining characteristics, notable contextual information, and preliminary data compiled prior to the walking experiment. For additional source mentioned in the table see footnote.[477]

This tactical exploration also involved remaining receptive to interruptions and unforeseen encounters. As noted earlier, Ingold frames walking as a responsive and reflexive practice, in which knowledge is actively worked with

[477] Peraturan Gubernur Nomor 41 Tahun 2014 Tentang Pengembangan Kawasan Sentra Primer Tanah Abang diKelurahan Kampung Bali Dan Kelurahan Kebon Kacang, Kecamatan Tanah Abang, Kota Administrasi Jakarta Pusat, 41, DKI Jakarta, Peraturan Gubernur (2014), https://jdih.jakarta.go.id/dokumenPeraturanDirectory/0031/2014PERGUB003141.pdf; Instruksi Gubernur Nomor 17 Tahun 2018 Tentang Penataan Kawasan Tanah Abang, 17, DKI Jakarta, Instruksi Gubernur (2018), https://jdih.jakarta.go.id/dokumen/detail/3947; Y D Apritasari, 'Evaluation for User's Safety Through Psychological Perception and Walkable Path Physical Design', *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science* 738, no. 1 (2021): 012061, https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/738/1/012061.

rather than passively received. Walking as a way of knowing therefore requires confronting unfamiliar encounters—being exposed both to opportunities (for example, emerging clues, patterns, or social behaviours that direct attention towards relevant vending practices) and to potential risks (such as disorientation, inaccessibility, or misleading cues). These risks are not to be avoided but engaged: they help steer the direction of inquiry and invite real-time decision-making.

However, unlike SI's dérive, which encourages a more open surrender to the seductions of the city, my exploration remained deliberately focused.[478] The aim was to understand street vending activities—including the actors and their tools, as well as any urban elements (human or non-human) that shaped their operation. The tactical use of walking in this research therefore balanced *immersion* with *intention*—a method responsive to context but anchored in a clear research objective.

One instance of this occurred during my first walk in Sudirman. I initially wandered without a fixed route until I noticed several office workers approaching, each carrying plastic takeaway bags (Figure 41, left). This observation acted as a clue. I followed the flow of workers into a side street branching off the main boulevard, where more people appeared carrying similar bags. Given the time of day (weekday lunchtime) and these visual indications, I inferred the presence of street vendors. At the end of the alley, I discovered a concealed vending hub: a row of 16 vendors stretched over approximately 100 metres along the pavement between HKBP Church and the Prudential Building (Figure 41, right). This was not a widely documented

[478] Sadler, *The Situationist City*, 60.

vending cluster; it emerged through attentiveness to subtle, situated cues in the environment.

Figure 41. Indicators of people carrying takeaway food, guiding the walking experiment towards one of several small pockets of street-vending in Sudirman, South Jakarta. Source: Author's photograph, August 2022.

This adaptive method also revealed temporal patterns in street vending. In some locations, I encountered discarded packaging—plastic cups, straws, snack wrappers—indicating vendors' prior presence. I revisited these places at different times to confirm their use. This is how I observed, for example, that on weekend nights the pavements near the Selamat Datang Monument are transformed into informal gathering spaces for young Jakartans, with street vendors accompanying these gatherings and offering affordable food and drinks. These rhythms were absent from news coverage and often from social media posts; they became visible only through walking and sustained presence on the ground.

Although the walks were not governed by fixed routes or durations, the experiment followed a consistent overall structure. Each site—Tanah Abang, Sudirman, and Kota Tua—was visited during six separate sessions, ensuring

coverage of weekdays and weekends, and both daytime and nighttime conditions. Day 1 in each location was designated as an *observation day*, during which I avoided initiating social interactions and instead focused on re-familiarising myself with the area through open-ended exploration.[479] The earlier discussion of tactical walking reflects this mode of engagement. These preliminary observations, which lasted a full day in each site, helped establish the temporal rhythms and spatial patterns that informed my approach during subsequent sessions.

For instance, on the observation day in Sudirman, I found that street vending was relatively dispersed and discreet. I referred to these locations as *small pockets of street vending* (See Figure 42), since they tended to be located along intersecting side streets rather than on the main boulevard. Most vendors in these pockets were stationary, occupying fixed pitches for extended periods and serving primarily office and commercial workers. In contrast, only a few mobile vendors operated on the main boulevard itself, using bicycles or compact pushcarts to remain mobile and avoid enforcement.

In Tanah Abang, by comparison, there were no hidden pockets. Vendors visibly occupied the pavements along main streets and operated in full view, even amidst frequent Satpol PP patrols. Activity followed the opening hours of the Tanah Abang market, with most vendors working communally—clustered in close proximity rather than dispersed individually—typically between 7 am and 4 pm, and with little to no activity in the evenings. Kota

[479] My initial plan for the August–September 2022 fieldwork was to begin with more involved walking practices. On the first day, however, I realised that my outsider position had left me unprepared: despite two decades in Jakarta, I knew the streets mainly as a passenger. As Ingold notes, such "passenger" walking treats the street as a corridor between destinations, leaving little sense of its lived realities. Returning after three years, and with COVID-19 changes reshaping the city, I felt like a stranger—my plan to insert myself directly into street vending activities proved impossible. See: Ingold, 'Culture on the Ground', 321.

Tua presented a different pattern again. Despite being identified as the most active street vending location during the mind-walking stage—based on the volume of geotagged Instagram posts—the observation day revealed limited visible activity.[480] The area was heavily surveilled, with both public (Satpol PP) and private security personnel present, many strategically stationed to deter vending. A small number of vendors remained, but most operated discreetly and in isolation (Figure 43, bottom).

The remaining five sessions in each location focused on more targeted walking, during which I acted as both active observer and participant, engaging with vendors and users in the areas identified on Day 1, where key data points had already been located (see Figures 42 and 43). This was the stage at which primary data collection took place, including close-up observations, informal conversations, semi-structured interviews, and situated reflections—methods that are discussed in the next section. In total, a minimum of six walking sessions was conducted at each site, with each session lasting approximately three to four hours, depending on crowd density, opportunities for interaction, weather, and urban conditions (See Table 9).

In addition to this walking-based fieldwork, a follow-up site visit was undertaken in January–February 2023, focusing on collecting further insider accounts through semi-structured interviews. Although not formally part of the walking experiments, this complementary phase was designed to deepen and cross-check the findings from 2022.

[480] In August 2022, just before the fieldwork began, the area had undergone revitalisation, and street vending was officially banned.

Figure 42. Map produced during the first day of observation on Sudirman, showing the locations of communal, singular, and small pockets of street-vending activities in August 2022. Source: Author.

Figure 43. Maps produced during the first day of observation for Tanah Abang (top) and Kota Tua (bottom), showing the locations of communal, singular, and surveillance points of street-vending activities, August–September 2022. Source: Author.

location	total walking sessions		time coverage	average duration per session	key data points
Tanah Abang	6	1 full day exploratory walk	all day	6 - 8 hours	1. written and visual notes 2. photos and videos 3. reflective writings 4. map of the street vending activities to be observed further
		5 sessions with active engagement	daytime only (7 AM to 4 PM)	3 - 4 hours	1. written and visual notes 2. photos and videos 3. reflective writings 4. voice recordings of the interview 5. notes of the informal conversation 6. 3D scanning
Sudirman	6	1 full day exploratory walk	all day	6 - 8 hours	1. written and visual notes 2. photos and videos 3. reflective writings 4. map of the street vending activities to be observed further
		5 sessions with active engagement	daytime and nightime	3 - 4 hours	1. written and visual notes 2. photos and videos 3. reflective writings 4. voice recordings of the interview 5. notes of the informal conversation 6. 3D scanning
Kota Tua	6	1 full day exploratory walk	all day	6 - 8 hours	1. written and visual notes 2. photos and videos 3. reflective writings 4. map of the street vending activities to be observed further
		5 sessions with active engagement	daytime and nightime	3 - 4 hours	1. written and visual notes 2. photos and videos 3. reflective writings 4. voice recordings of the interview 5. notes of the informal conversation 6. 3D scanning

Table 9. Structure of walking experiments in 2022 and key data points across field sites. Source: Author.

3.3.3 The Observation of Participation: Approaches to Primary Data Collection

Building on the conceptual foundation of walking as a way of knowing (Table 7), this phase required me to position myself simultaneously as active observer and participant. To achieve this, I integrated three key elements into the walking practice: (1) social interaction with insiders, (2) socio-spatial transgression or appropriation, and (3) imitation of insider practices. As Ingold and Vergunst observe:

> Walking is a profoundly social activity: that in their timings, rhythms and inflections, the feet respond as much as does the voice to the presence and activity of others. Social relations, we maintain, are not enacted in situ but are paced out along the ground.[481]

This perspective reframes walking as an intrinsically interactive and relational practice. By embedding interpersonal exchange into the walking method, this second stage becomes more than a form of spatial observation; it becomes a socially embedded, dynamic exploration, which is essential for forming a more holistic understanding of Jakarta's street vending as PIU.

Applying this method, however, required contextual adaptation. As an outsider, it was neither feasible nor appropriate for me to fully assume the role of a street vendor. Instead, I adopted adjacent insider positions: that of customer and street user—two roles that engage directly with vendors through social interaction and spatial appropriation. Acting as a customer involved not only purchasing goods but also participating in the transgressive occupation of pavements or improvised seating areas as part of the informal urban interior. These roles enabled immersion in the socio-spatial dynamics of the practice, offering a different mode of knowing grounded in experience, exchange, and everyday negotiation of the streets.

This approach places my method somewhat outside the conventional boundaries of *participant observation*—the foundational fieldwork technique in cultural anthropology, which, according to Brown et al., involves observing while actively taking part in the activities of those being studied.[482] Within this tradition, there are important variations: Ingold emphasises embodied

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[481] Ingold and Vergunst, *Ways of Walking*, 1.

[482] Brown et al., *Perspectives*, 48.

involvement, whereas Pink advocates the use of visual tools to capture and represent ethnographic encounters more fully.[483] Nonetheless, participant observation typically presupposes access to willing participants and a relatively clear distinction between observer and observed.

By contrast, my preliminary visit in May 2022 and the tactical explorations undertaken on Day 1 in each site made it evident that recruiting vendors as willing participants would be highly challenging. Many vendors were wary of strangers and concerned that attention from outsiders—particularly those perceived as researchers or officials—might attract unwanted surveillance. This reaction is not unique to Jakarta. In *Assessing Mobile Food Vendors: Methods, Challenges, and Lessons Learned for Future Food-Environment Research*, Lucan et al. report similar experiences in New York City, where vendors expressed reluctance to engage with researchers for fear of regulatory repercussions.[484]

In light of this dynamic, I chose not to position vendors as the primary research participants, as would be typical in conventional ethnographic models. Instead, I reframed the fieldwork by becoming a willing participant myself—occupying the roles of customer and street user. In this respect, my approach aligns more closely with what Barbara Tedlock terms *the observation of participation*—an alternative to traditional participant

[483] Sarah Pink, *Doing Visual Ethnography*, 3rd edition (SAGE, 2013), 35–36; Ingold, *Making*, 4.

[484] S. C. Lucan et al., 'Assessing Mobile Food Vendors (a.k.a. Street Food Vendors)—Methods, Challenges, and Lessons Learned for Future Food-Environment Research', *Public Health* 127, no. 8 (2013): 767, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.puhe.2013.05.006.

observation that positions the researcher's body and affective experience as legitimate and valuable sources of knowledge.[485] As she explains:

> During participant observation ethnographers attempt to be both emotionally engaged participants and coolly dispassionate observers of the lives of others. In the observation of participation, ethnographers both experience and observe their own and others' co-participation within the ethnographic encounter.[486]

Here, observer and participant are no longer conceived as separate roles but are folded into a single, reflexive subject. This perspective positioned me as an *observant participant*, enabling attention to the more intimate registers of urban life—the small gestures, micro-actions, and affective atmospheres through which street vending operates as a mode of inhabitation.

Tedlock's observation of participation has been characterised by Dara Culhane as one of anthropology's more imaginative and creative methodological orientations, as discussed in *A Different Kind of Ethnography*, co-edited with Danielle Elliott.[487] Although it diverges from conventional formulations of participant observation, this approach still generates knowledge through reflexivity—rooted not in dispassionate objectivity or predetermined frameworks, but in shared, situated experience within the ethnographic encounter.[488]

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[485] Barbara Tedlock, 'From Participant Observation to the Observation of Participation: The Emergence of Narrative Ethnography', *Journal of Anthropological Research* 47, no. 1 (1991): 69, https://doi.org/10.1086/jar.47.1.3630581.

[486] Tedlock, 'From Participant Observation to the Observation of Participation', 69.

[487] Dara Culhane, 'Imagining: An Introduction', in *A Different Kind of Ethnography: Imaginative Practices and Creative Methodologies*, ed. Dara Culhane and Denielle Elliott (University of Toronto Press, 2017), 2011.

[488] Tedlock, 'From Participant Observation to the Observation of Participation', 77–78.

The forms of data produced are broadly comparable to those of traditional participant observation, including direct observation, informal conversations, and semi-structured interviews, all of which were recorded and transcribed.[489] To secure a rich, multi-layered record of observation and participation, I also employed a range of visual tools, including photography, video, and 3D scans of the interior spaces produced through street vending practices. The specific uses of these tools within the methodological activities are outlined below.

3.3.3.1 Direct Observation

Visual and spatial information gathered during on-site observation was documented through photographs, video footage, and 3D scans. This visual documentation was central to the process, supporting not only interpretation in the field but also subsequent visual analysis after each walking session. As Orobitg Canal suggests, certain aspects of ethnographic encounters are only partially perceptible in the moment, and visual tools create opportunities to revisit, reconsider, and reinterpret those encounters at a later stage.[490] Photography and videography, in particular, are well-established techniques in ethnographic work for capturing the materialities and temporal dynamics of urban life.[491]

Photographs were taken predominantly with a smartphone. This was a deliberate methodological choice. First, given that street vending in Jakarta frequently occupies a legal grey zone, using a smartphone enabled me to

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[489] Brown et al., *Perspectives*, 48.

[490] Orobitg Canal, 'Photography in the Field: Word and Image in Ethnographic Research', 31.

[491] In addition to the sources cited in the main text, the use of visual documentation is also explored in Yi'En, 'Telling Stories of the City'.

remain discreet and avoid drawing unnecessary attention. It allowed me to blend into the crowd and minimised the risk of disrupting vendors' operations or the routines of other street users. Second, the smartphone's in-built geotagging function proved helpful for organising spatial data. The metadata attached to each image later facilitated the mapping of visual information using tools such as Google My Maps, supporting spatial analysis and cross-referencing with other datasets (the outcomes of this mapping are presented in Figure 42 and Figure 43).[492] This strategy aligns with Pink's advocacy for the use of smartphones in walking-based ethnography, where geotagged images underpin both documentation and post-walk reflection.[493]

Video recordings were likewise produced mainly with a smartphone, although more complex tasks—such as zooming or capturing clearer sound—were undertaken with a compact digital camera. Video was crucial for documenting subtle or rapid aspects of interaction—those that unfold through movement or over very short timescales. As Justin Spinney notes, this includes *micro-level insights* such as gestures, spatial negotiations, and bodily orientations between vendors, customers, and passers-by (see Figure 44).[494]

Video has increasingly been adopted in mobile ethnography precisely to attend to such temporal and embodied dimensions, particularly when the researcher is also in motion. For example, Spinney employed videography in his research on urban cycling to reflect on the embodied, mobile character of the practice, while André Nóvoa used video to re-situate himself within his own travel experiences, generating affective snapshots that connect specific

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[492] The raw results from Google My Maps are included in the appendices.

[493] Pink, *Doing Visual Ethnography*, 9.

[494] Justin Spinney, 'A Chance to Catch a Breath: Using Mobile Video Ethnography in Cycling Research', *Mobilities* 6, no. 2 (2011): 163, https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2011.552771.

practices to particular emotions or sensations.[495] Across the walking experiments, I collected roughly 2,490 visual files—photographs and videos—equating to around 400–1,200 images and clips per location.

Figure 44. Snapshots from a video taken on a street vending activity during CFD in Sudirman. It provides a way to reflect on the activity, especially those that are too subtle to the naked eye. Source: snapshots from Author's video, August 2022.

Due to limited time on site and constrained opportunities for interaction with vendors, I also used a 3D scanning application for iPad Pro to rapidly record spatial information about vending units and their immediate environments (Figure 45). The app allowed for the quick capture of measurements and spatial relations in a relatively unobtrusive manner. Although the tool is not intended for professional-grade precision, I calibrated one of the scans against manual measurements and found only minor discrepancies. Since the purpose of this experiment was not to obtain exact dimensions, but rather to understand how these objects and spaces work in practice, the degree of accuracy was sufficient to support the analysis.

[495] Spinney, 'A Chance to Catch a Breath'; Justin Spinney, 'Cycling the City: Movement, Meaning and Method', *Geography Compass* 3, no. 2 (2009): 817–35, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-8198.2008.00211.x; Nóvoa, 'Mobile Ethnography', 105.

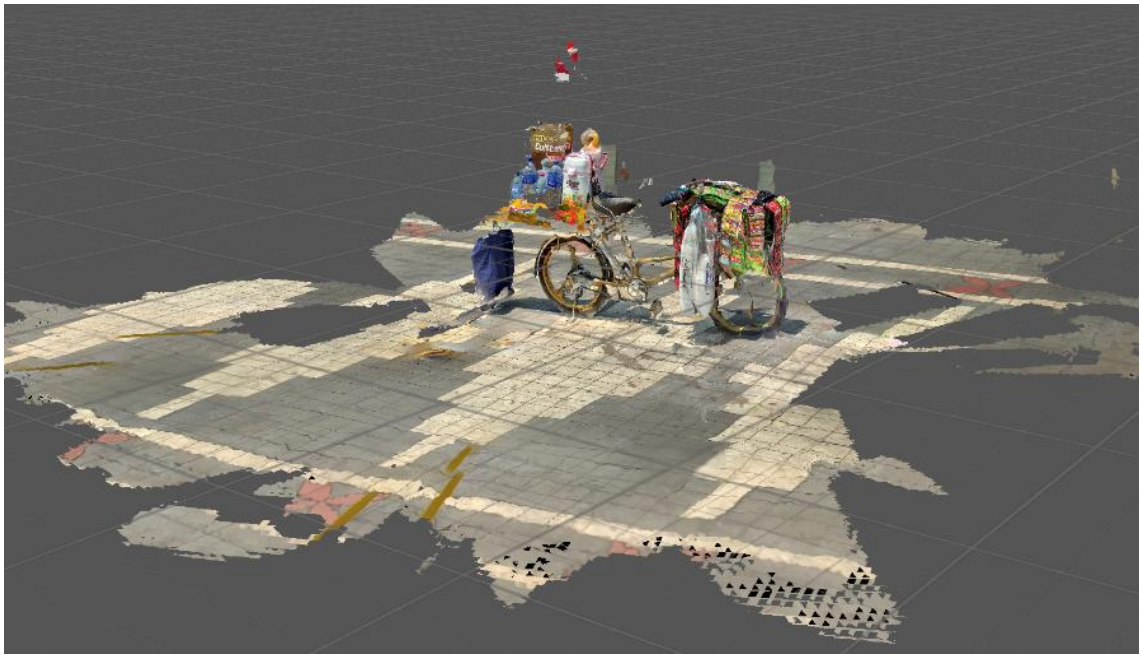

Figure 45. A screenshot taken from the 3D scanner app shows Adi's bike cart. This app helps generate measurements and capture the details of street vendors' vending units and their existing environments. Source: Author.

3.3.3.2 Informal conversations and semi-structured interviews

Within the framework of observation of participation, it was important that knowledge production did not rest solely on my interpretations. A key strategy for addressing this was to engage insiders—both customers and vendors—in informal conversations about the activities in which I was myself participating. Speaking with customers and pedestrians proved comparatively straightforward. Most were receptive to casual questions, as they did not see themselves as the primary focus of surveillance or enforcement in relation to street vending.

By contrast, initiating dialogue with street vendors was considerably more challenging. Many were understandably wary, cautious about disclosing information to an unfamiliar outsider. Direct attempts to ask vendors to speak

about their work often resulted in refusal. It became evident that repeated engagement was necessary. By returning to the same vendors across several walking sessions and allowing them to become familiar with my presence, I was gradually able to build trust. Over time, this familiarity enabled more candid and open-ended exchanges.[496] These encounters also reinforced my dual role as customer and street user—adjacent insider positions through which I could participate meaningfully in the everyday socio-spatial dynamics of street vending.

These *informal conversations* were not audio-recorded in situ. Instead, they were reconstructed shortly afterwards in field notes and later on the *journals* as part of the interior writing process (see appendices and supporting documents for selected excerpts). Most such interactions were relatively short—usually under 30 minutes—and followed no prescribed structure. They unfolded conversationally and intuitively, with the primary aim of capturing nuanced, ordinary dimensions of vendors' practices.

Alongside these informal exchanges, I carried out a series of *semi-structured interviews*. These were reserved for respondents who agreed to be formally recorded and who provided written consent via the research ethics form. Unlike informal conversation, the semi-structured interviews were guided by a flexible set of open-ended questions designed to elicit specific forms of insight while remaining responsive to issues that emerged during

[496] For example, to elicit Adi's story (a beverage vendor on Sudirman Boulevard), I had to interact with him more than once. Our first meeting, near MRT Bundaran HI in the late morning, produced only short answers. Later that day, I found him at MRT Dukuh Atas, where I observed his work quietly until a security guard ordered vendors and customers off the pavement. Sharing this moment of dispersal seemed to build rapport: afterwards, Adi agreed to a fuller conversation and signed the ethics form for this research.

discussion.[497] With vendors, the interviews addressed: (1) migration and residential histories, (2) everyday routines, (3) income and perceived quality of life in Jakarta, (4) affiliations with organisations or unions, and (5) experiences of official interventions, including evictions and confiscations. Additional, context-specific questions were introduced in response to local conditions. For example, in Tanah Abang, I asked about relationships with Satpol PP, whose presence was particularly prominent, while in Kota Tua I explored the implications of the recent revitalisation project for street vending.

In all cases, the interviews were dialogic and attentive to the participants' own framings of their experiences, recognising them as experts in their own environments. The following exchange with Wawan (W), a vendor in Sudirman, illustrates how vendors construct an informal street-level system for managing conflict with authorities (point 5), while also revealing how they individually avoid direct confrontation with Satpol PP in their daily practices (point 2):

Q : Pak, tadikan kita sempet liat kayak ada Satpol PP dishub. Bapak pernah liat gak Pak ada Satpol PP yang dateng? *(Sir, earlier there were Satpol PP and transportation officers around. Have you ever seen them come around here?)*

W : Kalau dulu, kalau ini sih, di ini di marahin, dulu-dulu mah.. *(Back then, yes, they used to come to scold us. That was in the olden days)*

Q : Dulu kapan Pak? *(When was that, sir?)*

W : Sebelum ada ketua PKL. Sekarang kan ada ketua PKL, jadi udah diaturlah gitu. *(Before there was a local street vendor*

[497] Robert G. Burgess, *In the Field: An Introduction to Field Research* (Routledge, 1984), 83, https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203418161.

coordinator. Now that we have a coordinator, things are more manageable)

Q : Udah… udah komunikasi lah ya sama mereka? *(so, there is some communication now with them (the authorities)?)*

W : Iya, udah diatur sama ini, ketua, "gimana ini…" biar lancar. *(yes, the coordinator arranges everything—how to keep things smoothly)*

Q : Berarti sebelum adanya komunitas ini, pernah ketangkep atau gimana? *(so before this community existed, did you ever get caught or anything?)*

W : Woo… dikejar-kejar. *(Woo.. I used to get chased)*

Q : Terus ini gerobaknya, gimana? Kan gak ada rodanya Pak? *(And your cart? It doesn't have wheels?)*

(Wawan pointed to the wheels)

W : Paling ke belakang tuh, lari dulu, ngumpet. *(I'd just run to the back, hide first)*

Q : Kaburnya di belakang sini Pak? *(You hid back here, sir?)*

W : Iya, ke belakang. *(Yes, back behind there)*

Q : Oh… Nah Bapak habis kabur, balik lagi ke sini jualan apa..? *(Oh.. and after that, what would you do?)*

W : Balik lagi siangnya. *(I'd come back in the afternoon)*[498]

All semi-structured interviews were audio-recorded with participants' consent. Because the interviews were intended to remain conversational and relaxed, recording helped preserve a natural flow without the interruption of extensive note-taking. It also captured nuances of tone, affect, and rhythm in participants' speech, offering deeper insight into their perspectives. Recording was especially useful given the time-sensitive nature of vendors' work, which restricted my ability to linger in any one location. Formal

[498] The complete interview transcript with Wawan is provided in the appendices.

interviews were therefore kept to under an hour wherever possible. The recordings were later transcribed for analysis.[499]

Figure 46. Photograph of Wawan, a street vendor on Blora Street, Sudirman, on the day of the interview. Source: Author's photograph, August 2022.

For the initial fieldwork phase in August and September 2022, I formally documented the accounts of 19 street vendors and 14 street users, all under approved ethical protocols. Alongside these, numerous brief and informal interactions occurred during walking sessions, recorded through field notes,

[499] Complete interview transcripts for all respondents are available in the supporting documents of this thesis.

photographs, and video, although not always in the form of formal interviews.

By early 2023, I considered it necessary to gather further narratives. Around the New Year, local media reported that the provincial government, under the newly appointed acting governor Heru Budi Hartono, had initiated a renewed crackdown on street vending in Sudirman, particularly in front of Grand Indonesia Mall, where four of my 2022 respondents were based.[500] Concurrently, reports indicated that vendors had resurfaced in Kota Tua, an area previously cleared during the 2022 revitalisation project.[501] In response, I conducted follow-up semi-structured interviews in January 2023 with an additional 15 street vendors, three street users, and three security staff across the same three locations. These interviews followed the same protocol and thematic focus as those carried out in 2022, ensuring comparability and coherence across the datasets. Tables 10 and 11 present a consolidated overview of interviews and related engagements from both phases.

3.3.3.3 Reflection "in" and "on" actions

A further key tool for data collection was the sketchbook. Although it contained some written field notes, its primary purpose was drawing. I allocated a separate physical sketchbook to each of the three locations. This practice is well established in anthropology; Ray Lucas, for instance, uses

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[500] Annisa Ramadani Siregar, 'Masih Ada Belasan PKL di Sekitar Grand Indonesia', Kompas, 10 January 2023, https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2023/01/10/18565781/masih-ada-belasan-pkl-di-sekitar-grand-indonesia; Azzahra, 'Kawasan Grand Indonesia Steril dari PKL, Begini Suasananya'.

[501] Vinnilya Huanggrio and Ricki Harahap, 'Jelang Malam Tahun Baru 2023, 30.000 Pengunjung Padati Kota Tua Jakarta', Berita Satu, 2022, https://www.beritasatu.com/news/1013869/jelang-malam-tahun-baru-2023-30000-pengunjung-padati-kota-tua-jakarta.

drawing as a reflective method in *Getting Lost in Tokyo*.[502] In my sketchbooks, I employed notational drawing to inscribe experiences of walking and participating in street vending—particularly those aspects that resisted straightforward verbal description or were too intricate or fleeting to be captured adequately in photographs, such as displacement, movement sequences, and body–space relations (see Figure 47).

Alongside the sketchbooks, I also maintained a dedicated Instagram account as a digital writing device to record more subtle and affective aspects of my field experience. The distinction between these media lies in their temporality and modality. The sketchbooks and handwritten notes functioned as live, in-the-moment records. The act of writing and drawing in situ allowed me to engage spatially with the situations I was part of, as they unfolded. For example, while observing a vendor in Sudirman, I not only filmed his actions with a digital camera but also drew his movements and interactions with a customer, tracking gestures, trajectories, physical contact, and timing.

This dual process supported a more nuanced grasp of the vendor's spatial tactics and informed the questions I subsequently posed in formal interviews. As manual, inscriptive tools, the sketchbooks enabled what Donald Schön, in *The Reflective Practitioner*, terms *reflection-in-action*: the capacity to think critically and modify one's approach while still immersed in the situation at hand.[503]

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[502] Raymond Lucas, 'Getting Lost in Tokyo', *FOOTPRINT*, 1 January 2008, 91-104 Pages, 91-104 Pages, https://doi.org/10.7480/FOOTPRINT.2.1.680.

[503] Donald A. Schön, *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action* (Routledge, 2017), 49, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315237473.

Figure 47. Sketchbooks (left) and an example of notation drawings from Tanah Abang (right), showing movement, gestures, and directional patterns during street-vending activities. Source: Author.

Instagram, by contrast, functioned primarily as a vehicle for *reflection-on-action*.[504] Rather than posting in real time, I used the account after each walking session—often while resting on a pavement with a drink purchased from a vendor—to process and reflect on the day's encounters. Reviewing photographs, selecting particular moments, and composing short commentaries enabled me to analyse experiences, refine subsequent strategies for engaging insiders, and begin to connect personal observations to broader socio-spatial dynamics.

Importantly, I did not treat Instagram simply as a visual-sharing platform. I used it as a space for *micro-writing*—short-form textual reflections, observations, and insights expressed in an accessible yet critically attentive

[504] Schön, *The Reflective Practitioner*, 55.

tone.[505] Micro-writing allowed me to register subjective, emotional, and atmospheric nuances that might otherwise be lost. One pragmatic reason for choosing Instagram was convenience: the smartphone already served as the primary device for photography, videography, and audio recording at this research stage, so it became a natural tool for writing as well. Another reason was the ease with which images and text could be combined, enabling immediate reflection on the visual material I had just produced. To safeguard privacy and to encourage candid expression, I used a pseudonymous—"fake"—account, disconnected from my personal identity or social networks. This anonymity enabled a freer, more informal style of reflection (see Figure 48).[506]

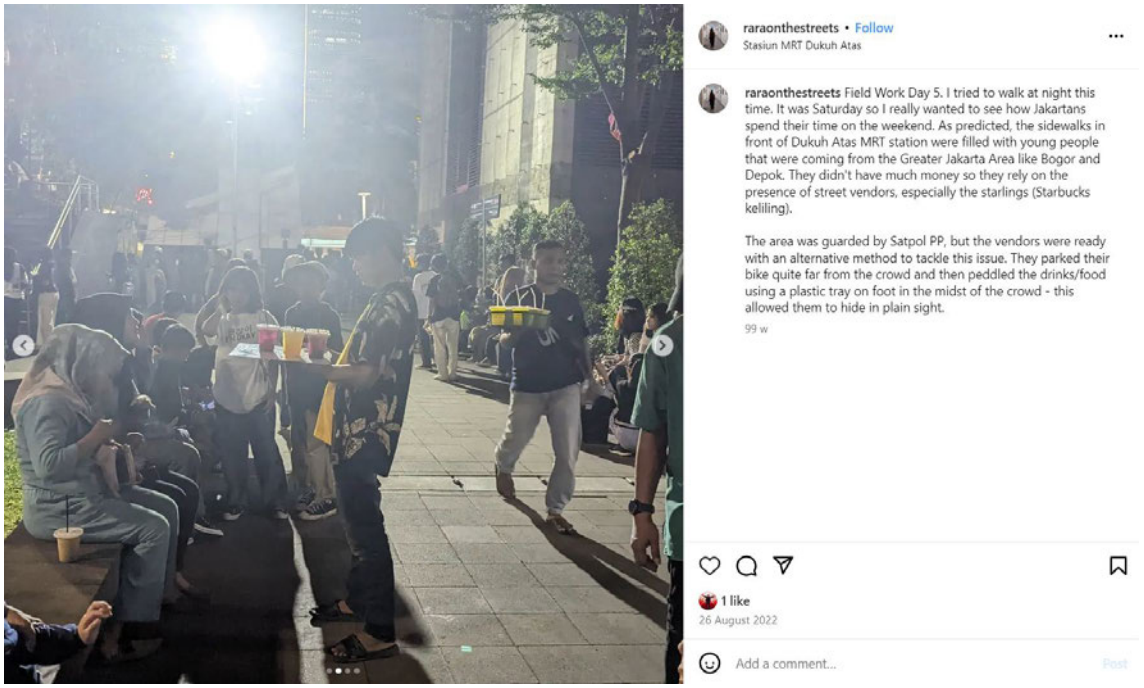

Figure 48. An example of the use of Instagram as a medium for micro-writing for this research. Source: Author.

[505] Denielle Elliott, 'Writing', in *A Different Kind of Ethnography: Imaginative Practices and Creative Methodologies*, ed. Dara Culhane and Denielle Elliott (University of Toronto Press, 2017), 31.

[506] Selected Instagram posts as a form of micro-writing are available in the appendices.

The walking experiments thus generated a broad array of data: visual materials (photographs, videos, 3D scans, and notational drawings), audio recordings (later transcribed), and digital reflections captured in Instagram posts (see Tables 10 and 11). Together, these sources documented not only the observable spatial arrangements and interactions but also the affective dimensions of engagement—mood, atmosphere, and sensory experience—that are often absent from mediated sources such as social media feeds or online imagery. Through the observation of participation, this phase enabled me to occupy a dual position as both external observer and embedded participant, while also incorporating the voices and perspectives of insiders. The interplay between these different forms of data supported a more reflexive and layered interpretation.

location	semi-structured interviews with audio recording and transcriptions		case observed	photos and videos	field notes	google my map	reflective writing (Instagram)	3D Scan
Tanah Abang	2022	5 street vendors; 5 street users	10	815 digital files	1 A6 sketchbook	1 map	9 posts	4 scans
	2023	5 street vendors; 1 street user; 1 security guard						
Sudirman	2022	9 street vendors; 5 street users	13	1,268 digital files	1 A6 sketchbook	1 map	14 posts	4 scans
	2023	5 street vendors, 1 street user; 1 security guard						
Kota Tua	2022	5 street vendors; 4 street users	8	407 digital files	1 A6 sketchbook	1 map	0 posts	3 scans
	2023	5 street vendors; 1 street user; 1 security guard						

Table 10. Data collected during fieldwork through observation of participation in 2022 and 2023. Source: Author.[507]

[507] The difference between the number of interviews conducted and the cases observed arises because, at times, two vendors working in the same establishment were interviewed, or the same individual was interviewed at two different points in time. As a result, the number of interviews is greater than the number of cases observed. Interviews with street users and security guards were often tied to particular cases, though sometimes they were independent of them. See table 11.

location	case number	case observed: street vending event	interviews, audio recording, and transcripts		
			street vendors	street users	security guard
Tanah Abang	1	Salwa: a clothing vendor	Salwa		
	2	Tony and Ary: chicken porridge vendors	Tony and Ary		
	3	Kusnardi: a fruit vendor	Kusnardi		
	4	Sundari: a beverage vendor	Sundari		
	5	Ujang: a meatball soup vendor	Ujang	Rini	
				Nanda	
	6	Agusmeri: a clothing vendor	Agusmeri		
	7	Aisyah: a chicken soup vendor	Aisyah	Nuraini	Ferdiansyah
	8	Putra: a clothing vendor	Putra		
	9	Indra: a clothing vendor	Indra		
	10	Oscar: a clothing vendor	Oscar		
	-	unrelated to the cases		Caca	
				Sartu	
				Bella	
Sudirman	11	Nur and Silvi: beverage vendors	Nur and Silvi		
	12	Verrel and Andika: beverage vendors	Verrel and Andika	Ainul and Brian	
	13	Coki: a fried chicken vendor	Coky	Monica	
	14	Saipul: a toast vendor	Saipul	Lendra	
	15	Wawan: a beef ribs soup vendor	Wawan	Yuni	
				Mark	
	16	Arrahmah: a donut vendor	Arrahmah		
	17	Adi and Adi: beverage vendors	Adi and Adi		
	18	Rahman: a beverage vendor	Rahman		
	19	Mita and Homsiyah: a fish vendor	Mita and Homsiyah		
	20	Ricky: a fried chicken vendor	Ricky	Duri	
	21	Aditya and Khuisairi: beverage vendors	Aditya Khuisari		
	22	Kartini: a chili paste vendor	Kartini		
	23	One and Gundal: banana fritter vendors	One and Gundal		
	-	unrelated to the cases			Asgiatri
Kota Tua	24	Wahyu: a beverage vendor	Wahyu	Andi	
	25	Nur and Nur: meatball soup and peanut salad vendors	Nur (2022); Nur and Nur (2023)		
	26	Naim: a vegetable rice cake vendor	Naim		
	27	Poniman: a spicy fruit salad vendor	Poniman	Aji	
	28	Sigit: an electronic vendor	Sigit		
	29	Roni: a spicy fruit salad vendor	Roni		
	30	Emak and Okta: beverage vendors	Emak and Okta		
	31	Ahmad: a merchandise vendor	Ahmad		
	-	unrelated to the cases		Bobby and Ambar	Fikri
				Afifah and Yunita	
				Iyas and Imah	

Table 11. Primary cases observed during fieldwork (2022–2023) and their associated interviews/engagements. In addition to interviews, each case was documented with photographs, videos and field notes. Participants named in the table provided informed consent by signing the ethics form. Some interviews were not linked to a specific case. Informal observations during walking were made and documented but are not included here, as they were fleeting; they remain supporting materials. Source: Author.

Nonetheless, the approach has clear limitations. Unlike classical ethnographic fieldwork, which is typically grounded in prolonged immersion, my engagements with insiders were relatively brief and largely confined to public street settings. As a result, I was not able to access participants' deeper

lifeworlds beyond their vending activities. This constraint is intrinsic to the walking-based method used and must be acknowledged in the overall framing of the research. Accordingly, the findings presented here focus specifically on the socio-spatial dynamics of street vending as they unfold in the public realm, rather than extending into other domains of everyday life.

3.3.4 Analysis: Interior writing and reflective thematic analysis (RTA)

3.3.4.1 Interior writing

The breadth and heterogeneity of the materials assembled demanded an analytic approach capable of organising and synthesising them into coherent, substantive narratives. This organisation needed to be sufficiently detailed to avoid overlooking critical elements—particularly given the significance of subtle and often obscured phenomena in examining participatory interior urbanism (PIU) through an anthropological lens. I also required an analytic mode that could connect these narratives to wider sociopolitical, economic, and cultural contexts, and to the insights generated in the earlier mind-walking stage, thereby supporting a more integrated reading of Jakarta's street vending.

In *Making Visible: Registering the Asynchronous City*, Kate Church advocates drawing as a means of structuring and probing the complex urban interiors revealed through walking-based experiments. She contends that drawing allows intangible, ephemeral, and concealed aspects of the city to become knowable through acts of inscription.[508] This resonates with how drawing

[508] Church, 'Making Visible: Registering the Asynchronous City', 31.

operates in the present research—especially through tracing and diagramming—which have been used to analogous effect. However, Church accords a particular primacy to mapping as the device for making visible, arguing:

> (Map) as a device to 'make visible' cartography is powerful in its ability to normalise and make explicit control over what information is included and excluded. Inherent to the act of mapping are operations of selection, collection, classification and simplification. In depicting the infinite complexity of reality, maps construct narratives through the selective portrayal of reality and as such re-define 'the actual'[509]

From this perspective, the map functions as a curatorial and narrative instrument—a visual story-telling device that is especially effective in foregrounding neglected aspects of the city. Church deploys maps to focus on *glitches*, documenting the unexpected and the unknown.[510] While I share this interest, at this stage of the research I require an analytic tool that gathers rather than filters—one that can accommodate the full range of material, wherein even the seemingly mundane holds epistemological significance. The concern is not only with glitches or moments of rupture, but equally with the everyday.

My position also draws on de Certeau's critique that mapping tends to compress lived experience into lines, risking the erasure of aspects that may be important but less immediately legible.[511] While mapping may become a valuable device in later phases—for example, when articulating vendors' narratives—it is less appropriate at this analytic juncture, given its reliance on

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[509] Church, 'Making Visible: Registering the Asynchronous City', 32.

[510] Church, 'Making Visible: Registering the Asynchronous City', 34.

[511] Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 295–96.

the observer's framing. In light of the volume and diversity of the collected material, I sought an approach that decentralised my own perspective and foregrounded multiple viewpoints—especially those of insiders as experts of their own environments.

For this reason, I turned to a more conventional anthropological analytic practice for working with ethnographic data: *writing*. Although writing is present throughout ethnographic research—as field notes, observational records, reflective fragments, and interview transcripts—my intention here was to mobilise it not simply as a mode of documentation, but as a generative analytic method. Schindler and Schäfer describe this orientation as one aimed at producing thick descriptions, observing that:

> the activity of writing is not regarded as a mere transfer of thoughts to text but as a (material) practice that generates written thoughts and thus facilitates analytical insights.[512]

One way they operationalise this is through annotating existing texts, where annotation itself becomes an analytic practice—drawing out ideas and stimulating new ones through repeated reading and marginal commentary.[513] These insights are then organised and reworked through rewriting.[514] In this process, writing transforms raw field materials into theory-in-formation.

Within architecture and interior studies, writing has frequently been used to explore relationships between users, their spatial experiences, and their

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[512] Larissa Schindler and Hilmar Schäfer, 'Practices of Writing in Ethnographic Work', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 50, no. 1 (2021): 21, https://doi.org/10.1177/0891241620923396.

[513] Schindler and Schäfer, 'Practices of Writing in Ethnographic Work', 21.

[514] Schindler and Schäfer, 'Practices of Writing in Ethnographic Work', 22.

identities and cultures.[515] Analytic writing enables engagement with the built environment at a level that exceeds descriptive attention to form, colour, or function. As Penny Sparke and Anne Massey note in *Biography, Identity and the Modern Interior*, writing about interiors—what I refer to here as *interior writing*—often demands the explicit presence of the authorial self within the narrative.[516]

In this regard, interior writing may be understood as a form of *autoethnography*—a mode of writing in which the author positions themselves in relation to the object of study and interrogates it through the lens of personal experience.[517] Michael Barr, in *Autoethnography as Pedagogy: Writing the "I" in IR*, argues that this practice enables the writer not only to interpret the world but also to critically examine their own position within it, questioning assumptions and beliefs.[518] This intimate form of engagement is central to the deployment of autoethnography in interior writing, as Sparke and Massey emphasise that a personal, situated assessment of socio-spatial phenomena is often necessary to address the subtle entanglements between interior spaces and their inhabitants.[519]

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[515] For the examples of academic publications about the use of writings in architecture and interior, see: Jane Simon, 'Interior Matter: Photography, Spaces, Selves', *Life Writing* 17, no. 4 (2020): 441–52, https://doi.org/10.1080/14484528.2020.1770473; Magdalena Joanna Sliwinska, 'The Spirit of Public Space: Embodied Through Writing and Movement', *Journal of Interior Design* 44, no. 1 (2019): 13–27, https://doi.org/10.1111/joid.12142; Igor Siddiqui, 'Slashed Interiors: Text/Space', *Interiority* 3, no. 1 (2020): 5–20, https://doi.org/10.7454/in.v3i1.73; Penny Sparke and Anne Massey, eds, *Biography, Identity and the Modern Interior*, Radical Theologies (Ashgate, 2013).

[516] Sparke and Massey, *Biography, Identity and the Modern Interior*, 1.

[517] Sparke and Massey, *Biography, Identity and the Modern Interior*, 3.

[518] Michael Barr, 'Autoethnography as Pedagogy: Writing the "I" in IR', *Qualitative Inquiry* 25, nos 9–10 (2019): 1107, https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800418792940.

[519] Sparke and Massey, *Biography, Identity and the Modern Interior*, 3.

My review of interior writing suggests that, unlike walking-based methods, it is not yet associated with a single, codified methodology or dominant framework. Existing applications vary widely—from using writing to inscribe meanings directly within interior settings, to combining written and diagrammatic techniques as critical devices for generating ideas in interior design.[520] For the purposes of this research, I therefore experimented with several existing approaches to determine their relevance, eventually distilling three key components for deploying interior writing as an analytic tool: interiority, domesticity, and reflexivity.

Writing about interiors frequently requires access to and articulation of deeply held, often private reflections on a situation. Sparke and Massey refer to this as *interiority*, suggesting that it entails incorporating personal feelings and affective responses rather than relying solely on carefully structured argumentation.[521] In this sense, the writer's interiority is essential for apprehending and conveying spatial interiority (as discussed in Chapter 2), enabling a more nuanced understanding of the intimate, private, and haptic encounters that occur within particular interior spaces.

An illustration of interiority in writing can be found in Vesna Goldsworthy's *The Private Self: Interior and the Presenting of Memory*. Reflecting on Louise Bourgeois's 2008 exhibition *Maman*, Goldsworthy turns to her own childhood memories to make sense of her response to the installation.[522] Although a giant spider might conventionally evoke fear or a sense of confinement, she

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[520] See Siddiqui for the former and Schwarz for the later: Siddiqui, 'Slashed Interiors'; Benyamin Schwarz, 'Learning to Write and Diagram, Writing and Diagramming to Learn', *Journal of Interior Design* 23, no. 2 (1997): 42–50, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1939-1668.1997.tb00248.x.

[521] Sparke and Massey, *Biography, Identity and the Modern Interior*, 4.

[522] Vesna Goldsworthy, 'The Private Self: Interior and the Presenting of Memory', in *Biography, Identity and the Modern Interior*, ed. Penny Sparke and Anne Massey, Radical Theologies (Ashgate, 2013), 177.

instead associated the sculpture with the atmosphere of her mother's home—at once protective and stifling.[523] This personal association resonated with Bourgeois's intended meanings, as implied in the title Maman (French for "mother").

In analysing my fieldwork material, I similarly drew upon interiority to engage with the internal, affective dimensions of Jakarta's street vending. For instance, as illustrated in Figure 49, I used interior writing to interrogate my discomfort within the recently revitalised urban environment of Sudirman. Writing from this position enabled me to articulate particular atmospheric conditions while connecting them to broader socio-spatial concerns—specifically, the tendency for urban redevelopment to prioritise an idealised aesthetic aimed at impressing outsiders over the everyday usability and human-centred qualities of the space. In this sense, accessing my own interiority allowed both personal expression and critical socio-spatial reflection.

Through this process, interior writing enabled me not only to address subtle qualities of interior space but also to reveal the motivations, intentions, and thought processes that inform my interpretation of events. It affirmed my positionality in relation to the research subject and clarified the limits of my understanding.[524] In this respect, the use of interiority aligns with Barr's

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[523] I had a similar reaction when visiting the same exhibition at the Long Museum in Shanghai almost a decade after Goldsworthy. Unlike Goldsworthy, I focused on the spider's shapes, colours, and materials rather than reflecting on how the interior space affected me. I did not attempt to grasp its interiority through my own. See: Goldsworthy, 'The Private Self: Interior and the Presenting of Memory', 180.

[524] For instance, in this research, accessing my interiority has not made me an expert on Jakarta's street vending but has revealed previously unknown aspects and pointed to directions for further study. The project does not claim to effect immediate changes in urban governance; its capacity lies in exploring insider narratives and raising awareness to support the case for legal recognition of street vending.

argument that autoethnography—and, by extension, interior writing—offers a *candid* methodological mode, as it exposes the researcher's internal tensions, doubts, and questions, acknowledging how they shape interpretation.[525]

So I stood there in front of the MRT station entrance with a new determination to really walk on the streets of Sudirman—to become what Ingold called as a wayfarer that pays attention, engages and acquires knowledge from the environment. As I began my walk, I realised that Sudirman had undergone considerable changes. There were no more patchy and narrow pavements; they were replaced by wide and extensive pavements complete with both Bahasa Indonesia and English signages. In addition, there were footbridges, tactile paving, public benches, modern bus stops and a good amount of greenery. Overall, they were the textbook of modern urban pavements. However, as I walked from my starting point to the direction of Hotel Indonesia Roundabout or locally called Bundaran HI, I could not help getting the feeling of walking in a very mechanical or sterile environment. Because they were so perfect, they started to feel like made-up streets, like they were not real. This feeling might be supported by the fact that only a few people use the pavements. Initially, I thought this was because of my bad timing, but after six days of exploring the area, I realised that the primary residents of the area—the white-collar workers—hardly ever walked on the pavements. Instead, they use them briefly as a short transitory space from cars, motorcycles or MRT stations to office buildings.

I suspected it was because of the heat. The temperature in Jakarta is around 32 degrees all year long. This could be unbearable without air conditioning with the 'professional' looks these people have to wear for work. People who used the pavements mainly were security guards, delivery guys, foreign tourists that can be easily identified by their shorts (Indonesians rarely wear shorts outside, except for playing sports or on beaches—we usually wear clothes that cover our legs for modesty) and street vendors—none of them has to look professional. It was a bit strange that the government spent so much money and effort on things not used by the people occupying the area. But it started making sense when I found out about the reason for the area revitalisation. These new facilities were installed to prepare the city for hosting the 2018 Asian Games. The international stadium was in the area, so no wonder the rest of Sudirman was getting an upgrade that could impress foreign athletes and dignitaries.

Figure 49. Example of interiority writing from one of the journals, based on walking experiences in Sudirman, South Jakarta. Source: Author.

The second key dimension of interior writing in this research is *domesticity*. This draws primarily on Jane Simon's discussion of photography as a form of life writing in *Interior Matter: Photography, Spaces, Selves*. Simon contends that domestic matter is fundamental to writing about the self, as it illuminates the entanglement between interior materialities, spatial settings, and identities.[526] Domesticity is often expressed through attention to the small, background details of interior scenes—textures, residues, and objects that may

[525] Barr, 'Autoethnography as Pedagogy', 1109.

[526] Simon, 'Interior Matter', 444–45.

appear insignificant yet evoke familiarity, belonging, and comfort. These are frequently deeply personal. For example, Justine Varga's 2017 photograph *Maternal Line* incorporates her grandmother's scribbles and traces of saliva, ordinary yet intimate gestures that, for Varga, signify home.[527]

Georges Perec's *Species of Space* also offers insights into domesticity as a mode of interior description. Though not formally positioned as autoethnography or interior writing, his exploration of mundane objects—drawers, cupboards, and other everyday containers—highlights how interior experience is shaped through the ordinary.[528] His minute attention to specificities reads almost as an attempt to convey his perceptual world to readers, prompting a re-evaluation of how such elements contribute to the experience of interior space.

In my own analysis, detailed descriptions of observed and lived elements re-emphasised the significance of particular objects, gestures, settings, and routines, revealing their functional role in structuring and sustaining street vending practices. As illustrated in Figure 50, my account of an encounter with Adi, a vendor in Sudirman, carefully records bodily gestures, verbal exchanges, the types of instant drinks available, and the durations of specific actions. These details clarified how: (1) subtle bodily and verbal cues signalled openness to engagement; (2) everyday objects—such as sachet drinks—functioned both as commodities and cues for customer interaction; and (3) the offer of a plastic bag as a container created a more affordable alternative.

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[527] Justine Varga's Maternal Line (2017) is explored in these publications, see: Simon, 'Interior Matter', 442; Shaune Lakin, 'Why I Chose the "spit and Scribble" Photograph: Olive Cotton Judge on the Global Furore', Art and Design, *The Guardian*, 2 August 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2017/aug/02/why-i-chose-the-spit-and-scribble-photograph-olive-cotton-judge-on-the-global-furore.

[528] Georges Perec, *Species of Spaces and Other Pieces*, trans. John Sturrock, Penguin Classics (Penguin Books, 2008), 28–30.

Such fine-grained dynamics are difficult to apprehend without an exhaustive description of the moment.[529]

After seeing my hand gesture, a starling vendor named Adi parked his bike near me in front of Bundaran HI MRT Station. When I approached, he immediately asked what I wanted to drink and let me choose from a selection of sachets drinks draped on the bike's handlebar. These powder sachet drinks were from well-known brands that you can easily find in the grocery store, so it was easy to pick which one I liked. I asked him to make it cold, and then he asked if I wanted to drink it from a small plastic bag or cup. At first, it seemed like a weird question, drinking from a plastic bag—but this was quite a common occurrence in Indonesia, where plastic bags served smaller drinks while plastic cups were used for bigger portions. Because I was so thirsty, I opted for the cup. And then Adi proceeded to make the drinks, standing next to the rear part of his bike where he kept a thermos, a water bottle and a cool box. First, he dissolved the powder in hot water, mixed it with room-temperature water, and added lots of ice to serve it cold. It only took Adi 4 minutes to fix a drink, counted from when he parked to when he handed me the cup with lid and straw. The drink cost me Rp. 5000 or £0.28, precisely ten times cheaper than Starbucks Grande Latte I bought in the mall the previous day.

Figure 50. Example of domesticity in interior writing from one of the journals, based on walking experiences in Sudirman, South Jakarta. Source: Author.

The final dimension of interior writing employed in this research is *reflexivity*. Reflexivity enables interior writing to extend beyond personal narration while retaining its foundations in qualitative social inquiry. It entails sustained critical dialogue with oneself—evaluating how positionality influences interpretation—and situating personal experiences within wider cultural, historical, and sociopolitical frames.[530] For this research, as for autoethnography more broadly, reflexivity required positioning my accounts alongside existing literature and contextual realities.

Figure 51 demonstrates this integrative process through my reflections on encounters with vendors using bike-carts in Sudirman. Here, field observations were connected to spatial configurations identified during the earlier mind-walking stage, illustrating how insights from Stage 1 informed

[529] In addition to field notes, photographs and video recordings helped trigger memories and fill gaps, while audio recordings and interview transcripts enabled me to cross-check my experiences with insiders' perspectives.

[530] See exploration of reflexivity by Ronnie Berger at the beginning of this chapter.

the present analysis.[531] Reflexivity also enabled me to situate these observations within established scholarship, such as Rachmawan et al.'s argument that street vending is simultaneously spatial and profoundly social.[532]

...my visit to Sudirman also proved that starling vendors have more up to their sleeves than how they were portrayed on Instagram—they use more than one interiorisation tactics. Aside from *parking*, they also utilised *lingering*, an approach similar to parking, but instead of only allowing passive participation in inhabiting the streets, this strategy also encourages customers' active participation...

...the tactic rely on how much trust there is between the starling vendors and the customers. The vendors should trust the customers not to get away, and the customers need to trust the vendors to bring them the right drink. Trust is also required among starling vendors to make this strategy work. As we remember from Bundaran HI's story, at least one vendor needed to stand guard and wait for their turn while their friends approached the customers. They cannot just leave their belonging, their livelihood, to someone they do not have faith in. According to the study conducted by Rachmawan et al. in 2021, trust is supposed to be a common characteristic shared by Jakarta's street vendors. It is part of a survival strategy called *social capital*. It means using social networks to help the vendors survive in the street, whether for information, money, skill or just like starlings, to back up each other in practising interior urbanism. This social capital can be traced throughout my experiences in how Adi depends on other vendors to supply him with ice blocks and in how Arahmah depends on starling vendors like Adi and Adi 2 to buy beverages for her three sons because, as a fellow vendor, they usually give each other food for free.

Figure 51. Example of reflexivity in interior writing from one of the autoethnographic journals, based on walking experiences in Sudirman, South Jakarta. Source: Author.

It is this connection to wider realities and contextual frameworks that renders interior writing inherently autoethnographic rather than *autobiographical*.[533] Unlike autobiography, where the narrative may stand alone, autoethnography embeds personal experience within broader sociopolitical, cultural, or spatial

[531] Reflexivity not only addresses the present but also links it to past experience. In my interior writing, I drew on memories of Jakarta to examine changes in street vending and in my own positionality as citizen, street user, and researcher. Autoethnographers often use memory in this way; for example, Angela Rickard, in "A Not-so-simple Story from My Life," reflects on her teaching career in Ireland to trace socio-political shifts around LGBT issues in education. See: Angela Rickard, '"A Not-so-Simple Story from My Life": Using Auto-Ethnography and Creative Writing to Re-Frame the Heteronormative Narratives of School Life', *Changing English* 21, no. 4 (2014): 348–58, https://doi.org/10.1080/1358684X.2014.969021.

[532] Rachmawan et al., 'Vulnerability and Survival Strategy by Food Street Vendors'.

[533] As Sonia Ryang explains, the former involves self-revelation and self-humbling, while the latter tends toward self-elevation and self-glorification. See: Sonia Ryang, 'Ethnography or Self-Cultural Anthropology?: Reflections on Writing About Ourselves', *Dialectical Anthropology* 25, no. 3 (2000): 312, https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1011626917988.

contexts. While autobiography can be descriptive without engaging with structural forces, autoethnography demands such engagement, allowing the personal to illuminate the systemic. Although autobiography is not incompatible with interior writing, the analytic aims of this study required an autoethnographic approach to ensure that personal insights—developed through interiority and domesticity—were critically anchored in relevant theoretical and contextual understandings.[534]

These three components—interiority, domesticity, and reflexivity—were brought together through *a process-based writing*. Ann Cvetkovich, in *Depression: A Public Feeling*, advances this method as a way of thinking speculatively and imaginatively through unfinished, open-ended writing.[535] Building on Tedlock's observation of participation, Elliott also classifies Cvetkovich's process-based writing as a creative ethnographic practice: creative in the sense that it privileges the unfolding of thought and feeling over polished exposition, and accommodates the needs of the writer above those of the eventual reader.[536]

Such writing does not adhere to rigid academic structures, which often demand an "objective" stance that marginalises personal entanglements. As Elliott argues, conventional academic prose struggles to capture the messy, dynamic qualities of everyday life, which is also central to understanding interior conditions.[537] Adopting Cvetkovich's process-based approach thus

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[534] As Sparke and Massey's anthology shows, autobiographical approaches can also illuminate the relationships between people and interiors. See: Sparke and Massey, *Biography, Identity and the Modern Interior*.

[535] Ann Cvetkovich, *Depression: A Public Feeling* (Duke University Press, 2012), 76–77, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv11smrx4.

[536] See framing of Tedlock's observation of participation at page 205-207 drawn from the writings of Elliott. See: Elliott, 'Writing', 33.

[537] Elliott, 'Writing', 25.

offered the flexibility needed for my interior writing, enabling a creative use of autoethnography as an analytic method.

In this study, the principal form this took was *journalling*, which combined descriptive and analytic writing about field experiences.[538] These journals allowed me to document encounters (domesticity), reflect upon them (interiority), and relate them to broader sociopolitical contexts (reflexivity). Across the two periods of fieldwork in 2022 and 2023, I produced over 90,000 words—approximately 21 journals—focusing on Tanah Abang, Sudirman, and Kota Tua.[539] This process supported open speculation, critical questioning, and imaginative engagement with Jakarta's street vending, drawing attention to subtle aspects such as the interdependence of formal and informal sectors and the nuanced relations between vendors and authorities.

Alongside journalling, drawing was employed as a complementary form of process-based writing. Whereas journalling captured events, reflections, and analytic links, drawing was essential for expressing affective, spatial, and temporal dimensions difficult to articulate verbally. Elliott includes drawing within creative ethnographic practices for its ability to reveal sensory and emotional registers that might otherwise remain unspoken.[540] Ingold similarly argues for drawing as an inscriptive practice in its own right, particularly through his concept of *redrawing*—retracing past actions or dynamic processes such as movement and temporality.[541] These qualities, central to

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[538] I use the Cambridge Dictionary definition of journal as the reference of this process based writing: "a record of what you have done, or of descriptions or thoughts, written each day or frequently over a long period." See: 'journal', *Cambridge Dictionary*, 13 December 2023, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/journal.

[539] A sample journal entry is provided in the appendices; the complete set of entries is available in the supporting documents of this thesis.

[540] Elliott, 'Writing', 31.

[541] Ingold, *Redrawing Anthropology*, 2.

street vending and emphasised during mind-walking, allowed drawing to expose relationships between material and immaterial elements in ways unavailable to text alone.[542] Like journalling, redrawing is not a lived practice but a reflective one; the "re" in the term underscores its role in revisiting and reinterpreting past experiences or observations.

Tschumi's *Manhattan Transcripts*—which had earlier influenced my diagramming during mind-walking—share affinities with Ingold's redrawing in their attempt to represent the interplay between space, time, and events.[543] In works such as Figure 52, Tschumi layers photographs, perspectives, orthographic drawings, and notational marks to capture a particular moment, arranged horizontally to depict an event and vertically to communicate its temporal development. Spatial meaning is produced not from a single image but from the cumulative sequence of frames, assembled through a cinematic *montage*.[544]

While Tschumi's montage sought to *generate* meaning, in this research drawing served not to fabricate narratives but to *process* observed ones. I produced storyboard drawings for individual street vending *events* comprising multiple rows and columns, each column representing a

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[542] Ingold, *Redrawing Anthropology*, 3.

[543] Tschumi, 'Manhattan Transcripts', 48.

[544] Montage, defined as "a piece of work produced by combining smaller parts," connects directly to Tschumi's reference to Sergei Eisenstein in the making of *The Manhattan Transcript*. In his film *Alexander Nevsky*, Eisenstein sketched multiple views to capture varied techniques and camera movements, later combined into a continuous sequence tied to music. For him, *montage theory* meant that juxtaposing shots could create meaning and provoke critical reflection, rather than relying on a single image. See: Sergei Eisenstein and Jay Leyda, *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory*, 1st ed. (Harcourt, Brace, 1949); 'Montage', Cambridge Dictionary, 20 August 2025, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/montage; Tschumi, 'Manhattan Transcripts', 49.

sequential *moment*.[545] As with Tschumi, I combined perspectives, plans, and notational forms to capture the transformation of bodies, objects, and spaces.

Figure 52. Drawing of plates from *MT-2 The Street*, taken from Bernard Tschumi, *The Manhattan Transcripts* (London: Academy Editions, 1994).

Perspective drawings in the first row sought to reconstruct each moment through an embodied viewpoint. These do not rely on a fixed vantage; instead, each frame adopts the perspective that best communicates the

[545] Here I use the Cambridge Dictionary definitions: *moment* as "a point in time that represents a significant activity that is memorable or distinct," and *event* as "an occurrence that takes place over time and comprises numerous moments." Thus, a street vending event consist of multiple significant distinctive moments—such as: setting up, serving customers, avoiding authorities, closing up, and so on. See: 'moment', *Cambridge Dictionary*, 20 December 2023, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/moment; 'event', *Cambridge Dictionary*, 20 December 2023, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/moment.

observed moment. This approach reflects interiority through its grounding in lived perception, while the inclusion of details drawn from visual, auditory, and written data engages with domesticity.[546]

Yet perspective alone cannot fully articulate the movement and relational dynamics at play. Thus, the second row comprises *plan or top-view drawings* to locate bodies and objects spatially at each moment. A third row introduces *notational marks*—lines, arrows, geometric shapes—to visualise movement, displacement, and temporal progression. These notations depict relationships among spatial conditions, vending activity, involved objects, human actors, and environmental factors such as weather or time. *Key spatial elements* are highlighted in a fourth row.

Finally, zoning drawings identify the interior spaces generated during each event and show how they evolve over time. Whereas perspective and plan drawings document realistic representations, notation and zoning distil the essential qualities of PIU practices. Together, they process and re-present spatial information in a manner that yields new insights into Jakarta's street vending socio-spatial dynamics.[547]

See Figure 53 and 54 for examples of the storyboard drawings.

[546] The use of perspective drawings contrasts with many analytical types, such as axonometric or bird's-eye views, which depict movement and activity in a detached, controlled manner—an observation also made by Tschumi. Such drawings struggle to capture the banalities and trivialities of street vending, which are central to its PIU. See: Tschumi, *Notations*, 6.

[547] All storyboard drawings are provided in the appendices.

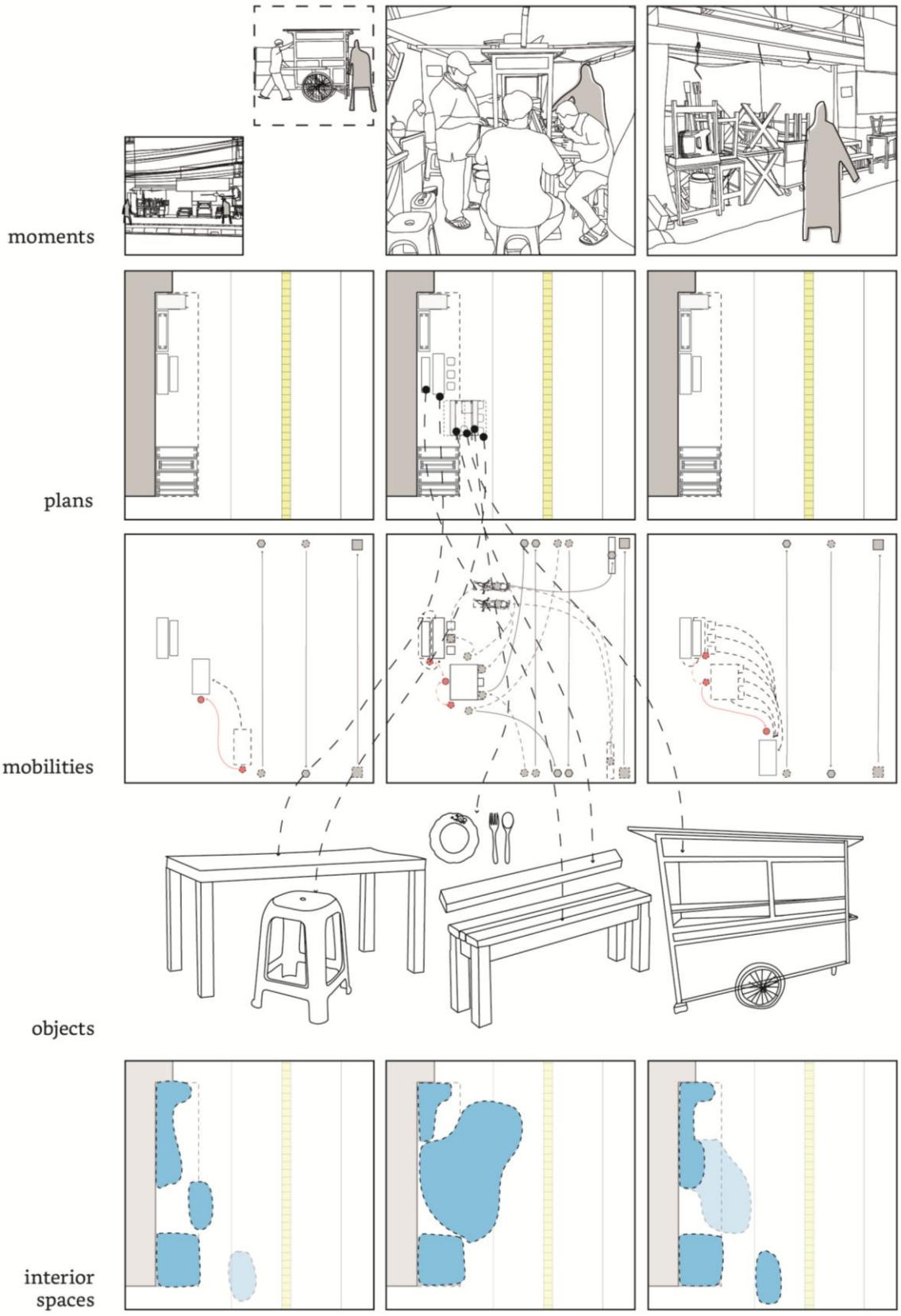

Figure 53. Example of a storyboard drawing of a street vending activity in Sudirman, South Jakarta. Source: Author.

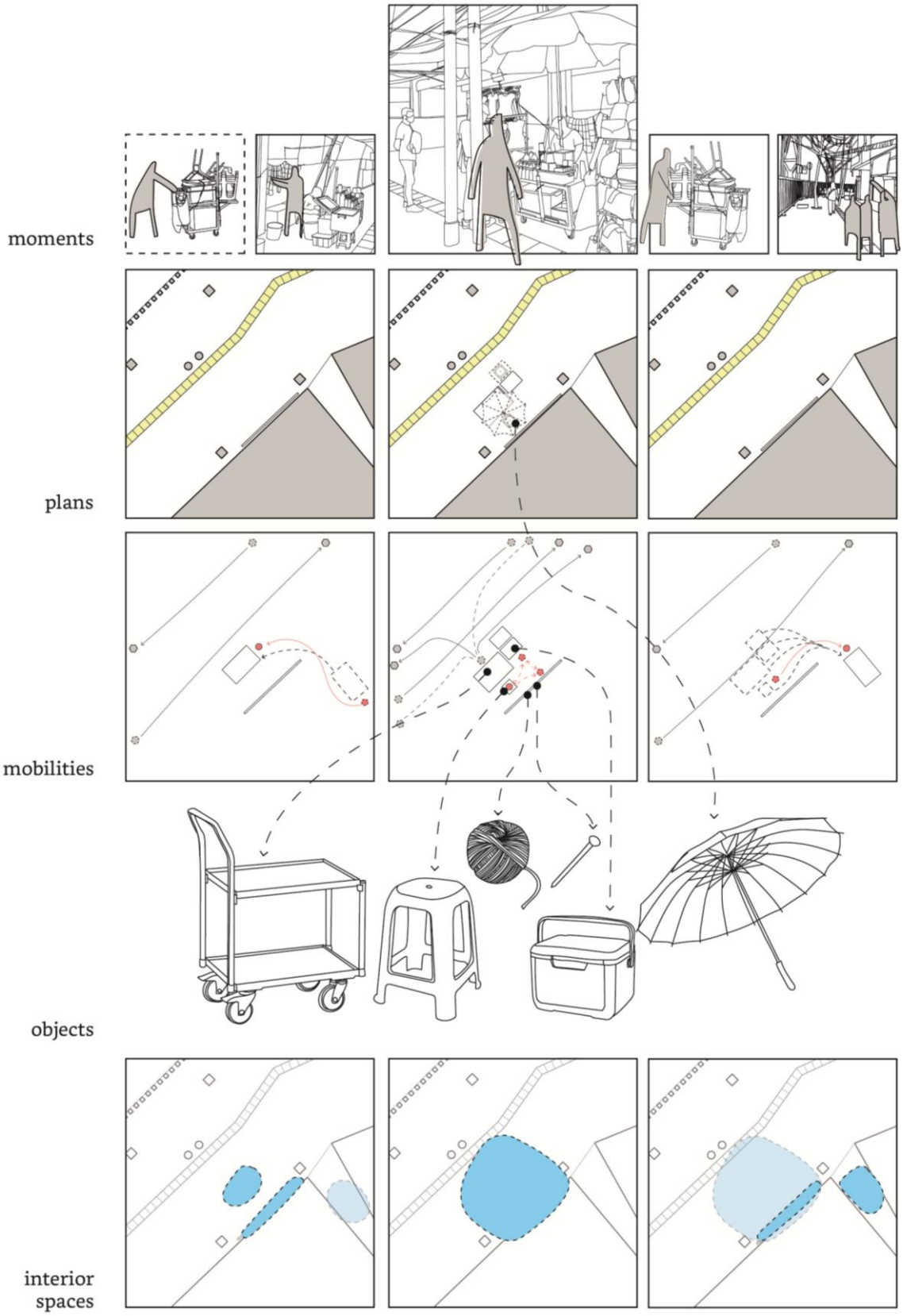

Figure 54. Example of a storyboard drawing of a street vending activity in Tanah Abang, Central Jakarta. Source: Author.

location	case number	case observed: street vending event	interior writing		RTA
			journals	storyboard drawings	
Tanah Abang	1	Salwa: a clothing vendor	yes	yes	yes
	2	Tony and Ary: chicken porridge vendors	yes	yes	yes
	3	Kusnardi: a fruit vendor	yes	yes	yes
	4	Sundari: a beverage vendor	yes	yes	yes
	5	Ujang: a meatball soup vendor	yes	yes	yes
	6	Agusmeri: a clothing vendor	yes	yes	yes
	7	Aisyah: a chicken soup vendor	yes	yes	yes
	8	Putra: a clothing vendor	yes	no, similar to Case 01 and Case 06	yes
	9	Indra: a clothing vendor	yes	no, similar to Case 01 and Case 06	yes
	10	Oscar: a clothing vendor	yes	no, similar to Case 01 and Case 06	yes
	-	unrelated to the cases	yes	no	yes
Sudirman	11	Nur and Silvi: beverage vendors	yes	yes	yes
	12	Verrel and Andika: beverage vendors	yes	no, similar to Case 01 and Case 06	yes
	13	Coki: a fried chicken vendor	yes	yes	yes
	14	Saipul: a toast vendor	yes	yes	yes
	15	Wawan: a beef ribs soup vendor	yes	yes	yes
	16	Arrahmah: a donut vendor	yes	yes	yes
	17	Adi and Adi: beverage vendors	yes	yes	yes
	18	Rahman: a beverage vendor	yes	no, similar to Case 13	yes
	19	Mita and Homsiyah: a fish vendor	yes	no, similar to Case 13	yes
	20	Ricky: a fried chicken vendor	yes	no, similar to Case 13	yes
	21	Aditya and Khuisairi: beverage vendors	yes	no, similar to Case 13	yes
	22	Kartini: a chili paste vendor	yes	no, similar to Case 15	yes
	23	One and Gundal: banana fritter vendors	yes	no, similar to Case 13	yes
	-	unrelated to the cases	yes	no	yes
Kota Tua	24	Wahyu: a beverage vendor	yes	yes	yes
	25	Nur and Nur: meatball soup and peanut salad vendors	yes	yes	yes
	26	Naim: a vegetable rice cake vendor	yes	yes	yes
	27	Poniman: a spicy fruit salad vendor	yes	yes	yes
	28	Sigit: an electronic vendor	yes	yes	yes
	29	Roni: a spicy fruit salad vendor	yes	yes	yes
	30	Emak and Okta: beverage vendors	yes	yes	yes
	31	Ahmad: a merchandise vendor	yes	yes	yes
	-	unrelated to the cases	yes	no	yes

Table 12. Cases selected for detailed analysis for interior writing as well as for the next step, RTA. Source: Author.[548]

By combining storyboard drawing with journalling within interior writing, I examined how vendors apply interior tactics to appropriate, adapt, and

[548] Out of the 31 distinct cases observed during the fieldwork, 21 were selected for storyboard analysis. The remaining ten were excluded because they involved similar mechanisms to those of other vendors, which would have created redundancy. However, they are still included in the journals as well as in the reflective thematic analysis (RTA). Other interviews and engagements not tied to a particular case are also included within the journals and RTA.

domesticate Jakarta's streets. These methods also illuminated relationships between interior spaces and their broader urban context. The cases selected for storyboard analysis—listed in Table 12—then informed the subsequent analytic stage.

3.3.4.2 Reflective Thematic Analysis (RTA)

To extend the analysis of the journals and storyboard drawings, I employed *reflective thematic analysis* (RTA), developed by Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke as a means of generating themes from qualitative data. In this framework, themes are understood as patterned meanings that help to illuminate aspects of a given phenomenon.[549]

The first phase of RTA is *coding*, during which words, phrases, actions, or features within the data are assigned labels. These labels, or codes, are subsequently organised into *themes* on the basis of shared meaning.[550] This procedure echoes the inductive coding used in the mind-walking experiment, but with a crucial distinction: whereas inductive coding worked through all emergent codes, RTA intentionally privileges those that speak directly to the research questions. In this study, only codes concerned with the socio-spatial dimensions of street vending as a form of PIU were retained for further analysis.

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[549] Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, 'Reflecting on Reflexive Thematic Analysis', *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health* 11, no. 4 (2019): 590, https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2019.1628806.

[550] The process of thematic analysis is explored in: Victoria Clarke and Virginia Braun, 'Thematic Analysis', *The Journal of Positive Psychology* 12, no. 3 (2017): 297, https://doi.org/10.1080/17439760.2016.1262613.

Although more tightly directed than inductive coding, RTA is not inherently deductive. As Braun and Clarke note, the method can be *inductive* when both coding and theme development are driven by the data; it becomes deductive only when codes are predetermined by theory.[551] In this research, codes were generated directly from the journals and storyboard material; only afterwards were those pertinent to the research questions selected and grouped into themes. The process is therefore best characterised as data-led, or bottom-up.

Another point of divergence lies in how each approach treats objectivity. Inductive coding as practised in the mind-walking stage aimed to remain close to the data, minimising theoretical imposition and producing largely *semantic*—surface-level—descriptions of practice.[552] RTA, by contrast, explicitly acknowledges and values researcher subjectivity as a resource for knowledge production.[553] This stance allows *latent* meanings to be considered, thereby moving beyond description alone towards interpretation and theorisation.[554]

The interpretative orientation of RTA underpins the entire procedure. As illustrated in Figure 55, coding involved translating empirical events, situations, or emotions into conceptual labels. For instance, expressions of contentment in the city were coded as 'feeling at home amongst strangers', where 'home' was treated not as a physical dwelling but as a metaphysical

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[551] Clarke and Braun, 'Thematic Analysis', 298.

[552] For the description of semantic understanding, see: Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, *Thematic Analysis: A Practical Guide* (SAGE, 2022), ch. 3, page 5/18; Clarke and Braun, 'Thematic Analysis', 298; Braun and Clarke, 'Reflecting on Reflexive Thematic Analysis', 591.

[553] Braun and Clarke, *Thematic Analysis*, ch. 1, page 5/18.

[554] For the description of latent understanding, see: Braun and Clarke, *Thematic Analysis*, ch. 3, page 5/18; Clarke and Braun, 'Thematic Analysis', 298; Braun and Clarke, 'Reflecting on Reflexive Thematic Analysis', 591.

sense of familiarity, attachment, entitlement, and ease.[555] The resulting codes therefore tended to be conceptual or speculative in nature rather than purely descriptive.

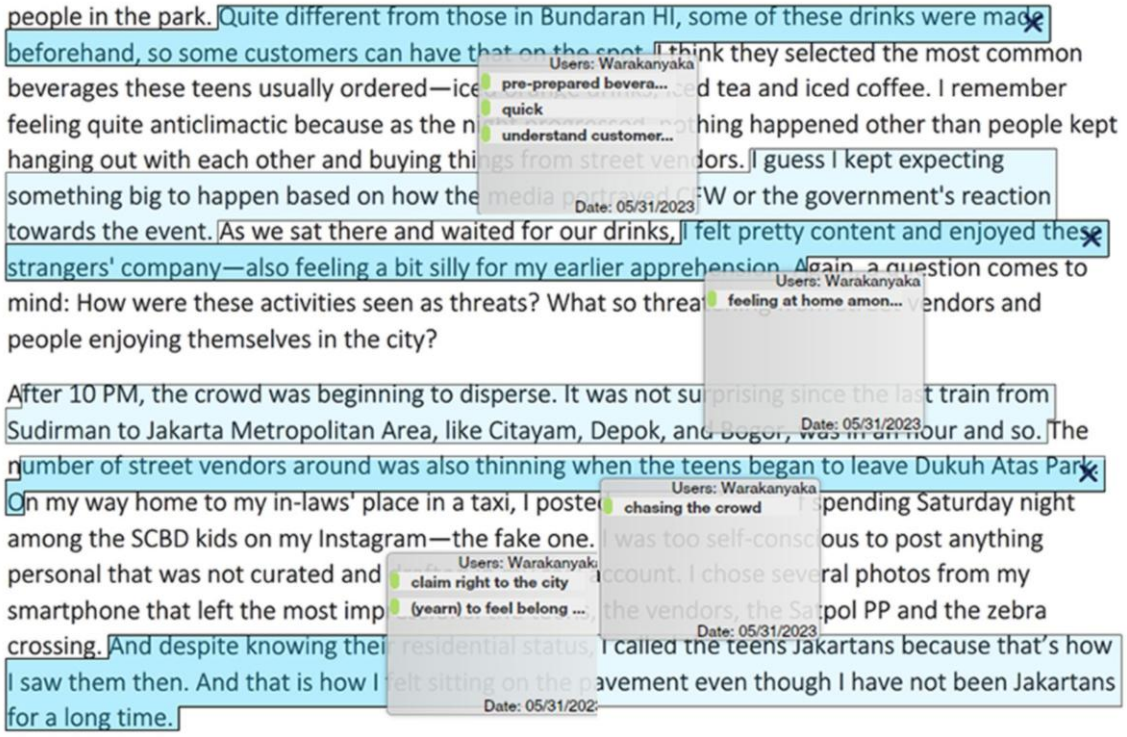

Figure 55. Interpretative coding within the RTA process, producing conceptual and hypothetical representations of the realities observed on Jakarta's streets. Coding conducted using Dedoose. Source: Author.

When clustering codes into themes, RTA places less emphasis on surface similarity and more on shared underlying meaning. In this study, this meant considering how each code contributed to the social and spatial operations of street vending as PIU. This emphasis helped avoid overly general thematic categories and maintained a close alignment with the research questions. Following Braun and Clarke's guidance, I repeatedly returned to the dataset—

[555] Anak Agung Ayu Suci Warakanyaka et al., 'Feeling at Home in Starbucks: Revealing Transient Urban Interior', paper presented at UIA 2017 Seoul World Architects Congress, Seoul, 2017, 2.

journals and drawings—to compare codes with emerging themes.[556] Through this iterative process, themes were split, merged, discarded, and reformulated until they offered a more analytically useful and faithful account of conditions encountered in the field.

For Braun and Clarke, themes in RTA do not simply "emerge" from the data; they are actively crafted through an ongoing dialogue between researcher knowledge and the dataset.[557] In this study, RTA brought together what occurred on the streets with my own subjectivity as recorded through interior writing. This *subjectivity*—articulated through interiority, domesticity, and reflexivity—was treated as an interpretative resource, enriching and complicating the account of Jakarta's street vending practices. In this way, RTA's interpretive orientation complemented the more ostensibly objective results of the mind-walking stage, while its reflective dimension helped situate the findings within wider theoretical and practical debates.

Through this process, I first identified 36 themes and 40 sub-themes describing Jakarta's socio-spatial street vending practices as PIU (Figure 56). The themes represent principal aspects of practice (indicated in bold), while the sub-themes capture more fine-grained characteristics (indicated in italics).

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[556] Braun and Clarke, *Thematic Analysis*, ch. 4, page 8/32.

[557] Braun and Clarke, 'Reflecting on Reflexive Thematic Analysis', 591.

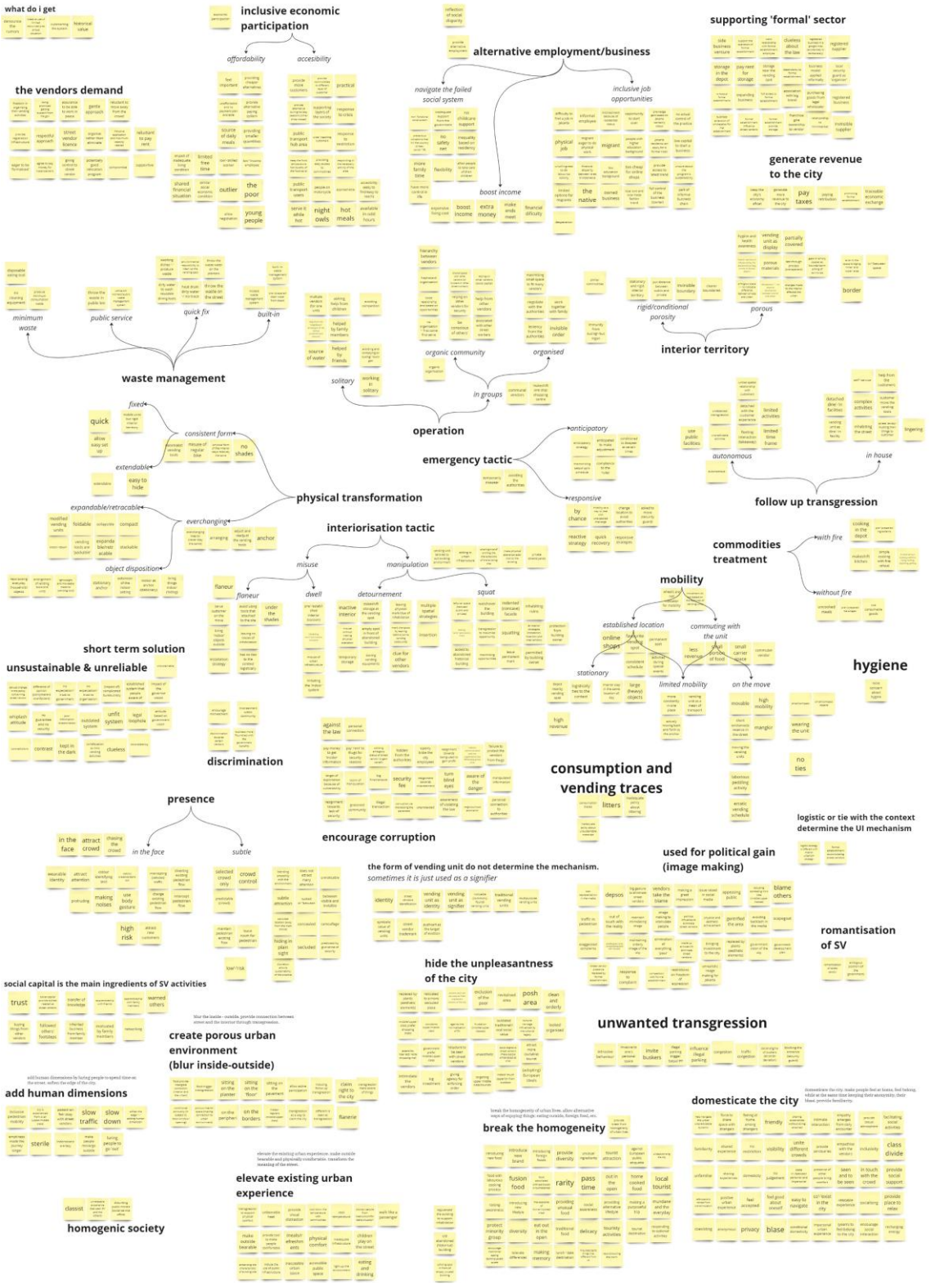

Figure 56. The initial organisation of codes in the reflective thematic analysis stage resulted in 36 themes (bold) and 40 sub-themes (italics). Source: Author.

Codes were grouped according to their meanings. For example, 'camouflage' and 'leave room for pedestrians' were clustered under the sub-theme 'subtle'. At face value, these codes appear to concern different issues—one focuses on concealment, the other on pedestrian relationships. Yet, when considered functionally within street vending operations, both point to understated tactics for avoiding unwanted attention from authorities. Together, these themes and sub-themes formed the initial structure of a thematic map, which was conceived not as a final product but as a provisional stage towards the development of broader themes and a deeper understanding of Jakarta's socio-spatial practices.

The subsequent phase involved *refining, defining, and naming the themes*. This step is central to RTA, as it ensures that each theme is anchored in a clear conceptual core.[558] Unlike inductive coding, where theme names typically summarise shared surface characteristics, naming in RTA entails articulating the interpretative proposition of each theme and considering how its positioning contributes to explaining the phenomenon under study. In that sense, a theme name is framed as an argument rather than simply a label.

Instead of fragmenting Jakarta's street vending into separate themes of "discourse" and "practice", I developed four interrelated themes that conceptualise the phenomenon as a web of relations: *typology of actions*, *socio-spatial impacts*, *socio-economic implications*, and *critiques of current urban frameworks* (Figure 57). Only the first is presented as a typology, as it classifies vendors' tactics into distinctive categories of action, whereas the other three speak to the impacts, consequences, and critical responses that

[558] Braun and Clarke, *Thematic Analysis*, ch. 2, page 2/15.

arise from those actions.[559] This reorganisation condensed the thematic map into four overarching themes and 34 sub-themes (Figure 57).

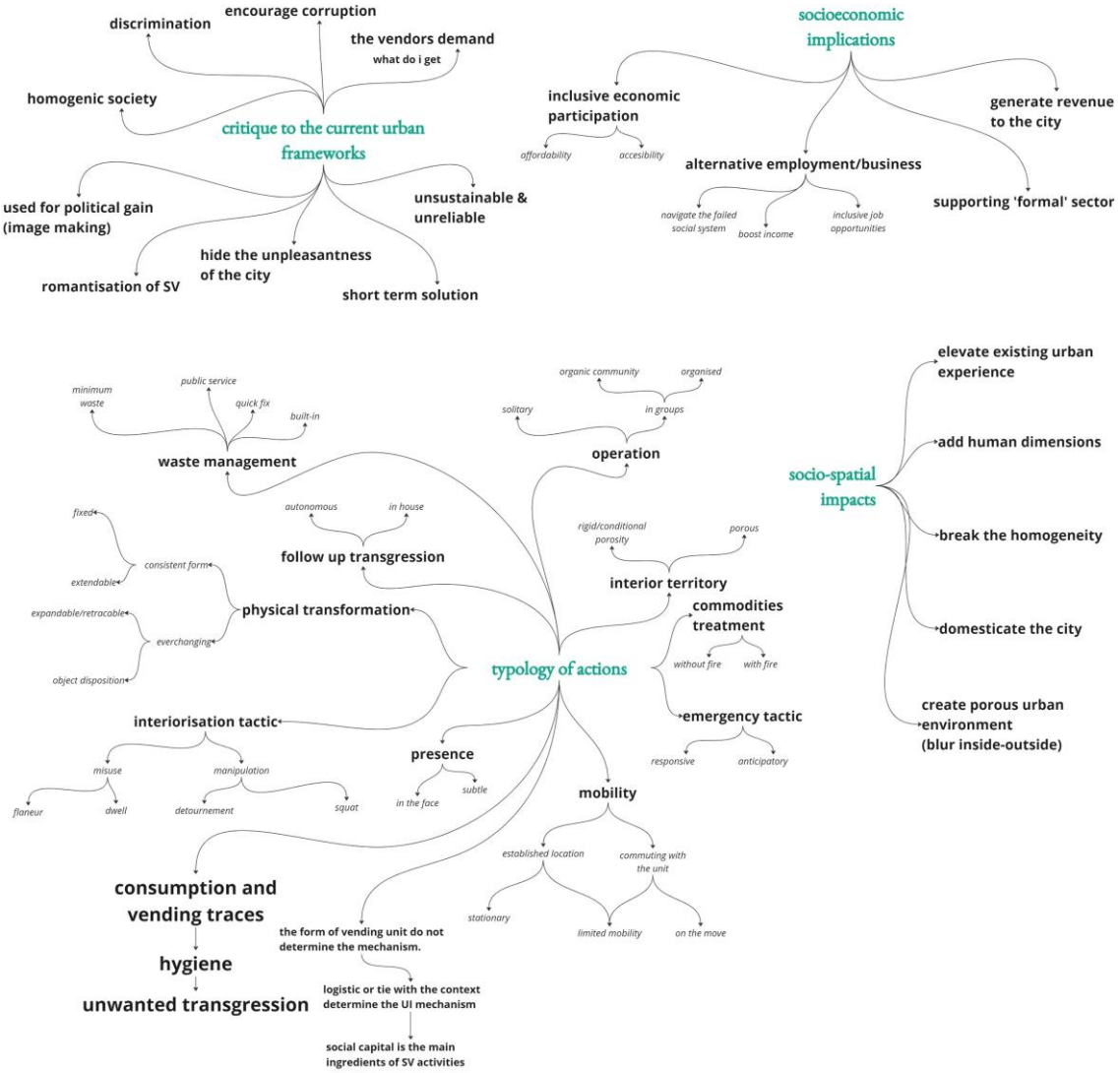

Figure 57. Further reorganisation produce four overarching themes produced through RTA: typology of actions, socio-spatial impacts, socio-economic implications, and critiques of current urban frameworks. Source: Author.

[559] Further explanation and justification for using typology in the first theme are provided in the next chapter.

In this reconfiguration, many of the initial themes became sub-themes, while some of the original sub-themes were redefined as categories. Within typology of actions, sub-themes capture variations in the reverse-interiorization tactics through which vendors inhabit the streets. The socio-spatial impacts theme foregrounds the reciprocal relationships between vendors, customers, other street users, and the spaces they co-produce. The socio-economic implications theme addresses the economic logics of vending and their entanglement with broader social relations. Finally, critiques of current urban frameworks consider how existing planning and governance regimes condition, constrain, and are in turn negotiated by street vendors and their practices.

The final phase of RTA is the *writing-up*, in which the main insights of each theme are articulated and their relevance to the research questions is demonstrated. As Braun and Clarke note, this stage aims "to weave together your analytic narrative and compelling, vivid data extracts, to tell your reader a coherent and persuasive story about the dataset that addresses your research question".[560] In the course of writing, further refinement and consolidation of sub-themes took place, resulting in four overarching themes and 16 sub-themes (Figure 58). I do not expand here on the detailed outcomes of this writing-up process or the reasoning behind the final reorganisation, as these are examined in depth in the next two chapters. Chapter 4 focuses on the typology of actions, while Chapter 5 considers the impacts and consequences of Jakarta's street vending practices as expressed through the remaining three themes.

[560] Braun and Clarke, *Thematic Analysis*, ch. 2, page 2/15.

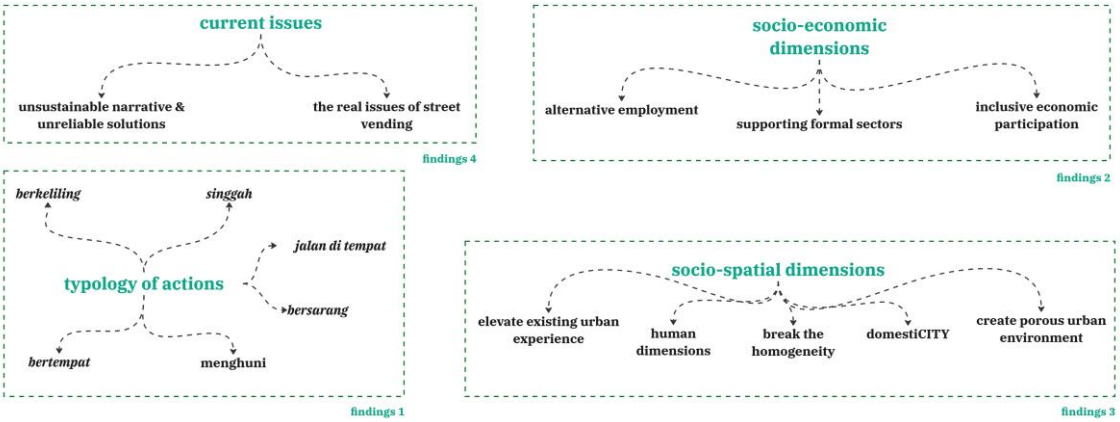

Figure 58. Final findings consisting of four overarching themes and 16 sub-themes produced through RTA that will be explored in the next two chapters. Source: Author.

3.3.5 Key outcomes and limitations

The four themes generated through this process demonstrate how walking and interior writing—two creative adaptations of anthropological methods—can be mobilised to investigate urban phenomena such as street vending beyond their strictly physical dimensions. Together, these methods support a more intimate reading of urban conditions and open up opportunities to reflect on their entanglements with wider social and political structures.

Deploying these methods also facilitated a shift in my role—from a distanced observer to an active participant embedded in the phenomenon—enabling a more expansive understanding of street vending in Jakarta. Walking and interior writing encouraged careful attention to the idiosyncrasies, details, and subtleties of experience, interaction, and participation encountered in the field. They also promoted transparency regarding my research intentions and methodological choices, while making visible both what could be apprehended and what necessarily remained beyond reach. In doing so, these methods created space for unconventional ideas and connections between elements of PIU, and prompted questions that extend beyond the scope of

this thesis. RTA then drew these reflections together into four principal themes that could be systematically mobilised to answer the research questions.

At the same time, the methods offered a means of engaging with insiders' practices from an outsider position without presuming neutrality. Approaching the phenomenon in this way provided a fresh vantage point from which new questions could be posed. The use of these methods also contributes to addressing the relative paucity of anthropological work on architecture and interior space. The outcomes move beyond a focus on socio-spatial practices alone, revealing socio-economic and political implications of street vending and generating thick descriptions of each theme—analysed in greater detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

Nonetheless, these methods are not without their limitations. Their strength lies in their grounding in subjectivity, yet this very reliance on personal perspective inevitably introduces selectivity: some events, encounters, or voices are foregrounded, while others recede. The themes developed, though insightful, should therefore not be read as exhaustive or universally generalisable. Furthermore, this anthropologically inflected investigation was constrained in terms of the depth of immersion possible with insiders; it foregrounds the reverse interiorisation of streets by vendors but cannot fully account for the multiple other everyday processes that contribute to this condition. The findings should thus be understood as situated interpretations that open up possibilities for understanding and engaging with Jakarta's street vending, rather than as definitive or totalising accounts.

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Chapter 4

Jakarta's street vending's typology of actions

This chapter presents the findings associated with the first of the four themes generated through the two-stage anthropological methodology outlined previously: the typology of actions underpinning Jakarta's street vending practices. It exemplifies the final phase of RTA—writing up. The remaining three themes, which examine the socio-economic and socio-spatial dimensions of street vending in the city, are addressed in the following chapter. Here, the focus is on elucidating how local vending practices deploy a range of reverse urban interiorization tactics to produce distinct forms of participatory interior urbanism (PIU). Although the findings primarily arise from the walking experiment—supported by observation of participation, visual documentation, semi-structured interviews, and reflective practices such as journalling and storyboard drawing—they are also calibrated against the earlier mind-walking findings, which identified six preliminary spatial configurations of Jakarta's street vending.[561]

Before turning to the final findings (illustrated in Figure 59, right), it is necessary to explain the reconfiguration of sub-themes and categories within this theme, undertaken to clarify the multiple forms of PIU. In their initial form, these sub-themes captured individual practices and their associated meanings but did not sufficiently indicate how these ideas related to one

[561] See the discussion of results of mind-walking experiment in Chapter 3 why they are needed to be calibrated.

another or the roles they played within a broader system (see Figure 59, left). In order to understand the socio-spatial mechanisms more effectively, a clearer articulation of the relationships, functions, and interdependencies among sub-themes was required. Reorganising them into a more structured framework renders their connections more legible, facilitates comparison, and supports the identification of recurring patterns, thereby enabling a deeper reading of street vending practices.

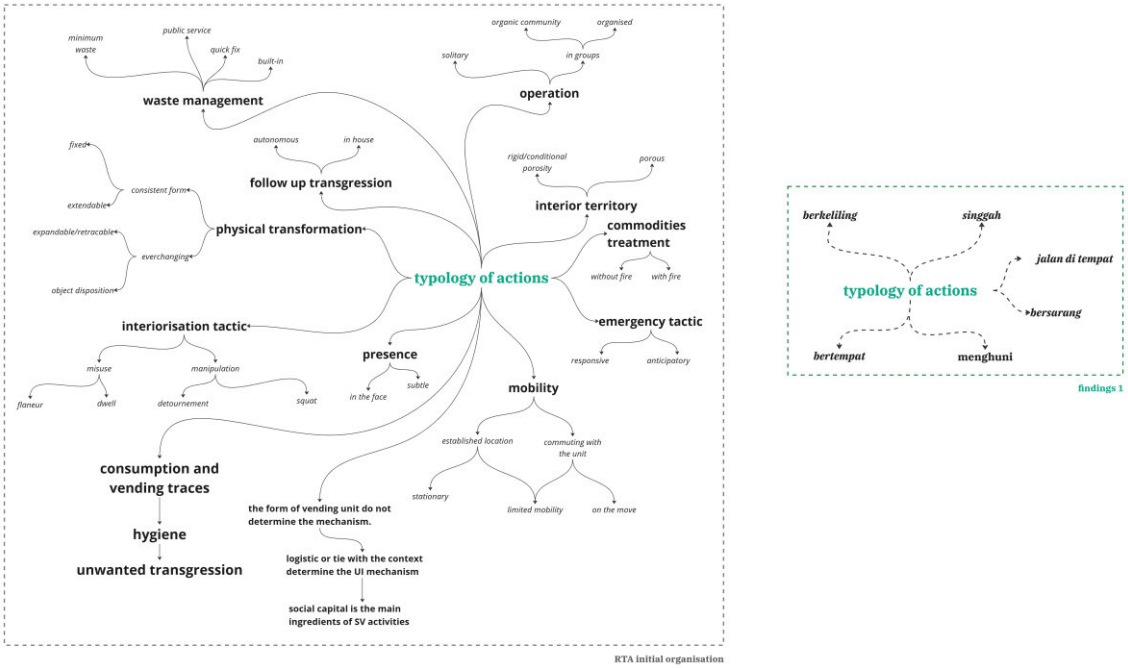

Figure 59. The re-organisation of initial RTA themes to inform findings 1. Source: Author.

Typology was adopted as a classificatory strategy to organise these discrete ideas into coherent types. This approach was applied exclusively to the first theme, as the material concerns tactics and practices; treating these separately would risk fragmenting what is, in reality, a systemic interplay of actions. By contrast, the remaining themes pertain to consequences and impacts, which cut across practices and therefore do not lend themselves naturally to typological arrangement. It is also acknowledged that typology inevitably simplifies fluid, contingent socio-spatial practices into structured categories.

Here, typology is not proposed as a prescriptive schema but as *a heuristic device*—a means of organising ideas so that patterns may be discerned while remaining attentive to the dynamic, lived qualities of vending practices. This tension is explored further in the subsequent section.

Typology is particularly suited to this research because of its ability to hold together both empirical variation and conceptual meaning. As Kenneth Bailey notes in *Typologies and Taxonomies*, typologies operate across multiple dimensions and incorporate underlying significance rather than relying only on descriptive attributes.[562] This approach was especially appropriate given the complexity of the theme, which initially comprised 16 sub-themes and 35 categories, none of which could be meaningfully reduced to simple descriptive labels.

Drawing on Bailey's formulation, typology rests on the premise that dimensions must be both exhaustive and mutually exclusive.[563] Dimensions serve as identifiers that distinguish one type from another. In this study, sub-themes are treated as dimensions, and categories function as their corresponding values—defining specific vending practices. Exhaustiveness requires that each type incorporates all 16 dimensions—no more and no fewer—while mutual exclusivity ensures that each type remains distinct, defined by a unique configuration of values. Through this structure, typology delivers both comprehensive coverage of socio-spatial practices and a systematic means of differentiating between them.

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[562] Kenneth Bailey, *Typologies and Taxonomies* (SAGE Publications, Inc., 1994), 4, https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412986397.

[563] Bailey, *Typologies and Taxonomies*, 3.

Employing typology to reorganise ideas related to socio-spatial practice is well established within the built environment disciplines, particularly in architecture. Architectural typological analysis has a long lineage, extending to the early nineteenth century, when scholars sought to categorise buildings according to form or function. Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, for example, developed architectural types based on epistemological, metaphysical, and aesthetic principles.[564] By contrast, Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand proposed dimensions grounded in structural relationships and formal composition, employing diagrams to represent functional genres.[565]

The key distinction between de Quincy and Durand lies in Durand's use of abstraction to classify and communicate typology—a method that has since become foundational within architectural discourse. As Sam Jacoby argues in *Typal and Typological Reasoning: A Diagrammatic Practice of Architecture*, abstraction is what renders typology operational, enabling architectural entities to be identified and compared through diagrammatic representation.[566] Durand's typological abstractions, for instance (Figure 60, left), use plans and elevations to convey the essential traits of each type and the similarities and differences among them. These abstractions served not only as classificatory tools but as practical references for identifying architectural cases in the built world. As Grover et al. note in *The Language of Typology*, abstraction also allowed types to inform design practice

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[564] de Quincy's typology is explored in this publication: David van Zanten, 'Reviewed Work(s): Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture by Sylvia Lavin', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* Vol. 55, no. No. 1 (Mar., 1996) (1996): 99.

[565] Durand's typology is explored in these publications: Rafael Moneo, 'On Typology', *OPPOSITIONS* 13, no. Summer 1978 (1978): 28–29; Sam Jacoby, 'Typal and Typological Reasoning: A Diagrammatic Practice of Architecture', *The Journal of Architecture* 20, no. 6 (2015): 949–50, https://doi.org/10.1080/13602365.2015.1116104; Peter Carl, 'Type, Field, Culture, Praxis', *Architectural Design* 81, no. 1 (2011): 39, https://doi.org/10.1002/ad.1187.

[566] Jacoby, 'Typal and Typological Reasoning', 941.

directly.[567] This approach was not confined to Durand's structurally oriented typologies; it also informed style-based typologies such as those developed by Gottfried Semper, whose abstractions explored architecture as a form of artistic production (Figure 60, right).

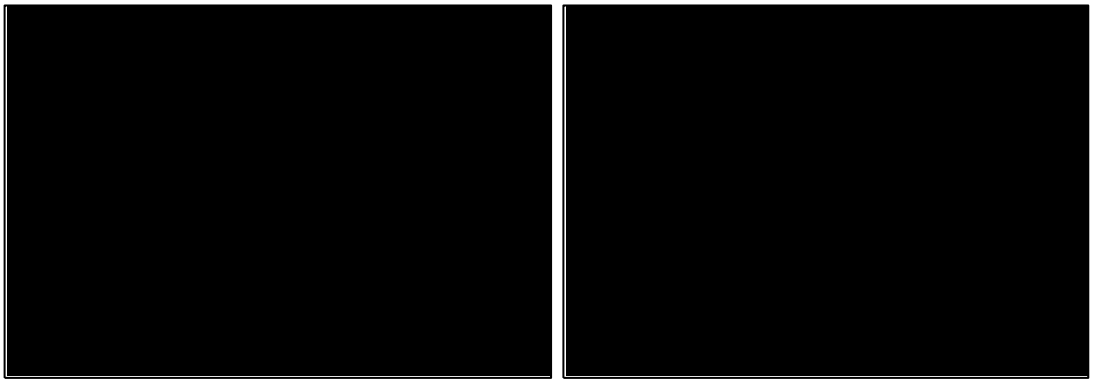

Figure 60. (Left) Excerpt from Durand's *Recueil et parallèle des édifices en tout genre, anciens et modernes* (1805), and (Right) Semper's *Détails de l'intérieur du péristyle du Temple de Thésée à Athènes* (1836), illustrating the instrumentality of architectural typologies (Durand 1805; Semper 1836). Sources: see footnote.[568]

Typology was also utilised in this research for its capacity to bring analytical clarity to a complex field of practices. By means of abstraction, typology organises ideas, reduces interpretative ambiguity, and renders intricate relationships more legible—without diluting their conceptual richness.[569] In this respect, the typological framework developed in this chapter functions as a device for illuminating the socio-spatial dynamics that structure vending

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[567] Robert Grover et al., 'The Language of Typology', *Architectural Research Quarterly* 23, no. 2 (2019): 150–51, https://doi.org/10.1017/S1359135519000198.

[568] J N L Durand, *Receuil et Parallèle des Édifices en tout genre, Anciens et Modernes*, with Miles Lewis Collection (J N L Durand, 1805), http://archive.org/details/jnldurandc1805; Gottfried Semper, *'Détails de l'intérieur Du Féristil Du Temple de Thésé à Athène'. Blatt 2 Aus Dem Tafelwerk 'Anwendung Der Farben in Der Architektur Und Plastik' von Gottfried Semper, Heft 1, Dresden 1836* / *MK&G*, 1836, PapierDeckende Wasserfarbe, Blattmaß: Höhe: 42,3 cm; Breite: 58,8 cm Passepartout (außen): Höhe: 70 cm; Breite: 100 cm, Grafische Sammlung, https://www.mkg-hamburg.de/en/sammlung/objekt/details-de-linterieur-du-feristil-du-temple-de-these-a-athene-blatt-2-dem-tafelwerk.

[569] Bailey, *Typologies and Taxonomies*, 10.

activities, while simultaneously preserving an appreciation of the distinctive, often subtle, qualities embedded within each type.

However, I approached the task of applying typology with caution. Although architectural typologies offer valuable precedents for strategic classification, they are primarily concerned with the physical characteristics of buildings. Architectural typological traditions remain closely tied to questions of form, morphology, and formal language—traditions that, for figures such as Walter Gropius, were even intended to standardise architectural production through normative *type-forms*.[570]

As already discussed in Chapter 2, such a preoccupation with physicality does not translate directly into the concerns of the interior discipline, where the emphasis lies not on form alone but on the lived practice of inhabitation. Even the few academic works that explicitly engage with typology in interiors—Jan Jennings' *A Case for a Typology of Design: The Interior Archetype Project*, for instance—tend to focus on interior archetypes or formal vocabularies, thereby reproducing, and at times extending, architecture's form-centred interpretation.[571] This suggests that typology remains relatively under-theorised within interiors and, more specifically, within interior urbanism.

At the same time, these limitations invite broader questions of methodological appropriateness. As noted earlier, typology inevitably simplifies complex realities into discrete categories; in doing so, it may appear

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[570] Gropius' typology is explored in this publication: Marina Lathouri, 'The City as a Project: Types, Typical Objects and Typologies', *Architectural Design* 81, no. 1 (2011): 25–26, https://doi.org/10.1002/ad.1185.

[571] Jan Jennings, 'A Case for a Typology of Design: The Interior Archetype Project', *Journal of Interior Design* 32, no. 3 (2007): 48–68, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1939-1668.2007.tb00540.x.

ill-suited to the fluid, adaptive, and situational practices characteristic of street vendors—practices that frequently defy rigid classification. Anthropological debates, including those outlined by Stephanie Sadre-Orafai, underscore this dilemma: typology is indeed a useful heuristic, yet its reductive nature risks obscuring the subtleties of lived practice unless it is applied reflexively and with close attention to context.[572]

A productive example of such reflexive use can be found in Anthony and Vicky-Ann Ware's reworking of Mac Ginty's *typology of social practices* into a revised typology of *everyday peace*.[573] Their intervention demonstrates how typological frameworks can be reoriented to foreground the agency of local actors in ordinary life. They emphasise that typologies of everyday practices are invaluable for recognising local capacity and initiative, yet they also warn that when imposed externally and stripped from their context, such frameworks can inadvertently undermine the very agency they aim to reveal.[574] A similar caution applies here: the typology developed for this research is intended to elucidate Jakarta's vending practices—not to supply a prescriptive model for policy-making or regulation. Used in the latter sense, it could risk flattening or constraining the adaptive agency of vendors rather than highlighting the dynamism of their socio-spatial operations.

This reflexive stance aligns with architectural efforts that depart from form-based typologies in favour of human-centred conceptualisations. Peter Carl's notion of *typicality*, advanced in *Type, Field, Culture, Praxis*, is particularly

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[572] Stephanie Sadre-Orafai, 'Typologies, Typifications, and Types', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 49, no. Volume 49, 2020 (2020): 194, https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-anthro-102218-011235.

[573] Anthony Ware and Vicki-Ann Ware, 'Everyday Peace: Rethinking Typologies of Social Practice and Local Agency', *Peacebuilding* 10, no. 3 (2022): 229–30, https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2021.1997387.

[574] Ware and Ware, 'Everyday Peace', 240.

instructive. Carl positions architecture around the actions and events that occur within space, rather than around physical configuration alone.[575] Types, in this formulation, are not fixed templates but open, generative constructs—rhetorical in character and capable of revision as circumstances, practices, and interpretations evolve.

Within urbanism, similar human-oriented typologies have been employed to organise actions and practices that shape socio-spatial life. Jeffrey Hou's *typology of actions and practices* in guerrilla urbanism is a notable example.[576] Hou structures his typology around the intentions and spatial effects of actors' interventions, emphasising the diverse socio-spatial impacts these actions produce.[577] His types remain interpretive and non-prescriptive, enabling them to resonate differently across varied socio-cultural settings and real-world cases.

A second relevant example is Giacomo Castagnola's typology of informal street traders, which classifies practices according to the actions generated through traders' bodily engagements with objects such as vending units, assemblages, or ad hoc furniture.[578] His framework deploys typology to trace variations in these embodied relationships and to analyse how they actively shape the spatial conditions of informal trading. Although materiality

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[575] While typicality shares many similarities with mainstream architectural typology in terms of classification, it diverges in its emphasis on the dynamic aspects of architecture. See: Carl, 'Type, Field, Culture, Praxis', 40.

[576] Jeffrey Hou, ed., *Insurgent Public Space: Guerrilla Urbanism and the Remaking of Contemporary Cities* (Routledge, 2010), 13.

[577] This can be seen from the types developed within this typology, where the names denote a particular action or spatial process, such as appropriating, reclaiming, pluralising, transgressing, uncovering and contenting. See: Hou, *Insurgent Public Space*, 13–14.

[578] Giacomo Castagnola, 'Design Typologies in Micro-Retail, Or the Body as A Commercial Vehicle', in *Informal Market Worlds Atlas: The Architecture of Economic Pressure*, ed. Peter Mörtenböck and Helge Mooshammer (NAI010 Publ, 2015), 380.

remains central to Castagnola's work, it is interpreted through the lens of action and human spatial conduct. Taken together, these three cases illustrate how typology has been expanded beyond the categorisation of physical form to encompass human agency and socio-spatial practice—an orientation that aligns closely with the concerns of this study.

It is nevertheless important to emphasise the specific role that abstraction plays in this research, which diverges from its function within conventional architectural typologies. Here, abstraction is not intended to impose prescriptive standards or normative forms; rather, it serves to clarify socio-spatial tendencies by synthesising insights drawn from diverse, highly situated cases. In this sense, abstraction is employed as a heuristic reduction—a means of rendering complex patterns legible without claiming to capture every lived nuance of vending practices.

As with Hou, the principal feature differentiating the socio-spatial practices of Jakarta's street vending (as reflected in the sub-themes identified in Figure 59, left) lies in the intentions and actions that underpin specific tasks. These include, for instance, the tactics used to interiorise the street, draw customers, or evade enforcement. While certain sub-themes might appear to foreground physical elements, they nonetheless represent the outcomes of particular actions. This reinforces the need to organise socio-spatial practices according to action, and thus the theme is framed as a typology of actions.[579]

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[579] Another compelling reason for prioritising actions or human activities over physicality in this typology stems from the initial findings of the mind-walking experiments. These experiments revealed that while many street vendors may share identical vending units or tools, what truly distinguishes one case from another is how these physical elements are employed and what kinds of activities they support (see Chapter 3). Even minor adjustments in the use of vending units, tools, or furniture can create entirely different situations, significantly influencing the overall performance of the interior space. This observation reinforces the need to look beyond physical traits alone and towards the practices and variations that, when abstracted, reveal meaningful socio-spatial differences.

Such organisation also demonstrates that street vendors' PIU can be understood through more than its material manifestations. An action-oriented classification reveals components that might otherwise be dismissed as incidental, repositioning them as constitutive elements of urban interiority. On this basis, six types were developed, each comprising ten dimensions: *physical transformation*, *interior territory*, *operation*, *follow-up transgression*, *commodities treatment*, *mobility*, *interiorization tactic*, *presence*, *emergency tactic*, and *waste management*.[580] To ensure the accuracy and coherence of this schema, the next step involved aligning the 31 documented cases with the six types and ten dimensions to establish unique identifiers.

Bailey refers to this process—matching empirical cases with typological categories—as the *identification of cases*, a crucial stage in strengthening a typology by anchoring it in real-world evidence.[581] In ideal-typical reasoning, following Max Weber, this step usually occurs after the construction of types, with cases merely serving to illustrate theoretical constructs.[582] By contrast, this research identified and worked with cases at the outset, generating what Bailey terms *constructed types*: types developed inductively through systematic engagement with field material to explore the phenomena that the cases exemplify.[583]

Through this process, six types of socio-spatial practice were delineated for Jakarta's street vending: *berkeliling* (nomadic), *singgah* (stopping by), *jalan di*

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[580] These dimensions are converted from what are known previously as sub-themes. Each dimension encompasses various values, previously known as categories. For instance, *the follow up transgression* consists of 'autonomous' and 'in-house' as part of its values, whereas *interior territory* comprises 'rigid/conditional porosity' and 'porous'. See Figure 59 for details.

[581] Bailey, *Typologies and Taxonomies*, 7.

[582] Bailey, *Typologies and Taxonomies*, 8–9.

[583] Bailey, *Typologies and Taxonomies*, 8–9.

tempat (marching in place), *bersarang* (nesting), *bertempat* (residing), and *menghuni* (staying). I deliberately retain the Indonesian terms, as they reflect the situated cultural knowledge embedded within each type and underscore their grounding in Jakarta's own vernacular and urban life-world.[584] Table 13 presents these types alongside the empirical cases associated with each.

To complement the matrix, I employed *radar charts* as a means of organising ideas and visualising the classification process. First devised by Georg von Mayr, radar charts allow multiple dimensions to be represented simultaneously on a single plane, and they are widely used in the social sciences to analyse patterns of human behaviour and characteristics.[585] In this study, the charts offered an effective way to depict the distinctive configurations of traits that constitute each type and to highlight dominant characteristics across different vending practices. Although non-numerical, the charts were arranged such that transient features appear closer to the centre and more fixed or stable characteristics toward the outer rim. As illustrated in Figure 61, this produces an immediate visual sense of which types are flexible and low-maintenance and which more closely resemble formalised commercial activity.

It is important to clarify that, although useful for visualising the classificatory logic, the radar charts do not themselves constitute the abstraction of the

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[584] My aim here is not for the typology to be directly adopted as a policy instrument, but for it to be *widely understood* so that it can inform the development of future urban policy. Using Indonesian also supports comprehension among local stakeholders and aligns with the prevailing practice of provincial and national government bodies to use Indonesian in official documents. The underlying logic of the typology may also be applicable to other cities that exhibit similar patterns of urban informality.

[585] The use of the chart is also familiar from video games (e.g., Pokémon), where it illustrates characters' strengths and weaknesses—an inspiration for my own use. See: Anthony J. T. Lee et al., 'Mining Perceptual Maps from Consumer Reviews', *Decision Support Systems* 82 (February 2016): 14, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dss.2015.11.002.

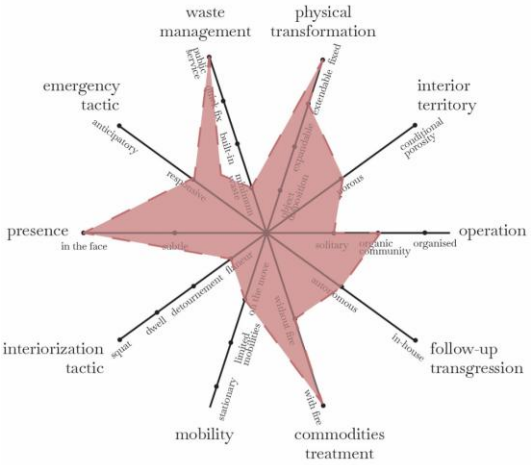
typology; they do not identify socio-spatial characteristics independently. Conventional architectural drawings—plans, sections, and elevations—are often employed in typological studies, yet, as discussed in the previous chapter, such representational modes are ill-equipped to capture dynamic interior processes such as temporality, movement, and continual transformation. These qualities are central to street-vending practices and therefore require alternative representational strategies.

At the walking stage of the research, I drew principally upon Tschumi's *Manhattan Transcripts* as a means of illustrating how dynamic elements—bodies, movements, and actions—interact with more static spatial components, namely the existing street environment and the material units employed in vending.[586] When progressing to the analytical stage, however, the storyboard drawings were intentionally anchored to specific sites, capturing events at distinct moments in order to reveal intimate spatial qualities and idiosyncratic practices. While this proved effective for close, situated interpretation, it became less suitable for communicating a typology intended to span multiple cases. Consequently, a further level of abstraction was required—one capable of conveying the socio-spatial logic of street vending practices concisely and comparably across different contexts. The focus therefore shifted towards the essential characteristics of each type rather than exhaustive documentation. The intention was not to impose fixed forms nor to replicate every experiential nuance, but to identify recurrent socio-spatial patterns that enhance conceptual understanding.

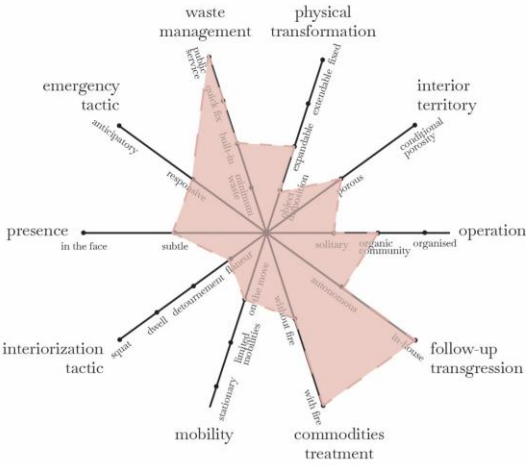
[586] Tschumi, 'Manhattan Transcripts', 48.

location	case number	case observed: street vending event	dimensions										types
			mobility	interiorization tactic	presence	emergency tactic	waste management	physical transformation	interior territory	operation	follow up transgression	commodity treatment	
Tanah Abang	1	Salwa: a clothing vendor	limited mobility	flaneur	in the face	responsive	public service or minimum waste	object disposition	porous	organised and organic	autonomous	without fire	**jalan di tempat**
	2	Tony and Ary: chicken porridge vendors	limited mobility	detournement	subtle	anticipatory	public service or quick fix	expandable and object disposition	porous	organised and organic	autonomous and in-house	with or without fire	**bersarang**
	3	Kusnardi: a fruit vendor	on the move	flaneur	in the face	responsive	public service or minimum waste	fixed and extendable	porous	solitary or organic	autonomous	with or without fire	**berkeliling**
	4	Sundari: a beverage vendor	limited mobility	detournement	subtle	anticipatory	public service or quick fix	expandable and object disposition	porous	organised and organic	autonomous and in-house	with or without fire	**bersarang**
	5	Ujang: a meatball soup vendor	limited mobility	detournement	subtle	anticipatory	public service or quick fix	expandable and object disposition	porous	organised and organic	autonomous and in-house	with or without fire	**bersarang**
	6	Agusmeri: a clothing vendor	limited mobility	flaneur	in the face	responsive	public service or minimum waste	object disposition	porous	organised and organic	autonomous	without fire	**jalan di tempat**
	7	Aisyah: a chicken soup vendor	limited mobility	detournement	subtle	anticipatory	public service or quick fix	expandable and object disposition	porous	organised and organic	autonomous and in-house	with or without fire	**bersarang**
	8	Putra: a clothing vendor	limited mobility	flaneur	in the face	responsive	public service or minimum waste	object disposition	porous	organised and organic	autonomous	without fire	**jalan di tempat**
	9	Indra: a clothing vendor	limited mobility	flaneur	in the face	responsive	public service or minimum waste	object disposition	porous	organised and organic	autonomous	without fire	**jalan di tempat**
	10	Oscar: a clothing vendor	limited mobility	flaneur	in the face	responsive	public service or minimum waste	object disposition	porous	organised and organic	autonomous	without fire	**jalan di tempat**
Sudirman	11	Nur and Silvi: beverage vendors	limited mobility	detournement	subtle	anticipatory	public service or quick fix	expandable and object disposition	porous	organised and organic	autonomous and in-house	with or without fire	**bersarang**
	12	Verrel and Andika: beverage vendors	limited mobility	flaneur	in the face	responsive	public service or minimum waste	object disposition	porous	organised and organic	autonomous	without fire	**jalan di tempat**
	13	Coki: a fried chicken vendor	stationary	dwell	in the face	anticipatory	public service	fixed and extendable	conditional	organised	autonomous and in-house	with or without fire	**bertempat**
	14	Saipul: a toast vendor	on the move	flaneur	in the face	responsive	public service or minimum waste	fixed and extendable	porous	solitary or organic	autonomous	with or without fire	**berkeliling**
	15	Wawan: a beef ribs soup vendor	limited mobility	detournement	subtle	anticipatory	public service or quick fix	expandable and object disposition	porous	organised and organic	autonomous and in-house	with or without fire	**bersarang**
	16	Arrahmah: a donut vendor	on the move	flaneur	in the face	responsive	public service or minimum waste	fixed and extendable	porous	solitary or organic	autonomous	with or without fire	**berkeliling**
	17	Adi and Adi: beverage vendors	on the move	flaneur	in the face	responsive	public service or minimum waste	fixed and extendable	porous	solitary or organic	autonomous	with or without fire	**berkeliling**
	18	Rahman: a beverage vendor	stationary	dwell	in the face	anticipatory	public service	fixed and extendable	conditional	organised	autonomous and in-house	with or without fire	**bertempat**
	19	Mita and Homsiyah: a fish vendor	stationary	dwell	in the face	anticipatory	public service	fixed and extendable	conditional	organised	autonomous and in-house	with or without fire	**bertempat**
	20	Ricky: a fried chicken vendor	stationary	dwell	in the face	anticipatory	public service	fixed and extendable	conditional	organised	autonomous and in-house	with or without fire	**bertempat**
	21	Aditya and Khuisairi: beverage vendors	stationary	dwell	in the face	anticipatory	public service	fixed and extendable	conditional	organised	autonomous and in-house	with or without fire	**bertempat**
	22	Kartini: a chili paste vendor	limited mobility	detournement	subtle	anticipatory	public service or quick fix	expandable and object disposition	porous	organised and organic	autonomous and in-house	with or without fire	**bersarang**
	23	One and Gundal: banana fritter vendors	stationary	dwell	in the face	anticipatory	public service	fixed and extendable	conditional	organised	autonomous and in-house	with or without fire	**bertempat**
Kota Tua	24	Wahyu: a beverage vendor	on the move	flaneur	in the face	responsive	public service or minimum waste	fixed and extendable	porous	solitary or organic	autonomous	with or without fire	**berkeliling**
	25	Nur and Nur: meatball soup and peanut salad vendors	stationary	squat	subtle	anticipatory	public service	fixed and extendable	conditional	organised	autonomous and in-house	with or without fire	**menghuni**
	26	Naim: a vegetable rice cake vendor	on the move	flaneur	subtle	responsive	public service, quick fix or built-in	expandable and object disposition	porous	solitary or organic	autonomous and in-house	with or without fire	**singgah**
	27	Poniman: a spicy fruit salad vendor	on the move	flaneur	subtle	responsive	public service, quick fix or built-in	expandable and object disposition	porous	solitary or organic	autonomous and in-house	with or without fire	**singgah**
	28	Sigit: an electronic vendor	limited mobility	flaneur	in the face	responsive	public service or minimum waste	object disposition	porous	organised and organic	autonomous	without fire	**jalan di tempat**
	29	Roni: a spicy fruit salad vendor	stationary	squat	subtle	anticipatory	public service	fixed and extendable	conditional	organised	autonomous and in-house	with or without fire	**menghuni**
	30	Emak and Okta: beverage vendors	on the move	flaneur	subtle	responsive	public service, quick fix or built-in	expandable and object disposition	porous	solitary or organic	autonomous and in-house	with or without fire	**singgah**
	31	Ahmad: a merchandise vendor	limited mobility	flaneur	in the face	responsive	public service or minimum waste	object disposition	porous	organised and organic	autonomous	without fire	**jalan di tempat**

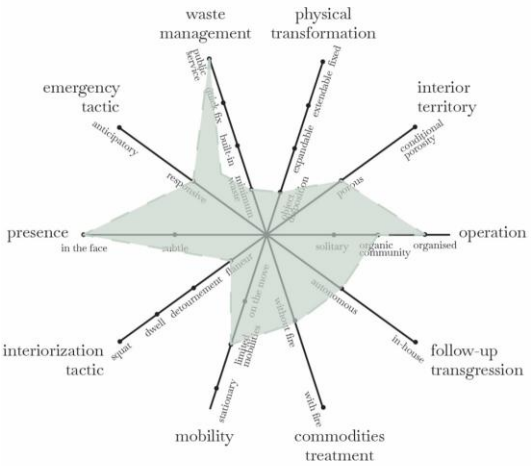
Table 13. Matrix showing the identification of cases to construct the types of Jakarta's street vending PIU. Source: Authors



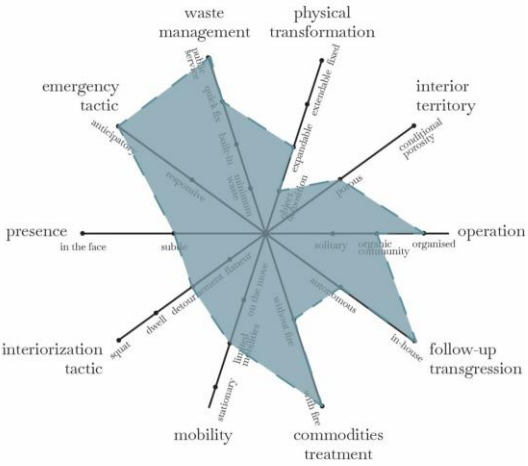
Type 1: Berkeliling



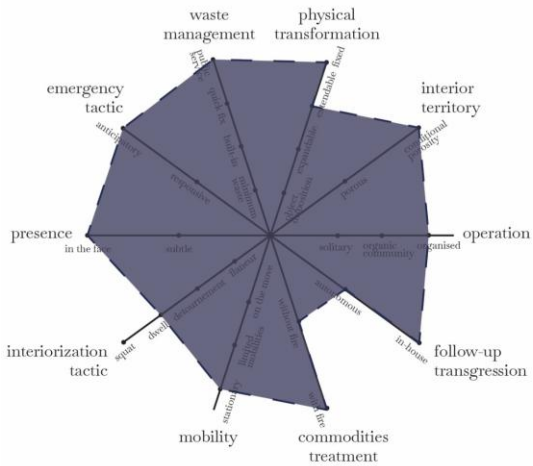
Type 2: Singgah



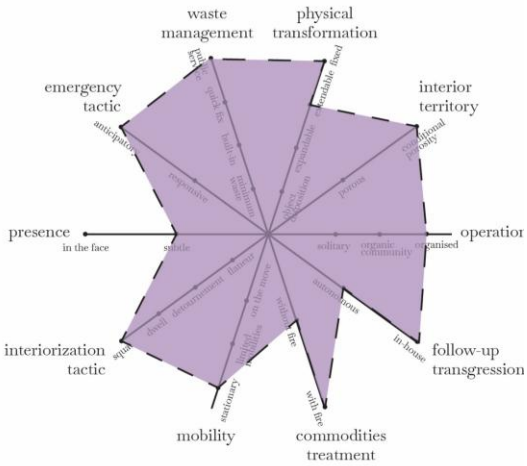
Type 3: Jalan di tempat



Type 4: Bersarang



Type 5: Bertempat



Type 2: Menghuni

Figure 61. Radar charts of six types that represent Jakarta's street vending PIU. Source: Author.

To achieve this, I turned to Alexander et al.'s *pattern language*, where each pattern presents a recurring problem in the built environment together with an indicative solution, expressed through a succinct descriptive text and a schematic diagram that foregrounds relational spatial dynamics (Figure 62).[587] This demonstrates how an abstract pattern can communicate recurring urban conditions without tethering them to any specific architectural configuration.

Figure 62. Diagram of pattern 93 "Food Stands" in Alexander et al's Pattern Language. Source: Alexander, Christopher, Sara Ishikawa, and Murray Silverstein. *A Pattern Language: Towns, Buildings, Construction*. OUP USA, 1977.

Unlike Alexander et al., whose patterns are prescriptive design tools, the patterns developed for street vending in this research are representational.[588] The abstractions are used to reveal recurring configurations—relating to

[587] Christopher Alexander et al., *A Pattern Language: Towns, Buildings, Construction* (OUP USA, 1977), x–xi.

[588] Alexander et al., *A Pattern Language*, x.

mobility, tactics, transformation, and transgression—captured within the ten dimensions of each type's PIU. Notational drawings, which express qualities and relationships rather than architectural form per se, were therefore the most appropriate visual medium through which to develop these patterns. This approach also draws on more recent urban scholarship, including Stephen Marshall's *Streets and Patterns*, which emphasises movement, sequencing, and network logic, and Karl Kropf's diagrammatic method for typology and pattern, which renders multi-scalar relationships in the built environment more legible.[589] These perspectives contributed to the development of what I term *action diagrams*—concise visualisations that represent the temporal and procedural aspects of street-vending practices in a format suitable for communication across sites and disciplinary audiences.[590]

Complementing these influences, I also examined Foreign Office Architects' (FOA) circulation diagram for the Yokohama International Ferry Port Terminal (Figure 63). Although created for a specific architectural project, its clarity and deliberate ambiguity make it highly adaptable across comparable situations with minimal adjustment.[591] Reduced to essential elements—lines, arrows, short notes—the diagram nonetheless conveys fundamental information: flows of movement, directional cues, spatial zoning, relational patterns, and operative mechanisms. It demonstrates how knowledge can be distilled without sacrificing conceptual depth. As Alejandro Zaera-Polo notes, the power of such diagrams lies in their calibrated economy of information.[592]

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[589] Stephen Marshall, *Streets and Patterns* (Routledge, 2004), 14, https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203589397; Karl Kropf, 'Ambiguity in the Definition of Built Form', *Urban Morphology* 18, no. 1 (2013): 55–56, https://doi.org/10.51347/jum.v18i1.3995.

[590] Action diagram is chosen due to the centrality of actions within the practice of street vending.

[591] Alejandro Zaera-Polo, 'Between Ideas and Matters: Icons, Indexes, Diagrams, Drawings and Graphs.', in *The Diagrams of Architecture*, ed. Mark Garcia, AD Reader (Wiley, 2010), 240.

[592] Zaera-Polo, 'Between Ideas and Matters: Icons, Indexes, Diagrams, Drawings and Graphs.', 240.

Figure 64 shows how this principle informed the action diagrams used to articulate each vending type.

Figure 63. FOA's No Return Circulation Diagram. Source: FOA. *The Yokohama Project: Foreign Office Architects*. English ed. edition. Edited by Albert Ferre, Tomoko Sakamoto, Michael Kubo, Farshid Moussavi, and Alejandro Zaera-Polo. ActarD Inc, 2003.

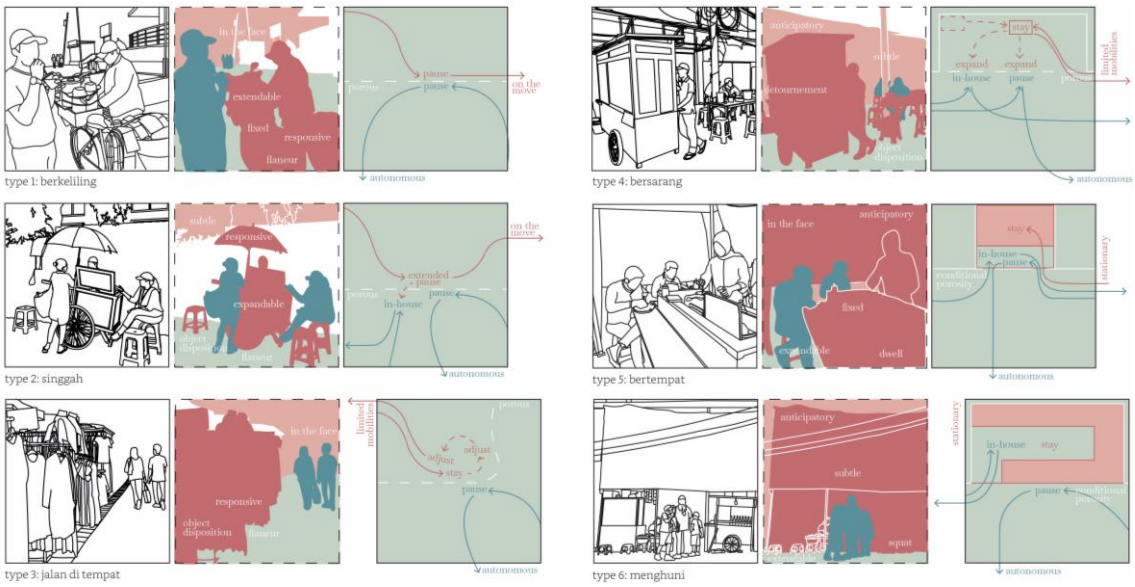

Figure 64. Actions diagram explaining the six types of Jakarta's street vending PIU. Source: Author.

Each type is presented through a triptych format. The left-hand panel shows a perspective drawing derived from fieldwork photographs, illustrating a representative—though not definitive—scene for that type. It is intended as an exemplar rather than a comprehensive depiction. The central panel lists the

traits that define the activity; the keywords correspond to the values assigned to each of the ten dimensions identified for that type. The right-hand panel offers the action diagram: an abstraction of the scene in which white lines denote interior territories; pink lines and arrows represent vendors' movements; green lines and arrows indicate engagements with street users; and pink-shaded zones mark interactions with the immediate spatial context. Additional annotations clarify these lines, drawing attention to subtle movements and transitions, in a manner comparable to Alexander et al. and FOA's use of diagrammatic notation. Taken together, the three panels condense each pattern without binding it to any single architectural expression.

The subsequent sections examine each type in turn, outlining the dimensions through which it is constituted and presenting empirical cases from Jakarta that exemplify its characteristics. Action diagrams are deployed to bridge the relationship between knowledge, representation, and lived urban situations, offering a holistic account of Jakarta's street-vending practices. The findings reported here draw on the full range of primary materials generated through the two-stage methodology: mind-walking outputs, visual fieldwork data (photographic and video), observed cases, interview excerpts, and storyboard drawings. Chapter 3 details the full dataset (see Tables 10 and 11), and Table 13 explains how specific cases were assigned to each type. To avoid repetition, Table 14 lists only the sources cited directly in this chapter.

ID	Data Type					Site and Date	Used in
Case 17, Adi and Adi	Walking	Semi-structured interview	Visual Data	Journal	Storyboard Drawing	Sudirman, 2022	Type 1: Berkeliling
Case 14, Saipul	Walking	Semi-structured interview	Visual Data	Journal	Storyboard Drawing	Sudirman, 2022	Type 1: Berkeliling
Case 3, Kusnardi	Walking	Semi-structured interview	Visual Data	Journal	Storyboard Drawing	Tanah Abang, 2022	Type 1: Berkeliling
Case 16, Asannah	Walking	Semi-structured interview	Visual Data	Journal	Storyboard Drawing	Sudirman, 2022	Type 1: Berkeliling
Case 24, Wahyu	Walking	Semi-structured interview	Visual Data	Journal	Storyboard Drawing	Kota Tua, 2022	Type 1: Berkeliling
Case 27, Poniman	Walking	Semi-structured interview	Visual Data	Journal	Storyboard Drawing	Kota Tua, 2022	Type 2: Singgah
Case 26, Naim	Walking	Semi-structured interview	Visual Data	Journal	Storyboard Drawing	Kota Tua, 2022	Type 2: Singgah
Case 1, Salwa	Walking	Semi-structured interview	Visual Data	Journal	Storyboard Drawing	Tanah Abang, 2022	Type 3: Jalan di Tempat
Case 4, Sundari	Walking	Semi-structured interview	Visual Data	Journal	Storyboard Drawing	Tanah Abang, 2022	Type 3: Jalan di Tempat
Case 28, Sigit	Walking	Semi-structured interview	Visual Data	Journal	Storyboard Drawing	Kota Tua, 2022	Type 3: Jalan di Tempat
Case 15, Wawan	Walking	Semi-structured interview	Visual Data	Journal	Storyboard Drawing	Sudirman, 2022	Type 4: Bersarang
Case 2, Tony and Ary	Walking	Semi-structured interview	Visual Data	Journal	Storyboard Drawing	Tanah Abang, 2022	Type 4: Bersarang
Case 12, Verrel and Andika	Walking	Semi-structured interview	Visual Data	Journal	-	Sudirman, 2022	Type 5: Bertempat
Case 13, Coki	Walking	Semi-structured interview	Visual Data	Journal	-	Sudirman, 2022	Type 5: Bertempat
Case 18, Rahman	Walking	Semi-structured interview	Visual Data	Journal	-	Sudirman, 2022	Type 5: Bertempat
Case 23, One and Gundal	Walking	Semi-structured interview	Visual Data	Journal	-	Sudirman, 2023	Type 5: Bertempat
Case 25, Nur	Walking	Semi-structured interview	Visual Data	Journal	Storyboard Drawing	Kota Tua, 2022 and 2023	Type 6: Menghuni
Case 29, Roni	Walking	Semi-structured interview	Visual Data	Journal	Storyboard Drawing	Kota Tua, 2023	Type 6: Menghuni

Table 14. Lists of the primary materials cited directly in this chapter. Please refer to Table 11 and 12 for the full data list gathered and analysed for this research. Source: Author.

4.1 Berkeliling

Berkeliling may be loosely translated as "nomadic". It refers to those street vendors whose defining characteristic is continual motion—an unceasing circulation through the city (see the action diagram in Figure 65). Their operations follow fluid rhythms rather than fixed schedules, generating a fleeting, episodic presence in the urban landscape. Although united by

mobility, their equipment varies considerably: some rely on wheeled units—*gerobak*, push-carts or bicycle-carts, as illustrated in the action diagram—while others carry goods directly on the body, such as plastic containers supported by a fabric sling worn across the back (Figure 66, left).

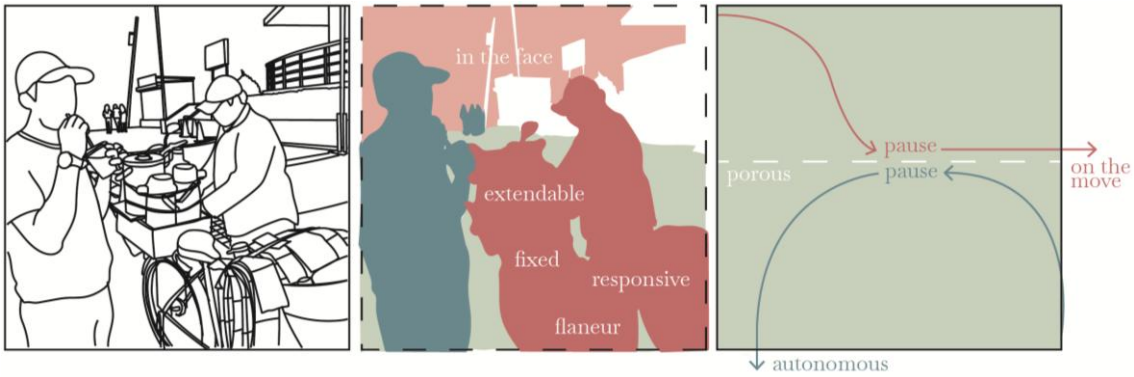

Figure 65. Action diagram for Type 1, *berkeliling*, showing high mobility and interior porosity. Source: Author

Despite these differences, berkeliling units are generally compact, enabling rapid relocation. Vendors often select equipment narrow enough to pass between the bollards that separate carriageway from pavement. In Jakarta, these bollards—typically spaced around 90 centimetres apart—are commonplace. Unlike in the UK or other European cities, they serve primarily to regulate pedestrian movement rather than deter criminal or vehicular threats.[593] Passing between them allows berkeliling vendors to access almost all parts of the city, helping explain their ubiquity.

[593] 'Using Bollards to Reduce Threats from Vehicles (TAL 02/13)', GOV.UK, 23 November 2017, https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/tal-213-bollards-and-pedestrian-movement; 'Jaringan Dokumentasi Dan Informasi Hukum Di Lingkungan Kementerian Perhubungan', Kementrian Perhubungan Republik Indonesia, accessed 19 January 2024, https://jdih.dephub.go.id/.

This mobility also enables entry into "restricted" streets with heightened surveillance, areas many other vendors avoid. For instance, *starling* vendors (Starbucks *keliling*—literally "Starbucks on the move") selling drinks from bicycle-carts were frequently encountered along the pavements of Sudirman Boulevard during fieldwork.[594] These vendors are unconnected with Starbucks; instead, they prepare sachet-based beverages, especially coffee, sold hot or iced at a fraction of commercial café prices. The nickname—sometimes glossed as "Starbucks for the poor"—is used humorously. Their modest set-up appears incongruous within Sudirman's national CBD, a district dominated by glass towers and corporate facades.

Figure 66. Two examples of *berkeliling* vendors are (left) a lady who carried plastic containers with a sling on her back and (2) a *starling* vendor, both often found on the pavements of Sudirman main boulevard, South Jakarta. Source: Author's photographs, August 2022.

Starling vendors can penetrate Sudirman's pavements because their bicycle-carts, even when fitted with vending attachments, are usually less than 80 centimetres wide (Figure 66, right). This compactness allows them to reach pedestrian flows inaccessible to larger units and to compete by offering a low-

[594] Taken from the study of Adi and Adi, beverage vendors, Case 17 (see Table 14).

cost, mobile alternative to chain cafés. It also enhances their ability to avoid enforcement: when in motion, they are often construed as merely travelling through the street rather than engaging in commercial activity. Their exchanges are intentionally brief, favouring takeaway sales so as to maintain continuous movement.

Importantly, this efficiency of interaction does not constrain the kinds of goods they sell. Berkeliling vendors provide both pre-prepared items and foods made to order. Saipul, a vendor regularly found around Sudirman, prepared grilled toast using a small gas grill built into his push-cart; each order took approximately five minutes—similar to the waiting time for a starling drink.[595] The brief pause required for cooking was perceived as momentary rather than as occupation of space. Although their presence is transient, these vendors offer surprising versatility and their products are often of comparable quality to those from more established vendors.

Their untethered nature also enables them to follow potential customers rather than wait for them. They gravitate towards activity, staying only while crowds persist, and call out to attract attention. Starling vendors, for instance, repeatedly shout "*minum*!" ("drinks!") or ring their bells—deliberately fabricating an audible presence.

Some interrupt pedestrian flow to maximise visibility. Kusnardi, a fruit seller in Tanah Abang, adjusted his movements to the daily rhythms of the market (Figure 67): positioned at the entrance in the morning, relocating towards the station in the afternoon. He watched for Satpol PP officers and depended on a compact unit for fast escape. When he spotted them, he could navigate

[595] Taken from the study of Saipul, a toast vendor, Case 14 (see Table 14).

through the bollards into the market's private car park—a space beyond Satpol PP's jurisdiction—in under two minutes. His case illustrates that berkeliling vendors tend to be reactive rather than anticipatory, using movement as their principal defensive strategy. Storyboard drawings in Figure 68 show how Kusnardi, like many others, employed mobility to signal availability, secure customers, and elude enforcement.

Figure 67. Kusnardi, on the right, an example of a *berkeliling* vendor in Tanah Abang, Central Jakarta. Source: Author's photograph, August 2022.

Constant movement also shapes how these vendors interiorise the street. Rather than creating a sustained presence, they prompt others to undertake autonomous follow-up transgressions. Lacking onsite seating, shelter, or consumption space, customers decide how and where to eat or drink. While some return to home or office, many appropriate nearby public infrastructure—sitting on planters, using traffic barriers as makeshift tables, or occupying sections of pavement (Figure 69, left).

These acts constitute instances of autonomous follow-up transgression, in which customers temporarily re-purpose street space for their own use, momentarily personalising the environment and producing a modest sense of domesticity—a brief, collective, open-air interior. The vendors' sonic presence may also influence passers-by, encouraging some to pause and engage, subtly

contributing to a more convivial street life in ways reminiscent of Jan Gehl's emphasis on human-scale urbanism.[596]

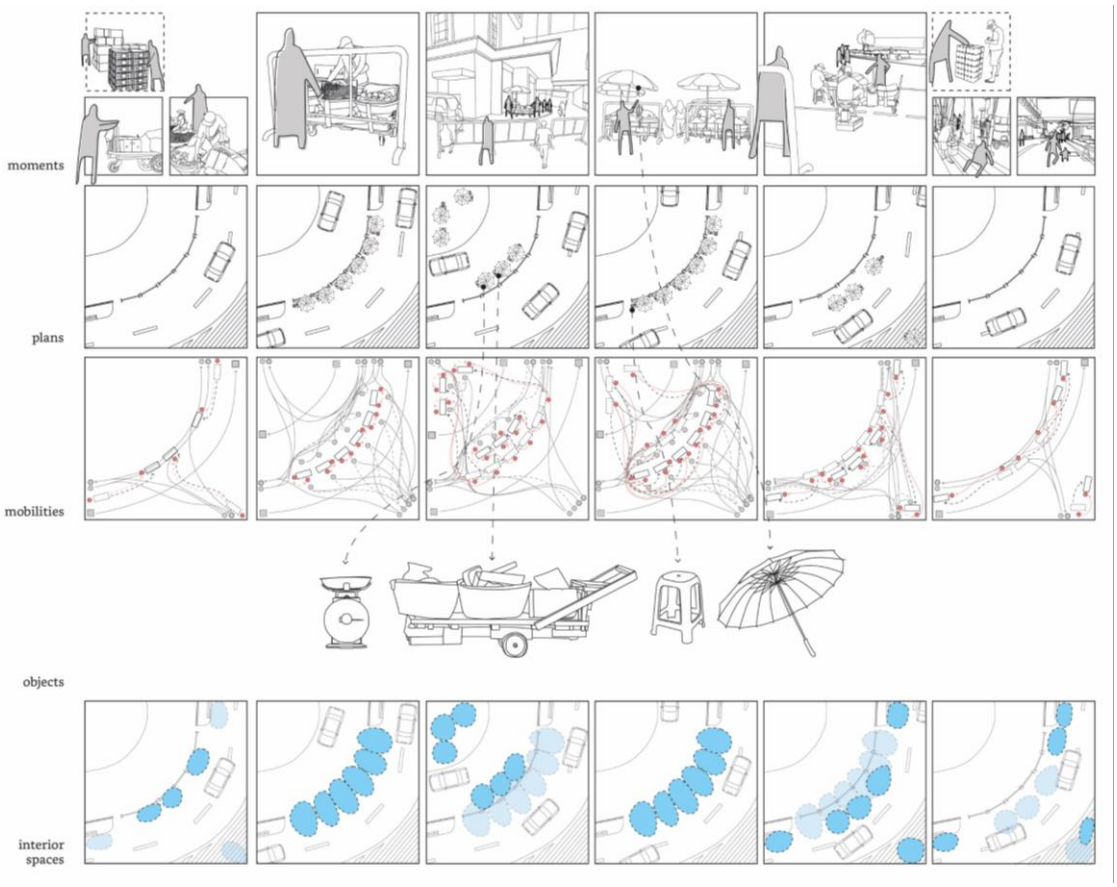

Figure 68. Storyboard drawings of Kusnardi show that he used mobility to attract attention, catch customers, and use a responsive tactic to evade prosecution. Source: Author.

Typically, berkeliling vendors maintain a fixed-form PIU: their interiority is embodied through integrated tools or worn objects, effectively moving with them. As Figure 68 indicates, Kusnardi's interior territory changed position but not configuration. Yet in certain situations this form may expand. When conditions allow, the vending unit functions as an anchor while the vendor becomes a mobile extension.

[596] Gehl, *Cities for People*, 3.

One such expandable interior was observed on a Saturday night in August 2022 near *Bundaran Hotel Indonesia*—the Hotel Indonesia Roundabout—at the southern end of Sudirman Boulevard. The area attracts visitors and tourists taking night-time photographs, including those avoiding the expense of nearby shopping malls. Starling vendors concealed their bike-carts and approached groups with pre-prepared drinks on plastic trays, adapting their practices to capture the passing crowd (Figure 69, right). They adopted this strategy due to heavy surveillance from Satpol PP, police, and private security. Their operations relied on mutual coordination: some guarded the carts while others circulated to sell. In groups, their interior practices stretched and extended; alone, they remained bound to their carts.

Figure 69. (Left) Autonomous follow-up transgression: customers repurposing street infrastructure after engaging with vendors; (Right) an extendable *berkeliling* interior at *Bundaran Hotel Indonesia*, Sudirman, South Jakarta. Source: Author's photographs, August 2022.

This coordinated form of operation was observed on two occasions: among starling vendors at Bundaran Hotel Indonesia and with Arrahmah, a donut seller near MRT Dukuh Atas, whose teenage son approached customers while she waited nearby with younger children and remaining stock.[597] Most

[597] Taken from the study of Asannah, a donut vendor, Case 16 (see Table 14).

berkeliling vendors, however, work independently and avoid attracting undue attention, especially in areas under supervision.

Delegating consumption to customers also serves the vendors' interests. Constant movement limits direct encounters with authorities, and by focusing on takeaway sales, vendors externalise consumption waste. They deal only with production waste. Wahyu, a drinks seller in Kota Tua, explained that public bins were sufficient for daily disposal, while Saipul typically stored his waste on the cart for removal at home.[598]

Mobility also enables vendors to avoid "rent". Without a fixed pitch, they seldom pay location fees, except on occasions when they temporarily shelter within privately managed spaces to evade Satpol PP—where a modest payment to security personnel may be expected. Nor are they required to invest substantially in purpose-built vending structures; domestic utensils and small, improvised modifications are often sufficient. The initial financial outlay is therefore low, and the associated risk relatively modest.

These advantages are balanced by constraints. The compactness of their equipment restricts the quantity of stock they can carry each day. Among berkeliling vendors interviewed in Jakarta, annual incomes were typically in the region of Rp 36–60 million (approximately £1,773–£2,955), broadly comparable to the city's minimum wage of about Rp 4.9 million (c. £241) per month.[599]

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[598] Taken from the study of Wahyu, a beverage vendor, Case 24 (see Table 14).

[599] 'Minimum Wage in Indonesia - Indonesia Guide | Doing Business in Indonesia', ASEAN BRIEFING, accessed 19 January 2024, https://www.aseanbriefing.com/doing-business-guide/indonesia/human-resources-and-payroll/minimum-wage.

4.2 Singgah

The second socio-spatial practice identified in Jakarta's street vending is *singgah*, translated here as "stop-by". As illustrated in the radar charts (Figure 61), it shares several features with berkeliling: high mobility, small-scale equipment, and the absence of a permanent vending pitch or rental obligations. The critical distinction lies in the deployment of mobility and the approach to attracting customers.

While berkeliling vendors treat the transaction as the beginning and end of the interaction, singgah vendors usually remain at a spot for a short time after a sale, waiting for passing customers before moving on (see action diagram in Figure 70). They relocate when foot traffic diminishes or when alerted to the presence of Satpol PP. This subtle shift—from pursuing customers to pausing for them—shapes the form of PIU they generate.

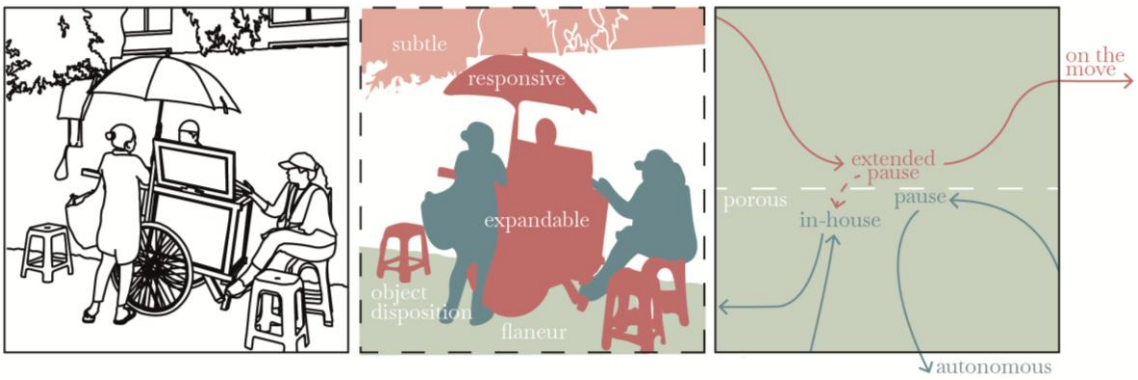

Figure 70. The action diagram for type 2, *singgah*, shows that vendors of this type have high mobility while offering longer and more complex interactions with users or customers. Source: Author.

During my fieldwork, singgah vendors appeared only in Kota Tua, Jakarta's historic centre (see Table 14). Although the heritage district stretches from Sunda Kelapa in the north to Glodok in the south, the walking experiment

concentrated on Fatahillah Square, centred on the former Stadhuis (now Museum Fatahillah or Jakarta History Museum). As designated by the Provincial Office of Tourism and Culture, Fatahillah Square functions as the symbolic heart of heritage within Kota Tua, retaining much of its colonial-era fabric.[600]

This location was selected based on insights from the mind-walking experiment. Analysis of more than 900 Instagram posts from 2021 revealed that portrayals of street vending were heavily concentrated around Fatahillah Square, signalling its importance as a hub of activity.[601] However, as noted in Chapter 3, no vendors were visible during the 2022 walking experiment, which occurred shortly after the square's revitalisation. The area had been rendered conspicuously orderly, with new amenities—lighting, fountains, seating, and landscaping. Its atmosphere resembled the manicured pavements of Sudirman Boulevard. Security had also intensified, with several Satpol PP guards and patrol vehicles stationed at the entrances. These measures appeared to explain the disappearance of vendors who, a year earlier, had formed part of the daily landscape.

Against this backdrop, singgah vendors adopted strategies distinct from their berkeliling counterparts. One example is Poniman, a *rujak buah* (spicy fruit salad) vendor.[602] Prior to revitalisation, he roamed the square, approaching tourists directly. The heightened security regime curtailed his mobility, pushing him to operate at the periphery of the square, usually parking his

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[600] The division of heritage areas in Kota Tua was made by Heritage Conservation Centre, Jakarta Office of Tourism and Culture in 2016. See: Annissa Gultom, 'Kalapa – Jacatra –Batavia - Jakarta: An Old City That Never Gets Old', *SPAFA Journal* 2 (February 2018), https://doi.org/10.26721/spafajournal.v2i0.173.

[601] Refer to the remote anthropological research done prior the fieldwork. Please refer to chapter 3.

[602] Taken from the study of Poniman, a spicy fruit salad vendor, Case 27 (see Table 14).

push-cart near surrounding office buildings. He waited under trees or in discreet corners for customers—now predominantly office workers (Figure 71, left).

Tourists arrived only sporadically, whereas office workers followed predictable schedules, offering a more reliable customer base. By positioning himself within these daily rhythms, Poniman reduced the need for movement and minimised the likelihood of encountering Satpol PP. The shift also enabled him to cultivate repeat customers during lunch hours, adapting effectively to the altered dynamics of Kota Tua.

A similar pattern was observed with Naim, a *ketupat sayur* (vegetable rice cake) vendor who likewise served office workers.[603] In his case, the choice of practice was influenced not solely by enforcement pressures but also by material constraints. At 60, he operated a traditional *pikulan* (carrying pole) reminiscent of vendors from colonial Batavia (Figure 71, right). The pikulan weighs approximately 40 kilograms, imposing clear limits on mobility and rendering long distances or rapid retreats impractical without frequent pauses.[604]

While I cannot determine his exact motivation for using this unit, it may reflect a desire to uphold culinary tradition; the pikulan is strongly associated with ketupat sayur, helping customers recognise the product instantly. Acknowledging the reduced mobility of his equipment compared with

[603] Taken from the study of Naim, a vegetable rice cake vendor, Case 26 (see Table 14).

[604] This is based on the conversation with Naim in which he said he carry around 20 L of hot water, it is equal with 20 Kg for one side of the carrying pole. the other side usually has similar weight so it would be balanced. So approximately, the weight of pikulan is around 40 kg.

lighter, more agile vending units, he chose quieter locations to avoid unnecessary scrutiny.

Figure 71. (Left) Poniman, a *rujak buah* vendor, and (Right) Naim, a *ketupat sayur* vendor, are examples of type 2, singgah, street vending practices found in Kota Tua, West Jakarta. Source: Author's photographs, September 2022.

Operating in less congested areas allows singgah vendors to provide more than takeaway service: they offer minimal dine-in arrangements that cultivate customer loyalty and modest social encounters. Poniman, for example, set out several stackable plastic stools. Customers balanced plates with one hand and used cutlery with the other—simple, yet functional. The stools were lightweight, easily transported, and could be stored on his cart. Providing such facilities fosters sociality and consumption, transforming a portion of the street into a PIU—a small but meaningful interior-like setting where patrons can gather rather than consume on the move.

Storyboard drawings of Poniman's PIU (Figure 72) highlight a defining feature of this type: the expansion of interior territory. Unlike berkeliling vendors, whose interiors depend on constant movement, here the enlargement arises from customers' active arrangement of loose furniture. This is not wholly autonomous; it emerges from the affordances the vendor provides. Space is configured collaboratively, through the interplay of vendor and customer.

Yet these interior territories remain discreet—often unnoticed by passers-by and accessible mainly to those already familiar with the vendor. Their subtlety contributes to their sustainability: a quiet presence reduces risk of detection while supporting continued operation.

Unlike berkeliling vendors, who respond reactively by fleeing when threatened, singgah vendors practise anticipatory avoidance, selecting discreet locations that minimise encounters with authorities. Interviews suggested that Satpol PP tended to focus on highly visible clusters of activity, often overlooking more inconspicuous operations. Singgah vendors thus occupy a middle ground—neither hidden nor overt—a tactical subtlety that makes them adept at negotiating Kota Tua's high-surveillance environment: proficient players in the ongoing *kucing-kucingan* (cat-and-mouse) game.

This relative calm and reduced risk, however, comes with compromises. Generally, singgah vendors recorded lower earnings than their more mobile berkeliling counterparts. Both Naim and Poniman reported annual incomes of around Rp 36 million (£1,773), placing them within the country's lowest income bracket and slightly beneath Jakarta's minimum wage at that time.

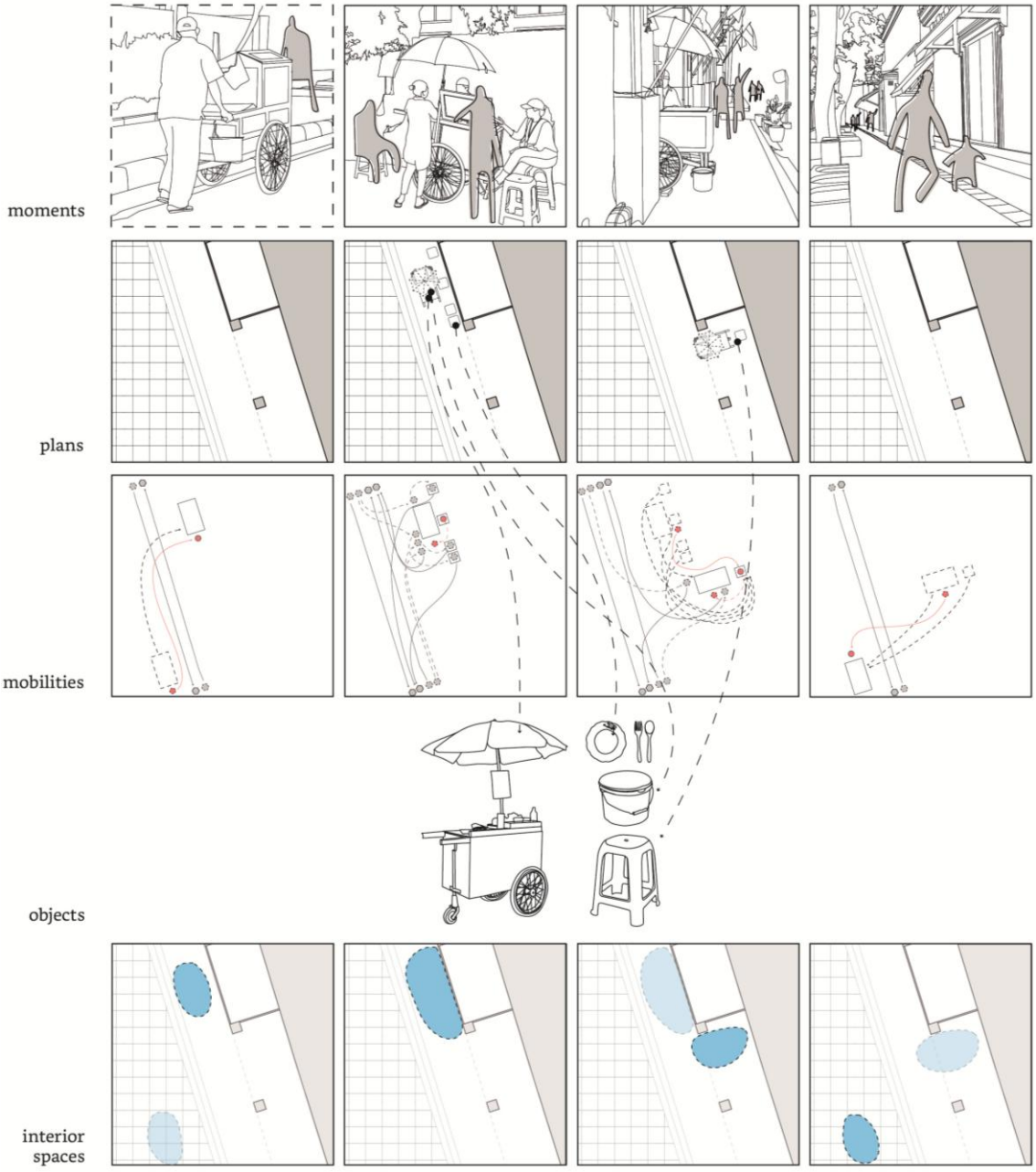

Figure 72. Storyboard drawings of Poniman show that he expanded his interiors using loose furniture, facilitated dine-in activities for customers and thus provided a more complex social interaction between all the parties involved. Source: Author

4.3 Jalan di tempat

The third type, *jalan di tempat*—literally "marching in place"—describes vendors who remain in a fixed location yet do not wait passively. Instead, they

actively announce their presence, both visually and audibly (Figure 73). They do not approach customers directly, but they work deliberately to attract attention. Numerous such vendors were encountered in Tanah Abang, often selling non-food items such as clothing and accessories, though examples were found across all three field sites.

Figure 73. Action diagram shows that Type 3 has limited mobility due to a fixed location, but can draw prospective buyers by interrupting pedestrian flow. Source: Author

A representative case is Salwa, who operated beneath the skybridge connecting Tanah Abang's market complex to the train station, directly opposite a *soto* (chicken soup) restaurant.[605] Her stall occupied a substantial portion of the pavement, narrowing the passage considerably (Figure 74). By constricting pedestrian movement and calling out her goods, she—like others of this type—slowed passers-by and prompted browsing. Because of their visibility and relative permanence, Satpol PP frequently targeted these vendors.

In response, jalan di tempat vendors developed what may be termed "mobility-in-place"—strategic micro-movements that allow them to retain

[605] Taken from the study of Salwa, a clothing vendor, Case 1 (see Table 14).

their pitch while continually adjusting their spatial footprint to avoid prosecution. Their setups are deliberately lightweight, enabling rapid rearrangement, temporary collapse, or swift caching in nearby refuges. When patrols pass, the stall is quickly shifted into a compliant configuration; once the threat recedes, it resumes its former arrangement. This is movement without displacement: the essence of jalan di tempat.

Figure 74. (left) Salwa's stall sits opposite a local *soto* restaurant, and (right) several lightweight clothing racks of varying heights and styles allow continual adjustment to conditions. Source: Author's photographs, August 2022.

Salwa's stall consisted of several clothing racks varying in height and style. Because Satpol PP patrols were unpredictable, neighbouring vendors played an important role as lookouts. On receiving a warning, Salwa immediately shifted the racks behind the "yellow line", aligning them along one side of the pavement. Any surplus racks were placed discreetly inside the adjacent soto restaurant (see storyboard drawing of Salwa, Figure 75). Their low weight allowed her to complete the manoeuvre alone and within minutes. After inspection, the display returned to its original form and trading continued.

The "yellow line" refers to tactile paving for visually impaired pedestrians, typically dividing pavements into two bands. According to Salwa, if vendors

keep to one side and leave the other clear, Satpol PP often tolerates their presence. This appears to be an informal modus vivendi rather than a codified rule: the 2007 bylaw formally prohibits vending on pavements, and tactile paving carries no legal boundary status.[606]

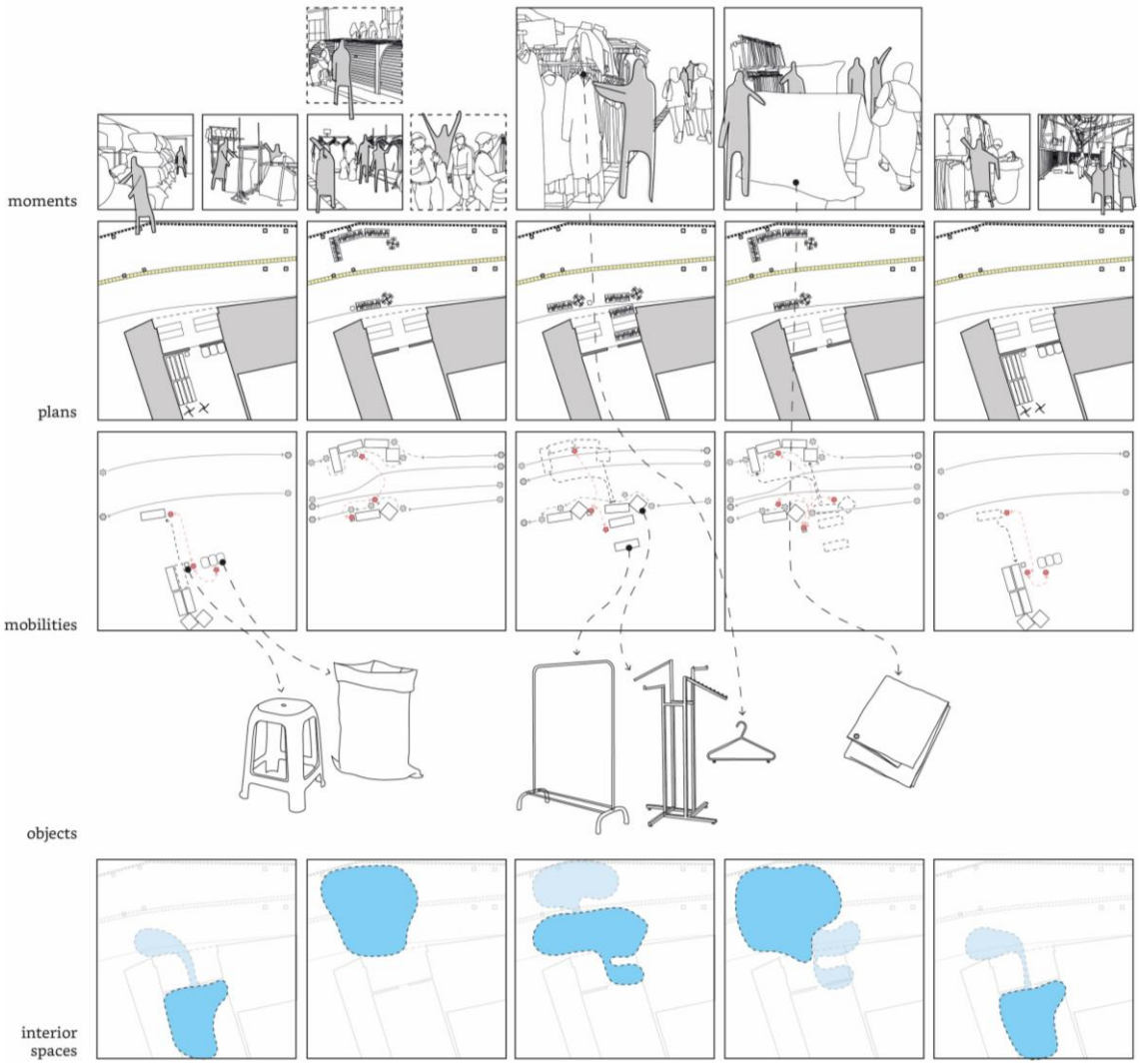

Figure 75. Storyboard drawings of Salwa illustrate the micro-mobility of a *jalan di tempat* vendor, highlighting the constant, subtle adjustments vendors make to respond to dynamic contextual changes shaped by Satpol PP regulations and weather conditions. Source: Author.

[606] Peraturan Daerah Nomor 8 Tahun 2007 Tentang Ketertiban Umum.

Nevertheless, the arrangement points to a pragmatic compromise: vendors may occupy part of the pavement provided pedestrian circulation remains possible. Satpol PP officers seem aware that stalls are shifted only temporarily during inspections yet often respond leniently. As Sundari—one of Salwa's neighbours—noted, vendors caught fully obstructing the walkway are typically reprimanded, and tools may be confiscated and returned for Rp 50,000–100,000 (£2.50–£5) per item.[607]

Although apparently stationary, jalan di tempat is characterised by continual micro-mobility. Vendors work with multiple loose elements requiring constant subtle adjustment throughout the day. These changes respond not only to enforcement threats but also to visibility requirements and customer behaviour. The need for agility discourages the use of makeshift awnings or semi-permanent structures, as fixed attachments compromise flexibility and increase the risk of confiscation.

Adaptation to weather follows the same logic. Instead of dedicated shelters, vendors shift temporarily under the skybridge or into areas with awnings during heavy rain, or simply protect goods with plastic sheeting during light showers. Their interiors are not expanded or contracted so much as repositioned in space. Consequently, their goods are usually non-perishable or sold as takeaway; their continual reconfiguration leaves limited scope for customers to linger.

As with berkeliling, these vendors exert a notable influence on spatial experience through their visibility, audibility, and constant micro-adjustments. Salwa's varying rack configurations demonstrably affected

[607] Taken from the study of Sundari, a beverage vendor, Case 4 (see Table 14).

pedestrian behaviour: when the stall filled the pavement, people veered towards the centre; when shifted aside, pedestrians walked briskly along the open edge. Beyond spatial displacement, the visual draw of the goods slowed some passers-by, triggering browsing, haggling and conversation. The street became not merely a conduit but a modest social interior. Even those uninterested in purchasing experienced altered spatial rhythms: distraction offered a psychological reprieve from heat or congestion.

This effect is intensified because jalan di tempat stalls lack solid boundaries. Their tools and wares spill directly into public space, drawing attention and generating socio-spatial ripple effects. While such practices may enliven the environment, they can also prove disruptive. In Kota Tua, for instance, Sigit—a vendor selling electronic accessories—positioned his stall on the divider between pedestrian and vehicular lanes to intercept movement.[608] On one occasion, a motorcyclist stopped to purchase from him, blocking traffic and causing a congestion build-up (Figure 76). This incident illustrates how street vending, depending on its spatial configuration, can aggravate movement and is often cited as a source of urban obstruction.

Jalan di tempat vendors frequently maintain logistical ties with surrounding businesses. These arrangements are more formalised—sometimes transactional—and often entail rent-like payments or routine bribes, which help secure a fixed location and proximate storage. Salwa, for example, benefited from family ties with the neighbouring soto restaurant. The restaurant provided storage, a retreat, and a break area. However, to occupy pavement beyond the restaurant's frontage, she was required to pay *uang*

[608] Taken from the study of Sigit, an electronic vendor, Case 28 (see Table 14).

keamanan or "protection money" to the *bos lapak* (local enforcers/thugs).[609] The nature of this "protection" is ambiguous, since it does not shield vendors from Satpol PP or prevent confiscation; it appears instead to deter interference from the enforcers themselves.

Figure 76. Sigit served a motorcyclist who pauses amid heavy traffic to buy from his stall, causing a blockage. Source: Author's photograph, September 2022.

Sigit, conversely, did not pay protection fees but arranged to store his goods in a nearby *warteg* (local diner) for around Rp 5,000 (£0.25) per day. He explained that this type of arrangement has become common in Kota Tua, as many warteg owners have found income opportunities in offering ad hoc storage. These arrangements, however, are informal and lack recourse; losses

[609] Preman or thugs in Tanah Abang is well-known in reaping the opportunity to get money from the desperate vendors in the city. See newspaper articles for related cases: Pattymahu, 'Astaga Pendapatan Preman Tanah Abang Kalahkan Bos Perusahaan Besar'; VOI, 'Preman Tanah Abang Kuasai Lahan Parkir Liar di Bahu Jalan, Per Unit Motor Ditarif Rp10 Ribu'.

are typically borne by the vendors, who often have limited alternatives. Those who profit most may therefore be intermediaries—local strongmen and storage providers—rather than the vendors themselves.

Establishing a fixed location certainly provides benefits: vendors are spared the continual task of seeking out viable pitches and can develop a loyal customer base more reliably than nomadic traders. Yet the disadvantages are considerable. Visibility increases exposure to enforcement, and logistical ties can make relocation cumbersome while introducing additional costs. Competition is also intense, as these pitches are often located in areas where many vendors trade similar goods, requiring greater assertiveness to attract potential buyers.

4.4 Bersarang

The fourth type, *bersarang*—literally "nesting"—is, after berkeliling, one of the most prevalent forms of street vending observed in Jakarta. It is more fixed than the preceding three types, though not entirely immobile. Vendors establish themselves at a single spot, operate for four to seven hours, then dismantle their arrangements and return the following day. Their locations are deliberate and their schedules relatively disciplined. Unlike jalan di tempat, alterations to the interior space rarely extend beyond the acts of set-up and close-down (Figure 77).

One example is Wawan, a *soto tangkar* (beef rib soup) vendor trading on Jalan Blora in the Sudirman area, near Sudirman KRL Station—introduced briefly

in the previous chapter.[610] Each weekday he arrived with his push-cart and assembles a small, improvised restaurant on the pavement outside a disused office building, generally operating from around 09:00 to 14:00. His schedule was dependable enough for him to maintain a Google Maps pin showing his daily location and hours. I describe his set-up as a makeshift restaurant because it accommodated both takeaway and dine-in consumption, providing tables, chairs and tableware for approximately six customers at a time (Figure 78). In this respect, bersarang represents a more developed version of singgah, which typically offers only the most minimal dine-in experience.

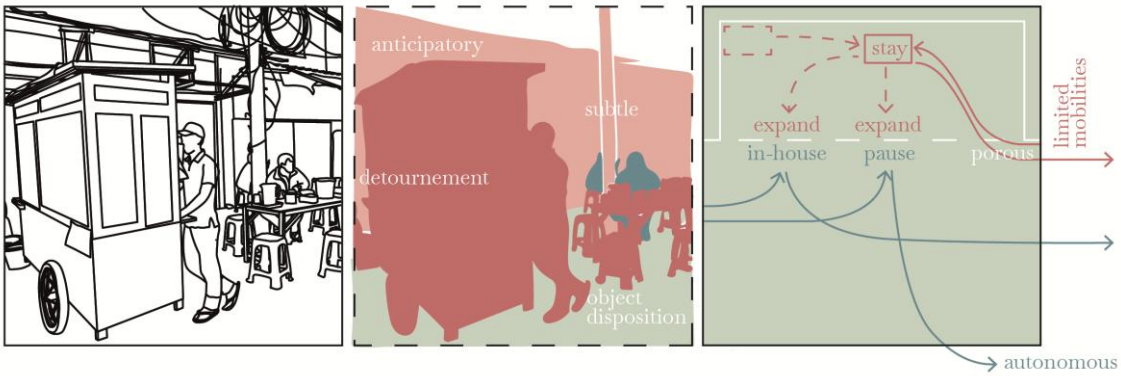

Figure 77. The action diagram for Type 4 (*bersarang*) shows limited mobility concentrated at the beginning and end of trading, when units are set up and dismantled. Source: Author.

Because they support more sustained and socially complex forms of interaction, bersarang and singgah vendors share a degree of discretion in their choice of pitch. They generally select quieter streets where the likelihood of repeated raids is lower, while ensuring proximity to busier corridors from which customers can easily reach them. Wawan, for instance, trades on a smaller, less visible street rather than on the main Sudirman boulevard, yet

[610] Taken from the study of Wawan, a beef ribs soup vendor, Case 15 (Table 14).

remains sufficiently close to intercept the area's foot traffic—mirroring the strategies adopted by Naim and Poniman.

Figure 78. Wawan transforms his push-cart into a makeshift restaurant hosting up to six diners at a time. Source: Author's photograph, August, 2022.

The primary point of difference is mobility. Bersarang vendors typically remain in place even when pedestrian flows diminish or Satpol PP patrols pass nearby. Movement usually occurs only twice daily: once on arrival, and again at closing. Interviews suggested that they might temporarily shift location if warned of a major Satpol PP operation, but ordinarily they remain throughout their trading window.

Many bersarang vendors do not need to move because movement is unnecessary. Their fixed schedules and predictable locations, combined with the facilities they provide for eating and socialising, cultivate a loyal customer base. Patrons learn where and when to find them. For instance, Mark—a regular customer—often brought his wife, Ira, to eat the traditional Betawi dishes prepared from Wawan's push-cart. Wawan sustained these relationships by offering full dine-in provision, enabling customers to eat comfortably on-site. Interviews revealed that many of his patrons were migrant workers living in boarding houses or dormitories with limited cooking facilities; they viewed vendors like Wawan as a reliable and affordable source of daily hot meals.

A further reason for the lack of movement is the relative diminishment of enforcement risk. These vendors frequently occupy transitional spaces between private property and the public footway, generating ambiguous legal conditions. Wawan, for example, operated in a residual sliver in front of a neglected office building. The spatial continuity between this frontage and the pavement effectively blurred public and private boundaries, allowing his stall to straddle both. He took care not to encroach too far onto the public side, and Satpol PP generally ignored his presence. Consequently, he seldom needed to relocate.

The same applied to the *bubur ayam* (chicken porridge) stall run by Tony and Ary, situated in the transitional zone opposite Tanah Abang KRL Station.[611] Like Wawan, they provided dine-in seating with a long table and plastic stools for around eight customers. They positioned their stall so as not to cross the yellow tactile paving, thereby maintaining adequate pedestrian clearance. If questioned by Satpol PP, they could shift their stall towards the building and deeper into the private frontage. Because their street lay farther from the dense commercial area, they rarely encountered enforcement.

Given their semi-permanent routines, bersarang vendors commonly leave large, cumbersome items—benches, tables—on site. Some, like Wawan, secure these with chains (Figure 79, left). Others, such as Tony and Ary, simply leave them tucked to one side (Figure 79, right). In several cases, vendors described informal arrangements with local figures or neighbourhood groups, paying a modest 'security' fee to reduce the likelihood of theft.

Figure 79. Transitional spaces in front of unused buildings inhabited by (left) Wawan's *soto tangkar* and (right) *bubur ayam* stalls. By occupying spaces at the boundary of private and public domains, vendors operate within an ambiguous legal context and can leave some tools in place for later use. Source: Author's photographs, August 2022.

[611] Taken from the study of Tony and Ary, a chicken porridge vendor, Case 2 (Table 14).

These fees, however, provide no guarantees. Vendors are ultimately responsible for their equipment, and support is limited if items disappear. Most expressed a pragmatic acceptance: if something is stolen, it must simply be replaced. This attitude helps explain why the furniture, although relatively large, tends to be modest and well-worn—unlikely to attract attention and cheap to substitute.

I understand this practice of leaving items behind as both pragmatic and territorial. Because vendors lack formal permissions from building owners, they cannot make permanent alterations. Leaving low-value, easily replaced items in situ signals their claim to customers and warns off competitors. These fragments of an interior are then reassembled each day, meaning that the PIU is shaped not only by the vending unit (the push-cart) but also by residual, site-specific components.

Although the vendors themselves are relatively static, their customers are not. The social qualities of these stalls invite lingering and minor rearrangements of the dining area. Patrons commonly reposition stools or tables, actively participating in the transformation of street into interior. In some instances, the effects extend well beyond the stall's immediate footprint.

At the bubur ayam stall, for example, customers often parked motorcycles in an adjacent patch of unused street space, effectively expanding the interior to include informal parking (Figure 80). This improvised arrangement drew additional riders, including some who did not patronise the stall, thereby turning the area into a temporary resting point. The space continued to be used for parking even after the stall closed, leaving traces of the day's activity. In this way, the socio-spatial impacts of bersarang practices exceed the immediate transactional moment: the vendor's presence enables others to reconfigure the street long after trading ends.

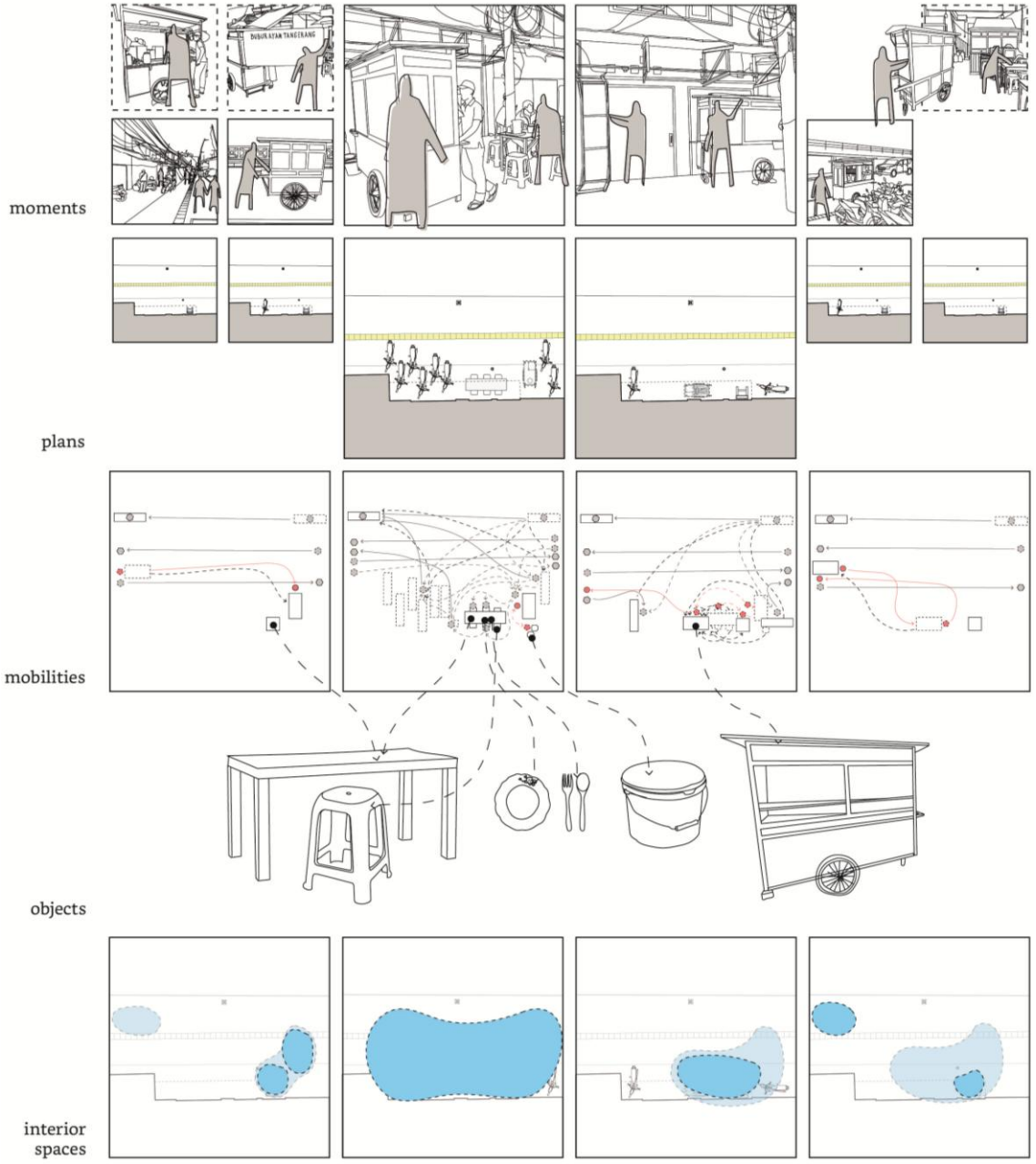

Figure 80. Storyboard drawings of the *bubur ayam* stall show how the interior territory expands with customer transgressions, indicating socio-spatial effects that extend beyond the immediate activity. Source: Author.

More broadly, this vendor type often animates derelict or neglected urban spaces—typically the frontages of vacant or abandoned buildings. Such areas are commonly associated with anti-social behaviour; however, vendors re-appropriate them for low-cost dining, encouraging people to pause, sit and linger. Because bersarang stalls lack solid boundaries, their influence extends

to passers-by who are not directly involved. Thus, the street is temporarily reconstituted as an interior, and underused urban space becomes momentarily enlivened.

This type is closely entwined with its setting. Logistically, vendors limit movement because they store or leave equipment on-site. Socially, they often cultivate relationships with local communities to support daily operations. For example, Wawan was a member of *Pedagang Jalan Blora*, a grassroots vendor association established in 2010.[612] Members shared information and worked with the local *Rukun Tetangga* (RT, Neighbourhood Association) to gain advance warning of evictions or surprise raids.[613] Daily 'security' contributions were partly intended to secure such information. Given these logistical and social entanglements, bersarang vendors tend to remain in place.

Yet these arrangements never guarantee permanence. Agreements with the RT or informal payments do not confer formal rights over public or quasi-public space. Because many stalls occupy transitional areas in front of private properties, their long-term viability ultimately depends on the property owners' tolerance. In the cases of Wawan and the bubur ayam vendors, building guards or gatekeepers accepted their presence—sometimes in exchange for complimentary meals—even though the owners themselves had not explicitly granted permission. As Wawan commented, if the owner were to request his departure, he would simply have to leave. Thus, despite their

[612] Translated to Blora Street Vendor Association

[613] Neighbourhood Association or RT: The abbreviation of Rukun Tetangga, translated to the neighbourhood association, is the lowest administrative division in Indonesia below kelurahan or sub-district. It operates in the framework of community services.

apparent stability, these vendors operate on the threshold of permissibility, always slightly beyond the boundary, and always prepared to withdraw.

4.5 Bertempat

During the walking stage of fieldwork, I encountered this socio-spatial practice only in Sudirman. This is not to suggest that it is absent elsewhere in Jakarta; it simply did not arise within the other research sites. I refer to this type as *bertempat*—literally 'to reside'—because vendors remained stationary, occupying semi-permanent structures supplied by local coordinating bodies, some of which purported to have links with local authorities (Figure 81).

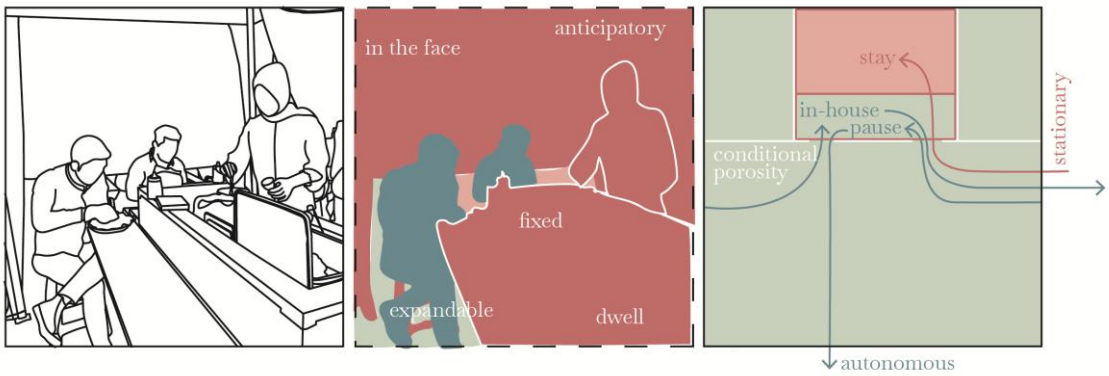

Figure 81. Action diagram of type 5, *bertempat*, indicating stationary operation within semi-permanent structures provided by local organisations. Source: Author.

Along the corridor between Grand Indonesia and Plaza Indonesia—particularly on Kebon Kacang Raya and H. M. Saleh Ishak Street—vendors operated beneath blue and red tents. These were managed by an organisation calling itself *Paguyuban Akoer Tanah Abang* (Tanah Abang Brotherhood), whose name was printed on the tent fabric (Figure 82). Interviews revealed that most vendors knew little about the group's governance or whether it held

any formal affiliation with the state; information was typically disseminated via WhatsApp, and few questioned the arrangement.

Coki, who operated a fried-chicken stall, speculated that the organisers might be linked to the neighbourhood association (RT) or the *kelurahan* office, though he emphasised that this was conjecture and not something he felt compelled to verify.[614] He did recall, with confidence, that the tents appeared in 2021 following the COVID-19 lockdown, while the paguyuban itself had regulated the street long before—already active when he began trading in 2015.

Figure 82. Tents rented by Paguyuban Akoer Tanah Abang, a local coordinating group in Sudirman, in between two prominent malls in the city, Grand Indonesia and Plaza Indonesia. Source: Author's photograph, August 2022.

[614] Kelurahan: An Indonesian term for subdistrict—the fourth-level subdivision and the smallest administrative division in the country below a district.

Prior to fieldwork, local media reported complaints from hotel and mall owners about vendors operating in the vicinity during the pandemic.[615] It is therefore plausible that the erection of tents represented an organisational response: a means of consolidating sellers into defined locations to project a more orderly streetscape. This seemed to temporarily reduce friction with private property owners and with Satpol PP.

Yet the perceived order and protection carried financial implications. Competition for plots in this high-footfall area gave the paguyuban considerable latitude in determining monthly fees. Interviews indicated no standardised rates. For example, Verrel, who sold beverages, paid approximately Rp 800,000 (£40) per month for a small position beside a tent shared with another vendor (Figure 83), whereas Coki paid around Rp 450,000 (£22) per month for a tent of his own.[616] These charges excluded daily electricity and waste-collection fees of roughly Rp 40,000 (£2). It remains unclear what parameters—if any—the organisation applied when setting prices.

As the action diagram depicts, bertempat vendors are effectively immobile. Some operate similarly to bersarang vendors—trading for several hours and leaving certain tools behind—but here equipment can be stored within the tent itself rather than in exposed public space. Even vendors without dedicated tents, such as Verrel, could store items inside a shared structure for an additional charge. This afforded some vendors the ability to operate continuously: one drinks seller, Rahman, maintained a 24-hour service by

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[615] The news report related to this statement, see: Livia Kristianti, 'Pemkot Jakpus Tata Pedagang Kaki Lima Yang Menjamur Di Kebon Kacang', Antara News, 29 January 2021, https://www.antaranews.com/berita/1974357/pemkot-jakpus-tata-pedagang-kaki-lima-yang-menjamur-di-kebon-kacang.

[616] Taken from the study of Verrel and Andika, beverage vendors, Case 12 (Table 14).

alternating shifts with his brother.[617] In practice, the tent functioned as a rudimentary shop unit, offering basic security and allowing control over operating hours and layout.

Figure 83. Verrel's small stall occupying space in front of a tent. Source: Author's photograph, August 2022.

Such control, however, was circumscribed by the pre-allocated footprint. Activities were largely confined to the interior of the tent, producing a visually uniform and regulated frontage that resembled an open-air food court more than spontaneous street trading. Within this restricted frame, vendors nevertheless personalised their 'cocoons' to suit their trade.

For instance, Coki configured a compact open kitchen with a bar-height counter and plastic stools, enabling customers to eat while observing the

[617] Taken from the study of Rahman, a beverage vendor, Case 18 (Table 14).

cooking process (Figure 84, left). Fabric banners operated simultaneously as signage and loose partitions, creating a modest sense of enclosure. By contrast, Oné—who sold *pisang goreng* (banana fritters)—did not offer dine-in facilities.[618] His arrangement comprised a small cooking area, a yellow display counter and a cash desk; the counter delineated a clear vendor-only zone, with storage occupying half of the tent (Figure 85). These variations illustrate the limited degrees of freedom available within the otherwise rigid structural template.

Although vendors did not move beyond the tent, they engaged in continual micro-adjustments within it. Apart from those operating round-the-clock, the interior only became active when vendors arrived and prepared the space. Before trading, equipment was typically stored towards the rear; Coki and his wife, for instance, began each morning by repositioning tools and arranging cooking equipment (Figure 86, storyboard). Thus, while the footprint remained fixed, the interior underwent repeated, small-scale reconfiguration—a pattern analogous to everyday interior practice, where spatial transformation occurs within, rather than beyond, an architectural enclosure.

At first sight, this practice may seem to offer the most stable option for Jakarta's vendors: a relatively secure pitch from which to cultivate regular clientele. In practice, however, it proved far less reliable. According to Coki, the paguyuban offered no transparent tenancy terms—written or verbal. Despite the payment of security fees, responsibility for equipment rested entirely with vendors, and theft was not compensated. If a vendor ceased trading for a period, the organisers could remove belongings and reassign the

[618] Taken from the study of One and Gundal, banana fritter vendors, Case 23 (Table 14).

plot, even when annual fees had been paid. Returning vendors were then required to find a new vacancy or, like Verrel, settle for a position outside the tents.

Figure 84. Coki's stall interior and exterior. Sudirman, South Jakarta. Source: Author's photographs, August 2022.

Figure 85. Oné's stall interior and exterior. Sudirman, South Jakarta. Source: Author's photographs, January 2023.

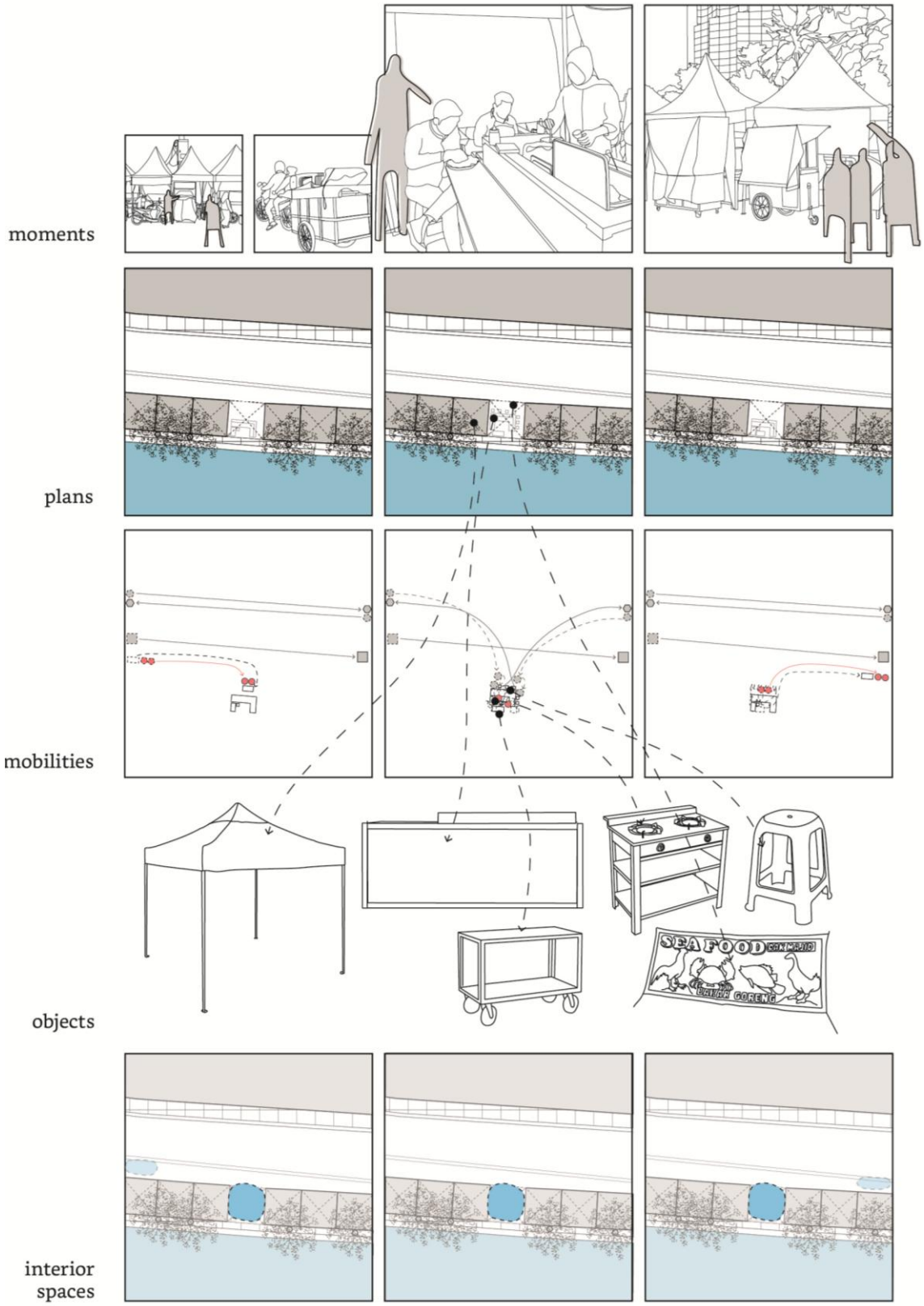

Figure 86. Storyboard drawings of Coki indicate that vendors can modify interiors within the tent but not beyond it, due to restrictions imposed by the organisation that controls the semi-permanent structure. Source: Author.

What appears to have occurred is that the paguyuban capitalised on the vendors' precarious legal status. Its assurances of protection from eviction proved fragile. As noted earlier, in early 2023—about six months after my 2022 fieldwork—news outlets reported a clearance of vendors in the area, although some later resumed trading nearby.[619] One report speculated that the action related to a forthcoming skybridge project; yet, at the time of writing (summer 2024), no such development had materialised or been officially announced.[620]

A follow-up interview with Oné in 2023 suggested that the clearance began in connection with a high-profile visit. Vendors were instructed by the paguyuban to close for three days ahead of Malaysian Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim's state visit—a familiar practice during VIP events.[621] Vendors complied, as they had done previously.[622] However, after the three-day closure, the provincial government issued a formal order removing vendors from the area. According to Oné, the paguyuban has since prohibited affected vendors from reopening, despite the fact that many had already paid annual dues. Given the informality of payments and uncertainty surrounding the group's leadership, vendors felt they had little recourse; some never returned to retrieve their equipment.

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[619] Siregar, 'Masih Ada Belasan PKL di Sekitar Grand Indonesia'; Azzahra, 'Kawasan Grand Indonesia Steril dari PKL, Begini Suasananya'.

[620] Azzahra, 'Kawasan Grand Indonesia Steril dari PKL, Begini Suasananya'.

[621] Rahimy Rahim, 'PM Anwar Receives Ceremonial Welcome at Indonesia's National Palace in Bogor', The Star, 9 January 2023, https://www.thestar.com.my/news/nation/2023/01/09/pm-anwar-receives-ceremonial-welcome-at-indonesia039s-national-palace-in-bogor.

[622] When an influential figure visited the area, the paguyuban asked the vendors to close their stalls for three days to make the area look proper and orderly. Since this was the usual drill, the vendors complied with the request, closed their stalls and brought their vending units and tools back home or stored them in the storage nearby.

In short, while bertempat appeared to promise stability, it ultimately exposed vendors to significant financial costs and policy volatility without corresponding protection.

4.6 Menghuni

Whereas bertempat appeared exclusively in Sudirman during fieldwork, this final socio-spatial practice was observed only in Kota Tua. I refer to it as *menghuni* (to stay) because vendors remained continuously in situ—the most immobile practice within the typology. Unlike bertempat, which depends on semi-permanent tents, menghuni vendors appropriated existing permanent structures or architectural enclosures to support both vending and, in many cases, domestic life (Figure 87).

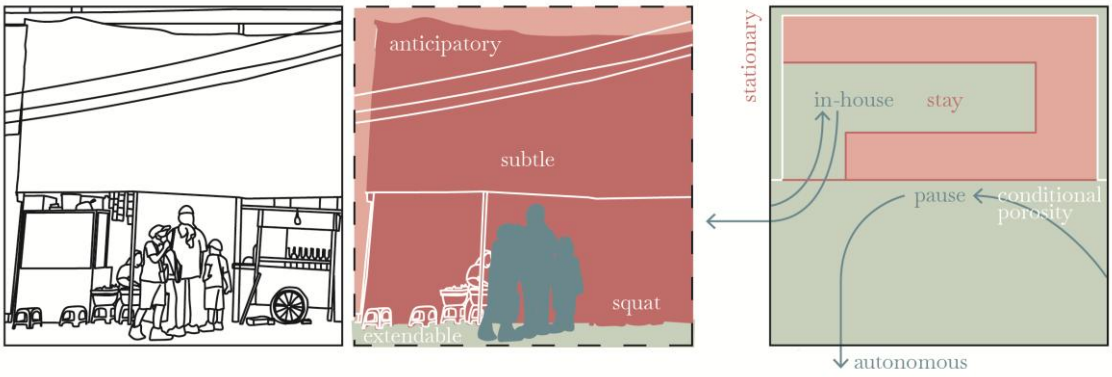

Figure 87. Action diagram of type 6, menghuni, indicating the use of permanent enclosures to support vending and, in many cases, residence—paralleling aspects of squatting. Source: Author.

Although stalls operated for only several hours each day, vendors' presence persisted because they did not vacate the site. I identified two cases in Kota Tua in which abandoned façades or liminal spaces between private frontages and public pavements were appropriated. However, unlike bersarang vendors—who rely on non-invasive tactics such as arranging chairs or tables—

menghuni vendors introduced more durable modifications that altered the spatial conditions of the setting.

The difference is akin to the distinction between homelessness and squatting: bersarang resembles temporary night-time use of pavements or parks, whereas menghuni approximates longer-term occupation of neglected buildings. I avoid describing these cases as squatting outright because, unlike typical squatters, these vendors generally possessed informal (often verbal) permission from property owners.

In one instance, Nur and her family lived inside an unused private office building facing the Krukut River near Fatahillah Square.[623] The owner had appointed Nur's parents as guards/caretakers to deter looting and prevent unauthorised occupation, permitting them to reside in the building despite its non-residential status.[624] According to Nur, the owner was aware that the household included adult children and grandchildren and that the family operated several stalls on the pavement outside—selling *bakso* (meatball soup), *mie ayam bakso ceker* (chicken noodles with meatballs and chicken feet), *bakso dan ceker mercon* (meatballs and spicy chicken feet), and *nasi ayam* (chicken rice) (Figure 88, left). Electricity and water could also be used for both household and business purposes, contingent on fulfilling caretaking duties.

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[623] Taken from the study of Nur and Nur, meatball soup and peanut salad vendors, Case 25 (Table 14).

[624] This was a heritage building owned by a private owner, which was quite unique since most buildings in the area are typically owned by the provincial government. See: Arif Rahman Hakim, 'Ternyata 70 Persen Gedung di Kota Tua Jakarta Milik Perusahaan BUMN, Bakal Ada Alih Kelola?', *merdeka.com*, 20 February 2024, https://www.merdeka.com/uang/ternyata-70-persen-gedung-di-kota-tua-jakarta-milik-perusahaan-bumn-bakal-ada-alih-kelola-91425-mvk.html.

A second case involved Roni, a *rujak* (fruit salad) vendor situated on Jalan Lada, a key pedestrian link between public transport interchanges and the main square.[625] His stall occupied the threshold between a privately owned historic building and the pavement (Figure 88, right). His access to the building derived from his niece's husband—the building's caretaker—who lived on site with the owner's consent and operated a small drink stall. Through this connection, Roni, originally from Cirebon (West Java), secured a stable vending location and a place to stay, despite lacking direct ties to the owner.

Figure 88. Heritage buildings occupied by (left) Nur and her family and (right) Roni and his family. Both households benefited from on-site living arrangements and used the pavements in front to operate stalls in Kota Tua. Source: Author's photographs, September 2022 and January 2023.

Although these vendors occupied prime positions, their operations remained discreet. Following the 2022 revitalisation of Kota Tua, Fatahillah Square adopted strict no-vending rules, particularly within the inner square—precisely where Nur's and Roni's stalls were located. Satpol PP patrolled daily and removed vendors deemed to disrupt the intended visual order. In response, menghuni vendors positioned themselves in intermediate zones—

[625] Taken from the study of Roni, a spicy fruit salad vendor, Case 29 (Table 14).

adjacent to but not fully on the public pavement. Nur's family, for example, used the pavement mainly as a serving counter, directing lingering customers towards the private frontage.

Storyboard drawings (Figure 89) reveal how Nur's family appropriated the façade itself to support dine-in activities. The slight recess of the ground-floor plane, combined with zinc-covered adjacent façades, created a shaded transitional zone between the building and pavement. To reduce visibility, they stretched a tarpaulin from the upper floor down to the stall roofs, visually blending the façade into neighbouring disused structures. This form of camouflage reduced attention from passers-by without fully concealing the activity.

This produced a discreet PIU situated at the boundary of public and private space, within which vendors prepared food and served customers. The arrangement mirrors descriptions of threshold spaces in Bangkok's shopfront streets—urban interiors occupying the liminal zone between city and dwelling—while extending the logic of interior domestic practices into public space.[626] Compared with the responsive tactics of other types, menghuni is more strategic: by occupying a grey zone and blending visually with dormant façades, vendors attract less scrutiny. Interactions with Satpol PP or security staff were typically limited to requests to "push the stalls back"; once patrols departed, the stalls resumed their prior positions.

[626] These cases are discussed by Karnchanaporn in her paper 150cm domesticity. See: Karnchanaporn, '150cm domestiCITY'.

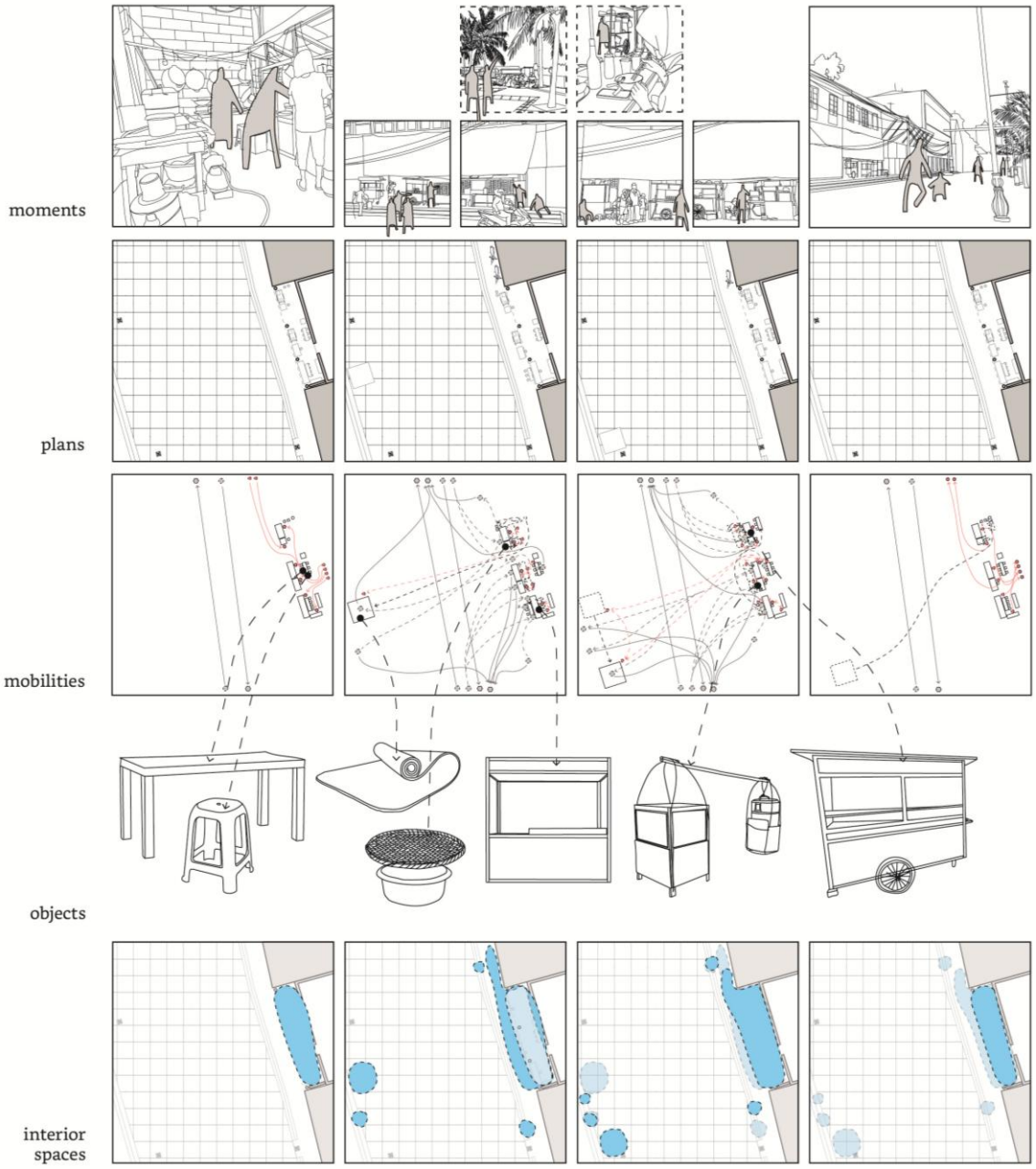

Figure 89. Nur's storyboard drawings show how the façade—bridging private and public realms—was used to support street vending activities. Source: Author.

To sustain this setup, vendors made numerous adjustments, as the buildings were rarely suitable for direct habitation. As heritage structures, invasive

renovation required official approval,[627] prompting vendors to adopt an installation-based approach akin to interior architecture—using objects and lightweight interventions rather than altering the fabric.[628]

In Nur's case, the tarpaulin was tied with ropes rather than nails for easy removal. Instead of repairing walls, the family used a freestanding partition near the stove and left broken tiles untouched. Spatial reconfiguration relied largely on object placement to activate the recessed frontage (Figure 90, left). Roni used similarly minimal interventions: cultivating chilli plants in the private garden for his sauce (Figure 90, right), parking his push-cart inside at night, and preparing food in the building's side area—again without permanent alterations.

Figure 90. An installation strategy applied to Nur's (left) and Roni's (right) vending setups to appropriate existing buildings. Source: Author's photographs, September 2022 and January 2023.

[627] This is based on the national regulation made in 2010 of Heritage Building. See: UU No. 11 Tahun 2010, 11, Pemerintah Pusat, Undang Undang LN. 2010/ No. 130 (2010), http://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/38552/uu-no-11-tahun-2010.

[628] Graeme Brooker and Sally Stone, *Basics Interior Architecture. Vol. 1: Form + Structure: The Organisation of Interior Space* (AVA Publishing, 2007), 101.

The role of vending units also differed markedly from other types. Although Nur and Roni used pikulan and push-carts, these units were seldom moved. Rather than enabling mobility, they served mainly as *symbolic cues*—signalling the commodity and associated practices.[629] Nur purchased a push-cart to display bakso primarily because customers expected such a cart; Roni rented one for similar reasons.

Remaining continuously in one place allowed these vendors to facilitate comparatively complex social interactions. In Kota Tua, their stalls functioned as informal waiting areas for tour drivers, who paused for extended periods—chatting with vendors, resting, or socialising. This pattern was particularly evident at Nur's stalls. Roni, by contrast, did not offer dine-in facilities; his food was small, quick to eat, and easily portable. Consequently, customers tended to appropriate nearby curbs, planter edges, or steps to sit, eat, and converse (Figure 91, left). Compared with morning conditions on Jalan Lada—when Roni was absent and pedestrians moved swiftly—his presence appeared to slow pedestrians and encourage short pauses. As with berkeliling, customer appropriation of space autonomously extended the PIU beyond the vendor's immediate setup.

Nur's family used bamboo mats to invite customers to sit outside and enjoy the riverside view. This practice expanded the interior beyond the façade and onto the pavement, or wherever customers chose to place the mat (Figure 90, right). By doing this they facilitated the production of expandable and retractable PIU that was also inconspicuous. To a passer-by, it could appear that customers brought their own mats, making the scene less legible as street

[629] Baudrillard says this quite explicitly in the *Conclusion: Towards a Definition of 'Consumption'* of his book The System of Objects. See: Jean Baudrillard, *The System of Objects*, Radical Thinkers 3 (Verso, 2005), 200–201.

vending and reducing the likelihood of enforcement. Both Roni and Nur's family facilitating a distinct form of reverse interiorization: a mobile, user-led production of interior-like conditions within the urban exterior.

Figure 91. Autonomous transgressions associated with Roni (left) and with Nur and her family (right) that led to the production of PIU. Source: Author's photographs, September 2022 and January 2023.

Occupying prime spots within a no-vending zone significantly shaped earnings. Among all types observed, menghuni vendors reported the highest monthly incomes. Roni, for instance, sold around 100 portions of fruit salad on weekdays (grossing approximately Rp 1,500,000 per day, or £75) and up to 200 portions on weekends or holidays. He estimated his monthly net income at roughly Rp 22,500,000 (£1,116).[630] He also paid no rent or security charges to the property owner.

[630] This means Roni could be considered a part of the high-income earner in the country. Based on Statistic Indonesia data, high-income earner is those that make more than 48 million Rupiah annually. By South East Asia standard, high-income earner make around 205 million Rupiah annually. See: Liani Surya Rakasiwi and Achmad Kautsar, 'Pengaruh Faktor Demografi Dan Sosial Ekonomi Terhadap Status Kesehatan Individu Di Indonesia', *Kajian Ekonomi & Keuangan* 5, no. 2 (2021), http://dx.doi.org/10.31685/kek.V5.2.1008; Administrator, 'Klasifikasi Terkini Kelas Ekonomi Negara', Indonesia.go.id, 17 July 2023, https://indonesia.go.id/kategori/indonesia-dalam-angka/7277/klasifikasi-terkini-kelas-ekonomi-negara?lang=1.

However, such favourable arrangements were rare and dependent on good fortune and social connections—typically familial links to building caretakers. Unlike other types, only a small number of vendors can access such opportunities. Stability also remained fragile: tenure depended entirely on property owners, and no formal agreement guaranteed either residence or trading rights. Owners could request removal at any time. This precarity influenced how vendors approached spatial occupation: although operating from a fixed location, the installations and practices retained an underlying provisional quality.

Within this precarious but opportunity-rich arrangement, vendors sought to maximise their circumstances. They synchronised opening hours with the square's activity; Roni remarked he would operate round the clock if 24-hour access to the square were permitted. They also remained open during major holidays, when many formal establishments closed and demand shifted towards street vendors.

Finally, these arrangements were mutually advantageous. Owners benefited from a continued on-site presence that deterred theft and structural deterioration, while vendors adapted interiors in ways that kept buildings active without altering the fabric. As with tolerated forms of habitation such as certain modes of squatting, this practice reanimated otherwise dormant structures and, I argue, contributed to a more convivial micro-environment within a tightly controlled heritage district.[631]

[631] René Boer et al., eds, *Architecture Of Appropriation - On Squatting As Spatial Practice*, 1st edition (Het Nieuwe Instituut, 2019), 17–18.

4.7 Lessons learned from Jakarta's street vending typology of actions

This chapter has presented the first set of findings: a typology of actions that delineates the diverse forms of participatory interior urbanism (PIU) through which Jakarta's street vendors respond to, negotiate within, and adapt to the city's urban conditions. The typology is necessarily provisional. It reflects observations from three districts—Sudirman, Tanah Abang, and Kota Tua—gathered between 2021 and 2023, and would undoubtedly expand through further inquiry. Its purpose is not to prescribe regulatory categories but to offer a conceptual framework through which Jakarta's street vending may be better understood. Additional types may well emerge, and the framework is intended to stimulate debate and refinement rather than finalise a definitive classification.

Despite these limitations, the typology reveals several insights into how Jakarta's street vending functions as PIU. A number of observations reinforce patterns identified during the mind-walking experiment; others arise from the grounded analysis of cases encountered during fieldwork. Five overarching lessons are foregrounded—pertaining to provisionality, context-dependence, relationality, porosity, and participation.

First, the physical configuration of a vending practice does not determine its interiorising mechanisms. Although scale plays a role—for instance, compact units allow berkeliling vendors to enter areas inaccessible to others—the PIU forms they generate depend chiefly on how vendors act and on how units are deployed. Some employ wheeled carts primarily as semiotic devices rather than for movement, while others maintain high mobility with minimal equipment. PIU therefore eludes strict formal coherence and remains contingent, shaped by the needs and improvisations of its inhabitants.

Recalling arguments from Chapter 2, PIU concerns enabling inhabitation rather than exerting formal control.

Second, in Jakarta, socio-spatial practices are heavily conditioned by vendors' practical and logistical relations to their surroundings. Vendors without local ties tend to remain mobile, avoid paying rent, and capitalise on momentary opportunities; the trade-off is a recurrent kucing-kucingan with the authorities. Those embedded within local networks often secure a degree of protection from neighbourhood organisations or informal intermediaries, lessening the frequency of enforcement encounters. Nevertheless, as the bertempat cases demonstrate, such arrangements remain informal, contingent, and never fully secure. Even apparently stable practices retain an underlying temporariness.

Third, these practices are highly sensitive to the spatial and institutional characteristics of their settings. Bertempat appeared only in Sudirman, where an aesthetic of orderliness is strongly promoted both by local government and by the coordinating organisation. Singgah and menghuni surfaced in Kota Tua in the wake of revitalisation and its more stringent regulatory atmosphere. By contrast, vending in Tanah Abang unfolded more openly, without a demand for formalised appearances. These findings reinforce the hypothesis that street vending as PIU is profoundly context-responsive: its placemaking and urban interiorisation arise relationally from interactions among vendors, customers, regulatory actors, and the urban fabric. They also suggest that additional district-specific research would support the development of a more situated urban framework for a city as heterogeneous as Jakarta.

Fourth, through reverse urban interiorisation, the interior spaces produced by Jakarta's street vending rarely possess firm boundaries distinguishing

'inside' from 'outside'. Instead, they operate as intermediary conditions that either extend interior qualities outward or draw exterior conditions inward. As the action diagrams demonstrate, the PIUs generated do not institute segregated interiors; rather, they produce porous or conditionally porous spatialities. These allow multiple forms of engagement—visual, spatial, sensorial—enabling people to participate in the activity in nuanced ways. The implications of this porosity for urban life are examined more fully in the next chapter.

Finally, social capital is indispensable to the functioning of Jakarta's street vending. Across the typology, social capital emerges as a principal survival tactic: it supplies information, material resources, and operational resilience, and underpins the PIU characteristics of each type. Berkeliling vendors expand their interior territories through mutual trust—entrusting carts to peers while pursuing customers—while bersarang vendors depend on neighbours for storage. Customers become part of this social ecology: Saipul relied on loyal patrons who sheltered him during raids; Naim and Poniman accessed water from office buildings via supportive regulars. Street vending thus operates as a participatory practice through which vendors, customers, and local actors collectively produce urban interior space.

While this chapter has analysed the production and mechanisms of these interiorities, it has not yet considered how PIUs shape lived experience or urban affect. The following chapter addresses these themes through findings associated with the second, third, and fourth RTA themes. Together, these two chapters provide a more holistic understanding of street vending as PIU and its contribution to the experiential and socio-spatial life of Jakarta.

Chapter 5

Life 'inside' of Jakarta's streets

This chapter extends the presentation of research findings by concentrating on the second, third, and fourth themes generated through the reflective thematic analysis (RTA). The discussion is grounded primarily in material gathered during the walking experiment: field observations, visual documentation, informal conversations, and semi-structured interviews with street vendors and street users.[632] As the second instalment in the findings, the chapter foregrounds the socio-economic and socio-spatial dynamics that arise within, and are experienced through, the participatory interior urbanism (PIU) created by Jakarta's street vendors.

As in the preceding chapter, the analysis is framed through interior, architectural, and anthropological perspectives, engaging especially with ideas of interiority in urban contexts as a mode for interpreting the situated socio-spatial practices that underpin this research's analytical methodology (interior writing and RTA). Planning considerations are addressed where they aid contextual understanding of practice; however, a comprehensive review of planning systems, regulation, or enforcement lies beyond the remit of this discussion. As in Chapters 1 and 2, points at which planning influences

[632] Findings from the mind-walking experiment primarily inform the socio-spatial practices of Jakarta's street vending and are calibrated against the first finding—the typology of action (Chapter 4). The mind-walking experiment did not explore the intangible dimensions discussed in this chapter.

vendor behaviour are noted, but the research does not constitute a full policy evaluation.[633]

In contrast to the previous chapter, typology is not employed here. Because the themes examined in this chapter relate to cross-cutting characteristics, consequences, and impacts rather than to the spatial tactics used to generate PIU, *thick description* is adopted—a standard ethnographic method that contextualises observed action to enable interpretative insight.[634] The chapter is therefore organised around three themes representing key findings: (1) *socio-economic dimensions*, (2) *socio-spatial dimensions*, and (3) *current issues* (Figure 92). To examine these findings thoroughly, each sub-theme is addressed independently, articulating the principal characteristics and meanings that surfaced through the RTA. Direct extracts from the primary data are integrated throughout to provide concrete evidence for the identification of the dynamics discussed. Where appropriate, scholarly literature, news reporting, and popular media are used to situate these analyses within broader socio-cultural and political contexts.

The second theme demonstrates that street vending provides essential economic pathways for urban survival—both as employment and, in some instances, as an alternative livelihood. The findings reveal a high degree of interdependence between informal commerce and Jakarta's formal economy, challenging the Eurocentric binary between the two. Moreover, the analysis suggests that vending facilitates inclusive economic participation, strengthening vendors' sense of belonging in the city. Street vending thereby

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[633] References to planning policy, strategy, or enforcement are included for context only; no comprehensive policy analysis is attempted here. See Chapter 0, pp. 31; and Chapter 2, pp. 98, for similar statements.

[634] For a definition of 'thick description', see Chapter 3, p. 169.

offers a means of claiming urban citizenship through accessible modes of economic engagement.

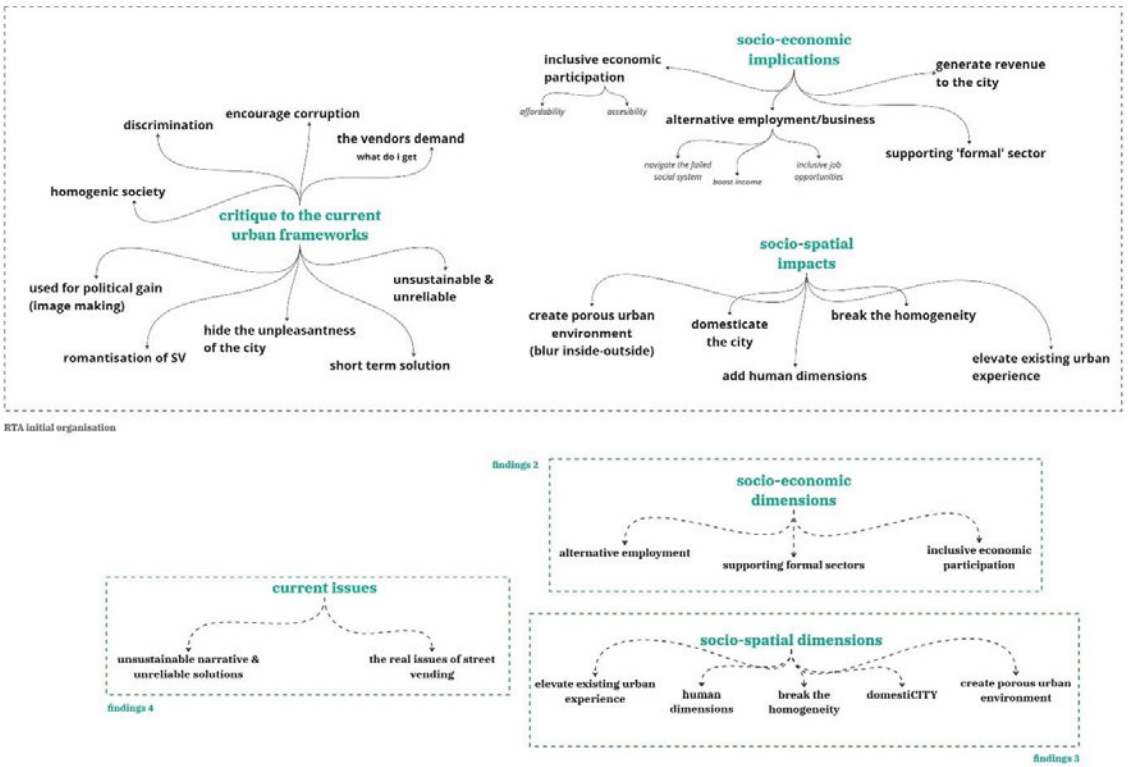

Figure 92. The re-organisation of initial RTA themes to inform findings 2 to 4. Source: Author.

The third theme, examining socio-spatial dimensions, builds directly on the typology of actions developed in Chapter 4. Here, the focus shifts to how different forms of reverse interiorisation deployed by street vendors shape the lived experiences of street inhabitants—vendors, customers, and other street users—and influence the surrounding environment. PIU practices are shown to enhance the experiential quality of Jakarta's streets by introducing human scale, diversifying activity, domesticating space, and mediating between inside and outside. These traits reconfigure the meanings attached to central Jakarta's streets—often cast as unsafe—and offer alternative ways of

experiencing and inhabiting them.[635] In short, street vending's PIU reframes Jakarta's streets from places simply to traverse into places to dwell. This investigation also underscores the significance of everyday practices, revealing how ordinary citizens function as principal agents in producing a liveable city.

The final theme identifies the frictions and failures evident in everyday vending and associated PIU practices. It examines (1) challenges within Jakarta's current urban framework governing street vending and the consequences of these for daily practice, and (2) problematic socio-spatial impacts of certain PIU practices that diminish urban quality or, in some instances, harm the environment. Several of these issues arguably merit attention if street vending and PIU are to be meaningfully incorporated into future urban governance.

Taken together, this chapter examines the intangible dimensions, impacts, and consequences of Jakarta's street-vending socio-spatial practices as PIU, privileging the perspectives of vendors and street users rather than those of institutional 'experts'. Through this, it responds to the third research question: *how do everyday agency and informality in street vending shape urban*

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[635] The stigma of Jakarta's streets as dangerous places is rooted in the trauma of the 1998 financial crisis, when food shortages, unemployment, and political instability provoked mass rioting on the city's main streets. In May 1998, students and activists marched on these streets, demanding that President Soeharto step down. The streets became sites of clashes between activists and the armed forces, resulting in the deaths of four university students. At the same time, mass rioting and looting erupted across the city, targeting the upper-middle class—particularly ethnic Chinese Indonesians—in which hundreds were killed and more than a hundred rapes were reported. This tragedy reshaped public perceptions of the streets as dangerous, uncertain spaces and fuelled dark urban myths. It also encouraged the upper-middle class to avoid the street altogether and, for safety reasons, to prefer indoor public spaces such as shopping malls. For further reading, see: Nas and Pratiwo, 'The Streets of Jakarta: Fear, Trust and Amnesia in Urban Development'; Doreen Lee, 'Styling the Revolution: Masculinities, Youth, and Street Politics in Jakarta, Indonesia', *Journal of Urban History* 37, no. 6 (2011): 933–51, https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144211410526.

life economically, socially, and spatially? The discussion also reflects on the possibilities and limitations of interior, architectural, and anthropological approaches to understanding street vending as a form of engagement with informal urban phenomena.

ID	Data Type	Site and Date	Used in
Case 23, One and Gundal	Semi-structured interview	Sudirman, 2023	5.1.1
Case 26, Naim	Semi-structured interview	Kota Tua, 2022	5.1.1; 5.3.2
Case 7, Ferdiansyah	Semi-structured interview	Tanah Abang, 2023	5.1.1
Case 9, Indra	Semi-structured interview	Tanah Abang, 2023	5.1.1
Case 16, Arrahmah	Journal	Sudirman, 2022	5.1.1; 5.3.1
Case 30, Emak and Okta	Semi-structured interview	Kota Tua, 2023	5.1.1
Case 12, Verrel and Andika	Semi-structured interview	Sudirman, 2022	5.1.2
Case 1, Salwa	Semi-structured interview	Tanah Abang, 2022	5.1.2
Case 10, Oscar	Semi-structured interview	Tanah Abang, 2023	5.1.2
Case 28, Sigit	Semi-structured interview	Kota Tua, 2022	5.1.2; 5.3.2
Case 11, Nur and Silvi	Semi-structured interview	Sudirman, 2022	5.1.2
Case 15, Wawan	Semi-structured interview	Sudirman, 2022	5.1.2; 5.3.1
Case 15, Yuni	Semi-structured interview	Sudirman, 2022	5.1.3
Case 19, Mita and Hosmiyah	Semi-structured interview	Sudirman, 2023	5.1.3
Case 25, Nur and Nur	Semi-structured interview	Kota Tua, 2022 and 2023	5.1.3; 5.2.5
Case 29, Roni	Semi-structured interview	Kota Tua, 2023	5.1.3
Iyas	Semi-structured interview	Kota Tua, 2023	5.1.3
Case 12, Ainul and Brian	Semi-structured interview	Sudirman, 2022	5.2.1; 5.2.3
Case 20, Duri	Semi-structured interview	Sudirman, 2022	5.2.2; 5.2.3
Caca	Semi-structured interview	Tanah Abang, 2022	5.2.2
Bobby and Ambar	Semi-structured interview	Kota Tua, 2022	5.2.4
Case 7, Aisyah	Semi-structured interview	Tanah Abang, 2023	5.3.1
Case 27, Poniman	Semi-structured interview	Kota Tua, 2022	5.3.2
Case 13, Coki	Semi-structured interview	Sudirman, 2022	5.3.2
Case 18, Rahman	Journal	Sudirman, 2022	5.3.2
Case 17, Adi and Adi	Journal	Sudirman, 2022	5.3.2

Table 15. Lists of the primary materials cited directly in this chapter. Please refer to Table 10 and 11 for the full data list gathered and analysed for this research. Source: Author.

The full corpus of data underpinning these discussions is outlined in Chapter 3: Table 10 (scope of data collection), Table 11 (real-life cases observed, including interview numbers), and Table 12 (primary cases selected for further analysis). A summary of materials directly cited in this chapter is provided in Table 15.

5.1 The socio-economic dimensions

5.1.1 Alternative employment

Long-standing economic disparities between rural and urban Indonesia have driven internal migration for centuries—at least since the VOC era. Jakarta, with the highest GDP per capita in the country, continues to draw individuals seeking improved livelihoods.[636] A 2023 news report noted that approximately 136,200 newcomers registered in the capital, despite provincial campaigns discouraging migration without secure employment or housing.[637] Of these new arrivals, 84% lacked a university degree, indicating a predominant search for low-skilled work.

Urban competition has therefore intensified. According to Statistics Indonesia (BPS, Badan Pusat Statistik), Jakarta's unemployment rate in 2023 stood at 7.57%, representing roughly 851,549 working-age residents without

[636] In 2023, Jakarta's GDP per capita was approximately Rp 322.6 million—the highest in the country. Based on the survey made by BPS (Statistics Indonesia). See: Statistics Indonesia, 'Gross Regional Domestic Product (GRDP) per Capita of Jakarta, Indonesia from 2013 to 2022', Statista, 2023, https://www.statista.com/statistics/1424214/indonesia-grdp-per-capita-jakarta/.

[637] See the 2023 news report, based on the official survey by the Directorate General of Population and Civil Registration: Viriya Singgih, 'Arus balik: Jumlah pendatang baru di Jakarta pasca-Lebaran diperkirakan turun - Mengapa Jakarta kehilangan daya tariknya?', BBC News Indonesia, 12 April 2024, https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/cx7dnn864z1o.

formal employment.[638] This challenge affects not only migrants with lower educational backgrounds but also university graduates. Moreover, during the height of the COVID-19 pandemic (2020–2021), around two million Indonesians lost their jobs, adding further pressure to Jakarta's labour market.[639]

One such individual was Oné, the banana-fritter vendor discussed in the previous chapter, whose PIU practice aligns with bertempat.[640] Formerly employed in the finance department of a Santika Hotel, he was dismissed when the hospitality industry abruptly shut down during the 2020 lockdown.[641] After six months of unsuccessful job hunting and growing financial strain, he began selling banana fritters to support his family. Initially operating as a berkeliling vendor with a push-cart, he eventually secured a tent through Paguyuban Akoer Tanah Abang as his customer base increased.[642]

If someone with tertiary education and prior professional experience struggled to secure work in Jakarta, the challenges facing underprivileged migrants are even more pronounced. Interviews with vendors and patrons suggest that certain workplaces favour "local" Jakartans over newcomers, particularly in blue-collar roles. This preference was expressed by

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[638] This figure is calculated by applying the percentage to the number of working-age residents in 2023. See: Statistics Indonesia, 'Indonesia: Jakarta's Unemployment Rate 2023', Statista, September 2024, https://www.statista.com/statistics/1423523/indonesia-jakarta-unemployment-rate/.

[639] For the impact of COVID-19 lockdowns on Indonesia's unemployment rate, see: Cantika Adinda Putri, 'Sejak Covid, Orang RI Yang Nganggur Bertambah 2 Juta Orang', CNBC Indonesia, 5 November 2021, https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20211105131558-4-289282/sejak-covid-orang-ri-yang-nganggur-bertambah-2-juta-orang.

[640] Taken from the study of One and Gundal, a banana fritter vendors, Case 23 (see Table 15). The complete interview transcript is available at the link provided in the appendices.

[641] Hotel Santika is one of the country's most prominent hotel chains and is a subsidiary of the Kompas Gramedia media conglomerate.

[642] See Chapter 4 about *bertempat* vendor and *Paguyuban Akoer Tanah Abang*.

Ferdiansyah, a security guard in Tanah Abang, who remarked: "I live nearby. Most of the people who work here (in the market—not street vendors) are locals, literally 'kids from the area'."[643]

Such conditions leave many migrants with limited access to the formal labour market, making informal work an essential fallback. Yet, for many, this still represents an improvement compared with opportunities in their hometowns. This is evident in the interview with Naim, a singgah vendor originally from Pandeglang, Banten, who trades in Kota Tua::

IN : So previously, were you selling this as well, or…?

N : I worked on a farm in Tangerang for 13 years. I started in '84 and left in '97. Then I came here to learn, and I could start selling straight away.

IN : So why did you eventually decide—after leaving that job, to sell *lontong*?

N : I'm strong in farming; back in the village I was a farmer… but it was fine, I thought I'd just come to Jakarta to learn.

N : In the village… let's not even talk about money—there isn't any; it's just work (laughs). Farming is farming; but here you can actually take home money. Little stalls, you know, enough for the kids' pocket money too.[644]

These accounts show that street vending partly absorbs labour displaced by unemployment and rural–urban migration, offering a practical alternative amid the stark economic gap between Jakarta and less prosperous regions. For many, vending is viable precisely because it "can run with a small amount

[643] Taken from the study of Ferdiansyah, a security guard at Tanah Abang (see Table 15). The complete interview transcript is available at the link provided in the appendices.

[644] Taken from the study of Naim, a vegetable rice cake vendor, Case 26 (see Table 15). Naim's story has been explored as an example of *singgah* type in Chapter 4. The complete interview transcript is available at the link provided in the appendices.

of capital—just get it going," as Oné explained. Renting a formal shop in a market can cost up to Rp 90 million (£4,500) per year.[645] By contrast, Oné paid around Rp 12.4 million (£620) annually for his Sudirman pitch—less secure, but far more affordable and lower risk.[646]

Another factor drawing people into vending is the bureaucratic complexity surrounding formal entrepreneurship in Jakarta. As noted in Chapter 1, many migrants are excluded from provincial support schemes for *Usaha Mikro, Kecil, dan, Menengah* (UMKM or small and medium enterprises) without a Jakarta's *Kartu Tanda Penduduk* (KTP or identity card) listing the city as their primary residence.[647] Although the procedure appears straightforward on paper, in practice it is cumbersome; many vendors lack a Jakarta KTP and are thus unable to access these benefits.[648]

Yet even with a KTP, opportunities may remain limited. For instance, KTP holders may apply for UMKM-designated stalls on the Tanah Abang

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[645] Based on a 2023 advertisement on this website: 'Sewa Kios Tanah Abang', *Tempat Usaha*, 2023, https://www.tempat-usaha.com/search/sewa+kios+tanah+abang+blok+b/.

[646] According to an interview with One, he paid around Rp 700,000 per month plus Rp 4,000,000 per year for his stall in Sudirman. The complete interview transcript is available at the link provided in the appendices.

[647] This information is based on variety of sources. See: Taylor and Song, 'Return to the Streets'; Aldi Geri Lumban Tobing, '3.568 Pedagang dapat Pendampingan Pengurusan Izin UMKM', beritajakarta, 2023, https://m.beritajakarta.id/read/128420/3568-pedagang-dapat-pendampingan-pengurusan-izin-umkm.

[648] The number of migrant vendors interviewed and observed in this research without Jakarta KTP is provided in the appendices. For context on the complexity of obtaining a Jakarta KTP: an official article from the Data Centre and IT Facilities (Pusat Data dan Sarana Informatika, PDSI) of the Ministry of Communication and Informatics (Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informatika, Kominfo) explains that securing a Jakarta KTP first requires being listed on a Jakarta KK (Kartu Keluarga, Family Card). A KK is an official record of a household and its members. Under regulations in effect as of 2024, an individual must belong to a family unit—either their own or another household willing to include them—residing together at a permanent address for a period of time; only then can the KK be used to apply for a Jakarta KTP. For migrants without family in the city and without stable housing, these requirements can be effectively out of reach. See: PDSI KOMINFO, 'Mendagri: Mulai 1 Januari, Bikin KTP, KK, Dan Akta Kelahiran Tidak Dipungut Biaya', Kementerian Komunikasi Dan Informatika RI, 2014, http:///content/detail/3541/mendagri-mulai-1-januari-bikin-ktp-kk-dan-akta-kelahiran-tidak-dipungut-biaya/0/berita.

Skybridge, which links the KRL commuter station to the market complexes (Figure 93). Although these kiosks are rent-free, tenants pay a monthly service charge of around Rp 600,000 (£30) for cleaning and security.

According to Indra, a jalan di tempat vendor selling socks beneath the Skybridge, only 500 kiosks were created, allocated via lottery.[649] This was insufficient given the number of street vendors in the area, as evidenced by continued pavement trading. Indra was not selected. To make a living, he paid local *preman* (thugs) about Rp 500,000 (£25) per month for a one-square-metre pitch (Figure 93, left).[650] He added that extra fees were expected during Ramadan: "THR during Ramadan is another story."[651] Ironically, he paid more to trade informally—under constant threat of eviction by Satpol PP—than those fortunate enough to obtain a Skybridge stall. Nonetheless, compared with unsupported formal pathways, this remained the more feasible option.

Street vending also becomes an alternative for those who struggle to remain in formal employment due to limited social support in Jakarta. Two factors were especially evident in the fieldwork: (1) inadequate childcare provision for low-income households and (2) insufficient social and financial support for older adults. Many vendors brought young children with them, and around 19% of interviewees would be classified as elderly.[652]

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[649] Taken from the study of Indra, a clothing vendor, Case 9 (see Table 15). To see the meaning behind *jalan di tempat*, see Chapter 4.

[650] As discussed in the previous chapter, these thugs have no legal authority or ownership over the pavements from which they benefit, but they can cause trouble for vendors who refuse to pay; vendors therefore make these payments for security reasons.

[651] THR (Tunjangan Hari Raya) refers to the religious-holiday bonus. In this context, thugs request an extra payment from street vendors.

[652] The categorisation used in Indonesia's Minister of Health Regulation No. 25 of 2016 concerning the National Action Plan for Elderly Health, 2016–2019, that people older than 54

Figure 93. (left) Tanah Abang Skybridge linking market complexes to the KRL station; it accommodates 500 kiosks intended for vendor relocation. (Right) Indra and his wife working beneath the Skybridge in a one-square-metre informal pitch. Source: Author's photographs, August 2022 and January 2023.

One such case is Arrahmah, introduced earlier as a berkeliling vendor.[653] With three children and a husband employed in low-paid construction work, she sold doughnuts in Sudirman while bringing her two youngest children (aged two and four), as she could not afford childcare (Figure 94). During school holidays, her 14-year-old son also accompanied her. I encountered her on Independence Day outside MRT Dukuh Atas Station. Street vending allowed her to structure work around caregiving responsibilities.

years old. See the appendices for the statistical document for this research. See: 'Permenkes No. 25 Tahun 2016', Database Peraturan | JDIH BPK, accessed 3 May 2024, http://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/113057/permenkes-no-25-tahun-2016.

[653] Taken from the study of Arrahmah, a donut vendor, Case 16 (see Table 15). To see the meaning behind *berkeliling*, see Chapter 4.

Figure 94. (left) Arrahmah and her two young children selling doughnuts outside MRT Dukuh Atas Station; (right) her teenage son assisting during the school break. Source: Author's photographs, August 2022.

A similar pattern emerged in Okta's case, a jalan di tempat beverage vendor in Kota Tua, who at the time of interview worked with two of her children:

O : I sell on Saturdays, Sundays and public holidays.

IN : And on regular weekdays?

O : Not on weekdays. I've got a little one, and the others are at school.

IN : Do they come with you on weekends?

O : No, just two. The other is with my in-laws—they're ill. Usually two come with me; I leave the baby at home.[654]

These accounts highlight how vending accommodates caregiving while generating income. They also point to the unaffordability of childcare. Monthly fees for *Tempat Penitipan Anak* (TPA, or day care) typically range

[654] Taken from the study of Emak and Okta, beverage vendors, Case 30 (see Table 15). The complete interview transcript is available at the link provided in the appendices.

from Rp 1.4 million to Rp 4 million (£70–£200).[655] Such costs may be feasible for middle-class households but are prohibitive for low-income families, trapping many in a cycle where they cannot afford childcare because they cannot work more, and they cannot work more because they cannot afford childcare. Street vending is far from optimal. Encounters with enforcement are stressful and at times violent, as both Arrahmah and Okta noted, and the street is not an ideal environment for children. Even so, vending remains one of the few viable options enabling mothers to earn an income while caring for young children.

For older adults, street vending similarly offers a lifeline in the context of limited state support and age discrimination within the formal workforce. A *Kompas* article from 2023 highlighted a persistent misconception in Indonesia that people become "unproductive" from around age 50, leading to redundancy and limited re-employment opportunities.[656] Many thus turn to informal work, including vending, to survive.

Jakarta's provincial government offers some assistance, such as the *Kartu Lansia Jakarta* (KLJ), which provides Rp 600,000 (£30) per month, but this is reserved for older adults with very low income and physical or mental

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[655] Although the concept of TPA (*Tempat Penitipan Anak*, childcare centres) has existed since 1963 under the Ministry of Social Affairs, Jakarta still has no free public TPAs, except those located within certain offices or public institutions, which serve only their employees and are not intended for the general public. While public schools are free, there are no accessible facilities for children under four. Even for ages four to six, school hours typically run only from 07:30 to 10:00. See: Hania Latifa, 'Simalakama Biaya Penitipan Anak Di Ibukota', *Bincang Perempuan*, 13 October 2022, https://bincangperempuan.com/simalakama-biaya-penitipan-anak-di-ibukota/; Kiki Luqman, 'Berapa Syarat Usia Masuk TK dan SD? Berikut Penjelasannya', Kompas, 2023, https://www.kompas.tv/pendidikan/414513/berapa-syarat-usia-masuk-tk-dan-sd-berikut-penjelasannya.

[656] See the news article covering this issue: Imam Firdaus, 'Nasib Pencari Kerja Lanjut Usia: Dianggap Tak Produktif, Ratusan Lamaran Tak Dilirik', Kompas, 2023, https://www.kompas.tv/ekonomi/404384/nasib-pencari-kerja-lanjut-usia-dianggap-tak-produktif-ratusan-lamaran-tak-dilirik.

limitations.[657] Healthy older people are usually ineligible, and even for recipients, Rp 600,000 is insufficient to cover basic living costs.[658]

Emak, a beverage vendor operating alongside Okta in Kota Tua, exemplifies this pattern. Around 70 years old, she lived independently in a rented room and sold hot and cold drinks near a TransJakarta stop (Figure 95). Her adult children were unable to support her financially. Vending allowed her to sustain herself without becoming a burden on her family.

Figure 95. Emak at her modest stall in Fatahillah Square, Kota Tua. Her push-cart and stools had been confiscated the day before this photograph. Source: Author's photograph, January 2023.

[657] Singgih, 'Arus balik'.

[658] According to a survey by Statistics Indonesia (BPS), Jakarta's living cost in 2023 was around Rp 15 million per month. See: Laila Afifa and Dewi Elvia Muthiariny, 'BPS: Jakarta Has Highest Living Cost of at Nearly Rp15mn per Month', News, *Tempo*, 12 December 2023, https://en.tempo.co/read/1808454/bps-jakarta-has-highest-living-cost-of-at-nearly-rp15mn-per-month.

These findings indicate that street vending provides critical employment opportunities for a diverse range of Jakarta residents, particularly those excluded from formal social protection. Low start-up costs and flexible working arrangements—despite the risks of fines and enforcement—make vending a primary route into entrepreneurship for underprivileged citizens. It also serves as a safety net for vulnerable groups, helping households manage high living costs and enabling working parents and older adults to remain economically active.

5.1.2 Supporting the formal sectors

A further finding is that street vending plays a significant role in sustaining and advancing Jakarta's formal economy. This supports the argument developed in Chapter 2 that formal and informal commercial activity in Jakarta are mutually constitutive rather than oppositional. Street vending is therefore best understood as *informalised*, following Graaf and Ha's use of the term to denote practices situated in a shifting, in-between space—continuously negotiating regulatory ambiguities, enforcement pressures, and local arrangements conditioned by wider socio-political dynamics.[659]

The interior writing and RTA analysis revealed several dimensions through which Jakarta's street vending operates as an informalised practice. The first concerns its capacity to support the expansion or consolidation of established formal businesses. Not all vendors encountered were independent traders; a number were employees operating street stalls as extensions—or "street branches"—of registered businesses. Interviews suggested two motivations

[659] Graaff and Ha, *Street Vending in the Neoliberal City: A Global Perspective on the Practices and Policies of a Marginalised Economy*, 3.

behind this strategy: (1) testing or introducing new products prior to formal launch, and (2) reaching customer groups beyond the primary market of the parent establishment.

One example is Verrel, a jalan di tempat vendor and university student, who managed a stall selling Gomalt, an Ovaltine-based chocolate beverage licensed from a recent Taiwan/Korean franchise.[660] He rented a pitch from Paguyuban Akoer Tanah Abang in Sudirman because of the area's consistently high footfall, making it well suited for brand testing. Based on his experience, the early response was favourable and turnover was promising enough for him to consider employing staff.

Beyond this individual case, established brands also adopted street-vending tactics to promote products. Such branded "street branches" were particularly noticeable during Car Free Day (CFD) in Sudirman, held every Sunday morning (06.00–11.00), when the boulevard is closed to motor traffic for walking and exercise. Although street vending is officially prohibited during CFD—especially along the main boulevard—my observations identified dense clusters of vendors on intersecting side streets, among whom major brands operated temporary stalls. Those documented included Domino's Pizza, Espessia, and Mangkokku (Figure 96).[661]

Formal establishments also use street vending to attract new customer segments. In Tanah Abang, shop owners with units inside the market complexes operated satellite stalls on the adjacent pavements. Salwa, a jalan

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[660] Taken from the study of Verrel and Andika, beverage vendors, Case 12 (see Table 15).

[661] Espessia is an ice-cream brand from Indofood, a leading Indonesian food company. Mangkokku is a well-known culinary brand founded by celebrity chef Arnold Purnomo.

di tempat vendor, was employed to staff one such street outpost.[662] Her employer owned several shops inside the market and on the Skybridge. Salwa was paid Rp 100,000 (£5) per day to operate the stall from 07.00 to 17.00.

Figure 96. Street stalls operated by established local and international brands utilising street-vending spatial practices to promote products in Sudirman, Jakarta. Source: Author's photographs, August 2022.

A comparable case is Oscar, whose stall sat near Salwa's.[663] He operated multiple pavement stalls and simultaneously owned two shops within the market buildings. He designed and manufactured all garments at his own *konveksi* (garment workshop). His street stall comprised two simple clothing rails, offering women's apparel at Rp 35,000 (£1.69), advertised on a handwritten cardboard sign (Figure 97).

Oscar explained that his pavement stalls catered to customers seeking single items rather than wholesale quantities. His formal businesses focused on bulk orders for resellers. Managing the street stalls himself allowed him to recruit

[662] Taken from the study of Salwa, a clothing vendor, Case 1 (see Table 15).

[663] Taken from the study of Oscar, a clothing vendor, Case 10 (see Table 15).

new customers and potential business partners; people could examine product quality immediately, and those interested in wholesale orders were then escorted into the market to view his full stock. In this sense, street vending operated not only as a feeder for retail sales but also as an instrument for expanding established formal businesses—much like the promotional strategies deployed by larger brands.

Figure 97. (Left) Oscar, who owned multiple shops and a garment workshop, interviewed in front of his modest street stall in Tanah Abang. (Right) Shops inside the market buildings primarily served wholesale purchasers. Source: Author's photographs, January 2023 and August 2022.

A second way in which street vending supports the formal sector is by providing opportunities for formal establishments—sometimes with no direct connection to vending—to develop auxiliary income streams by hosting or facilitating vending activities. In Kota Tua, where enforcement was particularly stringent, many vendors opted to operate without conspicuous units such as pushcarts, pikulan or bicycle carts. Those who ventured into the

inner parts of Fatahillah Square used minimal equipment—wooden boards, plastic baskets, or small containers.

Sigit, a jalan di tempat vendor, exemplifies this arrangement.[664] He commuted daily from Bekasi to Kota Tua and therefore needed to rent storage for his goods. When asked where he kept them, he replied:

S : At the *warteg*, yes, the warteg (local eatery).

IN : Oh, the warteg here.

S : Yes.

IN : Do you leave it there on consignment, or how does it work? Do you pay a rental fee?

S : That's right.

IN : Is it per day or per month?

S : Per day.

IN : Roughly how much is it, if I may ask?

S : Rp. 5,000 (£ 0.25) a day.

There was, therefore, a clear demand for vendor storage in Kota Tua, allowing traders to circulate around Fatahillah Square without carrying all their stock—a crucial flexibility when evading Satpol PP patrols. Many formal food establishments offered storage services, paid either daily or monthly depending on the size of items deposited.

A similar pattern emerged in Tanah Abang, where some shops—especially those opening directly onto the pavement—rented out space as both storage

[664] Taken from the study of Sigit, a clothing vendor, Case 28 (see Table 15). Sigit has been explored in Chapter 4. The complete interview transcript is available at the link provided in the appendices.

and depots: places where vendors could undertake minor preparation before and after trading. Depots were especially valuable for food vendors, providing safe and hygienic spaces for storing ingredients or performing basic cooking tasks. Restaurants with surplus kitchen capacity often rented this space to vendors during off-peak hours.[665]

A final and perhaps the most direct financial linkage between street vending and Jakarta's formal sector concerns sourcing. All vendors interviewed purchased goods from registered markets, even the smallest operators selling a single product type. This is illustrated in my conversation with Silvi, a beverage vendor in Sudirman:

IN : Where do you usually buy the ingredients?

S : Mencos Market.

IN : Mencos. Oh, near Setiabudi?

S : Yes, just behind here. Early morning. The good stock is in the morning. It's still fresh.

IN : So you shop in the morning, then come here after?

S : Then I come here at 7 am.[666]

Additional evidence came from vendors using specialised ingredients obtainable only from particular markets. For example, Wawan, a bersarang

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[665] This was the case with the chicken-porridge stall in Tanah Abang discussed in the previous chapter as an example of the *bersarang* type. The vendors used the kitchen of a nearby restaurant selling *ayam geprek* ("smashed" fried chicken) as their makeshift depot. They stored raw ingredients there, cooked the porridge and washed their utensils. According to the vendors, because porridge requires a lengthy, complex process, about 80% of the cooking is done in this depot before the stall opens at 06:00. On the street, they only reheat, add toppings and serve the porridge. This allowed them to serve customers quickly—about 4–5 minutes per bowl—and to avoid bringing all their cooking equipment onto the street. Taken from the study of Tony and Ary, chicken porridge vendors, Case 2 (see Table 17).

[666] Taken from the study of Nur and Selvi, beverage vendors, Case 11 (see Table 15). The complete interview transcript is available at the link provided in the appendices.

vendor selling soto tangkar, sourced beef head from traditional-market butchers rather than supermarkets.[667] In doing so, street vendors act as important customers for traditional markets—supporting butchers and specialised suppliers as Jakarta's retail landscape increasingly shifts towards supermarkets and online platforms.

These cases reinforce the argument made in Chapter 2: Jakarta's street vending is not an unregistered shadow economy operating in opposition to formal commerce. On the contrary, vendors participate in legally recognised, traceable transactions through sustained relationships with formal businesses, wholesalers, and suppliers. Across these examples, the formal and informal are clearly interdependent, and it becomes evident that street vending is integral to the city's economic metabolism—keeping goods flowing, supporting related industries, and indirectly contributing to public revenues.

5.1.3 Inclusive economic participation

Arguably the most compelling aspect of the socio-economic dimensions of Jakarta's street vending is that it does not only shape the livelihoods of those who initiate or facilitate it (the vendors), but also profoundly affects its users (customers). The findings suggest that the affordability of street-vended goods enables residents to enact a form of urban citizenship through inclusive economic participation.

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[667] Beef head is not usually sold in regular markets in Jakarta. *Soto tangkar* is also not a common home-cooked dish. According to Wawan, its preparation is intricate and time-consuming; he spent about fifteen years learning from his uncle before mastering the cooking of *soto tangkar*. Taken from the study of Wawan, a beef ribs soup vendor, Case 15 (see Table 15).

This resonates with debates on consumerism and citizenship developed by Toby Miller in *Cultural Citizenship* and Frank Trentmann in *Citizenship and Consumption*.[668] Both explore how consumption and modern citizenship intersect, particularly the ways in which participating in particular circuits of consumption allows individuals to join shared cultural narratives, thereby fostering belonging and identity. Jakarta's street vending opens up access to these narratives across socio-economic groups, enabling a wide range of citizens to participate in the city's consumer culture. This is particularly striking because it links the economic role of street vending with broader questions of urban liveability.

These dynamics are evident in my interview with Yuni, a regular customer of Wawan (Figure 98).[669] Yuni migrated to Jakarta from Pekalongan, Central Java, and works full-time in the city. She relies heavily on street vendors for daily meals. She rents a room nearby, but like many *kos-kosan* (boarding-house) arrangements, it lacks a kitchen and space for storing cooking utensils or tableware. In practical terms, it is easier for her to eat at street stalls, especially those with basic dine-in facilities, so she does not need to worry about washing up, which is impractical without a kitchen. In her view, the cost of ingredients for cooking in Jakarta is comparable to what she spends eating at street-vending stalls.

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[668] Toby Miller, *Cultural Citizenship: Cosmopolitanism, Consumerism, and Television in a Neoliberal Age* (Temple University Press, 2007); Frank Trentmann, 'Citizenship and Consumption', *Journal of Consumer Culture* 7, no. 2 (2007): 147–58, https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540507077667.

[669] Taken from the study of Yuni, the patron of Wawan's, Case 15 (see Table 15). The complete interview transcript is available at the link provided in the appendices.

Figure 98. Yuni, a migrant worker from Central Java, who chooses to eat most of her meals at street-vending stalls due to their practicality and affordability. Location: Blora Street, Sudirman, South Jakarta. Source: Author's photograph, August 2022.

From this perspective, street vendors become the preferred option for urban workers, supplying hot meals without the burdens of storing food, cooking, and cleaning. This supports Arciniegas's findings, discussed in Chapter 1, which estimate that street food constitutes the main source of daily nutrition for around a quarter of Jakarta's inhabitants, largely due to inadequate domestic facilities.[670]

Moreover, in terms of enabling participation, Jakarta's street vending does more than offer cheaper substitutes for home cooking; it also provides knock-off or adapted versions of international or branded foods that, in Jakarta, are typically accessed via shopping malls and other exclusive environments, and thus remain out of reach for lower-income groups. During the walking

[670] See Chapter 1, for exploration of Arciniegas' study.

experiment, I encountered vendors offering inventive variations on these products: fried chicken inspired by KFC; *tteokbokki* (Korean rice cakes); bubble tea; Japanese-style bento reminiscent of Hoka Hoka Bento; dim sum; and several kinds of Italian pasta, among others.[671] Similar dynamics applied to non-food products such as clothing, shoes, and toys. Vendors sold low-cost copies of popular trainers, Hot Wheels cars, and the latest football jerseys from international clubs at significantly reduced prices (Figure 99).

Figure 99. Examples of various "knock-off" commodities sold by Jakarta's street vendors. Source: Author's photographs, August 2022.

In this sense, Jakarta's street vending generates the impression of an attainable urban lifestyle by offering alternative routes into consumer culture. It allows poorer residents to "sample" privileged consumption—and therefore to share analogous urban experiences, albeit in modest, improvisational form.

To widen this inclusivity, street vending not only reduces prices but also accommodates flexible financial arrangements for those with limited means. Many vendors allow trusted regulars to buy on credit—keeping an informal

[671] KFC—despite being fast food—is still relatively expensive by Indonesian standards. Tteokbokki is a Korean rice-cake dish. Hoka Hoka Bento (HokBen) is an Indonesian Japanese-style fast-food chain.

bon (tab)—and repay later or in instalments. This ethos is clear in my interview with Hosmiyah, a bertempat vendor in Sudirman who operated such a system at her stall:

> H : The vendors here get it when it comes to office workers around here. For example, on busy nights like Saturday, the price for regular visitors might be Rp. 20,000 (£ 1), but for workers it's Rp. 15,000 (£ 0.75).
>
> IN : You adjust it?
>
> H : Yes, and we gave them a bit more rice and drinks. There's a mutual understanding. Say it's a drink, like *Nutrisari* (a powdered juice). If it runs out, they can ask, "Miss, can I add more ice and water?" The ice and water aren't counted, think of it as helping them out.
>
> H : What would it be like if there were no vendors? Is the minimum wage, say five million (£ 250), really enough?
>
> IN : Probably just enough for food for a month.
>
> H : Exactly, one month, and that's not counting transport costs or anything else.[672]

Nur, a menghuni vendor selling peanut salad in Kota Tua, expressed similar considerations.[673] Her standard price per portion was Rp 13,000 (£0.65), but when customers were struggling, she accepted Rp 10,000 (£0.50), omitting certain ingredients in the cheaper version to avoid losses.

These practices suggest that street vending functions as a lifeline for low-income and marginalised residents who find it difficult to participate in contemporary urban lifestyle cultures. Knowing that there are affordable

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[672] Taken from the study of Mita and Hosmiyah, a fish vendor, Case 19 (see Table 15). The complete interview transcript is available at the link provided in the appendices.

[673] Taken from the study of Nur and Nur, meatball soup and peanut salad vendors, Case 25 (see Table 15).

alternatives makes the city feel less exclusionary and more navigable. This was particularly evident in the 2022 phenomenon known as Citayam Fashion Week (CFW) in Sudirman. Despite its name, this was not an official fashion week with designers and runways. Rather, it referred to gatherings of teenagers and young adults in eye-catching outfits around Dukuh Atas Park near the MRT Dukuh Atas entrance.[674]

These young people came not only to socialise but to photograph themselves in what they regarded as Jakarta's most "Instagrammable" spots.[675] Wearing budget-friendly versions of branded fashion, they posed on pavements and crossings and uploaded images to social media platforms—primarily Instagram and TikTok—hence the label "Fashion Week". This visibility drew the attention of celebrities and mainstream media, some of whom likened CFW to Tokyo's Harajuku or Seoul's Hongdae, which in turn amplified interest and participation (Figure 100).[676]

Importantly, these young people were not from affluent backgrounds; most came from minimum-wage or working-class families living on the metropolitan periphery. Nevertheless, they catalysed a trend that resonated across class boundaries in Jakarta. One factor that enabled them to spend extended time in Sudirman was the presence of street vendors offering

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[674] *Citayam* refers to an area on the outskirts of Jakarta, about a one-hour train journey away, where many of these youths come from.

[675] A list of seven of the city's most 'Instagrammable' spots appears in: Nabilla Tashandra, '7 Tempat Foto Instagramable Dekat Stasiun Sudirman Jakarta Halaman all', *Kompas*, 24 January 2023, https://travel.kompas.com/read/2022/07/10/214528327/7-tempat-foto-instagramable-dekat-stasiun-sudirman-jakarta.

[676] CNN Indonesia compared Citayam Fashion Week with Tokyo's Harajuku, Seoul's Hongdae, London's Camden Town and Chengdu's Taikoo Lin. See: CNN Indonesia, '4 Negara yang Lebih Dulu Punya Fenomena "Citayam Fashion Week"', gaya hidup, 30 July 2022, https://www.cnnindonesia.com/gaya-hidup/20220730105917-269-828138/4-negara-yang-lebih-dulu-punya-fenomena-citayam-fashion-week.

inexpensive snacks and drinks. Vending thus underpinned their ability to claim space in one of the city's most polished commercial districts, typically frequented by wealthier groups.

Figure 100. Instagram screenshot from Kompas showing news about Citayam Fashion Week in July 2022. Source: @hariankompas. 'Mode Ala "Citayam Fashion Week" Di Dukuh Atas'. Social Media. Instagram, 8 July 2022. https://www.instagram.com/hariankompas/.

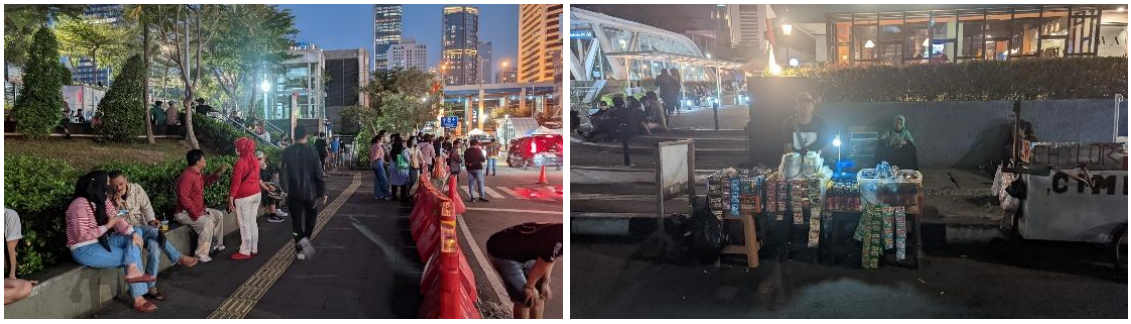

Figure 101. Citayam Fashion Week at Dukuh Atas in August 2022 (left), and street vendors serving affordable food and drinks from a tucked-away corner nearby (right). Source: Author's photographs, August 2022.

This highlights how vending provides a route to inclusive forms of citizenship through participation. It enables people not only to contribute economically but also to affirm their right to inhabit the city. Beyond affordability, some vendors—particularly berkeliling and singgah types—also enhance accessibility. Their small scale and tactical, mobile practices allow them to penetrate areas dominated by formal establishments with few, if any, low-cost options.

On Sudirman Boulevard, for example, lined with skyscrapers and high-end malls, the most visible choices for refreshments involve entering a building and purchasing from chains such as Starbucks, The Coffee Bean & Tea Leaf, or Fore Coffee, where an average drink costs around Rp 30,000 (£1.50). In this context, street vendors supply an alternative for young people and for low-wage workers—including security guards and parking attendants—who cannot easily afford such prices, as illustrated in Figure 102.

Figure 102. Two security guards from Plaza Indonesia purchasing drinks from a street vendor on Sudirman Boulevard. Source: Author's photograph, August 2022.

Accessibility is also temporal. During public holidays, when many formal establishments are closed, residents frequently depend on street vendors for food and basic necessities. For Roni, a menghuni rujak vendor in Kota Tua, this means remaining in Jakarta rather than returning to his hometown in West Java:

IN : You didn't go back home for New Year, did you?

R : No. Didn't go home. It's busy here, on holidays it's guaranteed to be crowded. Like now, I'd love to sit down but I can't, so to speak.

IN : Nice though, means you earn a lot, right?

R : Yeah, that's right… I wish it were a public holiday all the time.[677]

Some vendors also deliberately operate at night to serve those active outside standard working hours. Adi, a berkeliling "starling" vendor, preferred to work roughly 19.00–05.00 to cater for night-shift workers in Sudirman.[678] In a separate interview, Iyas, a street-vending customer in Kota Tua who ran a *martabak* (stuffed pancake) stall in Bogor, West Java, said she relied on fellow vendors for dinner because she worked until 23.00.[679] For her, street vending was the first option, offering a wide range of food—from full meals to snacks—across late-night hours and locations. Vendors thus form a critical support system not only for office workers and commuters but also for informal workers and those on atypical schedules.

[677] Taken from the study of Roni, a spicy fruit salad vendor, Case 29 (see Table 15). The complete interview transcript is available at the link provided in the appendices.

[678] Taken from the study of Adi and Adi, beverage vendors, Case 17 (see Table 15).

[679] Taken from the study of Iyas and Imah, the patron of street vendors in Kota Tua (see Table 15). The complete interview transcript is available at the link provided in the appendices.

Taken together, these observations on affordability and accessibility show that street vending is fundamental to the everyday life of many Jakarta residents and enhances the city's liveability. It allows the city to be experienced more inclusively and helps cultivate a sense of belonging through economic participation. By providing alternative means for people to claim urban citizenship via inclusive consumption, street vending also makes visible deeper structural problems—such as entrenched inequality and income disparities—that require urgent attention if Jakarta is to become a more socially equitable city.

5.2 The socio-spatial dimensions

5.2.1 Elevate the existing street experience

Jakarta's average temperature typically hovers around 33°C throughout the year, accompanied by humidity levels regularly exceeding 50%. Navigating the city on foot can therefore be physically taxing. Social norms further complicate matters: wearing minimal clothing to cope with the heat—such as shorts or sleeveless tops—is often regarded as inappropriate.[680] Most Jakartans dress modestly, covering arms, legs, back, and chest despite the climate. Consequently, many favour cooler environments whenever possible, retreating to air-conditioned interiors or relying on private transport to minimise exposure to the streets and, by extension, the oppressive heat.[681]

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[680] To learn more how this norm come about, see: Kees van Dijk, 'The Indonesian Archipelago from 1913 to 2013: Celebrations and Dress Codes Between International, Local, and Islamic Culture', in *Islam in the Era of Globalization*, 1st Edition (Routledge, 2002).

[681] Beyond a general aversion to heat and humidity, the preference for indoor spaces in Indonesia is also tied to concerns about sun exposure and skin tone. A fairer (paler) complexion is widely valued. Partly rooted in colonial legacies—under Dutch and Japanese rule, lighter skin

Those who must walk, however, frequently seek opportunities to pause.[682] Within this context, a key socio-spatial finding of street vendors' PIU is their role as small 'oases' for pedestrians, offering points of respite from heat and humidity. Vendors not only provide a temporary escape from environmental discomfort but also elevate the overall street experience.

This was evident in conversations with two university students, Brian and Ainul, regulars at a beverage stall in Sudirman.[683] They explained that street vendors offered convenient resting points during their explorations of the city centre. Their preference for street stalls was not driven by financial constraints—they could afford pricier drinks—but by a sense that such spaces were more conducive to relaxed socialising. Formal establishments, they felt, imposed subtle behavioural expectations. Moreover, cafés and shops required entering buildings or malls, a detour they found inconvenient. For Brian in particular, street vendors acted as improvised *rest areas*:[684]

IN : So, what are the positives of having street vendors (PKL)?

B : I don't know… maybe it's just easier to find a spot to stop. Like when you're tired walking, thirsty, or you just want a break. If

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signified higher status, distinguishing colonisers from Indigenous people, whose complexions were often described as *sawo matang* (sapodilla brown)—the association between fair skin and status persists today. Lighter skin is frequently read as a sign of economic privilege (the ability to remain indoors or travel by private vehicle). As a result, many people avoid spending time outdoors, when possible, to prevent tanning, which can be perceived as lowering one's social status. See: L. Ayu Saraswati, '"Malu": Coloring Shame and Shaming the Color of Beauty in Transnational Indonesia', *Feminist Studies* 38, no. 1 (2012): 113–40; Widiandaru Wiryawan and Sintia Catur Sutantri, 'Cyber Bullyingin Social Media Against the Stigma of Indonesian Women's Beauty Standards', *International Journal of Education, Information Technology and Others (IJEIT)* 6 (2) (April 2023): 233–44, https://doi.org/10.5281/ZENODO.7900364.

[682] During my fieldwork, the maximum time I could walk without seeking a cool indoor refuge was around 30 minutes.

[683] Taken from the study of Ainul and Brian, the patron of street vendors in Sudirman, Case 12, (see Table 15). The complete interview transcript is available at the link provided in the appendices.

[684] Rest area is the local name for motorway service area (MSA) in Indonesia.

they're on the pavement or along the street, it's easier and more convenient to pull over.

B : Like, they can be a kind of *rest area*.

IN : Oh… yeah, like a temporary rest area?

B : Yeah, like a spontaneous rest area along the streets… like that.

Brian's account highlights how street vending parallels formal rest areas: both offer refreshments and moments of pause without requiring one to depart from the street. This is particularly important in Jakarta, where pavements often have limited direct access to buildings. Many are separated by security fencing, slip roads, or private car parks—as on Sudirman (Figure 103)—making entry into indoor environments cumbersome. Street stalls therefore allow walkers to rest while maintaining continuity of movement. In practical terms, they function as recharging points that enable Jakarta's rapid urban rhythms to continue despite climatic discomfort. Their presence reduces the psychological and physical burden of outdoor mobility by assuring pedestrians that relief is readily available.

The production of such rest points is a direct outcome of reverse urban interiorization: vendors create interior-like conditions that coexist with urban flux.[685] These are interiors within the city's flow, not outside it—spaces continuously territorialised and deterritorialised, generating a pause embedded in movement. As these interiors share social norms with the surrounding public realm, patrons behave as freely as they would on the street; the boundary between inside and outside blurs. Such spaces constitute an *inside-out* interior, simultaneously sheltered and exposed.

[685] See Chapter 2 to see the exploration of interiorization, reverse urban interiorization, territorialised, and deterritorialised.

Figure 103. Most public pavements in Jakarta do not link directly to buildings but are separated by fences or private parking spaces, making indoor shelter hard to access. Location: Sudirman Boulevard, South Jakarta. Source: Author's photograph, August 2022.

Figure 104. People drinking, eating, or resting at street stalls—treating them as makeshift rest areas. Location: Blora Street, Sudirman, South Jakarta. Source: Author's photograph, August 2022.

This duality reframes the meaning of the street—not merely as a conduit for movement but also as a space of dwelling. As seen in Brian and Ainul's example, pedestrians may use street space to rest and converse. In Kota Tua, for instance, interviews revealed that tourists frequently used stalls as waiting points for online taxis (Grab, GoRide, GoCar), enabling quick pick-up without drivers navigating congested entrances or parking areas.[686]

This transformation derives not only from vendors' PIU practices but also from the physical shelters they create. Some locate themselves beneath trees; others erect improvised canopies. In places such as Tanah Abang, dense clusters of vendors install side-by-side awnings—beach umbrellas, tarpaulins, or repurposed banners—that overlap to form semi-covered walkways. These ad hoc canopies filter sunlight, making pavements cooler and more walkable (Figure 105). Such shading benefits all passers-by, not only customers. For many, especially those wary of UV exposure, these shaded paths significantly improve outdoor comfort.

Even without shade, vendors provide visual and social stimuli that divert attention from the heat. Stalls invite browsing; interactions require manoeuvring around goods and people. This subtle cognitive engagement distracts from bodily discomfort—something far less attainable in orderly, sanitised environments.

The contrast is striking on Sudirman Boulevard. On weekdays, with few vendors present, walking feels arduous: pedestrians hurry, acutely aware of heat and glare. On Car Free Day (CFD), when vendors proliferate, walking

[686] Taken from the study of Afifah and Yunita, the patrons of street vendors in Kota Tua (see Table 15). The complete interview transcript is available at the link provided in the appendices.

becomes slower and more pleasurable. People drift between stalls, observe their surroundings, and interact with others. Climatic conditions remain unchanged; what differs is the presence of vendors and the PIU they generate—which recalibrates how the street is experienced. People experience the street more as *walkers* rather than *passengers*.[687]

Figure 105. Overlapping awnings in Tanah Abang, Central Jakarta, protect pavements from intense sunlight and lower perceived temperatures. The arrangement of vendors' displays also slows the flow of movement, diverting pedestrians' attention from the heat. Source: Author's photographs, August 2022.

This analysis demonstrates that the PIU of street vending not only makes outdoor conditions more physically tolerable but also redefines the street as a space for being rather than merely passing through.

[687] The explanation of the difference between passengers and walkers can be found in Chapter 3, Section 3.3 *Stage two: walking*.

5.2.2 Human dimension

Another socio-spatial dimension of street vending's PIU lies in its capacity to sustain human presence on Jakarta's streets. Coupled with the previously discussed dimensions, this element entices people to inhabit the public realm in a city frequently characterised as having a virtually 'absent' outdoor urban life—a condition shaped by a combination of factors: intense heat and humidity, lingering fears connected to past urban anxieties, inadequate pedestrian infrastructure, and limited public transport coverage.[688]

Although Jakarta has invested considerably in improving mobility and urban amenities in recent years, these efforts have not been sufficient to keep people outdoors for prolonged periods.[689] As previously noted in areas such as Sudirman or the refurbished Fatahillah Square, streets are largely treated as movement corridors. Pedestrians tend to walk with purpose, pay minimal attention to their surroundings, and seldom use public seating. While the streets may appear visually well-ordered, this aesthetic coherence alone rarely encourages active inhabitation.

By contrast, the findings indicate that street vending draws people in and compels them to perceive and use streets differently. During the Citayam Fashion Week (CFW) phenomenon, for example, vendors enabled young people to occupy the street as a public stage for gathering. Their presence

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[688] For this exploration about Jakarta's street please see Chapter 1.

[689] Jakarta Provincial Government made progress by improving the infrastructure for walking and cycling; in 2019, the city successfully improved 87 kilometres of public pavements. Similarly, for transportation, it continuously adds more public transportation services, such as MRT and LRT, as well as integrates these services with the existing ones such as KRL Commuter Train and Transjakarta Bus. See: *Lessons Learned from Jakarta's Journey to Integrated and Resilient Transport Systems* (Institute for Transportation & Development Policy., 2021), mobilize.itdp.org.

then drew spectators who slowed down, stopped, and at times joined in. This ripple effect echoes a basic feature of human sociality: people attract people.[690] Visible activity generates further activity, reinforcing patterns of sociability and presence.

This humanising effect supports theoretical perspectives that conceptualise vending as part of an urban assemblage that reshapes atmosphere and contributes to social vitality. Vendors enhance activity levels and enrich the social experience, encouraging lingering and interaction. In Gehl's terms, they insert the human dimension—a central ingredient of vibrant public life—into Jakarta's streets.[691]

This dynamic was also evident in Sudirman, where many office workers obtained lunch from street stalls. Some returned to their offices to eat, yet others chose to remain and dine in situ. Cost was not the sole determinant in leaving an air-conditioned workplace at midday. Several workers reported deliberately seeking out vendors to *cuci mata*—the local phrase for people-watching. This preference emerged in an interview with Duri:

IN : Do you prefer eating in or take away? Or do you like both?

D : It depends… Ah, like over there in Boyolali (one of the vendors in the area), they've got a place, there's a long bench, so it feels more comfortable for us to just sit.

IN : Oh, so if there's a comfy seat, you'd rather dine in?

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[690] In the urban context, this idea has been explored by many, including Jane Jacobs and Ray Oldenburg with his concept of third space in *The Great Good Place*. See: Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*; Ray Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place: Cafés, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons, and Other Hangouts at the Heart of a Community* (Marlowe ; Distributed by Publishers Group West, 1999).

[691] Explored in Chapter 2 as a component that PIU contributes to urban experience. See: Gehl, *Cities for People*, 17.

D : Yeah. When I eat soto there I'm happy… I rarely do take-away, I prefer to sit… the atmosphere… If the vibe is nice, it's pleasant, hanging out with friends.

D : Its nice when we see people going by (laughs)

IN : You see that as entertainment?

D : Yes, entertainment—sometimes people walk past and we just sit and watch (laughs).[692]

This example demonstrates that even fleeting forms of human connection—often visual rather than verbal—draw many workers, who spend most of their day enclosed indoors, back into the street. The crowds attracted by vendors offer a welcome break from routine (Figure 106).

Figure 106. One reason people enjoy engaging with street vendors is that it allows them to watch others and make small talk. Location: Sudirman, Jakarta. Source: Author's photograph, August 2022.

[692] Taken from the study of Duri, the patrons of street vendors in Sudirman, Case 20 (see Table 15). The complete interview transcript is available at the link provided in the appendices.

A similar dynamic emerged among patrons in Tanah Abang. Caca, a driver responsible for transporting goods to and from wholesalers, often waited for long periods between assignments.[693] He explained:

C : Yeah, for us drivers it's nice having street vendors here, it's easier to find food... while waiting... waiting around, then chatting with the vendors.

IN : Okay.

C : Yeah, it's more relaxed... just nicer overall...

IN : Does it helps to fill those hours.

C : If there weren't street vendors, it would be so quiet—and getting food would be difficult.

Figure 107. Caca (red shirt) deliberately seeks out street vendors during his breaks to chat and pass the time. Source: Author's photograph, August 2022.

[693] Taken from the study of Caca, the patrons of street vendors in Tanah Abang (see Table 15). The complete interview transcript is available at the link provided in the appendices.

For Caca, casual conversation—*basa-basi*, a deeply embedded cultural practice in Indonesia—is a reason to seek out vendors.[694] Street vending thus provides not only visual interaction but also impromptu sociability, contributing another layer to the human dimension of Jakarta's streets (Figure 107).

Human presence reassigns meaning to Jakarta's streets, fostering new forms of use and prompting inhabitation. This shift is closely tied to vendors' PIU practices, which—despite considerable variation across the typology—operate through similar mechanisms: they invert interiority, exposing the 'inside' to the outside and allowing others to see, hear, smell, and sense the activities within these interior territories. This openness cultivates social connection, direct or indirect.[695]

The walking experiment further suggests that this dimension plays an important role in cultivating a sense of safety—what Jacobs termed "eyes upon the street".[696] In areas where lighting or infrastructure is inadequate, vendors and their customers serve as informal guardians, providing reassurance for those walking alone after dark.[697]

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[694] This is based on the study conducted about Indonesians and *basa-basi*, see: Caroline Victorine Katemba, 'Small Talk among the Indonesians in Three Different Countries: America, Indonesia, Philippines', *Acuity: Journal of English Language Pedagogy, Literature and Culture* 1, no. 2 (2016): 66–85.

[695] See the conclusion of Chapter 4.

[696] See Chapter 2 for the further explanation about Jane Jacobs' "eyes upon the street" concept.

[697] In my walking experiment, I observed the same effect in areas with many abandoned buildings, such as Sudirman and Kota Tua, where there is not only a severe lack of lighting but also associations with crime and horror stories. People usually avoided these areas, especially at night. However, the presence of street vendors transformed them: they lit up the darkness and introduced a more positive outlook—replacing the sense of horror with domestic activities such as cooking, eating, sitting and chatting.

Taken together, these examples show that street vending's PIU sets off a cascade of effects that draw people into the street. In doing so, vendors not only alter the street's physical appearance but also generate new meanings and rhythms that momentarily enliven and rejuvenate urban spaces.

5.2.3 Break the homogeneity

The next socio-spatial dimension concerns street vending's capacity to disrupt the homogeneous use of Jakarta's streets. Vendors introduce activities that extend beyond circulation alone. In their presence, streets become places to pause, to observe others, to forge transient social connections, or simply to enjoy the city. In doing so, street vending opens up alternative modes of inhabiting the street and encourages a wider repertoire of practices typically associated with domestic life.

This was evident during Car Free Day (CFD), which officially promotes sport, cultural expression, and environmentally focused activities.[698] CFD already interrupts the street's singular role by allowing non-movement uses. Yet the presence of vendors unsettles this uniformity further, prompting people to treat the street as a temporary living room. Many visitors arrived with friends or family, not primarily to exercise but to browse stalls, leading to impromptu *picnics* on the main boulevard—a phenomenon also discussed in Achmad Hery Fuad's doctoral research and the follow up publications.[699]

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[698] Peraturan Gubernur Provinsi Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta Nomor 12 Tahun 2016, 12, Gubernur Provinsi Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta (2016), https://hbkb.jakarta.go.id/.

[699] Achmad Hery Fuad et al., 'Events within Event, Units within Unit: Explaining the Structure of Urban Spaces Through Nesting Theory', *International Journal of Technology* 9, no. 1 (2018): 25, https://doi.org/10.14716/ijtech.v9i1.1014.

Figure 108. Comparison of the pavement on Sudirman Boulevard near Bundaran Hotel Indonesia on weekdays (left) and weekends (centre and right). The presence of street vendors enables picnicking and other alternative uses. Source: Author's photographs, August 2022.

Citayam Fashion Week (CFW) likewise illustrates how vending disrupts street singularity, temporarily transforming the thoroughfare into a catwalk, a social-media stage, and a communal hangout. Significantly, both CFD and CFW attract groups not ordinarily associated with such districts. Sudirman is typically linked with office workers and affluent residents—professionals, diplomats, and expatriates.[700] Yet during CFD and CFW, people from across Jakarta and its peripheries, including many from lower- and middle-income households, converged on this prestigious setting to enjoy the city on their own terms.

As discussed in connection with the human dimension, vendors generate a ripple effect that draws together people from disparate backgrounds who then share comparable urban experiences. This mingling facilitates the emergence of new lifestyles and fosters cross-class awareness. Just as vending introduces fashionable or desirable commodities to lower-income groups via affordable alternatives, CFD and CFW can be read as instances in which vending opens up the spatial and experiential worlds of the urban elite to a broader public. The flow, however, is reciprocal: vending also introduces more everyday,

[700] Almira Aulia Azzahra et al., 'Relasi Fenomena "Mbak-Mbak SCBD" Di Jakarta Selatan Dengan Gaya Hidup Urban: Gengsi Menjadi Orientasi Hidup?', *Jurnal Pendidikan Sosiologi Undiksha* Volume 5, no. Nomor 3 (2023), ejournal.undiksha.ac.id.

pedestrian practices to upper-income users, not least through traditional foods.

According to Arciniegas, street vendors are pivotal in sustaining traditional Indonesian gastronomy in cities like Jakarta.[701] Many are migrants who sell dishes from their hometowns, relying on local knowledge and techniques. They act as cultural mediators, familiarising Jakarta's residents with regional cuisines. This abundance of heritage foods was evident during the walking experiment.

One example I encountered was *ayam geprek*—a crushed fried chicken dish originating in Yogyakarta. Its trajectory is striking: initially popular among street vendors, it has since become commonplace in formal restaurants, including celebrity-owned establishments.[702] Nonetheless, affordable versions remain ubiquitous at street stalls citywide, priced at around Rp. 20,000 (£1) a portion.

Closely tied to the food itself, many vendors—particularly those working through stationary practices such as bersarang, bertempat and menghuni—encourage patrons to eat in traditional ways: using hands rather than cutlery, or sitting on the floor rather than on furniture (Figures 109 and 110). This echoes Harjoko's argument, explored in Chapter 2, that vendors operate 'outside' formal urban structures, transporting norms, values, and spatial

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[701] Arciniegas, 'The Foodscape of the Urban Poor in Jakarta'.

[702] Alongside the common knowledge about the history, CNN Indonesia and Kompas also cover the history of *ayam geprek* in these articles, see: CNN Indonesia, 'Asal-usul Ayam Geprek Jadi Makanan Populer', CNN Indonesia, 12 June 2020, https://www.cnnindonesia.com/gaya-hidup/20200612112607-262-512565/asal-usul-ayam-geprek-jadi-makanan-populer; Silvita Agmasari, 'Mengenal Geprek Bensu, Bisnis Ayam Geprek Artis yang Sukses', Kompas, 12 June 2020, https://www.kompas.com/food/read/2020/06/12/090732275/mengenal-geprek-bensu-bisnis-ayam-geprek-artis-yang-sukses.

habits rooted in rural social systems often associated with lower- and middle-income groups.[703] It also demonstrates the diversity that street vending brings to Jakarta, enabling people from different social strata to encounter and engage with one another through practices often labelled 'informal'.

Figure 109. Eating *ayam geprek* at a street stall on Blora Street, Sudirman, using my hand—a traditional practice still facilitated by many vendors. Before eating, the vendor provided hand sanitiser, a *kobokan* (a bowl of water for washing hands), and tissues. Source: Author's photograph, August 2022.

Figure 110. Patrons dining on the floor at a street stall in Sudirman. Floor-seated eating is common in Indonesia, especially in rural areas. Source: Author's photograph, March 2022.

[703] See Harjoko arguments in Chapter 2.

This convergence of different social worlds was a recurring observation during the walking experiment. Many patrons from relatively privileged backgrounds were entirely comfortable with "traditional" practices, having learned them through repeated encounters with vendors. Several actively sought out stalls not only for the food but also for the looser, less structured social environment they offered. This was affirmed in my conversations with Brian, Ainul, and Duri and reflected in the proliferation of national and international influencers who have profiled Jakarta's street-food culture (Figure 111).[704]

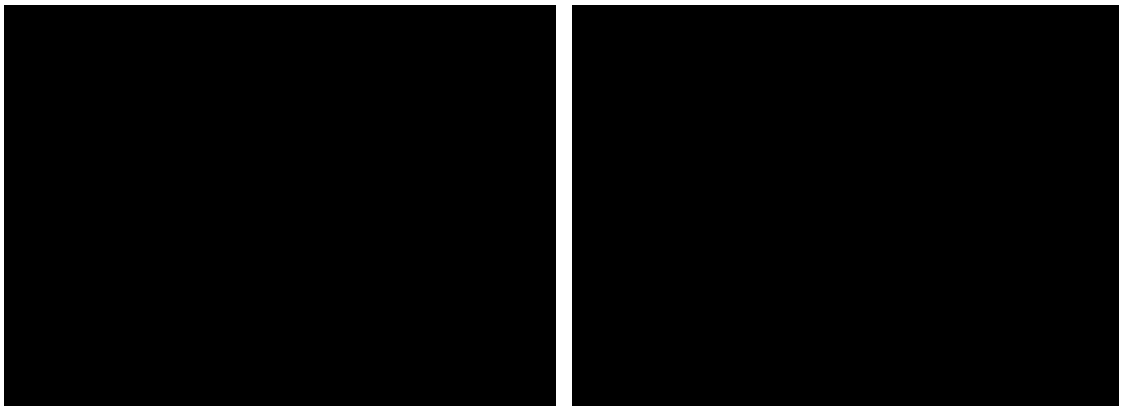

Figure 111. Screenshots from YouTube channels promoting Jakarta's street vending. Left: Mark Wiens, one of the world's most well-known food vloggers. Right: Ken & Grat, a leading Indonesian food vlogging channel with millions of followers. Source: Wiens, Mark, dir. *Indonesian Street Food Tour of Glodok (Chinatown) in Jakarta - DELICIOUS Indonesia Food!* Jakarta, 2016. YouTube Video, 22:33. https://www.youtube.com/; Chandra, Kenneth, and Gratiana Lianto, dirs. *Mantan Pramugari Jualan Chicken Steak 20 Ribuan, Omzet Rp 8 Juta/Hari !!* Jakarta, 2023. YouTube Video, 9:27. https://www.youtube.com/.

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[704] For example, Mark Wiens—one of the most popular travel and food vloggers—compiled a Jakarta food guide that recommends dishes largely served by *warung* (stationary street vendors) or *pedagang kaki lima* (PKL). He argues these vendors offer irreplaceably delicious food and are notably friendly—for instance, in his *gado-gado* guide he recommends buying from Andy, who sets up his stall in front of City Walk Sudirman Mall. Wiens also notes that one of the best things about visiting Jakarta is that vendors come from all over the country, allowing visitors to sample food from across the archipelago. See: Mark Wiens, 'Indonesian Food: 50 of the Best Dishes You Should Eat', Migrationology - Food Travel Blog, 22 May 2016, https://migrationology.com/indonesian-food/; Kim Hoh Wong, 'Meet Mark Wiens, the Man Who Eats His Way to International Fame', *The Straits Times* (Singapore), 13 November 2022, https://www.straitstimes.com/life/food/meet-mark-wiens-the-man-who-eats-his-way-to-international-fame.

This dimension reveals the street not only as a site for what Gehl terms *necessary activities*—movement, work, and trade—but also as a venue for *optional activities*, those undertaken because the street offers something enjoyable, stimulating, or socially meaningful.[705] With shopping malls increasingly dominating leisure landscapes, streets provide an inclusive alternative where people can meet on more democratic ground. Street vending allows Jakarta's inhabitants to enjoy the city's interiority without needing to conform to the norms typically imposed within indoor commercial settings.

Street vending's capacity to disrupt the urban environment's spatial and social homogeneity gives Jakarta's streets a *heterotopic quality*. Drawing on Foucault—and on Tim Edensor's application of the term to streetscapes—heterotopia here refers to "the random juxtapositions of disparate objects, activities, and people not normally found together," which challenge dominant modes of regulating and conceiving space.[706] The findings suggest that this heterotopic character renders Jakarta's streets resistant to governance frameworks premised on uniformity. A more nuanced urban governance model—one that recognises and embraces the co-existence of multiple lifestyles, cultural practices, and social conditions—may therefore be required.

5.2.4 DomestiCITY

The fourth socio-spatial dimension concerns the distinctive form of domesticity cultivated through street vending—one that enables inhabitants

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[705] Jan Gehl, 'Winning Back the Public Spaces', Symposium '(In)visible Cities. Spaces of Hope, Spaces of Citizenship', Centre of Contemporary Culture of Barcelona, 25 July 2003.

[706] Edensor, 'The Culture of the Indian Street', 218.

to feel 'at home' within Jakarta's public realm. This finding reinforces the theoretical proposition advanced in Chapter 2: that street vending generates domesticity not through enclosure or architectural intimacy, but through a form of social comfort—a collective experience in which people participate without obligation.

The contention that such shared conditions constitute domesticity draws on Mary Douglas and Witold Rybczynski, who conceptualise domesticity as characterised by belonging, affection, refuge, satisfaction, and contentment rather than by any singular physical arrangement.[707] Domesticity may thus be both individual and collective. What the walking experiment revealed was not only the presence of these qualities within street-vending environments but the mechanisms through which they emerge.

The analysis suggests that Jakarta's street vending fosters these sentiments by enabling patrons to remain comfortably anonymous within their surroundings. Visitors to street stalls can be physically proximate to others and socially immersed in a wider collective atmosphere, yet retain the emotional distance required to avoid unwanted engagement. In doing so, they are able to 'feel at home' among strangers. This diverges from conventional interpretations of domesticity, which emphasise deep personal connection to space, objects, and co-present individuals—connections that typically produce solidarity and close social bonds.[708]

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[707] Mary Douglas argues that 'home is located in space, but it is not necessarily a fixed space… starts by bringing some space under control'. She also characterises domestic space as perceptual, commemorative and performative. Witold Rybczynski uses 'domesticity' to describe a set of felt emotions rather than a single attribute, and a sense of the house embodying—rather than merely harbouring—those sentiments. See: Mary Douglas, 'The Idea of a Home', in *Housing and Dwelling: Perspectives on Modern Domestic Architecture*, ed. Barbara Miller Lane (1993), 62; Witold Rybczynksi, 'Domesticity', in *Toward a New Interior, An Anthology of Interior Design Theory*, ed. Lois Weinthal (Princeton Architectural Press, 2011).

[708] Douglas, 'The Idea of a Home'; Rybczynksi, 'Domesticity'.

As earlier sections have shown, the reverse urban interiorisation inherent in street vending opens opportunities to share spaces, objects, and fleeting experiences with others. Crucially, these experiences come without obligation. Although such encounters may verge on the intimate—sharing food in close quarters, for instance, or sitting within another's immediate personal space—these are encounters stripped of long-term expectation or social responsibility (Figure 112).

Figure 112. An example of domestiCITY offered by street vending: people share space in close proximity with strangers yet still have room to be aloof and distant. Location: Sudirman, South Jakarta. Source: Author's photograph, August 2022.

This version of domesticity resonates with Richard Sennett's notion of cosmopolitanism as a blend of difference and indifference: the capacity for individuals to gather without needing to belong to one another.[709]

[709] Richard Sennett, 'The Public Realm', in *The SAGE Handbook of the 21st Century City*, ed. Suzanne Hall and Ricky Burdett (SAGE Publications Ltd, 2017), https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526402059.

Cosmopolitanism, in Sennett's formulation, offers reassurance through the simple presence of others; people remain free to preserve distinction while sharing the city's everyday rhythms. Georg Simmel, in *The Metropolis and Mental Life*, framed this stance as the *blasé* attitude—a protective mechanism that helps urban dwellers navigate the intensity and unpredictability of metropolitan life by maintaining a degree of emotional remove.[710]

This phenomenon also aligns with the concept of *domestiCITY*—emphasising the city—which Karnchanaporn uses to denote spaces occupying the threshold between domestic and urban domains, where both sets of qualities intermingle to form new hybrid conditions.[711] Although Karnchanaporn applies the term to urban interiors, I argue that it equally describes the sensibilities produced through PIU. These spaces offer comfort, familiarity, and a modicum of intimacy, while sustaining enough detachment to shield inhabitants from the overstimulation that often accompanies dense urban environments. Within such in-between spaces, individuals can remain grounded in their own identities while co-existing without assimilating into a singular cultural frame—an element that Valerie Mace identifies as vital to fostering domesticity and, by extension, belonging in urban settings.[712]

This dynamic was readily observable during fieldwork. Patrons of street vendors appeared unencumbered by behavioural expectations beyond basic public decorum. People smoked, dressed casually, lounged in flip-flops, or ate informally—actions that would feel out of place in many formal

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[710] Georg Simmel, 'The Metropolis and Mental Life', in *The Blackwell City Reader*, ed. Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, Blackwell Readers in Geography (Blackwell Publishing, 2002).

[711] Karnchanaporn, '150cm domestiCITY'.

[712] Mace, 'The Transfigured Phenomena of Domesticity in the Urban Interior'.

establishments. As two tourists, Bobby and Ambar, explained when comparing vendor environments with cafés:

A : The vibe feels more open, cool, just fun. While we eat we can also look around, take in the surroundings, not just the same old view.

IN : Outdoor vibes?

A : Yeah.

B : Relaxed. In a place like this there aren't any rules.

A : No time limit either (laughs).

IN : True.

B : If it's, like, in cafés or those big, fancy places—what else… The classy ones, the rules are like, you're not allowed to be noisy. Or some say you can't bring in outside food, that kind of thing. But here, there aren't any rules.[713]

Within these interiorised outdoor spaces, conformity is neither expected nor demanded. Rules are minimal; hierarchies are softened. Through the reverse interiorisation process, the interior becomes co-produced by vendors, customers, and passers-by, generating social comfort without requiring anyone to relinquish part of themselves. Anonymity, the cosmopolitan stance, Simmel's blasé disposition, and the near-absence of restrictive norms—alongside a calibrated degree of visual and social connection—all contribute to a form of domestiCITY that helps people feel grounded and secure within Indonesia's capital.

What emerges is a space without sharp class divisions, where diversity is both visible and enacted. It domesticates the city in a manner that echoes Herman

[713] Taken from the study of Bobby and Ambar, the patrons of street vendors in Kota Tua (see Table 15). The complete interview transcript is available at the link provided in the appendices.

Hertzberger's reflections on shared spaces—bringing people into proximity without obliging them to conform to a single cultural identity. Ultimately, this mode of domesticity offers an alternative way of belonging in Jakarta: an urban comfort forged through companionship without commitment, intimacy without enclosure, and coexistence without assimilation.[714]

Figure 113. People tend to act and dress casually when engaging with street vendors, compared with more formal settings. In the photo, people were smoking cigarettes and wearing flip-flops—things not usually acceptable in formal contexts. Location: Blora Street, Sudirman, South Jakarta. Source: Author's photographs, August 2022.

5.2.5 Create a porous urban environment

[714] Herman Hertzberger, 'Domesticity', interview by Bernd Upmeyer, 2016, MONU: Magazine on Urbanism Vol. 24.

The final socio-spatial dimension of Jakarta's street-vending PIU concerns its capacity to produce a porous urban environment—one in which inside and outside, architectural interiors and the surrounding cityscape, are held in a constant state of interchange. This porosity manifests both materially and immaterially. A material instance can be observed in the practices of *menghuni* vendors, who frequently appropriate liminal spaces between private property and the public realm. Nur and her family, for instance, transform the forecourt of a heritage building in Kota Tua into an informal dining area (see Figure 114).[715] In doing so, they enable passers-by to peer into a building that would ordinarily remain inaccessible, while simultaneously retaining the looser, more permissive qualities of the external urban environment.

A more intangible form of porosity emerges in Tanah Abang, where numerous street stalls operate as outward-facing extensions of shops within the market complexes. Vendors shuttle between pavement and interior, replenishing stock and escorting customers interested in bulk orders. This circulation creates an unexpected but pervasive link between informal stalls and the formal commercial interiors from which they draw their goods.

Another non-physical connection appears in Sudirman during weekday office hours. Here, hot meals purchased from street vendors act as the mediating element. Office workers descend to the pavement to buy food, then carry it back inside, often with cutlery or tableware borrowed from the vendor. The food thus becomes the vehicle that temporarily extends the vendor's PIU into the office interior—a fragment of the street's conviviality is, quite literally, taken indoors. Although the connection dissolves once the meal is finished

[715] Taken from the study of Nur and Nur, meatball soup and peanut salad vendors, Case 25 (see Table 15). Nur is also explored in Chapter 4.

and tools are returned, the practice leaves a behavioural trace, making repetition likely and subtly influencing others within the office.

Figure 114. A peek inside a heritage building through Nur and her family's street-vending business, spaces usually off-limits to the public. Location: Fatahillah Square, Kota Tua, West Jakarta. Source: Author's photograph, August 2022.

These connections do more than bridge spatial realms—they link social ones. They bring into proximity groups conventionally cast as 'insiders' and 'outsiders': those embedded in formal professional structures and those working beyond them. In Sudirman, this dynamic is particularly pronounced. While many white-collar workers enjoy street food, some prefer not to be visibly associated with street vending.[716] Instead, they delegate the task to *Office Boys* (OBs), who move between vendors with lists of orders for senior

[716] Two reasons may explain this: pride, and concern that the hot, humid weather could spoil smart, professional attire that is largely tailored to air-conditioned environments.

staff (Figure 115).[717] At first glance, vendors appear to serve only lower- or mid-level employees, yet behind these transactions lie middle- and upper-income consumers whose engagement is mediated through the OBs. The PIU thus supports a discreet form of socio-spatial crossing, allowing elites to participate in street-vending culture while maintaining symbolic distance.

Figure 115. Office Boys (OB) are usually those that other white-collar employees ask to buy them food from street vendors. They serve as a link that connects the people inside of the office buildings, the insiders, and the street vendors, the outsiders. It is easy to spot OBs from their uniform and that they always have more than one bag of takeaway food—a sign that they are running an errand. Source: Author's photograph, August 2022.

[717] For example, Lendra, who worked in a bank, said in interview that he was often asked to buy breakfast for colleagues. Taken from the study of Lendra, a patron of Saipul, Case 14 (see Table 15).

These material and immaterial exchanges together illustrate how street vending softens, and at times dissolves, the boundary between interior and exterior. Through constant flows of people, goods, and social interactions, vending fosters porous relationships between formally regulated space and the more fluid, adaptive conditions of the street. This porosity is both economic—seen in the circulation of commodities—and cultural, evident in how vendors encourage insiders to partake in practices that technically contravene urban regulations, from buying street food to occupying pavements as dining space.

The term transgression is appropriate here: under Jakarta's regulatory framework, purchasing from street vendors may be construed as a violation, and fully engaging in the PIU—by sitting on planters or on the pavement to eat—amplifies this.[718] Street vending therefore invites inhabitants to treat the city as an expansive communal living room, while simultaneously importing elements of pedestrian culture into formal interiors via the goods and practices that travel between them.

This final dimension of PIU underscores that street vending is not an anomaly within the urban fabric, nor an inherently 'out of place' activity. Rather, its spatiality is always emergent—continually negotiated through the needs of inhabitants and the shifting conditions of the city. In effect, the porous connections forged by vending practices remind us that Jakarta's urban environment is constituted as much through everyday movements and exchanges as through formal planning and architectural boundaries.

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[718] This is based on the 2007 Bylaw. See: Peraturan Daerah Nomor 8 Tahun 2007 Tentang Ketertiban Umum.

5.3 Current issues

5.3.1 Unsustainable narrative and unreliable solutions

As established in the contextual (Chapter 1) and theoretical (Chapter 2) frameworks, current regulatory approaches to street vending rest upon a binary understanding of informality. Yet the empirical material discussed in earlier sections—examined through spatial, economic, and social lenses—demonstrates that such a distinction is both reductive and misleading. Read as a form of participatory interior urbanism (PIU), street vending is closely interwoven with Jakarta's formal economic systems and significantly enhances the city's physical and social liveability. The depiction of street vending as inherently "out of place" is therefore untenable and, in the longer term, unsustainable.

Findings from the walking experiment further reveal that the disjuncture between official narratives and everyday street-vending practices is exacerbated by inconsistent enforcement. Two vendors on Blora Street, Sudirman, for example, reported routinely making payments to Satpol PP personnel or junior civil servants in exchange for advance notice of impending "clean-up" operations, enabling them to avoid penalties, arrest, or the confiscation of equipment. Wawan, as noted earlier, paid roughly Rp10,000 (£0.49) per day as a 'security' contribution to Pedagang Jalan Blora, a grassroots vendor collective, which then alerted him via WhatsApp when officers were en route.[719]

[719] Translated to Blora Street Vendor Association. Taken from the study of Wawan, a beef ribs soup vendor, Case 15 (see Table 15). To see the meaning behind *bersarang*, see Chapter 4.

Figure 116. A man in a camo jacket requested "rent" or "security" money from a *ketoprak* vendor at CFD, Sudirman, South Jakarta. It was unclear whether he represented a local 'organisation' or an official government body. Source: Author's photograph, August 2022.

This tacit arrangement meant that vendors were largely left undisturbed except when a performative raid was required. A similar pattern emerged in Tanah Abang. In this case, however, interviews suggested that payments were directed not at Satpol PP personnel but at *bos lapak* or *preman* (local enforcers or thugs). The precise relationship between these intermediaries and Satpol PP—particularly regarding the tolerance of vendors—remains opaque.

Such inconsistencies produce a climate of ambiguity in which street vending oscillates between legality and illegality, toleration and prohibition. Vendors make illicit payments, often willingly, in the hope of securing protection from harassment or eviction and maintaining a semblance of legitimacy. Yet, as shown in relation to the bertempat vendors, this sense of security is fragile. Informal arrangements offer no guarantees; the moment a 'clean-up' is deemed expedient, the agreement is voided, and vendors may lose both

capital and livelihood.[720] Some actors clearly profit from this ambiguity, but street vendors do not count among them.

Figure 117. Satpol PP personnel generally leave street vendors alone if they are not in the midst of a clean-up operation. Location: Sudirman, South Jakarta. Source: Author's photograph, August 2022.

The findings also highlight how the narrative of street vending as a "disruptive" force is repeatedly mobilised as a convenient scapegoat, concealing deeper urban tensions. Citayam Fashion Week (CFW) provides a pertinent example. During fieldwork, CFW had recently been suspended for a month, ostensibly for encouraging loitering, littering, and congestion,

[720] See Chapter 4, for an exploration of the spatial impacts of this illegal retribution on vendors.

alongside attracting street vendors.[721] Central Jakarta Police subsequently declared that CFW-related activity contravened traffic regulations.[722]

Yet, based on interviews with vendors and participants, what the authorities sought to suppress was not simply informal commercial activity but the visibility of Jakarta's socio-economic inequalities. Both CFW participants and the vendors who served them largely represented lower-middle-income groups—citizens whose presence some urban "insiders" viewed as an intrusion into elite-controlled spaces. Their unselfconscious occupation of pavements—speaking in *Betawi* accents, eating or sitting on kerbs, dressing casually—was interpreted as a form of socio-spatial transgression that disrupted the curated image of a polished, globally oriented Jakarta.[723]

During an informal exchange in Sudirman, one woman argued that CFW "misrepresented" Jakarta, adding that its perceived association with LGBTQ

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[721] This is based on the news reports about the event, see: Saeful Anwar, 'Tidak Semua Suka Citayam Fashion Week', Info Indonesia, 24 July 2022, https://www.infoindonesia.id/read/2022/07/24/17380/tidak-semua-suka-citayam-fashion-week; Kannia Nur Haida Komara, 'Keluhkan Soal Citayam Fashion Week, Warganet Sebut Jadi Sarang LGBT yang Diwajarkan.', Pikiran Rakyat, 25 July 2022, https://www.pikiran-rakyat.com/nasional/pr-01509604 4/keluhkan-soal-citayam-fashion-week-warganet-sebut-jadi-sarang-lgbt-yang-diwajarkan; Tim detikcom, 'Ganggu Lalu Lintas! Kegiatan Citayam Fashion Week Harus Diatur', detikoto, accessed 27 October 2022, https://oto.detik.com/berita/d-6196131/ganggu-lalu-lintas-kegiatan-citayam-fashion-week-harus-diatur.

[722] The Road Traffic and Land Transportation Act No. 22/2009 stipulates that obstructing a zebra crossing (pedestrian crossing infrastructure) is punishable by up to 1 month's imprisonment and a fine of up to Rp 250,000; damaging a zebra crossing is punishable by up to 2 years' imprisonment and a fine of up to Rp 50,000,000. The head of Central Jakarta Police's traffic division stated: 'The normal thing to do for a pedestrian is to beautify the place (and) not to do something else.' See: UU No. 22 Tahun 2009; Abdi Ryanda Shakti, 'Polisi Sebut Citayam Fashion Week Langgar UU Lalu Lintas', Tribunnews, 23 July 2022, https://www.tribunnews.com/metropolitan/2022/07/23/polisi-sebut-citayam-fashion-week-langgar-uu-lalu-lintas.

[723] *Betawi* refers to Jakarta's Indigenous ethnic group, now largely residing on the city's outskirts. A Betawi accent often connotes being from a *kampung* or being 'not urban enough'

communities "attracted unwanted attention".[724] The removal of both CFW and street vendors can therefore be read as an attempt to obscure groups regarded as incompatible with the city's aspirational identity.

This aligns with broader findings indicating that large-scale evictions and clean-ups are frequently motivated by the desire to impress visiting dignitaries or foreign delegations, rather than by policy or regulatory consistency. This was plainly evident in the fate of bertempat vendors in Sudirman, whose eviction was precipitated by the 2023 state visit of Malaysia's Prime Minister, Anwar Ibrahim. At least nine of the thirty-four research participants lost their livelihoods as a result.[725] The case illustrates how the imperative to project orderliness eclipses concern for vendors' welfare or the city's wider liveability.

Figure 118. Tenants of Paguyuban Akoer Tanah Abang before (left) and after (right) the eviction triggered by the visit of the Malaysian Prime Minister. Location: Sudirman, South Jakarta. Source: Author's photographs, August 2022 and January 2023.

The narrative portraying vendors as "out of place" also underpins the shortcomings of successive government programmes centred on localisation

[724] The full conversation with Arrahmah appears in *Autoethnography Journal 1*. The complete interior-writing journals are available at the link provided in the appendices.

[725] See Chapter 4 for the case of the *bertempat* vendor.

and relocation. Because these initiatives are founded upon a desire to remove vendors from public view, designated legal sites tend to be peripheral and spatially constrained, echoing findings from Song and Taylor's research discussed in Chapter 1.[726] Aisyah, a *soto ayam* vendor in Tanah Abang, explained that although she qualified for a stall on the Skybridge, she refused to relocate.[727] After her sister moved there, footfall declined dramatically, and limited space restricted operations to takeaway service only, substantially reducing income. For Aisyah, remaining on the street was economically necessary—or, at the very least, less detrimental.

Across these examples, it becomes clear that existing regulations and enforcement strategies fail to align with the realities of street vending in Jakarta. Enforcement often functions as a performative exercise designed to maintain appearances while inflicting real harm on those who rely on vending for their livelihoods. Yet street vending—financially, socially, and spatially—remains indispensable to the city's liveability. A pivot towards more coherent, practicable, and humane regulatory approaches, grounded in the well-being of all residents, may offer a pathway to more equitable and effective governance.

5.3.2 The real issues

Reflective thematic analysis not only illuminated the benefits of street vending but also surfaced a number of negative impacts that merit equally serious consideration. Many of these problems stem from poor practice by a minority of vendors and from infrastructural shortcomings. Acknowledging

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[726] See the study conducted by Song and Taylor explored in Chapter 1.

[727] Taken from the study of Aisyah, a chicken soup vendor, Case 7 (see Table 15).

legitimate public concerns is therefore essential. Doing so prevents the practice from being romanticised, foregrounds the trade-offs at stake, and supports the development of proportionate and evidence-based interventions that are fair both to vendors and to the wider public.

A prominent issue is waste management. The absence of a coherent system for handling waste—particularly in relation to food vending—has environmental and hygiene implications. Observations reveal two principal forms of waste: vending waste produced through operations (such as organic remnants or residues from cleaning), and consumption waste created by customers (such as used packaging and food scraps).

Importantly, the problem should not be understood as indiscriminate littering by vendors themselves. None of the participating vendors were observed discarding waste irresponsibly. Many took pains to remove visible traces of their activity, conscious of the negative perceptions directed towards them. Several explained that they routinely swept, tidied, and even mopped the surrounding area before leaving (Figure 119, left).

Difficulties arise instead through reliance on inadequate public litter bins. Where bins lack capacity, waste quickly overflows, leading to refuse accumulating on the ground. This attracts pests—rats, flies, mosquitoes—which thrive in Jakarta's hot, humid conditions. Such scenes reinforce aesthetic objections and contribute to negative judgements about the presence of street vendors.

Some vendors adopt alternative waste strategies.[728] Poniman, for instance, paid municipal collectors Rp5,000 (£0.25) per bag to remove his operational waste each afternoon and installed a drawer bin in his pushcart to store small amounts of organic waste until collection (Figure 114, right).

Figure 119. Vendors cleaning after closing for the day. Left: a vendor sweeping the remnants of her activities in Tanah Abang. Right: Poniman uses a drawer built into his vending unit as a temporary waste receptacle. Source: Author's photographs, August 2022.

Waste management becomes more complex for those providing dine-in services—singgah, bersarang, bertempat, and menghuni vendors—because they must manage both operational waste and customer waste, as well as used tableware. These vendors commonly use reusable plates, bowls, and metal cutlery—a sustainable approach in principle but one that requires water for washing. While access to clean water is generally negotiable through

[728] Taken from the study of Poniman, a spicy fruit salad vendor, Case 27 (see Table 15). Poniman's story has been explored as an example of *singgah* type in Chapter 4.

neighbouring buildings—often exchanged for a small fee or food—disposing of the resulting wastewater presents greater problems. Even otherwise conscientious vendors such as Poniman were often careless with liquid waste.

Many vendors disposed of greywater directly into bushes, planters, gutters, or onto pavements (Figure 120). Naim explained that he preferred to use a drain where possible, but in its absence spilled the wastewater onto adjacent surfaces, assuming it would evaporate in the heat.[729] Although much of this liquid waste comes from food-related cleaning, it often contains detergent, oil, and grease. Studies of temporary markets in Taiwan have shown that such substances can damage urban greenery, degrade surfaces, and cumulatively affect the quality of urban experience.

Figure 120. (Left) Naim disposing of wastewater into an urban planter in Fatahillah Square, Kota Tua. (Right) Ary washing dishes without access to running water. These examples illustrate how water-related waste and hygiene present challenges for Jakarta's street vending. Source: Author's photographs, August 2022.

[729] Taken from the study of Naim, a vegetable rice cake vendor, Case 26 (see Table 15). Naim's story has been explored as an example of *singgah* type in Chapter 4.

Takeaway-oriented vendors face their own challenges. Most rely on disposable materials—plastic cups, Styrofoam containers, paper wrappings—for practical and economic reasons. For highly mobile berkeliling vendors, disposable packaging reduces weight and eliminates the burden of washing equipment. While efficient for operations, this practice is environmentally problematic.

Most vendors acknowledged the environmental harm caused by single-use products but noted the absence of binding regulation prohibiting them. Although Jakarta bans single-use shopping bags in supermarkets and formal markets (since 2019), a national prohibition on disposable plastic foodware is only planned for 2029, and its enforcement remains uncertain.[730] Consequently, while vendors continue to use unsustainable materials, they are not the only contributors to the problem. Their practices are simply more visible due to the exposed nature of their working environment. Much of the waste associated with street vending is, in fact, generated by customers.

On Sudirman Boulevard, for example, signs of vending activity were often visible only through abandoned packaging—plastic cups balanced on planters, Styrofoam containers left on the ground (Figure 121). These materials indicated not vendor behaviour but customer disposal habits. Furthermore, not all litter originated from street vendors: in Kota Tua, for instance, I observed discarded packaging from KFC, A&W, and Indomaret in

[730] The ban of using disposable plastic bags, straws and cutlery is explored in this news article, see: Yuli Nurhanisah and Andrean W Finaka, 'Nekat Gunakan Kantong Plastik, Ada Sanksi Menanti | Indonesia Baik', Indonesiabaik.Id, 2021, https://indonesiabaik.id/infografis/nekat-gunakan-kantong-plastik-ada-sanksi-menanti; Nivell Rayda, 'Indonesia Akan Larang Penggunaan Plastik Sekali Pakai Pada 2029', CNA, 2023, https://www.channelnewsasia.com/indonesia/indonesia-larang-sampah-plastik-sekali-pakai-pencemaran-lingkungan-polusi-sungai-dan-laut-3547366.

areas with no vendors present.[731] While waste remains a genuine problem, it cannot reasonably be used as justification for eliminating street vending. It more accurately reflects infrastructural deficiencies, behavioural norms, and wider policy gaps—matters that extend beyond vendors themselves.

Figure 121. Examples of consumption waste left behind following street-vending activities in Sudirman, South Jakarta. Source: Author's photograph, August 2022.

Hygiene is another recurring concern, especially in relation to food preparation. This is perhaps the most common objection voiced by critics: that street-vended food is unhygienic due to its proximity to dust, pollution, insects, or unpleasant odours.[732] These concerns have a degree of validity. In Sudirman, for example, vendors operated beside the Cideng River, an area neither clean nor pleasant-smelling. Some used open displays, increasing

[731] Indomaret is one of Indonesia's largest grocery store chains.

[732] The example of such argument, can be seen in this news article. See: Tri Wahyuni, "'Sulitnya Mencari Makanan Bersih di Jakarta'", CNN Indonesia, accessed 7 June 2024, https://www.cnnindonesia.com/gaya-hidup/20150903111516-262-76370/sulitnya-mencari-makanan-bersih-di-jakarta.

exposure to pollutants. Such conditions understandably fuel public scepticism.

Food preparation methods also affect perceptions. Vendors who cook to order, such as Coki, who displayed fresh ingredients and fried chicken on-site, tend to inspire more trust.[733] Ready-made foods and beverages, however, can raise questions about water quality, ingredient freshness, and storage methods. In one interview, Rahman admitted that the water used for his drinks came from a nearby tap—boiled, but not filtered.[734] Research consistently shows Jakarta's tap water to be microbiologically unsafe without significant treatment.[735]

In Tanah Abang, I observed beverage vendors purchasing ice from another seller who broke large blocks directly on the pavement using minimal protection (Figure 122). Such practices understandably make customers uneasy. It must be emphasised, however, that these examples are not representative of all vendors. Many, such as Adi and other starling vendors, sourced ice from professional suppliers and bought drinking water from shops or restaurants.[736] Yet these practices are not always visible to customers, and concerns around hygiene—though unevenly distributed—are grounded in real conditions.

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[733] Taken from the study of Coki, a fried chicken vendor, Case 13 (see Table 15).

[734] Taken from the study of Rahman, a beverage vendor, Case 18 (see Table 15).

[735] Shoji Uga et al., 'Detection of Microorganisms in Tap Water in Indonesia and Thailand', *Japanese Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene* 31, no. 2 (2003): 87–91, https://doi.org/10.2149/tmh1973.31.87.

[736] Taken from the study of Adi and Adi, beverage vendors, Case 17 (see Table 15).

Figure 122. A street vendor breaking ice on the pavement using only a mattress/tarpaulin as a base, Tanah Abang, Central Jakarta. Source: Author's photograph.

The third and final issue associated with Jakarta's street vending is its potential to trigger intrusive behaviour. Like littering, this is less a deliberate action by vendors and more a consequence of how other street users respond to the presence of vending activities. As explored in the previous section (socio-spatial dimensions), street vending contributes to a sense of *domestiCITY* that encourages a form of urban comfort or *blasé* attitude, allowing people to feel at ease in the presence of strangers. Yet, at the same time, because street vending encourages people to pause, gather, or settle on the streets, it can also lead to follow-on activities that disrupt this shared comfort.

One form of intrusive behaviour is the tendency for people to stop or slow down abruptly in busy spaces, disregarding others and often creating congestion for both vehicles and pedestrians. This is a major source of criticism, particularly in high-traffic areas. For instance, in Chapter 4, I described the experience of Sigit, a *jalan di tempat* vendor in Kota Tua, whose encounter with a motorcyclist caused a queue of other vehicles to build up

behind them, provoking public frustration.[737] Such situations are common in Jakarta: a seemingly brief interaction with a vendor can easily obstruct movement for many others.

Another recurring issue is illegal parking induced by vending activity. Patrons arriving by motorcycle or car often stop directly beside stalls, occupying pavements or narrowing the carriageway. This is particularly problematic in dense pedestrian areas such as Tanah Abang (Figure 123). Pedestrian advocacy groups, including Koalisi Pejalan Kaki (KoPK), argue that street vending frequently results in pavements becoming unusable, forcing pedestrians into traffic and compromising safety.[738] While some pedestrians may appreciate the vibrancy created by such activities, illegal parking often eliminates pedestrian space entirely rather than diversifying its use.

Overall, these findings point to a persistent mismatch between the narratives that shape street-vending regulation and the realities of practice. Regulatory attention remains disproportionately focused on image management and staged displays of "order", while the practical, everyday issues that affect urban liveability—waste, hygiene, and intrusive behaviour—receive insufficient structural attention. The chapter's analysis illustrates that, in Jakarta, order is frequently performed rather than achieved.

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[737] This negative impact of Sigit's PIU has been explored in Chapter 4.

[738] About Koalisi Pejalan Kaki and their fights for rights to the pavement, can be read in these news articles. See: Rintang Azhar, 'Coalition of Pedestrians Fights for Rights', *NOW! Jakarta*, 31 January 2020, https://www.nowjakarta.co.id/koalisi-pejalan-kaki-fights-for-rights/; Ryana Aryadita Umasugi and Sandro Gatra, 'Koalisi Pejalan Kaki Pertanyakan Aturan yang Dipakai Anies Akomodasi PKL di Trotoar', Kompas, 5 September 2019, https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2019/09/05/09003641/koalisi-pejalan-kaki-pertanyakan-aturan-yang-dipakai-anies-akomodasi-pkl.

Figure 123. An example of illegal parking in Tanah Abang, Central Jakarta, as a consequence of street-vending activity on the pavement. Source: Author's photograph.

5.4 Lesson learned from findings

Taken collectively, the three findings explored in this chapter illuminate the socio-economic and socio-spatial dynamics that shape Jakarta's street vending as a form of PIU, while also foregrounding the frictions and failures that accompany its everyday enactment. The discussion has been rooted in perspectives arising from walking, observing, interacting with, and speaking to vendors and street users, rather than privileging a policy-driven or expert-centred standpoint. These interior, architectural, and anthropological approaches demonstrate how street vending provides vital economic lifelines, fosters inclusive forms of urban participation, and enriches the sensory and experiential qualities of the street through practices that interiorise the urban environment.

Simultaneously, the analysis exposes the shortcomings of prevailing regulatory narratives, which tend to privilege image-making and performative enforcement over the lived realities of vending on the ground. The practical challenges encountered—ranging from waste to hygiene to spatial intrusion—reveal the tensions that emerge when informal practices meet infrastructures, norms, and expectations shaped by formal governance. These tensions shape both the everyday experience of the street and its physical condition. In this sense, the findings address the research question concerning the ways everyday agency and informality in Jakarta's street vending structure urban life, for better and for worse.

The discussion also raises questions that fall beyond the present thesis but are vital for future exploration: How might vendors' livelihoods be safeguarded from coercion and informal retribution? In what ways can health, hygiene, and safety considerations be integrated without dismantling the very informality that enables vendors to operate? And how might Jakarta's streets support a multiplicity of uses while ensuring continued accessibility and comfort for all who inhabit them? These questions underscore the need for sustained inquiry into how informal practices such as street vending—and the PIU tactics through which they materialise—could be understood, engaged, or accommodated within formal urban governance frameworks.

Grounded in rich description and situated analysis, these explorations extend understandings of street vending as a PIU practice and reaffirm the value of interior, architectural, and anthropological perspectives in examining urban informalities. Building on the insights generated here, the next chapter brings the thesis into conclusion, articulating its contributions and limitations and outlining avenues for future research.

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Chapter 6

On Jakarta's street vending PIU: a conclusion

6.1 Overview and key findings

This study began with a striking disjuncture: although it is widely acknowledged that street vending provides essential livelihoods and supports the daily life of a substantial proportion of Jakarta's population, dominant public discourse continues to cast the practice as marginal, improper, and illicit. This tension underpins the three research questions framing the thesis: (1) how do street vendors, confronted with this contradictory positioning, negotiate the social, political, and spatial conditions of Jakarta's urban environment? (2) how might the everyday spatial and social practices of Jakarta's street vending be examined so as to deepen understanding of the phenomenon? and (3) in what ways do Jakarta's vending practices challenge conventional interior, architectural, and urban paradigms, and what questions do they raise concerning everyday agency and informality in shaping urban life?

To address these questions—particularly to understand how this contradictory positioning has emerged and how it shapes vendors' everyday strategies—the thesis began with a socio-historical account of Jakarta's street vending (Chapter 1), examining its social, economic, political, and cultural dimensions. This contextual analysis traced the evolution of regulatory and public narratives and considered how these have influenced the spatial practices visible today.

This exploration confirms that street vending is not peripheral to Jakarta's urban condition but structurally embedded as a central socio-economic practice. It reveals the close entanglement of social and spatial dimensions in shaping how vendors appropriate the city. Yet, despite its ubiquity, the spatial presence of street vending is frequently framed as disorderly or disruptive—an activity that defies planning visions and warrants criminalisation. At the same time, Jakarta's development agenda has not improved the lived conditions of many citizens and, in doing so, has inadvertently encouraged the continued reliance on informal economies such as street vending. Vendors therefore persist, expanding their presence through socio-spatial tactics that mitigate regulatory pressure, reduce the risk of prosecution, and sustain their livelihoods.

These disconnections between policy, discourse, and everyday practice—rooted in a binary understanding of informality—necessitate an alternative conceptual lens, which became a central focus of the thesis. Rather than relying on established planning paradigms, the research sought to understand street vending from within, through a situated perspective that foregrounds the practice's nuances, capacities, and significance for urban life. This reframing formed the basis for the theoretical discussion in Chapter 2 and the methodological direction outlined in Chapter 3.

The theoretical framework positions street vending as a form of *Participatory Interior Urbanism* (PIU): a process of *reverse urban interiorization* characterised by negotiation, adaptation, and non-confrontational tactics that enable provisional inhabitation of the city. PIU reframes street vending not as an anomaly or a disturbance but as a creative, adaptive spatial practice through which vendors and patrons produce micro-interiors that reshape the social and material life of the street. This perspective challenges Eurocentric paradigms of placemaking that privilege designed, proprietary, and fixed

spatial outcomes and destabilises binary distinctions between formal and informal urbanisms by demonstrating how informality operates as a legitimate mode of spatial production.

To investigate this reconceptualisation, the thesis adopted a two-stage methodological approach that enabled inquiry from the perspective of street vending's primary producers and co-producers: vendors and street users. Rather than validating predetermined models, the research employed an open, reflexive stance that foregrounded insider knowledge while acknowledging the utility of conventional planning approaches.

Drawing on anthropological orientations, the study proceeded in two sequential phases: *mind-walking*, a remote digital inquiry using Instagram; and *walking*, an in-situ ethnographic investigation across Tanah Abang, Sudirman, and Kota Tua. Although distinct, the stages are conceptually interlinked, each informing a nuanced and reflexive understanding of street vending as a lived form of PIU.

Primary data—from social media analysis, visual documentation, interviews, and 3D scanning—were analysed through *inductive coding* guided by grounded theory (mind-walking) and through *interior writing* and *reflective thematic analysis* (walking). Four central outcomes emerged: (1) a typology of actions; (2) an account of socio-economic dimensions; (3) an examination of socio-spatial implications; and (4) an identification of contemporary issues. Their relationship is illustrated in Figure 124.

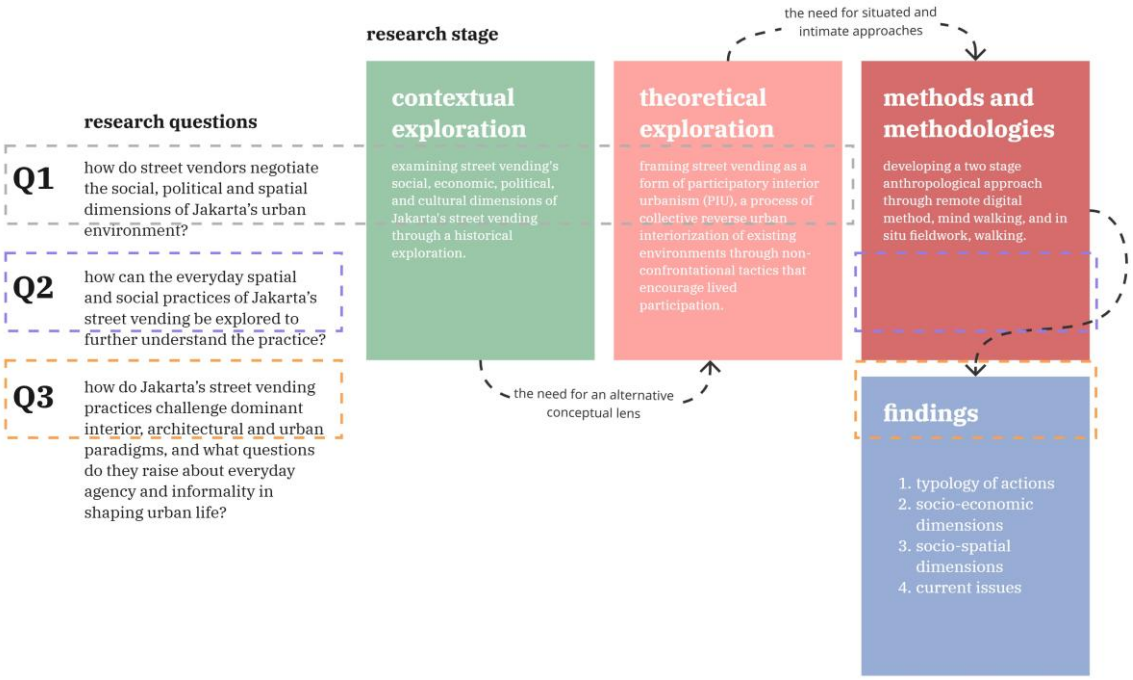

Figure 124. Diagram showcasing how each research stage connects to one another and how they answer particular research questions. Source: Author.

6.1.1 Typology of action

The typology of actions identifies six recurring mechanisms of reverse urban interiorization through which vendors—and, by extension, their patrons—reconfigure Jakarta's urban environment. These spatial tactics relate to key characteristics of Jakarta street vending as PIU such as mobility, temporary physical presence, responsiveness, appropriation, transgression and openness. The six types are *berkeliling*, *singgah*, *jalan di tempat*, *bersarang*, *bertempat* and *menghuni*.

The actions vendors take influence their degrees of mobility, practicality, accessibility, risk, engagement with patrons, attachment to context and revenue generation as you can see in Figure 125. Despite these differences, five overarching characteristics are shared across all types: provisionality, context-

dependence, relationality, porosity and participation—each expressed in varying forms and intensities. Collectively, the typology illustrates how everyday practices of street vending generate diverse micro-scale urban interior spaces that destabilise rigid spatial boundaries and conventional understandings of public space.

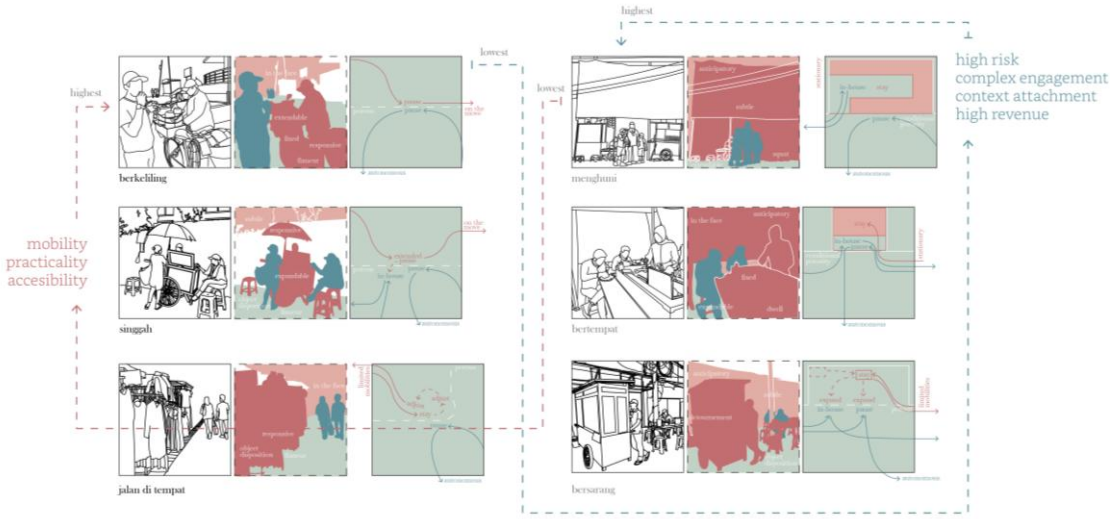

Figure 125. Diagram showing the six types that form the first set of findings—the typology of actions—and how they represent different degrees of mobility, practicality, accessibility, risk, engagement, contextual attachment, and revenue generation. Source: Author.

The typology therefore offers a vocabulary for understanding the subtle mechanisms of placemaking through which street vending operates on Jakarta's streets. It is important to emphasise, however, that this typology is provisional—it is intended as an interpretive framework for understanding Jakarta's street vending practices rather than a prescriptive tool for regulation or policy intervention.

6.1.2 Socio-economic dimensions

The second set of findings indicates that street vending provides vital economic pathways in Jakarta, supporting citizens' livelihoods through employment and contributing to the growth of the local economy, including through its interdependencies with formal businesses. The findings also highlight that street vending enables forms of inclusive economic participation that foster a sense of belonging to the city, particularly for vulnerable communities.

Figure 126. Diagram showcasing three socio-economic dimensions of Jakarta's street vending: alternative employment, support for formal sectors, and inclusive economic participation. Source: Author.

These dimensions illustrate, first, that the interdependencies between the formal and informal economies reveal that the presence of street vending—and the spatial actions and tactics vendors make—are not spontaneous or arbitrary, but shaped and encouraged by the city's formal economic, social, and political structures. Second, street vending offers an affordable means through which urban citizenship can be claimed and enacted, allowing the

city to be experienced more inclusively and contributing to Jakarta's overall liveability.

Taken together, these insights underscore the limitations of discourses that frame street vending solely as a regulatory problem for urban development. They also highlight deep-rooted socio-economic issues—such as inequality and income disparity—that need to be addressed if Jakarta is to develop as a more socially equitable city.

6.1.3 Socio-spatial dimensions

The socio-spatial findings reveal the implications of street vending's PIU for street inhabitants, particularly patrons and other street users. They demonstrate how the reverse urban interiorization of the streets enriches the physical experience of moving through the city by adding a human dimension, diversifying use, domesticating space and creating porous, welcoming and socially legible environments.

These traits transform the meaning of streets from places primarily designed for movement to places to be—from spaces that facilitate necessary activities to ones that invite optional, lingering and social activities. More importantly, these insights reveal layers of experience that extend beyond order and aesthetics, showing how a sense of comfort, familiarity and belonging in the city is shaped not by built form alone but by the intensity, intimacy and safety generated through everyday interactions.

Ultimately, this exploration foregrounds the power of everyday practice, demonstrating how ordinary citizens act as primary agents in making the city liveable. It shows that street vending is not an out-of-place element but an

active mode of spatial production—a continual negotiation between inhabitants' needs and contextual dynamics that reshapes, animates and interiorises Jakarta's streets from the inside out.

Figure 127. Diagram showcasing five socio-spatial dimensions of Jakarta's street vending: elevating the existing street experience, emphasising the human dimension, breaking homogeneity, fostering domestiCITY, and creating a porous urban environment. Source: Author.

6.1.4 Current issues

The research also reveals a set of persistent issues that shape the everyday practice of street vending in Jakarta. These findings return to the core concern that prompted this thesis: the pronounced gap between the narratives used to regulate street vending and the realities on the ground. This gap is reinforced by inconsistent enforcement, corruption and a mismatch between the stated aims of regulation and the motivations behind it—where the priority often lies in staging an orderly urban environment rather than improving citizens' wellbeing. These pressures intensify vendors' reliance on adaptive and tactical responses, thereby reinforcing the very informality that

formal urban governance seeks to eliminate, creating a self-perpetuating cycle.

Figure 128. Diagram showcasing two contemporary issues of Jakarta's street vending: the narrative and infrastructural gaps, as well as poor practices by vendors. Source: Author.

A second set of issues stems from vendors' own practices and from infrastructural deficiencies, resulting in concerns such as littering, hygiene problems and illegal parking. Acknowledging these challenges is as important as recognising the positive contributions of street vending, as it prevents romanticising the practice. These issues highlight the structural conditions that constrain street vending's PIU and indicate the complexities that must be addressed if everyday practices are to be meaningfully integrated into future urban governance.

Taken together, the findings, along with the broader contextual, theoretical and methodological frameworks of this thesis, should be understood not as prescriptive solutions but as provocations that challenge prevailing assumptions about street vending and, by extension, urban informality in

Jakarta and in similar urban contexts. Rather than offering fixed models to be implemented, these propositions invite a rethinking of how everyday spatial practices are recognised, valued and governed.

By examining the socio-spatial logics of these practices, the thesis advocates for more adaptive, responsive and inclusive forms of urban development. In doing so, it invites a broader reconsideration of what constitutes legitimate urban practice and how cities might be shaped differently—seen differently—through the everyday actions of those who inhabit and transform them from the inside out.

6.2 Research contributions

This thesis contributes conceptually, methodologically, and empirically to the study of street vending, interiority, and urban informality

Conceptually, this research introduces Participatory Interior Urbanism (PIU) as a theoretical framework that reconceptualises street vending not as an 'out of place' practice but as a form of reverse urban interiorization: a micro-scale, collective production of temporary interior spaces in the urban context, utilising everyday tactics that invite and encourage lived participation and create porous spaces that are 'inside out'. The proposition of PIU informs and expands theoretical discussions of placemaking within interior, architectural and urban studies by foregrounding interiority not simply as enclosed physical space, but as a lived, relational and micro-scale condition. It also advances debates on the agency of urban interior space by recognising ordinary citizens—amateurs—as the primary *interiorists* through their everyday practices.

Methodologically, the thesis contributes by developing a different way of looking at urban phenomena. It generates and applies a two-stage anthropological approach that combines a remote digital method—mind-walking—with more conventional in-situ fieldwork—walking. This approach demonstrates how anthropological methods can be adapted for spatial research, particularly in relation to interiority in the city, and offers a replicable model for studying urban informalities such as street vending from within.[739] The anthropological orientation provides a way of understanding spatial phenomena beyond conventional physical framings and offers access to a more intimate reading of urban issues.

The research offers four interrelated empirical contributions: a typology of actions that articulates the socio-spatial mechanisms through which vendors reconfigure existing urban spaces; an account of the socio-economic dimensions of Jakarta's street vending; an analysis of the socio-spatial implications of vendors' PIU that reshapes street experiences in Jakarta; and an identification of contemporary issues constraining the practice. The findings offer insights relevant to urban governance, suggesting that policies which prioritise visual order over lived experience risk deepening the mismatch between regulation and reality. The research demonstrates the importance of recognising everyday spatial agency and could support more humane, context-sensitive policy and design strategies.

Lastly, the thesis contributes to the growing body of research on street vending in Jakarta. While much has been written about Jakarta's street vending from the perspectives of urban planning, food, health, culture, social

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[739] For the original thesis submitted before the viva, a methodological toolkit was devised. However, the full development of this toolkit is beyond the scope of this study. A draft of the proposed toolkit can be found in the appendices.

identity and political struggle, very few studies address the interiority of the practice and how it influences urban experience, both physically and socially. This thesis seeks to add to this rich discussion and to offer a different way of looking at this phenomenon.

6.3 Limitation and further studies

This thesis has several limitations that should be acknowledged. First, the empirical work focuses on street vending in three areas of Jakarta (Sudirman, Tanah Abang and Kota Tua). While these are key hotspots for street vending, many other districts remain unexplored and may exhibit distinct socio-economic and socio-spatial characteristics. The typology and other findings developed in this thesis should therefore be understood as provisional: they are intended to provoke further inquiry rather than to offer a comprehensive or prescriptive account of Jakarta's street vending.

Second, the research is temporally bounded. The mind-walking phase draws on social media data posted between 2019 and 2021, while the walking phase was conducted in 2022 and 2023. Street vending is a dynamic socio-spatial phenomenon whose practices respond to shifting financial, social, political, cultural and spatial conditions. Subsequent changes, some of which are already underway, may alter the findings documented and explored in this thesis. The findings should thus be read as specific to the context and periods in which the data were collected. Future studies could expand the temporal and contextual scope to better understand the evolving nature of street vending and its responsiveness to broader urban transformations.

Finally, there are methodological limitations. First, a significant portion of the research was impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions. Furthermore,

this directly impacted the first stage of the research and influenced the timescale of the second stage. Although the current walking method offered an in-depth view of how street vendors operate in situ, it provided only a partial perspective on the wider temporal arc of their practices. Activities preceding and following street operations—such as preparation, transport between locations, breakdown and post-event clean-up—were not systematically captured. A longer-term and more immersive anthropological engagement, incorporating methods beyond visual documentation, observation of participation, and semi-structured interviews, would be needed to trace these additional dimensions and to develop a more holistic account of vendors' everyday lives.

These limitations do not diminish the contribution of the thesis; rather, they clarify its boundaries and reveal a number of promising directions for further research. The following section outlines how future studies might expand and extend the propositions developed here.

First, the findings can inform the development of toolkits or propositions for Jakarta's future urban street framework, particularly those aimed at integrating street vending into formal governance.[740] Such work would require moving beyond the present thesis's focus on inhabitants' perspectives to include the viewpoints of government actors responsible for regulating Jakarta's streets. Understanding their visions, priorities and constraints is essential for translating the insights of this research into actionable instruments.

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[740] For the original thesis submitted before the viva, several propositions were included; however, they have been removed from this version as they were deemed beyond the scope of the thesis. A draft of the proposed toolkits can be found in the appendices.

Second, future studies should involve street vendors themselves—alongside advocacy groups working on their behalf—in the formulation of such frameworks. As demonstrated in Chapters 4 and 5, vendors possess situated expertise as the primary actors who produce, inhabit and negotiate these socio-spatial environments. Without their participation, any proposed toolkit risks being disconnected from lived realities. Incorporating their knowledge would help ensure that proposed governance strategies reflect the actual dynamics of street vending and address the practical challenges vendors face. Vendors, as those who 'live' the streets, should have a meaningful role in shaping regulations that affect their practices and livelihoods.

Together, these directions point toward urban approaches that shift attention beyond the purely physical or aesthetic dimensions of street vending to its practical, legislative and socio-spatial dimensions. Future research could therefore contribute to the development of urban models that not only recognise informal practices but meaningfully integrate and value them, supporting more inclusive and socially equitable frameworks for Jakarta and for other cities with similar contexts.

In conclusion, this research has sought to illuminate the socio-spatial intelligence and everyday agency embedded in Jakarta's street vending. By foregrounding these practices through the lens of PIU, the research demonstrates that the city is continually shaped from the inside out by those who inhabit it. Recognising these contributions is essential not only for understanding Jakarta's present urban condition but also for imagining more inclusive, adaptive and socially equitable urban futures. The propositions offered here, conceptual, methodological and empirical, are therefore intended not as final answers, but as invitations to see urban life differently and to continue asking how cities might better support the everyday practices through which they are made.

Glossary

Anthropology

It is studying with and learning from humans; it is transformational, meaning that the knowledge learned is carried forward in a process of life and effects transformations within that process.

APKLI

Abbreviation of Asosiasi Pedagang Kaki Lima Indonesia or Indonesia Street Vendor Association. There is limited official information about the association or its members publicly available aside from their occasional appearances in the news.

Assembly

A socio-spatial configuration of Jakarta's street vending was identified through a mind-walking experiment. It has anticipatory characteristics, encourages active participation, has multiple vending areas, and its interiority responds to the existing setting, which is adjusted every time there is a change in the existing environment.

Betawi

An ethnic group native to Jakarta. The Betawi people are the descendants of various ethnic groups that migrated to Batavia during the VOC occupation

in the early 17th century, which include the Ambonese, Balinese, Buginese, Banda, Bima, Buton, Flores, Javanese, Malays, Sundanese, and Sumbawa.

Berkeliling

The street vending type was identified by this research through a walking experiment and RTA. It translates to nomadic in English. Has socio-spatial characteristics as follows: fixed interior space that can be extended, porous interior territory, triggers autonomous transgression, always on the move, uses flaneur as main interiorization tactic, responsive to threat and temporal condition, and has an in-the-face presence.

Bersarang

The street vending type was identified by this research through a walking experiment and RTA. It translates to nesting in English. Has socio-spatial characteristics as follows: its interior space is formed by object disposition and expandable, porous interior territory, facilitates both in-house and autonomous transgressions, has limited mobilities, uses detournement as the main interiorization tactic, is anticipative to threat and temporal condition, and have a subtle presence.

Bertempat

The street vending type was identified by this research through a walking experiment and RTA. It translates to reside in English. Has socio-spatial characteristics as follows: its interior space is fixed but extendable, has conditional porosity, facilitates both in-house and autonomous transgressions, is stationary, uses dwell as the main interiorization tactic, is anticipative to threat and temporal condition, and has an in-the-face presence.

BID

The abbreviation of Business Improvement District is a defined area where businesses pay an additional tax to improve the local business environment that goes beyond what the government typically offers, for example, enhancing public spaces and security and making the area more attractive to customers.

Big Data

Large and complex data sets are complicated to handle using traditional data processing tools and techniques since they continue to grow over time. Usually referred to the information produced digitally by social media or online interactions, which must be analysed using machine learning algorithms and data mining tools.

Bos Lapak

Informal Indonesian language to a boss (bos) or someone who 'owned' a property (lapak). On the streets of Jakarta, it might not refer to the actual owner of the streets since this will be the provincial government, but those who 'control' the streets, like the thugs and the shadow organisation, who benefited from the vendors' vulnerable position.

Bottom-up

Refer to an approach where the process starts at the most basic level or the 'bottom' and builds upwards. This method is often contrasted with the top-down approach.

CFD

Abbreviations of Car Free Day, officially known as Hari Bebas Kendaraan Bermotor (HBKB), is a weekly event in Jakarta that happens every Sunday when some streets in the city are car-free for several hours (usually from 6 am to 10 am), and local citizens can enjoy exploring the city on foot or other non-motorised vehicles.

CFW

Abbreviations of Citayam Fashion Week, an organic 'fashion' phenomenon, happened in Sudirman CBD (Central Business District), initiated by teenagers from the outskirts of Jakarta, mainly from the area called Citayam. It became famous after these youths staged amateur fashion street catwalks and photoshoots and posted them on social media.

Converting

A socio-spatial configuration of Jakarta's street vending was identified through a mind-walking experiment. It has anticipatory characteristics, encourages active participation, has multiple vending areas, and physically alters the setting (leaving traces).

Ethnography

Generally, it is known as the primary qualitative research method in anthropology to study and understand humans, their societies and cultures. According to Ingold, it is a study of and learning about people. The product of ethnography is documentaries or recollective accounts.[741]

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[741] Ingold, *Making*.

Fieldwork

It is a key research method used to collect data directly from a real-world environment in social science. Observing and interacting with the subject and its 'natural' environment is the purpose of this approach.

Flânerie

A reflective, mindful way of experiencing urban environments.

Fleeting

A socio-spatial configuration of Jakarta's street vending was identified through a mind-walking experiment. It has fixed characteristics, no ties to the existing, is responsive to temporal conditions, encourages passive participation, only uses embodied tools, and has very high mobility and fleeting presence.

Geotag

The metadata attached to digital content indicates the specific geographical location where the content was created, captured, or posted.

Gerobak

The Indonesian word for a small wheeled vehicle resembles a pushcart commonly used by street vendors. Gerobak is not only seen in Indonesia but also a familiar sight in many Southeast Asian countries.

Google My Maps

It is a web-based tool, part of the broader suite of Google Maps services, that allows users to mark locations, draw boundaries, plan routes and add notes to different places on the map.

Inlander

It refers to native Indonesian people during the VOC and the Dutch Republic colonial eras. It is thought of as a derogatory term, situating Indonesians as third-class citizens in their own land.

Instagram

An online social media platform that allows its users to share visual content with their followers. The app was launched in 2010 and is now owned by Meta.

JakPreneur

A platform launched by the Jakarta Provincial Government to facilitate the development of micro, small, and medium enterprises by helping the development of ecosystems such as start-ups, hosting educational workshops, and assisting with the financial aspects of the business.

Jalan di tempat

The street vending type was identified by this research through a walking experiment and RTA. It translates to marching-in-place in English. Has socio-spatial characteristics as follows: its interior space is formed by object disposition, porous interior territory, facilitates autonomous transgressions, has limited mobilities, uses flaneur as the main interiorization tactic, is responsive to threat and temporal condition, and has an in-the-face presence.

Kecamatan

An Indonesian term for district—the third-level administrative subdivision below a regency or city.

Kelurahan

An Indonesian term for subdistrict—the fourth-level subdivision and the smallest administrative division in the country below a district.

KK

An abbreviation to Kartu Keluarga is an Indonesian family identity card consisting of information about the structure, relationship and the number of family members living together under one roof.

KoPK

The abbreviation to Koalisi Pejalan Kaki, or Pedestrian Coalition, is a national movement that advocates for the rights of pedestrians in Indonesia.

KRL

The abbreviation to Kereta Rel Listrik, or KRL Commuterline, is a commuter rail system for Greater Jakarta operated by KAI (Kereta Api Indonesia) or Indonesian National Railway Company. It connects Jakarta to its satellite cities, including Bogor, Depok, Tangerang and Bekasi.

KTP

The abbreviation to Kartu Tanda Penduduk or National Identity Card is the official identification for residents as proof of identity issued by the Ministry

of Home Affairs through the provincial governments and is valid throughout Indonesia.

Kucing-kucingan

Indonesian word that can literally translate to playing like cats or playing hide and seek like cats. But figuratively, it can describe situations involving people displaying sneaky behaviours in evading or hiding from others, usually from authoritative figures.

Laying

A socio-spatial configuration of Jakarta's street vending was identified through a mind-walking experiment. It has responsive characteristics and little ties to the existing settings but still adapts its interiority based on the physicality of the setting. It has high mobility and encourages active participation from the customers. Usually small in size.

Lingering

A socio-spatial configuration of Jakarta's street vending was identified through a mind-walking experiment. Has fixed characteristics, no ties at all to the existing, is very responsive to temporal conditions, encourages active participation, and has a high mobility.

Lockdown

Refers to a state of emergency where people's movement and activities are severely restricted. It was used during the COVID-19 pandemic to reduce the transmission of the virus.

LRT

The abbreviation of Light Rapid Transit refers to one of Jakarta's mass transportation systems. Currently, it connects the city's eastern parts to the central parts.

Merakyat

An Indonesian word means being humble or close to the people.

Menghuni

The street vending type was identified by this research through a walking experiment and RTA. It translates to staying in English. Has socio-spatial characteristics as follows: its interior space is fixed but extendable, has conditional porosity, facilitates both in-house and autonomous transgressions, is stationary, uses squat as the main interiorization tactic, is anticipative to threat and temporal condition, and has a subtle presence.

MRT

The abbreviation of Mass Rapid Transit refers to one of Jakarta's mass transportation systems. Currently, it only connects the city's southern and northern parts.

Neo-liberalism

This philosophy was popularised in the 20th century and emphasises the value of free-market capitalism and advocates for minimal government intervention in the economy. It believes that free-market leads to greater efficiency, innovation and economic growth.

Orde Baru

This translates to the New Order, the regime of the second Indonesian President, Suharto, who rose to power from 1966 to 1998.

Orde Lama

This translates to the Old Order, the regime of the first Indonesian President, Sukarno, who stayed in the position for 22 years, from 1945 to 1966.

Paguyuban

In Jakarta, the word often describes local brotherhood or gang members.

Parking

A socio-spatial configuration of Jakarta's street vending was identified through a mind-walking experiment. Has fixed characteristics, no ties at all to the existing, is very responsive to temporal conditions, encourages passive participation, uses built-in tools, and has high mobility.

Participatory Interior Urbanism (PIU)

A micro-scale socio-spatial tactic that temporarily transforms the existing urban infrastructure, such as the street, into a habitable space encourages the participation of the vendors as initiators and the users, the rest of the city dwellers, in domesticating the city.

Pikulan

The Indonesian word for a carrying tool consists of a pole of wood or bamboo to rest on shoulders, and the loads, usually placed in baskets, are typically hung from either end.

Pro-rakyat

Indonesian word for pro-people or people-oriented policies or actions or ideologies that support the general public regarding their welfare, rights and interests.

Rp.

The symbol of Rupiah, the official currency of Indonesia, is issued and controlled by Bank Indonesia.

RT

The abbreviation of Rukun Tetangga, translated to the neighbourhood association, is the lowest administrative division in Indonesia below kelurahan or sub-district. It operates in the framework of community services.

Rusunawa

It's the abbreviation of Rumah Susun Sederhana Sewa, which translates into Basic Rental Apartments; it's the affordable housing units provided by the Jakarta Provincial Government, targeted for the city's low to middle-income individuals or families.

Small Data

In contrast to big data, small data refers to data sets that are relatively small in size and complexity, which thus can be managed, analysed and interpreted with more traditional and analogue research tools and techniques. Usually used to produce more specific insights about phenomena rather than general trends.

Social Media

It is a digital online platform that enables users to create, share and interact with each other. It facilitates communication through various forms, such as text, images and videos.

Singgah

The street vending type was identified by this research through a walking experiment and RTA. It translates to stop-by in English. Has socio-spatial characteristics: expandable interior space formed by object disposition, porous interior territory, facilitates in-house and autonomous transgressions, always on the move, uses flaneur as main interiorization tactic, responsive to threat and temporal condition, and has a subtle presence.

The Global South

It refers to a group of developing countries, around 134 states from Central and South America, Africa, Asia and Oceania.

Thick Understanding

This refers to a profound, comprehensive grasp of a subject or concept. Usually used in the context of anthropology and ethnography, which refers to a detailed description of social behaviour and imaginaries.

TikTok

It is a social media platform that allows users to create, share and watch short-form videos. It is known for engaging and producing viral content and influencing trends, especially towards teenagers and young adult demographics.

Time Stamps

A feature used in social media platforms is usually used as a marker or indicator that records the specific time and date when an event occurs or when a particular data is created, modified, and published.

Top-down

Refers to an approach where the process starts at the higher level of a system or the 'top' and is then passed down to the lower levels for implementation. This method is often contrasted with the bottom-up approach.

Transjakarta

It is a Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system in Jakarta and the first BRT system in Southeast Asia, a fast public transport mode using buses that run in dedicated lanes commonly known as busways.

UMKM

It is the abbreviation of Usaha Mikro Kecil Menengah or micro, small and medium enterprises. It is the lifeblood of the Indonesian economy, contributing around 60% of its GDP. The majority of the UMKM are considered informal businesses like street vending.

UMR

The abbreviation of Upah Minimum Regional or regional minimum wage is the minimum wage set by a regional government, usually a provincial government in Indonesia, that employers must pay their employees within that specific region.

Warteg

The abbreviation of Warung Tegal, refers to modest diners or eateries, usually providing affordable home-cooked meals. The term Warung Tegal means small stall (warung), and Tegal refers to a regency in Central Java from which this type of diner originally came.

WhatsApp

It is a free messaging application that allows users to send text messages, images, videos, and voice notes and make voice calls and video calls using the internet. It can be installed on smartphones and accessible from computers. It is currently owned by Meta.

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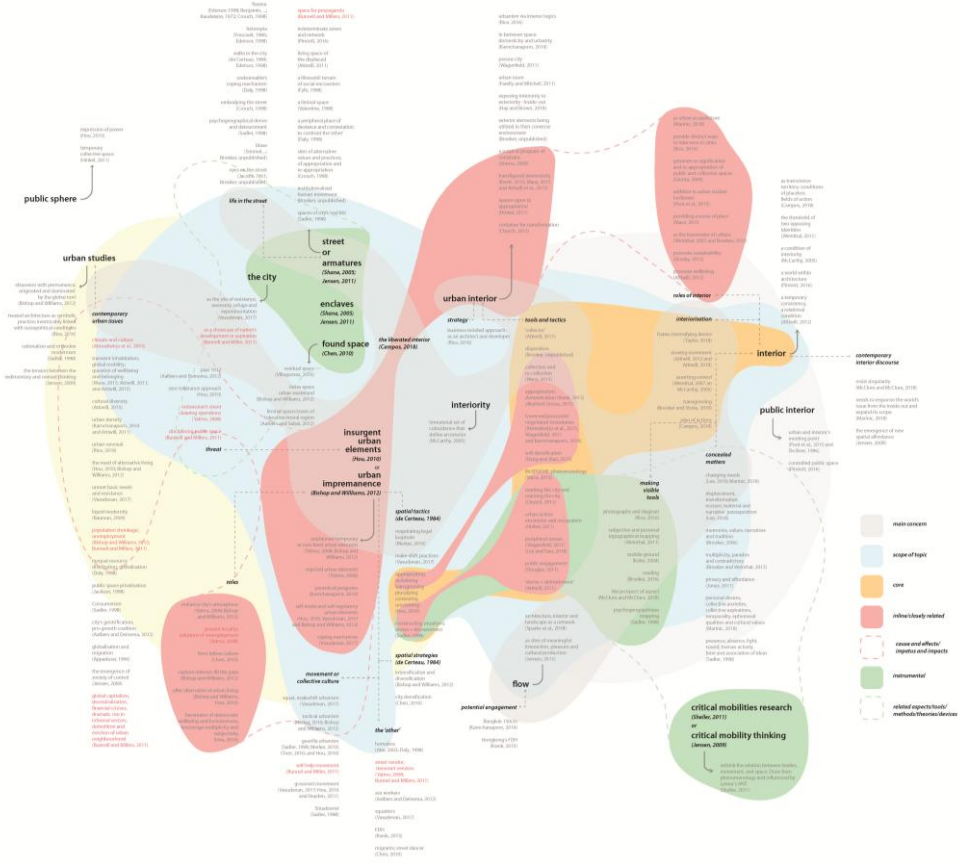
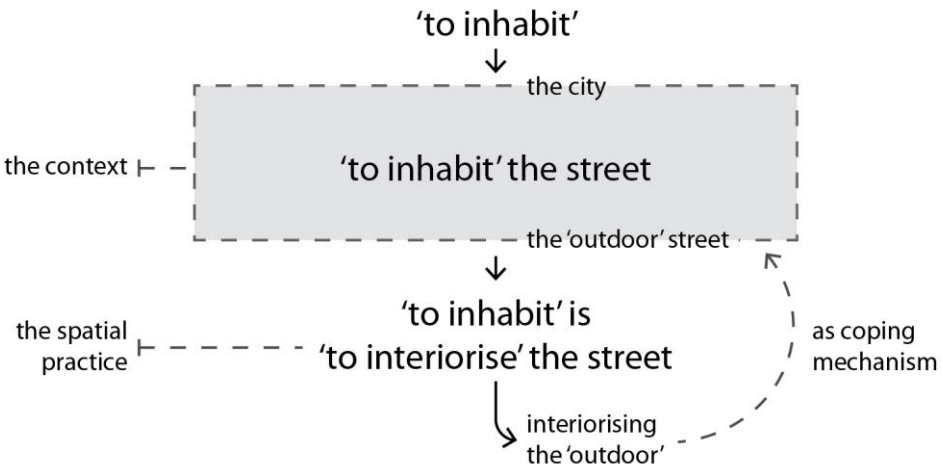
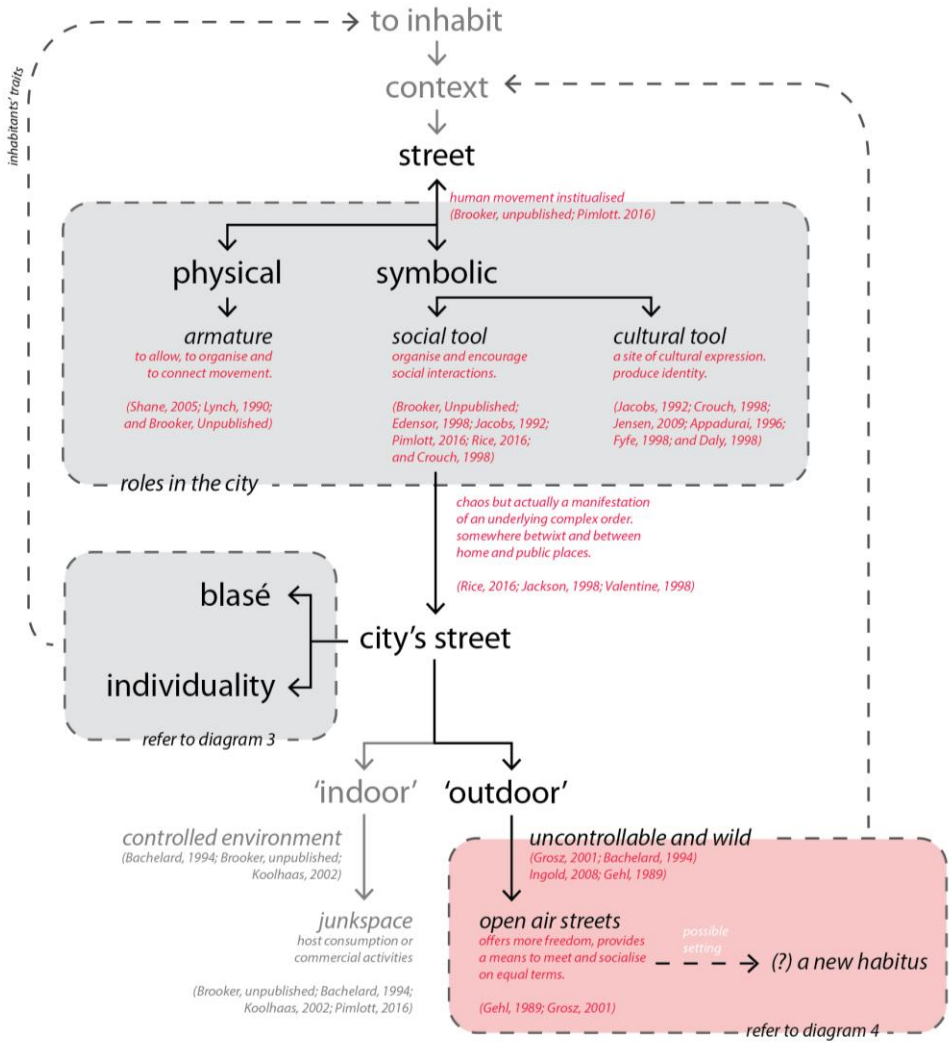
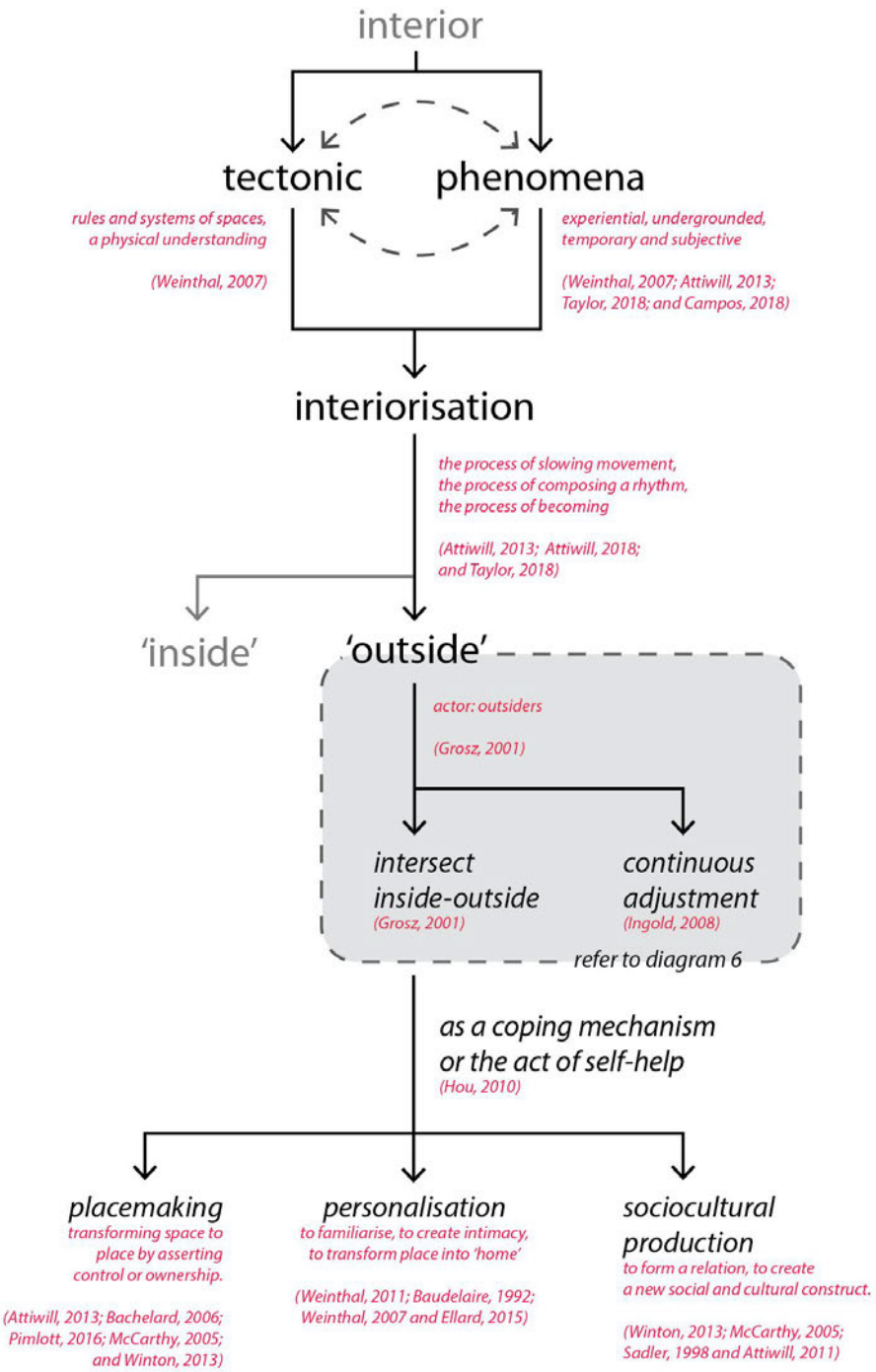
Appendices

Mind-maps and Diagrams for Literature Review


public sphere
urban studies
contemporary urban issues
life in the street
the city
street or armatures (Shane, 2005; Jensen, 2011)
enclaves (Shane, 2005; Jensen, 2011)
found space (Chen, 2010)
the liberated interior (Campos, 2018)
urban interior
strategy
tools and tactics
interiorisation
interior
contemporary interior discourse
interiority
public interior
insurgent urban elements (Hou, 2010) or urban impremanence (Bishop and Williams, 2012)
threat
spatial tactics (de Certeau, 1984)
concealed matters
making visible tools
roles
movement or collective culture
spatial strategies (de Certeau, 1984)
the 'other'
flow
potential engagement
critical mobilities research (Sheller, 2011) or critical mobility thinking (Jensen, 2009)
main concern
scope of topic
core
inline/closely related
cause and effects/ impatus and impacts
instrumental
related aspects/tools/ methods/theories/devices

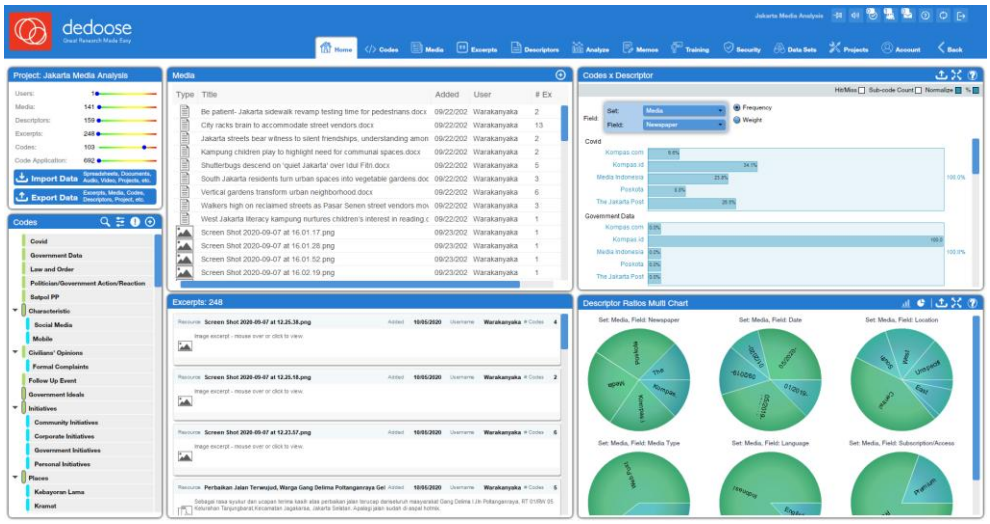

'to inhabit'
the city
the context
'to inhabit' the street
the 'outdoor' street
'to inhabit' is
'to interiorise' the street
the spatial practice
as coping mechanism
interiorising the 'outdoor'

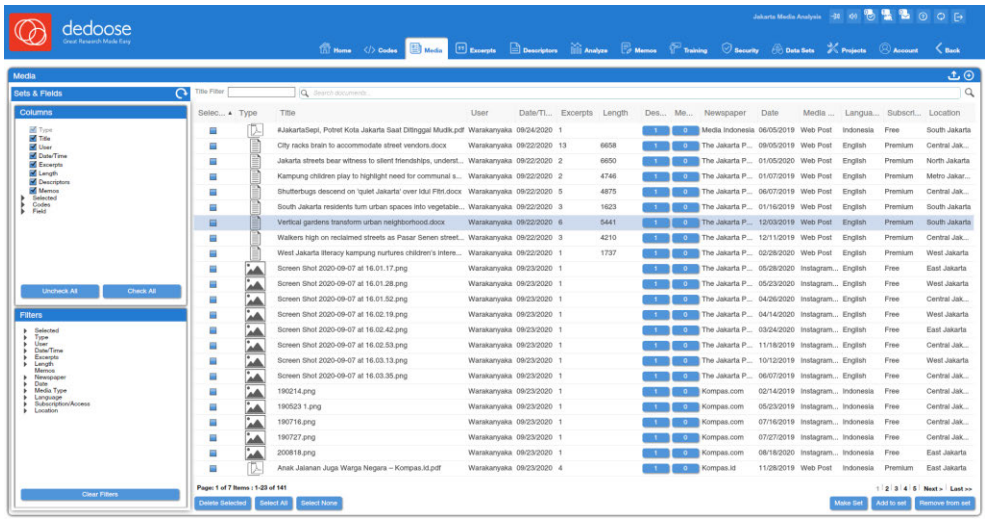

to inhabit
context
street
inhabitants' traits
human movement institualised
(Brooker, unpublished; Pimlott. 2016)
physical
symbolic
armature
to allow, to organise and
to connect movement.
(Shane, 2005; Lynch, 1990;
and Brooker, Unpublished)
social tool
organise and encourage
social interactions.
(Brooker, Unpublished;
Edensor, 1998; Jacobs, 1992;
Pimlott, 2016; Rice, 2016;
and Crouch, 1998)
cultural tool
a site of cultural expression.
produce identity.
(Jacobs, 1992; Crouch, 1998;
Jensen, 2009; Appadurai, 1996;
Fyfe, 1998; and Daly, 1998)
roles in the city
chaos but actually a manifestation
of an underlying complex order.
somewhere betwixt and between
home and public places.
(Rice, 2016; Jackson, 1998; Valentine, 1998)
blasé
individuality
city's street
refer to diagram 3
'indoor'
'outdoor'
controlled environment
(Bachelard, 1994; Brooker, unpublished;
Koolhaas, 2002)
junkspace
host consumption or
commercial activities
(Brooker, unpublished; Bachelard, 1994;
Koolhaas, 2002; Pimlott, 2016)
uncontrollable and wild
(Grosz, 2001; Bachelard, 1994)
Ingold, 2008; Gehl, 1989)
open air streets
offers more freedom, provides
a means to meet and socialise
on equal terms.
(Gehl, 1989; Grosz, 2001)
possible
setting
(?) a new habitus
refer to diagram 4

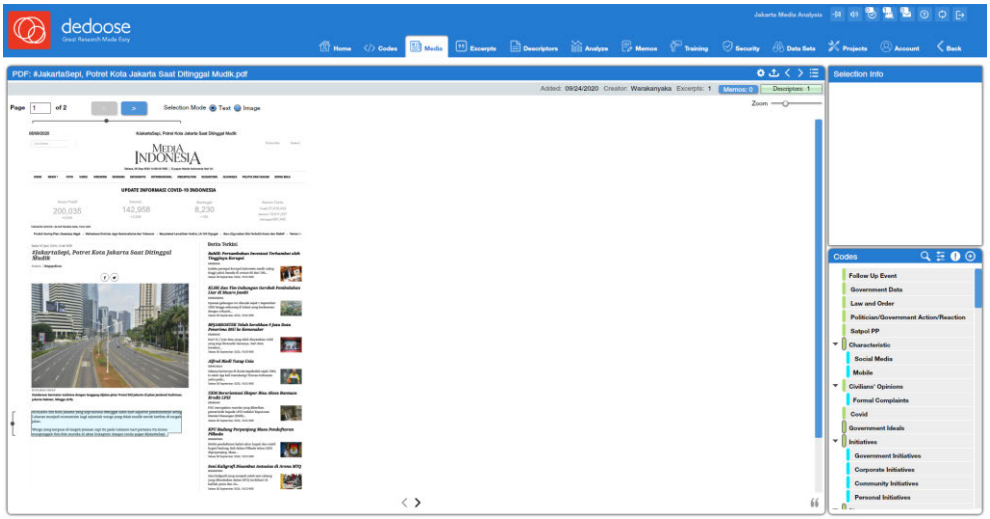

interior
tectonic
phenomena
rules and systems of spaces, a physical understanding
(Weinthal, 2007)
experiential, undergrounded, temporary and subjective
(Weinthal, 2007; Attiwill, 2013; Taylor, 2018; and Campos, 2018)
interiorisation
the process of slowing movement, the process of composing a rhythm, the process of becoming
(Attiwill, 2013; Attiwill, 2018; and Taylor, 2018)
'inside'
'outside'
actor: outsiders
(Grosz, 2001)
intersect inside-outside
(Grosz, 2001)
continuous adjustment
(Ingold, 2008)
refer to diagram 6
as a coping mechanism or the act of self-help
(Hou, 2010)
placemaking
transforming space to place by asserting control or ownership.
(Attiwill, 2013; Bachelard, 2006; Pimlott, 2016; McCarthy, 2005; and Winton, 2013)
personalisation
to familiarise, to create intimacy, to transform place into 'home'
(Weinthal, 2011; Baudelaire, 1992; Weinthal, 2007 and Ellard, 2015)
sociocultural production
to form a relation, to create a new social and cultural construct.
(Winton, 2013; McCarthy, 2005; Sadler, 1998 and Attiwill, 2011)

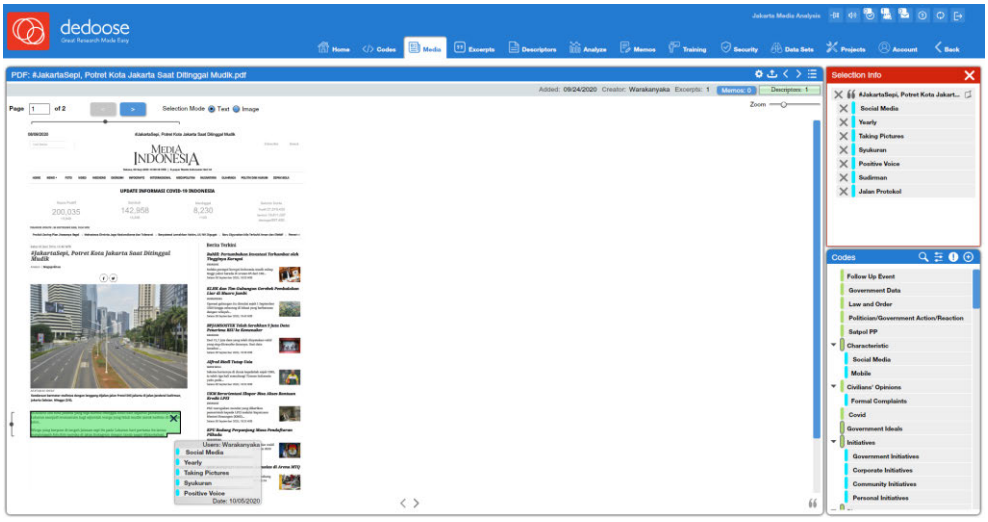
Media Text Analysis

Collected news reports and its analysis using Dedoose:

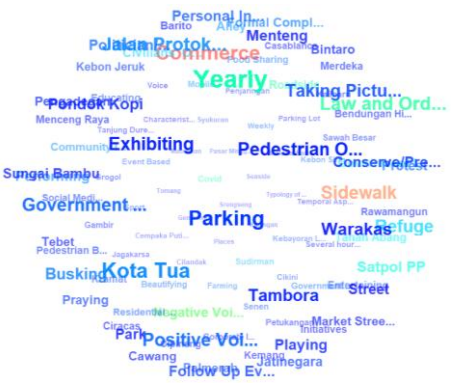


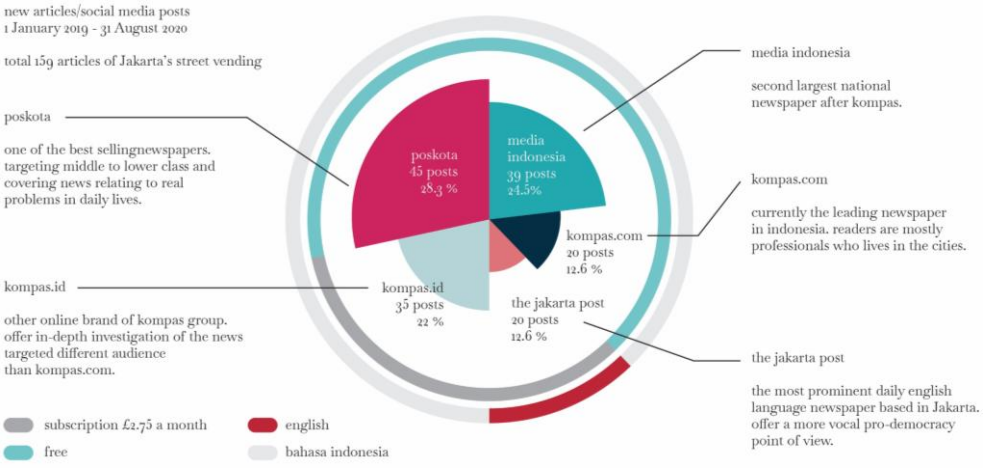


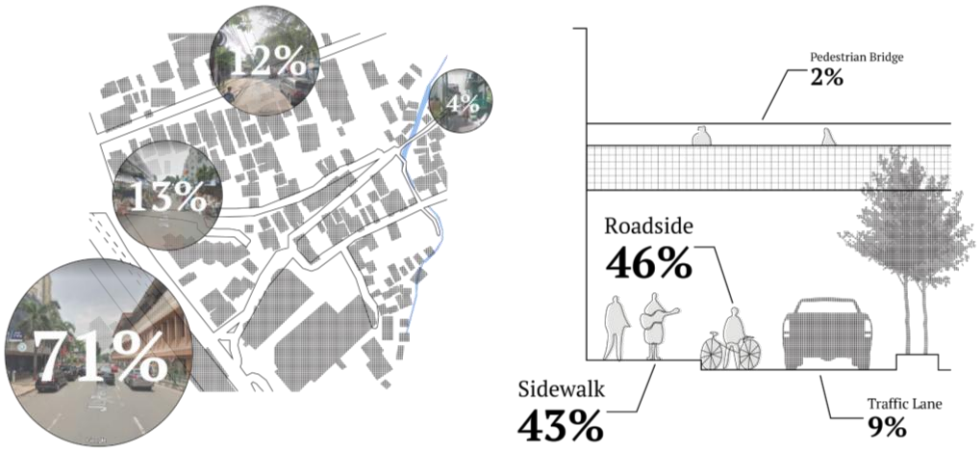


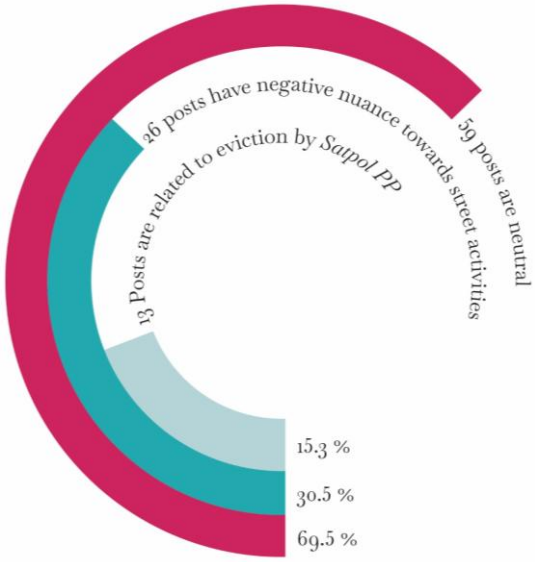


Data visualisation:



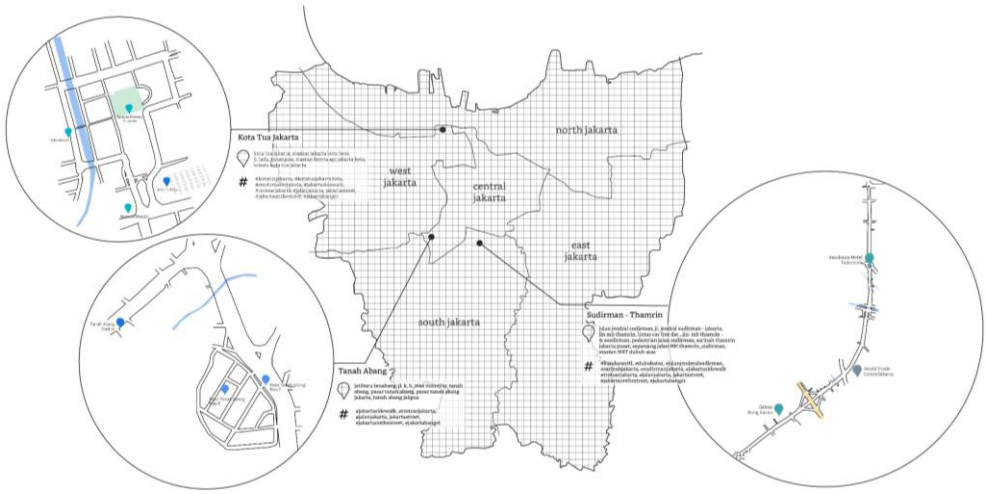

new articles/social media posts
1 January 2019 - 31 August 2020
total 159 articles of Jakarta's street vending
poskota
one of the best sellingnewspapers. targeting middle to lower class and covering news relating to real problems in daily lives.
kompas.id
other online brand of kompas group. offer in-depth investigation of the news targeted different audience than kompas.com.
poskota 45 posts 28.3 %
media indonesia 39 posts 24.5%
kompas.com 20 posts 12.6 %
kompas.id 35 posts 22 %
the jakarta post 20 posts 12.6 %
media indonesia
second largest national newspaper after kompas.
kompas.com
currently the leading newspaper in indonesia. readers are mostly professionals who lives in the cities.
the jakarta post
the most prominent daily english language newspaper based in Jakarta. offer a more vocal pro-democracy point of view.
subscription £2.75 a month
free
english
bahasa indonesia

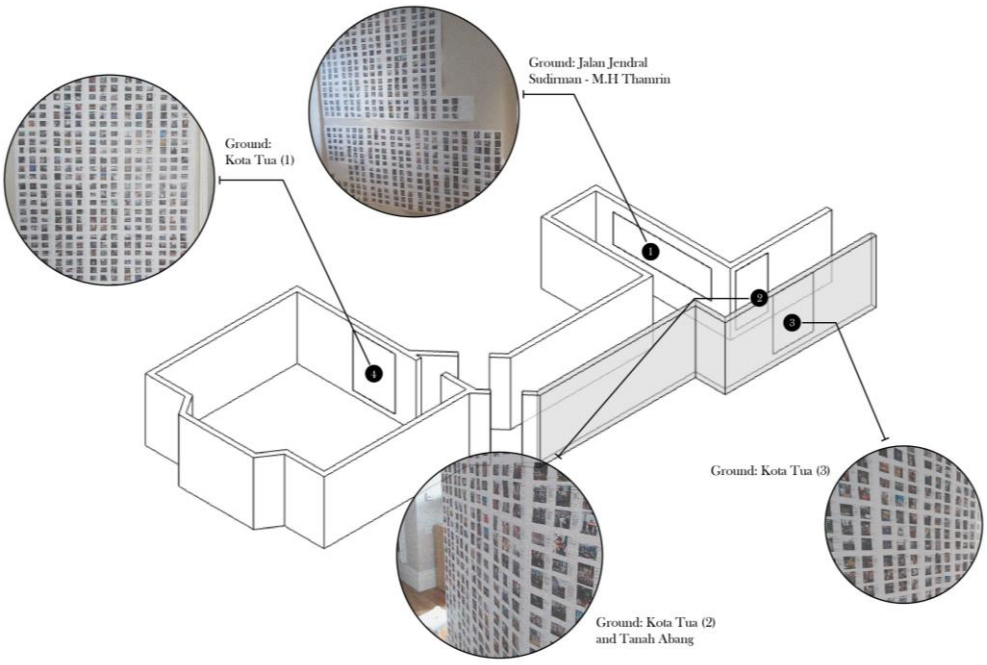

12%
4%
13%
71%
Pedestrian Bridge
2%
Roadside
46%
Sidewalk
43%
Traffic Lane
9%

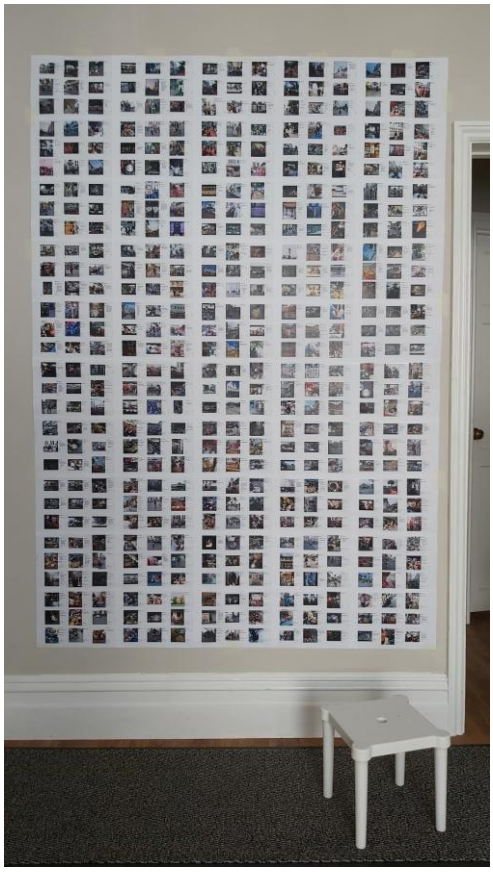

26 posts have negative nuance towards street activities
59 posts are neutral
13 Posts are related to eviction by Satpol PP
15.3 %
30.5 %
69.5 %

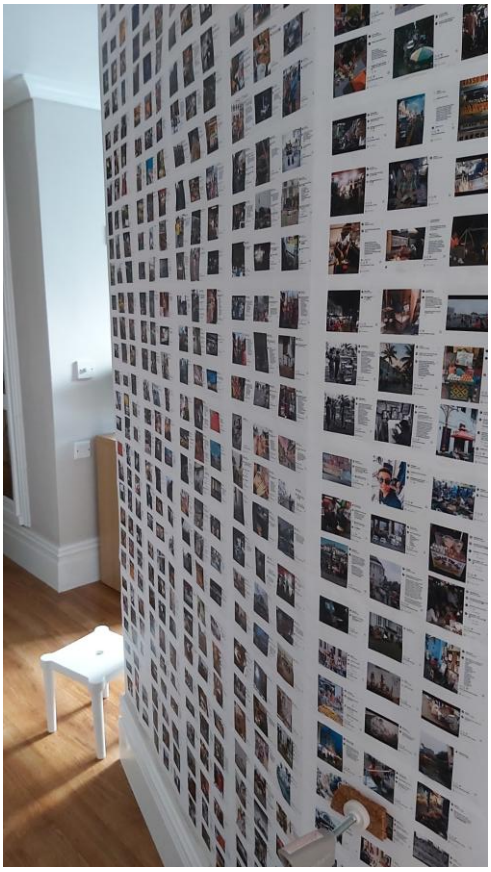
Mind-walking

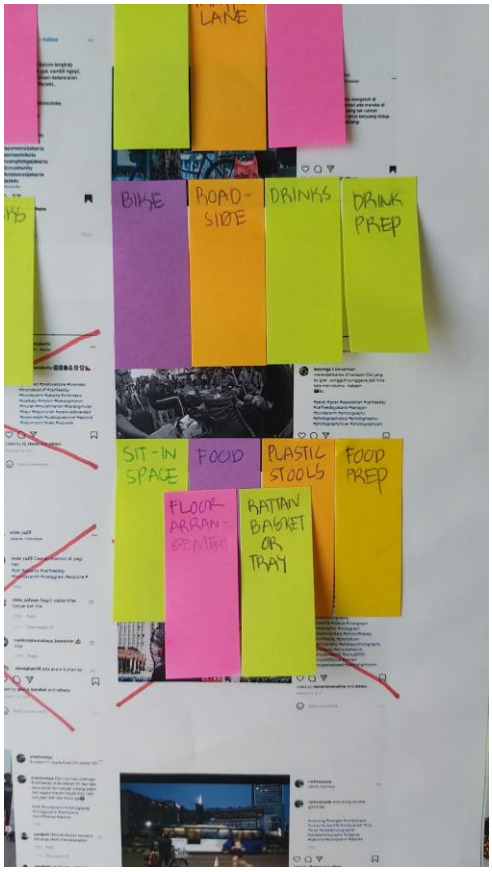
Manual open coding process:





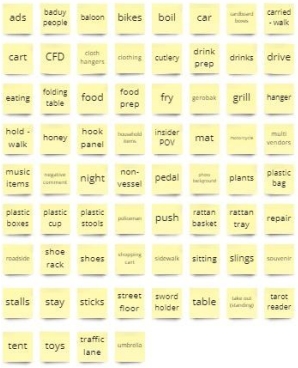




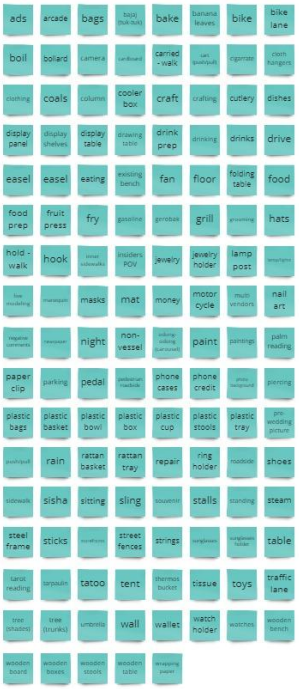

LANE
BIKE
ROAD-SIDE
DRINKS
DRINK PREP
SIT-IN SPACE
FOOD
PLASTIC STOOLS
FOOD PREP
FLOOR-ARRAN-GEMENT
RATTAN BASKET OR TRAY

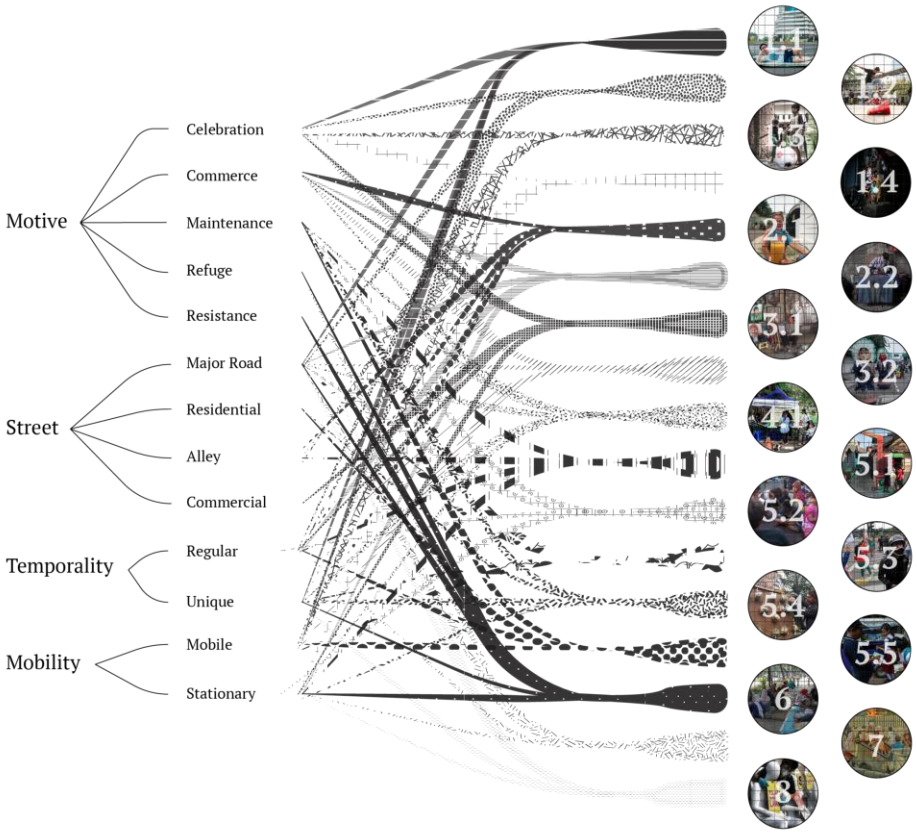
Ground: Tanah Abang
Codes Generated: 130
Variants: 35

Ground: Jendral Sudirman - M.H. Thamrin
Codes generated: 723
Variants: 62

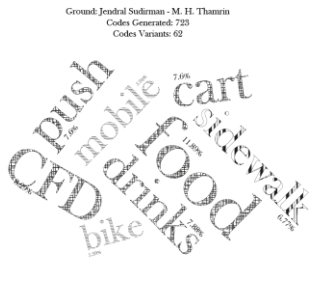


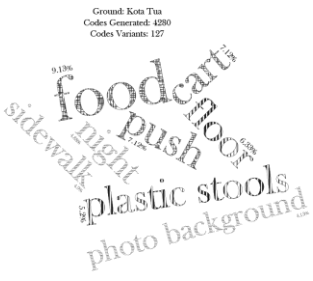
Ground: Kota Tua
Codes generated: 4280
Variants: 127

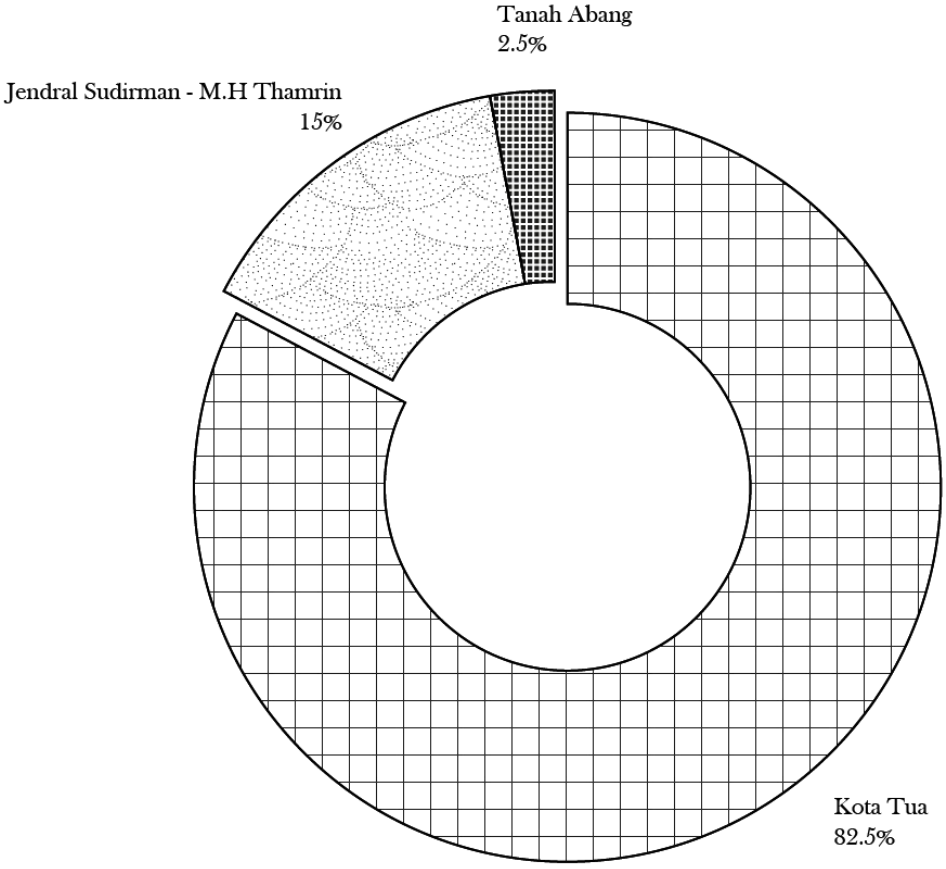




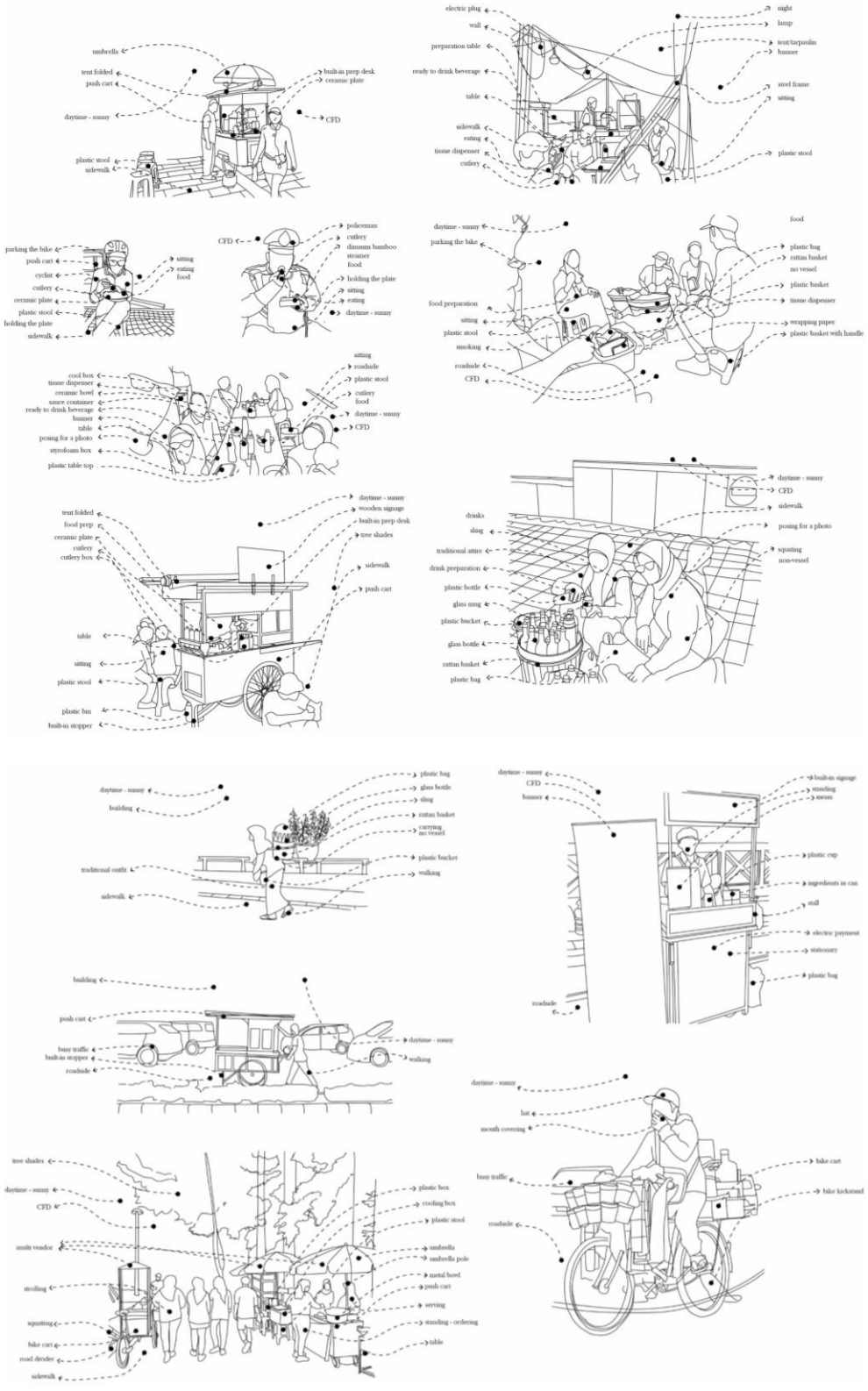
Ground: Tanah Abang
Codes Generated: 130
Codes Variants: 35
push
cart
sidewalk
stalls
drinks
sitting
photo background

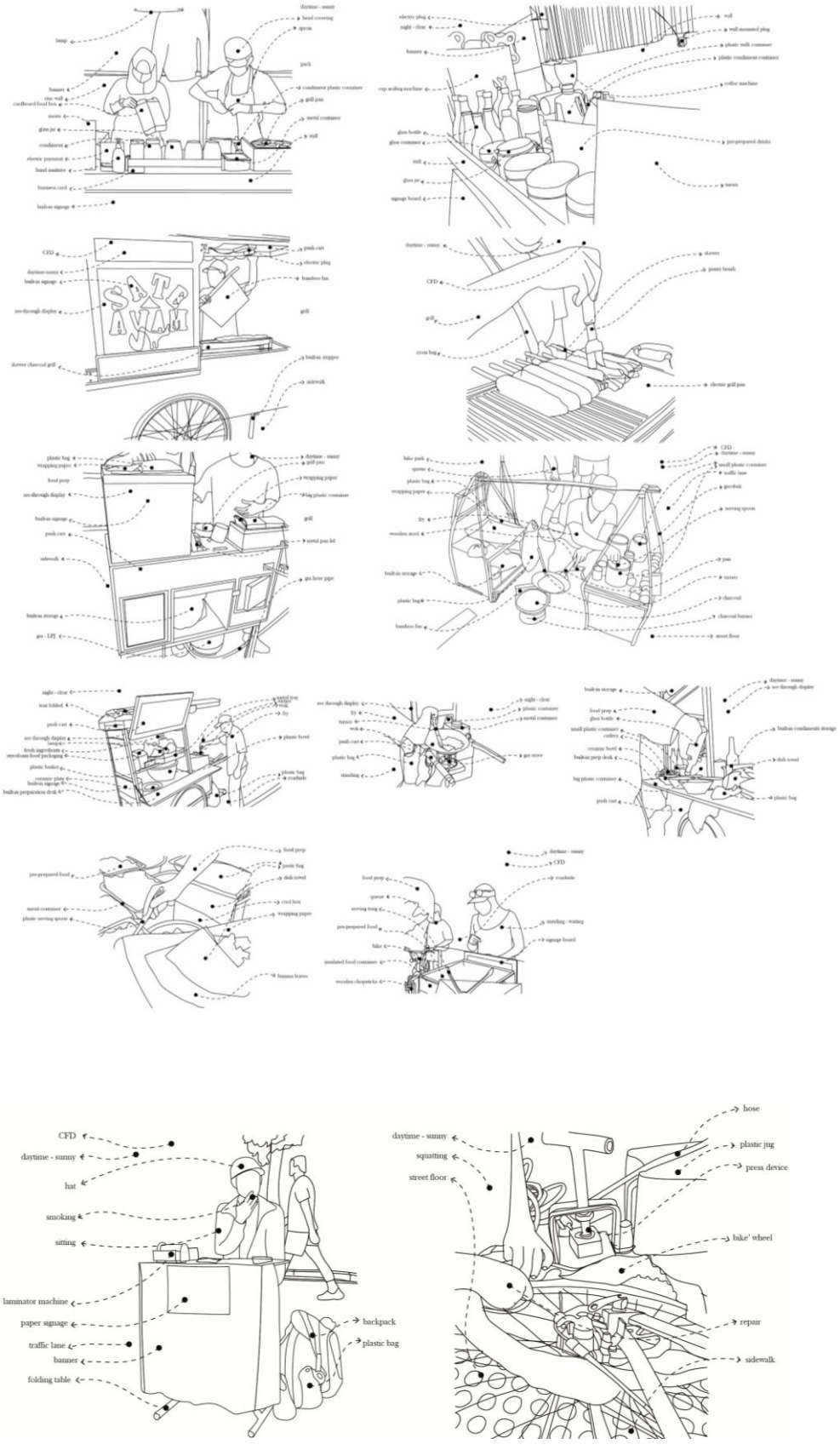

Ground: Jendral Sudirman - M. H. Thamrin
Codes Generated: 723
Codes Variants: 62
push
cart
mobile
food
sidewalk
CFD
drinks
bike

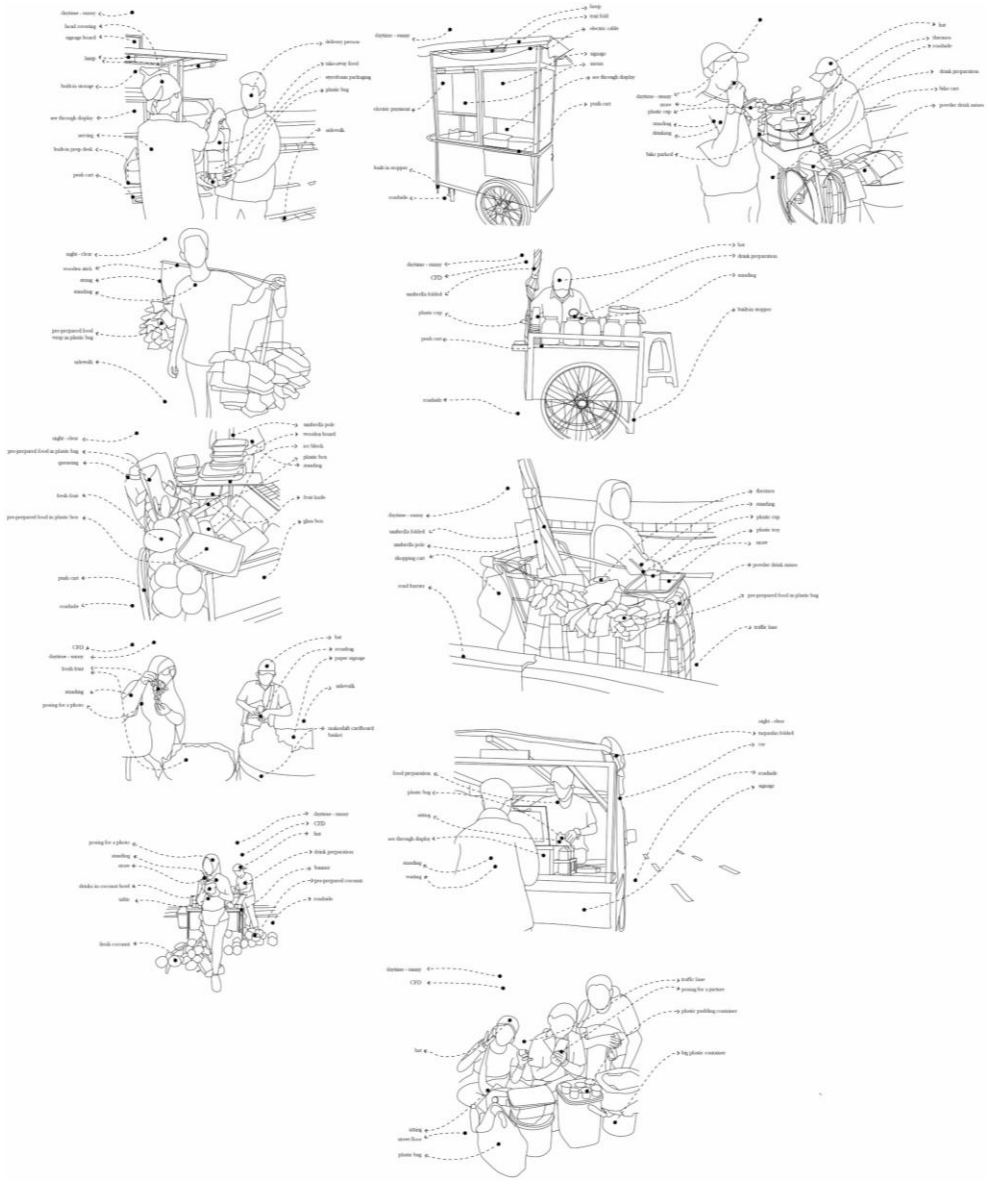

Ground: Kota Tua
Codes Generated: 4280
Codes Variants: 127
food
cart
push
floor
night
sidewalk
plastic stools
photo background

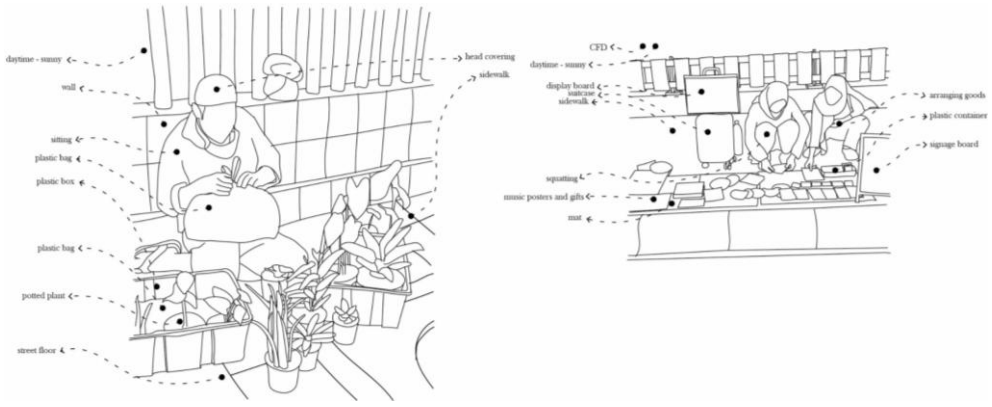

Tanah Abang
2.5%
Jendral Sudirman - M.H Thamrin
15%
Kota Tua
82.5%

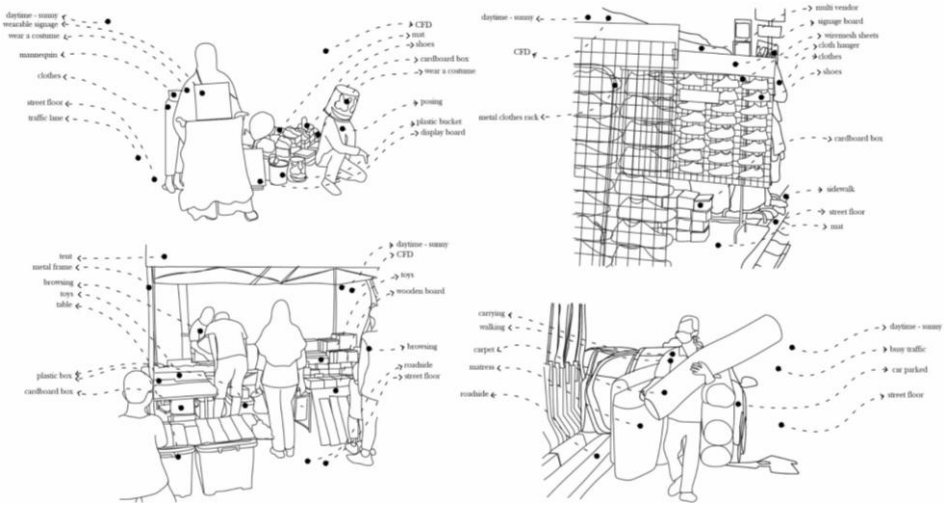
Tracing:

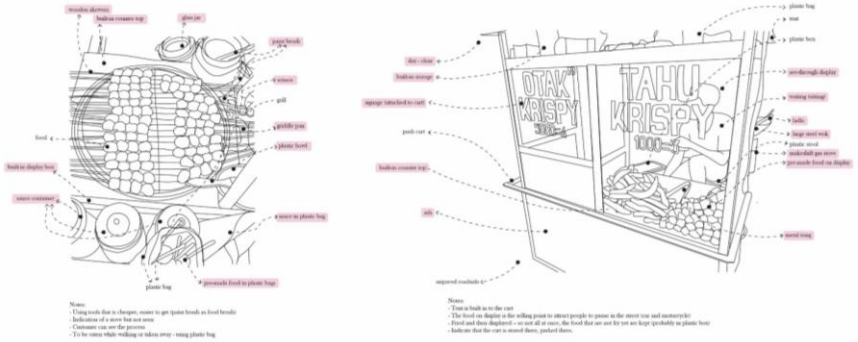

umbrella
tent folded
push cart
daytime - sunny
plastic stool
sidewalk
built-in prep desk
ceramic plate
CFD
electric plug
wall
preparation table
ready to drink beverage
table
sidewalk
eating
tissue dispenser
cutlery
night
lamp
tent/tarpaulin
banner
steel frame
sitting
plastic stool
parking the bike
push cart
cyclist
cutlery
ceramic plate
plastic stool
holding the plate
sidewalk
sitting
eating
food
CFD
policeman
cutlery
dimsum bamboo steamer
food
holding the plate
sitting
eating
daytime - sunny
daytime - sunny
parking the bike
food preparation
sitting
plastic stool
smoking
roadside
CFD
food
plastic bag
rattan basket
no vessel
plastic basket
tissue dispenser
wrapping paper
plastic basket with handle
cool box
tissue dispenser
ceramic bowl
smoke container
ready to drink beverage
banner
table
posing for a photo
styrofoam box
plastic table top
sitting
roadside
plastic stool
cutlery
food
daytime - sunny
CFD
tent folded
food prep
ceramic plate
cutlery
cutlery box
table
sitting
plastic stool
plastic bin
built-in stopper
daytime - sunny
wooden signage
built-in prep desk
tree shades
sidewalk
push cart
drinks
sling
traditional attire
drink preparation
plastic bottle
glass mug
plastic bucket
glass bottle
rattan basket
plastic bag
daytime - sunny
CFD
sidewalk
posing for a photo
squating
non-vessel
daytime - sunny
building
traditional outfit
sidewalk
plastic bag
glass bottle
sling
rattan basket
carrying
no vessel
plastic bucket
walking
daytime - sunny
CFD
banner
roadside
built-in signage
standing
menu
plastic cup
ingredients in can
stall
electric payment
stationary
plastic bag
building
push cart
busy traffic
built-in stopper
roadside
daytime - sunny
walking
daytime - sunny
hat
mouth covering
busy traffic
roadside
bike cart
bike kickstand
tree shades
daytime - sunny
CFD
multi vendor
strolling
squatting
bike cart
road divider
sidewalk
plastic box
cooling box
plastic stool
umbrella
umbrella pole
metal bowl
push cart
serving
standing - ordering
table


daytime - sunny
head covering
spoon
lamp
jack
banner
condiment plastic container
zinc wall
grill pan
cardboard food box
menu
metal container
glass jar
till
condiment
electric payment
hand sanitizer
business card
builtin signage
electric plug
wall
night - clear
wall-mounted plug
banner
plastic milk container
plastic condiment container
cup sealing machine
coffee machine
glass bottle
glass container
pre-prepared drinks
till
glass jar
signage board
menu
CFD
push cart
daytime-sunny
electric plug
builtin signage
bamboo fan
see-through display
grill
drawer charcoal grill
builtin stopper
sidewalk
daytime - sunny
skewer
pastry brush
CFD
grill
cross bag
electric grill pan
plastic bag
wrapping paper
daytime - sunny
grill pan
food prep
wrapping paper
see-through display
bag plastic container
builtin signage
grill
push cart
metal pan lid
sidewalk
gas hose pipe
builtin storage
gas - LPJ
bike park
CFD
daytime - sunny
queue
small plastic container
plastic bag
traffic lane
wrapping paper
geedok
fry
serving spoon
wooden stool
builtin storage
pan
turner
plastic bag
charcoal
bamboo fan
charcoal burner
street floor
night - clear
metal tray
tent folded
wok
fry
push cart
plastic bowl
see-through display
lamp
fresh ingredients
styrofoam food packaging
plastic basket
ceramic plate
builtin signage
builtin preparation desk
plastic bag
roadside
see through display
night - clear
plastic container
turner
metal container
wok
push cart
gas stove
plastic bag
standing
builtin storage
daytime - sunny
see through display
food prep
glass bottle
small plastic container
cutlery
builtin condiments storage
ceramic bowl
builtin prep desk
dish towel
big plastic container
plastic bag
push cart
food prep
pre-prepared food
plastic bag
dish towel
metal container
cool box
plastic serving spoon
wrapping paper
banana leaves
daytime - sunny
CFD
food prep
roadside
queue
serving tong
standing - waiting
pre-prepared food
signage board
bike
insulated food container
wooden chopsticks
CFD
daytime - sunny
hat
smoking
sitting
laminator machine
paper signage
backpack
plastic bag
traffic lane
banner
folding table
hose
daytime - sunny
plastic jug
squatting
press device
street floor
bike' wheel
repair
sidewalk


daytime - sunny
head covering
signage board
lamp
built-in storage
see through display
serving
built-in prep desk
push cart
delivery person
take-away food
styrofoam packaging
plastic bag
sidewalk
night - clear
wooden skirt
mug
standing
pre-prepared food wrap in plastic bag
sidewalk
lamp
front fold
electric cable
signage
menu
see through display
push cart
electric pavement
built-in wrapper
roadside
daytime - sunny
CFD
umbrella folded
plastic cup
push cart
roadside
bar
drink preparation
standing
built-in wrapper
night - clear
pre-prepared food wrap in plastic bag
guessing
fresh fruit
pre-prepared food in plastic box
push cart
roadside
umbrella pole
wooden board
ice block
plastic box
standing
fruit knife
glass box
daytime - sunny
umbrella folded
umbrella pole
shopping cart
road barrier
fixtures
standing
plastic cup
plastic tray
straw
powder drink mixes
pre-prepared food in plastic bag
traffic lane
CFD
daytime - sunny
fresh fruit
standing
posing for a photo
bar
reading
paper signage
sidewalk
sidewalk cardboard basket
daytime - sunny
CFD
bar
posing for a photo
standing
straw
drinks in coconut bowl
table
fresh coconut
drink preparation
banner
pre-prepared coconut
roadside
food preparation
plastic bag
sitting
see through display
standing
waiting
sari
tarpaulin folded
cart
roadside
signage
daytime - sunny
CFD
bar
sitting
straw floor
plastic bag
traffic lane
posing for a picture
plastic pudding container
big plastic container

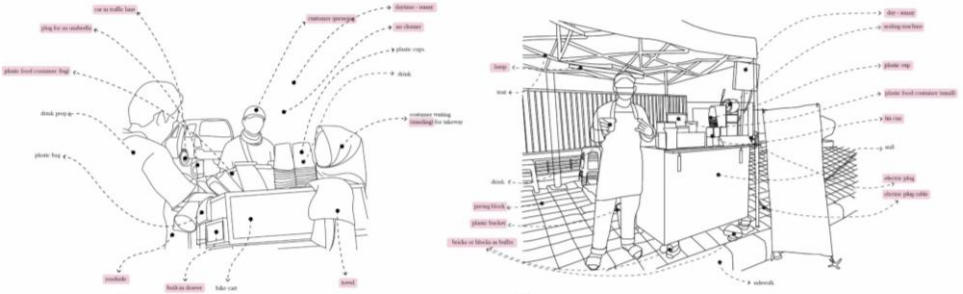

daytime - sunny
wall
sitting
plastic bag
plastic box
plastic bag
potted plant
street floor
head covering
sidewalk
CFD
daytime - sunny
display board
suitcase
sidewalk
squatting
music posters and gifts
mat
arranging goods
plastic container
signage board





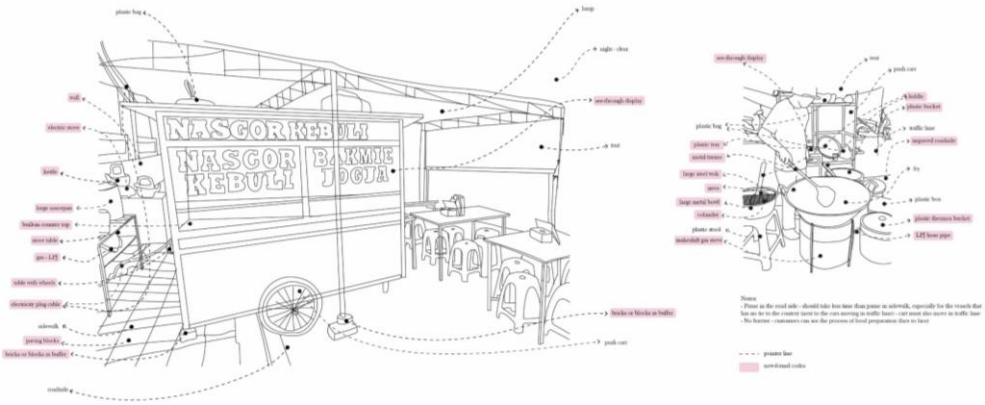
Notes:
- Using tools that is cheaper, easier to get (paint brush as food brush)
- Indication of a stove but not seen
- Customer can see the process
- To be eaten while walking or taken away - using plastic bag

Notes:
- Tent is built in to the cart
- The food on display is the selling point to attract people to pause as the street (car and motorcycle)
- Fried and then displayed - so not all at once, the food that are not for yet are kept (probably in plastic box)
- Indicate that the cart is stored there, parked there.



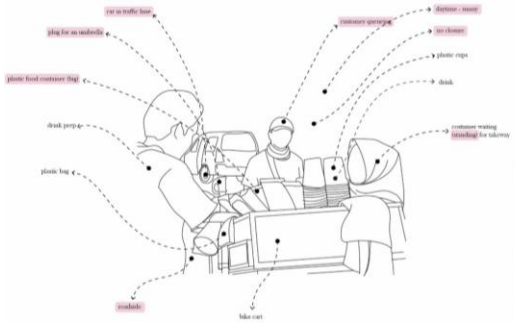
Notes:
- Pause as the road side - should take less time than pause in sidewalk, especially for the vessels that has no tie to the context (next to the cars moving in traffic lane) - cart must also move in traffic lane
- No barrier - customers can see the process of food preparation (face to face)

Notes:
- Plastic stools are there but not yet laid out - so its kept for future uses (space can expand)
- To be taken away (working machine)
- Stall must has been somewhere else before and after
- Plug - energy must have been taken away somewhere - indicate formal - informal relationship
- Bricks kinds indicate ties with the context as well

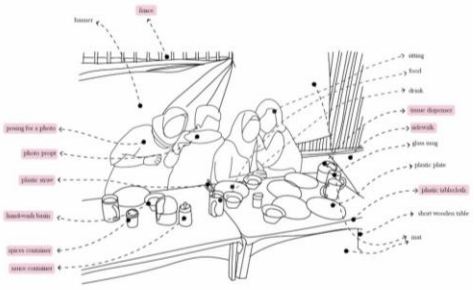


Notes:
- Pause as the road side - should take less time than pause in sidewalk, especially for the vessels that has no tie to the context (next to the cars moving in traffic lane) - cart must also move in traffic lane
- No barrier - customers can see the process of food preparation (face to face)

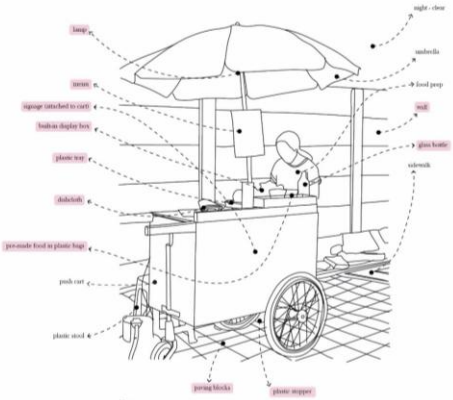
- - - - pasaive line
non-found codes



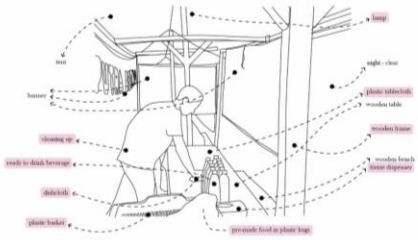
Notes:
- Pause in the road side - should take less time than pause in sidewalk, especially for the vessels that has no tie to the context (next to the cars moving in traffic lane) - cart must also move as traffic lane
- No barrier - customers can see the process of food preparation (here to face)



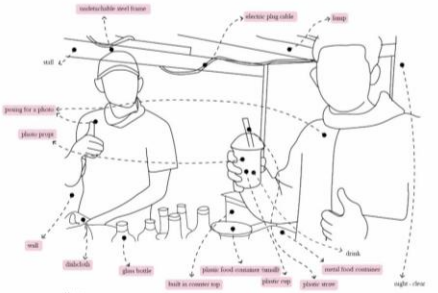
Notes:
- Banner is used for two purposes: formed boundaries and promote the vendors
- Street fences can be used to hang the banner as well as to keep the space tools (for example here to hang the mat)
- No cutlery - eating with hands that why there are wash basins



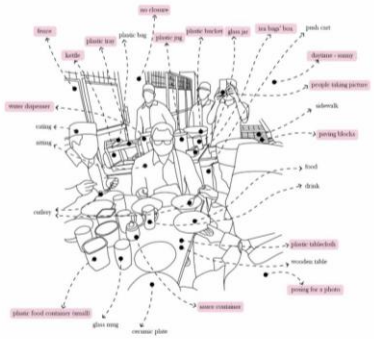
Notes:
- There is no other seating arrangement, meaning that the food sell here is all for take away
- There are pre-made foods already wrapped
- Use portable gas as energy sources - no ties to the context for electricity
- Use plastic stopper as buffer - minimal ties to the context
- Plastic stool is for the seller



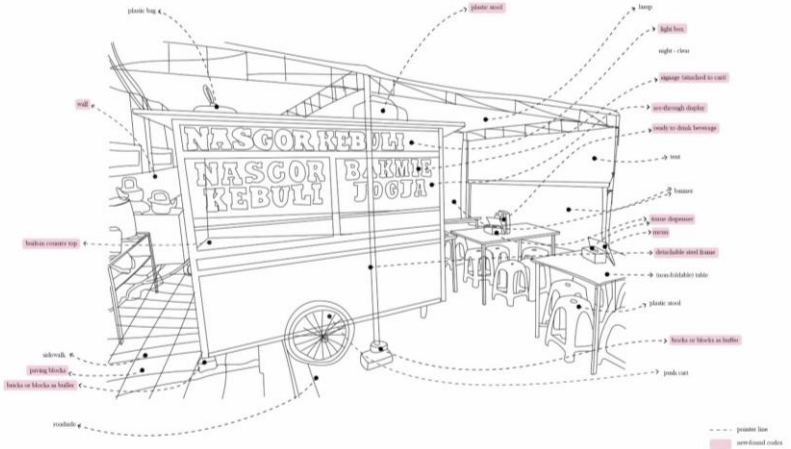
Notes:
-Table must have been moved somewhere else when the activity over (not foldable and not fit in the pushcart) must have moved in storage somewhere near.
- There is no indication of a spot to prepare the food or storing the dishes, might be link with a particular type of vessel
- Makeshift tent - unfoldable structure
- Preparation dining is different than food/drinks preparation
- Banner is used for two purposes: formed boundaries and promote the vendors

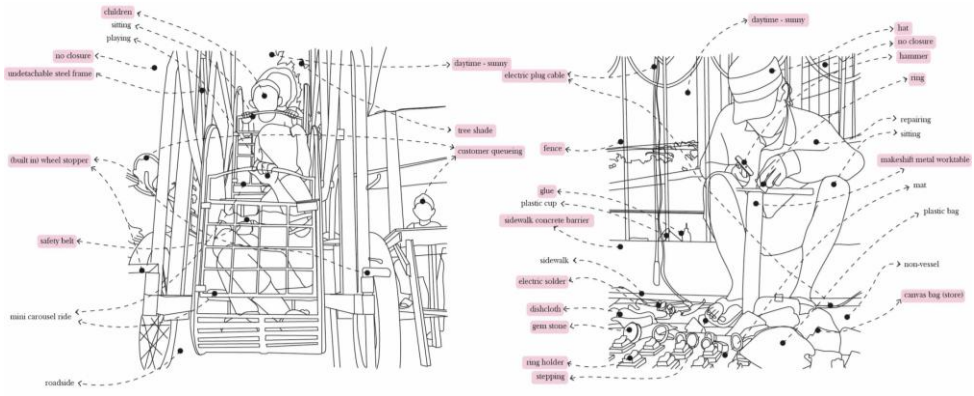


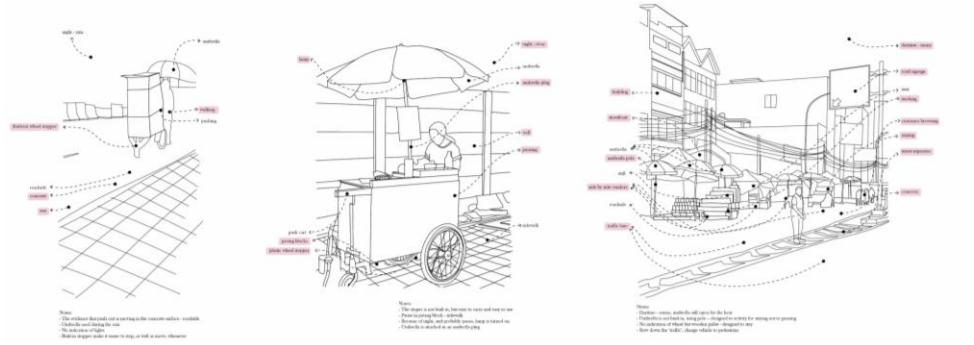
Notes:
- Take away: customer and seller facing each other. The customer can see the process of drink preparation.
- Stall or no vessel or extruded space from any vessels (such as tents) used place to store all of these equipment as well as structure somewhere during the day/during time where it not used.
- Indication of used of electricity - for light - place 'hidden' as source of electricity ties to the context
- Photo taken as an attempt of advertising the activities
- Plastic cup indicate cold drinks

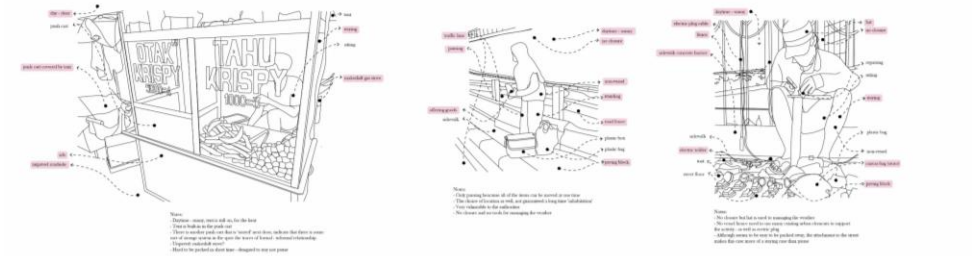


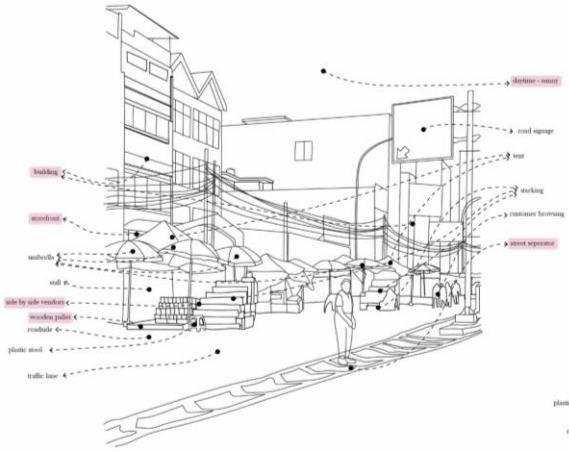
Notes:
- Dishes must have been wash somewhere - leased and not given away
- Table must have been moved somewhere else when the activity over (not foldable and not fit in the pushcart) - has storage somewhere
- Proud enough to be shared and documented





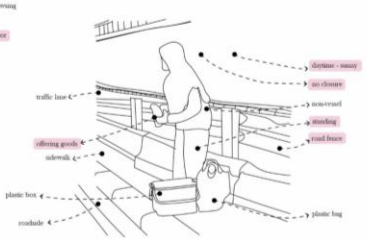



tire - chair
push cart
push cart covered by tent
tent
awning
eating
umbrella(if got more
TAHU KRISPY
TAHU KRISPY
TAHU KRISPY

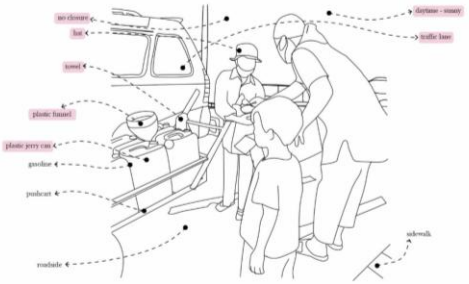


Notes:
- Similar vendors whose selling similar goods, doing the activities side by side along the street
- Suspected that they are the extension of the activity inside the buildings in the back of the space that they are currently occupied
- Taking up the road, changing the function of the street from vehicle only to pedestrian
- Many umbrellas and tents - mimicking the feel of the 'inside'
- The stalls are makeshift - made using pallets used to stack the goods

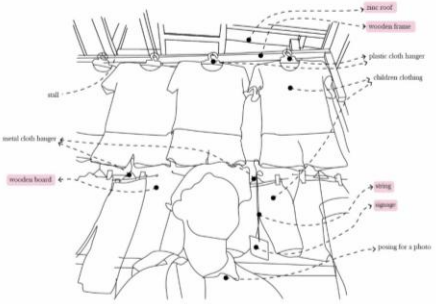
pointer line
new-found codes



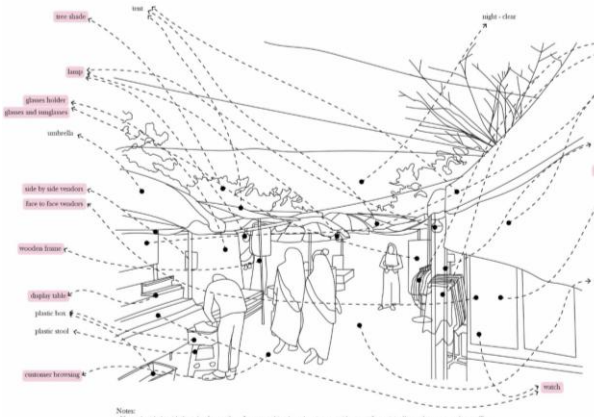
Notes:
- Seller offering goods to moving vehicles
- All of the tools used to support the activity can be carried and or moved away in a single moment - ready to change location
- Inviting pause for the car or utilising traffic jam



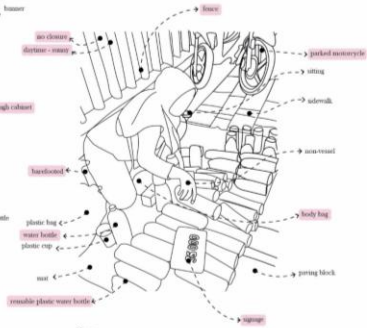
Notes:
- Operate in the roadside, only pausing for a while (not much) to serve the customer, costumer step from sidewalk to roadside to meet the seller
- The goods are stored in the cars - quite distinguishable with the other seller
- No closure, seller using hats



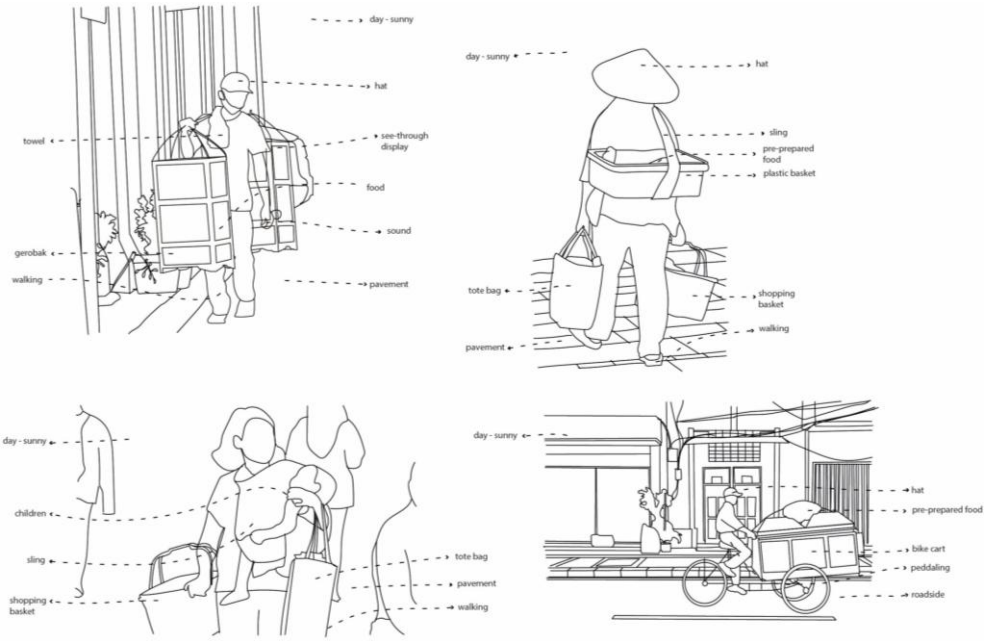
Notes:
- The seller sitting inside, waiting for customer to come for him - I think for most stall, this is what happened, including the one who sell food - because there is 'more permanent' closure?
- Utilising scrap materials (like board, door, etc) - mismatched although the same materials
- Mismatched hanger as well

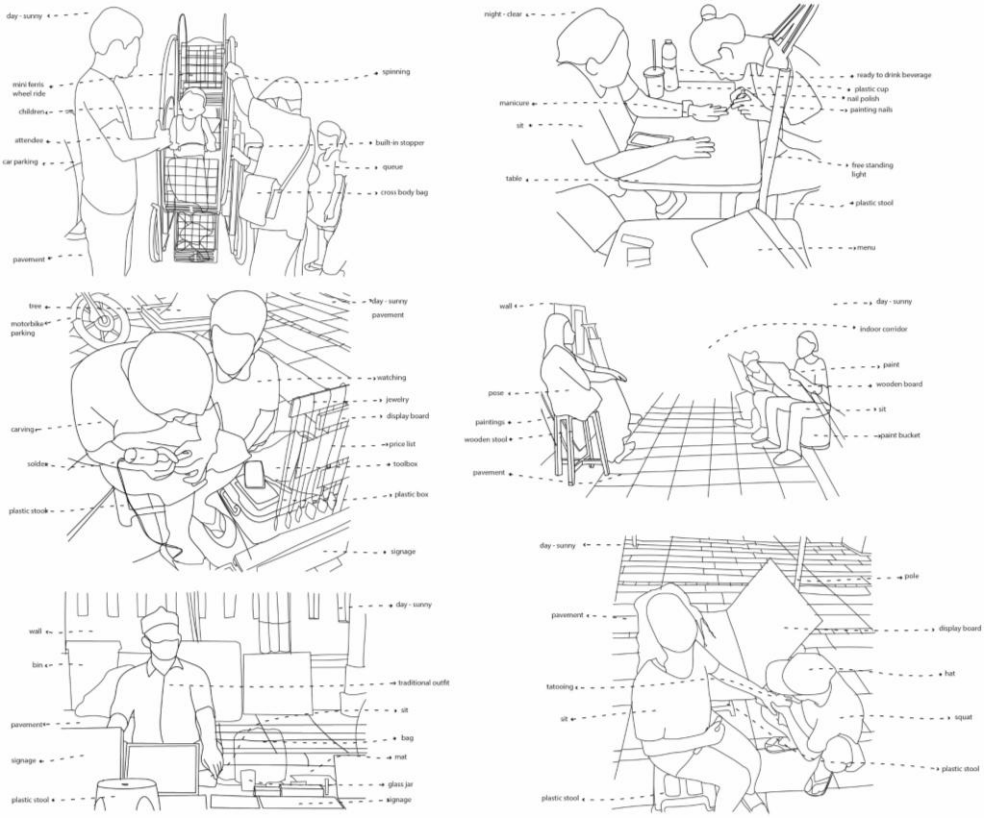


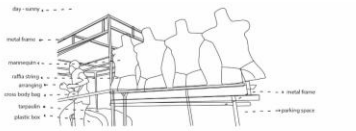
Notes:
- Not only side by side but also face to face, I suspected it takes place in very wide street that originally used to accomodate traffic
- There are many vendors sell similar things in close proximity
- Mostly is clothing and accessory and jewelry
- The multi vendors allow the activity to 'browse around'

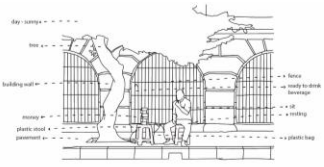


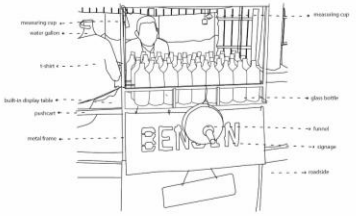
Notes:
- Laid on top of the sidewalk, where people parked their motorcycle
- Targeted costumer that has 'slower' movement, retrieve than vehicle?
- Can be packed up, although not in one go, but in much faster time than stall

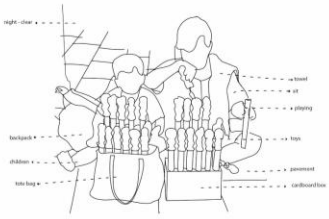

day - sunny
hat
towel
see-through display
food
sound
gerobak
walking
pavement
day - sunny
hat
sling
pre-prepared food
plastic basket
tote bag
shopping basket
walking
pavement
day - sunny
children
sling
shopping basket
tote bag
pavement
walking
day - sunny
hat
pre-prepared food
bike cart
peddaling
roadside

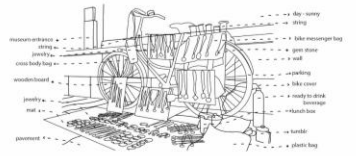

day - sunny
mini ferris wheel ride
children
attendee
car parking
pavement
spinning
built-in stopper
queue
cross body bag
night - clear
manicure
sit
table
ready to drink beverage
plastic cup
nail polish
painting nails
free standing light
plastic stool
menu
tree
motorbike parking
carving
solder
plastic stool
day - sunny
pavement
watching
jewelry
display board
price list
toolbox
plastic box
signage
wall
pose
paintings
wooden stool
pavement
day - sunny
indoor corridor
paint
wooden board
sit
paint bucket
wall
bin
pavement
signage
plastic stool
day - sunny
traditional outfit
sit
bag
mat
glass jar
signage
day - sunny
pavement
tatooing
sit
plastic stool
pole
display board
hat
squat
plastic stool

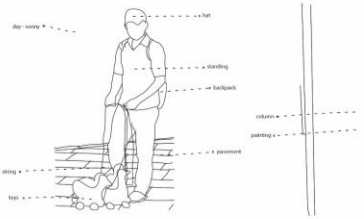

day - sunny
metal frame
mannequin
raffia string
arranging
cross body bag
tarpaulin
plastic box
metal frame
parking space

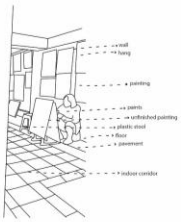

day - sunny
tree
building wall
money
plastic stool
pavement
fence
ready to drink beverage
sit
resting
plastic bag

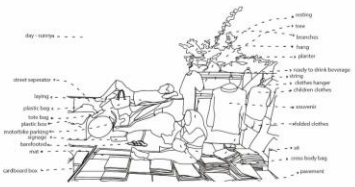

measuring cup
water gallon
t-shirt
built-in display table
pushcart
metal frame
glass bottle
funnel
signage
roadside

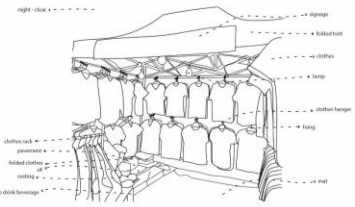

night - clear
towel
sit
playing
backpack
toys
children
pavement
tote bag
cardboard box

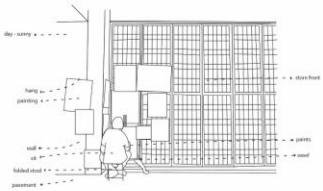

day - sunny
string
museum entrance
string
jewelry
cross body bag
wooden board
jewelry
mat
pavement
bike messenger bag
gum stone
wall
parking
bike cover
ready to drink beverage
lunch box
tumble
plastic bag

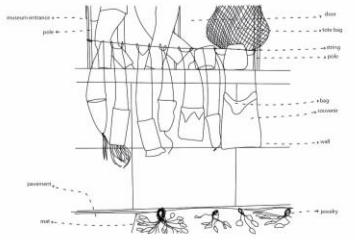

day - sunny
hat
standing
backpack
columns
painting
pavement
string
toys

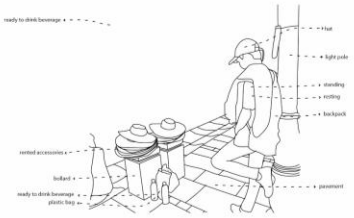

wall
hang
painting
paints
unfinished painting
plastic stool
floor
pavement
indoor corridor

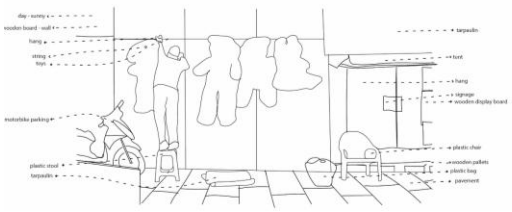

day - sunny
resting
tree
branches
hang
planter
ready to drink beverage
string
clothes hanger
children clothes
souvenir
folded clothes
sit
cross body bag
pavement
street sweeper
laying
plastic bag
tote bag
plastic box
motorbike parking
signage
bandicoot
mat
cardboard box

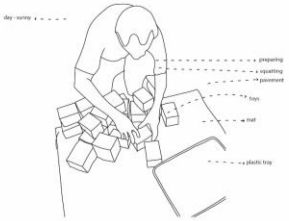

night - clear
signage
folded tent
clothes
lamp
clothes hanger
hang
mat
clothes rack
pavement
folded clothes
sit
resting
ready to drink beverage

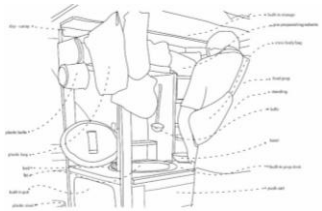

day - sunny
store front
hang
painting
paints
wall
sit
easel
folded stool
pavement


museum entrance
pole
door
tote bag
string
pole
bag
souvenir
wall
pavement
mat
jewelry


ready to drink beverage
Hat
light pole
standing
resting
backpack
rented accessories
bollard
ready to drink beverage
plastic bag
pavement

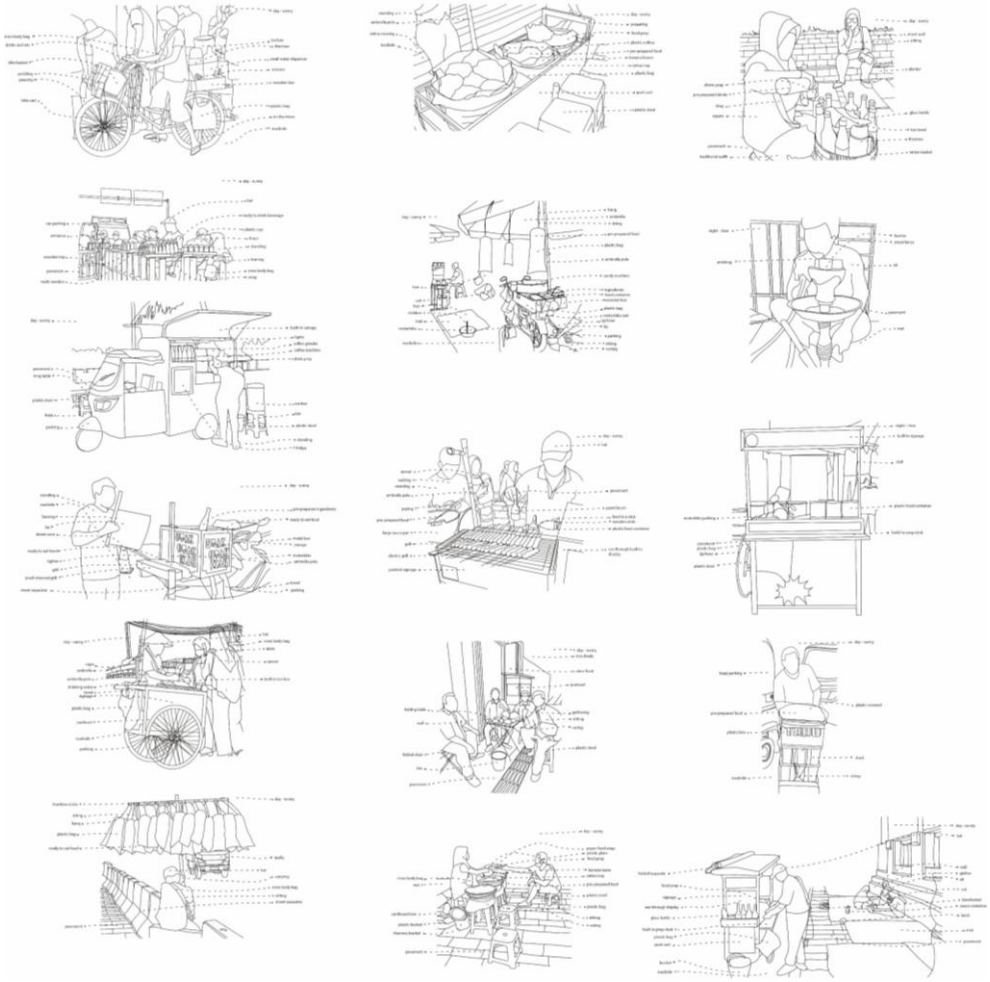

day - sunny
wooden board - wall
hang
string
toys
motorbike parking
plastic stool
tarpaulin
tarpaulin
tent
hang
signage
wooden display board
plastic chair
wooden pallets
plastic bag
pavement


day - sunny
preparing
squatting
pavement
toys
mat
plastic tray

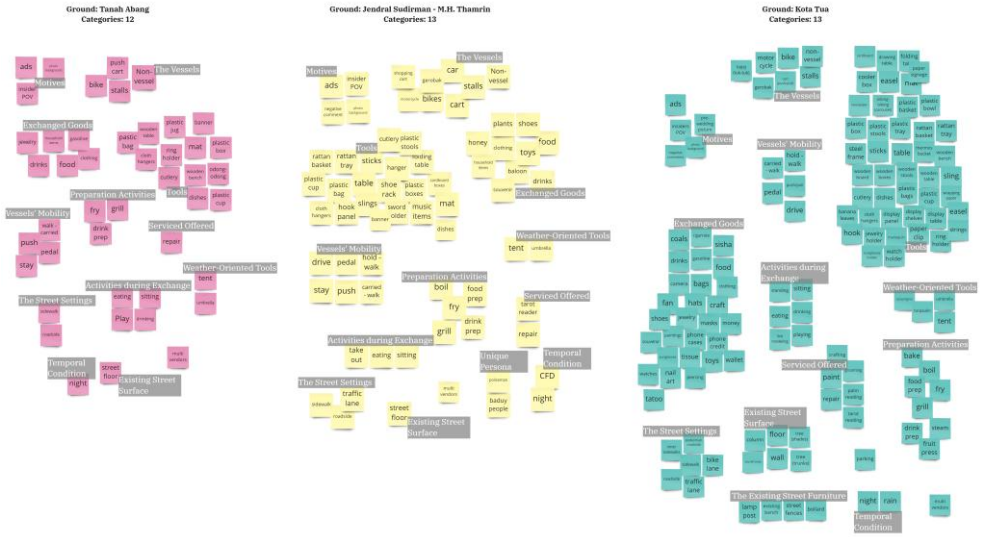

day - rainy
cross body bag
food prep
standing
knife
bowl
plastic bag
plastic table
plastic bag
knife
built-in prep desk
multi-use

day - sunny
gumboot
built-in display
Backpack
squatting
cross body bag
towel
laying
raincoat
sleeping bowl
rubber

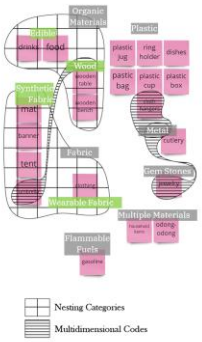
day - sunny
umbrella
signage
sitting
chair
plastic bag
ice box



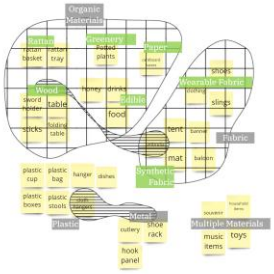
Axial coding process:



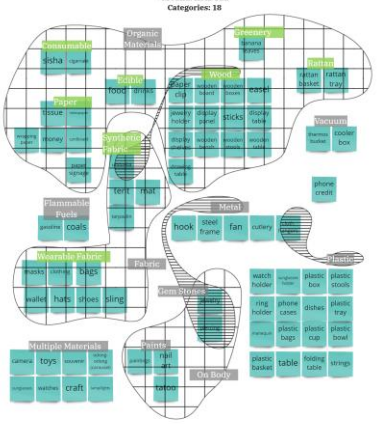
Ground: Tanah Abang
Categories: 11



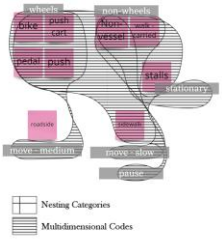
Ground: Jendral Sudirman - M.H. Thamrin
Categories: 12



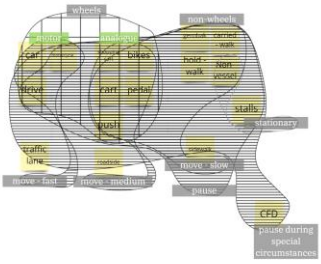
Ground: Kota Tua
Categories: 18



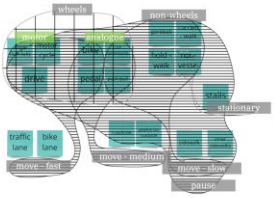
Ground: Tanah Abang
Categories: 6



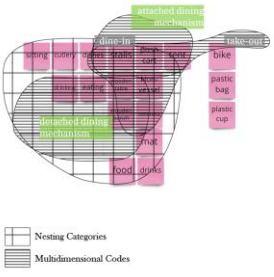
Ground: Jendral Sudirman - M.H. Thamrin
Categories: 10



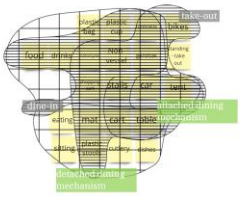
Ground: Kota Tua
Categories: 9



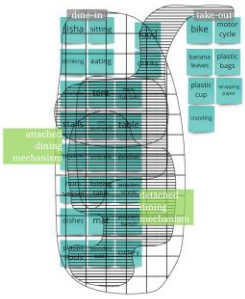
Ground: Tanah Abang
Categories: 4

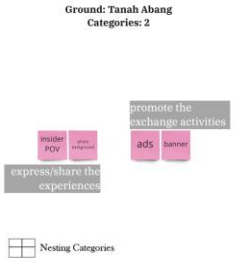


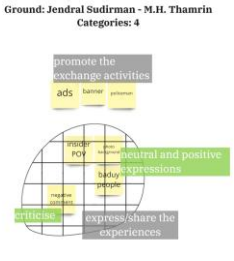
Ground: Jendral Sudirman - M.H. Thamrin
Categories: 4

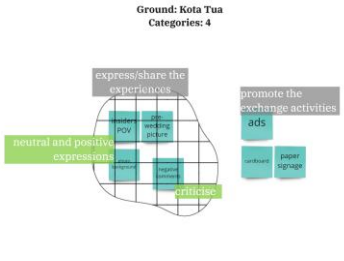


Ground: Kota Tua
Categories: 4

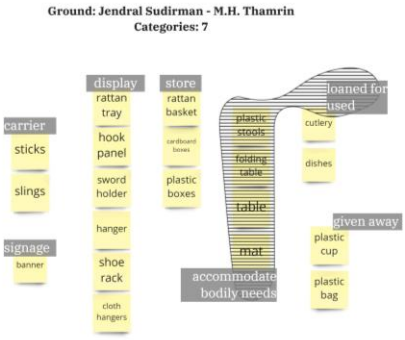


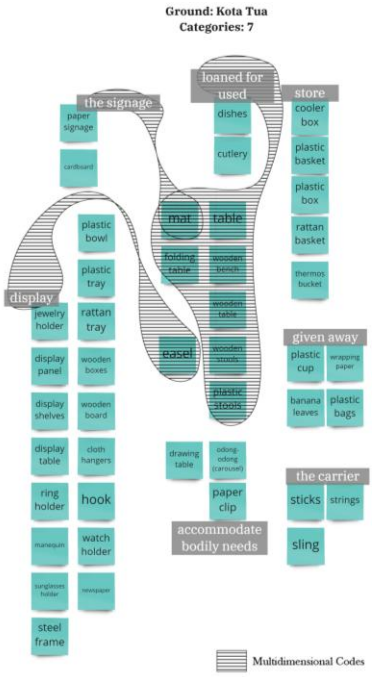

Ground: Tanah Abang
Categories: 2
promote the exchange activities
ads
banner
express/share the experiences
Nesting Categories

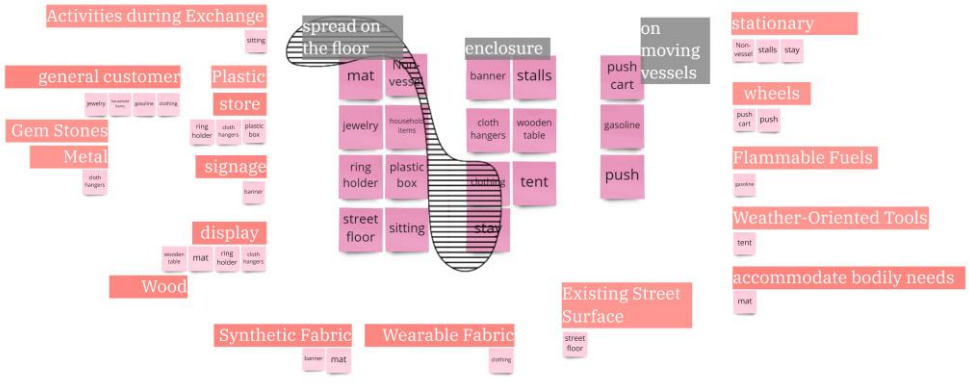

Ground: Jendral Sudirman - M.H. Thamrin
Categories: 4
promote the exchange activities
ads
banner
neutral and positive expressions
criticise
express/share the experiences

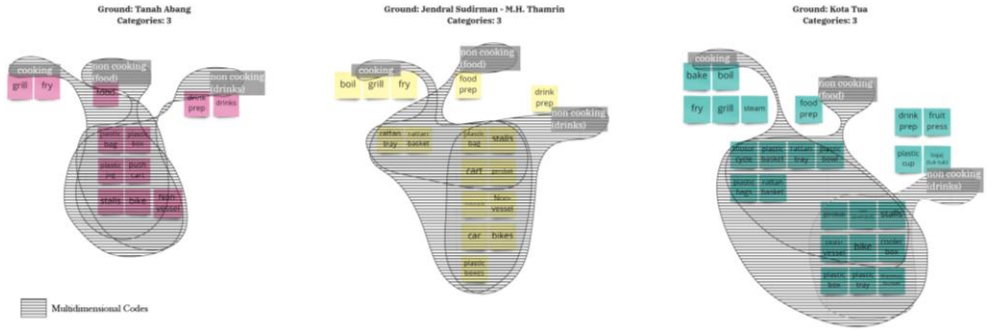

Ground: Kota Tua
Categories: 4
express/share the experiences
neutral and positive expressions
promote the exchange activities
ads
criticise

Ground: Tanah Abang
Categories: 7
loaned for used
cutlery
dishes
odong-odong
mat
wooden table
wooden bench
display
cloth hangers
ring holder
banner
signage
store
plastic box
preparation tools
plastic jug
pastic bag
plastic cup
given away
accommodate bodily needs

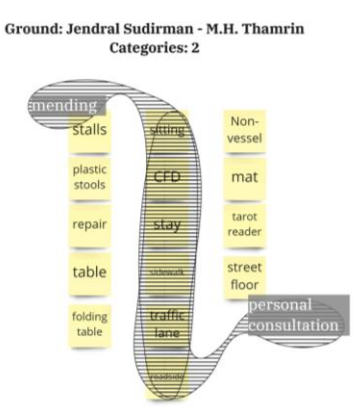

Ground: Jendral Sudirman - M.H. Thamrin
Categories: 7
carrier
sticks
slings
signage
banner
display
rattan tray
hook panel
sword holder
hanger
shoe rack
cloth hangers
store
rattan basket
cardboard boxes
plastic boxes
loaned for used
plastic stools
folding table
table
mat
cutlery
dishes
given away
plastic cup
plastic bag
accommodate bodily needs

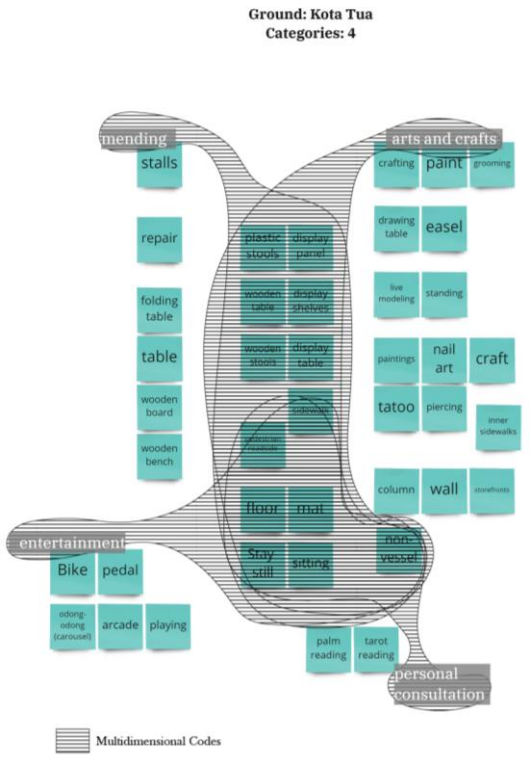

Ground: Kota Tua
Categories: 7
loaned for used
the signage
paper signage
cardboard
dishes
cutlery
store
cooler box
plastic basket
plastic box
rattan basket
thermos bucket
mat
table
folding table
wooden bench
wooden table
wooden stools
plastic stools
plastic bowl
plastic tray
rattan tray
wooden boxes
wooden board
cloth hangers
watch holder
newspaper
display
jewelry holder
display panel
display shelves
display table
ring holder
manequin
sunglasses holder
steel frame
easel
drawing table
odong-odong (carousel)
paper clip
hook
accommodate bodily needs
given away
plastic cup
wrapping paper
banana leaves
plastic bags
the carrier
sticks
strings
sling
Multidimensional Codes

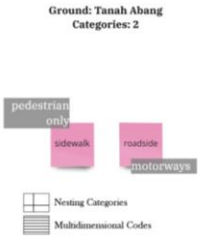

Activities during Exchange
sitting
general customer
jewelry
household items
gasoline
clothing
Gem Stones
Metal
cloth hangers
Plastic
store
ring holder
cloth hangers
plastic box
signage
banner
display
wooden table
mat
ring holder
cloth hangers
Wood
spread on the floor
mat
Non vessel
jewelry
household items
ring holder
plastic box
street floor
sitting
enclosure
banner
stalls
cloth hangers
wooden table
clothing
tent
stay
on moving vessels
push cart
gasoline
push
stationary
Non vessel
stalls
stay
wheels
push cart
push
Flammable Fuels
gasoline
Weather-Oriented Tools
tent
accommodate bodily needs
mat
Existing Street Surface
street floor
Synthetic Fabric
banner
mat
Wearable Fabric
clothing

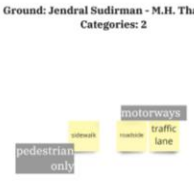

Ground: Tanah Abang
Categories: 3
Ground: Jendral Sudirman - M.H. Thamrin
Categories: 3
Ground: Kota Tua
Categories: 3
Multidimensional Codes

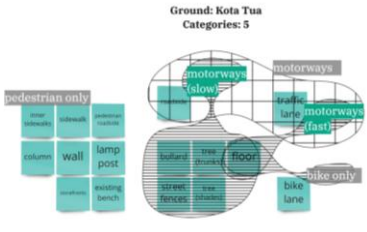
Ground: Tanah Abang
Categories: 2
entertainment
bike
odong-odong
Play
pedal
Non-vessel
mat
repair
mending
sitting
street floor
stay


Ground: Jendral Sudirman - M.H. Thamrin
Categories: 2
mending
stalls
plastic stools
repair
table
folding table
sitting
CFD
stay
traffic lane
Non-vessel
mat
tarot reader
street floor
personal consultation

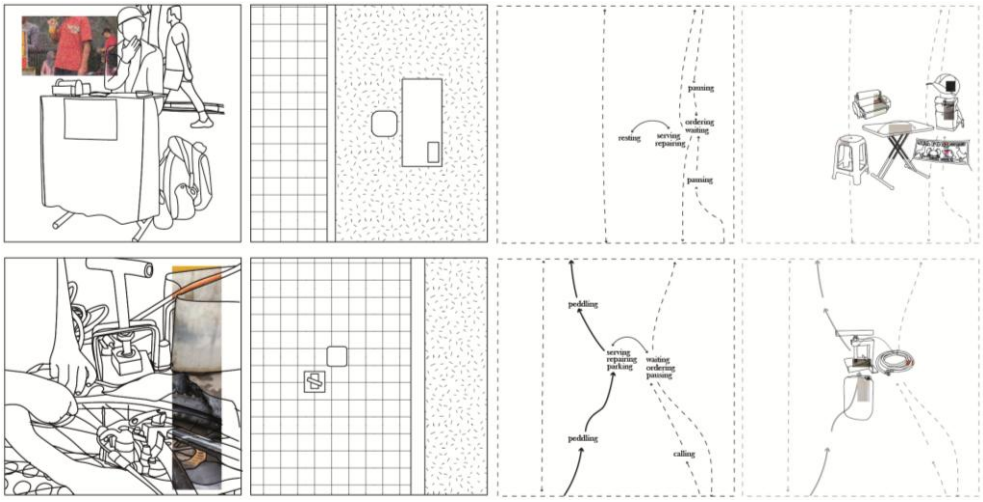

Ground: Kota Tua
Categories: 4
mending
stalls
repair
folding table
table
wooden board
wooden bench
arts and crafts
crafting
paint
grooming
drawing table
easel
live modeling
standing
paintings
nail art
craft
tatoo
piercing
inner sidewalks
column
wall
storefronts
plastic stools
display panel
wooden table
display shelves
wooden stools
display table
sidewalks
floor
mat
entertainment
Bike
pedal
odong-odong (carousel)
arcade
playing
Stay still
sitting
non-vessel
palm reading
tarot reading
personal consultation
Multidimensional Codes

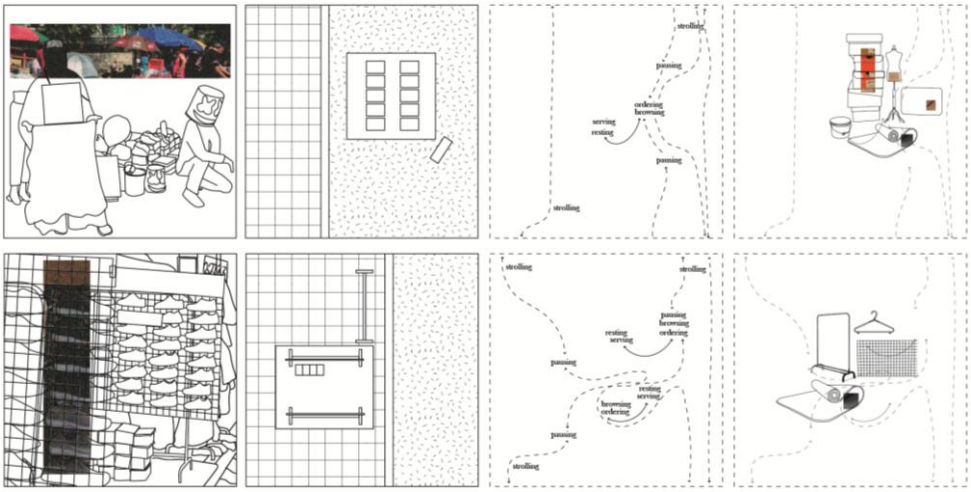

Ground: Tanah Abang
Categories: 2
pedestrian only
sidewalk
roadside
motorways
Nesting Categories
Multidimensional Codes

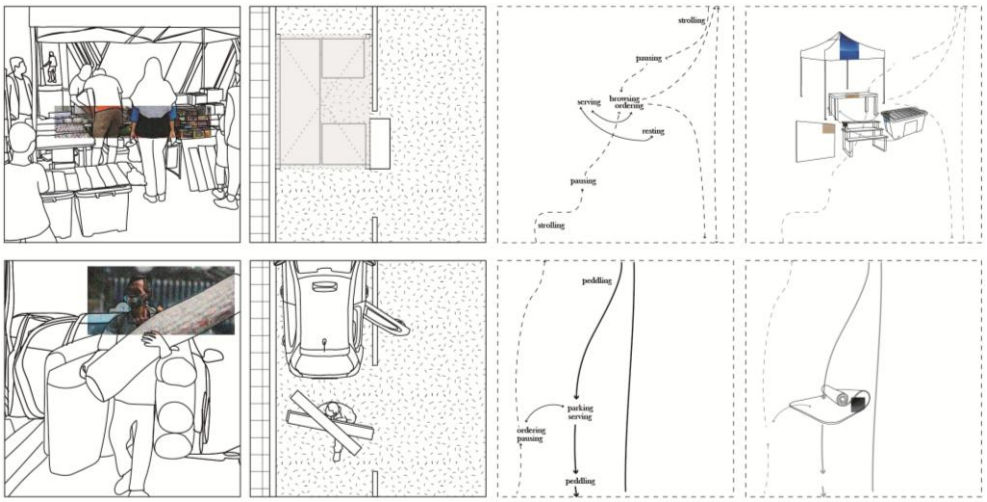

Ground: Jendral Sudirman - M.H. Thamrin
Categories: 2
sidewalk
roadside
motorways
traffic lane
pedestrian only

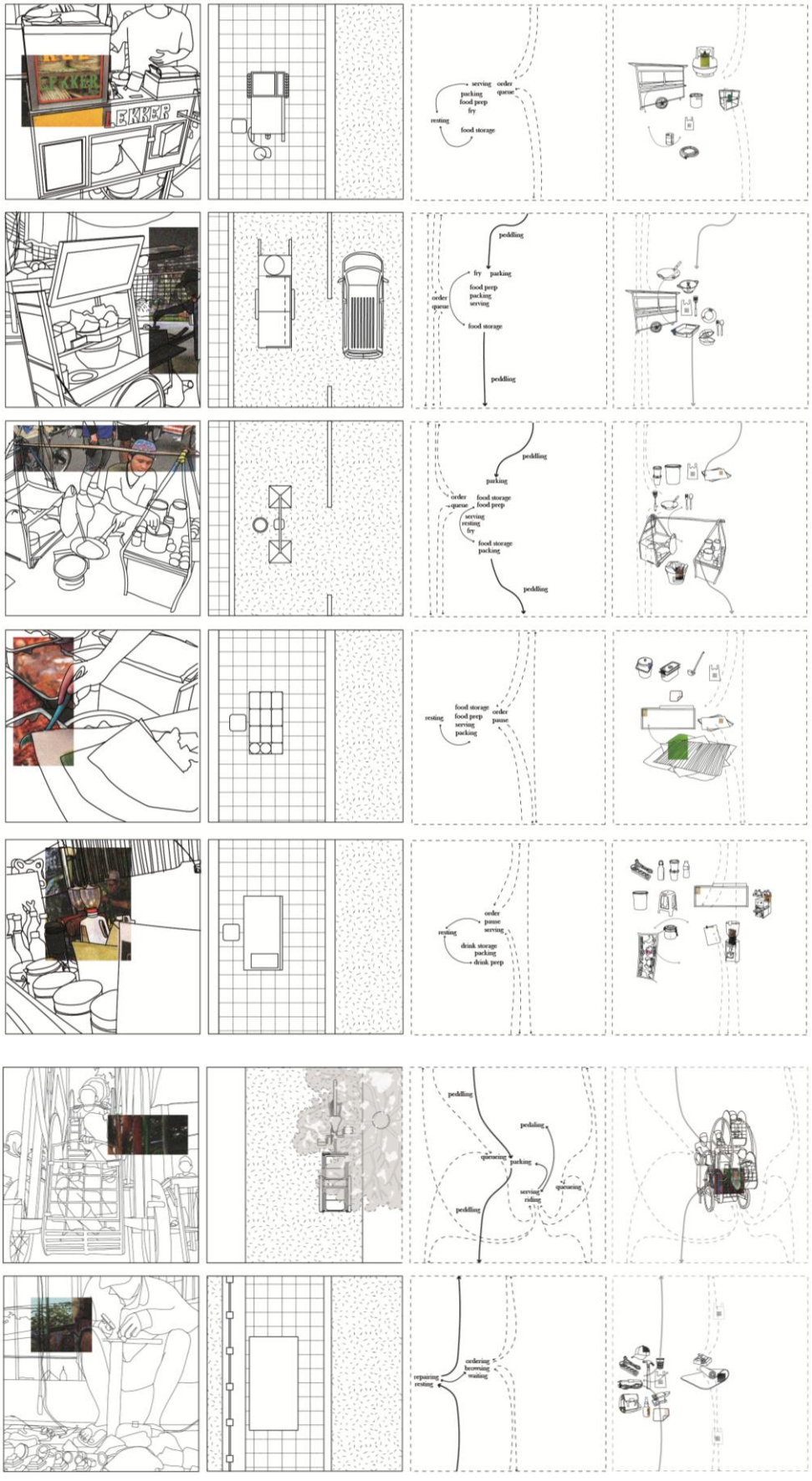

Ground: Kota Tua
Categories: 5
pedestrian only
motorways (slow)
motorways
traffic lane
motorways (fast)
sidewalk
wall
lamp post
bollard
floor
street fences
bike only
bike lane

Diagramming:








LEKKER
serving
order
queue
packing
food prep
fry
resting
food storage
peddling
fry
parking
food prep
packing
serving
order
queue
food storage
peddling
peddling
parking
order
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food storage
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serving
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food storage
food prep
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drink storage
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ordering
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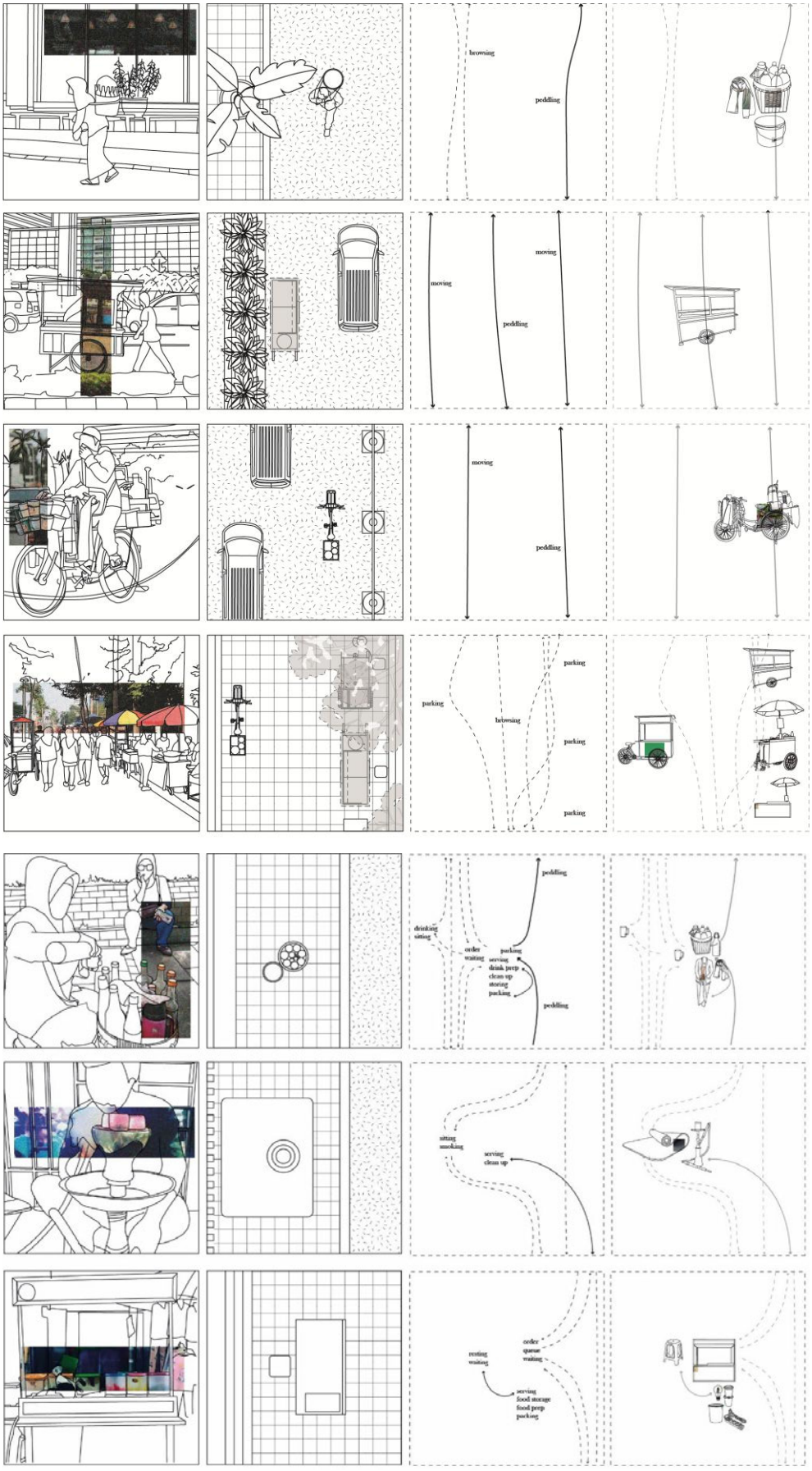
waiting
repairing
resting


browsing
peddling
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moving
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browsing
parking
parking
peddling
drinking
sitting
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waiting
parking
serving
drink prep
clean up
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order
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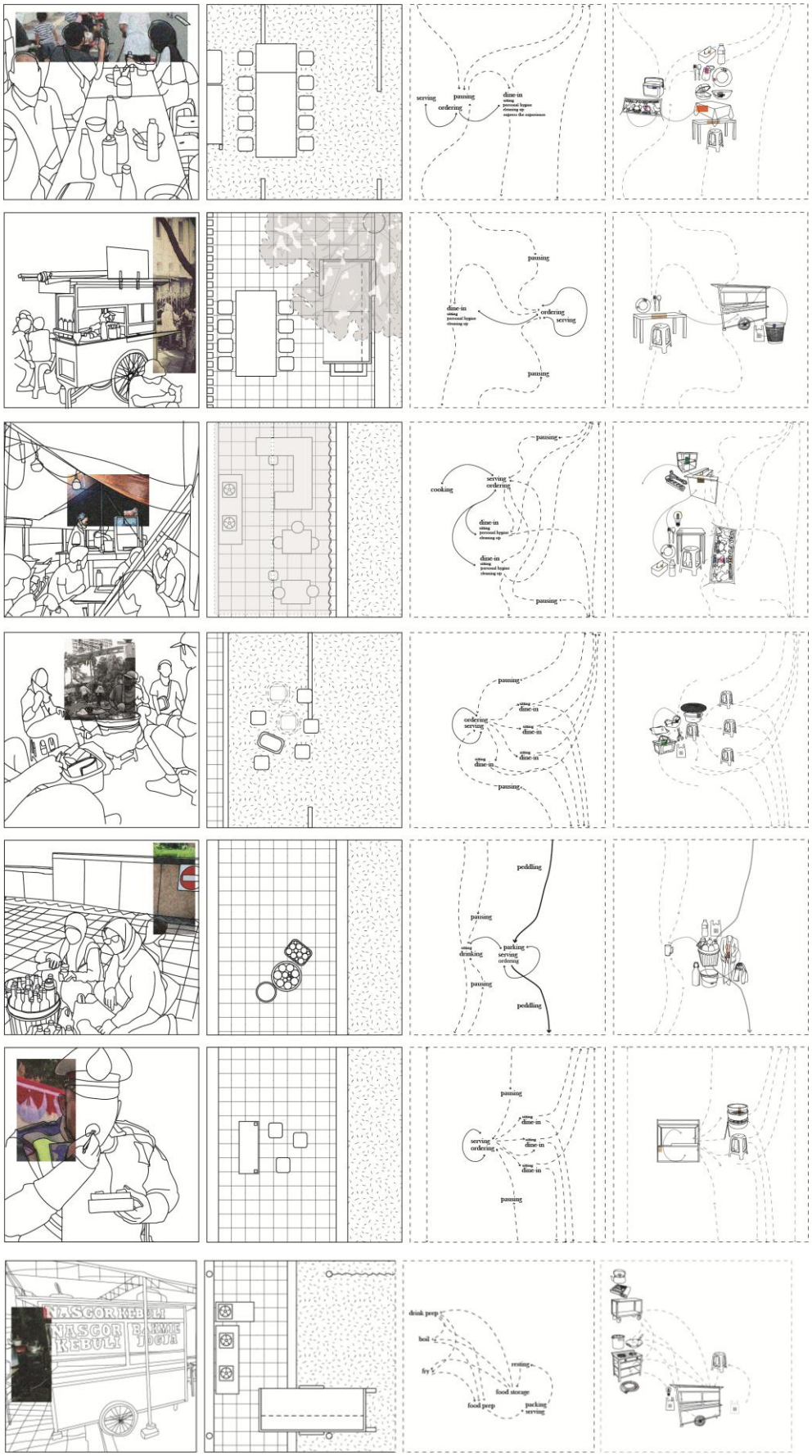
serving
food storage
food prep
packing


serving
pausing
ordering
dine-in
sitting
personal hygine
cleansing up
express the experience
pausing
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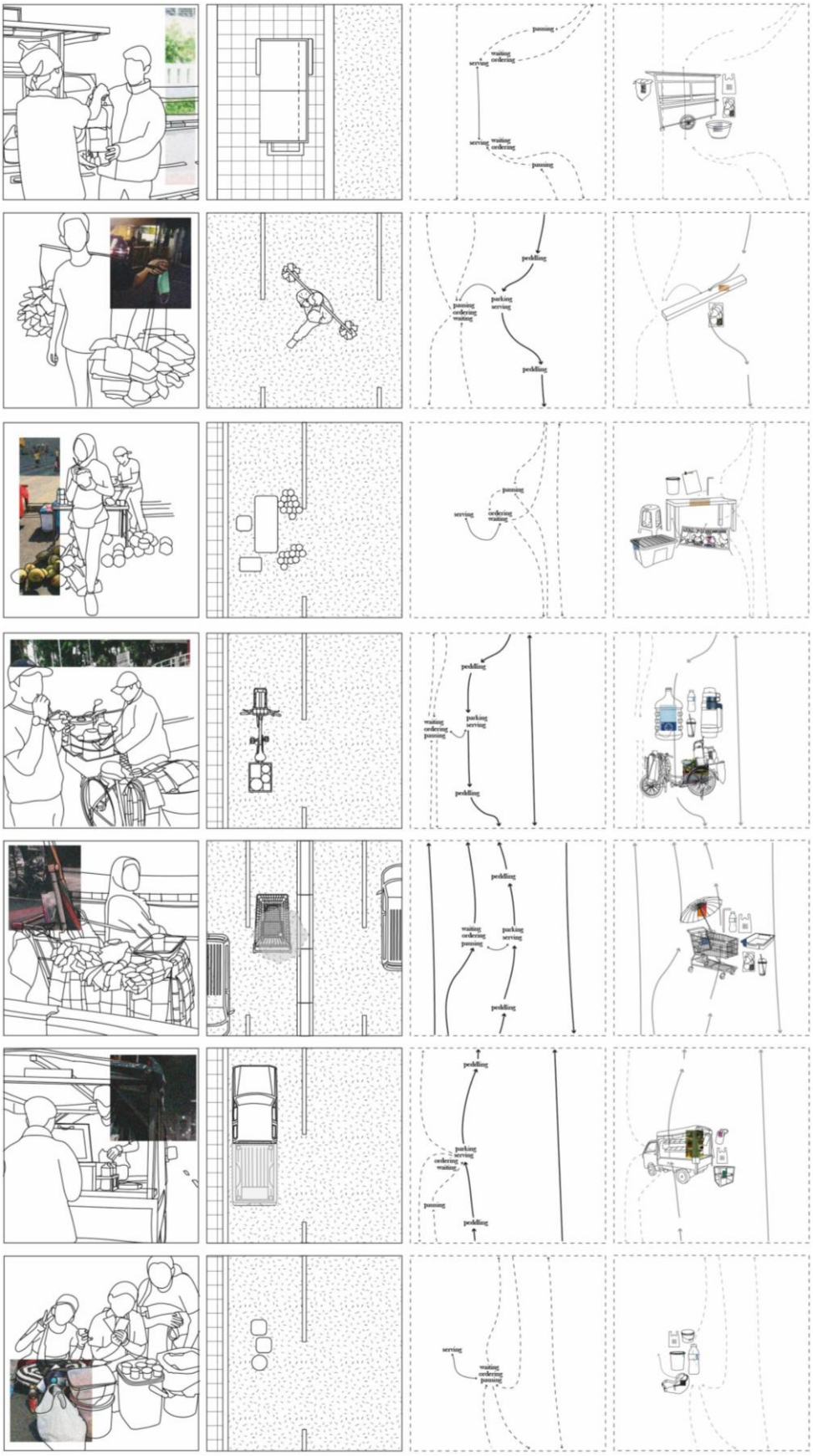
passing
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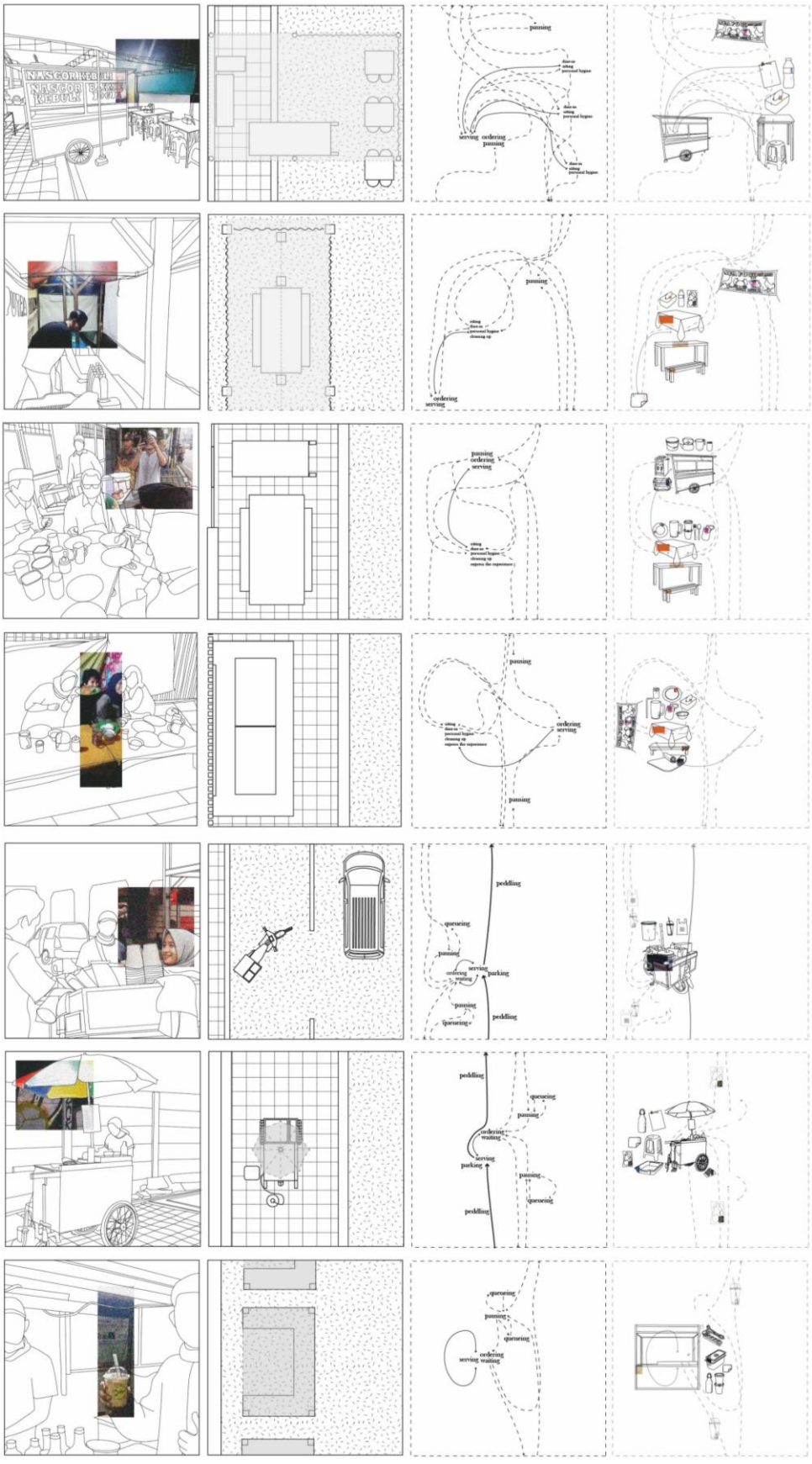
NASCOR REBUS
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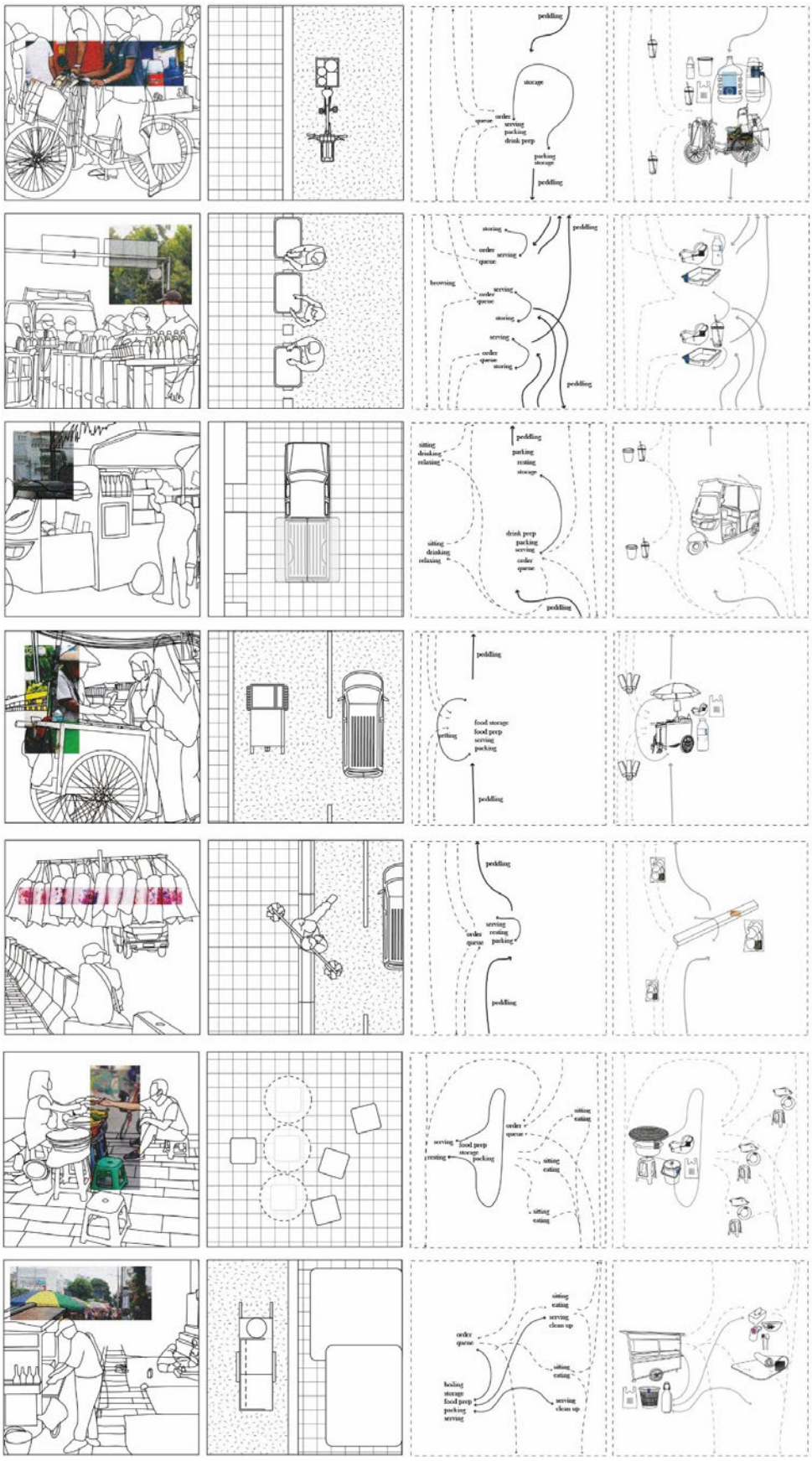
peddling
storage
order
queue
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packing
drink prep
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browsing
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queue
storing
serving
order
queue
storing
peddling
sitting
drinking
relaxing
peddling
parking
resting
storage
drink prep
packing
serving
order
queue
sitting
drinking
relaxing
peddling
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food storage
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peddling
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resting
parking
order
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peddling
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queue
sitting
eating
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food prep
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packing
resting
sitting
eating
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heating
storage
food prep
packing
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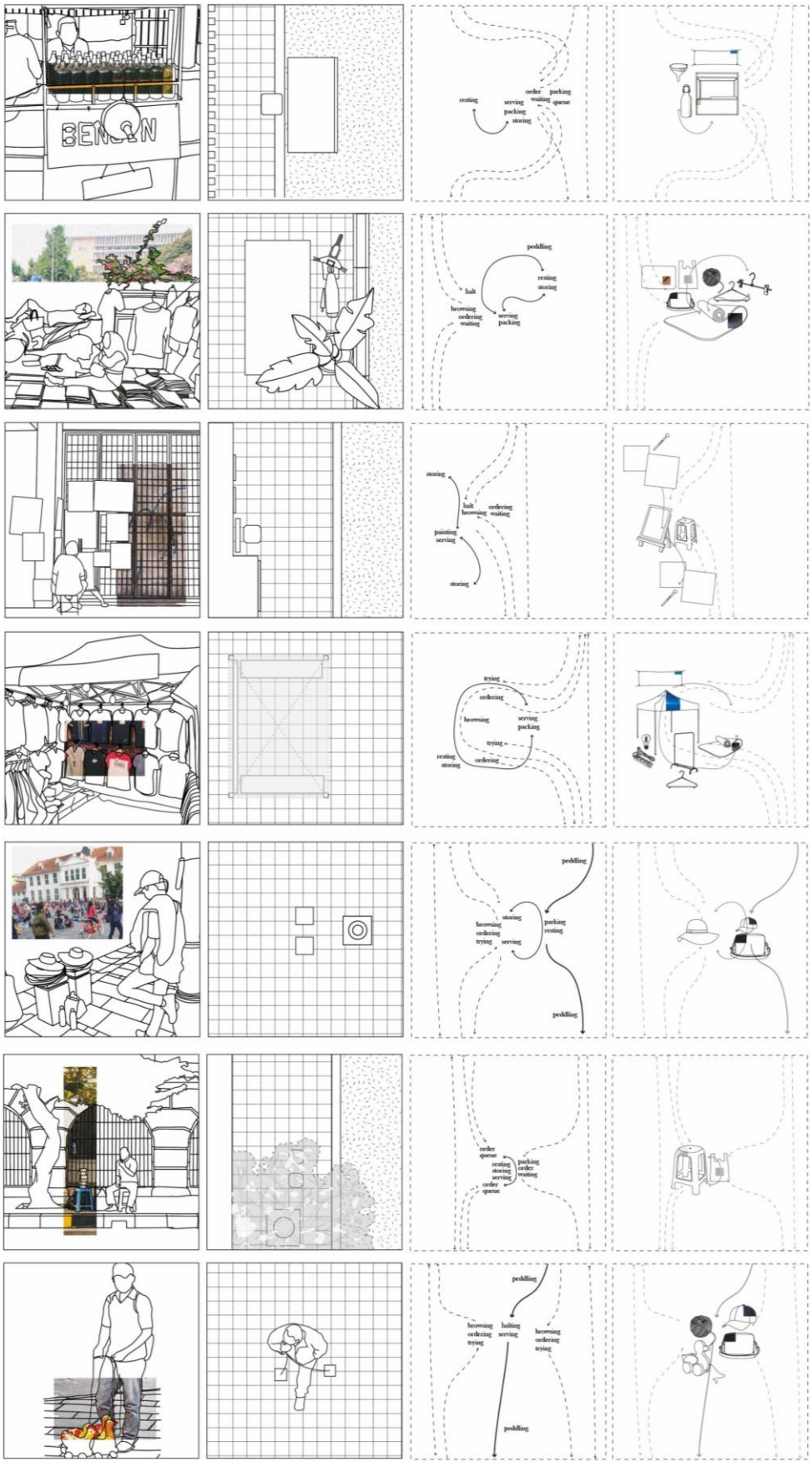
serving
clean up


BENSIN
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order
parking
serving
waiting
queue
packing
storing
peddling
resting
storing
halt
browsing
ordering
waiting
serving
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storing
halt
browsing
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waiting
painting
serving
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trying
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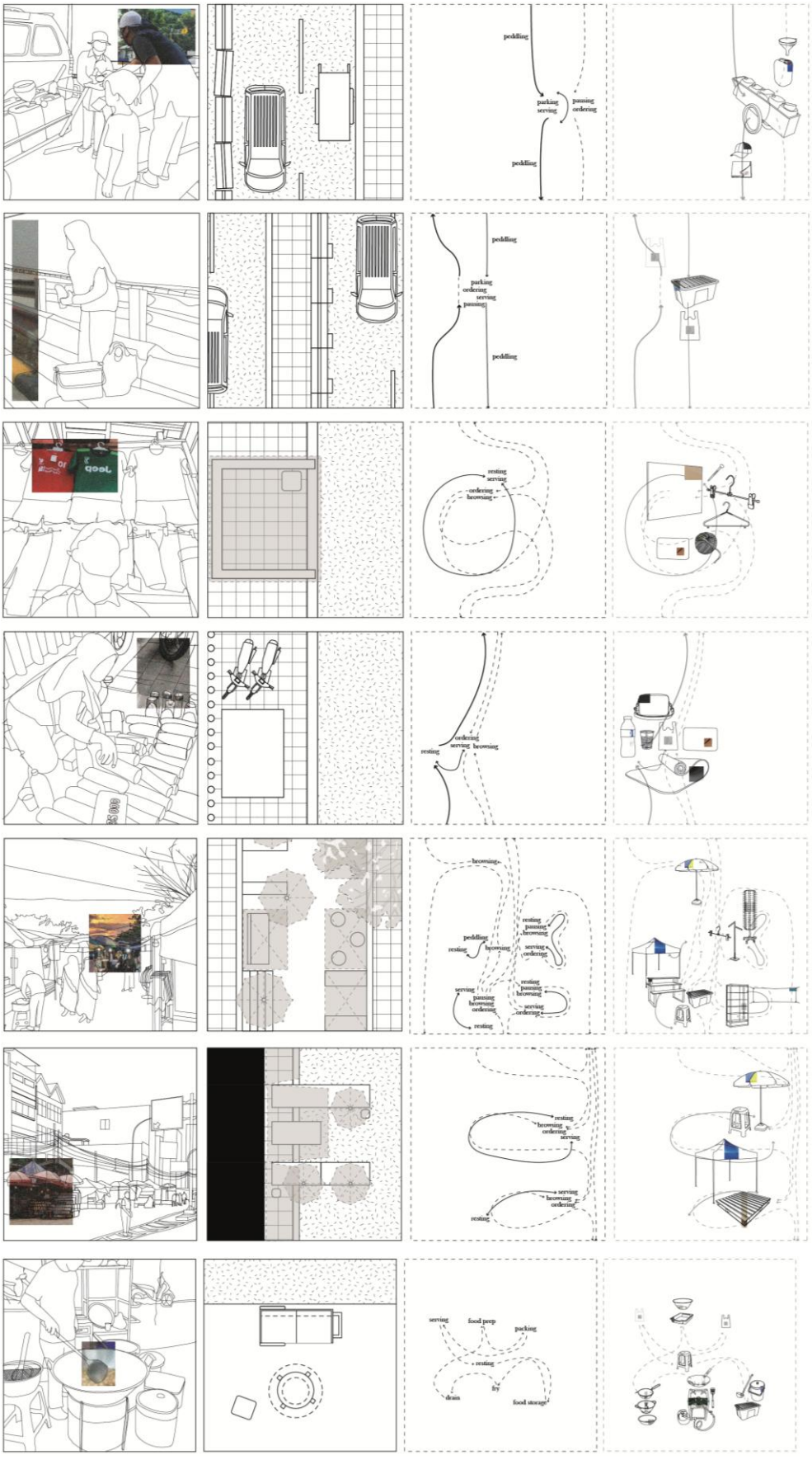
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resting
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fry
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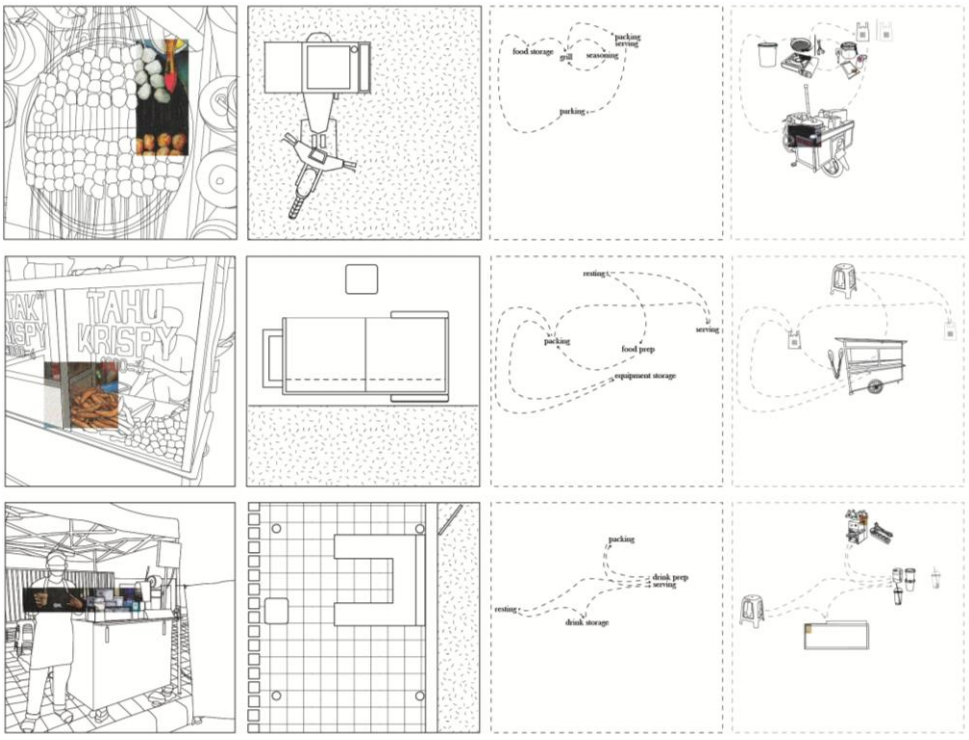
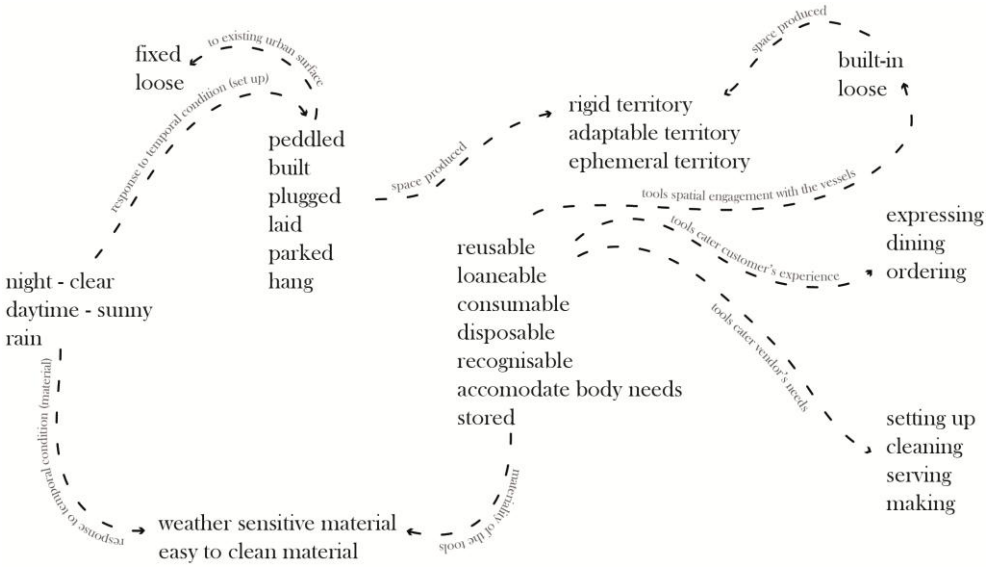
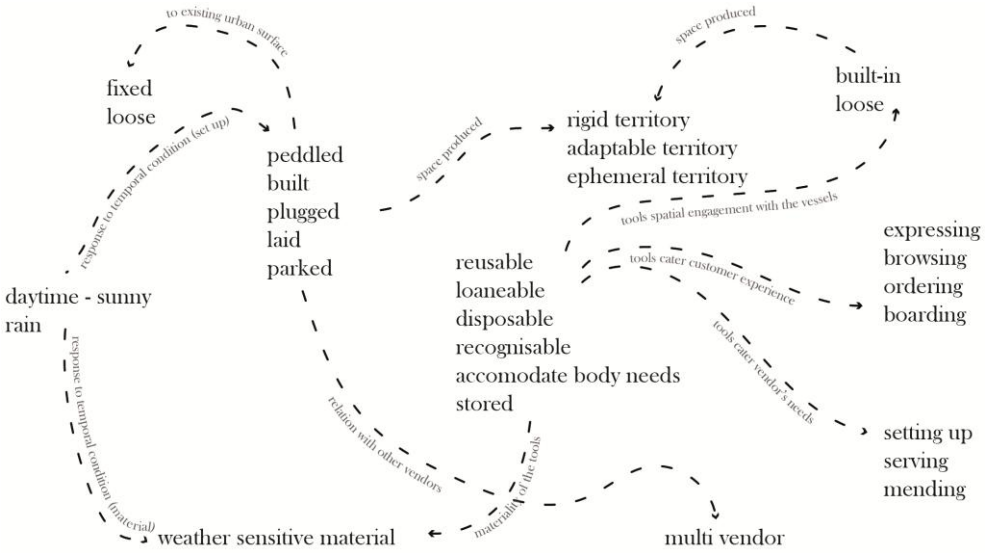
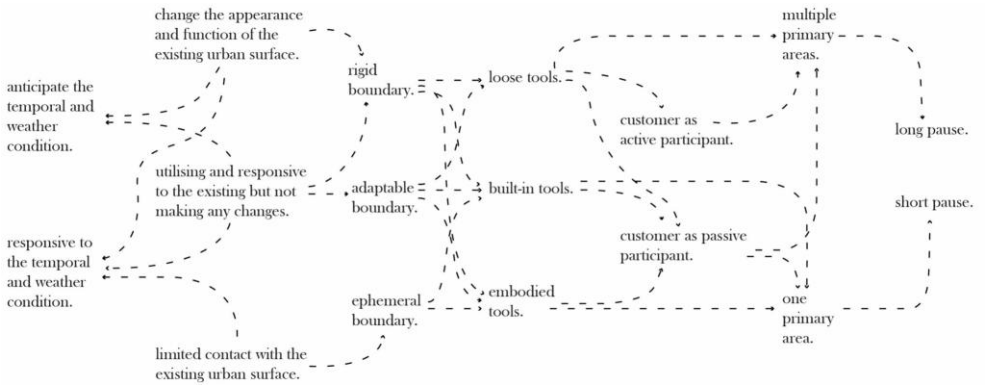
food storage



Selective coding process:







Walking

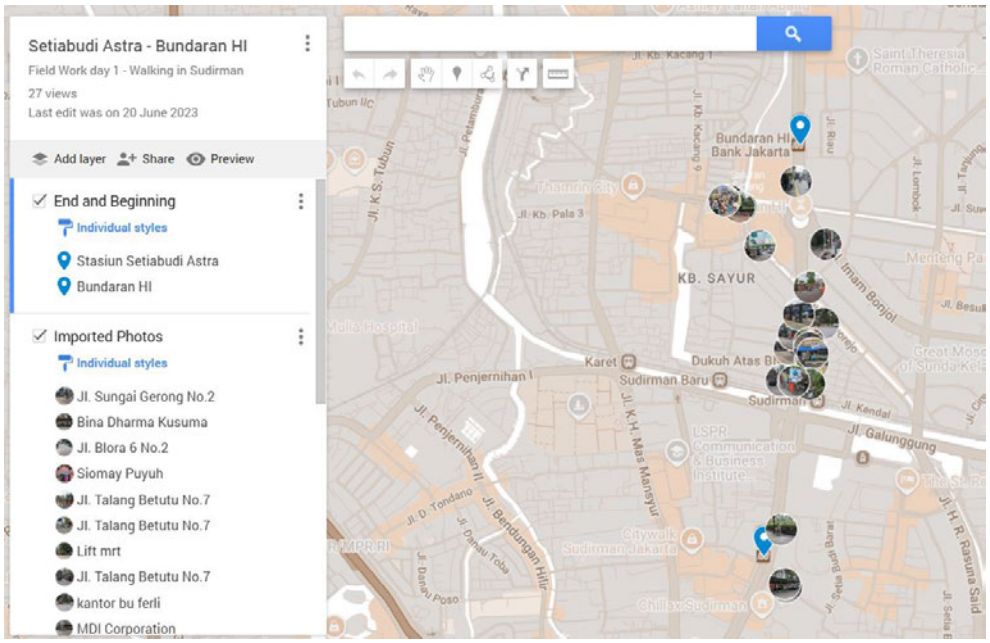
Fieldwork planning:

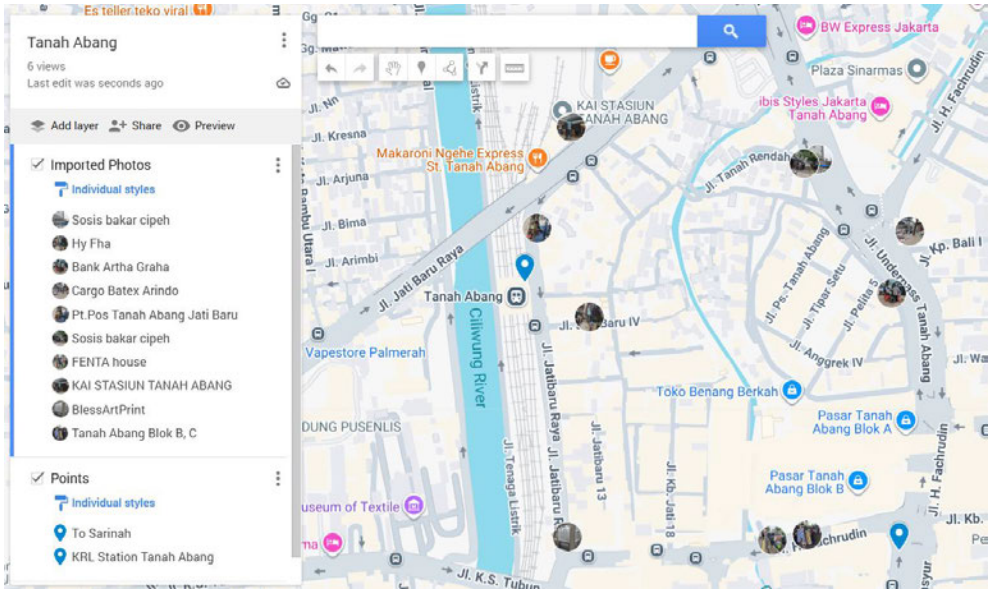
Sudirman - Thamrin	Series of streets: Jalan Jenderal Soedirman - Jalan M. H. Thamrin Length 6.3 km Location: South Jakarta and Central Jakarta	• Business and financial districts (CBD) with government offices and shopping malls • An area with integrated public transport facilities (KRL, MRT & Transjakarta). • Model for ideal street (based on Spatial Planning for DKI Jakarta Province in 2010-2030), meaning encourage people to use public transport and lessen the traffic congestion (Apriasari, 2021).					CFD (Car Free Day) every sunday.
Kota Tua Jakarta	Series of streets: Jalan Stasiun Kota - Jalan Pintu Besar Utara - Jalan Kali Besar Timur 5 - Jalan Kali Besar Timur 4 - Jalan Pos Kota - Jalan Lada Total length: 1303.49 m (1.3 km) Location: West Jakarta	• Tourist attractions (museums, restaurants, old town neighbourhood, etc.) • The subject of government revitalisation project to attract more tourist.					Weekends and holidays are more crowded.
Tanah Abang	Series of streets: Jalan Jati Baru - Jalan KH Mansyur - Jalan Pasar Tanah Abang Total length: 1552.04 m (1.55 km) Location: Central Jakarta	• Commercial district • The government 'testing' site for regulation. For example the Peraturan Gubernur No. 41 Tahun 2014 to gives access to private firm to own the land, to Instruksi Gubernur No. 17 Tahun 2018, the attempt to 'normalise' street vendors.					Following the commercial district operation time: 7 AM to 4 PM

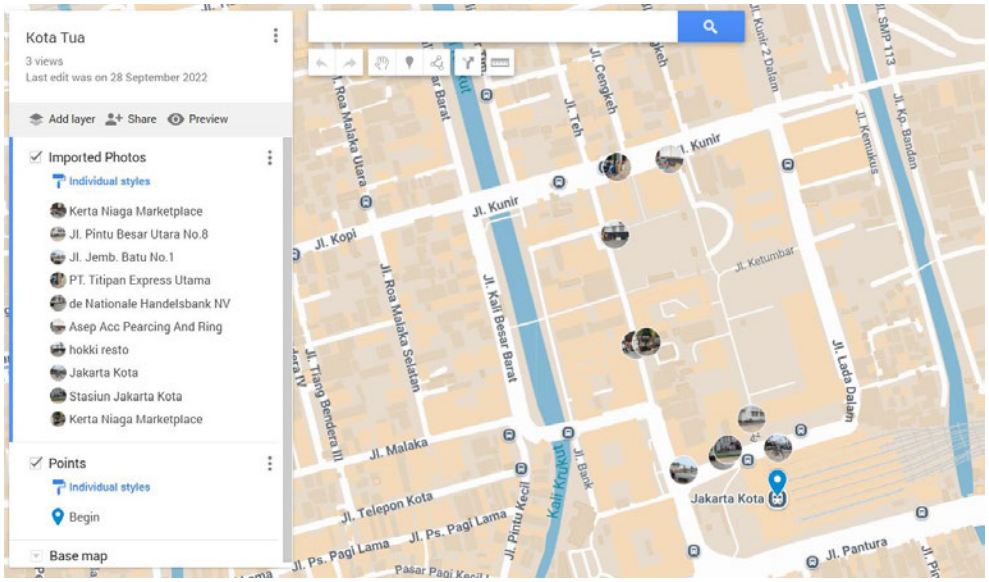
	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
AUGUST 2022						12	13
	14	15 **arrive in Jakarta**	16 Location 1: Sudirman	17	18	19	20
	21	22 Location 2: Tanah Abang	23	24	25	26	27
	28 Location 3: Kota Tua	29	30	31	1	2	3 Injury time
SEPTEMBER 2022	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	11	12 **back to the UK**	13	14	15		

	Detail Activities per Day	Expected Outputs	Preparation or Action Needed Pre-walking
Day 1/8/15	• Pre-walking observation: Experience the street from vehicles. • 'enter' the field: autoethnography walk around the area. get familiar with the streets and notes possible routes and area to be investigated further the next day.	• Written & visual notes as an outsider and during autoethnography walk. • Photos and videos from the vehicles • Photos and videos from the streets • 'mobile' videos and 'still' videos	the permission letter from three district offices. this is just in case since the observation will be done in public area that might not require permission.
Day 2/9/16	Walking as observer and participant (1): • Observe and engage with street vendors (type 1: 2-3) • Observe and engage with several street users (2-3) • Do transgression and acting out of place • Collecting clues • Link the activities with specific locations in the street.	• Written & visual journal • Photos and videos from the streets • Voice recording (of the discussions) • Detailed 'map' or diagram of the activities and experience	• Pre-drawn 'map' of the area • Consent forms • Souvenirs for respondent (street vendors and street users) in exchange for clues.
Day 3/10/17	Walking as observer and participant (2): • Observe and engage with street vendors (type 2: 2-3) • Observe and engage with several street users (2-3) • Do transgression and acting out of place • Collecting clues • Link the activities with specific locations in the street.	• Written & visual journal • Photos and videos from the streets • Voice recording (of the discussions) • Detailed 'map' or diagram of the activities and experience	• Pre-drawn 'map' of the area • Consent forms • Souvenirs for respondent (street vendors and street users) in exchange for clues.
Day 4/11/18	Walking as observer and participant (3): • Observe and engage with street vendors (type 3: 2-3) - if possible, following their activities* • Do transgression and acting out of place • Collecting clues • Link the activities with specific locations in the street.	• Written & visual journal • Photos and videos from the streets • Voice recording (of the discussions) • Detailed 'map' or diagram of the activities and experience	• Pre-drawn 'map' of the area • Consent forms • Souvenirs for respondent (street vendors and street users) in exchange for clues.
Day 5/12/19	Walking as observer and participant (4) • Observe and engage with street vendors (type 4: 2-3) - if possible, following their activities* • Do transgression and acting out of place • Collecting clues • Link the activities with specific locations in the street. • Formulate the routes	• Written & visual journal • Photos and videos from the streets • Voice recording (of the discussions) • Detailed 'map' or diagram of the activities and experience • Cartography sketches of the possible routes for the autoethnographic walk.	• Pre-drawn 'map' of the area • Consent forms • Souvenirs for respondent (street vendors and street users) in exchange for clues.
Day 6/13/20	• 'leaving' the field: autoethnography walk to experience the street as pedestrian. • Walk through the 'routes' that are formulated through the fieldwork.	• Written & visual notes as an outsider and during autoethnography walk. • Photos and videos from the vehicles • Photos and videos from the streets • 'mobile' videos and 'still' videos	• Cartography sketches of the possible routes for the autoethnographic walk.

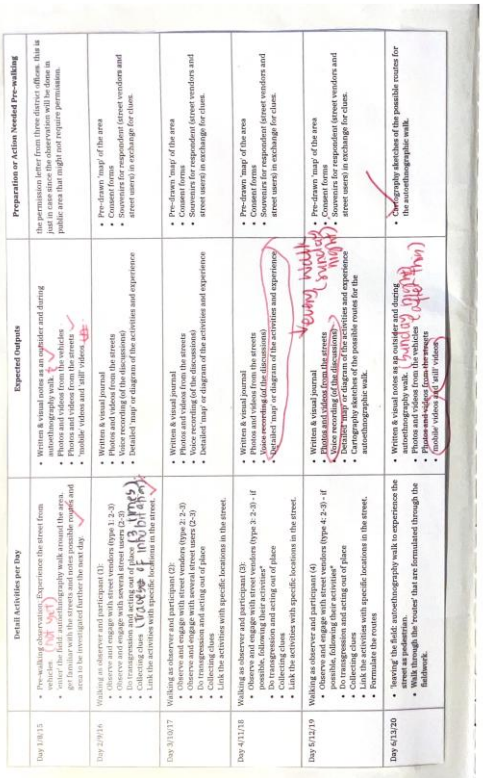
Google My Maps examples:



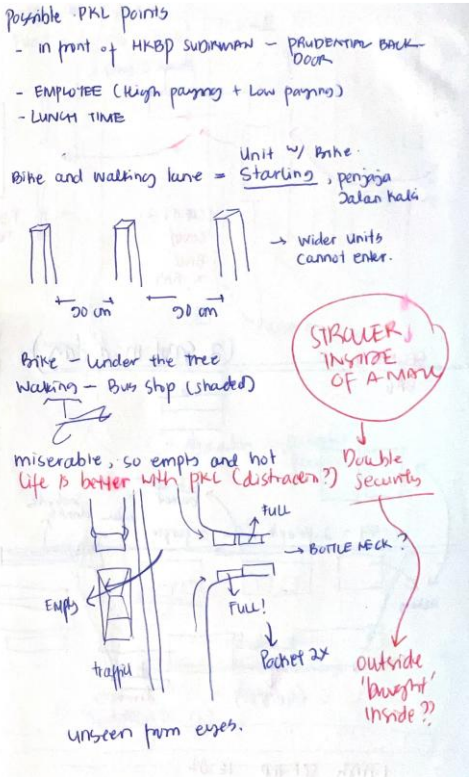


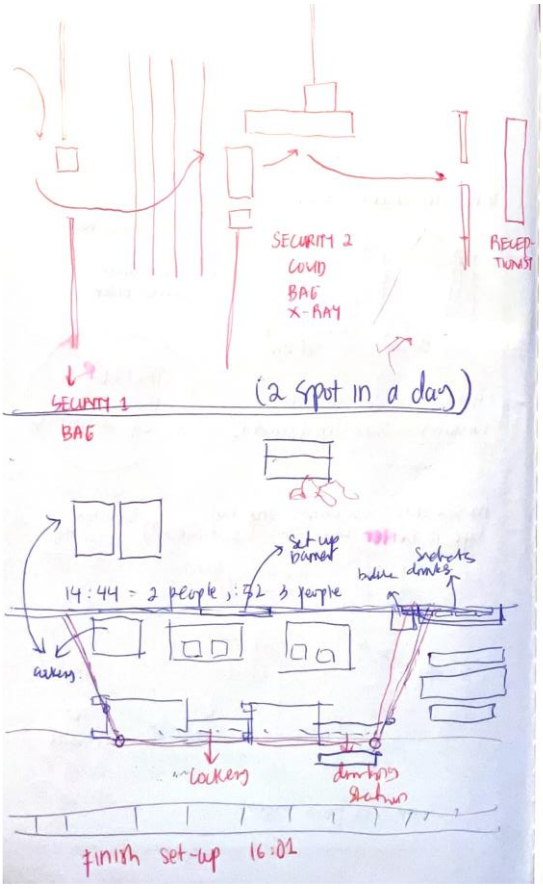


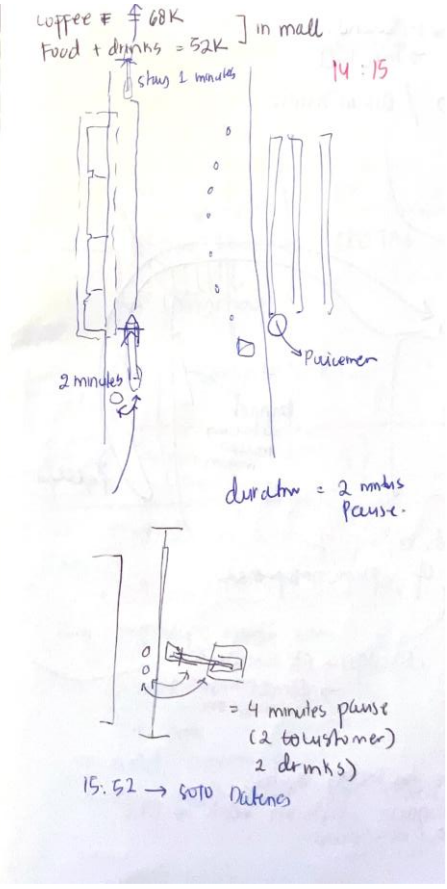
Fieldwork notes and drawings:

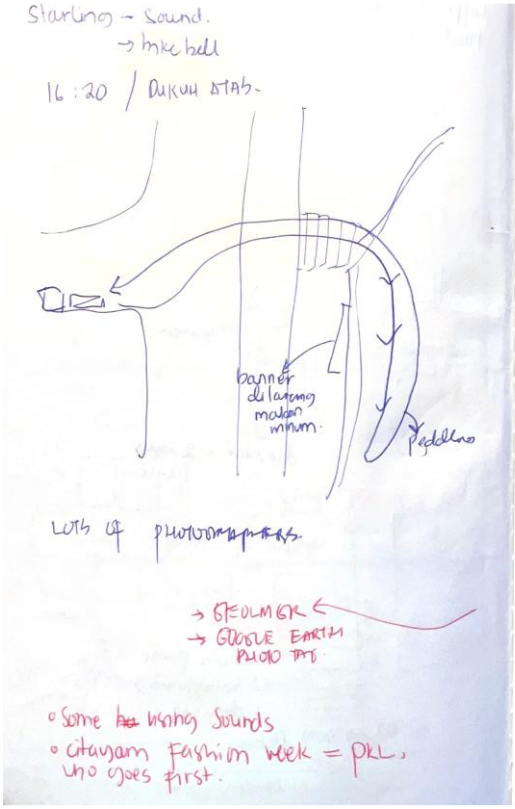


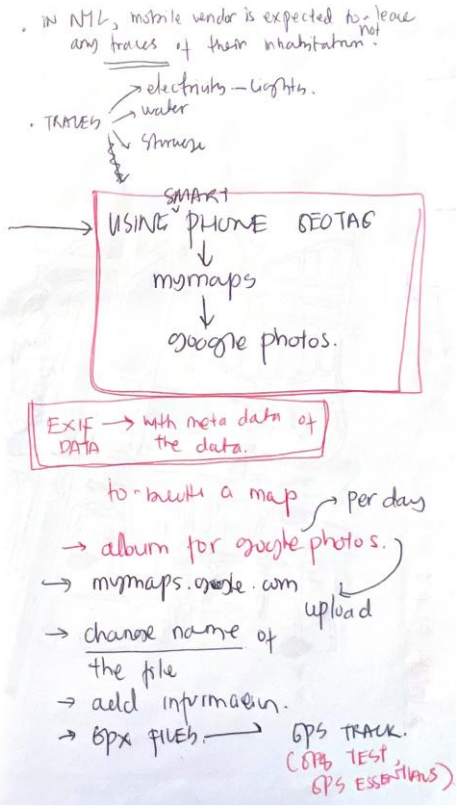
	Detail Activities per Day	Expected Outputs	Preparation or Action Needed Pre-walking
Day 1/8/15	• Pre-walking observation: Experience the street from vehicles (Kijang, Motor) • Initial field autoethnography walk around the area, get familiar with the streets and notes possible routes and area to be investigated further the next day.	• Written & visual notes as an outsider and during autoethnography walk • Photos and videos from the vehicles • Photos and videos from the streets • 'mobile' videos and 'still' videos	the permission letter from three district offices. this is just in case since the street vendors usually operate in public area that might not require permission.
Day 2/8/16	Walking as observer and participant (1): • Observe and engage with street vendors (type 1; 2-3) • Observe and engage with several street users (2-3) • Do transgression and acting out of place • Collecting clues • Link the activities with specific locations in the street.	• Written & visual journal • Photos and videos from the streets • Voice recording (of the discussions) • Detailed 'map' or diagram of the activities and experience	• Pre-drawn 'map' of the area • Consent forms • Souvenirs for respondent (street vendors and street users) in exchange for clues.
Day 3/8/17	Walking as observer and participant (2): • Observe and engage with street vendors (type 2; 2-3) • Observe and engage with several street users (2-3) • Do transgression and acting out of place • Collecting clues • Link the activities with specific locations in the street.	• Written & visual journal • Photos and videos from the streets • Voice recording (of the discussions) • Detailed 'map' or diagram of the activities and experience	• Pre-drawn 'map' of the area • Consent forms • Souvenirs for respondent (street vendors and street users) in exchange for clues.
Day 4/1/18	Walking as observer and participant (3): • Observe and engage with street vendors (type 3; 2-3) – if possible, following their activities* • Do transgression and acting out of place • Collecting clues • Link the activities with specific locations in the street.	• Written & visual journal • Photos and videos from the streets • Voice recording (of the discussions) • Detailed 'map' or diagram of the activities and experience	• Pre-drawn 'map' of the area • Consent forms • Souvenirs for respondent (street vendors and street users) in exchange for clues.
Day 5/12/19	Walking as observer and participant (4): • Observe and engage with street vendors (type 4; 2-3) – if possible, following their activities* • Do transgression and acting out of place • Collecting clues • Link the activities with specific locations in the street. • Formulate the routes	• Written & visual journal • Photos and videos from the streets • Voice recording (of the discussions) • Detailed 'map' or diagram of the activities and experience • Cartographic sketches of the possible routes for the autoethnographic walk.	• Pre-drawn 'map' of the area • Consent forms • Souvenirs for respondent (street vendors and street users) in exchange for clues.
Day 6/12/20	• 'learning' the field: autoethnography walk to experience the street as pedestrian. • Walk through the 'routes' that are formulated through the fieldwork.	• Written & visual notes as an outsider and during autoethnography walk. • Photos and videos from the vehicles • Photos and videos from the streets • 'mobile' videos and 'still' videos	• Cartographic sketches of the possible routes for the autoethnographic walk.




SECURITY 2
COVID
BAG
X-RAY
RECEP-
TIONIST
SECURITY 1
BAG
(2 spot in a day)
14:44 = 2 people ; 72 3 people
Set up
banner
Snacks
drinks
bakery
lockers
finish set-up 16:01


coffee ₹ 68K
Food + drinks = 52K
] in mall
14 : 15
stay 1 minutes
2 minutes
Policemen
duration = 2 mnts
Pause.
= 4 minutes pause
(2 tolu/stomer)
2 drinks)
15.52 → SOTO Diatenes


Starting → Sound.
→ bike bell
16 : 20 / DUKUH STAS.
banner
dilayang
makan
minum.
Peddlers
LOTS OF PHOTOGRAPHS.
→ GEOLOGK
→ GOOGLE EARTH
PHOTO TAG
• Some ~~bad~~ using sounds
• citayam fashion week = pkL,
who goes first.


• IN NYL, mobile vendor is expected to leave
any traces of their inhabitation.
not
• TRACES
electricity — lights.
water
streets
SMART
USING PHONE GEOTAG
mymaps
google photos.
EXIF DATA → with meta data of the data.
to-do with a map → per day
→ album for google photos.
→ mymaps.google.com
upload
→ change name of the file
→ add information.
→ GPX FILES → GPS TRACK.
(GPS TEST,
GPS ESSENTIALS)

Field Diary / 17/08

today is independance day
start a bit early, at around 10.am.
office is closed today so almost no vendors outside of prudential parking lot (only two)

measure the crib.
taking picture of TRACES LEFT FROM THE TEMPORARY HABITATION

Pavement is empty,
except its getting busier near the Bundaran HI.

Bought food from vendors — GK
She was a bit apprehensive about being interviewed but obliged me taking picture of ~~their~~ her stuff.

go walk near KRL station, quite empty → Take measurement of the structure

clearly the vendor is ignoring the government 'himbauan'. they are not that scared operating near the banner that clearly banned their existance.

police drinking coffee sold by street vendor. → not taking picture of it.

spotted masses started to form in Dukuh Atas MRT station — will investigate later.

Uses HP for traces of inhabitation.

Transgression :
- me buying gorengan. (2 minutes tops).
- me buying brownies.

FOOD
only a few that don't all near Sudirman station (masks).

Dukuh ATAS = Citayam Fashion Week

with BAG

MILO, LUPA FOTO !!!

MBA BROWNIS.

° SERIOUSLY TALK TO STARLING ~~tdy~~ !! ~~Esp~~ at least get their picture and measurement !!

~~Inter~~

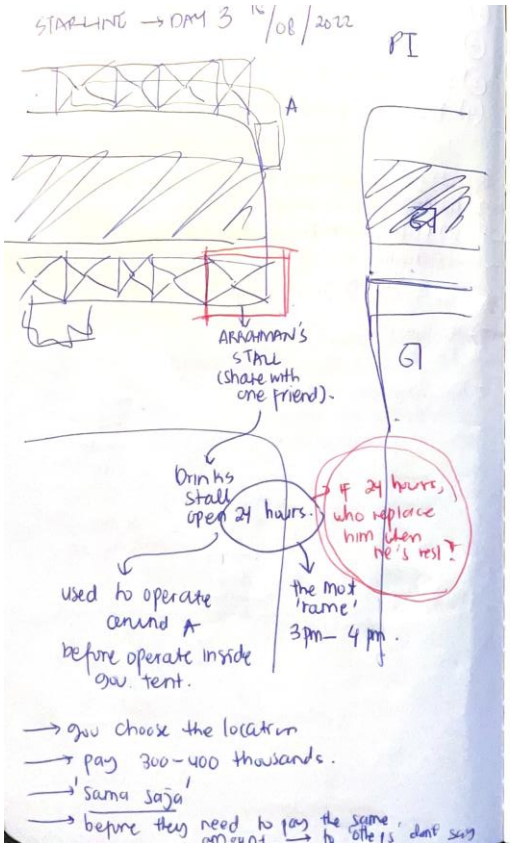
interaction w/ vendor :
1. Ibu gorengan → Wary with me
2. Mba Brownis → pre-package food
3. Mas Starling → 4 minutes from order to Finish

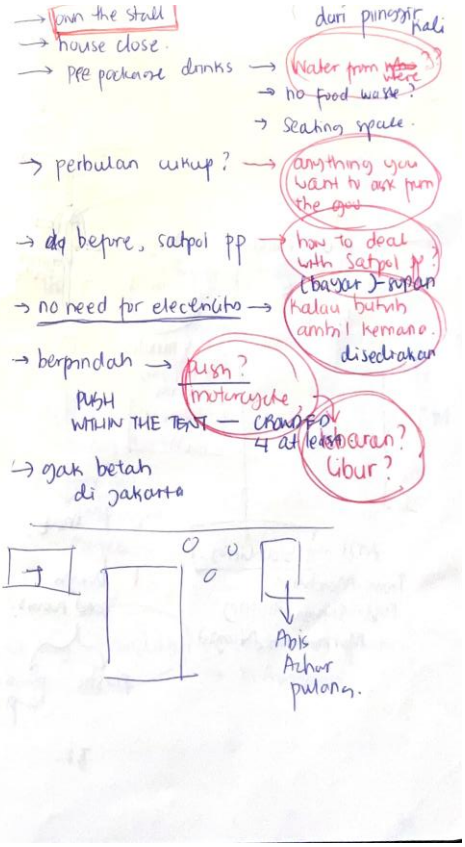
eyes / not → Then noc
bucket of ice
→ ice chocolate.
→ me as customer
→ Take away.

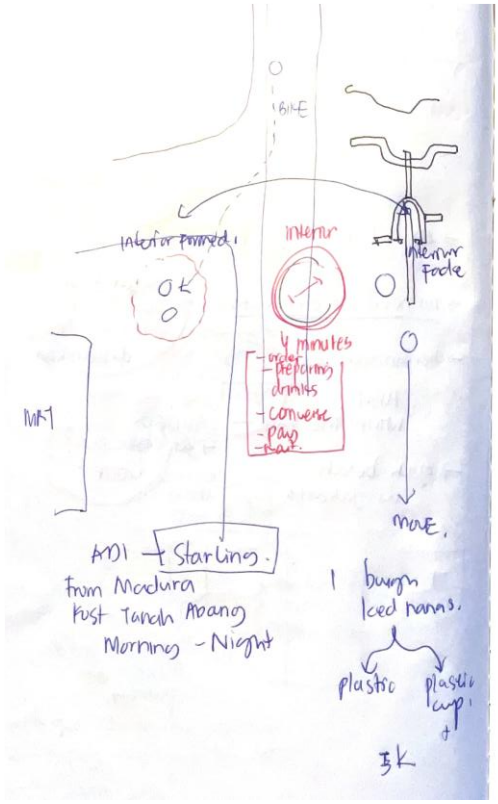
aware of everything.
go
roadside.
Stay
Sidewalk.
Leave travis.

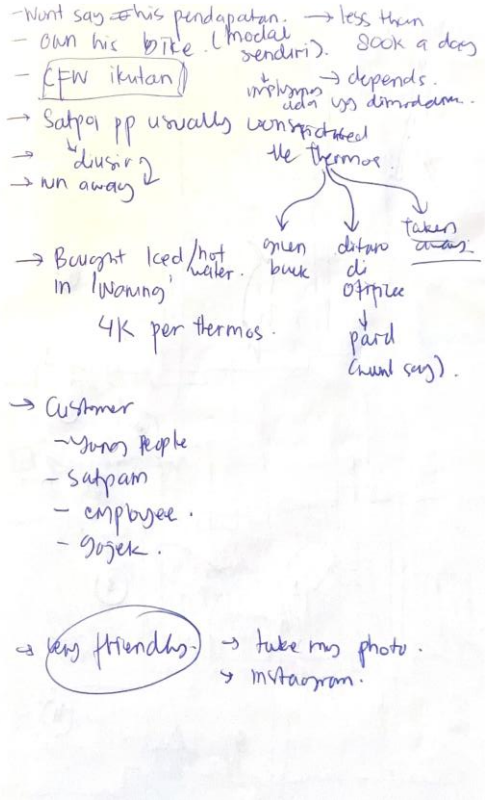
① SUDIRMAN = STARLING → TODAY !!
② CFW
③ seasonal Employee Canteen.
④ Evening food vendor.

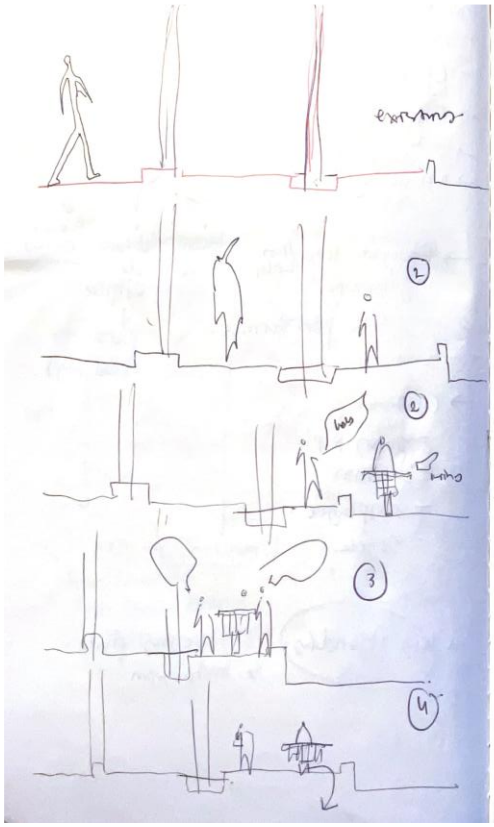
~~the only~~ interaction only last less than 5 minutes
→ Rame di Dukuh Atas.
travel from Tebet.
(Education and promotion).
↳ marginal group.

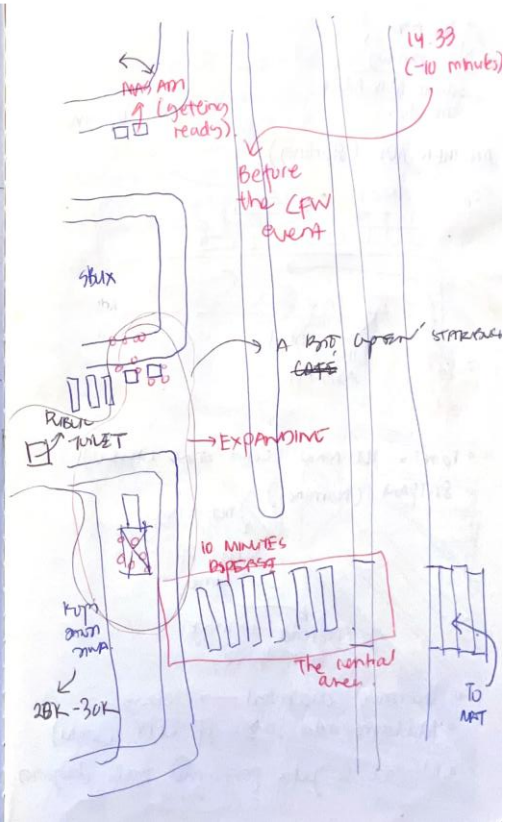

STARLING → DAY 3 16/08/2022
PI
A
ARAHMAN'S STALL (shape with one friend).
G1
Drinks stall open 24 hours.
if 24 hours, who replace him when he's rest?
used to operate around A
before operate inside our tent.
the most 'rame' 3pm - 4pm.
→ you choose the location
→ pay 300-400 thousands.
→ 'sama saja'
→ before they need to pay the same amount → to other's, don't say


→ own the stall
→ house close.
→ PPE packaged drinks → water from tap?
→ no food waste?
→ seating space.
→ perbulan cukup? → anything you want to ask from the gov
→ dll before, satpol pp → how to deal with Satpol PP? (bayar) - supan kalau butuh antri kemana. disediakan
→ no need for electricity →
→ berpindah → push? motorcycle, 4 at least sewaan? libur?
PUSH WITHIN THE TENT — crowded
→ gak betah di jakarta
dari pinggir kali
Pos Ashar pulang.

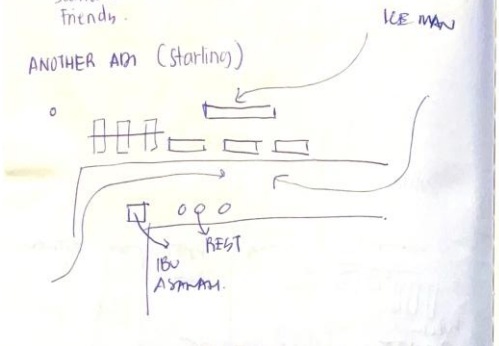

BIKE
interior painted.
interior
interior facade
MRT
15 minutes
- order
- preparing drinks
- converse
- pay
- eat.
move.
ANDI + Starling.
from Madura
Post Tanah Abang
Morning - Night
1 burger
iced drinks.
plastic
plastic cup.
3K


- Wont say his pendapatan. → less than
- own his bike (modal sendiri). Sock a day
- CFW ikutan
implying → depends.
dari yg dimasukkan.
→ Satpol pp usually confiscated the thermos.
→ dusir
→ run away
→ Bought iced/hot water. in 'Warung'
4K per thermos.
simen buat
ditaro di office
paid (wont say).
taken away.
→ Customer
- young people
- satpam
- employee.
- gojek.
→ very friendly. → take my photo.
→ instagram.





Nongnang
Sama Mas Adi + Friends.

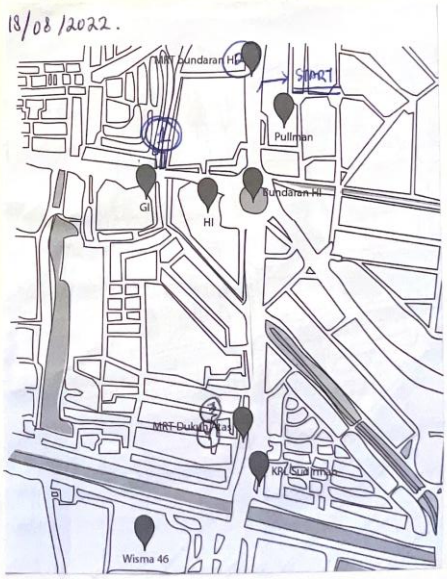


- POINT = ICE MAN (COME BEING CALLED)
- SATPAM (Warning). → not long. Satpol pp come → 'pretend' to move their bike.
- Thermos diambil → tebus
- Malam ada Satpol pp CFW (sabtu)
- Modal 2 juta pertama kali dagang

Asmah

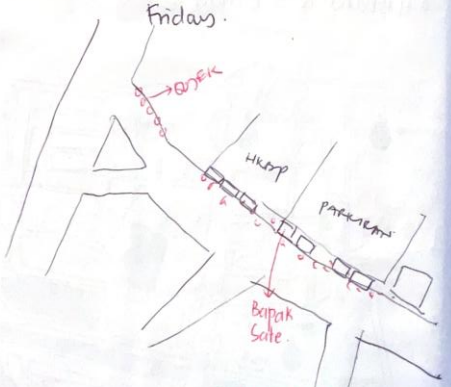
- 2017 dagang di Tanah Abang
- Pakai Troli — diusir dan berantem sama satpol pp
- Jualan di cun
- selalu bawa anaknya → kids playground
- sampai dagangan Habis (masak sendiri).
- Husband is a builder

18/08/2022.



- her 1st kid help her — 14 years old.
- school holiday
- from Bogor.
- the argument of PKL extending their 'home' to Jakarta.

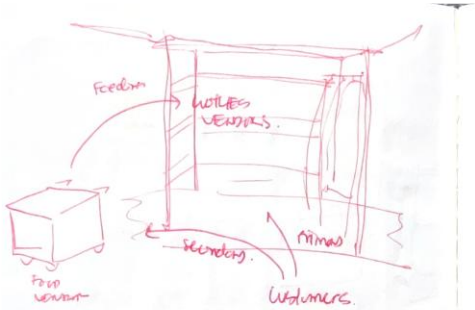
4th Day — Sate. (10.30 - 11.00).
Friday.

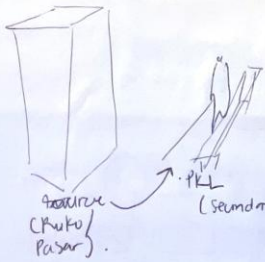


OBSERVATION:
(not much people in comparison with on Tuesday).
- SPONTANEOUS.
- began 10-ish, a lot coming at 11
- aiming for lunch time.
- OB ~~bringing their~~ buying their Bosses' lunch. → not ~~but~~ ogo themselves. young employee - ogo

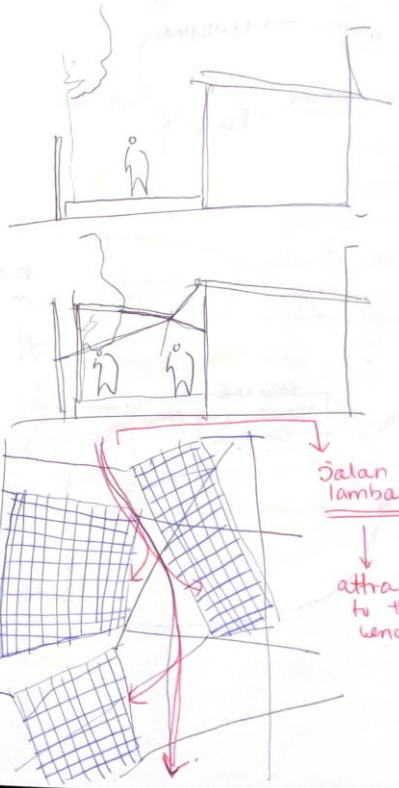
- Conversation with vendor.
price 17k — 23k → in comparison with mall at least 30k.
(without rice) (with rice)
- Rame / tidak : depends, not always.
- Weekdays - Employee
- 10 AM - sampai habis (sehabisnya) - around 4 pm?
ogo again at 4.
- Bayar sewa dengan gedung? → Listrik ngambil dr dalem
- water ambil di mana?
- all premade (meat, sauce, etc)
- 10:57 - 11.01 (my food ready, including y grill time + packing).
- no seating space - aim for takeaway.
- close with each other

Satpol pp?
Strategi
Wash their plate here as well





→ STATIONARY.



The rest of the fieldwork notes and drawings are available via this link.

Ethic form and sample of participant informed consent:

Royal College of Art
RESEARCH & INNOVATION

Participant Project Information & Consent Form

(One signed copy of this form should be retained by the Participant and one copy by the Project Researcher)

Informal inhabitations: the interior urbanism of Jakarta's streets

For further information
Supervisor:
RCA Research Ethics Committee
ethics@rca.ac.uk

21 July 2022

Dear Potential Participant,

My name is **Anak Agung Ayu Suci Warakanyaka**, a PhD student in the School of Architecture at the **Royal College of Art**. As part of my studies, I am conducting a research project entitled **Informal inhabitations: the interior urbanism of Jakarta's streets**, and the project is externally sponsored by **Indonesia Endowment Fund for Education (LPDP)**. You are invited to take part in this research project which explores the act of inhabiting the street as the practice of interiorisation done by **Street Vendors** intends to produce alternative habitable space in the city. The understanding gained from this is expected to open up a discussion about the role of the street as an alternative setting of the city's inhabitation and endorse the role of the interior as a medium of social and cultural initiatives.

If you consent to participate, this will involve:

1. Interview about the practice of inhabiting the street you are involved in.
2. Observation where the practice is on-going in the street.
3. Documentations about the practice (videos, pictures, drawings and notes)

Participation is entirely voluntary. You can withdraw at any time up to the point of publication and there will be no disadvantage if you decide not to complete the study. All information collected will be confidential. All information gathered will be stored securely and once the information has been analysed all individual information will be destroyed. Images or quotes, which may allow you to be identified will only be used with your express permission.

Research Office Royal College of Art Kensington Gore London SW7 2EU
t +44 (0)20 7590 4126 f +44 (0)20 7590 4542 research@rca.ac.uk www.rca.ac.uk/research

If you have any concerns or would like to know the outcome of this project, please contact **The Research Ethics Committee** at the above address.

Thank you for your interest.

I *(please print)* ..... have read the information above and all queries have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to voluntarily participate in this research and give my consent freely. I understand that I can withdraw my participation from the project up to the point of publication, without penalty, and do not have to give any reason for withdrawing.

I understand that all information gathered will be stored securely, and my opinions will be accurately represented. Any data in which I can be clearly identified will be used in the public domain only with my consent.

Participant Signature.....

Researcher Signature.....

Date: .....

Complaints Procedure:

This project follows the guidelines laid out by the Royal College of Art Research Ethics Policy.

If you have any questions, please speak with the researcher. If you have any concerns or a complaint about the manner in which this research is conducted, please contact the RCA Research Ethics Committee by emailing ethics@rca.ac.uk or by sending a letter addressed to:

The Research Ethics Committee
Royal College of Art
Kensington Gore
London
SW7 2EU

Translation in Bahasa Indonesia
Terjemahan dalam Bahasa Indonesia

21 Juli 2022

Yang Terhormat Calon Partisipan Riset,

Nama saya **Anak Agung Ayu Suci Warakanyaka**, mahasiswa S3 yang sedang menempuh studi di Sekolah Arsitektur, **Royal College of Art, UK**. Sebagai bagian dari studi, saat ini saya sedang melakukan riset berjudul **Informal inhabitations: the interior urbanism of Jakarta's streets** yang juga disponsori oleh **LPDP (Lembaga Pengelola Dana Pendidikan)**. Saya mengundang anda untuk berpartisipasi dalam mengeksplorasi aktivitas bertinggal yang dilakukan oleh **PKL (Pedagang Kaki Lima)** dibeberapa jalan di Jakarta yang bertujuan untuk mengetahui bagaimana praktik yang mereka lakukan dapat dipakai untuk menciptakan alternatif ruang bertinggal di kota. Pengetahuan yang didapat dari riset ini diharapkan dapat membuka diskusi terhadap peran jalan sebagai alternatif ruang public yang terbuka untuk semua lapisan masyarakat dan peran praktik serta pengetahuan interior sebagai medium dalam menginisiasi konsep ruang publik di kota, terutama Jakarta.

Jika anda setuju untuk berpartisipasi, kegiatan riset ini akan meliputi: wawancara terkait dengan aktivitas di jalanan Jakarta; observasi terkait dengan apa yang terjadi di jalan; dan dokumentasi akan kegiatan di jalan (dalam bentuk video, foto, gambar dan catatan tertulis).

Partisipasi bentuknya suka rela. Anda dapat mundur kapan saja hingga riset ini dipublikasikan dan tidak akan ada sanksi jika anda memutuskan untuk tidak menyelesaikan partisipasi anda. Informasi yang dikumpulkan besifat rahasia, akan disimpan sebaik-baiknya dan apabila telah selesai dianalisa, informasi pribadi terkait dengan partisipasi anda akan dihancurkan. Gambar dan kutipan kata hanya akan dipakai sesuai dengan izin partisipan.

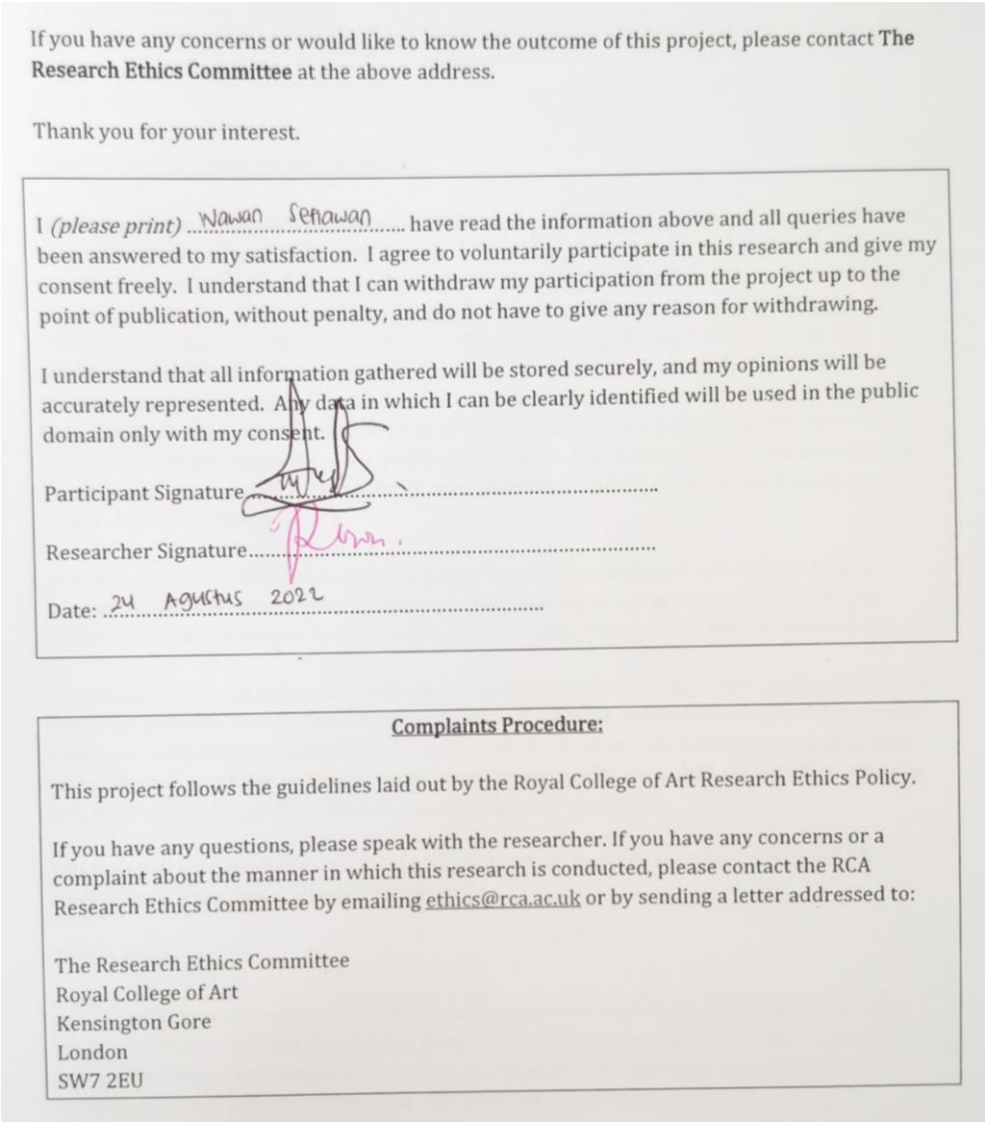
Jika memiliki kekhawatiran atau ingin mengetahui hasil riset ini, anda bisa menghubungi **Komite Etika Riset** dalam alamat yang tertera.

Terima kasih.

Saya, (nama) telah membaca dan cukup puas dengan informasi diatas. Saya secara suka rela ingin berpartisipasi dalam riset ini dan dengan surat ini memberikan persetujuan saya. Saya mengetahui bahwa saya dapat mundur dari partisipasi riset kapan saja hingga riset ini dipublikasi, tanpa adanya konsekuensi, dan tidak harus memberikan alasan.

Saya mengetahui bahwa semua Informasi yang dikumpulkan akan disimpan baik dan opini saya akan direpresentasikan seakurat mungkin. Data yang dapat mengidentifikasi saya hanya dapat dipakai di domain publik dengan persetujuan saya.

Tanda tangan participant (nama)
Tanda tangan peneliti (nama)
Tanggal (dd/mm/yyyy)



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Thank you for your interest.

I *(please print)* Nawan Sehawan have read the information above and all queries have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to voluntarily participate in this research and give my consent freely. I understand that I can withdraw my participation from the project up to the point of publication, without penalty, and do not have to give any reason for withdrawing.

I understand that all information gathered will be stored securely, and my opinions will be accurately represented. Any data in which I can be clearly identified will be used in the public domain only with my consent.

Participant Signature .....

Researcher Signature .....

Date: 24 Agustus 2022

Complaints Procedure:

This project follows the guidelines laid out by the Royal College of Art Research Ethics Policy.

If you have any questions, please speak with the researcher. If you have any concerns or a complaint about the manner in which this research is conducted, please contact the RCA Research Ethics Committee by emailing ethics@rca.ac.uk or by sending a letter addressed to:

The Research Ethics Committee
Royal College of Art
Kensington Gore
London
SW7 2EU

The above image is a sample of the signed consent form. The rest of the forms were attached separately as supporting documents of this thesis, along with the ethics approvals (within the original submission). Also available via this link.

Interview transcripts:

Location	: Sudirman (Jl. Blora)
Interview Date	: 24th August 2022
Transcribed	: 06 November 2022
Interviewee	: Pak Wawan
Interviewee detail	: Penjual Soto Tangkar
Acronym list	: W = Pak Wawan, IN = Interviewer

[Begin Transcript 00:02:90]

IN : Sebelumnya, nama Bapak siapa?

W : Nama saya Wawan Setiawan

IN : Wawan Setiawan, umurnya berapa Pak?

W : empat lima

IN : Oh.... Bapak dari mana ya?

W : Bogor

IN : Bogor?

W : Iya

IN : Oh... Bapak berarti ke sini, naik apa Pak?

W : Naik kereta

IN : Gerobaknya ditinggal?

W : Taro, di deket kontrakan

IN : Oh....

W : Di sana

IN : Kontrakannya, di?

W : Di Jalan Martapura 1, 2, di sana

IN : Berarti Bapak, kesehariannya PP Bogor, atau gimana ya?

W : Enggak, kalau ke Bogor sebulan sekali pulangnya

IN : Oh....

W : Kalau ini kan, deket, Martapura

IN : Martapura sini, jalan kaki Pak?

W : He'em, jalan kaki, sebrang

IN : Oh... Nah, ini Bapak, ngambil bahan-bahannya dulu dari kosan apa gimana?

W : Dari pasar

IN : Itu beli pagi? Atau... udah stok?

W : Pagi, pagi

IN : Hm...

W : Jam setengah empat lah, biasanya (03.30)

IN : Setengah empat, ke pasar, terus baru, bikin ke sini?

W : Iya, pasar

IN : Oh... semuanya jadi pure fresh gitu Pak?

W : He'eh

IN : Oh... terus Pak, untuk kayak alat-alat piring gini, ditinggal gitu, atau gimana?

W : Piring tinggal sini, gerobak bawa

IN : Oh, gerobaknya bawa ke kosan?

W : Ya, iya

IN : terus di sini ditinggal mejanya aja?

W : Iya mejanya doang, sama tenda

IN : Sama apa?

W : Sama tenda itu, tenda nih...

IN : Oh, tenda ditinggal

W : He'eh

IN : Kalau ini Pak, untuk air nyuci gitu, Bapak beli jirigen atau gimana?

W : Oh, ngambil di situ tuh, di.. Restoran, di ambilin,

IN : Bayar?

W : Bayar juga, hotel

IN : Oh, oh hotel... Minta ke dia atau di kasih atau beli?

W : Iya, di... ambilin cuma, ada upahnya gitu, kita kalau ngambil sendiri, gak enak

IN : Oh... Air yang kayak PAM hotel gitu?

W : Iya

IN : Oalah. Pak, mau nanya dong, kalau Soto Tangkar ini, asli.. Apa, namanya asli dari mana sih Pak? Iya, Pak namanya kenapa? Bapak kan dari Bogor nih, Pak

W : Aslinya dari Betawi ini, asli Betawi.

IN : Ohiya, bener? Pantesan kayak agak mirip gitu

W : Iya. Betawi cuma, diracik sama orang Bogor. Dulunya ini sih, paman saya, jualan, ikut jualan sama orang Betawi kali, saya juga belajar sama om saya, ini, jualan soto, Soto Tangkar.

IN : Soto tangkar berarti ada percampuran Bogornya gitu? Bogor-Betawi?

W : Iya, campuran

IN : Nama tangkarnya itu, dari mana deh Pak?

W : Dari ini, kepala sapi

IN : Tapi emang, daging kepala sapi?

W : Kepala sapi, dari masih 'tengkorak', asalnya, jadi bilang 'tangkar', gitu

IN : Oh.. tengkorak jadi tangkar

W : Diringkas. Jaman dulu itu, jaman Belanda dulu,

IN : Oh, berarti pakai, kayak bagian sapinya itu, bagian kepalanya?

W : Kepala

IN : Oh, gitu...

W : Kalo tangkar, bagian kepala, ya, ada babat juga, campuran sih...

IN : Oh, bapak berarti, tadi yang Soto Tangkar itu, belajar dari Paman terus baru jual gitu ya Pak?

W : Iya, belajar lama,

IN : OH, belajarnya pas masih di Bogor Pak?

W : Di... Blok M dulu, jualan di Blok M

IN : Oh, pernah jualan di Blok M

W : Belajar 15 tahun saya...

IN : Wow... [kaget]Pantesan udah gape banget, gape

W : Iya, jadi, enggak otodidak, jadi ada gurunya gitu

IN : Oh, ada gurunya, itu paman Bapak?

W : He'em

IN : Dia memang kayak... istilahnya, buka les gitu?

W : Iya, paman dulu kerja sama ini nih, orang Betawi, gurunya juga, gurunya juga, sama bapaknya gitu

IN : Oh...

W : Jadi, guru ke guru, gitu

IN : Guru ke guru ngajarin?

W : Iya...

IN : Berarti nanti, bapak bisa ngajarin lagi?

W : Bisa, cuma gak ada orang yang mau kali... [tertawa]

IN : Yah... buka dong Pak, les Soto Tangkar

W : Bukan ini doang kan, pada males kali jualan begini mah, capek kali, masaknya, gitu

IN : Emang ini masaknya lama Pak?

W : Kalau bangun jam 02.00 (dua)

IN : itu buat apa Pak?

W : Masak nasi, iya

IN : Bikin kuahnya, itu gimana sih Pak?

W : Jam ini, jam... Oh, bikin kuahnya, biasa, santen. Pasar.

IN : Itu, lama gak Pak? Bikin kuahnya di sini apa di...?

W : Di rumah

IN : Di rumah....

W : Beli kan santen tuh yang udah jadi, tuh, masukin, daging diangkat baru masukin santen, terus kasih bumbu, udah. Gitu doang

IN : Oh.... Itu biasanya berapa lama Pak? Bikin kuahnya?

W : Ini, dari jam 05.00 (lima) sampai jam 08.00 (delapan) kali, jam 09.00 (sembilan) lah

IN : Wah, bapak–

W : Nyampe dagingnya matenglah, jam 09.00

IN : Sampe sini Pak? Apa udah di kosan?

IN : Sini doang

W : Di, ya di rumah kan, dari jam 05.00 nih, sampe jam 06.00 belum mateng dagingnya, masih keras kikilnya.

IN : Oh...

W : Kadang-kadang sampe jam 09.00 jam 10.00 baru empuk

IN : Baru empuk?

W : He'em, lama

IN : Oh lama Pak?

W : Kalau daging sih, sejam dua jam juga empuk,

IN : sejam...

W : iya

IN : Berarti lamanya di bikin kuahnya ya Pak?

W : Dagingnya, kalau kuah sih, sejam, mendidih, iya

IN : Bapak berarti, kalau misalkan nyalain kompor baru di sini, manasin lagi?

W : I.. Iya, kalau berangkat matiin dulu, baru sini nyalain lagi

IN : Make, Oh, pake gas LPG Pak?

W : Iya, pake gas

IN : Ini beli di mana Pak? Gasnya?

W : Apa, apanya?

IN : Gasnya, gasnya beli dimana?

W : Ini, di warung

IN : di rumah kosan Pak? Apa di sini?

W : Iya di sana, di deket kosan

IN : Oh, gasnya, bawa dari kosan?

W : Iya, di bawa

IN : yang beli airnya doang ya jirigen?

W : Iya, airnya doang. Kalau air buat soto mah, di sana, kos-kosan banyak airnya

IN : Kalau ini Pak, penasaran, lahannya sih Pak, berarti kan Bapak di depan sini?

W : Iya, nempel sini, resikonya, gini doang kalau dibangun, ya out

IN : Ini udah lama Pak, gak.. Gak.. udah tutup lama?

W : lama.... Udah berapa tahun di sini

IN : Dari Bapak awal dagang di sini?

W : Enggak, saya kan tadinya di sana, deket J.CO sana, J.CO kan dulu kan restoran tuh, di sampingnya situ, saya dagang situ

IN : Oh...

W : Terus nyari lagi, gak boleh di situ, pindah ke sini, makanya lama, 30 tahunan di sini

IN : 30 tahun...? Pak, Maaf tadi saya lihat ada stiker kayak stiker pedagang, Ini nih, Pedagang Kuliner, itu maksudnya apa Pak? Ada komunitas?

W : Itu... iya, komunitas PKL ini Jalan Blora. Ada ketuanya.

IN : Hm... ketuanya siapa tuh Pak?

W : Pak Darmo, belakang

IN : Itu dari dulu banget? Dia jualan di sini juga berarti?

W : Jualan, jualan pecel lele

IN : Oh, itu dari Bapak 30 tahun, ada?

W : G... eh... ganti-ganti ketuanya

IN : Oh...

W : Kayak pemilihan presiden gitu lah, ganti-ganti

IN : Weh....

W : Yaiyalah

IN : Bapak, bapak pernah gak jadi ketuanya Pak? Kan udah....

W : Saya enggak, gak kepilih, kan ini, dipilih dulu, dipilih

IN : Oh dirundingin?

W : Iya,

IN : kayak, nyoblos gitu Pak?

W : Nyoblos...

IN : Uwah! Keren,

W : Nih, calonnya ada empat

IN : Oh, demi apa?

W : Ada tiga, gitu, siapa yang kepilih ntar, gitu

IN : Bapak gak nyalonin diri?

W : Nyalonin, cuma gak kepilih, dapet 3 doang

IN : Oah... [tertawa] Tahun depan, nyalonin gak Pak?

W : Gak tau, kan belum pemilihan, ntar...

IN : Oh.... [tertawa] ntar harus kampanye lagi Pak?

W : Iya,

IN : [tertawa]

W : Kelihatannya yang pinter-pinter aja, yang baik orangnya

IN : Em... Oh...

W : Yang jujur

IN : Oh, iya

W : Iya, jadi ketua kan gitu, megang duit ini, PKL

IN : Oh, jadi dia kayak, keamanan gitu ya Pak?

W : Iya, makanya harus orang jujur, pertama mah...

IN : Iya sih, bener. Pak, berarti yang tadi Bapak, J.CO tadi, pindah ke sini, Bapak jualannya sempet pindah-pindah gitu gak Pak?

W : Dua kali doang ini, sampe sini doang. Kalau di sini, gak bisa dagang, nyari lagi, kemana lagi, gak tau deh

IN : Sekitar Blora aja, gitu ya Pak?

W : Iya

IN : Bapak, kan Bapak dari kosan bawa gerobak, Bapak tuh, kayak jualan, sekalian kalau misalkan di jalan ada yang mau beli, atau tetep stay di sini emang?

W : Kalau ada yang beli saya gak ini, gak layanin, soalnya repot.

IN : Harus, eh... buka lapak dulu ya Pak?

W : Iya, makanya, sampai sini baru layanin, kalau di jalan repot, buka-buka ininya

IN : Buka... panci

W : Iya, rantangnya. Gak dilayanin

IN : Bapak sampai jam berapa Pak?

W : Ini, jam 14.00 (dua) jam 15.00 (tiga), jualan

IN : Dari pagi jam... 08.00 (delapan)?

W : Iya, jam 08.00 (delapan), 07.30 (setengah delapan) lah

IN : Kalau malem, jualan di mana gitu gak Pak?

W : Enggak, kalau malam, enggak jualan, Sabtu-Minggu juga libur

IN : Oh, Bapak enggak ikut ini Pak, Car Free Day?

W : Car Free Day? Enggak libur, kecapekan badannya, capek, iya. Lima hari doang

IN : Masaknya lama ya Pak?

W : Senin sampai Jumat doang jualannya

IN : Oh, Sabtu- Minggu di rumah

W : Sabtu-Minggu istirahat

IN : Istirahat baru berangkat kerja lagi Senin

W : Senin, iya, dagang lagi. Kecapekan soalnya. Rame sih, Car Free Day sini...

IN : Iya

W : Dua kali lipat malah, kalau jualan

IN : Oh, iya? Tapi Bapak pernah Pak? Coba? Sesekali jualan pas lagi Car Free Day?

W : Gak pernah, dari dulu juga, iya, dari dulu juga gak pernah, saya. Dari dulu

IN : Oh, dari dulu...

W : He'eh. Belum nyobain Car Free Day

IN : Eheh... Mau nyobain gak Pak (CFD)? Iya Pak?

W : Enggak ah, capek saya

IN : Bapaknya mau istirahat ya Pak?

W : Harus ngejar target kan, kalau ini, pagi-pagi harus stand by jadi

IN : Oh...

W : Jam 05.00 (lima) berangkat, kan jadi buru-buru

IN : Oh...

W : Kalo...

IN : CFD pagi-pagi ya?

W : Minimal sampai jam 10.00 (sepuluh) ramainya

IN : Habis itu udah enggak ya?

W : Sepi, kalau udah siang mah, Panas ini mah, yang olahraga juga udah males kayaknya, iya

IN : Ini kan, makan siang, orang juga, dateng-dateng aja ya Pak?

W : Iya, Ojek online juga sepi kalau Minggu, waktu itu

IN : Oh? Ohiya? Pada istirahat ya? Liburan

W : Pada istirahat

IN : Berarti yang sering di sini, ojek online, orang kantoran, makan di sini?

W : Iya

IN : Pas makan siang, rame dong Pak?

W : Ya, Alhamdulillah

IN : Alhamdulillah

W : Ada aja yang bungkus,

IN : Oh iya?

W : Iya, Office Boy yang bungkusin

IN : Oh... iya sih

IN : Bapak, ini gak sih Pak, kerja sama kayak, online-online gitu? Kayak Grab, Gojek?

W : Enggak, saya

IN : Ada gofood Pak?

W : Gak ada, soalnya HPnya ini sih, nyemplung kena air

IN : Yah... kok bisa Pak? [tertawa]

W : Ya, namanya juga musibah

IN : Iya sih Pak [tertawa]

IN : Kenapa tuh Pak?

W : Minggu kemarenan, mati.

IN : Oh barusan?

W : Enggak, udah... sebulan yang lalu

IN : Sebulan yang lalu? Yah... sayang banget

W : Jadi gak kebeli lagi, belum beli lagi

IN : Oh... iya ya Pak? Iya, balik modal dulu

W : Ntar, kalau udah ini...

IN : Iya Pak, semangat Pak

IN : Pak, mau nanya, itu kan tadi ada acar gitu-gitu, itu bikin sendiri juga?

W : Bikin sendiri acar, mah, gak beli, kalo beli repot ntar

IN : Iya, sambalnya juga berarti Pak?

W : Iya

IN : Sambalnya semua bikin sendiri

W : Iya, bikin, bikin semua

IN : Pak, berarti kan Pak, Bapak itu ada kayak stiker pedagang gitu Pak, itu berarti kalau biaya sewa keamanan udah semua tanggung jawab?

W : Iya, udah cantum situ

IN : Oh...

IN : Berapa Pak, kisarannya?

W : Ya, perhari, 15 (ribu)

IN : Oh... Itu harus setiap hari Pak? Bayar?

W : Iya, bayar

IN : Bukan perbulan? Kalau begitu-gitu diminta tiap hari ya Pak?

W :Ya tiap hari ada... ada yang mintain

IN : Oh...

IN : Bapak biasanya di sini sampai jam...?

IN : Sampai jam 2 (14.00) jam 3 (15.00)?

W : Jam 3 (15.00). Mentoknya sampai jam 4 (16.00) lah

IN : Mentok? Mentok sore

W : Iya

IN : Bapak tapi pernah nyoba malem gitu gak Pak?

W : Enggak, belum pernah saya. Soalnya kan ada yang jualan juga, sore

IN : Oh, ganti? Ganti jualan?

W : Soto ini... Soto Tandung Lamur

IN : Soto apa?

W : Tandung Lamur

IN : Oh.... Soto Tandung Lamur?

W : Tandung

IN : Tandung... Oh soto juga?

W : Iya

IN : Oh... Lapaknya di sini Pak? Gantian?

W : Iya, sini mejanya nih, dirantai

IN : Oh, ini meja dia?

IN : Dia sesi... dia sesi malem ya Pak

W : Iya...

IN : Berarti kalau gitu Bapak bagi dua dong, bayar?

W : Iya, tempatnya

IN : Kalau, yang ininya apa.... Bagian setorannya? Gak bagi dua juga Pak?

W : Enggak, dia mah gak bayar dagang

IN : Oh, kalau buka lapak di sini gak bayar?

W : Iya, gak bayar, orang sini, bayar uang keamanan aja sih

IN : Tapi karena Bapak, pendatang gitu?

W : Iya, kan pendatang beda...

IN : Bogor, Bogor

W : Emang KTP Bapak mana Pak?

IN : Bogor ya Pak?

W : Gak ada, Bogor saya.. Gak bikin sini...

IN : Oh.... Gak mau bikin Pak?
W : Enggak

IN : Oh, berarti keluarga Bapak di Bogor Pak?

W : Bogor semua...

IN : Pulang pergi... Eh, sebulan sekali?

W : Kadang dua minggu kalau ada duitnya sih, kalau tebel gitu dompetnya

IN : Oh... Amin!

IN : Naik kereta ya Pak?

W : Iya, naik kereta

IN : Kita juga orang kereta kok Pak, iya Pak tadi kita dari situ

W : Iya, cuma ribet doang, transit sekarang Manggarai

IN : Iya, sekarang di Manggarai lagi Pak, udah mana naik-turun kan Pak? Capek itu...

W : Iya. Ya itu, dulu kan langsung dari Karet, Sudirman

IN : Iya, gak ada.... he'eh

W : Ke Bogor. Sekarang turun dulu

IN : Terus ininya rutenya, diubah kan? Udah ganti

W : Iya

IN : Pak, tadikan kita sempet liat kayak ada Satpol PP dishub

IN : Oh, iya lagi ngederek

IN : Bapak pernah liat gak Pak ada Satpol PP yang dateng? Terus tiba-tiba dia...

W : Kalau dulu, kalau ini sih, di ini di marahin, dulu-dulu mah,

IN : Dulu kapan Pak?

W : Sebelum ada ketua PKL.

IN : Oh...

W : Sekarang kan ada ketua PKl, jadi udah diaturlah gitu

IN : Udah... udah komunikasi lah ya sama mereka?

W : Iya, udah diatur sama ini, ketua, "gimana ini..." biar lancar

IN : Berarti sebelum adanya komunitas ini, pernah ketangkep atau gimana?

W : Woo... dikejar-kejar

IN : Hah [kaget] Demi apa Pak?

W : Iya

IN : Terus ini gerobaknya, gimana? Kan gak ada rodanya Pak?

W : Nih ada tuh

IN : Oh, yang itunya?

W : Paling ke belakang tuh, lari dulu, ngumpet

IN : Ngumpet dulu sebelum dia...

W : Kan yang diangkat yang sana dulu

IN : Oh, kirain...

IN : Tapi kan ini Bapak kayak ada ujung gitu

W : Iya, sebelah sana dulu yang diangkat

IN : Oh, dari yang belokan itu ya?

W : Iya. Belokan, saya buru, beres-beres kabur. Pada kabur semua

IN : Oh... ini, satu baris ini?

W : Iya.

IN : Kaburnya di belakang sini Pak?

W : Iya, ke belakang

IN : yang deket J.Co itu ya?

W : Ke sana, ke dalem

IN : Oh... Nah Bapak habis kabur, balik lagi ke sini jualan apa..?

W : Balik lagi siangnya

IN : Oh, balik lagi... siangnya

IN : Kalau misalkan kabur nih, ini posisinya bener-bener kebuka aja, terus... dorong aja gitu?

W : Ya, rapi-rapi

IN : Rapi-rapi dulu, Pak?

W : Tutup dulu

IN : Oh....

W : Baru dorong

IN : Ada yang... berapa menit itu Pak?

W : Paling lima menit, buru-buru

IN : Wah... bisa?

IN : Mantap banget, master [tertawa]

W :Ya, sekali-kalinya dijeglek

IN : [tertawa]

W : Iya [pause]

[14:38:17]

IN : Bapak waktu itu berarti, pas yang 30 tahun itu Pak, termasuk di razia?

W : Iya

IN : Banyak cerita-cerita

W : Kalau dulu mah, banyak KamTib

IN : Banyak apa?

W : Kamtib

IN : Oh... Ohiya, hansip udah enggak ada lagi ya, Pak?

W : Hansip udah pensiun

IN : gantinya Satpol PP?

IN : Jadi bareng, sama polisi ya Pak?

W : Oh.... [pause]

[15:29:81]

IN : Itu, Bapak enggak... Bapak kan udah lama nih Pak, kayak enggak... masuk ke warungnya aja?

W : Biayanya mahal...

IN : Ohiya?

W : 1M setahun

IN : 1M? [kaget]

W : Iya

IN : Berapa?

W : 1M dimintanya, belakang ini, ruko, setahun

IN : Hah.... [kaget]

W : Makanya kan ini kan, enggak...

IN : Gak ada yang mau gitu ya Pak?

IN : Ini, kalau ini yang ditutup, dia, dijual atau...

W : Nyewa

IN : Tapi gak ada yang nyewa gitu ya Pak?

W : Belum ada

IN : Oh, tapi... kalau kayak Bapak ini kan di depan rukonya dia, dia, dia tahu gitu gak? Bapak ijin gitu gak ke dia?

W : Iya, ijin dulu-dulu

IN : Sekali aja gitu?

W : Sama penjaganya

IN : Hm... Oh, ada yang jagain?

W : Ada penjaganya

IN : Tapi sayang juga 1M dibeli terus enggak di pakai ya?

W : Ini belinya dulu ini, 30M

IN : Hah? Buset...

W : Ini tempat

IN : Tapi, gak bali modal dong? Gak ada yang nyewa

W : Ya, orang-orang, Cina kan, beda lagi, biarin aja

IN : Pantes, kerjanya di sana, kali ya? Di atas gedung sana?

W : Gak ilang ini lagi

IN : Kenapa?

W : Ya, gak ilang ini, tempat mah kan,

IN : Iya sih. Berarti emang, ini, eh... sempat ada omongan gitu Pak? Mau dibangun gitu?

W : Iya, mau itu, kalau jadi dibangun kami di sini pindah lagi...

IN : Emang rencananya Bapak denger-denger, kayak dia mau bangun apa gitu? Dikasih tau gitu gak Pak?

W : Katanya bangun hotel

IN : Oh, hotel... Oh emang laku Pak, di sini hotel?

W : Wuh... laku, ini kan banyak, hotel

IN : yang... yang nginep siapa?

W : Ya... orang-orang kampung, kantoran, yang bisnis

IN : Oh... oh iya sih ya

W : Bandung, orang bandung

IN : yang kayak mau kerja, dari luar gitu ya?

W : Iya

IN : Oh, iya sih bener-bener. Tapi, belum yah berarti?
W : Hah?

IN : Kira-kira, dia cerita gitu gak kayak, "Oh, nanti nih, 2000 berapa saya mau bangun hotelnya, kamu pergi" gitu?

W : Ya, bisa jadi kalau dibangun, pergi resikonya

IN : Terus, Bapak kemana Pak, kalau gitu?

W : Kalau saya, kemana aja lah... [tertawa]

IN : Tapi tetep daerah sini atau...

W : Ya, nyari paling

IN : Atau langsung kayak, "Ah, pindah..."

W : Paling, pulang kampung kalau enggak ada tempat

IN : Yah... kan mau ngajarin orang Pak, buat Soto Tangkar di sini Pak? Ntar gak ada legacy, nggak ada peninggalan dong kalau, gitu?

IN : Legacy si Bapak

W : Enggak ada yang mu jadi murid

IN : Makanya, bikin di sini nih, Pak... Buka les Soto Tangkar [tertawa]

IN : Buka jasa...

W : Gak ada, saya mau, orang kampung juga mau ngajarin, gak ada yang mau

IN : Oh, gak mau? Atau gak ajak Pak, ajak ke Jakarta

W : Gak mau dianya...

IN : Gak mau?

W : Beda, kecapekan kali

IN : [tertawa] kecapekan

IN : Pak, Bapak berarti yang waktu itu pas Bapak kena razia, emang, terjadinya kapan ya Pak? Hari... biasa?

W : Ya dulu, tahun (19)95, 2000 tuh...

IN : Wah... belum lahir sih Pak, saya

W : Belum

IN : Itu terus, berarti...
IN : Jam-jam siang?

IN : Iya, kayak, siang-siang apa sore-sore?

W : Iya, jam segini

IN : Oh... my god...

W : Gak aman dulu dagang mah...

IN : Dulu kayak masih, galak-galak gitu ya Pak?

W : Mata harus tajam, ini, kalau dulu

IN : [tertawa]

W : Lihat kiri-kanan

IN : Was-was ya Pak?

W : Ya iya lah

IN : Emang dia bisa dateng jam berapa aja? Gitu?

W : Ya, minimal jam... dair jam 9 (09.00) sampai jam 11 (11.00)

IN : Oh, pagi.... Serem juga ya, jadi gak tenang dagangnya

IN : Iya. Pak terus kalau ini berarti, dia baru berapa tahun Pak? Si... komunitas Pedagang Kuliner ini?

W : Ya ini mah, baru... paling baru-baru 12 tahunan

IN : Itu yang mencetuskan dulu siapa sih Pak? Kok... kan awalnya gak ada tuh, terus tiba-tiba "bikin yuk?" itu siapa?

W : Iya, ya... rapat dulu, gimana nih, biar aman, ya kan? Ya kayak...

IN : Berarti ada basecampnya gitu Pak?

W : Iya, biar gak ada kamtib, biar lancar keamanan, RT, Lurah kan masuk gitu, Polres...

IN : Oh, jadi ngobrolnya bareng mereka juga?

W : He'eh, biar aman yang pedagang PKL sini

IN : Hm... Itu biasanya kalau lagi rapat-rapat gitu dimana Pak? Ada basecampnya gak?

W : Ada tempatnya

IN : Dimana tuh Pak?

W : Dulu di situ tuh, Pos Goro, daerah... Pos, waktu kosong di pakai di situ tempatnya

IN : Hoo... Sekarang, masih di situ?

W : Sekarang, itu tuh belakang kayaknya, di tempat kosong kadang-kadang tuh. Hari Minggu biasanya, kalau lagi rapat

IN : Kumpul-kumpul rapat gitu?

W : Kita kan ini, kerja bakti biasanya Minggu

IN : Oh, ada kerja bakti juga dari si komunitasnya?

W : Iya

IN : Jadi kayak bersih-bersih jalan sini gitu Pak?

W : Iya...

IN : Ih, lucu... [tertawa]

W : Kalau Sabtu, Minggu lah, hari Minggu

IN : Dulu pas sebelum ada CFD gitu Pak?

W : Iya, Kalau sekarang kan ini, banyak yang tukang sapu

IN : Oh, iya udah dari pemerintahnya ya?

W : Iya, dari... dari pagi udah ada sekarang, lebih aman bersih

IN : Enak sih ya, jadi berkurang kerjanya juga

W : Iya

IN : Iya, iya betul. Terus biasanya ngapain lagi Pak, di komunitasnnya? Berarti kan... udah...

W : Ya paling, ngadain dulu mah, jiaroh

IN : Apa tuh Pak?

W : Jalan-jalan

IN : Oh, iya? Jalan-jalan ke mana Pak?

W : Ke Tasik

IN : Woah! Semua-semua yang ada di sini, diajakin?

W : Iya, dulu mah

IN : Ih, seru banget...

W : Paling dua bis

IN : Nyewa sendiri, kayak, organisir sendiri gitu?

W : Iya, patungan, udunan, gitu, satu orang berapa

IN : Oh... itu kayak sekeluarga, atau emang penjual-penjualnya aja gitu Pak? Ajak-ajak keluarga juga?

W : Ya, keluarga juga kalau mau mah, gitu

IN : Oh... ih seru banget

W : Iya

IN : Liburannya berapa hari tuh Pak? Dua hari? Tiga hari?

W : Ya, liburan paling tiga hari, nginep di sana

IN : Ooh... seru banget [tertawa]

W : Nginep di hotel

IN : Wih... Itu, iuran Pak? Patungan?

W : Iya, satu orang berapa gitu

IN : Nanti kedepannya ada rencana gitu lagi gak Pak?

W : Ada

IN : Oh, ada. Kemana tuh Pak?

W : Ke Madura

IN : Wih... weh demi apa?

W : Ya, di, sampai Jawa Timur, Jawa Tengah, lewatin terus. Jiarah ke para wali gitu, dulu

IN : Oh.... gitu

W : Kadang-kadang sampai ke Bali juga, kalau ada ini...

IN : Ohiya, Pak ada?

W : Iya ada

IN : Bapak selalu ikut tuh Pak?

W : Ikut

IN : Wih... Udah...

W : Ya, ikutlah masa gak ikut, kan enak seneng, jalan-jalan

IN : Iya sih, bener

IN : Berarti semua, semua yang di sini ya Pak? Dari ujung sana ke sana? Itu ikut?

W : Iya, semua. Yang dagang malem juga

IN : Oh, yang gantian ini juga Pak? Soto Tandung?

W : Iya, semuanya

IN : Ih, lucu banget... [tertawa]

IN : Saling kenal ya?

W : Iya, makanya kan pada kenal di sana

IN : Enak sih ya

W : Iya

IN : Jadi ngomong-ngomongnya juga gitu....

IN : Bapak menurut Bapak tadi, kan Bapak pernah sampai di kejar Satpol PP gitu, menurut Bapak kayak, em... kedepannya buat Pemerintah tuh gimana sih Pak? Pengennya?

IN : Tentang si, Satpol PP dengan PKL gitu

W : Ya, aman-aman aja, itu dagangnya, biar ini

IN : kan Bapak kayaknya udah, nge... ngerasain yang pahitnya nih, terus sampai yang udah lumayannya, gitu

W : Kalau ditampung sih, umpamanya ada tempat buat PKL

IN : Oh Bapak mau?

W : Ya gitu, gak di kejar-kejar Kamtib, aman, asal ada tempatnya rapi, gitu

IN : Oh... Bapak setuju dong...

W : Kalau bayar gak mahal, gitu maksudnya

IN : Oh gak mahal, berapa tuh Pak kira-kira kisaran Bapak mau bayarnya?

W : Ya, buat... 500 (ribu) sebulan gitu

IN : Oh, sebulan, itu masih... oke lah ya?

W : Iya

IN : Masih, bisa. Iya sih emang, biasanya kalau di sini ada yang, emang ada yang nyewain tempat juga gitu Pak?

W : Enggak ada, sini mah

IN : Emang gak ada gitu? Gak di sediain ya Pak?

W : He'eh. Kalau yang tempat lain, dia ditampung gitu. Rapi

IN : Hm.....

W : Dirapiin, dipindahin gitu

IN : Kasihlah space di sini gitu ya?

W : Kayak Tanah Abang gitu kan, Tanah Abang kan... dirapiin

IN : Ohiya, bener... Tanah Abang, diatas-atasnya itu ya Pak?

W : Iya

IN : Oh, Bapak mungkin kalau di kasih yang kayak gitu, mau tuh Pak?
W : Iya lah, biar aman gitu

IN : Di deket Stasiun berarti ya?

W : He'eh

IN : Iya sih, banyak orang juga kan soalnya. Uang iurannya ini ya,

IN : Kan ada pemasukan juga jadinya...

W : Iya

IN : Terus Pak, untuk kedepannya, harapan Bapak, terhadap PKL, gimana Pak?

W : Ya, kepingin lancar aja biar aman gitu, PKL. CUma resikonya ini doang, numpang tempat orang.

IN : Numpang tempat orang

W : Di... depan gedung orang, ini kalau dibangun resikonya, pindah juga, mau gak mau

IN : Iya sih...

W : Pindah

IN : Bapak emang kayak gak coba ngomong gitu sama orangnya? Coba, mungkin kasih saya tempat, gitu saya di gusur gitu?

W : Enggak bisalah kan...

IN : Enggak bisa ya?

W : Ini mah...

IN : Oh, karena bapak enggak bayar ke yang punya, ruko ya Pak?

W : Enggak, cuma yang jaga doang, Bosnya kan, di Singapura

IN : Oh... Oh?

W : Yang punya tempatnya orang Singapura

IN : Oh, gitu

W : Yang jaga doang..

IN : Oh yang jaganya, pantesan

W : He'eh, jadi sama yang jaga doang bayarnya

IN : Tapi sebenernya untung, jualan di sini lumayan gak sih Pak?

W : Lumayan sih...

IN : Biasanya berapa Pak, penghasilannya, kalau boleh tau?

W : Ya... 200 (ribu) 300 (ribu)

IN : Perhari?

W : He'eh

IN : Alhamdullilah

IN : Itu udah bersih, tuh Pak? Udah keuntungan?

W : Iya

IN : Oh... Kalau itu, kalau hari biasa tuh Pak? Atau kayak,

W : Iya hari biasa

IN : Kalau ramai, bisa lebih dari itu kan?

W : Bisa lebih. Kalau ramai mah, bisa lebih

W : Ini soto doang, yang lain mah lebih gede lagi malah jualan di sini

IN : Oh, iya Pak?

IN : Kalau ini, berarti Bapak kayak, kayaknya tadi udah kenal sama pembelinya ya Pak?

W : Iya, udah, soalnya udah lama di sini. Kalau baru sih, kenalan dulu

IN : [tertawa] bener [pause]

[25:33:97]

IN : Berarti Bapak kalau udah misalkan, udah selesai nih Pak, mau balik, teruskan rapi-rapi ya Pak, ini airnya nanti Bapak buang kemana Pak? Apa di bawa ke kostan?

W : Enggak, dibuang, dibuat ngepel

IN : Oh, di jalan?

W : Tempatnya di pel dulu, biar bersih, baru pulang

IN : Pokoknya udah sampai bersih, baru Bapak, pulang?

W : Iya. Dibersihin dulu

IN : Oh...

W : Kinclong dulu, baru

IN : Emang Bapak ini, biasanya tutup jam 4 (16.00). Tutup jam 4 ya Pak? Maksimal. Terus yang habis itu Bapak jualan, kan tadi ada yang ditinggal di sini, apa aja tadi? Bangkunya?

W : Bangku sama mangkok, tenda

IN : Ditinggal di sini Pak?

W : Iya

IN : Tapi dia make mangkok sama bangkunya Bapak gak?

W : Enggak. Dirantai

IN : Oh, beda...

IN : Hah, mangkoknya ditaruh mana deh Pak?

W : Di sana, si Emak

IN : Oh, di Emak... oh, jadi enggak... kayak dititipin gitu?

W : Iya

IN : Tapi bayar lagi gak Pak, ke emak?

W : Ya, makan-makan aja lah

IN : Oh... Berarti kalau kayak sendok-sendok gitu, itu punya Bapak sendiri?

W : Iya, bawa pulang kalau sendok, gelas bawa pulang

IN : Oh, gelas bawa pulang juga?

W : Iya. Kalau tinggalin hilang sini mah, kalau enggak di ini...

IN : Diambil-ambilin ya?

W : Iya

IN : Apalagi butuh gak sih itu? [pause]

[27:19:20]

IN : Ohiya Pak, kalau ini tadinya kan, emang dari Bapak mangkal di sini tutup gitu Pak? Atau dulu buka?

W : Dulu mah ada disewa sama partai

IN : Oh... tokonya Pak?

W : Partai... Apa ya?

IN : Kantor gitu?

W : Iya, kantor partai

IN : Oh... partai apa Pak? Inget gak Pak?

W : Au tuh

IN : Ada pokoknya... Nah, itu Bapak, dagang di sini? Boleh?

W : Iya, dulu sama penjaganya, minta ijin

IN : Oh, boleh. Tapi berarti jadi lebih laku gak sih, karena ada orang gitu di depannya? Eh, maksudnya di kantornya ada banyak orang gitu, sering makan sini dong jadinya?

W : Ya paling orang saya kasih gratis ajalah, orang dalem

IN : Lho kok? Oh, makannya gratis?

IN : Kok gitu Pak?

IN : Sebagai... numpang?

W : Ya kan, numpang sini, ya kan makan juga sekali-kali

IN : Oh... gak sering? Kirain tuh kayak, tiap makan gratis, kan rugi juga Pak [tertawa]

W : Enggak, jarang-jarang. Ini Bar dulu

IN : Itu... yang mana Pak?

W : Ini

IN : Ini? Ini?

W : Bar semua dari ujung ini, semua

IN : Oh... dari zaman kapan Pak?

W : Tahun (19)70, (19)80

IN : Wow... ih Bapak udah lama banget, berarti ya Pak?

W : Ya, lumayan

IN : Emang Bapak, kalau boleh tau umurnya berapa sekarang Pak?

W : 45

IN : Ohh...

W : Si Nenek doang, yang paling lama tuh, dari... sini 50 tahun,

IN : Umurnya?

W : Umur 65

IN : Wah... masih kuat aja gitu ya?

W : Dulu... penari

IN : Oh.... Bapak jangan-jangan temennya dari dulu Pak?

W : Enggak, baru kenal sini aja

IN : Oh... Tapikan Bapak udah lama, di sini? Neneknya juga?

W : Neneknya baru, setahunan dagang di sini, kan tadinya, tadinnya laki yang dagang, meninggal orangnya

IN : Emang, emang ada hubungan gitu sama Neneknya? Bapaknya itu, yang meninggal?

W : Enggak ada, cuma ini aja, ada kenal kali

IN : Oh, gantiin gitu ya Pak? Oh gitu...

W : Iya

IN : Cuma dia memang, nenek ini emang orang sini aja, gitu ya?

W : Dulu bekas ini, kerja situ

IN : Oh... Baru jualan, cuma udah lama

W : Penari. Penari bar. [pause]

[37:54:04]

IN : Kalau gak habis, nasinya gimana Pak?

W : Bagi-bagiin

IN : Oh, iya Pak?

IN : Bagiin ke mana?

W : Orang-orang

IN : Yang sekitar sini? Kayak...

W : Iya, dimana aja, di rumah

IN : Oh... di rumah juga

W : di sini juga pada mau, nasi kadang-kadang, siapa aja ambil [pause]

IN : Pak, berarti kalau sampah-sampah kayak gitu Bapak bawa balik ke kosan atau? [pause]

[38:38:28]

IN : tadi kan nasi, kalau bahan-bahan lainnya? Kalau enggak habis, gimana Pak?

W : kalau enggak habis, saya kasih-kasih sama orang

IN : He'eh, tapi ada gak sih yang awet, eh jeruk?

W : Apa? Paling tomat euy

IN : Tomat, itu bisa di...

W : Buat besok

IN : Masukin freezer, gitu? Taro aja

W : Iya,

IN : Sisanya, sisanya di kasih ke orang ya Pak?

W : Iya, kalau nasi, di kasih orang [pause]

[39:09:02]

IN : Kalau sampah-sampahnya buah kemana sih Pak?

W : Buang ke sana, tempat sampah,

IN : Kayak, satu utama gitu?

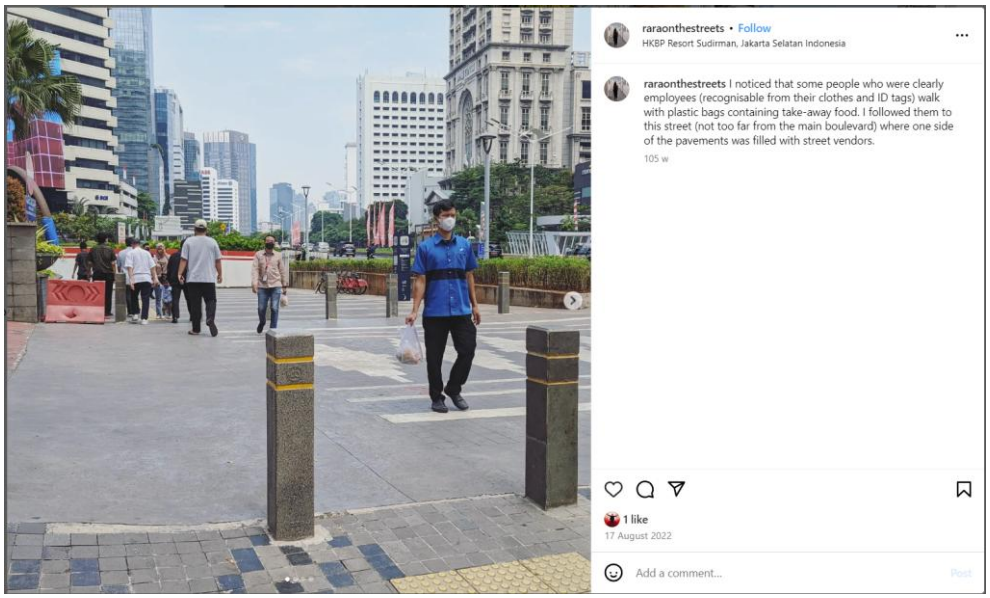
W : He'eh

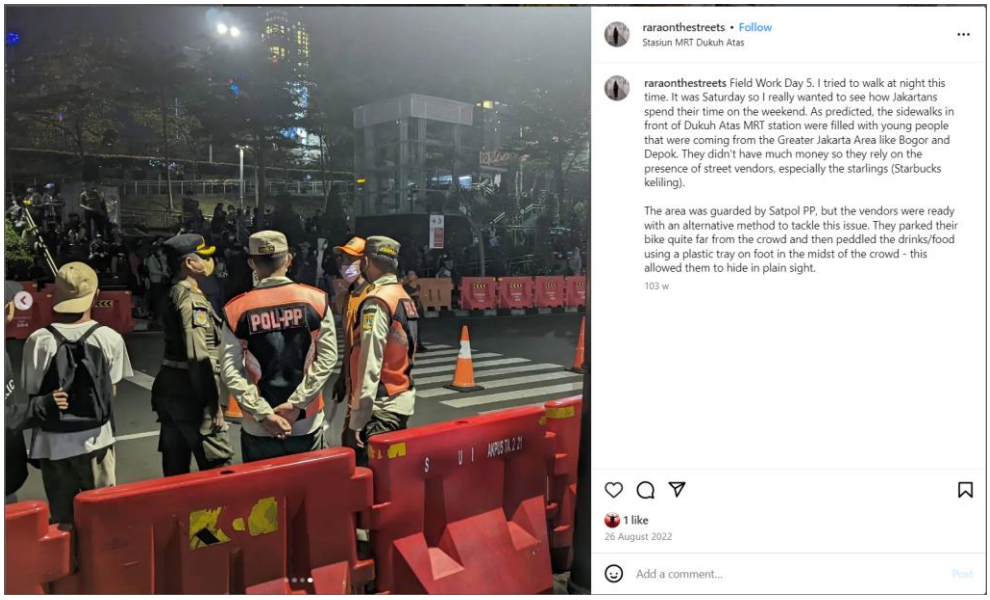
IN : Hm.... [pause]

[End of Transcript 39:42:24]

This is the sample of the interview transcripts. The rest of the transcripts were attached in separate documents (in the original submission). Also available via this link.

Micro-writings:




POL-PP
raraonthestreets • Follow
Stasiun MRT Dukuh Atas
raraonthestreets Field Work Day 5. I tried to walk at night this time. It was Saturday so I really wanted to see how Jakartans spend their time on the weekend. As predicted, the sidewalks in front of Dukuh Atas MRT station were filled with young people that were coming from the Greater Jakarta Area like Bogor and Depok. They didn't have much money so they rely on the presence of street vendors, especially the starlings (Starbucks keliling).
The area was guarded by Satpol PP, but the vendors were ready with an alternative method to tackle this issue. They parked their bike quite far from the crowd and then peddled the drinks/food using a plastic tray on foot in the midst of the crowd - this allowed them to hide in plain sight.
103 w
1 like
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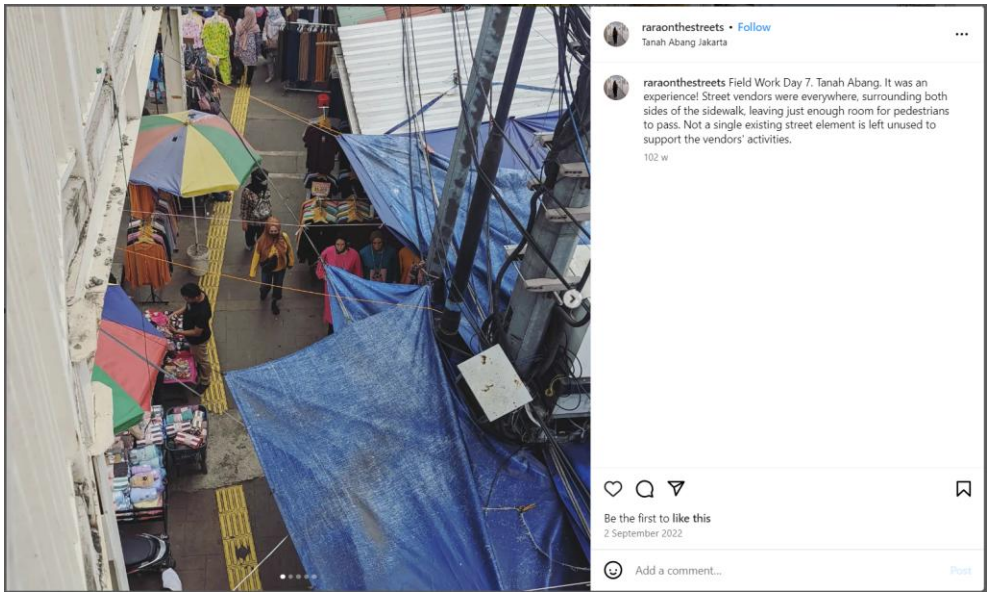
Post


raraonthestreets • Follow
Tanah Abang Jakarta
raraonthestreets Field Work Day 7. Tanah Abang. It was an experience! Street vendors were everywhere, surrounding both sides of the sidewalk, leaving just enough room for pedestrians to pass. Not a single existing street element is left unused to support the vendors' activities.
102 w
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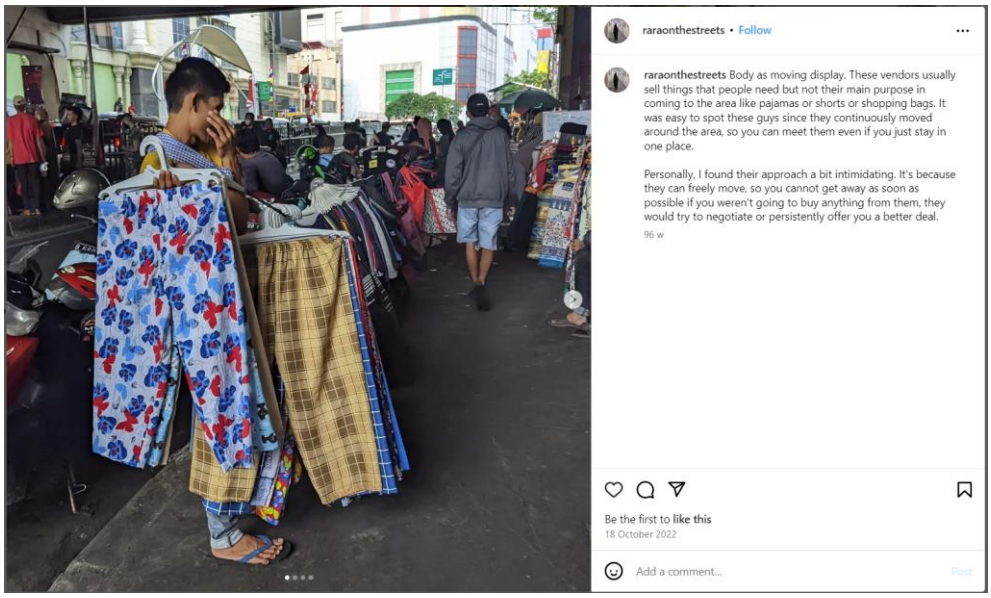

These are the samples of my micro-writing exercises during the August – September 2022 walking experiment. For the complete posts related to this, please go to the Instagram page @raraonthestreets.

Journal:

Autoethnography Essay 1

Citayam Fashion Week and Starbucks *Keliling*

1.

I first heard about Citayam Fashion Week on Instagram in the summer of this year. I am not a newsreader, so just like 66% of people in the UK, I depend on social media, especially Instagram, to tell me about current world affairs.[1] It is quite a handy little platform that can give me update from the everyday life of people I know personally to hard-hitting journalism, all in one phone app. For news updates, learning things from Instagram is not much different from reading the news in the paper or watching TV. Many news companies now have social media accounts; hence, the stories they publish are as solid and reliable as those posted on other platforms. However, unlike the other platforms, the news in social media is constantly updated, sometimes in real-time, making it the most up-to-date in the world.[2] I was not an avid user of Instagram, but using the platform for my research materials these past couple of years has made me familiar with it. I constantly check the app for at least a couple of hours daily. And this was how I learned about Citayam Fashion Week, which took Indonesian social media by storm in June-July 2022.

Citayam Fashion Week is not an organised fashion week involving famous designers like what they have in Paris or London. Instead, it is used to identify a crowd of teenagers and young adults dressed in eccentric outfits who hang out around Dukuh Atas Park in Sudirman, Central Jakarta. Citayam refers to the area on the outskirts of Jakarta, a one-hour train journey away, where most of these teens are from. People also identified them as *anak* SCBD or SCBD kids, originally the abbreviation for Sudirman Central Business District and used to identify young white-collar office workers who work in the area, is now changed to Sudirman, Citayam, Bojong Gede, and Depok as a moniker of the suburban areas where the teens come from. Their hang-out location, Dukuh Atas Park, was not chosen at random. It is located next to Sudirman KRL Commuterline Station, which serves a railway system connecting the city to the areas around Greater Jakarta–including the CBD–that costs these teens only Rp. 3500 or the equivalent of £0.19 for a one-way trip.

These youngsters came to Sudirman not only to hang out with their peers but also to take pictures of themselves in what they consider Jakarta's most 'Instagramable' area. One of the most popular spots was posing in the zebra crossing that connects the park with the entrances of Dukuh Atas MRT Station. They would pose like they were about to cross the street (or sometimes they would actually cross the street) while their friends would take pictures from the pavement on the other side. It is not unlike what London tourists do on the Abbey Road zebra crossing. They would pose with their own low-budget dupes of branded fashion and upload these photos on social media, mainly Instagram and TikTok, which is a crucial factor in making Citayam Fashion Week (CFW). In fact, CFW would not have taken off if not because of the interviews that portray the activities of the carefree and uniquely dressed teens that went viral on social media.[3] These posts attracted public attention, including celebrities and mainstream media—which compared the CFW phenomenon with Tokyo's Harajuku and Seoul's Hongdae—which caused curiosity among many people, and soon people started to join this activity.[4]

Although I was based 7338 miles from Jakarta, I was thrilled for CFW. I remember Jakarta as a heavily motorised city. Walking on the street was a challenging activity in Jakarta five years ago. Some spots in the city did not have the appropriate infrastructure, and in some places, the pavements were just nonexistent. Hang-out in the street was for those who had no other options. Thus, I found the news

that this phenomenon not only makes people appropriate the street to cater to social activity but also allures different crowds, those who never really hung out in the street before, to join their activity in the street very refreshing. Not to mention that this is all organic, meaning it does not involve careful planning and organisation. CFW was a pure citizens' initiative–the young ones to boot! I don't remember such a phenomenon happening in Jakarta before: a trend was not initiated from heavily commercialised events or without the support of mainstream media but undertaken by those on the lowest economic ladder in the city. These SCBD kids are not coming from the wealthiest household. It's the opposite; most of them are from the minimum-wage working class that has been pushed to live in the city's periphery. Witnessing that they claimed their rights to a public place in the city's most sophisticated area dominated by a much wealthier crowd for so long was weirdly so satisfying for me.

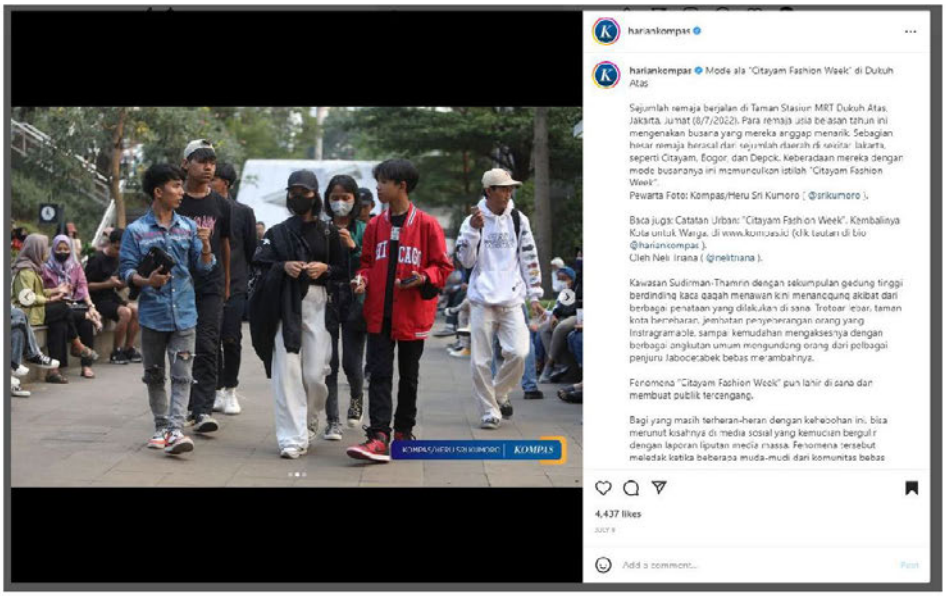

Figure 1. An Instagram post from one of Indonesia's most popular news companies shows a reportage about Citayam Fashion Week (CFW). Source: @hariankompas

It was a brilliant coincidence that Sudirman was one of my fieldwork locations that would take place in August 2022. And while I was preparing for that, I sensed that there was a significant connection between CFW and the presence of street vendors in the area. Apparently, these SCBD kids depended on street vendors for budget-friendly snacks and beverages.[5] It is reported by Kumparan, one of the nation's web-based news platforms, that CFW made the street vendors within the perimeter of the kids' hang-out spot earn twice as usual.[6] This caused many street vendors from different areas of Jakarta to go around Dukuh Atas Park to get similar benefits from this crowd. This link between CFW and street vendors was new, and it was not something I detected during my earlier exploration of the area through mind-walking. It made me more excited to experience it in person during my fieldwork.

Obviously, not everyone was happy with this phenomenon. Many people I know personally on Instagram, which came from the middle and upper class, were not so impressed with the presence of these kids within their 'territory'. They mocked the SCBD kids' fashion as tacky, and many others

accused them of loitering, littering, causing traffic—in general, being a nuisance.[7] Some of the white collars who 'resided' in this area during the day were also reported by the press to express their dislike of how these kids presented themselves.[8] Furthermore, many accused them of encouraging LGBTQ messages, with many boys seen dressing in feminine clothes.[9] This should not have been an issue, but welcome to the country where not only are LGBTQ rights almost nonexistent, but our very existence was condoned in the name of tradition and religion.

Before my fieldwork was due, Central Jakarta's Police Office declared that taking a picture while walking on the zebra crossing in the area around Dukuh Atas Park was against the traffic law.[10] The traffic division head of Central Jakarta's Police Office said, "you can't do that (taking pictures). The normal thing to do for a pedestrian is to beautify the place (and) not to do something else".[11] My take on this quite confusing statement is that for a city to look beautiful, people should not do anything other than walk on the street. Aside from the police, Central Jakarta Mayor's Office also published a guideline on their Instagram account on what not to do in Dukuh Atas Park, which includes a ban on group gatherings. In addition, Central Jakarta's Social Service Office stated that they would enforce Satpol PP (the municipal police) to take action against males who used feminine clothing under the guise of protecting citizens' morale, effectively restricting the teens' personal expressions. However, Jakarta's Governor and the President had opposite attitudes towards the phenomenon. They encouraged the event and declared that it should not be forbidden. The governor even stated that as long as no legal bill has been circulated, CFW should carry on.[12]

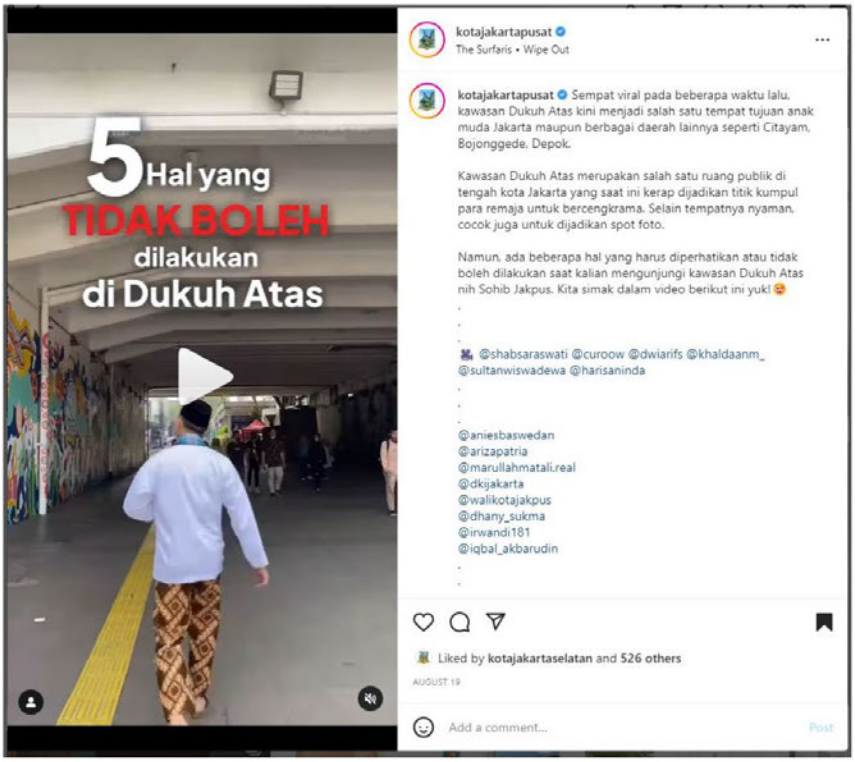

Figure 2. An Instagram post from Central Jakarta Administrative Office informs the public of 5 things people cannot do in Dukuh Atas, including gathering in a group. Source: @kotajakartapusat.

Although the unofficial ban on CFW was predictable in a city obsessed with order, I remember feeling quite confused by the government's polar attitudes. Why are there differences of opinion between the policymakers and the enforcers? Should these people agree on the same thing? Are one of these sides—the enforcers—trying to appease the ego of middle to upper-class people, the ones with more economic power, who cannot handle things that are aesthetically and socially different from their customs and expectations of a modern city? I was not (still am not) very sure about the answers, although I highly suspect that the ban was caused by the class divide between the residents of Sudirman. It made expressing yourself on the streets of Jakarta while being poor seen as a form of transgression, the same label that is attached to street vendors. These questions kept appearing in my mind as I followed the news about CFW on my Instagram timeline, which was reported to end unofficially in late July 2022. I decided that although there was a chance that I would not find anything, I would still look at the area around Dukuh Atas Park during my fieldwork in Sudirman. Aside from finding CFW refreshing, I was also intrigued to learn more about the link between the phenomenon and the interior urbanism practices of street vendors in the area. I sensed that they are tightly related, and knowing about one would lead to understanding the other.

2.

In mid of August 2022, I finally arrived in Jakarta after three years. The reason for my visit was mainly for four-weeks fieldwork where I would walk around three areas of Jakarta where street vendors were frequently seen. Among the three, Sudirman would be the first area I inspected.

As I stood in front of Setiabudi Astra MRT Station on the first morning of my fieldwork, I realised that my memories about the area are mostly indoors: from going to the new year parties at Hotel Indonesia, where my grandfather worked as a chief accountant, to visiting the malls with my family. Like many middle-classes, my family always used personal vehicles to travel around the city.[13] In fact, this was the only mode I was familiar with when I still lived with my parents. And I was not the only one. So many people in the city are just like my pre-adult self, with 4.4 million cars reported to occupy the streets of Jakarta in 2018.[14] They used cars every day to go from an air-conditioned house directly to inside an air-conditioned building, with no break in between to breathe the 'natural' air. So it is no surprise that people in this city use cars to go to a place that is only 10 minute walk away.

This is not just my observation; Kusumawijaya also said in his essay *Jalan, Kaki-lima, Mall* (2004) it seems that for many people, the street of Jakarta is mostly experienced from inside a car. Looking back now, I really cannot understand my former self why I tolerate being in a car so much. Objectively using a car in Jakarta is not a pleasurable experience with its traffic jam problem that can stretch a twenty minutes journey to two hours and bad driving attitudes that you at least encounter once along the way, to name a few. Moreover, riding or driving a car is a very impersonal city experience. It is different with cycling, where you can still feel the sensory experiences, be social and have the chance to get to know the city better by trying on new routes—you at least have more control. The car does not give the same option. People only focus from A to B on the fixed routes already laid out, making the journey in between unimportant. The outsides are not important for these people, but the indoors are.

My first bodily experience with Sudirman's streets—as well as Jakarta's streets in general—was during my undergraduate years at the university. I went to the country's most sought-after public university in Depok to study interior architecture, much to my mother's dismay, as she wanted me to take over her dentistry practice. This was my first time meeting people with diverse backgrounds from all over

the country. This was also when I was exposed to a reality other than my little privilege bubble. I remember being introduced to the wonder of street food, exploring parts of the city you never knew before on foot, and being acquainted with different types of public transport. On some unconscious level, I began to incorporate this new knowledge into my lifestyle, much to the shock of my parents. Still, it has proven to be the best decision on my part since it would prepare me years later when my parents cut me off financially and I had to join the minimum wages workers club with my low-paying job as a research assistant. No one in my family expected me to be a street food regular. My siblings and I grew up hearing 'scary' stories about the food sold in the streets, for example, how it would make me very ill because it was not made by 'real' meat but rats' meat, and how the vendors cook the food with the dirty water taken from the gutter. All of these stories are baseless, of course. It was based on the gossip and rumours that circulated when people could not understand why the vendors' food was so good but cheap.[15] They were told so we would not be tempted to try and prefer food that our parents or the adults in our household were more familiar with. My parents were also quite surprised that I chose to walk everywhere. They spent most of my childhood telling me that walking on the streets in downtown Jakarta was dangerous; these places were where the innocent got hurt or robbed. Unlike their worries about street food, this was not groundless. It is the sentiment inherited by people in my parents' generation from the trauma of the 1998 financial crisis, when food shortages, unemployment and political instability provoked mass rioting on Jakarta's main streets.[16]

Despite my parents' disapproval, I was free to explore the city and everything that came with it for the first time, and I would not miss my chance. My friends and I would come to downtown Jakarta at least a couple times a month just to hang out with each other, although most of us lived in boarding houses near the university. Fifteen years ago, Jakarta did not have many public places like galleries, museums and parks for young people to go to.[17] Nightclubs were plenty, but personally, I was not into that. So it left me with commercial activities such as shopping, eating and watching movies, which I could easily do in Depok; shops, restaurants, cinemas, and street vendors were similar to what they had in downtown Jakarta. I had no actual reason to ride the Commuterline train for an hour just to do the same thing I could do in Depok. But just like the SCBD kids, some things in Jakarta compel me to go, something worth two hours train journey back and forth; I just did not realise what it was.

One of my personal favourites was going to Sudirman. This was not because there was something special about the places we visited, but more about the feeling that I was in Sudirman with all the city's most impressive and expensive-looking people, which made me feel I was important too. Although I remember walking everywhere in Sudirman, I did not remember most of what was there on the street. I realised that I never just walked; I never just enjoyed and paid attention to my surroundings. I walked like I was driving a car on foot most of the time, a mode Ingold called a *passenger*, a travelling mode where your purpose of walking is just to reach a destination; the streets were just something in between.[18] So naturally, prior to my fieldwork, although I was used to walking in the city, I had limited knowledge about Sudirman's streets. I had patchy memories of lousy pavements, sunny weather, and almost getting hit by cars—but still, it was more experiences than most middle and upper classes had of the city in their lifetime.

So I stood there in front of the MRT station entrance with a new determination to really walk on the streets of Sudirman—to become what Ingold called as a *wayfarer* that pays attention, engages and acquires knowledge from the environment.[19] As I began my walk, I realised that Sudirman had undergone considerable changes. There were no more patchy and narrow pavements; they were replaced by wide and extensive pavements complete with both Bahasa Indonesia and English signages. In addition, there were footbridges, tactile pavings, public benches, modern bus stops and a good amount of greenery. Overall, they were the textbook of modern urban pavements. However, as

I walked from my starting point to the direction of Hotel Indonesia Roundabout or locally called *Bundaran HI*, I could not help getting the feeling of walking in a very mechanical or sterile environment. Because they were so perfect, they started to feel like made-up streets, like they were not real. This feeling might be supported by the fact that only a few people use the pavements. Initially, I thought this was because of my bad timing, but after six days of exploring the area, I realised that the primary residents of the area—the white-collar workers—hardly ever walked on the pavements. Instead, they use them briefly as a short transitory space from cars, motorcycles or MRT stations to office buildings. I suspected it was because of the heat. The temperature in Jakarta is around 32°C all year long. This could be unbearable without air conditioning with the 'professional' looks these people have to wear for work. People who used the pavements mainly were security guards, delivery guys, foreign tourists that can be easily identified by their shorts (Indonesians rarely wear shorts outside, except for playing sports or on beaches—we usually wear clothes that cover our legs for modesty) and street vendors—none of them has to look professional. It was a bit strange that the government spent so much money and effort on things not used by the people occupying the area. But it started making sense when I found out about the reason for the area revitalisation. These new facilities were installed to prepare the city for hosting the 2018 Asian Games.[20] The international stadium was in the area, so no wonder the rest of Sudirman was getting an upgrade that could impress foreign athletes and dignitaries.

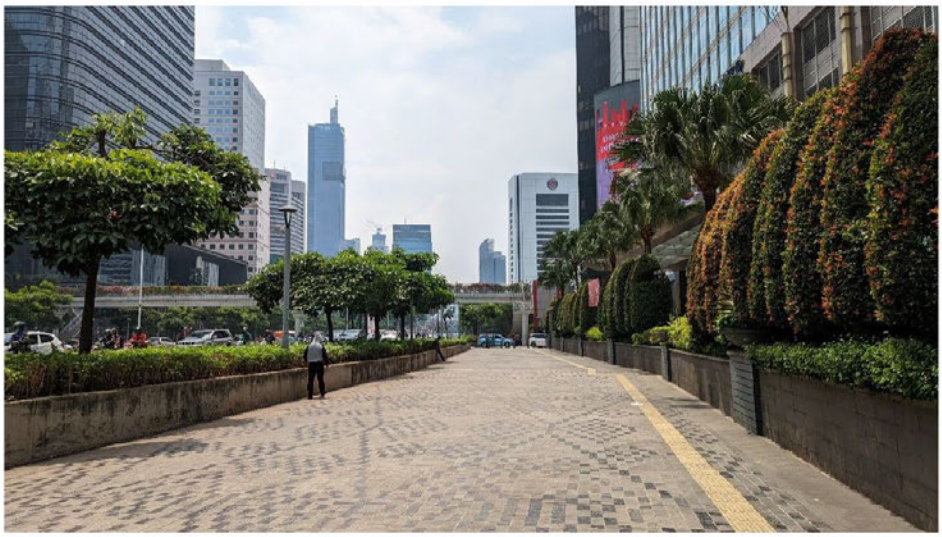

Figure 3. One of the pavements on Sudirman's main boulevard.

On the pavements, I met a lot of *starling*, the abbreviation of Starbucks *keliling* or Starbucks on the bike. These vendors did not work for Starbucks. It was the opposite. They were selling cheap sachet beverages, mostly coffees, that they could serve hot or cold. They were being ironic with the name because they were selling drinks that were way cheaper than Starbucks—they were Starbucks for the poor.

You would notice when a starling was near. They would do the signature Indonesian street vendors move: making sounds with their mouths. The sounds were indescribable—it sounded like they were yelling *"minum!"* (drinks) quickly and loudly, but I might be wrong. And along with this sound, they also constantly rang their bike bells. If someone wanted to buy something from them, they needed to catch the vendors' eyes, and if they got noticed, starling would come in their direction, but if that was not happening, they needed to shout *"bang!"* (the equivalent of bro or mate) while waving their hand to catch the vendors' attention. On my first experience with starling, which was happening during my third day on the field—I tried shouting and hand gestures to make the vendor notice me. Part of the reason I approached the starling aside from data gathering purposes was that I urgently needed a refreshment. It was around 11 in the morning, not yet two hours since I started to walk in the area; I had already finished a bottle of 500 ml cold water and needed more cold drinks to help me braced Jakarta's sun.

After seeing my hand gesture, a starling vendor named Adi parked his bike near me in front of Bundaran HI MRT Station. When I approached, he immediately asked what I wanted to drink and let me choose from a selection of sachets drinks draped on the bike's handlebar. These powder sachet drinks were from well-known brands that you can easily find in the grocery store, so it was easy to pick which one I liked. I asked him to make it cold, and then he asked if I wanted to drink it from a small plastic bag or cup. At first, it seemed like a weird question, drinking from a plastic bag—but this was quite a common occurrence in Indonesia, where plastic bags served smaller drinks while plastic cups were used for bigger portions. Because I was so thirsty, I opted for the cup. And then Adi proceeded to make the drinks, standing next to the rear part of his bike where he kept a thermos, a water bottle and a cool box. First, he dissolved the powder in hot water, mixed it with room-temperature water, and added lots of ice to serve it cold. It only took Adi 4 minutes to fix a drink, counted from when he parked to when he handed me the cup with lid and straw. The drink cost me Rp. 5000 or £0.28, precisely ten times cheaper than Starbucks Grande Latte I bought in the mall the previous day.

Afterwards, I asked Adi if I could chat about his activities as a starling vendor. He was pretty surprised and delighted that someone wanted to hear his story. Apparently, he was originally from Madura, an island on the northeastern coast of Java and just came to Jakarta to work as a starling vendor two months ago. He followed the footsteps of his hometown friends who started the profession earlier. He lives in a boarding house in Tanah Abang, a nearby area just a couple kilometres away, and he usually works from morning to night. His schedule depended on how many drinks he could sell that day. When asked how much he gets for a day, he said the highest gross income was around Rp. 800.000 (£45), which was during the height of CFW. He said he was there almost every day before the event was banned. He said nowadays, the SCBD kids are still gathered every day, but it is not as lively as it was. He offered to meet me later in the afternoon since he would be around Dukuh Atas Park (the site of CFW) if I wanted to see and maybe talk more about CFW. I agreed. And then we parted ways, but not before he took a picture of me standing next to his bike and asked if it was okay if he posted my picture on his Instagram. "With pleasure", I said.

Figure 4. Photo of Adi, A starling vendor I met in front of Bundaran HI MRT Station. Here, Adi was seen fixing a cold drink.

3.

Later that afternoon, around 2 PM, I went to Dukuh Atas Park. The park was empty, aside from a few people passing through. It was a pedestrian space surrounded by several public facilities such as MRT Station entrances, Commuterline train station, seating spaces, and greeneries. It was a relatively intimate space for a spot designed to become a transit hub, a pit stop and a meeting point that connects different types of commuters from all over the city.[21] There are several cafes and restaurants nearby; the most evident was the local coffee chain, Janji Jiwa, located just in front of the infamous zebra crossing and a Starbucks chain a couple hundred meters away. It was pretty clear who the space was primarily designed for, judging from these food places: the high-earning white-collar workers who can afford to spend at least Rp. 30.000 (£1.7) for a cup of coffee. The traffic around the park was really slow at this time of the day. I remember seeing no car passing, although Sudirman's main boulevard traffic was quite heavy. It might have something to do with the fact that the area was quite secluded; it has a pedestrian-only street on the southeastern side, and none of the vehicle entrances or exits of the buildings facing the park, so the street where the zebra crossing was located (Tanjung Karang Street) was far from busy most of the time. It made me wonder how the police can get away with using the 'disturbing the traffic argument' to ban CFW if there was no traffic to disturb with. There were banners everywhere, reminding the visitors and the passers that they could not do commercial activities or litter, nor they can eat and drink in the area. I must say this presented the visitors, myself included, with quite a dilemma when the banner was placed in front of Janji Jiwa, which I must have been there legally, that sold many kinds of beverages and sandwiches for takeaway. And as I sat with the iced coffee I bought from Janji Jiwa near one of the banners, like many others around me, no one came to reprimand us. This was the beginning of many contradictions I found in Jakarta.

Figure 5. Dukuh Atas zebra crossing and park during midday on the weekday.

At 14.33, I spotted Adi and his friend, also a starling vendor, already on standby on the pavement at the junction connecting Sungai Gerong Street and Tanjung Karang Street. They were parking their bikes on the roadside and sitting on the pavement floor underneath the shades of a tree; this pavement was not as wide as the ones in Sudirman's main boulevard. This was a different attitude I observed from other starling vendors that operated on Sudirman's boulevard—they never linger. Sitting with them was this lady, a doughnut vendor named Asanah, who carried her goods inside a stack of plastic boxes wrapped with a piece of clothes as a carrier. Not far from them, there were Asanah's two young sons, ages 4 and 2, who played around the pavements with dry leaves and gravel. I bought a drink from Adi's friend—not a coffee this time, who was coincidently enough also called Adi and joined them sitting on the pavement. It was still relatively early to catch the SCBD kids, so we chatted more about their lives as street vendors in the area.

They all shared the similarity that they were not Jakarta's citizens. While both Adis (for the sake of not confusing the reader, I would refer to them as Adi and Adi 2) were originally from Madura but moved to live in Jakarta, Asanah still lived in Bogor, a city in West Java, only 1 hour 30 minutes away from Jakarta by Commuterline train. Like his friend, Adi 2 also lived in a boarding house and just came to Jakarta a couple months ago. However, he preferred to take the night shift, meaning he usually worked from 12 PM to 4 AM, targeting the city's night owls. Asanah, on the other hand, started to offer her food in Sudirman around 5 or 6 AM every day and said she had no fixed finish time. "It all depends, miss, on when the doughnuts are sold out," she said. She explained that her activity began at around 2 or 3 in the morning when she had to cook the doughnuts, "I cooked them all myself," she said proudly while showing me the unsold doughnuts that were neatly wrapped in plastic cases. She had to bring two of her youngest children with her because she had no one to watch them at home. Although her husband worked as a builder, it was still not enough to cover the high living cost, especially when she had three children to feed. Because that week was a school holiday, her oldest son, a 14 years old middle schooler, also came with her that day to help. According to Asanah, he was

at the park, trying to approach potential customers by bringing a box full of doughnuts while her mother stayed away from the crowd and watched over his younger siblings.

While I was chatting with Asanah, the two starling friends were busy contacting someone over their phone. When I asked what they were doing, Adi 2 said they tried to place an order for ice cubes because they ran out. Apparently, these two starling vendors had a regular ice supplier, a street vendor with a *warung* (a fixed stall) somewhere, that would sell them ice if they happened to pass around this area. Not long, the ice supplier came riding a motorcycle delivering the ice for the two Adis. While they were busy fitting the ice cubes into the ice boxes on the rear part of their bikes, I noticed that a security guard from a nearby building walked towards Adi. He asked them to move their bikes towards the pavement since the way they parked was blocking the street. After Adis adjusted their bikes, I asked them and Asanah about the interaction. They all said they were not too worried about the security guard; the most they could do was warn the vendors to move their units or to not be too obvious.

Figure 6. Asanah and her two sons. Behind them, standing were Adi and Adi 2.

Satpol PP was a different problem entirely. According to them, if there was no crowd in sight, there would be no Satpol PP, and if there was a small crowd, Satpol PP would just ask them to go away politely. However, if there was a large crowd, for example, during CFW's popularity, Satpol PP would conduct random raids towards street vendors. According to Adi, Satpol PP would confiscate their thermoses or ice boxes if they got caught during the raid. They would bring these seized items to their office, and the vendors would need to pay a ransom of around Rp. 300.000 (£17) per item– not a small amount for those who earn roughly Rp. 500.000 (£28) a day. Asanah, who has been working as a street vendor since 2017, also says that she received the same treatment two years ago when she still selling food with a trolley. Then, Satpol PP would take away her stuff, including the goods that had not been sold yet, like cigarettes and ready-to-drink beverages. These goods would be claimed lost

when she tried to pay them back. Finally, she said she had had enough drama, especially after her youngest was born, so she changed her tactic by selling fewer items and using more low-key tools.

Our conversation then drifted towards CFW. All of them said they were looking forward to CFW being allowed again. However, they had their own suspicion about why the event was banned. According to Asanah, if not for some boys who dressed up like women, the event might still be allowed. She thought they were bringing too much attention that, by the end of the day, harmed everyone involved, including the vendors. I wanted to argue with her that this reason might just be as far fetches as how the event might disturb the non-existent traffic. Still, I tried to hold back since I understood her desperation to blame this on someone easier to blame than the government. On a positive note, according to Asanah, teenagers were still gathered in Dukuh Atas Park despite the ban. Still, it was not as crowded as before, but it was enough for these vendors to earn some money. Waiting for these teens was actually why Adi, Adi 2, and Asanah were all sitting in the area. They suggested if I wanted to see a much livelier crowd, I needed to come during the weekends, although they warned me that the Satpol PP would be unusually fierce for both the vendors and the public.

While our conversation changed into something more mundane, I was so cosy with my situation, drinking iced beverages and sitting on the pavement under the shades, that I did not realise that there were more people than it was an hour ago. I snapped back into reality when some teenagers approached Adi to buy drinks. Based on my observation, they were young, mostly around high school age, and they carried themselves differently from the teenagers I know or usually met at the malls. First of all, they talk differently. Most of them spoke in a *Betawi* accent—the indigenous group of Jakarta that nowadays most could be found living in the city's outskirts; they talked loudly and used quite a lot of slang that I could not understand. They had quirky fashion, and the girls were all wearing make-up. Some brought DSLR cameras and started taking pictures of themselves or their friends on the pavements; some were even braved enough to pose on the zebra crossing. I noticed that suddenly there were more starlings and other street vendors around us—someone must have told them that there were potential customers in the area. These teens had no qualms about sitting on the pavement in their hip outfits with the vendors (and myself), who clearly were not part of their crowd.

And just like that, three Satpol PP in full uniforms appeared out of nowhere riding motorcycles. Probably because there was no large crowd, they ignored the teenagers, but they were starting to shout in our direction—we here refer to the street vendors and me. They asked us to disperse, to move away from our spot on the pavement. When I look back, I realise they thought I was part of the vendors because I was dressed like one. I was not dressed up to the nines like the teens, nor did I dress smart like the white-collar workers. I wore black trousers with a loose, plain t-shirt, a bucket hat and hiking sandals complete a cross-body bag. So every vendor around me started to stand and move their units away from our spots on the pavement. Because most of them were starlings or vendors like Asanah, who used a bag-like carrier, it took them seconds to disperse. And because it was my first encounter with Satpol PP, I did not want to agitate them, so I walked straight to one of the entrances of Dukuh Atas MRT Station and called it a day.

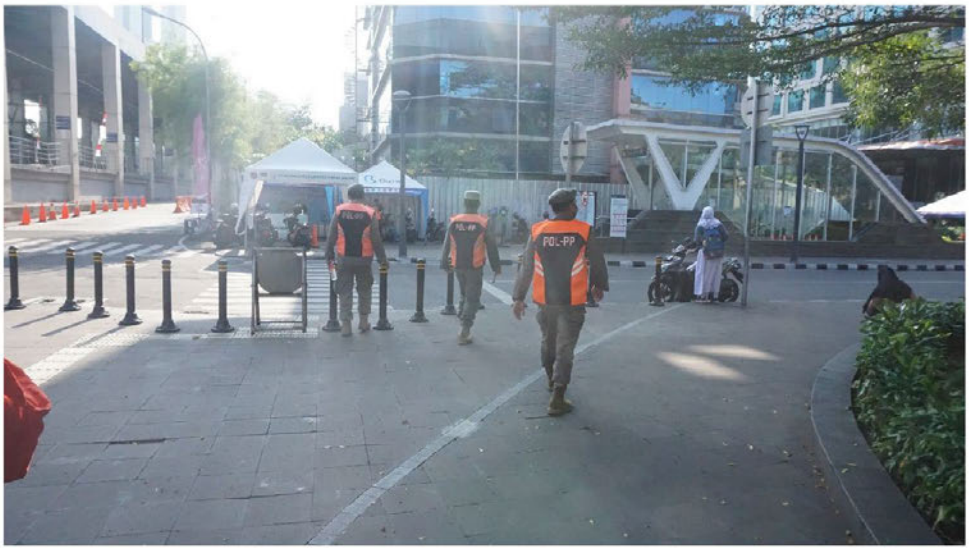

Figure 7. Satpol PP arrived at Dukuh Atas to disperse the crowd.

4.

Since I knew I had to do my fieldwork alone, I decided to make a new Instagram account. The current generation called this a 'fake' account, an account where you did not reveal your actual identity, where you were not following anyone you know, a platform where you express yourself without the fear of being judged. Mainly, I still used the more conventional methods to record my findings, like a notebook, voice recorder and digital camera—the Instagram account, which I realised later when I was back in the UK, was for me to reflect on the interesting things happening during my walk. It helped me remember things that I thought were important at that time and left the most impression. These posts were not live; they were not published in real-time. I usually post them at night after finishing the fieldwork for the day. Some posts were published long after I was back in the UK when I had something to say about some situations I remembered during my time in Jakarta. One of the few posts where I had quite a lot of things to say was the story of when I visited Dukuh Atas Park on Saturday afternoon, 20 August 2022.

Based on the information I had from the two Adi, Asanah and some vendors I met along the way, the SCBD crowd was said to be at its peak on Saturday evening at around 19.00. So that day, instead of starting my morning excursion like usual, I began walking at 17.00. Although I had met a few of them already, I was still feeling a bit apprehensive about meeting these SCBD kids in a large number. Unlike street vendors that I was familiar with, these kids and I have almost nothing in common. And I did not know what to expect. Hence, I asked my sister-in-law, an office worker who knows the Sudirman area so well, to meet with me and accompany me to investigate the phenomenon. She agreed to meet in the Park at around 19.00. And since I had two hours to spare, I decided to explore other parts of Sudirman to see what was happening in the area where the primary residents were not occupying the building. So I started to walk from Dukuh Atas MRT station towards the direction of Bundaran HI. As I walked, I noticed plastic cups with half-finished beverages in almost every corner of the pavement. Sometimes they were paired together with ready-to-drink beverages in plastic bottles. Although there

was no starling around at the time of discovery, the plastic cups were evidence that transactions were happening in these spots some time ago, where people slowed down and stood or sat on the pavement while consuming their drinks. I found it interesting that trash can identify traces of inhabitations, just like footprints were used as clues for hiking routes.

I continued my walk to the pavement in front of Plaza Indonesia, overlooking the Bundaran HI. The sun was already set by then, and most of the city's lights were on. If I think about it, the area around Bundaran HI was a strange mixture of London's Picadilly Circus, where you have all of these giant LED billboards, with Trafalgar Square, where there was this monument that portrays the country's past victory, which nowadays also serves as the centre of rallies or demonstrations.[22] That night, a crowd gathered on the pavement, doing an activity that could be described as a sight-seeing. Many were taking pictures of themselves in front of the monument, and others were sitting on the pavements in small groups. Although, unlike Trafalgar Square, these people were not foreign tourists; they were locals; I recognised them from their Jakarta accent, slightly milder and more flat than SCBD kids' heavy Betawi accent. Most were young but older than teenagers, and some brought children.

Figure 8. Pavement in front of Bundaran HI and Plaza Indonesia at night. Among the locals were the starling vendors offering their goods (right).

I saw the police and Satpol PP cars standby near the area—they set up a tent on the junction that connected the pavement on Sudirman's main boulevard to the pavement on a smaller street where the malls' vehicle entrances were located. I initially thought there was a possibility that this crowd was dangerous so the police were here to maintain order. Or was it because there were many pickpockets? Later it hit me that they were not there for the crowd; they were there for the malls—they were there to intimidate this crowd away from them. The good thing was that there was no attempt to disperse the crowd that night—there were not so many people, maybe around 100—so most of the officials were just standing or sitting in the tent. I did not see this detail while moving, but when I sat down on the pavement, I started to realise that several people carried the familiar plain plastic cups, and some of them were eating from polystyrene food containers, both signature takeaway tools from starling and Jakarta's street food vendors.[23] Where were these drinks and food come from? There were police cars nearby, so I initially assumed that street vendors would not be so reckless to be around.

I was wrong. There were actually a number of starling vendors lurking amid the crowd. They dress similarly to the visitors—just like my outfit the other day when Satpol PP shouted at me—comfortable but modest. They moved around and offered their food or drinks. Some were not carrying anything,

just trying to catch the visitors' attention by asking "*minum?*" or "drinks?" in low voices until people took on their offer. Then they squatted next to the potential customers, listening intently for their orders—without notes whatsoever, just pure brainwork. Others were seen carrying trays full of drinks to be delivered to those who had already ordered. The more I paid attention to them, the more obvious how different they were from the rest of the crowd. First, these vendors moved in solitary, unlike the visitors who often walk in pairs or small groups. Secondly, they were also constantly in motion, rather than slowing down, enjoying the scenery, posing and taking pictures. I did not order any drinks this time but followed one of the vendors and walked away from the crowd because I was curious about where they parked their bikes and how they hid them with the polices standing guard nearby. Turns out, they parked the bikes in plain sight—13 bikes parked in the middle of the street connected to the malls' entrances, next to a line of jersey barriers separating the traffic into two directions. It was less than 200 meters away from the crowd, but I guess the barriers concealed them from the watchful eyes of the polices and by placing the bikes in the middle of the street, where traffic was quite heavy, if something were to happen, they could easily hop on the bikes and move away. I noticed that not all the vendors approached the customers on the pavement; some were standing guard next to the bikes. Apparently, they were taking turns—or working in a system that mutually benefits both those who move and those who stay. Seeing that made me think about Adi and Adi's companionship and how much they must have relied on each other to make things work for them.

Figure 9. At least 13 starling vendors parked their bikes in front of the malls' entrances, ready to serve the local crowd in front of Bundaran HI.

At around 7 PM, I walked to meet my sister-in-law in front of the Starbucks near Dukuh Atas Park. When I got there, the place was packed with people, mostly, but not exclusively, the SCBD teens. There were more street vendors than I had ever seen in the area, both starling and those with push carts, that stood by, not on the main street, but on other streets connected to the main street. The crowd was divided into two, those who queued to buy something from the vendors and those who gathered around the zebra crossing under the watch of a group of Satpol PP. Since taking pictures at the zebra crossing was forbidden, these teens were mostly seen sitting with their friends in small groups on the pavements; some were chatting loudly, some were listening and dancing to the music from their smartphones, and some were just enjoying the night with drinks and food bought from street vendors, hidden away on the 'side' streets. Then, we went inside the park and sat on a concrete barrier that also served as a planter. There, I found a similar activity in the Bundaran HI; several starling vendors were moving around with trays full of drinks, trying to offer their food to

people in the park. Quite different from those in Bundaran HI, some of these drinks were made beforehand, so some customers can have that on the spot. I think they selected the most common beverages these teens usually ordered—iced orange drinks, iced tea and iced coffee. I remember feeling quite anticlimactic because as the night progressed, nothing happened other than people kept hanging out with each other and buying things from street vendors. I guess I kept expecting something big to happen based on how the media portrayed CFW or the government's reaction towards the event. As we sat there and waited for our drinks, I felt pretty content and enjoyed these strangers' company—also feeling a bit silly for my earlier apprehension. Again, a question comes to mind: How were these activities seen as threats? What so threatening from street vendors and people enjoying themselves in the city?

After 10 PM, the crowd was beginning to disperse. It was not surprising since the last train from Sudirman to Jakarta Metropolitan Area, like Citayam, Depok, and Bogor, was in an hour and so. The number of street vendors around was also thinning when the teens began to leave Dukuh Atas Park. On my way home to my in-laws' place in a taxi, I posted my experience of spending Saturday night among the SCBD kids on my Instagram—the fake one. I was too self-conscious to post anything personal that was not curated and drafted in my real account. I chose several photos from my smartphone that left the most impressions: the teens, the vendors, the Satpol PP and the zebra crossing. And despite knowing their residential status, I called the teens Jakartans because that's how I saw them then. And that is how I felt sitting on the pavement even though I have not been Jakartans for a long time.

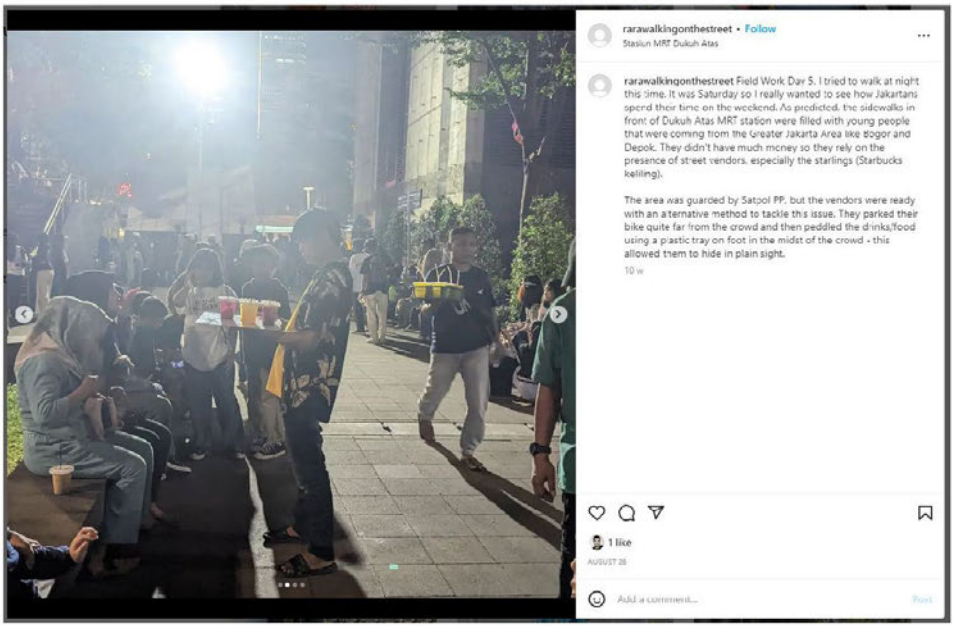

Figure 10. An Instagram post taken from my 'fake' account shows photos of things I felt really interested in following the activities of SCBD kids in Dukuh Atas Park. Source: @rarawalkingonthestreet.

5.

The presence of starling and street vendors on foot like Asanah softened the edge of Sudirman—even in the most monitored spots, like on the pavements of the main boulevard. Without these vendors, the clean, sterile, controlled, and monumental environment made up of the presence of skyscrapers in the background would make walking on the pavements very intimidating, especially for those whose on paper are not belong—those who are not working in the area or those who cannot afford malls, fancy dining and entertainment establishments. These vendors add a human dimension to the street of Sudirman, a concept that, according to Jan Gehl, is crucial in avoiding creating an isolated, introverted, and dismissive urban environment.[24] Their presence allowed people to slow down and stay on the street, which was a significant defeat with the harsh weather in Jakarta that made people crave to be inside an airconditioned building. They can initiate a lively city based on Gehl's theory, which depends on people staying and doing outside activities.

This ability to make people pause has a lot to do with the goods street vendors offer—in Sudirman, it is the snacks and beverages. First of all, these foods help to tackle the temperature issue. They provide relief and give the customer a positive sensorial sensation that would later affect how they experience the urban environment. Secondly, the need to consume food also causes people to slow down and sometimes sit on the street. It makes people start to appropriate the existing street infrastructure beyond what they are initially designed for to support their bodily needs—the loose bricks for sitting, the planter to place the food, and so on. The Situationist called this a *detournement* or hijacking, a means to construct momentary situations from existing forms that were provisional and lived, a tactic that is situated as one of the interior urbanism strategies by Attiwill.[25] In the case of Sudirman, not only the customers that do the hijacking. In fact, the vendors usually did it first by appropriating the pavement, a place for movement, to park their units and turn the street into a temporary makeshift pantry or kitchen to serve the customers. It then triggers a domino effect for the customers to do a similar transgression, to turn the pavement into their dining space.

I think the possibility of hijacking as a form of transgression is a crucial component that makes interacting with street vendors could make people feel more at home in an otherwise intimidating space. Looking back at my experiences buying food from Adi and Asanah, I was also compelled to do something with the already-furnished pavement. That urges me to look at things that might be used differently around the pavement so I can eat, drink and talk comfortably. It not only makes me start noticing the city's dynamics that I otherwise would have overlooked but also makes me part of that. Buying food from street vendors is proof of my economic participation, which already boosts the feeling of belonging to the city. On top of that, hijacking and adding a personal touch to the existing environment to be more domestic to my liking, no matter how small, transformed my relationship with the pavement from occupying to *inhabiting*, to making me feel at home.[26]

This transgression can also happen collectively, like what has been done by the SCBD kids and the crowd in Bundaran HI. However, it does not mean one must belong to a group to do collective transgression. You can do it with strangers like I did with SCBD kids in Dukuh Atas Park. I misused the pavement and the park, participating in the same economic activity by buying food from starling, and avoiding Satpol PP; I did what they did; we shared an experience and momentarily claimed the city's space together. As I sat in the park, there was a sense of camaraderie with the people around me that made the environment feel safe and cosy enough, like a big, giant shared living room.

What was so compelling about CFW and SCBD kids was that they did their transgression loudly, unlike me, who, because of my background, has the tendency to do things quietly—that's why I have a fake Instagram account. Their loudness attracted people to join them, people like me, who were not

expected to be there. And this is what is so threatening about the phenomenon. The more people join, the more normal it seems to inhabit the street like that. It would ruin the government agenda to make Jakarta their version of a 'modern' city that is clean, ordered, aesthetically pleasing and street vendor-free. Because there is no way, CFW would exist without street vendors. The possibility offered by street vendors to inhabit the street triggered the phenomenon in the first place—not the other way around, as suggested by the press. As indicated by my conversation with Asanah, Adi 1 and Adi 2, the vendors already occupied the area way before the existence of these crowds. Furthermore, without the possibility of getting food from street vendors, these people would not gather and make themselves at home on the streets—there is no reason for them to stay in Sudirman without a sufficient food supply.

Other than that, making people stay and do transgression in the city's space, the way people interact with street vendors can also contribute to making Sudirman feel less intimidating. Formality and also professionality is not needed in interacting with street vendors. It is pretty removed from the experience of buying food in a much more formal establishment where you have to conduct yourself as a professional customer. For example, I always need to order things smoothly in Starbucks. I taught myself how to order, which one goes first, the size, the drink type, the temperature, and so on—I do not want to offend the barista and do not want to be judged. There is a feeling to prove that I spoke the commercial language and am a professional too. With street vendors, there is none of that. First of all, most vendors I met do not speak proper Bahasa Indonesia, a language that you only talk in school, in the office, or in commercial situations like in restaurants, but the everyday language sometimes is complete with slang.[27] Furthermore, street vendors allow you to ask as many questions as you want, and sometimes you just have to because there is no menu, including asking the vendors to personalise your order. Sometimes they even started a conversation with you, like this one time in Sudirman; while preparing my purchase, a vendor who sold almond cookies asked me why I had all these freckles on my face and am I *bule*?[28] For some, all of these informalities might prove how unprofessional and culturally backward street vendors are. Still, for the crowd of CFW, this attitude of detached professionalism was why they sought after street vendors and felt accepted to be in Sudirman.

Regarding the vendors' resiliency, starling has the most surprising strategy I did not catch during my mind-walking exploration through Instagram posts. The result of my mind-walking study suggested five types of interior urbanism practices used by street vendors in Sudirman. And during this study, starling vendors are a part of the type called *parking* because they have moveable units, they are responsive rather than anticipatory, all of their tools are attached to the vending units, and they only allows passive customer participation. This categorisation of starling has proven accurate during my visit to Sudirman. First of all, starling's moveable unit, the bikes, were the key to starling's continuous presence on the pavements of Sudirman. With bikes, their presence was legal, for the pavements were designed for pedestrians and cycling. Moreover, having all the tools attached to the front and rear part of the bikes, they could also quickly move their units if they ever get caught on CCTV and asked to move.

Furthermore, measured only 70 cm wide, they could pass the 90 cm gap between bollards installed on both edges of every pavement. Its small unit size allows it to reach its loyal customer almost everywhere in Sudirman and hide from the watchful eyes of Satpol PP. The last point might not be proven too significant in Sudirman when the Satpol PP seems relatively lax. Still, in the area with stricter control, like in Jakarta's Old Town, starling's small size really help the vendors to hide from the authorities while still reaching out to potential customers. Another thing that I observed is that their choices of goods to sell makes them swifter than other vendors. Based on my experience with Adi, it

only took them less than 5 minutes to fix a drink, and then they started to move again. Their interaction with the customer is comparatively short than what other vendors would have. In fact, because of their swiftness and detachment from the customer, they could be seen serving the security guards that were supposed to reprimand them. This is why they rarely get caught or become the raid target by Satpol PP. Primarily, they get caught only because they are parking too long in one space, like in CFW or Bundaran HI.

However, my visit to Sudirman also proved that starling vendors have more up to their sleeves than how they were portrayed on Instagram—they use more than one interior urbanism strategy. Aside from *parking*, they also utilised *lingering*, an approach similar to parking, but instead of only allowing passive participation in inhabiting the streets, this strategy also encourages customers' active participation. The way this interior strategy is practised by starling vendors can be seen from how they separate the space where they fix beverages and the area they serve the customers. However, unlike the other street vendors I categorised in this type, starling vendors do not use loose tools that tie customers' activities to the vending units, such as plastic tools, reusable dishes, etc. Instead, as we can see during CFW or in Bundaran HI, they let the customers choose their own seating spaces and appropriate those spaces accordingly—this is the element of active participation where the customer holds control over how big or small the interior territory between the starling vendors and themselves. The vendors are the ones tying the two by approaching the customers and asking what they want to order, returning to the bikes to fix the beverages and returning to the customer to deliver the drinks and ask for the payment. Based on my observation, creating this invisible tie was an intelligent move on the starling vendors' part in concealing their presence from the watchful eyes of Satpol PP.

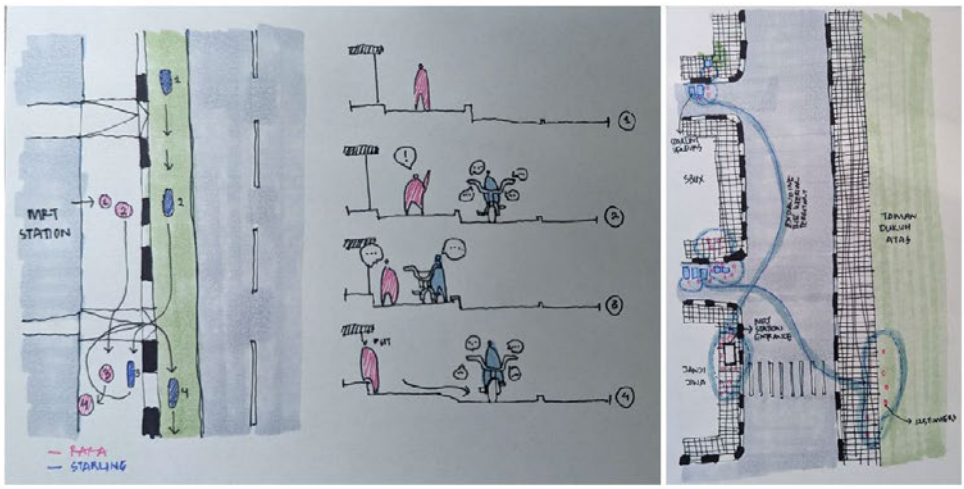

Figure 11. Fieldwork sketches showing how starling utilises parking (left) and lingering (right).

The ties that make up the strategy rely on how much trust there is between the starling vendors and the customers. The vendors should trust the customers not to get away, and the customers need to trust the vendors to bring them the right drink. Trust is also required among starling vendors to make this strategy work. As we remember from Bundaran HI's story, at least one vendor needed to stand

guard and wait for their turn while their friends approached the customers. They cannot just leave their belonging, their livelihood, to someone they do not have faith in. According to the study conducted by Rachmawan et al. in 2021, trust is supposed to be a common characteristic shared by Jakarta's street vendors. It is part of a survival strategy called *social capital*.[29] It means using social networks to help the vendors survive in the street, whether for information, money, skill or just like starlings, to back up each other in practising interior urbanism. This social capital can be traced throughout my experiences in how Adi depends on other vendors to supply him with ice blocks and in how Arahmah depends on starling vendors like Adi and Adi 2 to buy beverages for her three sons because, as a fellow vendor, they usually give each other food for free.

The other thing I observed during my time in Sudirman is that starling vendors use throwaway materials like plastic cups and straws, so they do not have extra weight in their vending units to clean them. This seems to happen also with street vendors on foot like Asanah, where all her doughnuts are wrapped individually in a clear plastic case. Although this guaranteed their transaction was quick and practical, this was not the most sustainable option. From the traces I found along Sudirman's main boulevard, I can see why this can be seen as an environmental problem. I also can see why the middle and upper class used littering as a reason to ban street vendors and CFW. What does not make sense is that this concern does not include barring minimarkets. As my experience suggests, plastic bottles from ready-to-drink beverages were also found along these streets. These drinks cannot be found in starling vendors but in much more formal establishments. But I do not see these places getting blamed for the littering in the street. While I agree plastic trash can be an issue, primarily when Jakarta has not yet implemented an effective recycling system, however banning street vendors from being existed is clearly not fair. I say that the problem does not lie with the vendors, but the system still allows disposable plastic food containers to be sold cheaper than the ones made with paper. It also has much to do with fixing the public attitude against littering. Fixing the problem with these two solutions is much more appropriate than blaming those who cannot stand up for themselves.

All things considered, the presence of street vendors allowed people from less fortunate backgrounds, such as the SCBD kids and other local citizens, to mark their presence in Sudirman. The affordable food offered by street vendors triggers the need to stay, and the need to stay triggers awareness of the surrounding, which then starts the transformation of the street into an inhabited space. With this, they can exist simultaneously in the same area with those who are better off, although still not shoulder to shoulder since the rich are mostly confined indoors. And although many forces in the city trying to deny their presence, trying to draw a clear separation between these two economic classes, both street vendors and the SCBD kids are actively reclaiming their places in Sudirman through transgression. Other than defending their livelihood, this transgression, this interior urbanism strategy, can also be seen as a political move of showing resistance towards the modern image of clean, sterile and prosperous Jakarta—a movement that has been gaining a lot of support recently since CFW was viral in TikTok and Instagram.

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Notes :

[1] Research done during 2021-2022 shows that overall, 66% of adults in the UK prefer to use social media as their news sources, primarily Instagram, TikTok and YouTube. See: Jigsaw Research, 'News Consumption in the UK: 2022' (Ofcom, 21 July 2022), https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0027/241947/News-Consumption-in-the-UK-2022-report.pdf.

[2] Rogers, in his book Doing Digital Methods, argued that social media was the most up-to-date platform, beating other web-based platforms. See: Richard Rogers, *Doing Digital Methods*, 1st edition (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2019).

[3] I could not get the viral interview videos, but there several videos posted on July 2022 can still be seen on TikTok and Instagram following the hashtag #citayamfashionweek.

[4] CNN Indonesia compared Citayam Fashion Week with Tokyo's Harajuku, Seoul's Hongdae, London's Camden Town and Chengdu's Taikoo Lin. See: CNN Indonesia, '4 Negara yang Lebih Dulu Punya Fenomena "Citayam Fashion Week"', gaya hidup, 30 July 2022, https://www.cnnindonesia.com/gaya-hidup/20220730105917-269-828138/4-negara-yang-lebih-dulu-punya-fenomena-citayam-fashion-week.

[5] Based on an article published by the Jakarta Post. The same story was also published on their Instagram account @jakpostimages on 18 July 2022. For the article see: Yvette Tanamal, '"Citayam Phenomena" Marks Public Demand for Inclusive Spaces', The Jakarta Post, 16 July 2022, https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2022/07/15/citayam-phenomena-marks-public-demand-for-inclusive-spaces.html.

[6] It was reported by Kumparan, one of the web-based news platforms, that the presence of these teenagers brought enormous benefits to the street vendors around the area of Dukuh Atas. The street vendors could get twice as much as their usual wages, from what was usually around £38.86 to £77.73 a day. For the news article see: Ema Fitriyani, 'Citayam Fashion Week, ABG Nongkrong yang Bawa Berkah Bagi Pedagang', Kumparan, 22 July 2022, https://kumparan.com/kumparanbisnis/citayam-fashion-week-abg-nongkrong-yang-bawa-berkah-bagi-pedagang-1yViayMFsbd.

[7] The arguments against this activity were mostly because people feared that the teens would attract street vendors that could make Sudirman, primarily used as a business and commercial centre, look seedy and dirty. People were also concerned about the amount of trash produced by the teens. These arguments are pretty ridiculous. Moreover, people seemed to think these teens would increase the number of crimes in the area. These upper middle class saw poor people and immediately linked them with words like trash and crime. For more see: Nurma, Dara, and Nadhila, 'Pro Kontra Citayam Fashion Week', JL Online, 24 July 2022, https://www.journoliberta.com/2022/07/pro-kontra-citayam-fashion-week.html; Asri Saraswati, 'Citayam

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[8] One office worker implied that he felt uncomfortable with CFW because it packed the area with people that were not his usual crowd. See: Saeful Anwar, 'Tidak Semua Suka Citayam Fashion Week', Info Indonesia, 24 July 2022, https://www.infoindonesia.id/read/2022/07/24/17380/tidak-semua-suka-citayam-fashion-week.

[9] The media dupped the possibility of LGBTQ participation as the dark side of Citayam Fashion Week. See: Kannia Nur Haida Komara, 'Keluhkan Soal Citayam Fashion Week, Warganet Sebut Jadi Sarang LGBT yang Diwajarkan.', Pikiran Rakyat, 25 July 2022, https://www.pikiran-rakyat.com/nasional/pr-015096044/keluhkan-soal-citayam-fashion-week-warganet-sebut-jadi-sarang-lgbt-yang-diwajarkan.

[10] The Act of Road Traffic and Land Transportation No 22 the Year 2009 states that those who disturb the use of zebra crossing as pedestrian crossing infrastructure would be arrested for up to 1 month and fined up to Rp. 250000. Those who damage the zebra crossing would be arrested for up to 2 years and fined up to Rp. 50000000.

[11] The original quote of Purwanta, the Traffic Division Head of Central Jakarta "*Enggak boleh lah. Lazimnya untuk pejalan kaki, memperindah tempat bukan untuk kegiatan kegiatan lain*". See the full article: Abdi Ryanda Shakti, 'Polisi Sebut Citayam Fashion Week Langgar UU Lalu Lintas', Tribunnews, 23 July 2022, https://www.tribunnews.com/metropolitan/2022/07/23/polisi-sebut-citayam-fashion-week-langgar-uu-lalu-lintas.

[12] The provincial government denied ever banning the activity. The only effort made by the provincial government was to make sure the minors and school-aged teenagers would go home after 10 PM. See: Tim Cek Fakta, 'INFOGRAFIK: Benarkah Lokasi Citayam Fashion Week Ditutup?', KOMPAS.com, 4 August 2022, https://www.kompas.com/cekfakta/read/2022/08/04/090900182/infografik-benarkah-lokasi-citayam-fashion-week-ditutup.

[13] 25% of the people in the city are considered middle class, so it's more than 4 million people. To see what's considered as middle class in Jakarta see: Joanne Sharpe, 'Meet Indonesia's Middle Class | Lowy Institute', Lowy Institute, 19 February 2014, https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/meet-indonesia-s-middle-class.

[14] Based on the article on The Asean Post. See: Maizura Ismail, 'Jakarta's Anti-Macet Policy', The ASEAN Post, 8 August 2018, https://theaseanpost.com/article/jakartas-anti-macet-policy.

[15] The stigma that street vendors are dirty and unhygienic was widely known in the country; a news article even used this stigma to support the government's attempt to formalise street vendors. However, until now, I have yet to find a study or research proving the stigma is right. To see the article mentioned above: Fitriani, 'Lenggang Jakarta, Pusat Jajanan PKL bak di Mal', Bisnis.com, 23 May 2015, https://jakarta.bisnis.com/read/20150523/77/436423/lenggang-jakarta-pusat-jajanan-pkl-bak-di-mal.

[16] In Mei 1998, students and activists often marched on the city's main roads, demanding the late President Soeharto step down from his position. The streets became the silent witness of the clash between these young activists and the armed forces, resulting in four university students' deaths. At the same time, there were mass riots and lootings all over the city, targeting the upper middle class, especially those from ethnic Chinese Indonesians, which resulted in the demise of hundreds of people and more than a hundred cases of rape were reported. These demonstrations and riots were triggered by corruption, economic crises, food shortages and mass unemployment. It ended after the resignation of President Soeharto and the fall of the New Order government that had been in power since the late 60s. This tragedy affected how the citizens saw the streets as dangerous places full of uncertainties and dark urban myths. It also influences the decision of the upper middle class to avoid being in the street altogether and, for safety reasons, prefer indoor public spaces like malls. See: Mark Landler, 'UNREST IN INDONESIA: THE OVERVIEW; Indonesian Capital Engulfed by Rioting', *The New York Times*, 15 May 1998, sec. World, https://www.nytimes.com/1998/05/15/world/unrest-in-indonesia-the-overview-indonesian-capital-engulfed-by-rioting.html; Peter J. M. Nas and Pratiwo, 'The Streets of Jakarta: Fear, Trust and Amnesia in Urban Development', in *Framing Indonesian Realities: Essays in Symbolic Anthropology in Honour of Reimar Schefold*, ed. Peter Nas and Reimar Schefold, Verhandelingen van Het Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde 209 (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2003), 275–94; Doreen Lee, 'Styling the Revolution: Masculinities, Youth, and Street Politics in Jakarta, Indonesia', *Journal of Urban History* 37, no. 6 (November 2011): 933–51, https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144211410526.

[17] Based on my recent trip to Jakarta, there are a lot of free or cheap public places that citizens can enjoy besides malls in the city. For example, it has several city parks like Menteng Park, Mangrove Forest and Tebet Honda Park. It also has museums and galleries like Jakarta History Museum, National Gallery, Modern and Contemporary Art in Nusantara, and Museum National Indonesia, to name a few.

[18] His original quote about passenger: "Unlike the continual tactical manoeuvring of the wayfarer, picking his way along the ground, the passenger's career may be understood as a series of strategic moves from location to

location—rather like the 'moves', in draughts or chess, of a piece across the board." (p. s127). See: Tim Ingold, 'Footprints through the Weather-World: Walking, Breathing, Knowing', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 16 (2010): S121–39.

[19] Ingold described wayfarer as those who negotiates and intertwines with the passage as they go along. "In his movement as in life, his concern is to seek a way through: not to reach a specific destination or terminus but to keep on going. Though he may pause to rest, even returning repeatedly and circuitously to the same place to do so, every period of rest punctuates an ongoing movement. For wherever he is, and so long as life goes on, there is somewhere further he can go. Along the way, events take place, observations are made, and life unfolds." (p. s126). See: Ingold.

[20] Based on the news article published in Kompas that all of the public facilities in Sudirman were updated to prepare the city as a host for Asian Games 2018. See: Kompas Cyber Nailufar, 'Dari LRT hingga Trotoar Sudirman-Thamrin, Sederet PR Jakarta untuk Asian Games 2018 Halaman all', Kompas, 8 March 2018, https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2018/03/08/08434781/dari-lrt-hingga-trotoar-sudirman-thamrin-sederet-pr-jakarta-untuk-asian.

[21] The design idea behind Dukuh Atas Park, see: 'Taman Dukuh Atas, Magnet Remaja Citayam Hingga Bojong Gede Adu Gaya', CNN Indonesia, 6 July 2022, https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20220706150804-20-818055/taman-dukuh-atas-magnet-remaja-citayam-hingga-bojong-gede-adu-gaya.

[22] Known as Bundaran Hotel Indonesia or Hotel Indonesia Roundabout, the actual name of this place is Selamat Datang Monument, where selamat datang means welcome. This monument was completed in 1962 during the Old Order era in preparation for hosting the Asian Games IV. It became a popular spot for civic demonstrations during and after the reformation era in 1998. Recently, it has also become the centre of the Car Free Day activity held every Sunday morning.

[23] Not a lot of formal food chains using plain plastic cup and polystyrene food containers. They usually used takeaway containers that show their logos or brands.

[24] Gehl explained the importance of human dimension in the making of lively city: "the potential for a lively city is strengthened when more people move about and stay in the city space" (p.6). See: Jan Gehl. Jan Gehl, *Cities for People* (Washington: Island Press, 2010).

[25] Detournement is a guerrilla tactic that was initially proposed by Situationist International. It can be translated as an approach to literature, film, or political theory. In spatial practice, detournement was defined as an approach to building a new aesthetic from the existing settings or ruins of the existing settings. Suzie Attiwill proposed using detournement as part of the design strategy for the Interiorist in appropriating urban contexts. See: Simon Sadler, *The Situationist City* (Cambridge Mass: MIT Press, 1998).; Suzie Attiwill, 'Urban and Interior: Techniques for an Urban Interiorist', in *Urban Interior: Informal Explorations, Interventions and Occupations*, ed. Rochus Urban Hinkel (Baunach: Spurbuchverlag, 2011), 11–24.

[26] Drawing on Bachelard, Ingold and other theorists alike, the differences between occupation and inhabitation lie within the degree of entanglement between the inhabitant and the settings. Occupation means to dwell in an already furnished environment, while inhabitation has the inhabitant involved in producing a liveable environment. See: Tim Ingold, 'Culture on the Ground: The World Perceived Through the Feet', *Journal of Material Culture* 9, no. 3 (November 2004): 315–40, https://doi.org/10.1177/1359183504046896; Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. M. Jolas (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994); Peter Kraftl and Peter Adey, 'Architecture/Affect/Inhabitation: Geographies of Being-In Buildings', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 98, no. 1 (5 February 2008): 213–31, https://doi.org/10.1080/00045600701734687.

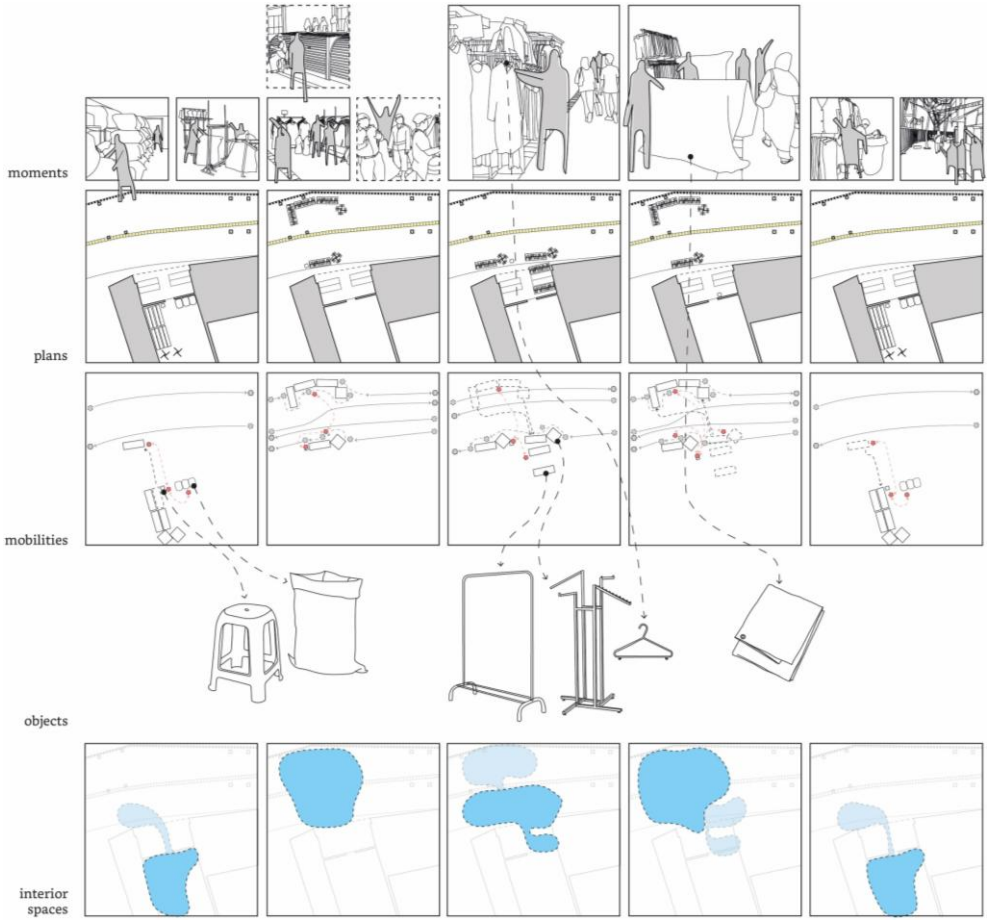
[27] The casual use of Bahasa Indonesia is usually different than what is listed in the dictionary or language books. There are many variations of everyday speech depending on the region. But mostly, for causal use, people usually shortened phrases, glued-on prefixes and used street lingo. People use this to speak with family members, friends or, in our case, street vendors. People do not use everyday speech to talk with strangers or in formal settings.

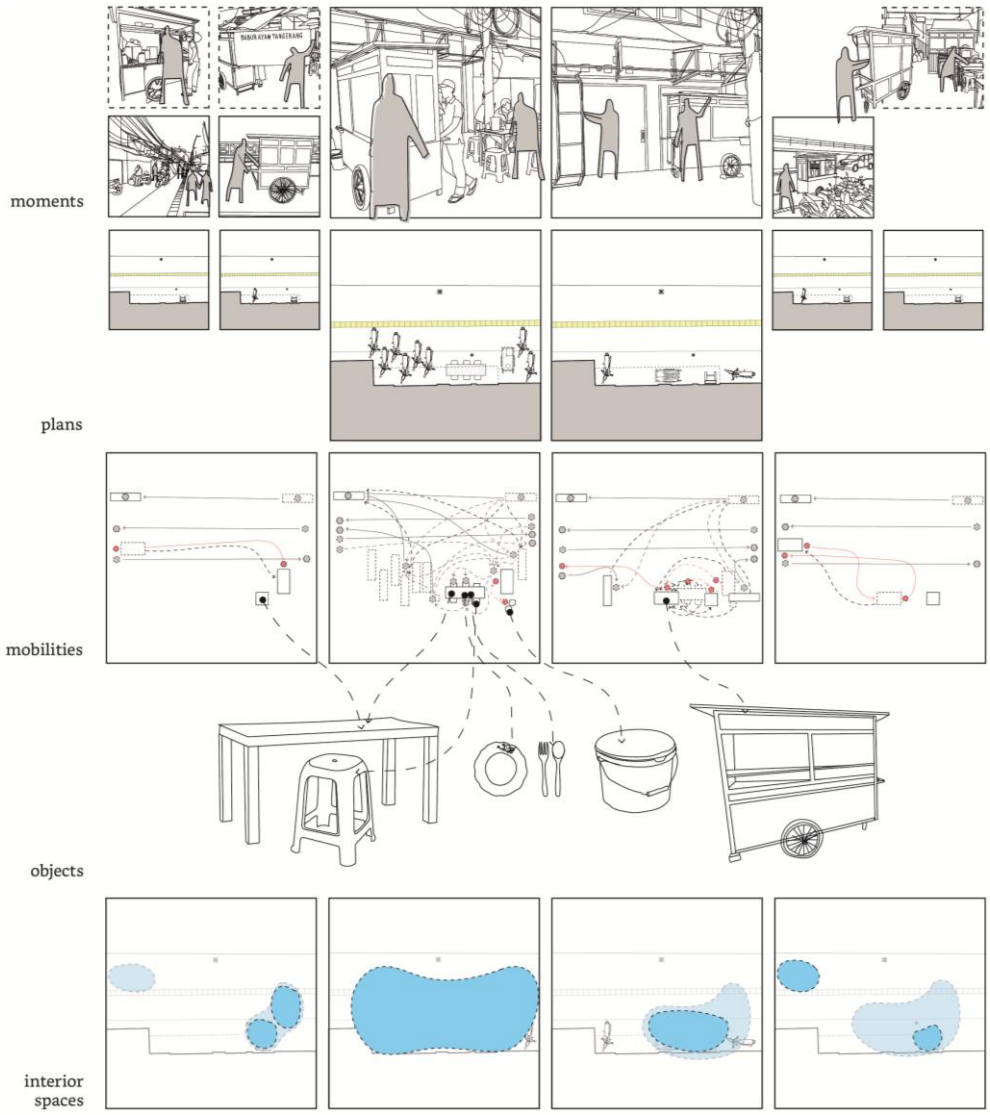
[28] *Bule* is Indonesian slang for foreigners.

[29] Rachmawan et al. described social capital as street vendor's strategy that can turn their vulnerability into survival mode. The original quote: ""...social capital has an essential role in the emerging of PKL in the city. From social networks such as sibling, family, partner, until an acquaintance from sibling which can make many people get information or offer a job in the city with Indonesia imbalance context of development between city and rural" (p.115). See: Dicky Rachmawan, Rusydan Fathy, and Muhammad Luthfi, 'Vulnerability and Survival Strategy by Food Street Vendors: Case Study in Triangle Gold of DKI Jakarta', *JSW (Jurnal Sosiologi Walisongo)* 5, no. 2 (31 October 2021): 111–26, https://doi.org/10.21580/jsw.2021.5.2.6049.

This is the sample of the interior writing journals. The rest of the journals were attached in separate documents (in the original submission). Also available via this link.

Storyboard drawings:

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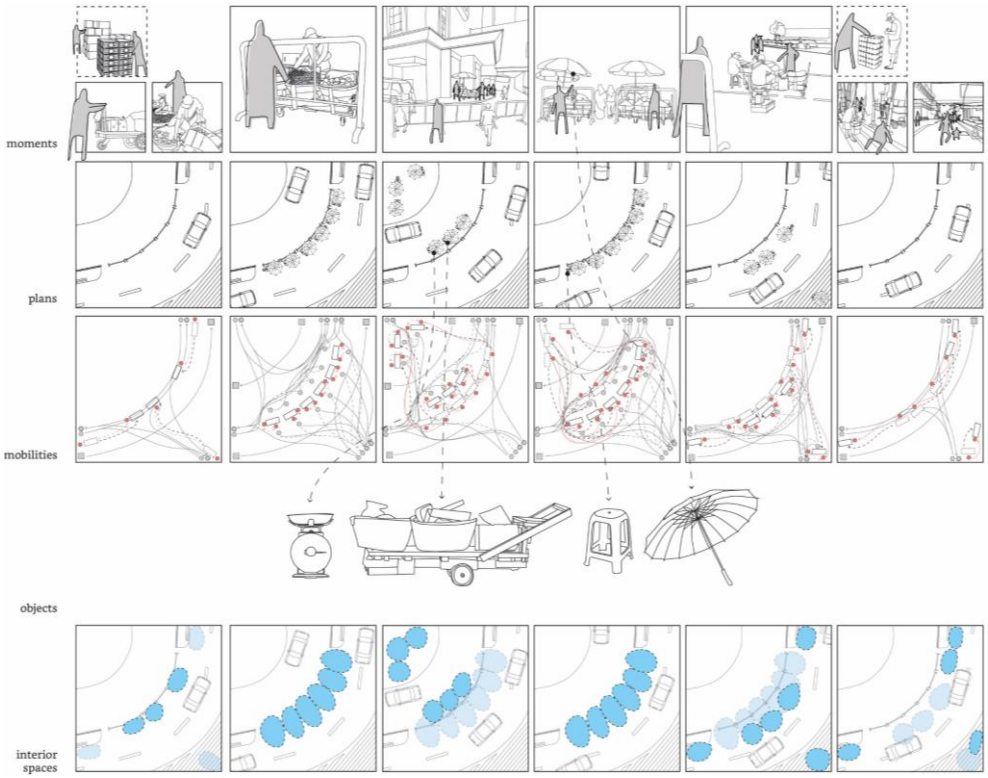
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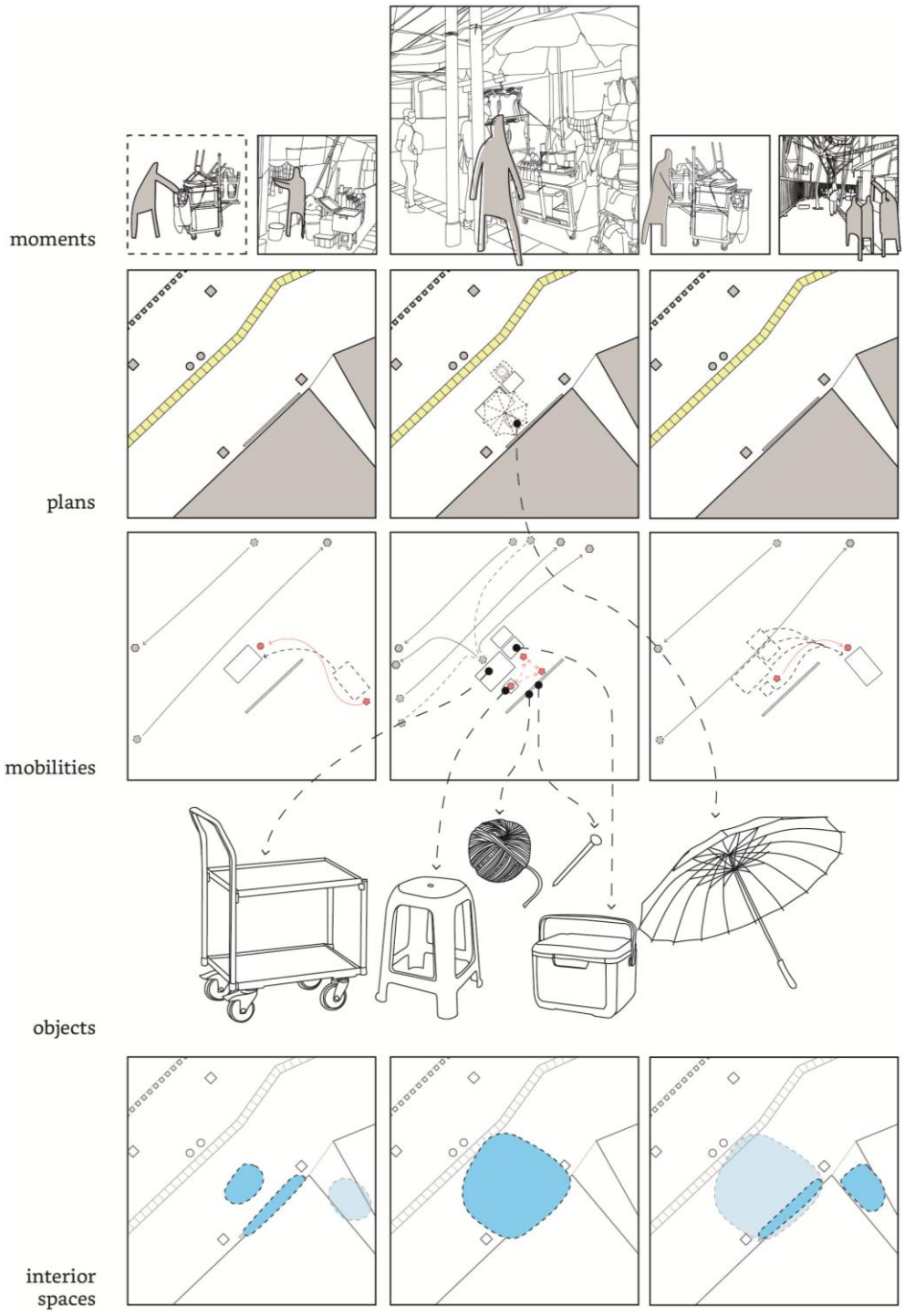
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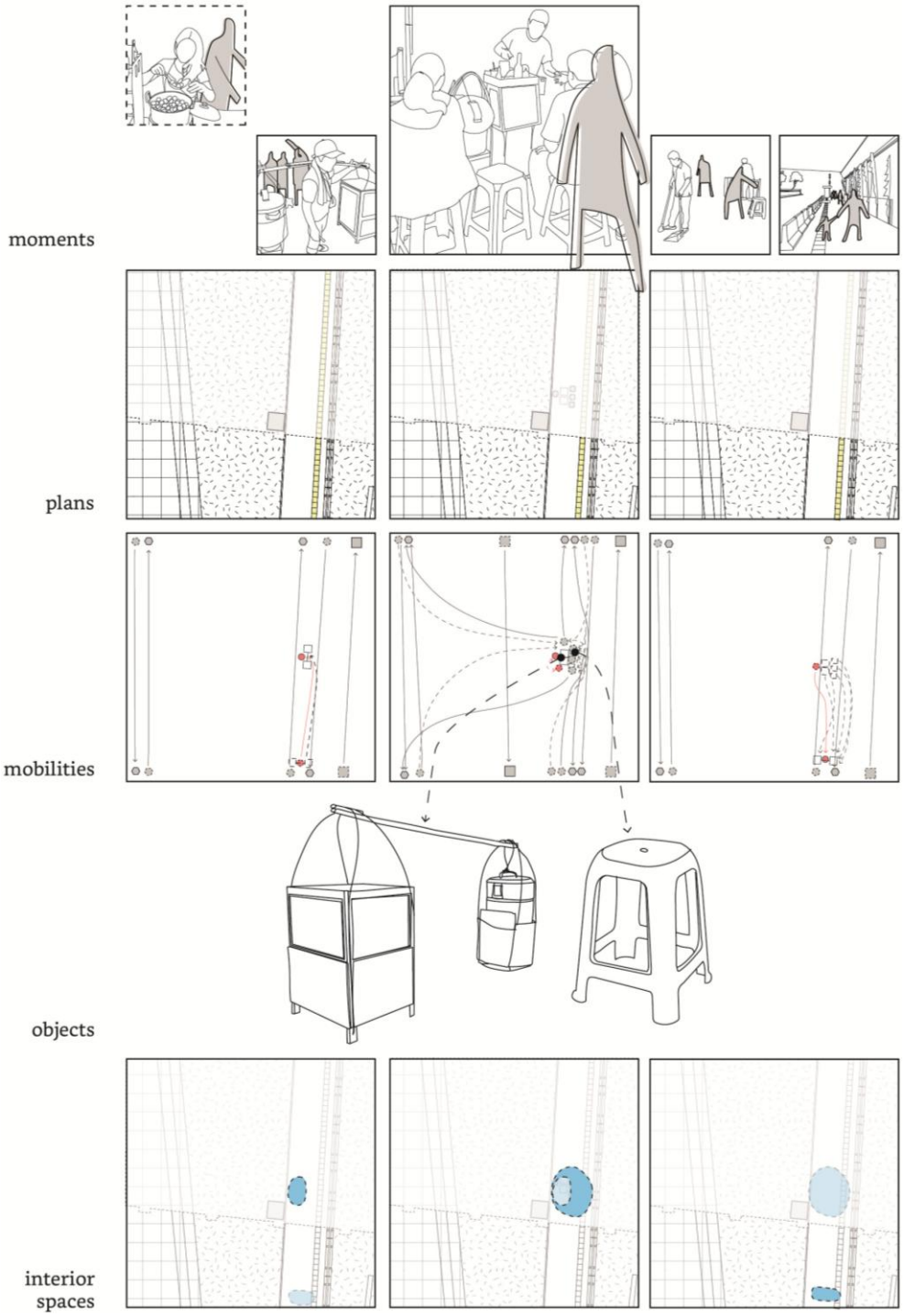
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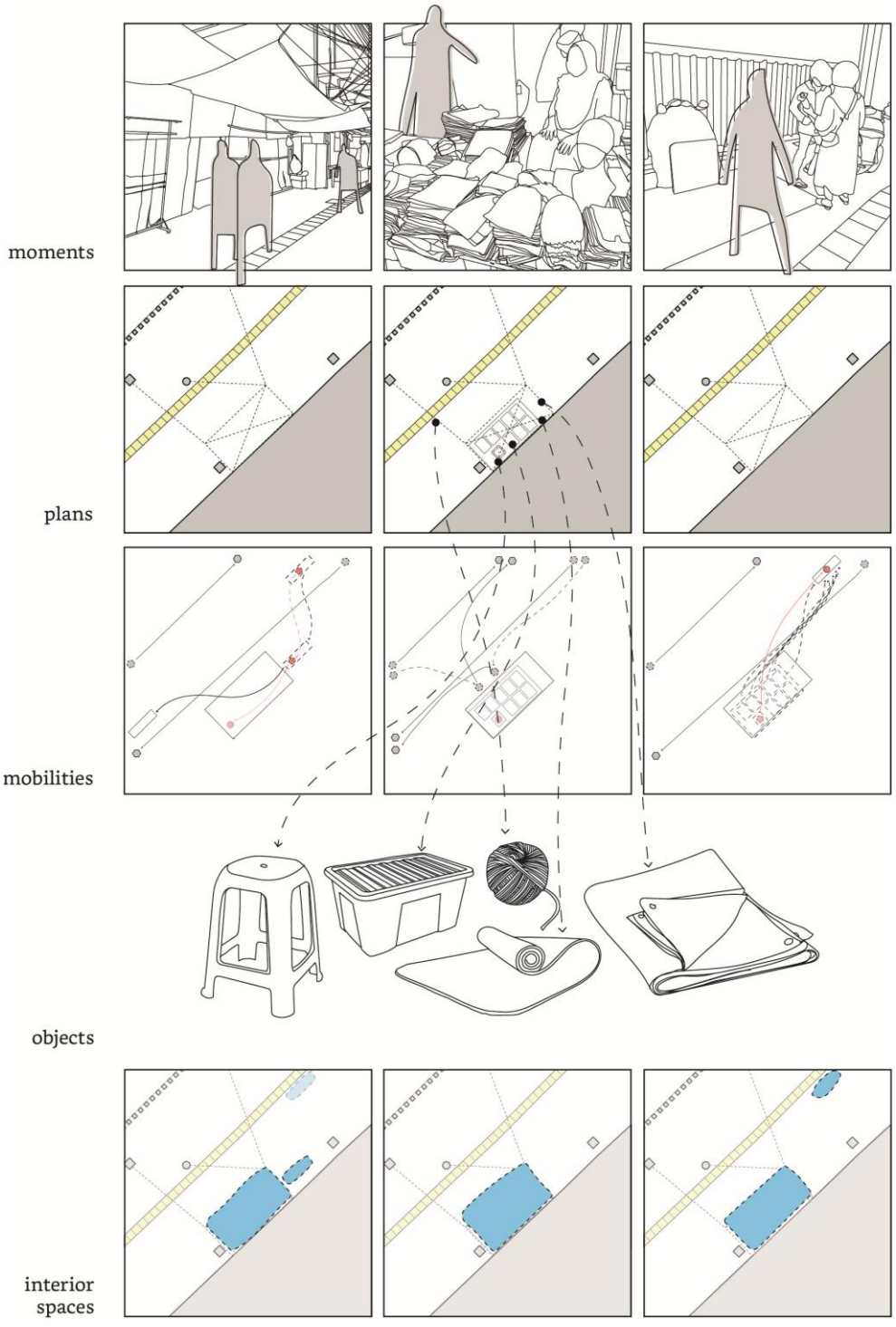
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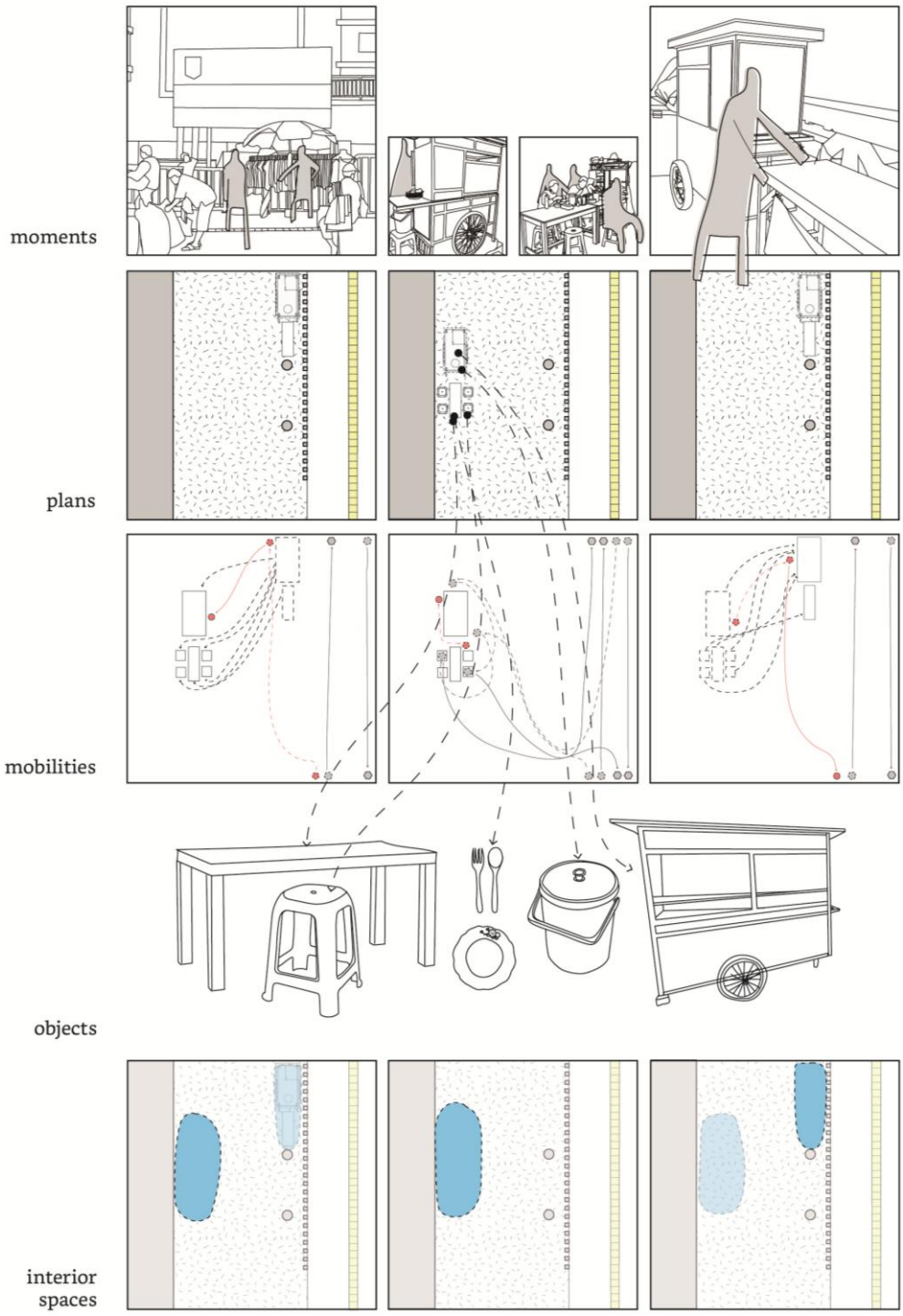
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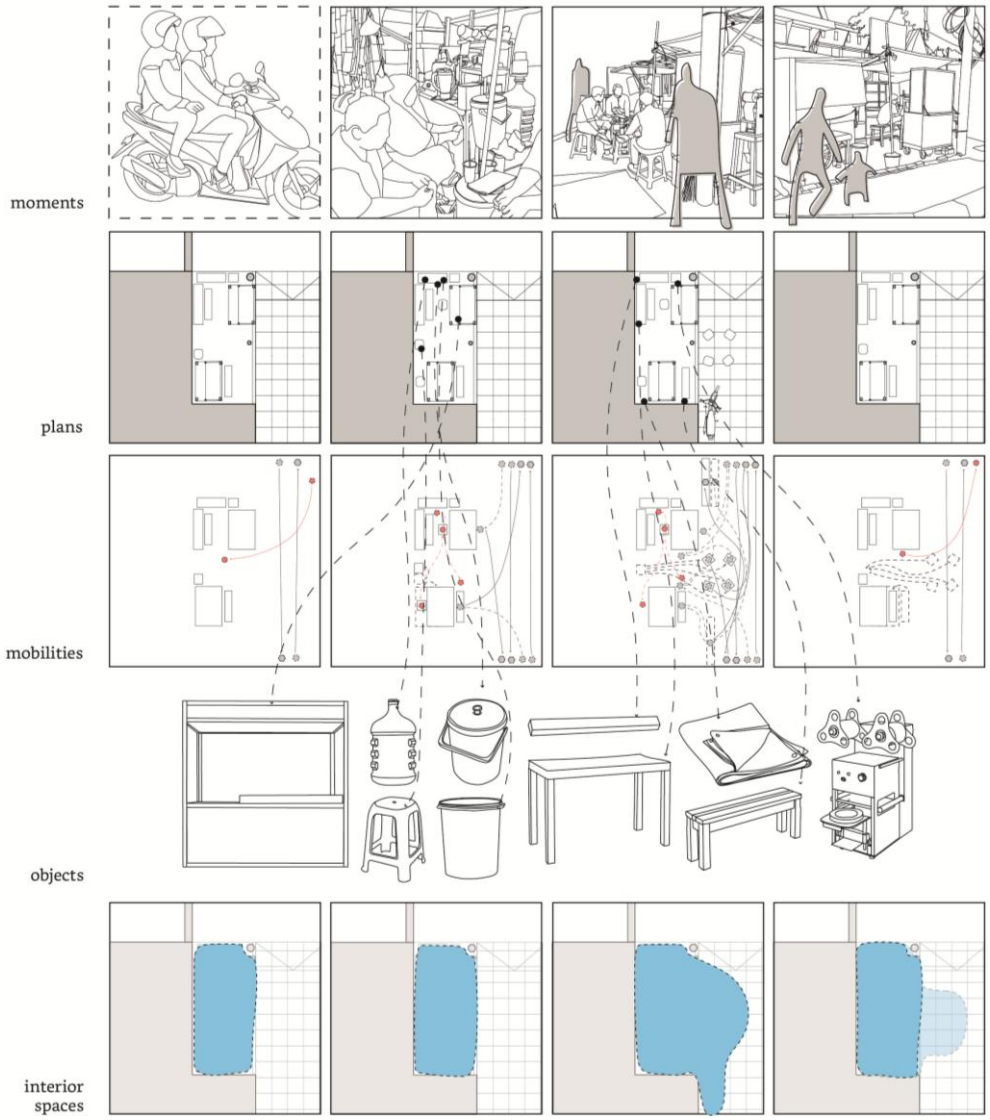
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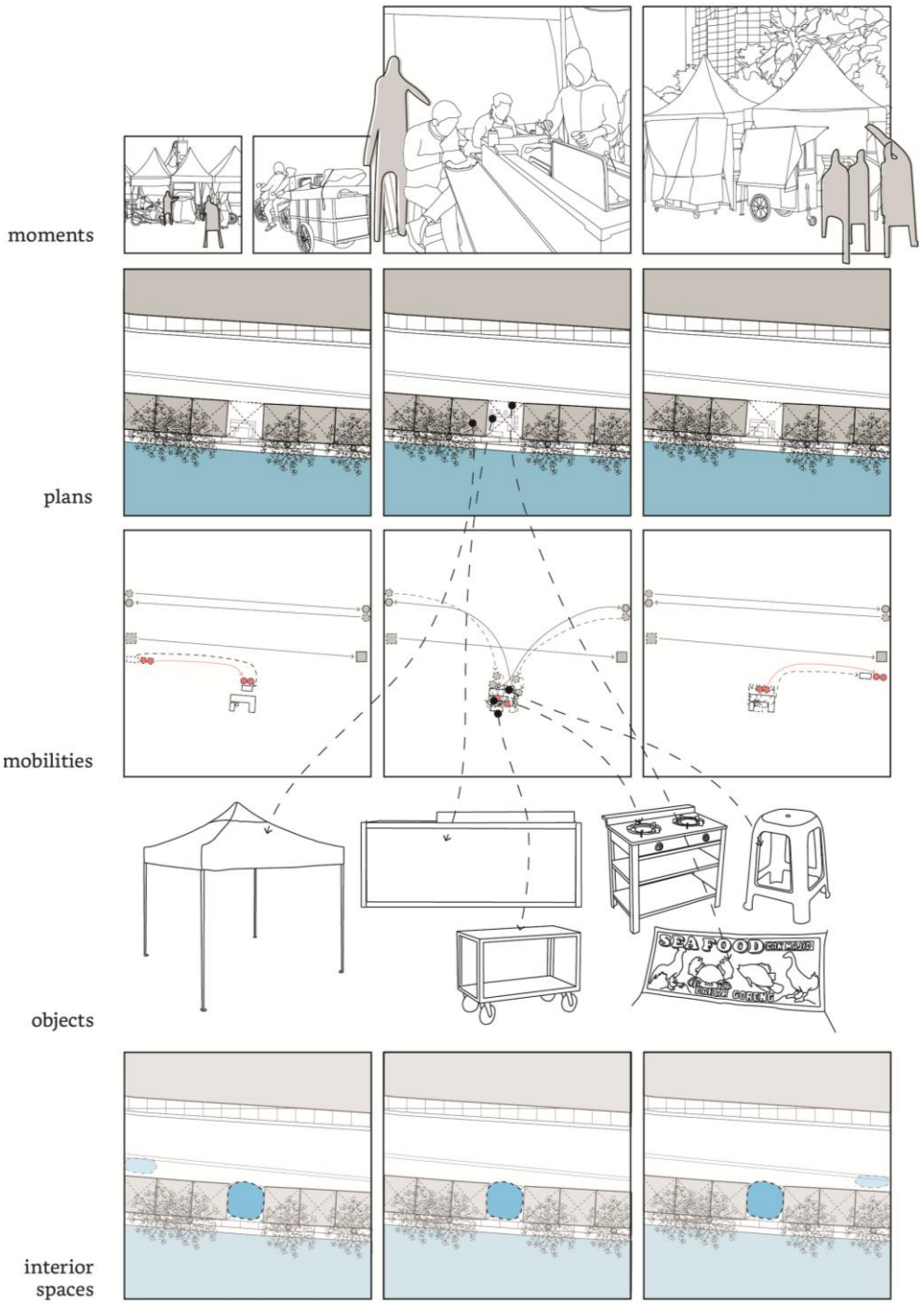
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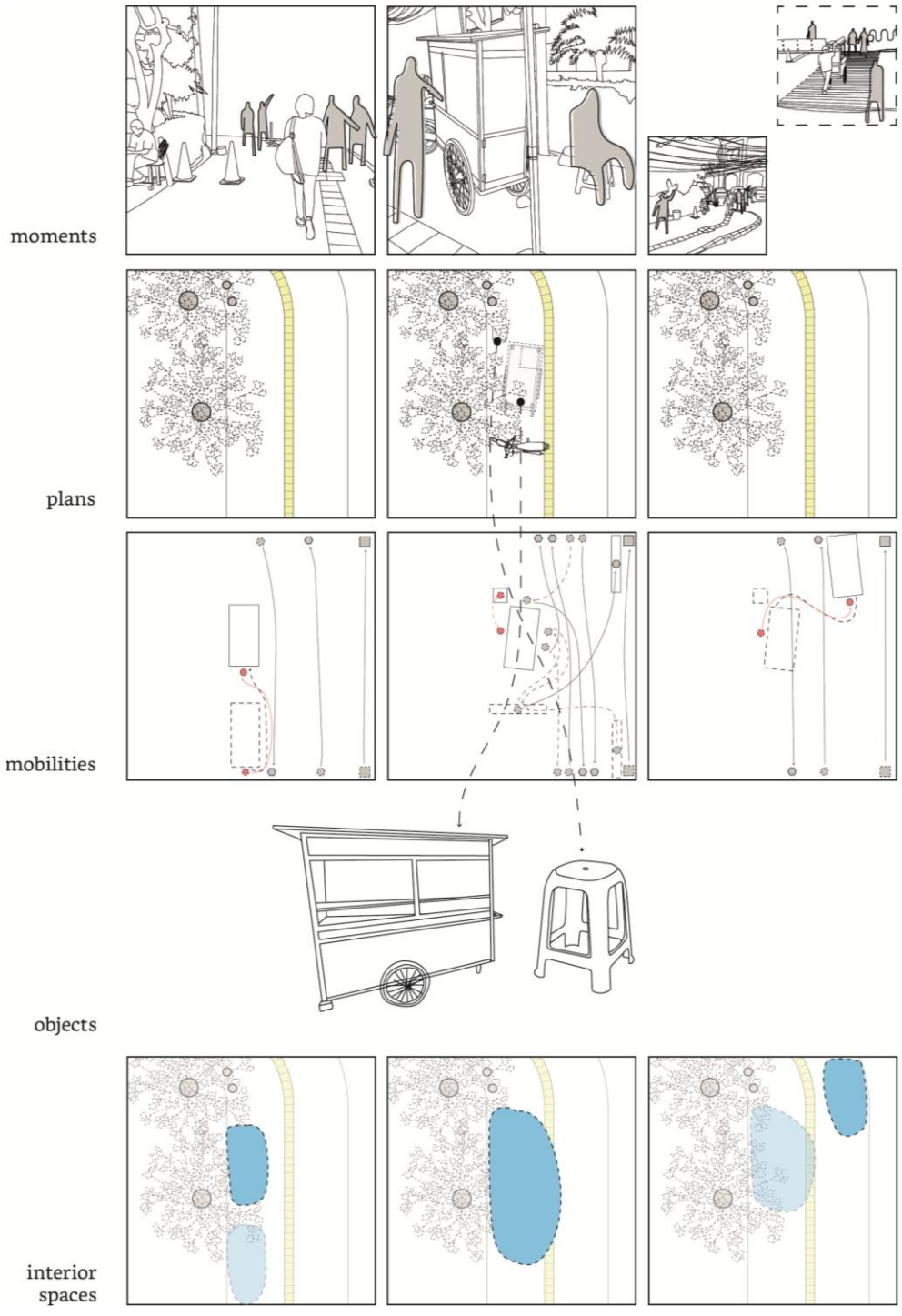
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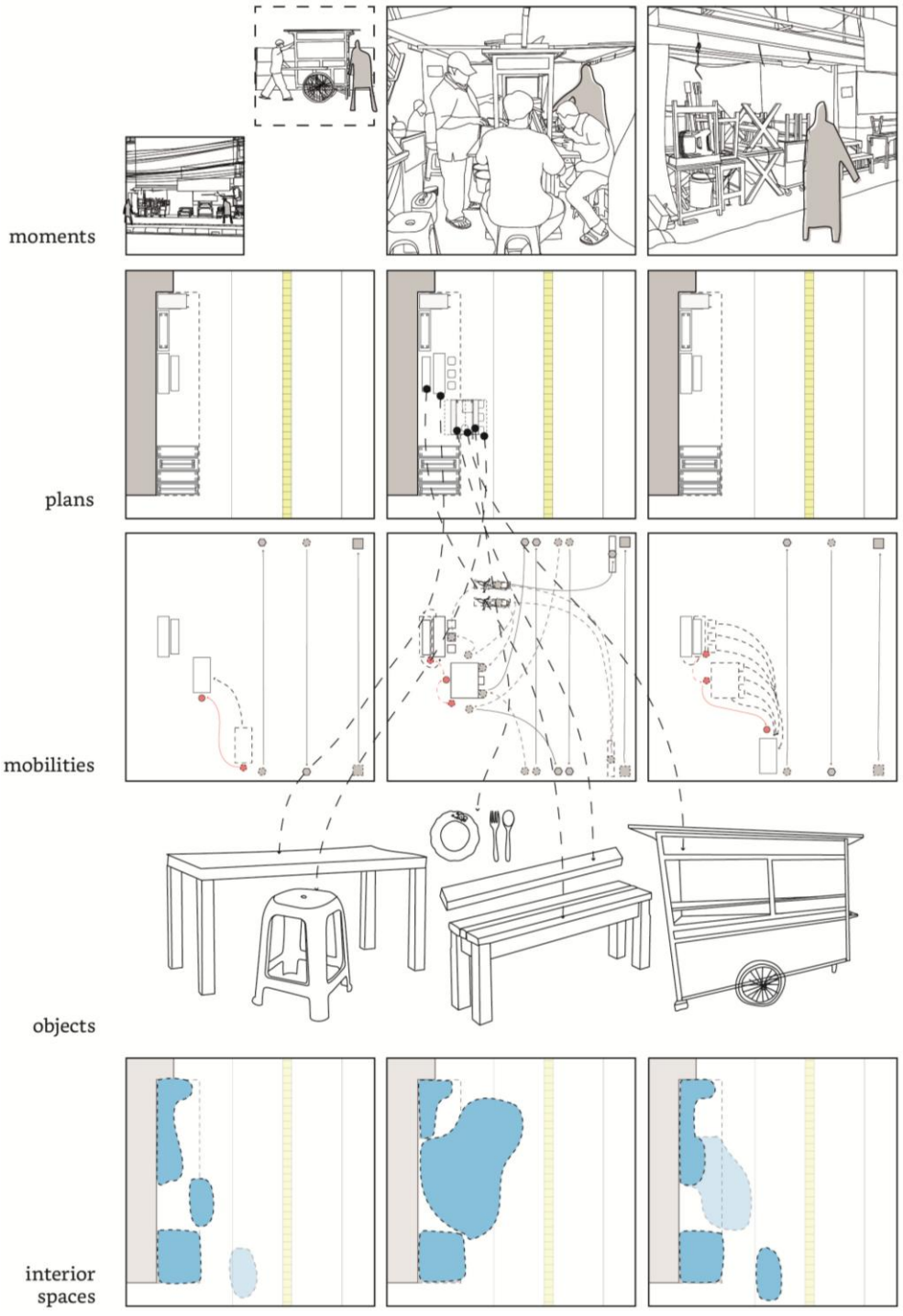
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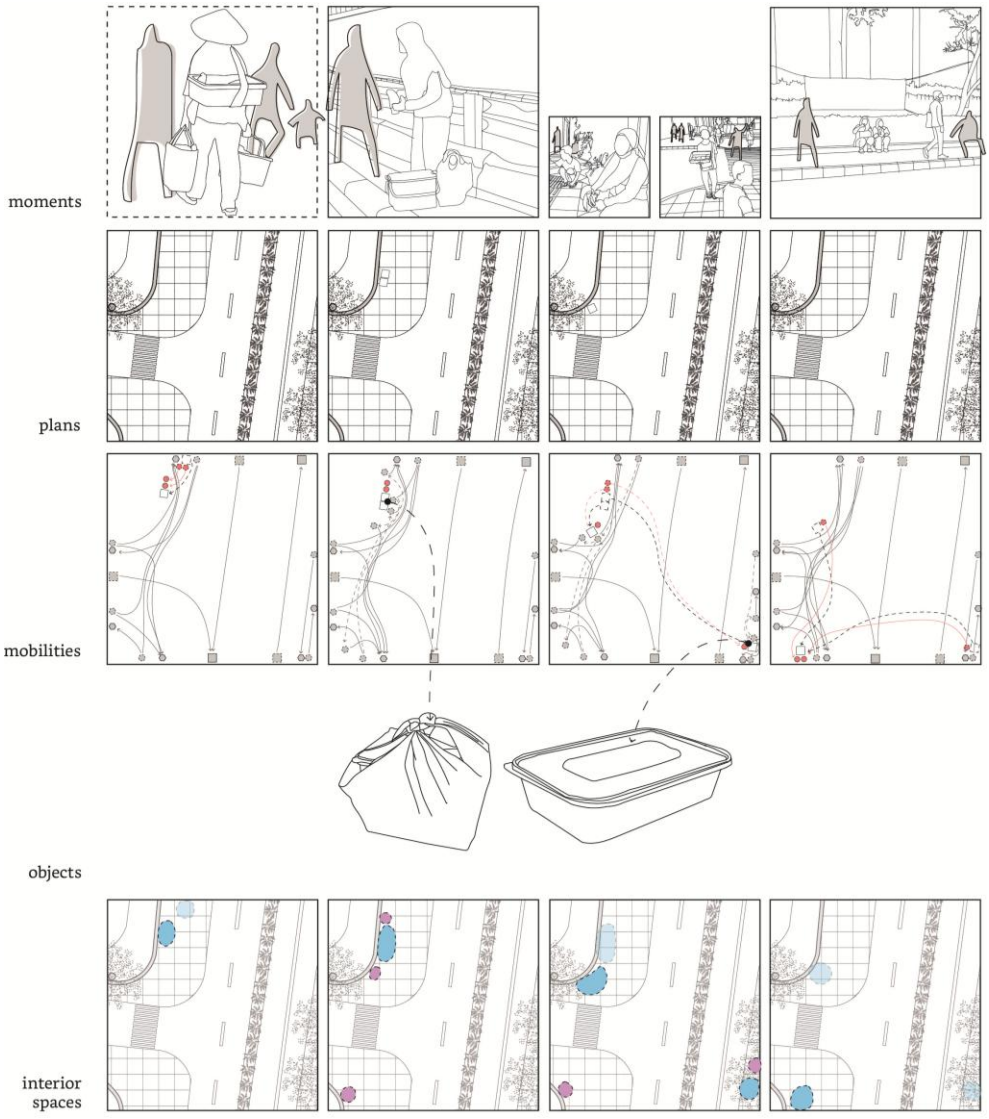
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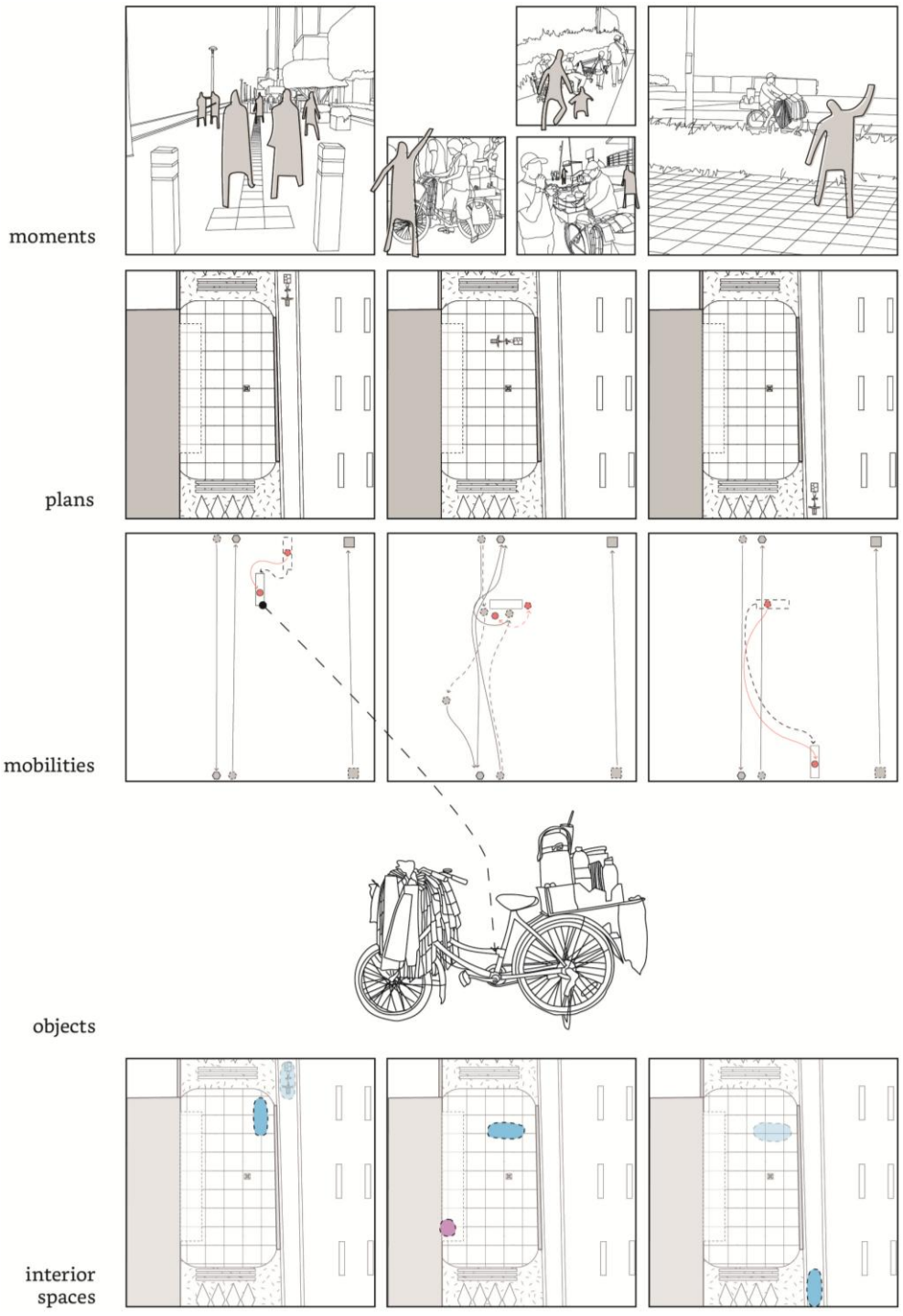
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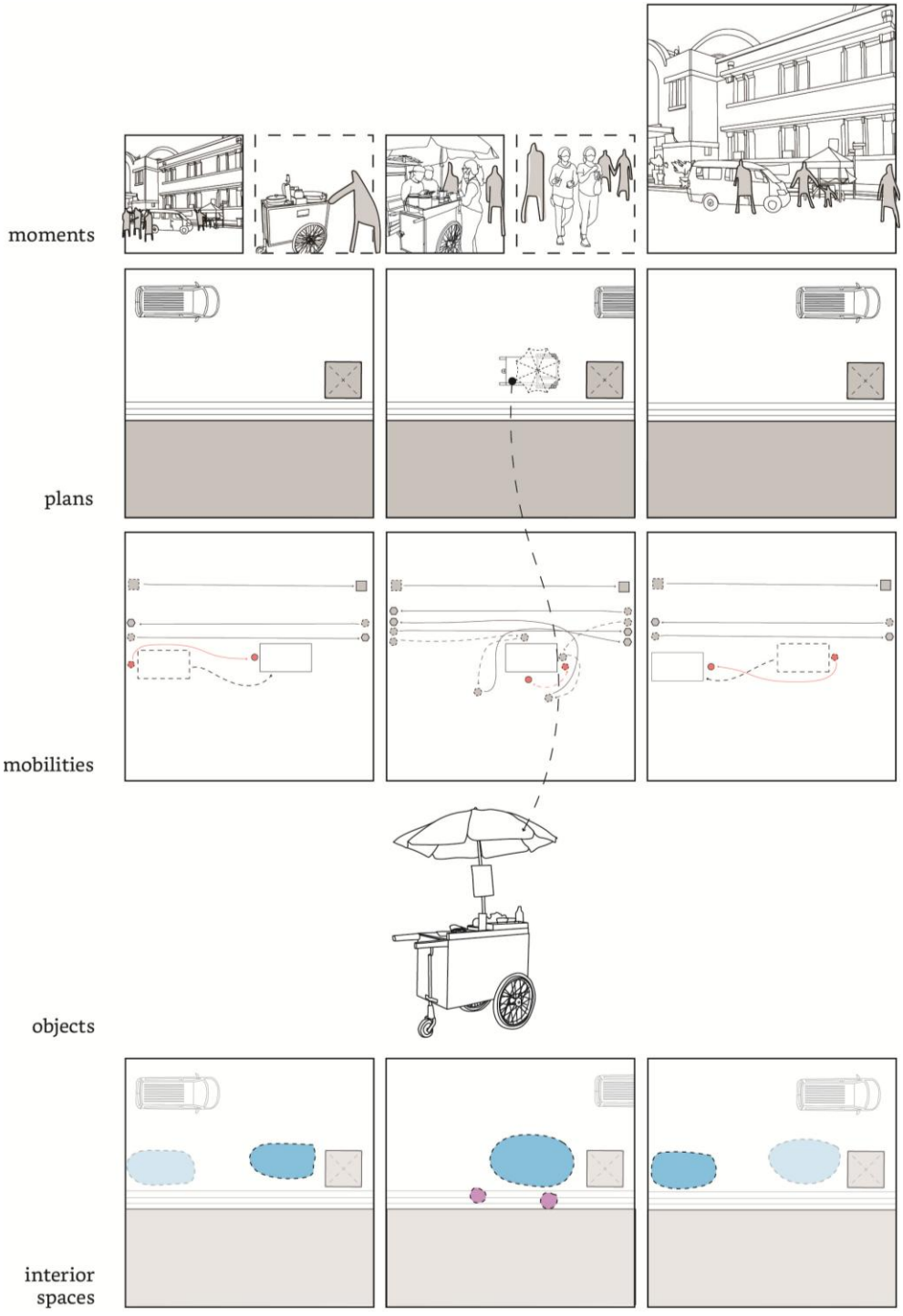
moments
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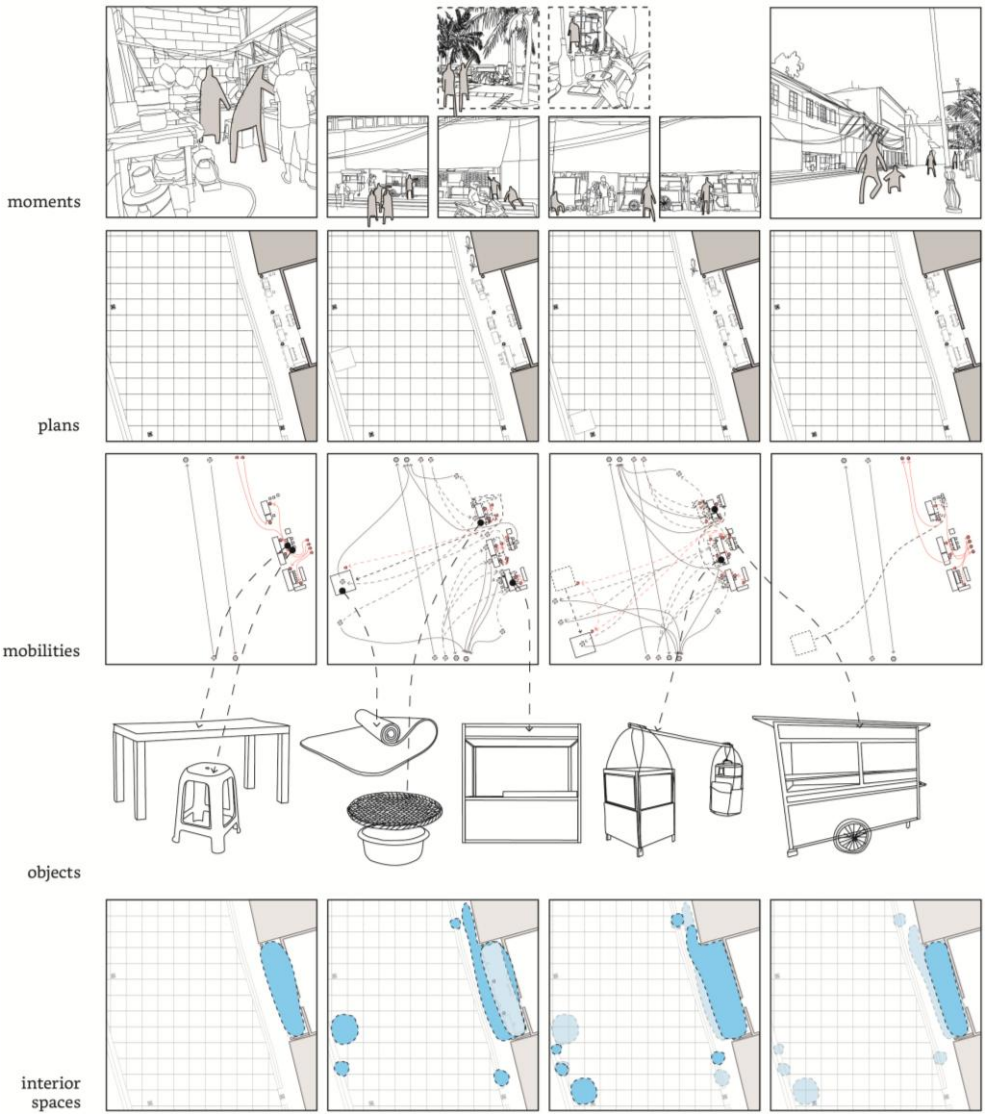
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plans
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interior spaces

moments
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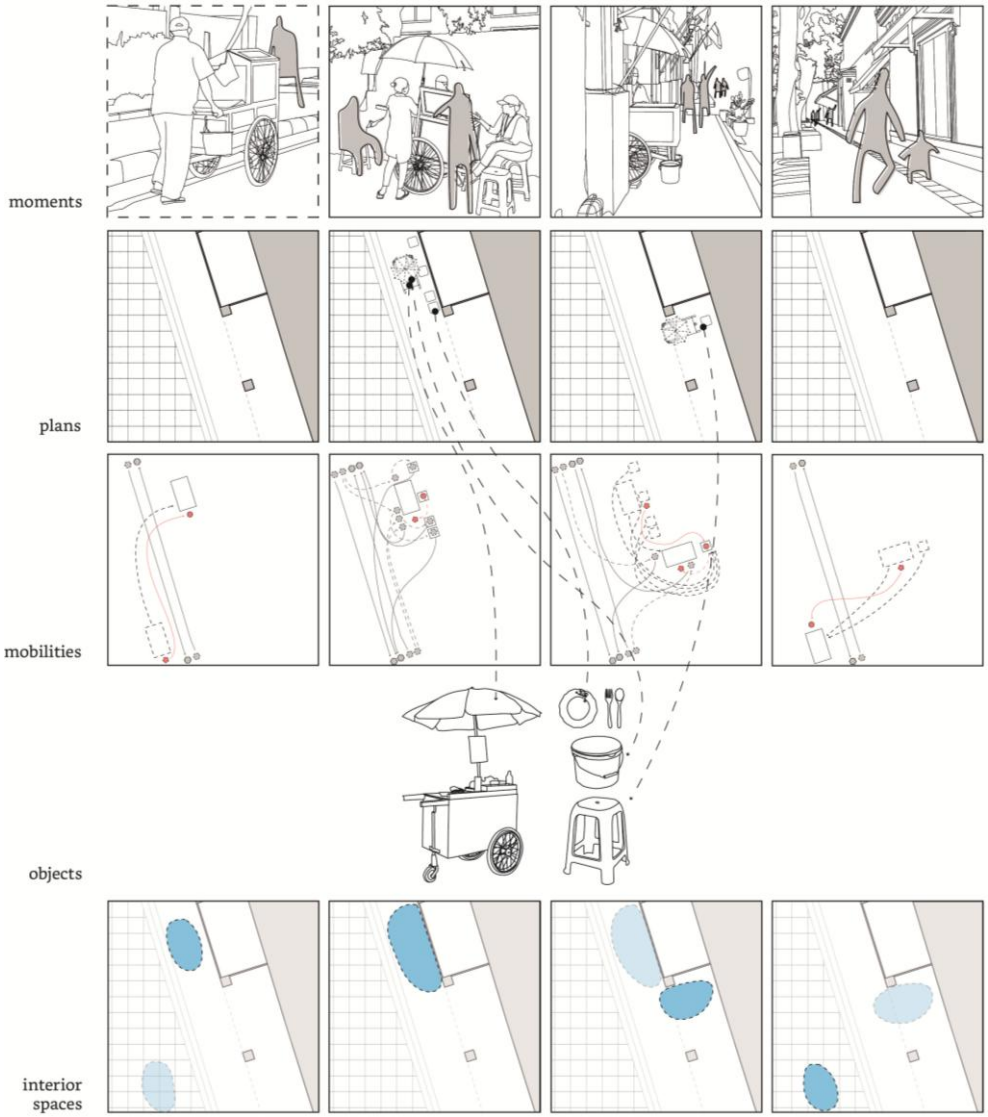
interior spaces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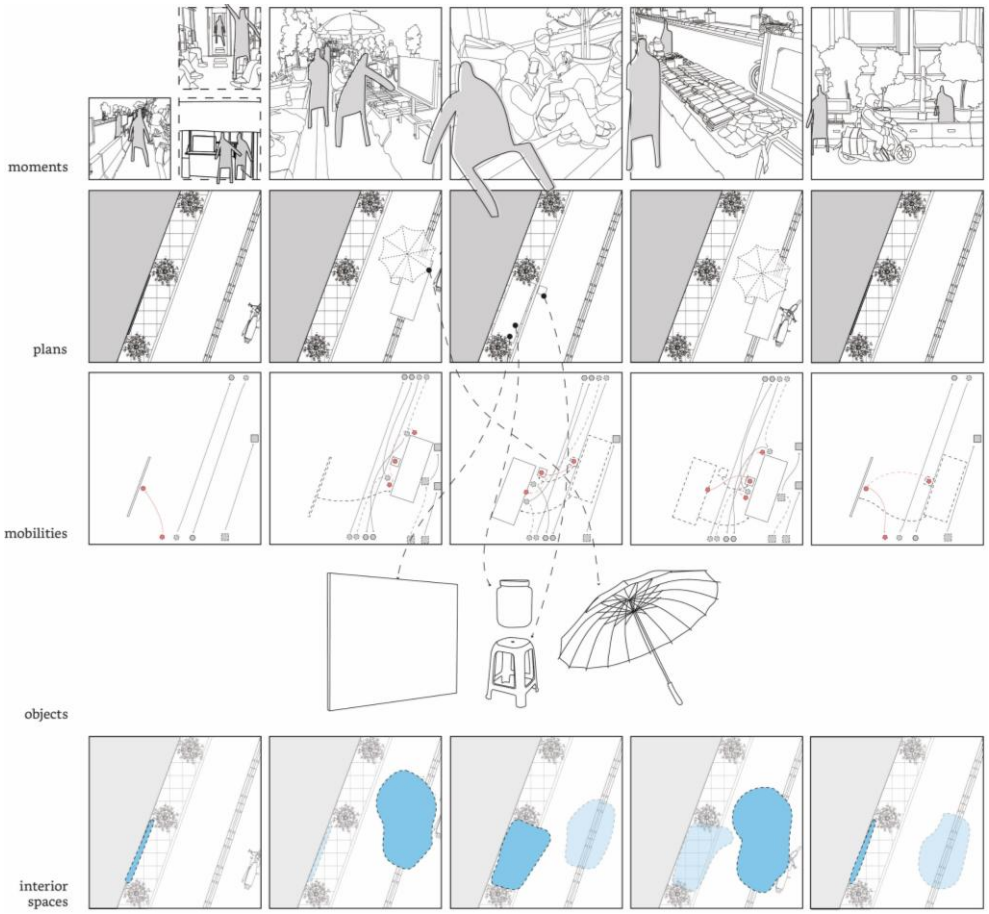
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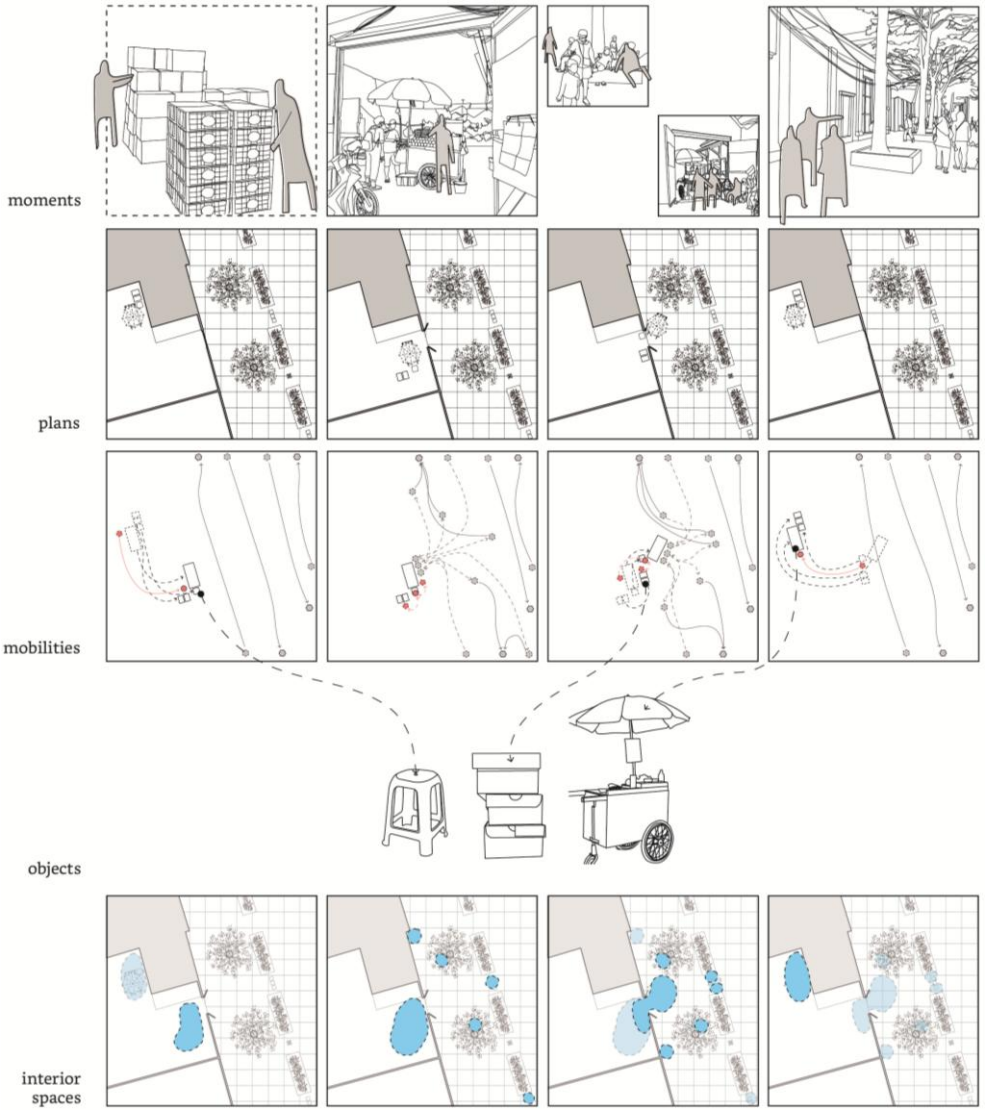
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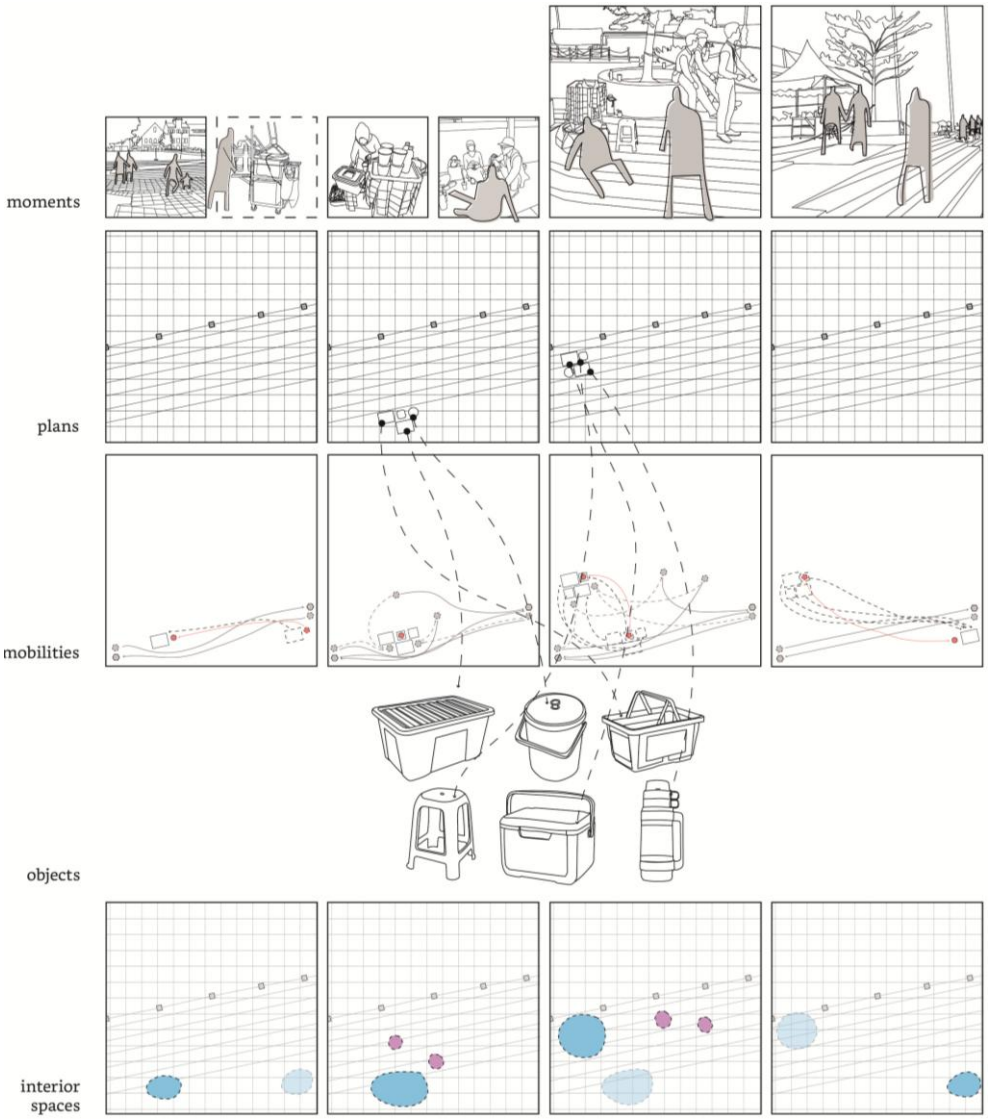
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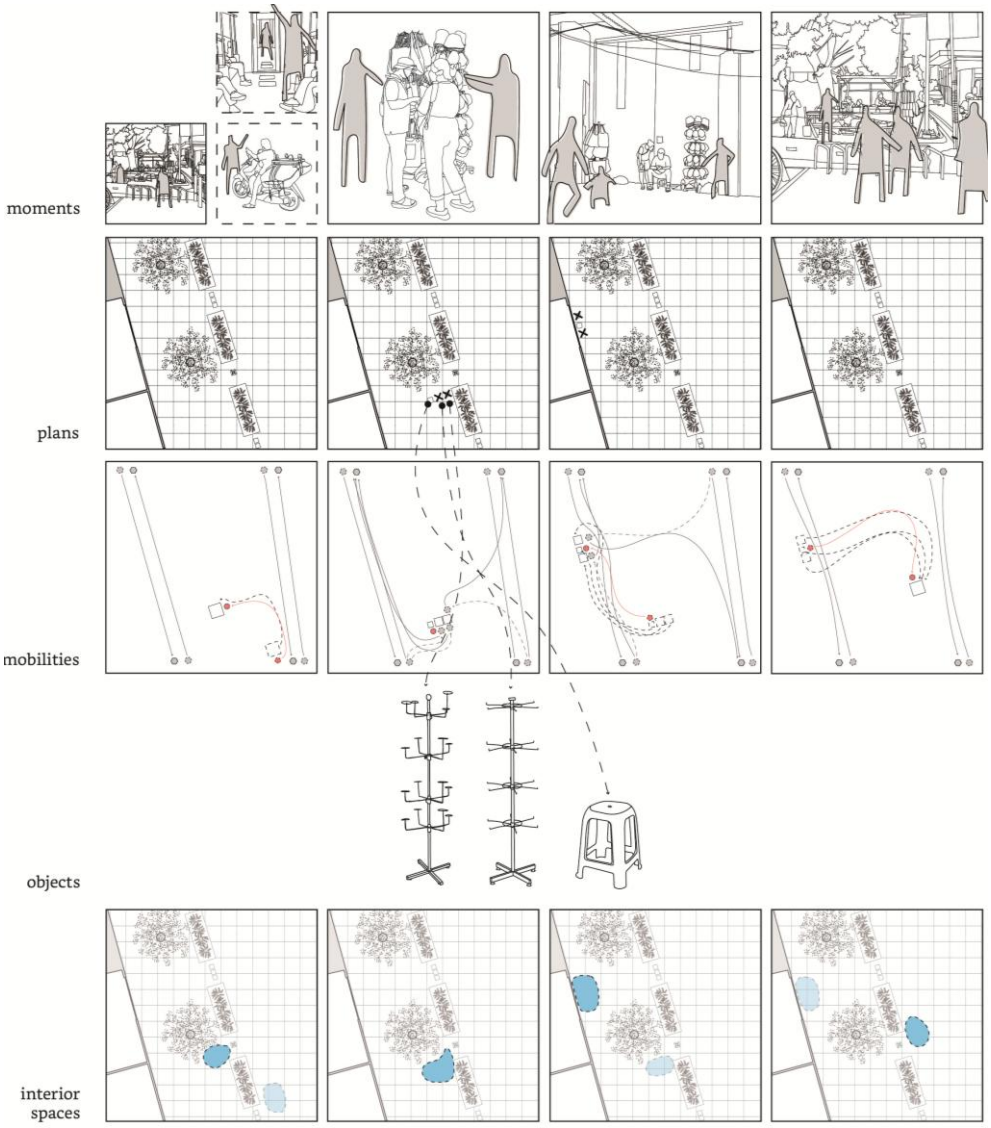
moments
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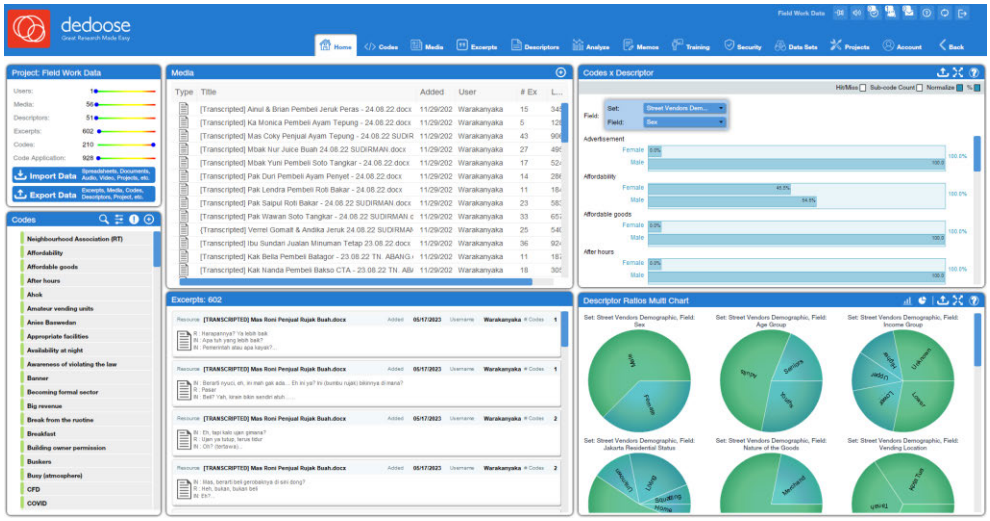
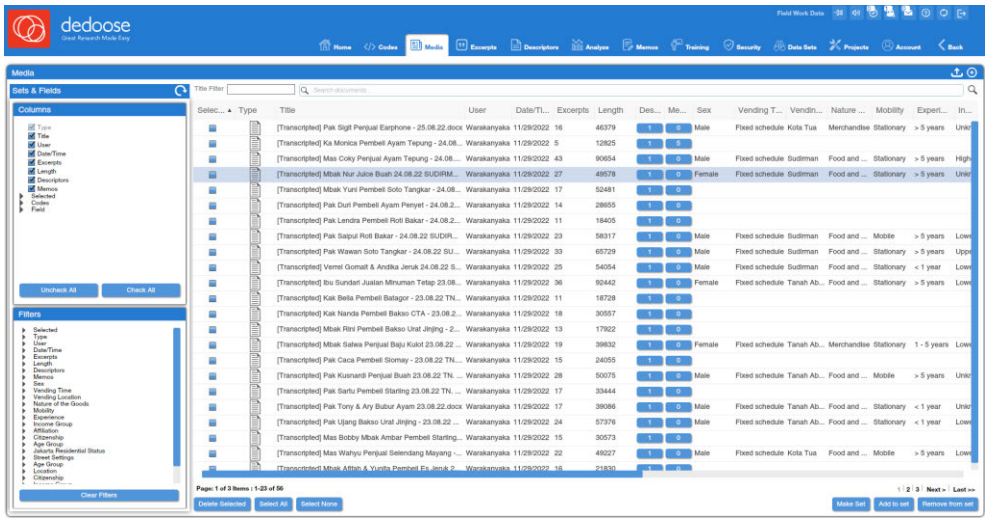
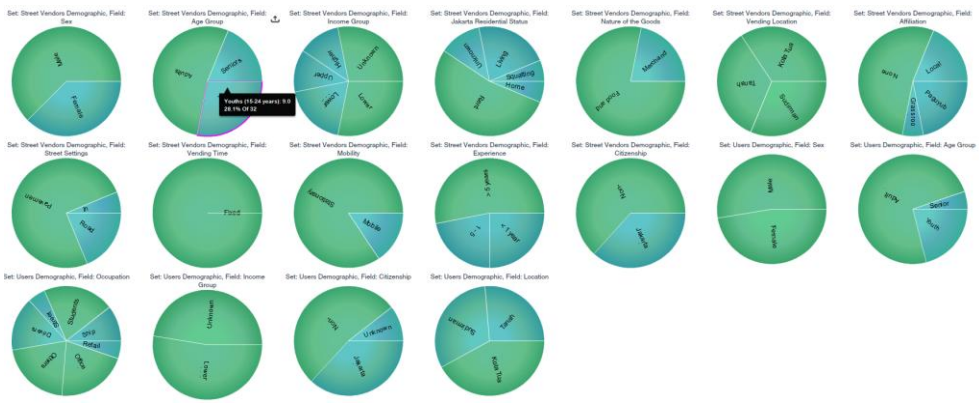
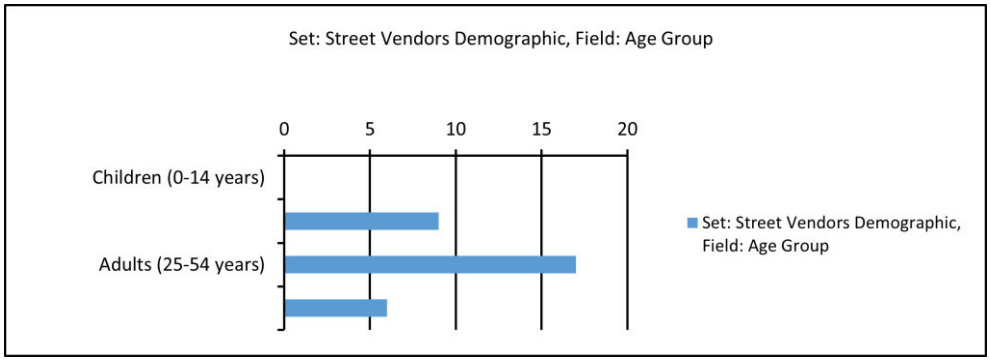
Reflective Thematic Analysis









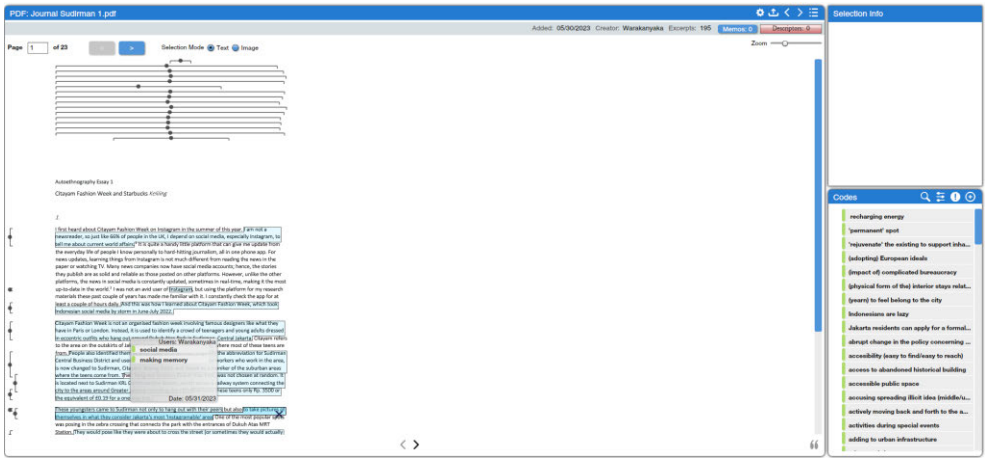
Comparison Field Groups / Target Field Groups	Sudirman	Tanah Abang	Kota Tua	Total
Sex				
Female	4 (33.3%)	4 (33.3%)	4 (33.3%)	12
Male	6 (30%)	7 (35%)	7 (35%)	20
Age Group				
Children (0-14 years)	0	0	0	0
Youths (15-24 years)	4 (44.4%)	5 (55.6%)	0	9
Adults (25-54 years)	5 (29.4%)	4 (23.5%)	8 (47.1%)	17
Seniors (55 and over)	1 (16.7%)	2 (33.3%)	3 (50%)	6
Income Group				
Lower income (<36 Million IDR per	2 (22.2%)	4 (44.4%)	3 (33.3%)	9
Lower middle income (36-60	2 (33.3%)	2 (33.3%)	2 (33.3%)	6
Upper middle income (60-120	1 (25%)	1 (25%)	2 (50%)	4
Higher income (>120 Million IDR	1 (25%)	1 (25%)	2 (50%)	4
Unknown	4 (44.4%)	3 (33.3%)	2 (22.2%)	9
Jakarta Residential Status				

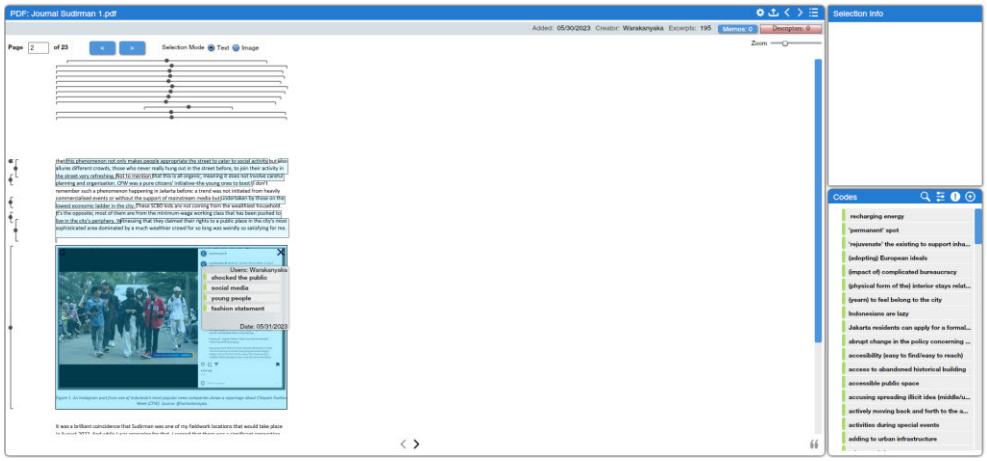
Home owner	0	2 (100%)	0	2
Rent	6 (35.3%)	6 (35.3%)	5 (29.4%)	17
Unknown	2 (50%)	0	2 (50%)	4
Living with family	2 (28.6%)	3 (42.9%)	2 (28.6%)	7
Squatting	0	0	2 (100%)	2
Nature of the Goods				
Food and beverages	10 (40%)	6 (24%)	9 (36%)	25
Merchandise	0	5 (71.4%)	2 (28.6%)	7
Service	0	0	0	0
Vending Location				
Sudirman	10 (100%)	0	0	10
Tanah Abang	0	11 (100%)	0	11
Kota Tua	0	0	11 (100%)	11
Affiliation				
Paguyuban or Pseudo formal	5 (71.4%)	1 (14.3%)	1 (14.3%)	7
Grassroot vendor community	2 (100%)	0	0	2
None	1 (5.9%)	9 (52.9%)	7 (41.2%)	17
Local building owners	2 (33.3%)	1 (16.7%)	3 (50%)	6
Street Settings				
Road side	4 (66.7%)	1 (16.7%)	1 (16.7%)	6
Pavement	6 (25%)	9 (37.5%)	9 (37.5%)	24
Park	0	0	0	0
Traffic lane	0	0	0	0
In between area	0	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2

Vending Time				
Fixed schedule	10 (31.3%)	11 (34.4%)	11 (34.4%)	32
Random	0	0	0	0
Mobility				
Mobile	1 (20%)	1 (20%)	3 (60%)	5
Stationary	9 (33.3%)	10 (37%)	8 (29.6%)	27
Experience				
< 1 year	4 (50%)	3 (37.5%)	1 (12.5%)	8
1 - 5 years	0	4 (57.1%)	3 (42.9%)	7
> 5 years	6 (35.3%)	4 (23.5%)	7 (41.2%)	17
Citizenship				
Jakarta residents	4 (36.4%)	6 (54.5%)	1 (9.1%)	11
Non-residents (migrants)	6 (31.6%)	5 (26.3%)	8 (42.1%)	19

0 (0%): 0

Origins
Identity
Relationship
Stored on sidewalk
Consfication
Strategic lo...
Relationship
Amateur vend...
Traditional ...
Cleaning fee
Current rent...
Lesehan
Museum
Formal secto...
Franchise
Seedy
Prosperity
Freedom to w...
Side walk st...
Stored/prepa
Local reside
Crowded
Ransom
Cool
Other street...
Regulars
Tegal
Public trans...
Buskers
Smell
Tourism
Future aspir...
Safety ensure...
Lunch-break/...
Errands
Receive orde...
Helping othe...
Reluctant to...
Lingering
Taste
Enjoyable
Ambiguity
Delicious
COVID
Visual aspec...
Sanctuary
Graffiti
Hang out
Stuffy
Squatting
Noise
Exploring th...
Weekend
Ahok
Storage
Pekalongan
Special Occa...
Refreshment
Orderly
Breakfast
Recreation
Customer sat...
No Rules
Imposed
Under the br...


PDF: Journal Sudirman 1.pdf
Selection Info
Codes
recharging energy
'permanent' spot
'rejuvenate' the existing to support inha...
(adopting) European ideals
(impact of) complicated bureaucracy
(physical form of the) interior stays relat...
(years) to feel belong to the city
Indonesians are lazy
Jakarta residents can apply for a formal...
abrupt change in the policy concerning ...
accesibility (easy to find/easy to reach)
access to abandoned historical building
accessible public space
accusing spreading illicit idea (middle/u...
actively moving back and forth to the a...
activities during special events
adding to urban infrastructure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activities during special events
adding to urban infrastructure

(physical form of the) interior stays relatively the same
make ends meet
traditional markets
see through process (transparant)
'permanent' spot
stationary and rigid interior territory
limited mobilities
vending unit as display
mistreatment because of residential status
leaving physical mark/clue of inhabitation
unbearable heat
mobile units but rigid interior territory
makeshift storage at the vending spot
modest fashion
informal employee
'rejuvenate' the existing to support inhabitation
subtle attraction
misuse without making physical alteration
no actual control of the practice
interior territory is influenced by the placement/arrangement of (loose) objects
uncooked meals
vending unit as a mean of transport
paying retribution
multipurpose vending units
relying on other vendors (social capital)
stationary
lightweight and moveable material (vending tool)
clueless
repurposing everyday (household) objects
raising awareness
intercept pedestrian flow
detached with the customer experience
misuse of urban infrastructure
selected crowd only
expandable/compressable
inequality based on residency
indoor as anchor (stationary)
minimalist vending tools
chasing the crowd
attract attention
autonomous
providing cheaper alternatives
inducing follow up transgression
anchor
bring 'indoor' objects outside
facilitating social activities
attract crowd
maintain pedestrian existing flow
leaving family behind
commuter vendor
mobility as a way to deal with unexpected challange
on the move
leftover space (between public and private)
newcomers
vending unit as signifier
social media
fleeting interaction (takeaway)
out in the open
claim right to the city
young people
low-income employee
utilising spot in front of empty unused building
shared space with other vendors (or buskers or other street workers)
squatting
food trigger transgression
altering/transforming the characteristic of the existing site
making noises
feeling at home among strangers
provide alternative employment
permitted by building owner
(adopting) European ideals
clean and orderly
accessible public space
inconsistency
formal establishment accomodating streets vendors
apprenticeship with family members
making memory
exchanging interior (never stay the same)
complaints (upper/middle class)
full control of the business (owner)
smaller and cheaper option
presence of other people bring comfort
pre-prepared ingredients
illegal transaction
bring things indoor (hiding)
encourage social interaction
provide casual atmosphere
provide loot to make people comfortable
consistent schedule
public transport hub area
accessibility (easy to find/easy to reach)
low-skilled worker
outlier
high mobility
trust
quick
responsive strategies
help from other vendors
compliance to the 'rules'
disposable eating tool
meals/refreshments
slow down
allow quick set-up/exit
small/compact
influence illegal parking
imitating the 'indoor' system
provide place to relax
(ysarn) to feel belong to the city
avoiding and complying or kissing kudrigan
awareness about uncertainty surrounding the practice
providing easy access to commodities
purchasing goods from legal wholesaler
provide break from homogeneity of urban lives
leaving no traces of inhabitation
sitting on the pavement
complex activities
private streetscapes
detached drive-in facilities
received media attention
play rent fee storage
storage in the street
help from the 'neighbours' (employees of the formal establishment around)
transgression to support physical comfort
business extension of wholesaler/formal establishment
small carrier space
rationale (commonly found) vending units
blending smoothly with the environment
illegal exploitation business to vulnerability
semi-formal business
share and attract worry attention
traditional food
reassignment towards misstreatment
work together with family
familiarity
networking
under surveillance
crowd as saipon ppl's 'trigger'
practical
tourist
migrant
the poor
affordability
in groups
parking
remainder
compact
unfamiliar
bestseller
socialising
reassignment towards misstreatment
intensifying new food
encourage social interaction
provide casual atmosphere
bring things indoor (hiding)
illegal transaction
smaller and cheaper option
presence of other people bring comfort
pre-prepared ingredients
reassignment towards lack of security
people in uniform (intimidating)
porous interior space (making connection to urban environment)
intimidate the vendors
make ends meet
limited mobilities
traditional markets
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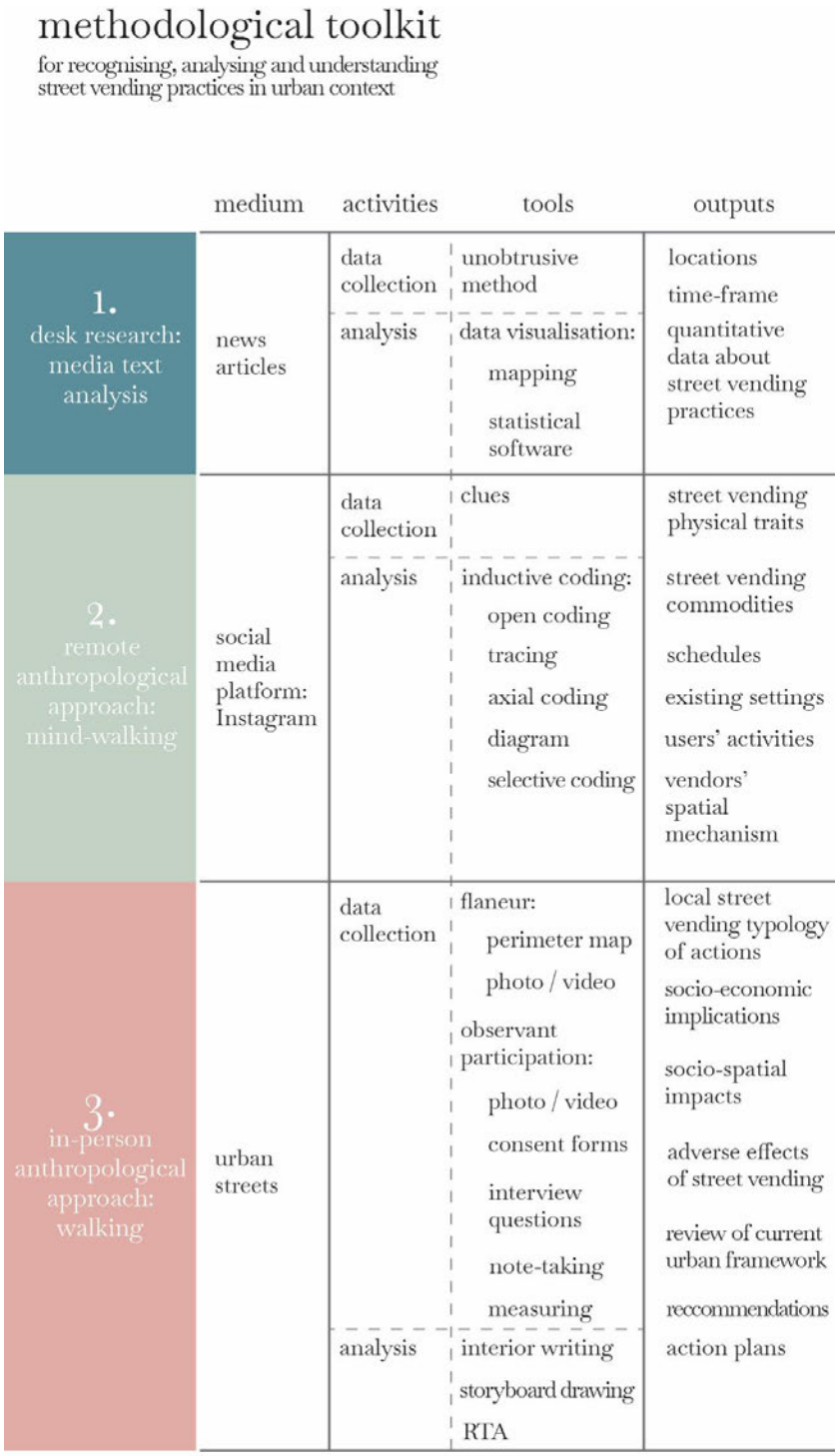
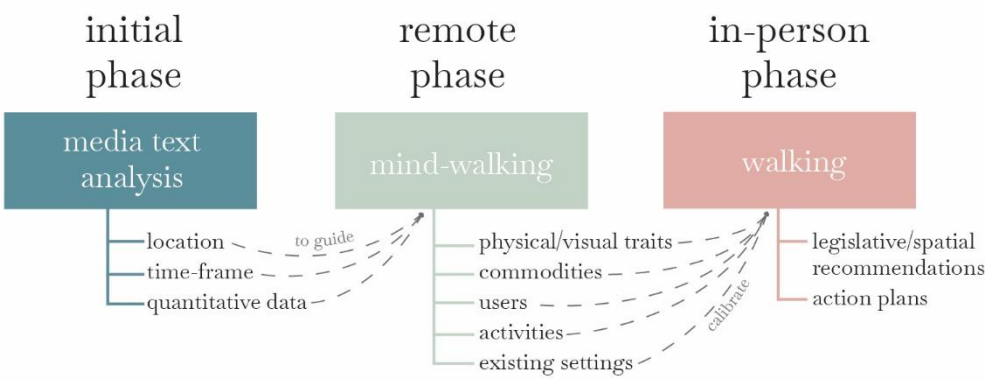
porous interior space (making connection to urban environment)
intimidate the vendors

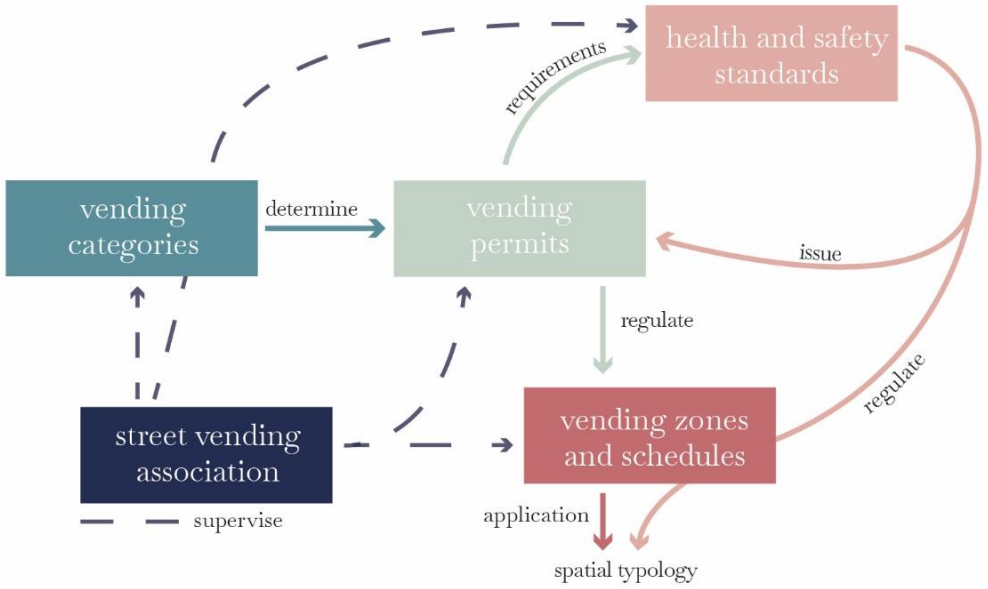
Initial Proposition Diagrams (unused)





legislative toolkit

the principles for inclusive approaches within the legislative process of street vending practices in an urban context.

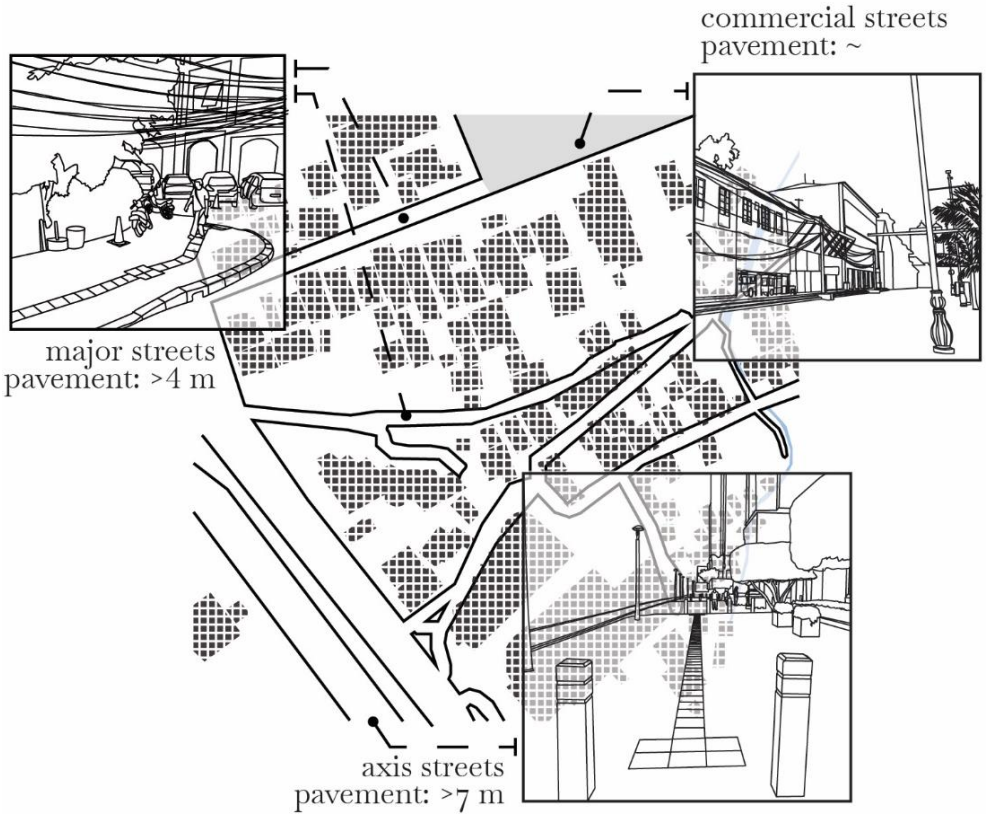


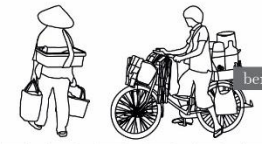
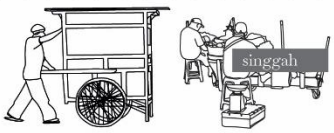
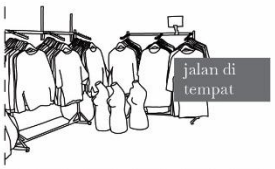
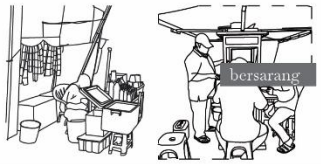
	commodities	mobilities	zones	intensities
street vending's permit categories	food merchandise service	mobile long-pause stationary	pavement pedestrian-only streets/ public spaces	daily seasonal (weekly, monthly or special event)

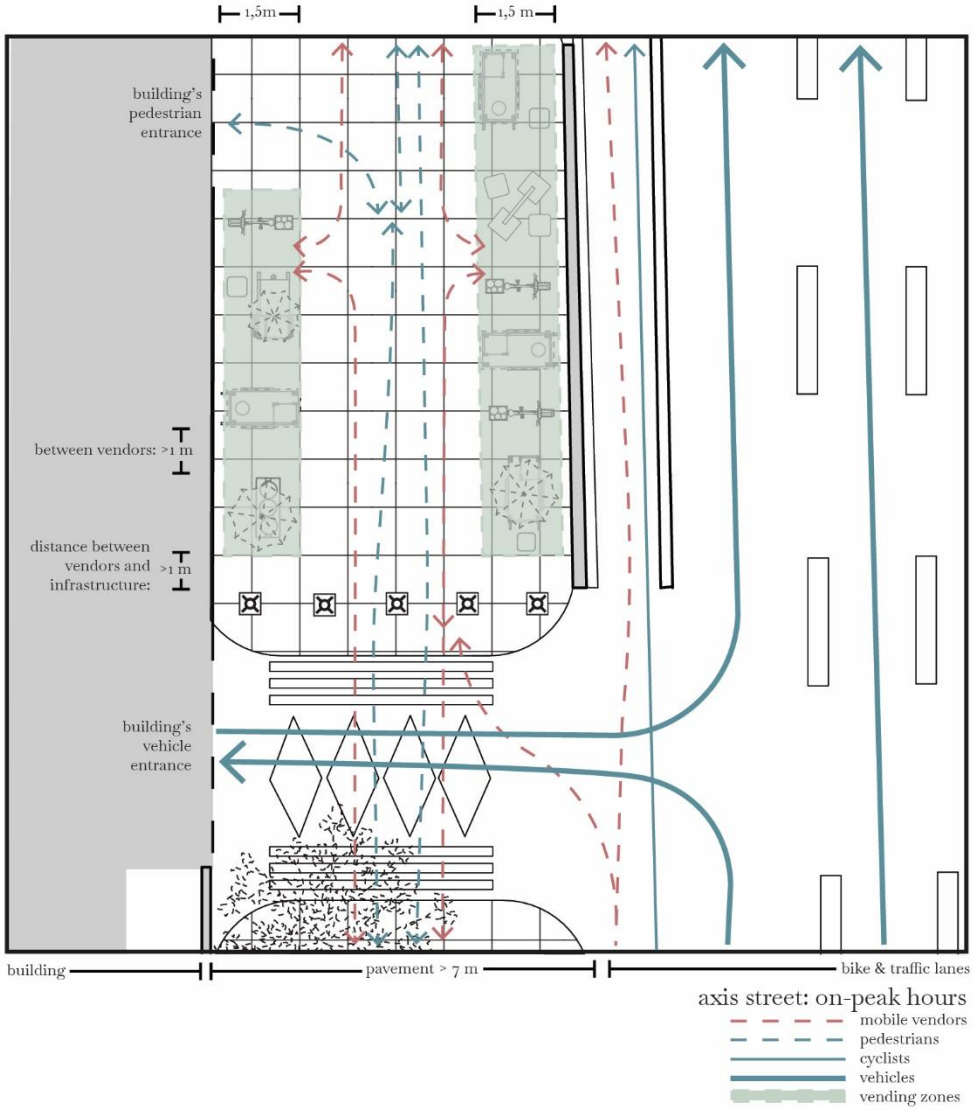
	vending zones	non-vending zones	vending schedules
Central Business District	axis streets': pavement at least 7 meters wide. major streets: pavement at least 4 meters wide. on the edge of parks and squares. on the sides of commercial streets.	in front of the buildings' enterance and on the area of high security facilities: embassies or government buildings. in front of important statue/monuments. in front of public transport hubs, skywalk or pedestrian bridge. on the river-bank.	all-day: mobile vendors (*berkeliling*) off-peak hours with limited vending time (max 8 hours): long-pause (*bersarang* and *jalan di tempat*) limited vending time: stationary vendors (*bertempat*).
commercial district	major streets: pavement at least 4 meters wide.	in front of the buildings' or other shops' enterance. in front of public transport hubs, skywalk or pedestrian bridge. on the river-bank.	all-day: mobile vendors (*berkeliling*) off-peak hours with limited vending time (max 8 hours): long-pause vendors (*bersarang* and *jalan di tempat*)
tourist hub	pavement at least 4 meters wide. on the edge of parks and squares. on the sides of commercial streets.	in front of museums, galleries or other buildings' enterance and in front of important statue/monuments. in front of public transport hubs, skywalk or pedestrian bridge. on public staircase or in the middle of squares, parks or plazas. on the river-bank.	all-day: mobile vendors (*berkeliling*, and *singgah*). off-peak hours with limited vending time (max 8 hours): long-pause (*jalan di tempat*) limited vending time: stationary vendors (*menghuni*).

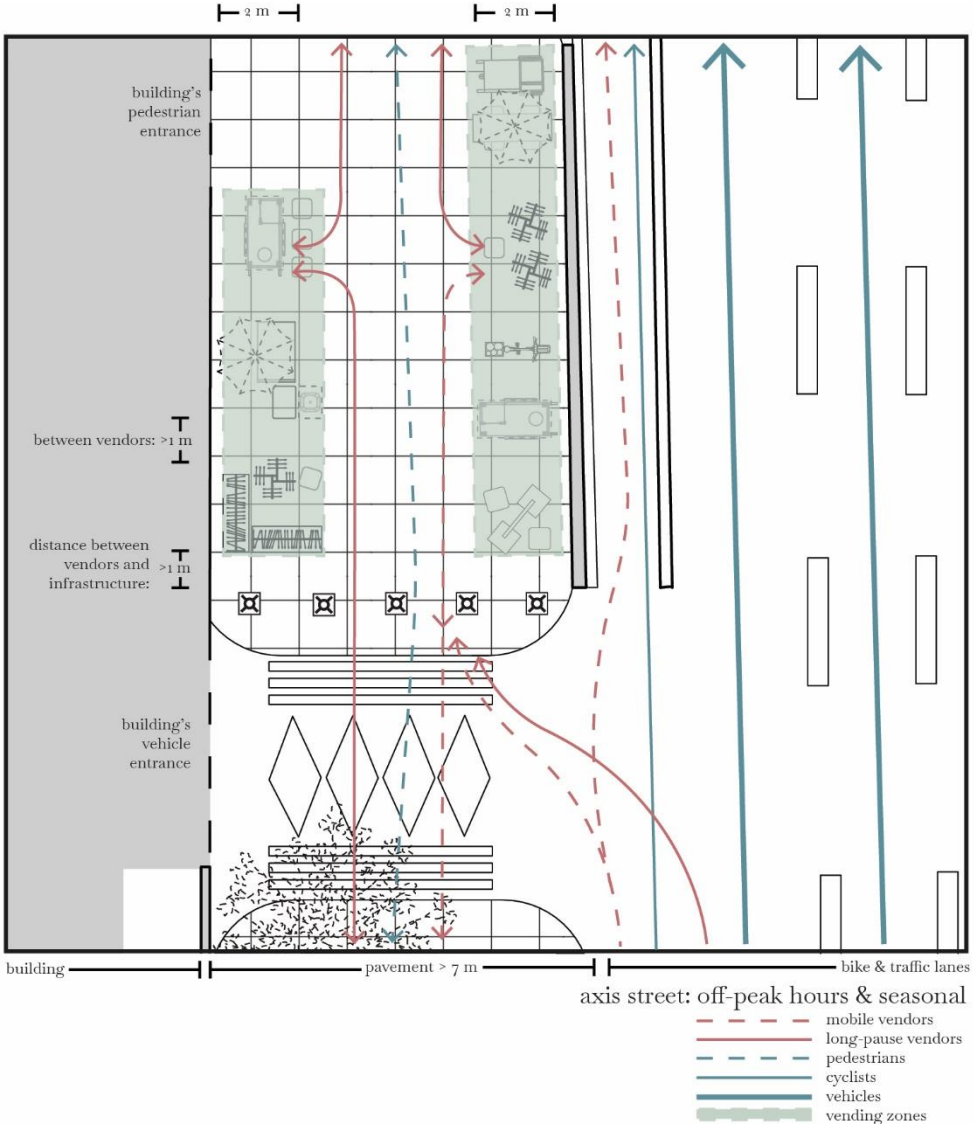
	waste on-site	waste disposal	depot	access to infrastructure	inspection	health and safety training/workshop
food vendors	vendors provide rubbish bins: for vending waste, and consumption waste. vendors have to be equipped with waste-water tank.	rely on public waste collection. commercial waste disposal stationed in several spots around vending area. liquid/waste-water: depot.	access to approved depot: have cleaning and sanitising equipments, storage spaces for vending units, liquid and solid waste disposal, and space for food storage and preparation. existing commercial units/ residential spaces can be registered as depot.	for those facilitate dine-in facilities, vending location should have easy access to: public toilet, public hand washing sink and clean water sources.	vending permit. fire inspection: for those preparing food with fire. unit cleanliness. depot cleanliness. food hygine and qualities.	required to get a permit.
merchandise	vendors provide rubbish bins for vending waste.	rely on public waste collection. commercial waste disposal stationed in several spots around vending area.	access to approved depot: have cleaning equipments, storage spaces for vending units and commodities, and waste disposal. existing commercial units/ residential spaces can be registered as depot.	easy access to depot or storage.	vending permit. unit cleanliness. depot cleanliness.	not required to get a permit.
service	vendors provide rubbish bins for vending waste.	rely on public waste collection. commercial waste disposal stationed in several spots around vending area.	not required to have access to depot.	not required to have access to particular public infrastructure.	vending permit.	not required to get a permit.

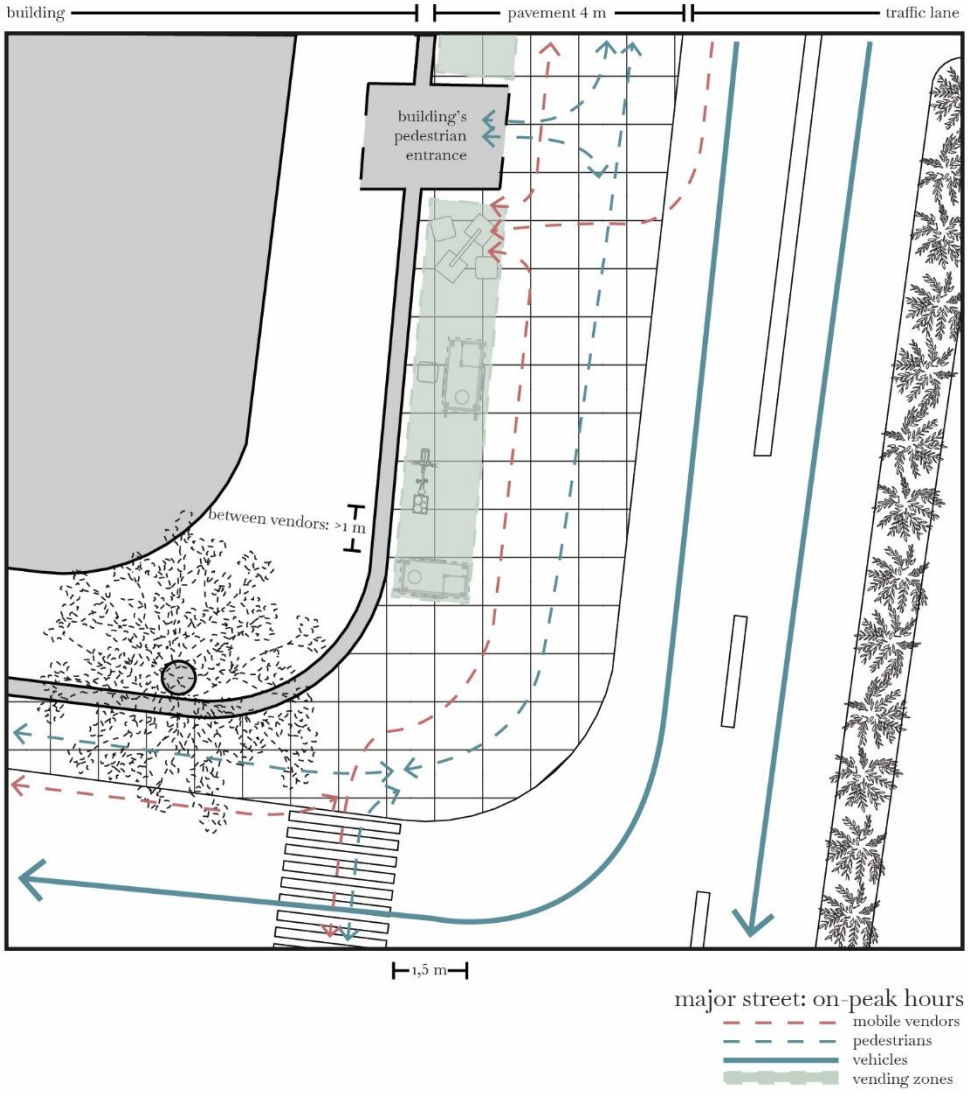
	street types	vending categories	typology of actions
Central Business District (Sudirman)	axis streets major streets commercial streets	mobile	berkeliling
		long-pause	bersarang and jalan di tempat
		stationary	bertempat
commercial district (Tanah Abang)	major streets	mobile	berkeliling
		long pause	bersarang and jalan di tempat
tourist hub (Kota Tua)	axis streets commercial streets	mobile	berkeliling and singgah
		long pause	jalan di tempat
		stationary	menghuni

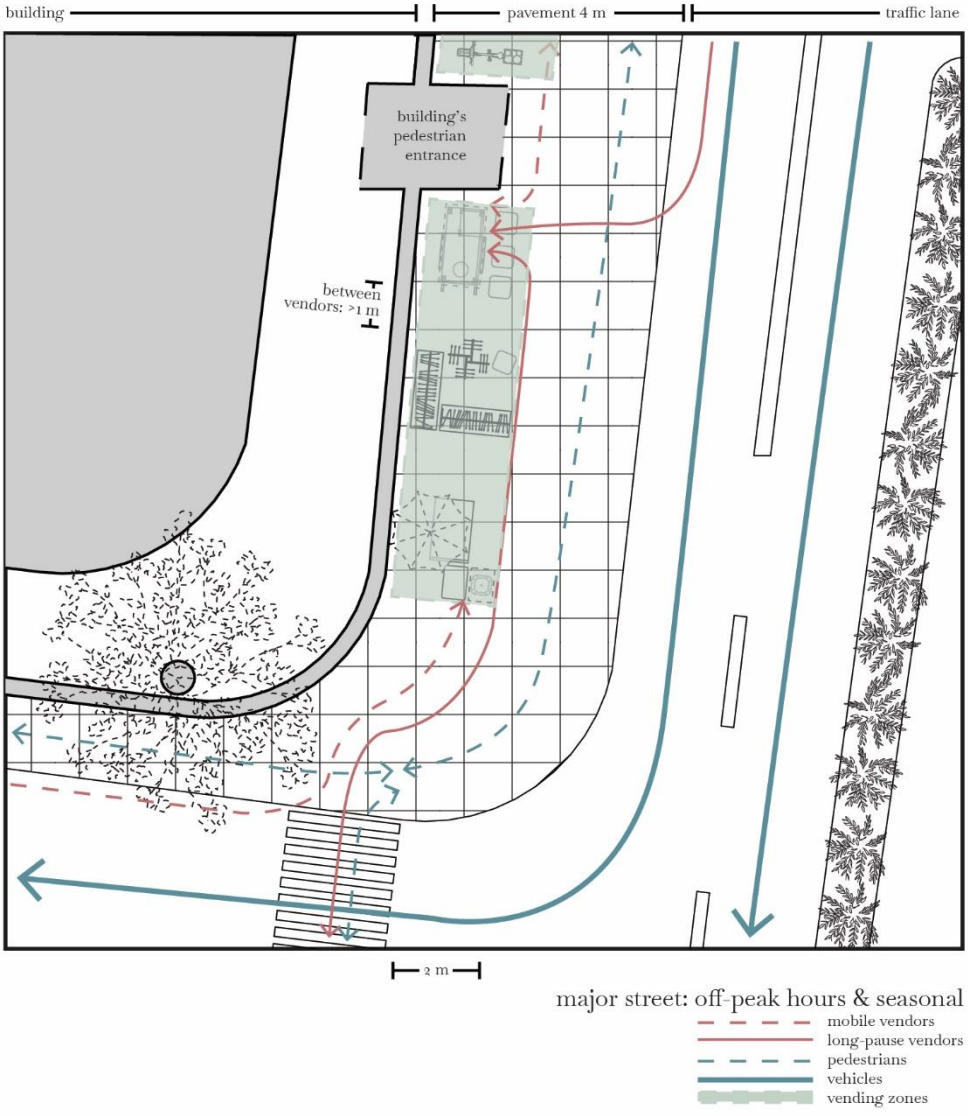


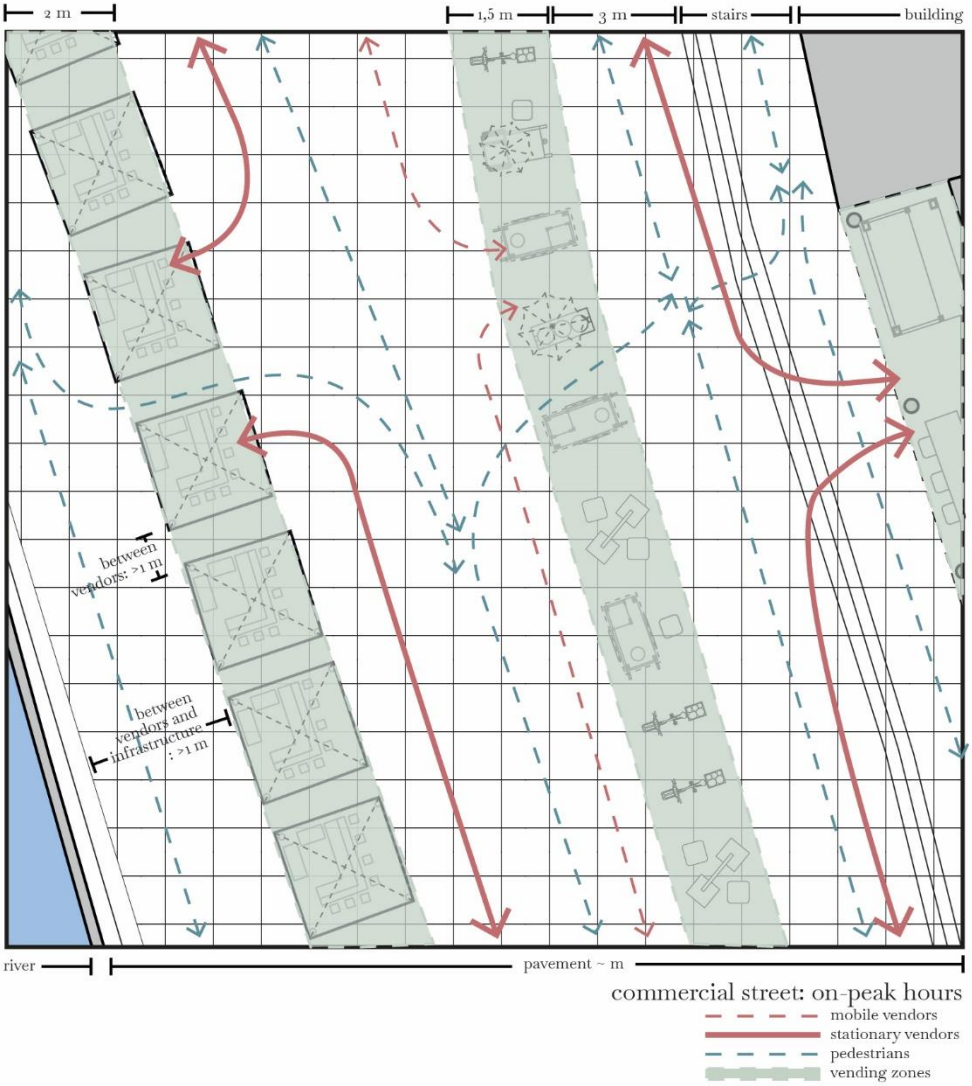
	typology of actions	on the move	on site	infrastructure requirements	reccomended vending zones
mobile vendors	 berkeliling	< 1 x 2 m	< 1 x 2 m	public waste disposal (for customers)	all-day: axis streets, major streets, & commercial streets
	 singgah	< 1 x 2 m	< 1.5 x 2 m		
long-pause vendors	 jalan di tempat	< 1 x 2 m	< 2 x 2 m	public toilet hand-wash sink clean water sources commercial solid and liquid waste disposal easy access to depot/storage parking space	off-peak hours with limited vending time: axis streets, major streets, & commercial streets
	 bersarang	< 1 x 2 m	< 2 x 3 m		
stationary vendors	bertempat	-	< 2 x 2 m	electricity public toilet hand-wash sink clean water sources commercial solid and liquid waste disposal easy access to depot/storage parking space	limited vending time: commercial streets
	menghuni	-	< 2 x ~ m		

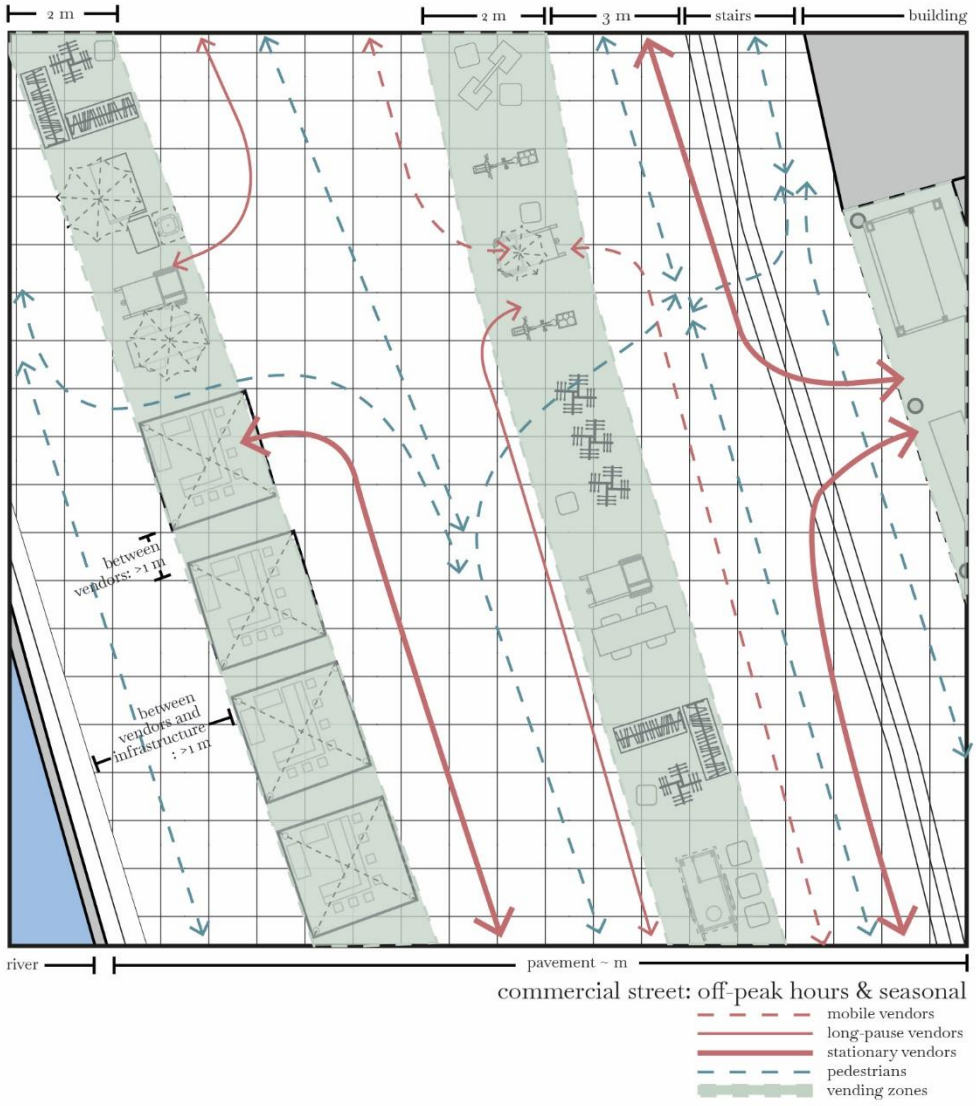

1,5m
1,5 m
building's pedestrian entrance
between vendors: >1 m
distance between vendors and infrastructure: >1 m
building's vehicle entrance
building
pavement > 7 m
bike & traffic lanes
axis street: on-peak hours
mobile vendors
pedestrians
cyclists
vehicles
vending zones


2 m
2 m
building's pedestrian entrance
between vendors: >1 m
distance between vendors and infrastructure: >1 m
building's vehicle entrance
building
pavement > 7 m
bike & traffic lanes
axis street: off-peak hours & seasonal
mobile vendors
long-pause vendors
pedestrians
cyclists
vehicles
vending zones


building
pavement 4 m
traffic lane
building's pedestrian entrance
between vendors: >1 m
1,5 m
major street: on-peak hours
mobile vendors
pedestrians
vehicles
vending zones


building
pavement 4 m
traffic lane
building's pedestrian entrance
between vendors: >1 m
2 m
major street: off-peak hours & seasonal
mobile vendors
long-pause vendors
pedestrians
vehicles
vending zones


2 m
1,5 m
3 m
stairs
building
between vendors: >1 m
between vendors and infrastructure : >1 m
river
pavement ~ m
commercial street: on-peak hours
mobile vendors
stationary vendors
pedestrians
vending zones


2 m
2 m
3 m
stairs
building
between vendors: >1 m
between vendors and infrastructure : >1 m
river
pavement ~ m
commercial street: off-peak hours & seasonal
mobile vendors
long-pause vendors
stationary vendors
pedestrians
vending zones