

TRANSFORMING ASIAN CITIES

Intellectual impasse, Asianizing
space, and emerging translocalities

Edited by Nihal Perera and Wing-Shing Tang

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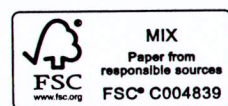
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8

STREET VENDING IN INDONESIAN CITIES

Their characteristics and activities in
Yogyakarta

Deden Rukmana and Djarot Purbadi

Street vending is an integral part of urban life and economy in most cities of the world, and almost every city in Asia, including Singapore. Yet vendors are often seen as eyesores pursuing undesirable activities. *Pedagang kaki lima* (PKL), as they are called in Indonesia, are often associated with many problems. The whole informal sector, which includes street vending, is often marginalized, even though it accounts for 72 percent of employment in Indonesia (BPS 2009). In most cases, the authorities forcibly evict street vendors in the name of urban order and cleanliness. In this, the authorities deny existing local practices in favor of the image of a modern, Western-style environment. Meanwhile, the vendors resist eviction and negotiate space for their activities, and continue to be part of the urban society and environment. We will investigate this phenomenon in Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

Recent studies on the informal sector show the important role it plays in the overall economy of developing countries (Gallaway and Bernasek 2002; Gerxhani 2004; Hemmer and Mannel 1989; Maloney 2004; Roy 2005). Roy and AlSayyad (2004) consider urban informality as a mode of urbanization that connects various economic activities and urban spaces. It is not simply a domain for the poor but is also important for middle-class populations. The low wages of this sector subsidize the higher earnings and the lifestyles of the middle classes. If it were not for this sector, the cost of living would be far greater and urban living perhaps less affordable for many (Tinker 1997). What is more important is neither the undesirability of street vendors nor the ideal future of a "Westernized" city with no street vendors, but to understand how street vending operates in Asian cities.

Many of the problems associated with the informal sector from an environmental perspective are not salient to it. They are manifestations of unresponsive urban planning. As Perera and Amin (1996) demonstrate, the provision of spaces to informal sectors is an effective way to reduce the environmental problems associated with such activities. Accommodating the informal sector in urban areas will not only

reduce the conflict between urban authorities and the informal sector, but also improve the quality of life in urban areas (Rukmana 2007). Cross (2000) recommends that policy makers allow deregulated informal sectors in the economy to function as incubators for new industries.

Yogyakarta reluctantly accommodates street vending, opening up room to learn more about these assertions and how the informal sector, particularly street vending, operates in Asia. Our aims in this chapter are: to understand the characteristics and activities that make street vending; how vendors negotiate their space; and how the city accommodates informal activity. The study focuses on three main streets in Yogyakarta: Babarsari, Godean, and Mangkubumi Streets. Data were collected through systematic field observations and in-depth interviews with street vendors from April to August 2010.

Street vendors and urban spaces

Street vendors, also called hawkers or peddlers, are vendors of goods and services that are easily transported. They usually carry out their business in public spaces including streets, open spaces, and alleyways. While the merchandise comes from many places around the world, the food is typically native to the area. They usually attract people by loud street cries, or chants, demonstrations, and explanations as to the durability of the items. They also allow people to bargain to get them hooked into their process and determine the price of an item. Street vendors may be full-time, part-time, seasonally or occasionally employed (Bromley 2000), and may be stationary or mobile. They are found in every country and major city around the world (Bromley 2000; Cross 2000). However, developing countries have more street vendors and they are highly concentrated in urban areas.

Street vending is characterized by mobility and flexibility (Bromley 2000; Yatmo 2008). They take advantage of public space and minimize overhead costs of rent and utilities and regulatory costs (Cross 2000). Using mobility and flexibility, they tend to gravitate towards areas with greatest opportunity for business, such as central business districts, commercial centers, transportation terminals, major sports and entertainment centers, and major tourist attractions. These activities occupy less than 5 percent of the urban areas, but fill areas where there is most intense urban activity; they are also the foci of tensions about street vending as they come up against parking, begging, homelessness, and also various street crimes (Bromley 2000).

The formal view of street vendors is rather negative. They are often seen as parasitic, and their structures are seen as eyesores and not generating optimum value for the land they occupy. The goods and services they sell are legal, i.e., few products are specifically produced for the informal market, but businesses lack appropriate permits, violate zoning codes, and/or fail to report tax liability. They lack legal protection and have to avoid harassment from urban authorities. The authorities often associate street vendors with traffic congestion, environmental pollution, health and safety hazards, tax evasion, and the sale of shoddy merchandise (Bromley

2000; Perera and Amin 1996). At times, crime is also attributed to them. They are often evicted owing to the ideals of public order, public cleanliness, and state control (Cross 2000; Perera and Amin 1996). Evictions of street vendors are often the result of urban planners' obsession with city beautification projects (Perera and Amin 1996). In addition to the authorities, urban elite and big businesses see street vending as a nuisance, a source of disorder, congestion, crime, and as a threat to larger-scale off-street commerce; hence, they object to street vendors (Bromley 2000; Cross 2000). Adopting a position of "not in my backyard" (NIMBY), neighborhood residents and local off-street businesses attempt to push them outside of their neighborhoods. Environmentalists also oppose the presence of street vendors owing to the extra environmental pollution generated by their activities (Bromley 2000).

Perera and Amin (1996) identify five types of environmental conflicts associated with street vendors; these are related to traffic movement, pedestrian movement, public services, public/private services, and land-use planning measures. They argue that the lack of tenure is a constraint upon the improvement and maintenance of a pleasant physical appearance. They find a significant difference between accommodated and unaccommodated street vendors in terms of environmental hazards and environmental conflicts. They suggest that accommodating street vendors in urban space is in fact a solution that will alleviate environmental problems and improve urban environmental management.

From their own standpoint, street vendors take advantage of public space and minimize overhead costs, especially that of rent, utilities, and regulatory costs (Cross 2000). They bring life to dreary streets and signify the areas where economic activity is concentrated. They offer colorful stalls and merchandise that attract more people to these areas. According to Ray Bromley (2000: 21), street vendors provide "an element of novelty . . . conviviality, congeniality and just a little congestion to the environment." They also witness and report crime and act as public figures, attending to important needs such as calming traffic and parking. Recently, in May 2010, two street vendors prevented a car bombing in Times Square, New York when they spotted an unusual illegally parked vehicle next to their merchandise and reported it to the police (Kilgannon and Schmidt 2010).

Street vendors in Indonesian cities

According to mainstream literature, most street vendors in Indonesian cities engage in unregulated, disorderly, and uncontrolled activities, and could cause urban blight. They are a nuisance, and can stake claims in marginal locations and obstruct public spaces without paying any rent (Jensen 2008). They belong to the unplanned part of Indonesian cities that has become a challenge for the practice of planning. Planning must address the challenge in order to prevent blight from occurring.

Street vending is highly stereotyped in dominant literature, but there is no single type; rather, it is varied. In Indonesia they are very small-scale, mostly unregulated and unregistered trading enterprises (Suharto 2004). They occupy a variety of public spaces including sidewalks, streets, shopping/market areas, parking lots, empty lots,

city parks, and mass transit stations (Yatmo 2008). The vendors start their business with very little or no capital, and use low-level technology and skills.

Yatmo (2008) identifies six types of street vendors in Indonesia based on their level of mobility and flexibility. Three types are stationary vendors: *warung* (kiosk), *tenda* (tent), and *gelaran* (mat). *Warung* is a permanent structure, while *tendas* and *gelarans* are non-permanent structures. The other three types are ambulatory vendors such as *gerobaks* (pushcarts), *pikulan* (yoke), and *bakul* (basket). Other types of ambulatory vendors use *motors* (motorcycles), *sepedas* (bicycles), and *becaks* (tricycles) to sell goods or services.

Most Indonesian street vendors are unregistered and they do not pay any fees to the city. Hence, they are considered illegal. Because of their small scale, high mobility, and flexibility, they are able to carry out business in any public space. They can also assemble and disassemble their activities quickly and move from one place to another easily, thus evading police control to a certain degree.

The city's response to this "illegal" activity is eviction. As the vendors try to avoid eviction, they often use their high mobility to play "hide-and-seek" with the city's public order officers (*Satpol Pamong Praja*). If they are evicted, in most cases they will return to their previous locations, which they see as optimum places for their trade. This exposes another reality: eviction has not been successful in stopping street vending. As long as this niche exists and while there is still a demand for it, street vending is likely to continue. Yet, the authorities have not been able to find an alternative to street vending.

Street vending is not simply an individual act; it is organized through systems that are unclear and invisible to authorities and/or professionals. Although it is not possible to map it, the complex networks are evident in reports. For instance, vendors are often forced to pay "security and cleaning fees" daily to "thugs" (*The Jakarta Post* 2010). While the authorities should know about such illegal levies, in most cases they never touch the "thugs." Some of them may even work with the government. In many cases, street vendors also bribe city authorities so that they can continue their businesses. Newspapers represent these "thugs" as causing trouble to vendors, but they also provide some protection for the money they extort. In short, street vending is a complex operation carried out by the weaker sectors of society. And, as Nihal Perera (2009) argues in his article "People's Spaces," the weaker segments of society also create their own spaces. This study reveals that street vending is a way in which these weaker segments enter the economy.

Yogyakarta and the research sites

The Yogyakarta Special Region is the only province governed by the area's monarch. The city of Yogyakarta is located in the center of the region and is renowned as an area of classical Javanese fine art and culture. The region comprises the capital and four regencies: Bantul, Gunung Kidul, Kulon Progo, and Sleman. In 2010, the city's total population was 388,088, i.e., 11.2 percent of the total population of the Special Region (BPS Yogyakarta 2010). The study area includes

three streets in Yogyakarta: Babarsari Street, Godean Street, and Mangkubumi Street (Figure 8.1). These busy roads contain a large number of street vendors operating along them.

Babarsari Street is the main road in a university district which includes the University of Atma Jaya, the University of Proclamation, and the School of Nuclear Engineering. It also provides access to Hotel Sahid and several government offices, including the Yogyakarta's Department of Transportation and the International Atomic Energy Agency. Sidewalks and trees line both sides of the street. The street is quite wide, i.e., building-to-building across the street, at 30 to 42m, and the

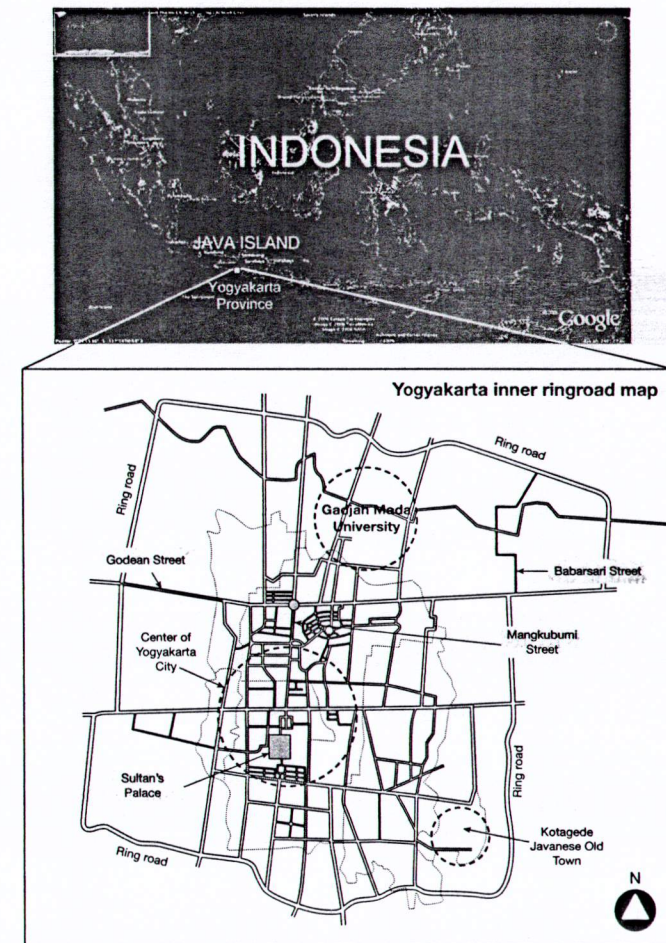


FIGURE 8.1 Orientation map of the study area: Babarsari, Godean, and Mangkubumi Streets in the City of Yogyakarta

sidewalks on either side are 1.5 to 2 meters wide. Several speed bumps have been installed in order to reduce the speed of passing vehicles.

Babarsari Street gets busy around 7 a.m. The peak hours of are between 1 p.m. and 4 p.m. and 7 p.m. to 9 p.m. The activities begin to decline at 9.30 p.m. People who use the street are mostly college students (70 percent) and a few workers. The busy points are the universities and student services such as photocopying services, hair salons, convenience stores, phone stores, computer stores, and caf  s. Intra-city buses which run every 20 minutes pass Babarsari Street in both directions.

Godean Street is the main connection between the western part of the city and downtown Yogyakarta. It is in good condition but lacks sidewalks on either side of the street. The street is narrower because it used to be a neighborhood street, and the corridor is 12 to 16m.

The traffic in Godean Street begins in the morning around 5 a.m., and market traders use it to enter the city. At 6 a.m., the street is filled with high school and college students, and workers whose schools or offices open at 7 a.m. At 7.30 a.m., it is filled with construction workers and shop workers who travel to the city. The opposite peak flow occurs at around 4.30 p.m., when residents return home from work.

Godean Street is busy every day due to a number of recently built residential complexes along the street. The busy traffic never recedes except between 11 p.m. and 4 a.m. In a few areas of the street, vendors continue to conduct their business until 3 a.m. There are annual changes as well. When residents commemorate the Javanese New Year (which also corresponds with the Islamic New Year), activity fills both sides of the street with vendors for a week.

Godean Street has experienced a rapid change in the past 15 years. Seven new residential complexes were built along it with 100 to 200 housing units in each. In the past few years, however, many houses facing the street have been converted into stores. Two other important places in Godean Street, namely the sacred place of Mbah Demang and Telagareja market, have also contributed to the busy traffic.

Mangkubumi Street is a main road in Yogyakarta. It is a part of the imaginary axis of Yogyakarta's palace connecting the peak of Merapi volcano and Parangtritis Beach. The street is related to the founding of the city of Yogyakarta and has become the main access to Yogyakarta's palace from the north side of the city.

Mangkubumi Street is in excellent condition. The corridor is 18 to 24m wide and has to 6m-wide sidewalks on both sides. There are plants and flowers in pots situated along the median. It is a one-way street to the south with a designated lane for non-motorists on the west side. The east side's road easements are used for on-street parking. It gets busy at 4 a.m., when residents go to Beringharjo market, the oldest and busiest market in Yogyakarta. The volume of traffic does not begin to recede until 11 p.m. It also provides access to the Malioboro area, especially for students from the northern parts of the city who attend schools in that area. It does not have a sacred place or a similar activity that attracts visitors.

As Mangkubumi Street is the main access to the palace, the city administration keeps it clean and in good condition, strictly enforcing the City Cleanliness

and Order Ordinance 26/2007. The city installed a notice of the ordinance in Mangkubumi Street, but not in Babarsari and Godean Streets. There has been no major physical change in Mangkubumi Street except for the proliferation of street vendors. In the 1990s, street vending increased, adding an area for the sale of used goods. However, citing traffic jams, the city administration relocated the *Pasar klitikan*, as it was identified, to Kuncen.

Characteristics and economic activities of street vendors

The study identified a total of 164 street vending units: 63 on Babarsari Street, 57 on Godean Street, and 44 on Mangkubumi Street. Of these vending units, 22 are one-employee enterprises: ten on Babarsari, seven on Godean, and five on Mangkubumi. Other vending units are two or more employee enterprises. A total of 351 people are employed in vending in the study area: 125 on Babarsari, 130 on Godean, and 96 on Mangkubumi. In the following sections, we will explore the characteristics of street vending and analyze the impact of these characteristics on the economic aspect of street vending.

Our surveys, summarized in Table 8.1, show that a large majority of street vendors in the study area are male. Out of 164 street vendors, only 29 were female. Sixty-five percent of vendors were single, and all single vendors were male. As

TABLE 8.1 Demographic characteristics of street vendors

Demographic characteristics	Babarsari	Godean	Mangkubumi	Total
Gender				
Male	52	43	40	135
Female	11	14	4	29
Total	63	57	44	164
Marital status				
Married	33	19	5	57
Single	30	38	39	107
Total	63	57	44	164
Age				
21–30 years old	37	29	20	86
31–40 years old	5	6	11	22
41–50 years old	15	18	10	43
51 years old and over	6	4	3	13
Total	63	57	44	164
Education attainment				
Elementary school	8	7	14	29
Middle school	22	21	11	54
High school	33	29	19	81
College	0	0	0	0
Total	63	57	44	164

Source: Fieldwork (2010).

discussed below, the times available for vending do not encourage young women to start up a business of their own. They either take part in their husbands' existing businesses or help establish businesses with their husbands after marriage.

Fifty-two percent of the street vendors were between 21 and 30 years of age.¹ None of the street vendors in the study area had a college degree; half (49 percent) had a high school diploma.² Their age and education indicate that street vending, among other occupations such as taxi driving, is an entry point into the economy for those with little education. As larger statistics show, perhaps due to the unavailability of other employment opportunities in the formal economy for their training and skills, many will continue to rely on the informal sector. According to the Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics, in 2008, 69 percent of Indonesian workers were employed in the informal sector, which includes street vending (BPS 2009). In the three major streets we studied, 164 small-scale trading enterprises provide employment for 351 people. In our estimation, this is about 40 percent of the workforce in these three areas. They are mostly young, single, male, high school graduates. Evidently, street vending is an important component of the urban economy in Yogyakarta that offers employment.

Two out of six types of street vendors in Indonesia identified by Yatmo (2008) were found in the study area: tent and push-cart types. The study identified another type of stationary structure that Yatmo (2008) had not identified, namely umbrella. The street vendors place their goods on a small cart with glass windows and use an umbrella for protection against sunlight. These street vendors largely sold refill phone cards and *jenang* (a local sweet food) (Figure 8.2).

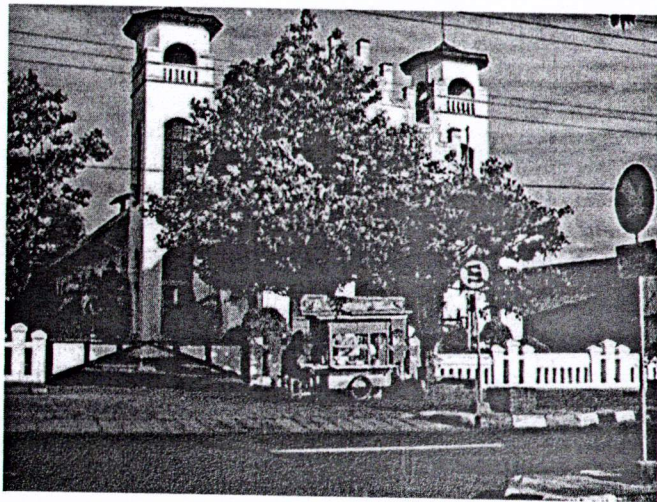


FIGURE 8.2 A street vendor in front of a historic building (Toegoe Hotel) in Mangkubumi Street

TABLE 8.2 Types of vending structures

Types of structures	Babarsari	Godean	Mangkubumi	Total
Tent	31	37	37	105
Pushcart	27	16	3	46
Umbrella	5	4	4	13
Total	63	57	44	164

Source: Fieldwork (2010).

More than half of the street vendors in the study area use tents, and the remaining businesses use push carts and umbrellas (Table 8.2). The extraordinarily high usage of tents in the study area indicates that these vendors are stationary and that they have conducted their activities in the same location over a long period of time. More ambulatory vendors were found on Babarsari and Godean than on Mangkubumi. These findings indicate that the ordinance is strictly enforced in Mangkubumi, and new vendors with ambulatory vending prefer areas with weaker ordinance enforcement.

Employees

Street vending is usually a very small-scale enterprise carried out by self-employed people and their families. All other employees are typically unpaid family members. Most units (142) in the study area comprised two or more employees. All of them employed their spouses, and the employees included 40 children and 14 relatives.

Vending items

We found that street vending offered affordable foods and snacks for customers on all three streets. They sell three types of items: foods and snacks, fresh drinks, and refill phone cards. Vendors offered 16 types of foods and snacks, including fried noodle and rice, fried fish, fried chicken, seafood, chicken satay, angkringan, baked bread, chicken soto, lotis, fish otak-otak, martabak, carica menthog, jenang, sumedang tofu, uduk rice, and Surabaya noodles. On Babarsari, Godean, and Mangkubumi Streets, vendors offered 11, 13, and 7 types of foods and snacks respectively. Fresh drinks and refill phone cards were available on all three streets. Table 8.3 shows the numbers of vending units by the items they sell.

Most food vendors cooked their foods on site, except for angkringan and baked bread. The cooking activity of angkringan vendors was limited to boiling water. The angkringan and baked bread vendors bought food from third parties who delivered these daily. Godean Street had the most street food vendors (40) who cooked their food. Babarsari and Mangkubumi Streets had 31 and 29 street food vendors who prepared food on site.

TABLE 8.3 Number and types of vending items

Items of vending	Babarsari	Godean	Mangkubumi	Total
Fried noodles and rice	4	8	4	16
Fried fish	6	10	15	31
Fried chicken	5	6	4	15
Seafood	2	2	2	6
Chicken satay	3	3	4	10
Angkringan	12	8	10	30
Baked bread	3	5	1	9
Chicken soto	3	2	0	5
Lotis	2	0	0	2
Fish otak-otak	3	0	0	3
Martabak	0	3	0	3
Caricamenthog	0	1	0	1
Jenang	3	0	0	3
Sumedang tofu	0	1	0	1
Uduk rice	0	2	0	2
Surabaya noodle	0	2	0	2
Fresh drinks	12	2	2	14
Refill phone cards	5	2	2	9
<i>Total</i>	<i>63</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>164</i>

Source: Fieldwork (2010).

The customers of these vendors are not limited to low-income earners but include middle-class people. College students in Babarsari Street, tourists in Mangkubumi Street, and residents of the neighborhoods along Godean Street greatly benefited from the economic activities which vendors offered. In this, street vending is a mode of urban transformation that links various economic activities and spaces in urban areas (cf. Roy and AlSayyad 2004; Roy 2005).

Hours of operation

Vendors' hours reflect their market and location (Table 8.4). Forty-three percent of vendors in the study area conducted their activities between 4 p.m. and 9 p.m. Thirty-one percent and 26 percent of the street vendors conducted their businesses from 8 a.m. to 9 p.m. and 4 p.m. to midnight. Godean Street had a higher proportion of street vendors than the other two, operating long hours between 8 a.m. and 9 p.m. Babarsari Street was busier at night and had higher proportions of vendors operating between 9 p.m. and midnight. More vendors in Babarsari and Mangkubumi Streets operated between 9 p.m. and midnight because they served college students and tourists who are active until midnight. Godean Street is located in a residential area where most residents are home after 9 p.m.

The hours of operation explain why more males than females are engaged in street vending in the study area. Most of the vending on these streets is conducted

TABLE 8.4 Hours of operation

Hours of operation	Babarsari	Godean	Mangkubumi	Total
8 a.m.–9 p.m.	20	22	9	51
4 p.m.–9 p.m.	24	24	22	70
4 p.m.–midnight	19	11	13	43
<i>Total</i>	<i>63</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>164</i>

Sources: Fieldwork (2010).

during the evening and night hours. Most female employees work in the mornings and afternoons for their own security.

Length of tenure

Despite the “informality” of their activities, street vendors are not temporary actors; it is not one stage of a life journey. Forty-four percent of the street vendors in the study area conduct their activities for five to ten years, 32 percent have been in businesses for more than ten years, and only 24 percent have operated for less than five years. The street vendors in Babarsari Street have the shortest tenure, and the majority started their activities about five or six years ago when most facilities of the University of Atma Jaya were moved to a new location on Babarsari Street. The street vendors in Godean Street started their activities about 15 years ago when some residential complexes were built. The vendors in Mangkubumi Street had the longest tenure, and some have been operating since the 1970s.

Ownership

A large majority of the street vendors (89 percent) in the study area are self-employed, and they conduct their own businesses. Yet 7 percent of vendors work for their employers, while 5 percent of the units are owned by non-profit organizations. Mangkubumi Street has a higher proportion of vendor-employees.

While most vendors have their own dwelling, a group of street vendors in Godean and Mangkubumi Streets shared a house as a temporary measure (*markas*). Their *markases* were maintained by vendors from the same residential origins. The purpose is to be close to the place of work so that they can better manage their time. It also serves to help monitor and secure their strategic selling locations and prevent others from seizing them.

Some street vending units in Babarsari Street were owned and organized by a non-profit organization. The street vendors recruited by the non-profit organization were offered a temporary place to live, equipment, and capital to start their businesses, most selling fresh drinks. This organization hired young men and women.

Fees and legitimacy

The major finding of this study is that tenure of street vending in Yogyakarta is different. The vendors in Babarsari, Godean, and Mangkubumi Streets paid up to Rp. 1,000 (USD\$0.10) fees per day to officers from the city administration. Authorized officials came every day to the business locations to collect fees. Street vendors believe that such fees legitimize their activities in the eyes of the city administration.

Collecting fees from street vendors by a city administration is an unusual practice in Indonesia, where most street vendors neither register with the city nor pay fees. The common practice is for public order officers to enforce ordinances and forcibly evict street vendors from business locations. Hence, street vendors often use their high mobility and flexibility to play "hide-and-seek" with public order officers to avoid eviction (Rukmana 2011). Street vendors also hide from public order officers by paying (illegal) levies to thugs who trawl the streets daily. In many cases, they earn the right to vend by bribing city authorities (Rukmana 2011). Due to "formalizing," most street vendors in Yogyakarta have tenure and do not pay illegal levies to the thugs. However, this does not mean that street vending is organized and ordered.

Use of public spaces

The street vendors in the study area use public spaces including sidewalks and vacant lots for their economic activities. Nearly 90 percent use sidewalks, and the remainder use vacant lots for business. Nearly 80 percent of sidewalk vendors are located in front of buildings; the rest are in front of vacant lots. Approximately 75 percent of the vendors have an agreement with the owners of buildings or vacant lots. Each vendor pays a small monthly fee to the owner for using the space. Such an agreement or fee could avoid complaints from the owners about vending.

Contrary to the stereotypes, these arrangements indicate that street vendors, at least in Yogyakarta, are interested in more stable businesses without causing harm to the others, although their meager incomes do not allow for grand contracts or to pay high rents and taxes. Their use of public spaces is also due to the absence of designated spaces appropriate for street vending or informal sector activities in urban areas. Street vending is the unplanned part of Indonesian cities because planning professionals accept a dichotomy between formal and informal sectors which marginalizes the importance of the latter, including street vending.

In most Indonesian cities, conflicts arise between city authorities and street vendors. Street vending in public urban space is often seen as an eyesore and a cause of urban blight. City authorities often evict street vendors in the name of order and cleanliness; meanwhile, street vendors are trying to secure urban space to continue their activities. Eviction is not a proven step towards creating urban order or cleanliness. In fact, it is the opposite because, once evicted, vendors look for other ways to do the same and cause more "disorder." Evictions only exaggerate conflicts between urban authorities and street vendors, causing disorder and blight.

The agreement or fee payment to owners of buildings or vacant lots is a creative way to "formalize" the economic activities of street vending. This is precisely an invention in Yogyakarta. Such agreement or payment provides tenure security for the street vendors and makes it a stable income-generating occupation as well as creating an orderly urban society and environment.

Confirming the findings of Perera and Amin (1996), street vending in the study area also demonstrates that the provision of space for this activity is an effective way to reduce the environmental problems associated with it. Street vendors on Babarsari, Godean, and Mangkubumi Streets keep their spaces relatively clean and avoid disorder and urban blight. They always clean up their spaces after preparing food for their customers and after their customers eat. With secured places to conduct business, both the street vendors and city public order officers do not need to play "hide-and-seek" with each other. Following this model, accommodating street vending in urban spaces promises to improve the quality of life in urban areas.

Conclusion

Street vending in Yogyakarta is part of the socio-economic fabric of the city. It provides steady full-time employment for a large group of residents. It employs 351 people in 164 street vending units in the study area and a large majority have been active for more than five years. This indicates a more permanent type of employment than has been acknowledged in mainstream studies.

None of the vendors in the study area have college degrees; more than half do not have a high school diploma. Yet, the street vendors cannot be considered to have failed to enter the urban economy. They have created their own employment opportunities: most vendors are self-employed or work for family members. They are a component of the local economy, and this benefits urban development. Street vending in Yogyakarta offers a stable, income-generating occupation for people with a low level of education and skills. This is an opportunity for this layer of the population that the formal sector has so far failed to provide.

A large majority of street vendors in the study area sell food; most of them cook on site. Their cooking activities produce trash, but they manage to keep their locations clean and in good condition. They do these well when they have the same place, or sense of belonging and control. Accommodating them has improved the quality of life and reduced the environmental problems associated with them in Yogyakarta. Street vendors in the study area provide affordable and favorite foods for the poor but also for the middle class. Street vendors provide some residents with their favorite foods, and this brings life to the street until midnight.

The process of Westernizing cities has ignored one of the most important components of Indonesian cities, namely the informal sector. In many cases, the exclusion of the informal sector in transforming Indonesian cities has resulted in urban blight and conflicts between city authorities. This is not a city transformation that the planners and city authorities desire. The street vending in Babarsari, Godean, and Mangkubumi Streets in Yogyakarta shows that transforming Indonesian cities

should also consider the importance of the informal sector as a mode of urbanization that connects various economic activities and spaces in urban areas.

Notes

- 1 Twenty-six percent of vendors are between the ages of 41 and 50; 13 percent between 31 and 40; and 9 percent are aged 51 years or older.
- 2 Thirty-three percent had completed middle school and 18 percent had completed elementary school.