Integrating Jakarta’s street vendors in Architecture
Integrating Jakarta’s Street Vendors in Architecture
Master Thesis Explorelab 18
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<tr>
<td>ALUN-ALUN</td>
<td>A Javanese architectural term for the large central open lawn squares common to villages, towns and cities in Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANGKOT</td>
<td>Small minivan, informal way of traveling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAJAJ</td>
<td>Motorized three-wheeled taxi service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BECAK</td>
<td>Non-motorized three-wheeled taxi service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSR</td>
<td>Corporate Social Responsibility: a form of corporate self-regulation integrated into a business model.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBU</td>
<td>Mother or madam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JALAN</td>
<td>Road or street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAMPUNG</td>
<td>Originally means rural village, but in relation to the city it often equals slums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KRETEK</td>
<td>Indonesian cigarettes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MASJID</td>
<td>Mosque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONAS</td>
<td>Abbreviation for the National Monument: Monumen Nasional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OJEK</td>
<td>Motorcycle used to carry passengers on the back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAK</td>
<td>Mister or sir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASAR</td>
<td>Market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEMKPEK</td>
<td>Fishcake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKL</td>
<td>Abbreviation for street vendors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SATPOL PP</td>
<td>Civic Service Police Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAHU TEMPE</td>
<td>Dish based on soy products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WARUNG</td>
<td>Small shop</td>
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Preface

For me, Indonesia is the smell of kretek, the taste of tahu tempeh goreng, the 24/7 life, the becak and street vendors in the streets. In Jakarta only a few of these are visible. The becak has already been banned from the inner-city because of the association with underdevelopment and causes congestion and now also street vendors are next. Street vendors are often associated with traffic jams, pollution and crime. Many news articles have been written about street vendors causing congestion and how the city government reacts by removing and/or relocating the street vendors often to off-street public market buildings: almost weekly they are mentioned in the newspapers, related to relocation issues or riots. These relocation processes do not always work out as planned and street vendors riot or return to their old familiar spot. This triggered something in me.

I had to see this for myself and went to Jakarta for a period of three weeks. During my stay I talked to street vendors but also to local people and tourists, not only to find out their opinions on each other and the public space, but also to find out underlying motives and thoughts. I went to visit several areas where street vendors operate or operated until very recently. The government did their job clearing the streets or in other cases started the relocation of street vendors to public market buildings. This often did not work out and resulted in street vendors returning to the streets or even violence. As a designer of space – and a food lover – this socio-spatial problem truly fascinates me and led me to write this thesis.

This master thesis ‘Integrating Jakarta’s Street Vendors Into Architecture’ is written in the name of Delft University of Technology as a student of the architecture department within the Explorrelab 18 studio. In this studio I am able to explore my fascination, not only my fascination with the highly interesting city of Jakarta, the ‘Indonesian culture’ and its people, but also to explore my role as an architect. This research therefore consists of theoretical, but most of all empirical studies.

When I mentioned to my research mentor Gregory Bracken that I see my role as an architect as a mediator, he replied the architect could very well be the catalyst. According to the Cambridge dictionary a catalyst can be defined as ‘an event or person that causes great change’. I hope in my life I will be able to contribute to making the world a little bit better.

Rotterdam, October ’15
This Thesis

The battle over urban space between the city government and street vendors in Jakarta, Indonesia, is one of the major controversies about street commerce, not unlike other megacities. Jakarta’s city administration is currently relocating street vendors into public market buildings. This often ends in street vendors returning to the streets or even violence.

In this thesis I want to look into how street vendors can be integrated in Jakarta’s architecture. Until now street vendors have mainly been relocated into existing public market buildings. Street vendors are associated with traffic congestion and pollution, which, in my opinion, is caused by many other factors. In my design proposal I will aim towards a vertical distribution of space instead of a horizontal distribution of space. In a dense megacity like Jakarta space is scarce and therefore the design attitude should expand and think not 2D, not 3D but even 4D as temporality plays an important part in this 24/7 city. In this thesis I will provide historical background information and theoretical and empirical research on why street vendors should fit and could fit in this ever-growing city. To do so, this thesis is divided into four parts:

Part I describes briefly the background of Jakarta, the history and the several challenges it faces as a result of enormous urban growth will be explained. Relevant research conclusions such as infrastructure, socio-spatial segregation and the role of the formal sector are defined, in order to form a hypothesis.

Part II focuses on the users. The main focus concerns the street vendors. Who are the street vendors in Jakarta, what is their background and how do they work? How can street vendors best be facilitated? What can we learn from relocation processes conducted by the city government? The street vendor and profiles of other users will be set out in user stories. From this information ‘needs’ can be defined.

Part III discusses the location of intervention: Sarinah. Located in the Central Business district this department store was the first of its kind in Indonesia, built in the 1960.

In the final Part IV the design is introduced. Following the research, the problem statement will briefly be summarized. The design concept and development goals will be formulated, as the design will concern an open air street mall where the street vendors will be integrated. This final chapter answers how street vendors could be integrated into architecture.
PART II - INTRODUCING JAKARTA
Fig. 1: Asia - Indonesia - Java - DKI Jakarta (source: Tjeerd Tichelaar, 2015)
1. Indonesia

Indonesia is the largest archipelagic country in the world with over 17,000 islands, folded around the equator in South-East Asia. The capital Jakarta is located on the island of Java, the third largest island nationwide. The city lies on a bay indenting the north coast, facing the Java Sea. Rising green hills and high peaks of the volcanic Parahyangan mountains flank the south side of the city. The fertile volcanic soil and copious rainfall render the southern fringe of Jakarta appealing for agriculture, with rice as the major crop to be grown. By continuously intensified groundwater extraction, the northern part of Jakarta has sunk below or very close to sea level hampering the runoff of a number of streams descending from the mountains in the south. This and the building up of river banks and swamp areas serving as natural flood control basins make large parts of town vulnerable to flooding, especially in the rainy season from October to March.

Jakarta is one of the largest cities in the world today with over 10 million registered inhabitants. In terms of administrative status Jakarta is a first-level autonomous region similar to a province, headed by a governor. It is referred to as DKI Jakarta (Daerah Khusus Ibukota), which stands for the Capital City Special Region. DKI Jakarta consists of five municipalities: Jakarta Pusat (Central), Jakarta Utara (North), Jakarta Barat (West), Jakarta Selatan (South) and Jakarta Timur (East), each headed by a mayor. Within these communities a subdivision is made into districts, for example Menteng which is part of Jakarta Pusat.
2. Historical Morphological Analysis Jakarta

[12th century] Sunda Kelapa

Jakarta finds its origins in the 12th century seaport Kalapa, the main outlet to the sea of the Sundanese Hindu kingdom of Pajajaran (Sunda): its remains are currently known as Sunda Kelapa. It was frequented by traders from coastal Arabia, India, China and Malacca and other centres of commerce in medieval Southeast Asia. After the Portuguese had taken the Sultanate of Malacca in 1511 – an event that heralded the European presence in the archipelago – the Sundanese kingdom traded with them as well. As allies providing the Hindu king of the Sundanese military protection against naval incursions by Muslim Javanese of the Sultanate of Demak, the Portuguese were actually allowed to settle down in Kalapa.

In 1527 the settlement was nevertheless conquered by the Javanese. Shortly after the conquest it was renamed Jayakarta (‘complete victory’) and transferred to the newly erected Sultanate of Banten, ruled from a more westerly port of the Sundanese, that aimed to take over the complete kingdom and largely succeeded in doing so before the 16th century had passed. The settlement developed into a typical Muslim Javanese town, featuring a town centre with an alun-alun (ritual square), surrounded by the dalem (king’s palace) on the South side and the masjid (mosque) on the West side. In the settlement structure there already was a separation between the prince’s quarter and the local population.

Fig. 3: Jayakarta circa 1605–8, before its complete destruction by the Dutch, showing earlier pre-colonial structures before Batavia was founded
Around 1600 both Dutch and English armed merchant ships appeared in the waters of the Banten sultanate. After an agreement with the local governor, the Dutch were allowed to maintain a trading post in Jayakarta, that against the will of the governor they decided to fortify in 1618. When the local Bantanese and the English turned against the Dutch, they soon succumbed to the guns of newly arrived Dutch ships. The Dutch razed Jayakarta and forced the sultan of Banten to cede the district to them. The Dutch settlement was baptized Batavia, and rose to prominence as it became the headquarters of the Dutch East India Company (VOC). The original Dutch settlement was at the waterfront near the mouth of the Ciliwung river, where warehouses were built in the early 17th century to store commodities for the East India Company and further fortifications against English and Bantanese threats were erected, as well as a big shipyard. To prevent the area from flooding, the Dutch dug a network of canals and straightened the river. Fashionable Dutch style homes were built along the canals while Asian landscape elements as street vendors were banned and relegated to marginal districts. Where the European residents resided mostly within the city walls, the areas inhabited by locals were scattered and developed more spontaneously without formal plans.

Fig. 4: left - Javanese Jayakarta on the west bank of the Ciliwung river right - Dutch Batavia in 1650, a Dutch model compact town, protected by the watergate fort (source: H. A. Breuning, 'Het voormalige Batavia, een Hollandse stedestichting in de tropen'. 1954)
[19th century] Rise of the Garden City

Batavia’s so-called golden period was in the early to mid-18th century, when Europeans referred to it as the ‘Queen City of the East’. In 1811 Batavia’s population consisted out of 552 Europeans and another 1,455 persons legally equated to Europeans; other Asian citizens numbered 45,000 (Winarso, 2011, p.166). At this time the Europeans began to leave the city and resettle outside the walls to Weltevreden, where the ground was higher and the air healthier. As the economic fortunes of the Dutch East India Company faded, the out-migration increased. Batavia became less of a company town and the city kept growing towards the south, where to the city administration was moved as well. Where the structure of ‘downtown-Batavia’ was made up of compact street blocks and tight house-to-house subdivisions, ‘uptown-Batavia’ or Weltevreden was set up more spaciously with luxurious homes with gardens and government offices. By 1900 the population already hit 500,000 inhabitants. Only the Europeans resided in Weltevreden; the native Indonesians typically lived in the surrounding kampung and in traditional villages. ‘This urban form of the European mansions surrounded by kampungs reflected the urban socio-economic dualism of the city and marked the beginning of social dualism in urban Batavia’ (Winarso, 2011, p.166).

Fig. 5: Map of Batavia in 1840. Multiple villas appear to the south of the old Batavia.
Fig. 6: Map of Batavia in 1897. The dark grey hatched areas show the European and Chinese quarter. The light grey hatch shows the native kampung in the outer area.


[1942] In search of identity

As Indonesia gained independence following World War II, the republican government changed the city's name into Jakarta, reminiscing the name of the original native settlement. A fastly growing number of people from all over the country migrated to the city, which put great pressure on the housing and the infrastructure. Jakarta's population would more doubled in just a couple of years, and jumped to an estimated 1.5 million in 1949. The idea to build the satellite town Kebayoran Baru was launched in 1948 and was intended to offer housing for 50,000 to 100,000 people, but by the time its construction was completed it had become home to close to half a million people. Kebayoran Baru was a mix of European and Javanese town planning principles, ‘the latter one represented in the layout of self-contained neighbourhoods similar to the indigenous rural kampung and separated by spacious traffic routes and green zones’. President Sukarno’s vision for Jakarta was to become a symbol of Indonesian national unity. In the 1960s the construction of large scale infrastructural projects were the result of this nation-building policy. On Medan Merdeka (former Koningsplein), the National Monument was erected, shaping it into the nation’s alun-alun. With a population count of 2.9 million in 1961, the capital of Indonesia had become one of the largest cities in the world. The majority, however, still lived in the dense kampung areas with poor infrastructure and insufficient facilities. The development of the public transportation systems and infrastructure were largely neglected, which formed a stark contrast to the newly built modernist infrastructural projects that were meant to be symbols of national pride.

[1967] Focusing on economic development

Since 1965 Jakarta has grown from a city with a population of 3 million people to a metropolitan agglomeration counting more than 24 million people. The Jakarta Metropolitan Region (JMR) forms the economic gravity point of the country. Following the policies of nation-building of former president Soekarno (1945-1967), his successor president Soeharto mainly focussed on economic development and aimed for developing the internal urban structure of Jakarta. Between 1987 and 1989 Indonesia, and Jakarta in particular, experienced the first boom in property development. The second boom in 1995 was even higher. Major residential areas for middle and high income housing were developed as the construction of modern malls and shopping centres started, which created new urban spaces in Jakarta. More than twenty new towns were erected during these ten years of economic growth. (Winarso, 1999) These new town developments reinforced spatial dualism and segregation in the JMR as ‘most of them were gated with high-security perimeter defences, separated from the low-income kampung or villages in the surrounding areas’ (Winarso 2005; Winarso and Saptono 2008).

[1997] Economic crisis

Then, in 1997, the Rupiah collapsed. The economic crisis led to a dramatic number of poor people: 49,5 million (24.23% of the total population) hit the poverty level. Tensions rose between the haves and have-nots. Although there have always been tensions between the different socio-cultural groups, riots were only triggered by acute economic problems including food shortages and mass unemployment. Many Indonesians lost their jobs and life savings. This resulted in an increase the informal sector activities, in particular among workers laid off from the industrial sector. The number of street vendors in Jakarta increased rapidly from about 95,000 in 1997 to 270,000 in 1998 (Firman, 1999, p.456)
Jakarta Metropolitan Region

Indonesia has experienced tremendous growth since the 1960s and urban peripheries all over the country went through a shift from a rural to a (highly) urbanized environment. The population of the capital Jakarta grew from 4 million in 1970 to 6 million in 1980, 8 million in 1990 and more than 10 million residents as of today. The official numbers do not tell the full story, however. During workweeks the city is home to at least 12 million people and there are the unregistered inhabitants. In 1970 Jakarta, itself holding provincial status as a Special Capital Region (DKI, Daerah Khusus Ibukota), became part of a greater metropolitan area the Jakarta Metropolitan Region nicknamed JaBoTaBek: the urban agglomeration of Jakarta and surrounding towns Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi. Today Depok is also included, which makes the metropolitan area JaBoDeTaBek home to at least 28 million people, 24 million of whom inside the urban agglomeration. Mass migration is a major problem in the Jakarta region. When Batavia was founded by the Dutch, it was designed to house maximally 800,000 inhabitants. To accommodate this envisaged growth, several city centres were developed in accordance with a policy of decentralization. With the explosive increase of households in the metropolitan area, many people lack access to clean water and the power grid has a hard time keeping up with the growth of demand. Less than 70% of the JMR’s population is connected to piped water (Winarso, 2011, p.164). Also drainage and adequately paved roads are a problem.

Fig. 7: Jakarta Metropolitan Region in 2000 and 2005
(source: Dimas, 2008)
Socio-spatial fragmentation

Social dualism is deeply rooted in Jakarta. ‘Although this process began in the kingdom era, which distinguished the prince’s quarter from the common people, social dualism in Jakarta became most pronounced under the Dutch Administration’, with the European quarter for the Dutch and the kampung areas for the native Indonesians (Winarso and Saptono, 2013). In the JMR the multiple city centres are incrementally developed into mixed-use centres with modern buildings next to traditional kampung areas, the latter densely populated, mostly by low-income people. The dualism of the city, however, creates a mutual symbiosis. A low wage worker could live in a nearby kampung and work in the area. When compared to villages in rural areas, the people living in the kampung areas in JMR are better off, being closer to educational facilities and having better employment opportunities. On the other hand, they are more vulnerable to job losses as they cannot fall back on subsistence farming which would be a possibility in the rural areas. Also in the urban kampung they are to a lesser extent surrounded by family and lifelong involved villagers who could help out in times of need. It can be stated that the opportunities for people living in the kampung areas in JMR are better, but comes with a risk.

Social dualism is associated with spatial segregation, according to Leaf (1993). It is related to uneven distribution of urban space based on ethnicity, social status, income and employment (Barbosa, 2001). ‘Spatial segregation is therefore associated with the geographic concentration of certain groups along socio-economic lines’ (Bolt et al. 2008). The development of new towns reinforced this spatial segregation, as this large-scale land development increased the land and property value and benefited only wealthy residents (Winarso and Saptono, 2013). Also the exclusivity of some of the modern malls and apartments have threatened the cohesiveness of the community. Still, the urban form that is created by this dualism could also be perceived ‘as a way to sustain city life and thus create a sustainable urban form’ (Sorensen, Okata, 2010).

Poor Infrastructure

The urban spaces that came into existence in the JMR lack sufficient transportation systems, which cause a never ending traffic jam. The poor infrastructure is one of the largest problems in the JMR. The infrastructural network designed in the 1960s has insufficient capacity to support the still growing numbers of motor vehicles in the JMR. Therefore the city suffers from a continuous gridlock with the consequences of high air pollution. The mixed-use centres were designed with the goal to reduce the amount of necessary commuting trips, but this not the case. The public transportation network is not effective as a proper mass rapid transportation
Urban informality

The concept of urban informality started from the dichotomy between the formal sector and the informal sector, discussed in the early 1970s. Hernando De Soto regarded informality as a survival strategy, ‘undertaken by the poor with “ingenuity and entrepreneurial spirit”’. He rejects the notion of informality only linked to the dynamics of the labour market; instead he viewed the informal economy as a means to react to excessive regulations and breaking down legal barriers (Roy and Alsayyad, 2003).

Still, when the financial crisis hit Indonesia in 1997 the informal economy grew. People who lost their jobs in the crisis had to find ways to survive and entered the informal sector to become parking guides or ojek drivers or start a street vending business. Villagers and farmers prefer the informal sector as formal processes in Indonesia require bureaucratic procedures that take a long time. Another complication is that for formal processes all the paperwork should be in order and Jakarta residents have priority. For people from villages outside Jakarta these are therefore not worth the trouble. Only when businesses grow there is a need to formalize. The informal sector contributes less than 20% to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Indonesia, but the majority of people work in the informal sector: in 2000 at least 65% of employment was in the informal sector.

Despite the dominance of the informal sector, informal actors usually remain economically marginalised. Informal street vending is often ignored by policymakers, or just regarded a problem that needs to be eliminated. Venturi (1977) discusses the existence of certain ‘honky-tonk’ elements in the cities, ‘The main justification for honky-tonk elements is their very existence. They are what we have. Architects can bemoan or try to ignore them or even try to abolish them, but they will not go away. Or they will not go away for a long time, because architects do not have the power to replace them (nor do they know what to replace them with)’. Ignoring the problem or removing the street is not a suitable policy, assuming most street vendors will return and the problem would persist.
4. Problem Statement

Jakarta has grown into a megacity where public space is scarce. Socio-spatial segregation and the insufficient infrastructure are results of the enormous growth of the city and its transformation into a metropolitan area and are interconnected. The urban environment becomes a set of interrelated networks of people, places and events. However, conflicts and problems in the contested public space are inevitable. Unplanned and unexpected elements are unavoidable and become nuisance and disturbing elements. Whatever action has been undertaken to remove and marginalize these elements, they keep returning and growing within the city.

One of these ‘out-of-place’ elements in the public space which define the experience of this city is street vendors. Street vending in Jakarta is a much debated issue. In this city, where streets are dominated by motorized polluting vehicles, adequate sidewalks and public space are missing. The livelihood of street vendors is directly connected to the use of sidewalks as this one of the few areas that they can occupy. The street vendors often have no designated spots and are seen by many as invaders of the public space, ‘obstructions’ and the cause of traffic congestions. The consequence of using sidewalks as their territory force pedestrians to make use of the road designated for motor vehicles, which can result in hazardous situations.

The scarcity of Jakarta’s public space has increased the pressure on the street vendors and the government, which has resulted in regular raids and relocation processes that prove not to be successful. Street vendors are however important for the Indonesian economy and should therefore be included in the urban fabric of the Jakarta.

5. Towards an integrated design approach

In the existing situation of the central business district of Jakarta leftover and public spaces mostly evolve around car-users. However, by purposefully integrating car-use in architecture public space can be intelligently designed to incorporate street vendors.

From the problem statement the following hypothesis is formulated:

By accommodating and integrating street vendors into the built environment of Jakarta’s Central Business district, formal and informal systems can complement each other. Deliberate design solutions can create conditions for socio-economic integration and exchange of knowledge by implementing a multifunctional hybrid program allowing a diverse group of users to interact.
PART II - THE USERS

Photo x: a food vendor selling fried snacks (gorengan) on Carfree Sunday
(source: author’s photograph)
1. Street vending

Street vending is a phenomenon which dates back to ancient times, and is common all over the world. Street vending is a much debated topic; there seems to be a love-hate relationship. 'Street vending brings vitality to the streets, provides accessible employment opportunities and enhances goods and service provision in the city' (Weng, 2013). At the same time street vending is often considered as a cause of traffic congestion, pollution of public space and a source of undeclared work. Clashes between street vendors and the municipality are common, both in the developed and in the developing world. City governments issue laws and regulations to control street vendors, but this has proven to be more difficult than anticipated.

According to Weng (2003) common methods to control street vending are:

- keeping the number of people in check by giving out licences or permits;
- controlling the urban public space by designating special street vending zones or locations;
- relocating vendors to public market buildings.

Still these strategies have not always proven successful, and occasionally gave rise to other problems instead. Usually street vendors must be in possession of a legal vending license before they can start their businesses. But as long as the demand is higher than the supply, many street vendors maintain to continue operating illegally.

The street vendor

A street vendor can be characterized as someone who sells goods to the public without having a fixed and permanent structure at a vending spot. Street vendors can be stationary in the way that they occupy a certain spot on walkways, roads or other public or private spaces. And on the other hand they can be mobile in the sense that they change locations and move from one spot to another by carrying their goods themselves or with the help of mobile carts. The number of street vendors has increased drastically in major cities around the world, especially in the developing world.

According to Bhowmik (2012) this growth can be explained by two causes. The first concerns the lack of remunerative employment together with poverty in rural areas which has caused people to seek their fortune in the cities. They are often poorly educated and end up working in the informal sector. The second cause concerns those people who have lost their jobs and are forced to work in the informal sector in order to survive (Bhowmik, 2012, p.6).
In Jakarta most of the street vendors come from outside Jakarta. Many people from the outskirts of the JaBoDeTaBek conurbation or even from further away come to the capital city to *mencari uang* ('working', literally translated: 'search for money'). Since the major part of these have little education and no financial base, they end up in the informal sector, which encompasses, according to Business Dictionary, 'all jobs which are not recognized as normal income sources'. Also the economic crisis of 1997 played its role in the growth of the informal sector.

In Indonesia, according to data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), in February 2008 75.53 million of the 102.05 million workers were employed in the informal sector, which amounts to 72%. The informal sector of course does not only apply to street vending, but includes any type of informal labor.

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‘the ceremony is an everyday life: finding a place, constructing and then deconstructing the shelter, moving to another place, constructing and deconstructing it again and again’

(Maharika, 2001, p.4)
Typologies

**mobile street vendors**

As stated before, street vendors range from mobile to stationary. Mobile street vendors change locations during their working hours and stationary street vendors most of the time have a regular home base. Mobile street vendors can be further defined and divided into partially mobile and fully mobile. Partially mobile street vendors have several stops on the route. For example the street vendors who locate around schools during peak hours (early morning, lunch, afternoon) and in between these moments move to more crowded areas such as markets or office districts. Mobile street vendors often use a cart which they can push forward while walking, sell their goods from packed bicycles or carry their wares on their shoulders. Fully mobile street vendors keep moving during their work hours. These mobile street vendors are active everywhere in the city, from the calmer residential areas to more crowded motorways. In residential districts they often announce their presence by ringing a bell or making a characteristic sound their customers recognize them by. They mostly sell ‘wet produce’ – food and drinks – from early morning to late night. The street vendors who operate on the motorways often make use of traffic jams to maneuver through the lines of cars while selling water, newspapers or souvenirs. Sometimes street vendors need to be fully and extremely mobile to be able to avoid the police when selling illegal wares (Dimas, 2008; Bhowmik, 2012).

**stationary street vendors**

Stationary street vendors are street vendors who occupy a regular spot during their working hours. Most of the time they set up a small temporary ‘shop’ with a place to sit by placing some plastic chairs and create some form of roofing; this often take the shape of a (blue) plastic cover, which tends to grow into a semi-permanent structure to accommodate their business. Stationary street vendors are for example street vendors who set up shop at local street markets (Jalan Kampung Lima during working days) or vendors who sell only in certain streets at a fixed location. These street vendors have typically laid claim to a certain stretch of public space, and de facto appropriated this even though they mostly do not pay anyone for the rights to this spot. It has become an understanding between the vendors in that area (Kim, 2013).

**products**

The items that are sold by street vendors range from dry goods to perishable food items. The most commonly sold dry goods include clothing, telephone gadgets and copied music CDs or DVDs. Wet produce refers to food and drinks. It depends on the type of street vendor and the product what level of mobility is required. The vendor who sells household equipment on a cloth aims to stay at one place for at least part of the day, still his appearance is mobile. The vendors who carry around their wares use their mobility to reach as many customers as possible but will have regular stops to rest too. If the product is illegal, for example copied DVD’s, the vendors need to be extremely careful and able to run when necessary. Vendors who occupy a fixed spot usually employ a tent-like structure. Other permanent vendors make use of small semi-formalized kiosks, where they can sell their goods against a low rent. Depending on whether they can store their goods they lock their kiosks when unmanned, or they bring home their wares.

The following schemes are based on observations I did during my two week field research in Jakarta. I realize I did not have sufficient time to research this subject thoroughly, but it gave me an indication of the several appearances of street vendors and their movement.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Products</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Bike        | • drink packs  
              • cigarettes  
              • illegal wares (copied CDs and DVDs) |
| Kereta Dorong | • jugs with water  
                      • soda drinks  
                      • gas bottles  
                      • picking up rubbish and old paper |
| Pikulan     | • chicken skewers  
                      • fried rice with egg  
                      • meatball soup |
| Gerobak     | • chicken skewers  
                      • beef soup  
                      • steamed buns  
                      • drinks  
                      • fruits  
                      • cigarettes |
| Gelaran     | • household equipment  
                      • textile  
                      • gadgets |
| Warung      | • chicken skewers  
                      • beef soup  
                      • steamed buns  
                      • fruit salads  
                      • drinks |
| Kiosk       | • drinks  
                      • cigarettes  
                      • telephone accessories and simcards |

**Fig. 9: Street vendors typologies in relation to mobility, location and products** *(source: author’s diagram)*
Locations

The place where you have the most chance to find street vendors is on the sidewalks. According to Dimas (2009) the Indonesian word for street vendors is even derived from this fact: *Pedagang Kaki Lima*, or PKL, refers to the prescribed width of *lima kaki* (five feet) for the sidewalk along the streets in front of the shops, to ensure a safe and comfortable space for pedestrians. 4

Figure X shows that nowadays the sidewalks are still the most common place to find street vendors. Most of the street vendors prefer the sidewalks and streets as these locations have a high frequency of potential customers. In Jakarta you will also find a lot of street vendors on the roadways, since the slow-driving traffic in the everlasting traffic jams create a similar situation as on the sidewalks: slow-paced traffic. The lack of proper sidewalks also leads to roads where cars have to share the space with street vendors and pedestrians – which leads again to traffic jams.

Many street vendors operate in and around shopping or market areas. The first and most obvious reason is these are frequented by shopping visitors. Another reason is that the employees working in these malls and smaller shops also need food facilities, while they often cannot afford to eat in their own work environment because of the prices, or they might wish a variety of food not offered inside (Appendix). The same accounts for business districts. Not all office buildings have their own canteen and as in Jakarta office workers tend to spend the larger part of their 24 hours’ day at the office and commuting to and fro their suburban homes, easy access to food is important. The street vendors are mostly situated in the back alleys, where traffic is less intense and more potential customers walk.

Transport stations, such as bus and train stations, have a high visitor flow and are therefore interesting for street vendors as well.

![Fig. 10: The location of street vendor's trading activities](source: Dimas, 2008)

![Fig. 11: Types of hawker concentrations](source: McGee, 2002)
Fig. 11: Types of hawker concentrations
(source: McGee, 2002)

Photo x.a and .b:  
**top**: Street vendors occupy the sidewalk and create hazardous situations  
**below**: Street vendors cause indirect congestion as their customers pull over along the road  
(source: author’s photograph)
Markets are spaces for social exchange. The market is, however, more than a social structure alone: the market is also a social space. It is a place where social relations develop. According to Weng (2013) empirical and ethnographic researches reveal that customers enjoy the shopping and social interaction found in most vibrant public markets. The variety of vendors and their products appeal to a broader target audience which in return will be favourable for the vendors.

There are several street markets in Jakarta. Some are traditional markets, for example the fish market. The items sold in the pasar in Jakarta are basically the same: fruit, vegetables, meat and fish, dry goods and household items. The selection of products may vary to better serve the needs of the ethnic or social groups who live in the area. For example in the Glodok area, where many Chinese Indonesians live, there is a higher demand in Chinese spices and electronics. This is mostly connected to cultural preferences. Shopping in supermarkets is popular amongst the middle and upper classes since the prices are generally too high for the poor. Going to the market is not all about groceries shopping.

There are also street markets that appear only on certain days of the week, month or year. For example on Sunday mornings Jakarta’s main road Jalan Thamrin is car free and is transformed in a place where people can walk and cycle freely. On these occasions street vendor’s flock to the designated area to set up shop from 7 AM until 10AM, after which regular traffic will continue. On these occasions around 1,400 street vendors sell on this location and the market attracts visitors from all over the city.

When visiting a traditional market building in Jakarta for the first time, one will be amazed by the amount of people and colourful kiosks, and the seemingly boundless variety of products offered.

PS Pasar Jaya is the vendor organization which supervises and manages various two and three-story permanent public market buildings. The buildings of Pasar Jaya may seem chaotic at first, but after a few visits a certain pattern will be revealed in the arrangement of the booths. On the ground floor of the market you will mostly encounter permanent kiosks with household items and services, electronics, clothing and shoes, textiles, cosmetics and toys for example. Also services as bank services and travel agents are located on the ground floor. The second floor consists of food stalls with meat, fish, fruit, vegetables and dry goods. The meat is sold in separate tiled rooms because of sanitary reasons. Pork is not sold in the market since this is forbidden for Muslims. Usually you will find a shop selling pork close to the market building.

The market buildings often lack controlled climate systems, in contrary with the more expensive shopping malls and supermarkets which are fully air-conditioned. In the hot and humid Indonesian climate this is one of the reasons why peoples who can afford rather to go the more luxurious malls. Outside the pasar you will find a lot of vendors who cannot afford the costs of renting an indoor stall. These street vendors usually sell food or fruits. They are often the target of raids organized by the city government, as they cause congestion on the sidewalks and in traffic.
Appropriation

In public market buildings vendors pay for a spot, but in the streets, where their presence is generally not formalized, this is entirely based on a mutual understanding between vendors. ‘To be able to run their vending businesses street vendors have to claim their right to space in the city’ (Weng, 2013). Even though street vendors do not own these particular spaces, they tend to claim these spots as if they were their own (consuetude) if they are at the same location for a longer period of time. Usually they have built up a certain customer base there. This makes it difficult to relocate this category of street vendors: they feel and factually are connected to the urban public spaces they occupied thus far.

Another form of appropriation is decorating public space to meet the needs of potential customers by placing seats, or putting down a cloth next to their cart as seating space. Even though street vendors are not legitimate owners of these spaces, they proudly present it as their own shop.

Photo x: Street vendor creates his own shop by using a cover, a table and a few plastic chairs
(source: author’s photograph)
Relocating the street vendor

Street vendors are often relocated to public market buildings, as many of these buildings have enough capacity to house them. This process has proven to be challenging, as attracting the vendors’ customary clients in an enclosed environment has proven not to work. In many cases the street vendor developed a vast customer base linked to their vending spot in the street and it is hard to redirect the customers to new locations which are not on the customers’ regular route.

Whether the public market is able to attract customers and generate sales is an important factor in defining the success rate of the street vendor relocation strategy. The change of an open-air market to an indoor environment is a challenge for street vendors as this is a situation they cannot overcome without guidance. Street vendors are used to direct contact with customers and by relocating them to an enclosed environment they are prevented from this crucial action. According to Cross (1988, p.173) ‘The change of vending venue from the street to an off-street public market changes the nature of street vending and requires the relocated street vendors to modify their old way of doing business’. The change Cross refers to not only relates to the change of location from an open-air to an indoor market and the challenges that it brings, but also to the inflexible market management regulations street vendors are not used to. For example contracts, damage insurance, regular operating hours, permit application processes discourage street vendors to participate in this process. Street vendors adapt a more flexible approach as to when and how they use their vending spaces (Morales, 2010; Kim, 2012). Most governments apply a more rigid structure when it comes to policy but also to the form of these particular vending spots when it comes to these relocation processes, which is contradictory to the flexibility of the street vendors. Street markets respond better to this need as they offer short term space. This dynamic system is able to cater to different types of street vendors: regular, occasional, iterant, mobile or seasonal (Dimas, 2008). Unfortunately, most governments focus on allocating fixed spots to street vendors instead of concurring with the flexibility and temporality of the street vendors. In the end, many street vendors find it hard to conform to the static system and in the end return to the streets.

‘Dealing with street vendors is like watching Tom and Jerry. It never seems to end’
- Ahok (Governor of Jakarta)
Photo x:  
**top** - Street vendors cause serious traffic congestion around Tanah Abang station  
**below** - Satpol PP clears out the kiosk around the station  
(source: The Jakarta Post, 2013)
It is illegal to sell goods or carry out business in the streets, green areas, parks and other public places except in the locations determined by the Governor of Jakarta (Yatmo, 2008, p.4). On a daily basis many raids are carried out by Satpol PP, Civil Service Police Unit (The Jakarta Post, 2010). Street vendors are very resilient, so this is a continuing process of Tom and Jerry-like scenarios. The solutions proposed by the government are as yet mostly limited to relocation to public market buildings. Other individual projects, like relocating the street vendors in and around the National Monument Park, mostly depend on the involvement of private companies by funding through the CSR program. A new bylaw was enacted in 2013 to force commercial area owners and developers to allocate 5 percent of their space for street vendors and small-scale enterprises. This way the Jakarta Spatial Planning Agency hopes to reduce the amount of street vendors operating on the sidewalks, and thereby decrease the traffic congestion. The widening gap between big businesses and small-scale enterprises would decrease and the traffic flow improve especially during daytime, when office workers would be able to have their lunch on walking distance from their office. However, urban analyst Nirwono Yoga asserts that the city will need to issue regulations in which street vendors should be relocated to the designated areas. If not, there is a risk of more people migrating to the city to find a trading location in the commercial areas, and the problem will persist. According to him, ‘the city administration should identify commercial areas that have to accommodate street vendors and small-scale enterprises and allocate their spot to avoid any disturbance, especially in office buildings and compounds’ (The Jakarta Post, 2013). Sanctions vary from written warnings, fines and jail sentences if this law

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model A</th>
<th>Model B</th>
<th>Model C</th>
<th>Model D</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>locational</strong></td>
<td><strong>structural</strong></td>
<td><strong>educational</strong></td>
<td><strong>educational</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allow hawkers to sell legally from whichever location they desire</td>
<td>Encourage hawkers by: a) offering government loans; b) providing inducements to enter hawking profession e.g. exempting from military service if individual becomes a hawker; c) taking no legal action against hawkers for employing children on stalls; d) allowing existing marketing chains to remain; e) making large firms distribute commodities through hawkers outlets</td>
<td>Encourage hawkers by: a) typifying them as examples of successful entrepreneurs; b) educating public to utilize service of hawkers; c) encouraging philosophy of education that emphasizes experience as against schooling</td>
<td>Discourage hawkers through: a) high license fees; b) making hawking punishable by many legal restrictions; c) offering high salaries to hawker enforcement agencies’ employees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allow hawkers to sell legally from some locations but remove others to public markets or approved “sites”</td>
<td>Limited encouragement of hawkers by small-scale operation of measures put forward in Model A</td>
<td>Limited encouragement by small-scale operation of measures put forward in Model A</td>
<td>Limited discouragement by small-scale operation of measures put forward in Model D</td>
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<tr>
<td>Relocate hawkers in locations chosen by government authorities</td>
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<td>Limited discouragement of hawkers by small-scale operation of measures put forward in Model D</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clear hawkers from all locations in city and do not allow them to sell within the city</td>
<td></td>
<td>Discourage hawkers through: a) emphasizing immorality of hawking; b) stressing the possibilities of corruption, petty crime that exists in hawking; c) stressing the dangers of hawkers from the point of view of hygiene etc.</td>
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**Fig. 12: Model of policy approaches towards hawkers**
Financial strategy

To fund relocation processes, build new stalls or facilities, funding is necessary. Relocation processes in Jakarta are often funded with the help of the Corporate Social Responsibility programs (CSR). An example of a street market developed with the help of the CSR program is the Kawasan Kuliner BSM in Jalan Kampung Lima, in Central Jakarta. Bank Mandiri funded the stalls for the food vendors, the tables and chairs – street vendors can rent a stall for a low fee. Not all office buildings have canteens, so employees have to find a place to eat outside. Because of the never-ending traffic jams employees prefer to have nearby places to eat. Bank Mandiri hit two birds in one stone, by complying with their social responsibility they created food facilities for their employees at the same time. The management of this street market is done by the street vendor organization.

Education & Hygiene

It is always a bit of a gamble to estimate how eating street food will affect one’s health. Street vendors do not always work with sufficient sanitary standards and some even use hazardous ingredients in the food. A recent survey by the Governor of Jakarta shows that 35% of the street vendors serve food containing dangerous chemicals. Because the majority of the street vendors in Jakarta is unregulated it is hard to control the quality of the food. The government tries to get in control of this situation by registering these food vendors so it can make sure they operate according to health and safety regulations. Handing out licenses and revoking them if they don’t comply with the regulations might not be the ultimate solution in the informal sector, but what may be achieved is at least that street vendors will be informed about the risks and get the opportunity to act accordingly and adding quality to their businesses.
Relocating to a public building: Blok G, Tanah Abang

Tanah Abang is a district well known for its textile industry. It is situated in Jakarta Pusat (Central Jakarta). Around the station of Tanah Abang the streets are full of vendors as it is a perfect selling spot because of the continuous stream of commuters. The street vendors are aware of the regulations and know that they are not allowed to sell on the streets, but the benefits outweigh the costs. Most street vendors risk being halted by the city officials and just make sure they can pack and run anytime.

In 2012 the city government took serious action by sweeping the surroundings and relocating all the street vendors to the nearby 3-story public market building, ‘Blok G’. Over 700 kiosks were demolished in order to reduce traffic congestion and curb gang-related protection rackets. In the Blok G building there are 986 available spots of which 931 were already registered as occupied. Compensation for the change in situation is offered in the form of free rent for the first six months.

The street vendors, however, are flocking back to the streets. The new location is off-route and attracting customers is hard. The street vendors in Blok G mainly depend on the commuters, being relocated to the public market building they lose this customer base. The city government attempts to partially solve this problem by building a footbridge from Blok G to Blok F, an area frequented by shopping visitors. Time will tell if this solves the problem of the customer flow. For some of the street vendors this new situation is not worth waiting for. Clothes seller Dadang returned to the streets quickly: ‘Sales are better here. A lot of train passengers leaving the station stop by here, while other customers don’t have to bother to go inside the market’ (The Jakarta Post, 2015). The visitors only reach the first, sometimes the second floor and often do not even enter the third floor. Street vendor Andi who sells clothes on the third floor mentions his sales dropped drastically as he would make 500,000 to one million Rupiah per day when he used to vend on the streets, compared to zero nowadays. After 3 months he only sold 8 pieces of clothing.

Success or failure?

This relocation process cannot be considered successful. Close to 1000 street vendors were relocated to this public market building. It is not surprising that there are not enough customers: 1) the location is not ideal without any physical connection to current pedestrian traffic flows; 2) the spatial setup and homogenous product and price range only appeal to a specific target group; 3) if the building would attract visitors, the amount of visitors would have to be enormous and continue to make the relocation worth the trouble for all these street vendors. And lastly, because of the location and the spatial setup, Blok G only appeals to a target group with a relatively low income.
Relocating to a new street-market: Kawasan Kuliner, Jalan Kampung Lima

Jalan Kampung Lima is an alleyway in the Central Business District (Jakarta Pusat) with mainly high-rise along Jalan Thamrin. This district houses office buildings and exclusive shopping centres. Along Jalan Thamrin only a few street vendors sell on the sidewalks. Even though these sidewalks are the widest and best maintained in the city, most people prefer to walk in the adjoining streets and back alleys instead, to avoid the heavy car traffic and fumes of the main road. As a result, many street vendors choose to sell their goods in the adjoining streets as well. The customers mainly consist of employees from the malls and offices in the immediate neighbourhood. There is a high demand for food facilities and the street vendors merely answer to this need. The peak hours of activity are at the beginning of the day when the working day starts, around lunch and around dinner time.

After dinner most people either go home or continue their evening out in other places. The street vendors adapt to this daily rhythm and since the breakfast, lunch and dinner period also is the time traffic intensity is highest, the street vendors contribute to the congestion.

This relocation process was financed by the CSR program of Bank Mandiri. The Bank decided to solve two problems by relocation of the street vendors from the proximate streets to the alleyway next to the bank and being provided with a street food market for their employees in return. This alleyway is only accessible for pedestrians, which improves the comfort for the customers and vendors. Bank Mandiri provided food stalls, sanitary facilities (such as toilets and washbasins), tables and chairs. Next to the alley a parking lot is situated, which also offers space for garbage disposal and storage. There are two shifts of street vendors, from 6am to 6pm and from 6pm to 6am, although the night shifts were not active during my research. The street vendors only sell during weekdays from morning until evening, with peak hours during lunch and dinner. The spatial layout is simple and easy to apprehend. One side is flanked by a variety of food vendors with a canopy over the seating area. On the other side there are vendors selling dry goods, such as clothing, gadgets and telephone utilities. On the ends there are sanitary facilities and an information point for vendors and customers.

Success or failure?

This relocation can be defined as a success in terms of a small-scale relocation project. The customer base mainly consists of office workers, which makes the street market very successful during the day. When visiting I noticed that the vendors only operate during the day.

Why the evening shifts are not functioning is not entirely clear. It could be explained by the fact that the nightlife in this area is not as pronounced as it is in other parts of the city, due to the location in the business district. The target group therefore is mainly active during the day and in the night the street market transforms into an abandoned alley. The scale of the street market is quite small, which makes it relatively easy to create an orderly and functioning environment. The setup works in this situation and could be applied in other similar situations. It should be mentioned that the risk exists of an alley turning into a shady and dangerous street at night. This risk could be less in a multifunctional environment.
Relocating to a parking lot: Lenggang Jakarta Food Court & Souvenir Centre, Monas

From the 18th century Medan Merdeka square (former: Koningsplein) played a political role in the capital of Indonesia. In 1961 the then-President Soekarno started with the construction of the national monument, which was finalised 14 years later. Currently the square is still surrounded by governmental buildings. The square and the monument – Monas Park – serve as a point of attraction to Indonesians as well as for foreign tourists. Many street vendors set up shop as there are many visitors during the week, but especially during weekends. During weekends the amount of illegal vendors reaches up to 7,000 (The Jakarta Post, 2014). The 80-hectare park and the surrounding parking lot and sidewalks are difficult to control because of their dimensions. Street vendors sell everywhere, on the sidewalks, on the parking lot and in the park.

Because they caused disruption and pollution, the City Administration decided to take action and remove the street vendors from Medan Merdeka, after which they constructed a commercial area for (a part of) these vendors. The Lenggang Jakarta Food Court and Souvenir Center is built on the parking lot of the Monas Park in Central Jakarta. To ensure a good traffic flow the entrance to the National Monument Park was moved to the food court, while the other entries were closed down. Lenggang Food Court & Souvenir Center houses over 300 street vendors: 126 food vendors, 176 non-food merchants who sell souvenirs, t-shirts, accessories, shoes and toys – in total 339 kiosks. Each kiosk has 7 m² space and is equipped with a sink as well as built-in tables and cabinets. The vendors are trained in cooking, manners, health & sanitation, financial literacy as well as entrepreneurship. The kiosks are funded through the CSR program: several companies have contributed to this project. Bank Mandiri collaborated on the payment system: payments from customer to vendor, but also from vendor to management and v.v., is done electronically by means of a pay card. By controlling the money flow the organisation hopes to prevent corruption and organized crime interference. Street vendors only have to pay a daily 4,000 RP fee for clearing. There is a flexible system where street vendors also can chose to sell during certain evenings or days. For example, some combine working during the day at Blok G and vending at Monas in the evening.

Success or failure?

The Lenggang Food Court & Souvenir Centre is a very recent project, it would be premature to conclude if the concept truly works or not. Opposed to the former two case studies, this project was extended to consider money flows, safety and education, and assign these aspects an important role in the project. Although the target group mainly consists of tourists, the spatial layout and the extended opening times in the weekends also invite ‘regular guests’ to go here to eat or hang out. The size of the project, with more than 300 vendors, makes it an interesting case to keep in mind when thinking about concepts that can be introduced in other situations. However, the number of street vendors in the area far exceeds the number of vendors that can be accommodated at this location. With the success of Lenggang Jakarta the amount of street vendors would not necessarily decrease, as this location would be even more attractive to set up shop.
Concluding

Street vendors are characterized by their mobility and temporality. In Jakarta most of the street vendors come from outside Jakarta, often with little to no education and no financial base. Because they have no rights when it comes to claiming unregulated public space, their economic capacity is low and they form a vulnerable group. Mobility is necessary as they go where their customers are and they, at times, have to run to avoid conflicts with the police. The city government attempts to control street vendors by giving out permits, controlling the urban public space by designating special vending zones or relocating the street vendors. Through raids street vendors are temporarily removed from risk areas, but they often return because their livelihood is directly connected to their customers.

Until now the relocation processes mostly concern relocation to public building markets or in some cases relocating to open spaces and funding of vending carts. Relocation processes require funding, which in Jakarta is mostly possible through financial support through the CSR program. The relocation processes often do not work out because of the following reasons: the change of vending venue from the street to an off-street public market, but also the rigid structure the government applies in regulations and allocation of vending spots is quite contrary to the very nature of street vending. Only when these conditions are taken into account, relocation processes can be successful.

- Informality and formality = challenge;
- Providing basic facilities is key to improve hygiene;
- Educational institution encourages street vendors to offer more quality and grow as a sustainable business;
- Street vendors come in different shapes and sizes;
- Variety of vendors, products and program attracts a broader audience;
- Customers enjoy the shopping and social interaction found in most vibrant public markets;
- Size of the market, setup, variety in products and price range matter for the target group that it will attract;
- Design principles of structures and architecture should be flexible to accommodate the many the vendors which sell different products and have different spatial needs;
- Flexibility and temporality for street vendors should be integrated in the design concept.

There is not one clear solution when seeking to accommodate street vendors. A change in attitude is important when thinking about integrating street vendors and architecture in the existing urban fabric.
2. Empirical research - User stories

To elaborate further on the insights of users of the public space, in which the street vendor is integrated, interviews with several users have taken place in which they shared their stories. The information from these interviews has resulted in the creation of the five following fictive characters to provide a broader understanding of the user-based situation: the street vendor, the city official, the bank employee, the businessman and the student.

Street vendor: Sriyusiat

Ibu Sriyusiat is 40 years old and sells soup together with her sister. They live with their whole family together in one house, in a kampung in the inner-city. They start cooking at 3AM in the morning to prepare the coconut milk at home. After this they gather their things and take off to their usual vending spot, in the central business district of Jakarta. Customers start coming at 6AM until 10AM for breakfast and again at lunchtime from around 12PM until late afternoon. Most of their customers work in the offices in that area. They have a tent construction with some chairs and tables. This place is not officially theirs, but because they do not cause inconvenience, located in the back alley of offices and serving the people in that area, they have an agreement.

Sriyusiat tells she thinks it is difficult to make money in the village if you are just an employee. You start off with a very low salary and grow slow. If you are an entrepreneur you are able to expand your business. With the earnings Sriyusiat was able to send her eight children to school.

Wishes

- Customers: close contact with potential customers – close contact means more opportunities to sell the products, lower risk and potentially bigger profit. This precondition affects the street vendor directly and therefore is the first concern.
- Stability: a place where she can conduct his business legally
- Safety: the feeling of safety in the broadest sense, for her and for her customers
- Comfortable climate: mainly protection from sun and rain
- Facilities: access to clean water, electricity, sanitary facilities and sufficient garbage disposal
Bank employee: Desi

Desi is 26 years old and works as a secretary at Bank Mandiri in the Central Business district of Jakarta. She lives in the West of Jakarta in a cosy apartment together with her husband. She likes her job because it pays enough to be able to live a comfortable life. She goes to work on her motorbike. There is an everlasting traffic jam but with her motorbike she can zigzag through the cars. For lunch she often goes to the nearby Jalan Kampung Lima just around the corner. Here she can eat street food for an affordable price while sitting in the shade. After work she meets with her husband or friends to eat in a small roadside restaurant or one of the many food courts. She likes to eat Indonesian food. In the weekend she sometimes goes to see a movie in the cinema in one of the malls.

Wishes
- Approximate facilities: since traveling costs too much time
- Better infrastructure
- Safety: especially after 6PM when it is dark, at places where there is no overview, there is a feeling of unsafety
- Clean and maintained sidewalks
- Affordable food facilities

Student: Helda

Helda is 25 and currently lives with her family. She is about to graduate in Maritime Science at Universitas Indonesia, a major university in the Jakarta region. During the week she is busy with her studies and socialising with (college) friends, and sometimes she meets them for dinner or drinks before heading back home. Helda often travels by taksi, or gets picked up by her friends. Sometimes she takes an ojek to the train station and takes the train to the university instead. When she feels hungry for a snack she stops at a decent looking street vendor and gets her favourite pempek (fishcake).

During the weekends she meets with friends in malls or at cafés and restaurants during night time. She mainly goes out in the Kemang area, because of the many restaurants and clubs. It is easy to meet there with friends at one restaurant and drive or walk together a few blocks for some drinks or clubbing. Sometimes after a night out she goes to a dim sum restaurant with her friends, which is open 24/7.

Wishes
- Transportation network: traveling will take way less time
- Clean and maintained sidewalks
- Many and a variety of facilities in the near area: food, shopping, entertainment
- Affordable food facilities
- Shelter from the sun in public spaces
Pak Widi is 56 and has a high-ranking job in the government. He lives in the North of Jakarta in a spacious home he designed with his wife, in an enclosed residential enclave. He drives his own car because he loves sitting behind the wheel himself, but his second car with his driver is at home to be available to drive the family everywhere, anytime. To get to his work in South Jakarta from his home could take ‘only’ 38 minutes if there was no traffic, but often it takes almost two hours in slow driving traffic. For lunch and meetings he can be found in quality restaurants, at coffee places at the mall. He does not like to walk outside because of dust, smell and the hot and humid climate, so he takes the car instead. Usually he carpools for lunches with his colleagues. Sometimes when he will be home late and still is hungry, he stops on the way to get soup at his favourite street vendor.

Wishes
• Efficient and comfortable transportation
• Comfortable climate: protection from sun, rain and dust
• Prefers to be indoors because of the climate
• Many and a variety of facilities: food, shopping, entertainment
• Does not like to walk outside because the facilities are bad and it is hot, humid and dusty;
• Safety: avoids shady neighbourhoods or being outside after dark if not necessary

Pak Harry is 58 years old and lives in a spacious house in an expensive neighbourhood together with his wife and youngest of three daughters. His other daughters are already graduated from university, married and live with their husbands. Harry has a high-ranking job in a multinational company. His company is based in Jakarta, but he often has to travel to other cities or countries. His driver lives at his place in a separate apartment and is at his service at all times. Harry gives his driver pocket money to buy food or cigarettes when he has to wait for him. For lunch and meetings he can be found in quality restaurants, or at coffee places at the mall. He likes the cool and clean environment. He does not like to walk outside because of dust, smell and the hot and humid climate, so he goes by car instead.

Wishes
• Clean streets
• Efficient and comfortable transportation: travels by taksi or private car
• Comfortable climate: protection from sun, rain and dust
• Prefers to be indoors because of the climate
• Many and a variety of facilities: food, shopping, entertainment
• Safety
3. Needs and problems

From this empirical study a few conclusions can be drawn that apply to all personas:

- Regardless of one’s socio-economic status, street vendors play an important role in the society;
- Because of the hot and humid climate people seek shelter to a greater or a lesser extent;
- The public transportation network does not suffice and results in increased car usage and use of other motorized vehicles;
- Since the infrastructural network does not suffice people prefer to go to places with a lot of facilities (malls or Kemang area for example) to save time on traveling and hang out.

These conclusions serve as input for the following formulated ‘needs’:

- Improvement of public space network and infrastructure;
- Improving the physical conditions of the streets: paved walkways, benches, and shading among others;
- Preservation and revitalization of the concerning neighbourhoods;
- Improving variety of facilities in dense area;
- Introducing facilities for daily needs;
- Improving social cohesion.
PART III - INTRODUCING SARINAH
Photo x: Sarinah in 1960
(source: www.sarinah.co.id)
Sarinah in 2008
(source: www.sayangi.com)
For my architectural project I have chosen a site in the previously described Central Jakarta area, more specifically an area in the Central Business District along the main road Jalan Thamrin.

The Sarinah area is located along Jalan Thamrin, Jakarta’s main road connecting the old city centre in the north to the newer business districts in the South. Jalan Thamrin is located in the Central Business District where banks, governmental buildings and service-related offices rule the sky, but when driving through the streets kampung-like cultivation and street vendors flank the roads. It is remarkable that there are more pedestrians here, on a badly maintained sidewalk, than on the 3 meter wide pedestrian boulevard along the main road.

There are offices on the north, west and south side and small scale enterprises on the east side. This area is located in the sub-district Menteng where affluent Europeans resided during the Dutch Administration. The buildings along Jalan Thamrin were developed mainly after Indonesia was declared independent. Sarinah is located on the border between these two areas with different scales, a transition of high to low-rise.

This area is marked by mainly three functions, which are working, shopping and eating. The people working in the business district do not have enough food facilities. Where in some other countries people would bring their lunch, in Indonesia people tend to eat a hot meal outside for lunch and dinner. The fact that getting from point A to point B takes a lot of time, especially during peak hours around lunch and dinner time, forces people to look for food in walking distance from the office. The psychological walking distance in Jakarta can be derived from the hot and humid climate, available shade and the possibility to walk, which results in a maximum distance of one kilometre. From that distance people tend to use motorized transportation.

I chose this location because I believe that it has the potential to be transformed from an outdated mall surrounded by parking space, into a valuable public space with program that attracts and connects different groups of people reaching common ground and sharing their love for food. This open air mall with a street food market could service the adjacent area, but could very well serve as an attraction point in itself as well.

Sarinah was intentionally built for the middle class in the 1960s, as a department store for the people, the first in Indonesia. Sarinah was built in the time when the macro-economic condition in Indonesia was at a low point. It was expected to serve as a stimulator, mediator and as a means for distributing goods to the general public. Sarinah’s task was to stabilize the economy and be a pioneer in the development of the retail sector. Nowadays the area attracts many different kinds of visitors, mainly because of the many facilities in the area. The department store still has its regular customers, but has lost the grandeur and innovation it possessed fifty years ago. Sarinah has reached its maximum potential in this form and is in need of change.
Cars cause spatial disconnection and kill the public space - parking lot around Sarinah

Jalan Thamrin acts as a spatial barrier
Urban facilities

There is a substantial amount of urban facilities in this area, especially restaurants and hotels. However, the demand for more food facilities is high. Because of the high density of offices in the area and the fact that because of the hot and humid climate the distance to these facilities should preferably be as short as possible. This area also attracts people from the rest of Jakarta and even other cities since there is the National Monument a few hundred metres towards the north, and a few of Jakarta’s bigger malls towards the South of Sarinah. Jalan Thamrin is the road connecting these attraction points.
In this area there are a lot of street vendors as the demand for food is high in this business district. The street vendors often adapt their schedule to the working day and make sure they have a spot in the morning, around lunch and in the evening, mostly during the working week. Street vendors are where people are and since the most people walk in the less crowded and narrower secondary streets, most of the street vendors can be found here. Other desired locations are the crossroads and the areas around bus stops for example. Mapping was difficult as the distances where quite big and street vendors changed location regularly.
Sarinah is located in between the 1960s main road Jalan Thamrin and the former European residential area Menteng. The street patterns therefore vary from a wide main road with a boulevard and high-rise to a residential street pattern with low-rise. Much of these initial residences have transformed in the past few decades into small-scale enterprises and some still serve as luxury and spacious housing. In time the sight and experience of these streets have changed: many structures have been added into the streets and these are often perceived as messy and chaotic. Together with the increasing traffic and the poorly maintained sidewalks, the people are discouraged to walk.
Spatial segregation

Jalan Thamrin causes spatial segregation. The 7-lane road forms a barrier, even though pedestrians can cross this road by walking along the pedestrian footbridge. Along Jalan Thamrin there are high rise offices and malls. On the other side of this office area one will mostly find low-rise with small businesses and residential areas. Sarinah is located on a spot where these different spatial typologies and scales meet.
PART IV - INTEGRATING STREET VENDORS INTO JAKARTA’S ARCHITECTURE
1. **Problem Statement**

1. Street vendors have for the major part not been formally integrated into the city and are therefore the cause of disruption;
2. The infrastructural network in JMR cannot handle the amount of private cars;
3. Cars kill the public space;
4. Jakarta is not pedestrian-friendly;
5. The demand for food facilities exceeds the supply, especially in business districts.

2. **Concept**

Improve spatial, social and economic integration on a local scale by implementing a multifunctional program where street vendors are integrated into a pedestrian-friendly environment. The design strategy has to be fit to adapt to the changing needs. The design proposal is designed specifically for the Sarinah area. However the underlying sentiment is that the generic principles of the concept and design can be applied to other strategic areas in which the effect could multiply into a network of places where peoples can walk, eat, shop and socialize.

3. **Ambitions**

My general strategy is based on the interrelation of the following intervention strategies: integration, accessibility and facilities.

**Integration & visibility**

Instead of using a public market building structure this design will propose a multifunctional building with an open structure, which serves and (re)connects multiple target groups with different socio-economic backgrounds. The design offers space to street vendors, as well as for more expensive shops and restaurants. By integrating the borders of the public and semi-public surroundings with the building envelope, negative spaces in the plinth are carved out providing the street vendors with new typologies of vending spaces.

**Accessibility**

Sarinah is located along the main road Jalan Thamrin and thereby connected to the TransJakarta busway. Being that busses are an important transportation method in Jakarta, a solution for connecting the design area with the transit station will be taken into account in this project.

The new plan for Sarinah will be open and accessible, opposed to all the air-conditioned and closed exclusive malls, blurring the lines between an indoor and outdoor experience. The goal of the design is to be accessible from all four streets, but overall accessibility can be confusing for the orientation of the site. To strengthen the visual communication of the project site, a passageway from the north-south side and the east-west side, will form the centre of gravity of the design.

**Facilities**

Street vendors are often associated with unsanitary environments and risky food (salmonella or use of hazardous ingredients). A platform will be developed for street vendors where they can get proper guidance and education on health and (re)gain trust from their customers. Availability of facilities also supports a clean and healthy environment.

4. **Development goals**

- Providing space for street vendors
- Diverse program to attract and serve different users of several social classes
- Improve public safety on-site and in the surrounding area
- Intensification of the experience of public realm
- Improving accessibility and walkability on local scale

5. **Impacts and risks**

**Impacts:**

1. Sustainable development of the streetscape
2. Improved pedestrian facilities
3. Improved social and economic exchange
4. Improved knowledge and skills

**Risks:**

1. Top-down approach can result in resistance or no acceptance of community
2. Social integration might not be desired
3. Spatial interventions are intertwined with economic and social strategies
4. Several actors should be involved in this process
5. Street vendors are stigmatised and may form an obstacle for investment
6. Program

Generic
• proposing an open multifunctional building structure where the needs of different users are met
• avoiding a homogenous program for a specific group
• triggering a new type of community engagement
• room for socio-cultural exchange
• considering the traffic flows, creating space for pedestrians, meeting
• open building: accessible to and attracting multiple users
• using zoning for creating order in public space and reducing hindrance

Site specific
The site specific program answers to the needs of the inhabitants and users of the Sarinah district. The Sarinah mall, offices and parking on this lot will be replaced by multifunctional buildings containing commercial facilities, office and residences for a 24h visitor flow. The multifunctional program attracts multiple users from different social classes, but mainly evolves around the Indonesian culture and food.

The site is pedestrian-friendly and free from motorized traffic. The main pedestrian routes are moved from the borders of the lot to the centre, in order to avoid the highly used roads and the dust and gasses and to create safe and sheltered surroundings. By implementing an open building structure passers-by can easily access on different points and reside, or use it as a route.

The central square serves as a multidimensional space which transforms throughout the week. During the week this space can be occupied by street vendors where they sell their goods mainly to the working people, whereas in the weekends the square can be used as a street market, a festival area or an open-air theatre. The public space lights up in the evening, creating a vibrant and welcoming atmosphere which contributes to the feeling of safety and oversight.

By creating open spaces in between the buildings, there is room for meeting, interaction and exchange. Food forms the core of the design on several levels. Main areas evolve around food, the common denominator.
7. Design concept

Accessibility

By making the location pedestrian friendly and creating public space instead of an extensive parking lot the area becomes more accessible. The car parking is moved to the basement level. The building structure is, in contradiction with the majority of modern malls in Jakarta, open and permeable. People can access on different points. The open building structure is more accessible to a broader audience and the psychological threshold to enter is decreased.

The passageway has a dual function as a square and forms the main location of the street vendors. To provide the street vendors with an accessible and attractive space the square should be on a lower level. From all the stories there is a visual connections with the square. The different vertical layers of the program are connected by elevators, escalators and stairs.

Zoning

Zoning is way to create order in a complex environment. This design offers space for street vendors on different levels. By ways of zoning the specific vending areas will be indicated. In the public space in the design this will be realised by placing canopies with facilities for the flexible vending spots.

Also in the border area, zoning is an effective tool when it comes to the allocation of space related to traffic flows. By assigning vending spots, but also ‘stop spots’ for traffic, ‘walking’ and ‘residing’ by using materialisation or other tools, there is an order in the traffic flows and the hindrance will be minimized.
Layering

By vertical layering the different elements of the program can be organized in such a way that it answers to the needs of the various visitors. The several visitors of this site have the possibility to meet and interact, but are not forced to.

For example:

The businessman would park his car at -2, take the elevator up to his office, would go down for lunch or for a meeting, would drop by the supermarket before heading home.

The employee from the neighborhood would walk one block to this place, access the central square through the escalator and eat at the street food court for lunch.

The student would get here by bus, meet up for friends at the Starbucks and hop in and out a few stores. After that she will go for karaoke upstairs or just hang around and have a bite to eat at the square.

The street vendor would set up his shop at 6AM and vend throughout the day. The customers range from office workers to people living in the area and tourists. At 6PM he will clean up his place and return home, to prepare for the next day.

The tourist will access the square and first check out the square. After walking along the various stalls and making pictures of the square he will go up to check out the shops and have dinner at a Western restaurant on the third floor, overlooking Jalan Thamrin.
Flexibility

To answer to the dynamic character of the street vendors there is a variety in spaces available for street vending. Places for street vendors are on the lower floor. There are fixed vending spots, and flex spots:

The grid of the formal structure is based on 8x8 meter, based on the street vending dimensions: In this main structure there are fixed vending spots with facilities for food vendors in the plinth and flexible units which can be 2 meter or 4 meter wide by using a flexible wall construction. The 2 meter size is derived from the size of mobile vendors. Street vendors can rent these stalls for a week.

On the square and on the borders of the location there are flex spots. These spots are defined by canopies that provide shelter against sun and rain and have electricity points for flexible vendors. Street vendors can rent these spots for a day (6AM-6PM) or for a night (6PM-6AM).

For all the vending spots a small fee should be paid, fee for cleaning and service. For the fixed vending spots there is an additional fee for upkeep of the facilities and building.

Facilitating

Facilitating the street vendors is important to ensure quality: 1) by providing shelter from the sun and rain both street vendor and customer benefit; 2) by providing enough garbage disposal the environment can stay clear from rubbish; 3) by providing running and safe water health risks decrease substantially as this is often used in food & drinks and used for washing the dishes; 4) by providing sanitary facilities. These facilities are integrated in the plinth, for all street vendors to be used. In the plinth also the fixed vending spots for food vendors are integrated. By integrating the facilities and the service area in the formal structure, the central square can remain a spacious place.

Urban acupuncture

This design should be a start of a ripple effect. By focusing on specific sites which are connected to the current public transportation network, walkability and integration of street vendors can be improved locally, but it effect reaches further. Using public transportation would be encouraged as the point of destination would appeal to a broad target group and also have the additional quality of public space. Sarinah is in my proposal the starting point, but it could be very well any other location along the existing public network arteries. By means of urban acupuncture this concept could spread.
Conclusions

In the first chapter I started with the following hypothesis:

In the existing situation of the central business district of Jakarta left-over and public spaces mostly evolve around car-users. However, by purposefully integrating car-use in architecture public space can be intelligently designed to incorporate street vendors.

By accommodating and integrating street vendors into the built environment of Jakarta’s Central Business district, formal and informal systems can complement each other. Deliberate design solutions can create conditions for socio-economic integration and exchange of knowledge by implementing a multifunctional hybrid program allowing a diverse group of users to interact.

My research gave me valuable insights in what could and probably would not work when integrating street vendors into architecture, but also in systems. In the design concept drawings mostly ingredients are proposed to support the hypothesis. At this moment it is still hard to tell if the eventual design will succeed in doing this, as the use and the reaction of people regarding the project would be the ultimate factor deciding whether this project is going to be successful or not.

By criticizing the current mind-set on urban informality and street vendors and integrating and facilitating them in architecture by creating new and accessible space, I have tried to enable and give space to new and different forms of social interaction, which may improve social cohesion and cultural exchange. By proposing zoning and layering I leave space for the users to define their own story within this design, not to impose but rather to entice people to walk around and discover. Still, the flexibility of the grid will be able to support changing program in time as the city and the needs of the users will change.

In this research and design process I find I was looking for my role as an architect. In this process, the role of the architect I see as a catalyst, a person who sees the potential of change and initiates spatial and social processes. Instead of trying to structure the informal through the architectural production, the architect should give space for change and transformation, dependent on the users.
For a long time it was hard to estimate the amount of people living in the Jakarta Metropolitan Region. Nowadays, with the help of aerial photographs the most recent population size could be estimated.

The Rupiah depreciated from approximately 2,500 Rupiah per US$1 in 1995 to approximately 10,000 Rupiah per US$1 in May 1998.

As this prescription is at present neither commonly known nor commonly maintained, the term is also incorrectly (folk-etymologically) explained as referring to the 2 legs plus 3 wheels of the combination vendor + cart, and thus sometimes exclusively used for those mobile street vendors pushing about carts.

The weekly markets originated in VOC times, when after Dutch example local market rights were tied to certain days of the week. Although this system was never successfully imposed on native society outside Batavia’s city walls and was quickly relinquished after the Kingdom of the Netherlands took over colonial rule from the bankrupted East India Company, the names of the week markets are still echoed by urban district names like Pasar Minggu (‘Sunday Market’), Pasar Senen (‘Monday Market’) and Pasar Rebo (‘Wednesday Market’).

The CSR program refers to Corporate Social Responsibility: this will be explained in the next chapter.

Corporate social responsibility (CSR) refers to a business practice that involves participating in initiatives that benefit society.


According to an article on Viva News – see more at http://m.news.viva.co.id/news/read/460113-pedagang-tiga-bulan-di-blok-g-tanah-abang-hanya-8-baju-terjual

4,000 RP is close to 30 eurocents

I concluded this from various talks with different kinds of people. This is not marked as a fact but concluded from empirical research.

With ‘the possibility to walk’, the availability of sidewalks, but also the condition and obstructions are described.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


