

**AN INDONESIAN MARKETPLACE IN TRANSITION:
THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF VENDING SPACE**

By

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ABSTRACT

AN INDONESIAN MARKETPLACE IN TRANSITION: THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF VENDING SPACE

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Under the supervision of Professor Alfonso Morales

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Looking closely at everyday practices within Indonesian *pasars*, a term for public markets, this dissertation examines the social production and construction of vending space in a marketplace. I examine how the market is and relates to the idea of public space. Starting from the premise that public spaces are relational processes integrating place and people, I describe vending space acquisition and allocation processes and how they are transformed, contested, and negotiated through the discourse of marketplace development and everyday interactions of local urban actors.

The first body chapter focuses on a philosophical, historical, and etymological analysis of the term *pasar* with an emphasis on establishing the tradition of *pasar* within the Indonesian context. The second body chapter focuses on the social construction of space when a marketplace is physically moved during a revitalization project. The third body chapter centers on the reconstruction of the social space of *Pasar Bulu*, through the market space allocation process returning from the temporary space to the reconstructed market.

Participant observation and ethnographic methods were used during the fieldwork in *Pasar Bulu*, an urban marketplace in Semarang, Central Java, Indonesia, which underwent a major revitalization project. Data were also collected at other markets in Java. By using interactionist approaches and the lenses of legal pluralism and spatial justice, I reveal the complex social construction of space, present in the struggles experienced by market vendors in relation to the state actors who were responsible for managing the market. The case studies of actors in the market, alongside the historical and philosophical discourses of *pasar*, promise improved marketplace planning processes in Indonesia. The understanding of *pasar* as a public space affirms the indigenous Indonesian marketplace tradition.

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Born in Indonesia, I was raised and built my childhood memories by living in a neighborhood cluster of three cities—a traditional heritage city of Yogyakarta, a big port city of Surabaya, and the artsy colonial city of Bandung—and witnessing how public space shapes community in our neighborhoods. It was my dad, who introduced me to one key site of public spaces, which is *pasar*, the Indonesian marketplace. It has been a meaningful experience to study *pasar* for my doctoral research. My previous short field visits to several important grand markets in Indonesia produced my curiosity to experience public markets from other countries: *Tsukiji* in Tokyo, *Nishiki* in Osaka, *Namdaemun* and *Dongdaemun* in Seoul, *Grand Bazaar* in Istanbul, *Ben Than* in Ho Chi Minh, as well as various markets in Shanghai-China, Taipei-Taiwan, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur-Malaysia, and Dili-Timor Leste. Adding to that, I enjoyed visiting several public markets in the U.S.: Chicago's Maxwell's Street, Philadelphia's Reading Terminal, Cleveland's West Side, as well as farmers' markets in Madison, Chicago, and New York.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Motivation of the Study

“[E]very town, wherever it may be, must primarily be a market. Without a market, a town is inconceivable.” (Braudel, 1992, p. 501)

The marketplace as spaces of economic exchange and socio-cultural growth is first and foremost narratives of urban history that have long been taken for granted. Historically, the marketplace appears along trading trails in the Fertile Crescent as well as in the civic space of the ancient Greek agoras and the forum of imperial Rome. Marketplaces were not only important cultural artifacts in cradling early civilizations and indigenous lifeways through trading activities, but also provided an important social place—a public space—for the community.

Only in the last century have scholars of the built environment, as well as urban design and planning, sought to expand their understanding of marketplaces in the larger socio-spatial relational context. They examine built environment and spatial forms to make sense of **the social production of space** and **the social construction of space** involving society’s institution, its history, and place-making process within local context and ongoing global exposures (Low 1996; 2000; 2006; Ledesma & Giusti, 2021). The idea of the marketplace takes many forms. The marketplace as a stage where collective living is performed and shared among its members, or as a place where various social ordering processes, socio-cultural, spatial, and legal, coexist is interesting. When the marketplace becomes a site that is contested and negotiated within different socio-cultural values of the community, is when a marketplace becomes a civic place. Comprehending this, Tangires (2003) notes:

“More than just public spaces for buying and selling food, public markets were civic spaces—the common ground where citizens and government struggled to define the shared values of the community. The public market is society’s conscience—the place where we can evaluate our success or failure at organizing urban life (p. vi).”

This passage conceptualizes the nature of public space in marketplaces as a relational process between place and people in managing and organizing collective living. It also brings to the fore the diversity of actors, vendors, and authoritative agencies, involved in this process creating dynamic relationships within socio-cultural and economic exchanges along the way. Researching Indonesian *pasars*—a term for public markets in Indonesia—provides rich resources for scholarship and future agendas in marketplace planning. The Indonesian *pasars* play important roles in the long history of urban development and planning processes of Indonesian cities, but also offer strong conceptual examples of how public space has become as a relational process between place and people.

Like other sites of public spaces, marketplaces emerge, struggle, and evolve as products of strategic policy and planning interventions, as well as development practices. Particularly in interventions like market revitalization projects where changes in spatial setting are involved, the relational process between place and people becomes more complicated. Claims over how spaces in this common (communal) public resource are planned and managed are contested with different ideas and values among market actors. As a consequence, the process of revitalizing a marketplace leads to various conflicts, both socio-cultural and legal, among market actors due to the status of the market as a socially produced, and constructed space, that is also state, or publicly, owned, controlled, and managed. In this approach, planning becomes crucial in dealing with and bridging conflicts between different parties, as well as providing solutions.

Given the complicated dynamic of this public space, it is worth addressing a conceptual analysis to understand how market actors navigate choices and opportunities in dealing with such conflicts, in addition to assessing to what extent the role of planning has in facilitating the relational process. By comparing the struggles in market vendors' claims to space to the relevant government interests, including legal regulations over marketplace operations, this study describes the active contestation between the market actors' aspirations and government's interests within the perspective of marketplace planning and management.

The rationale for this research is based on current gaps in knowledge about the social production and construction of space in Indonesian marketplace planning practices. This research is based on two premises. First, there is a lack of historical research on the origin and conception of Indonesian marketplaces as an indigenous public space that represents a relational process between people within a place expressing some of their socio-cultural systems. Addressing this offers a holistic understanding of the indigenous characteristics of Indonesian marketplaces and will be useful in further analyzing their characteristics in the present day. The current Indonesian studies rarely mainly focus on mainstream or non-indigenous marketplaces such as private economic amenities of malls and shopping centers. There is a lack of research on indigenous marketplaces particularly on understanding how the characteristics of interaction between people and place play important role in creating public space for the community.

Second, there is an insufficient understanding within Indonesian marketplace planning about the complexities and intricacies of the social production and construction of vending space in marketplaces. Assessing this premise offers an important tool for scholars and practitioners in Indonesian marketplace planning and policy-making to better incorporate the indigenous

characteristics of Indonesian Marketplaces in their planning decisions as well as adapt policy to reflect and honor the way Indonesian people socially produce and construct the *Pasar*.

This research differs from previous studies in two aspects. First, I explore the historical and philosophical discourses of *pasar*, the Indonesian marketplace, to theorize *pasar* in its indigenous nature as an Indonesian public space at the conceptual level not specifically described in existing studies. Second, I critically examine the social production and construction of vending space in *pasar* through everyday interactions among on-ground market actors and in the context of planning practices. Together, the two complement and extend the conceptual and descriptive approaches found in the extant literature on studies of Indonesian marketplace and public space planning.

This investigation poses three related research questions:

1. What are the nature and characteristics of *pasar* as an Indonesian public space?
2. How is the relational process between people and place in *pasar* prescribed in the social production and construction of space?
3. What are the implications of answers to these two questions for the planning process?

This PhD dissertation consists of three body chapters. These studies stand-alone, yet are interrelated, as essays that are in preparation for submission to peer-review journals. Each article contains their own abstracts, theoretical discussions, and methods. This introductory chapter provides an overview of the dissertation while the last chapter contains a broad summary of the work and an overall set of limitations and policy implications. While there is some conceptual repetition, particularly in the historical and contextual background in chapter 3 and 4, each chapter presents a distinct analysis of the *Pasar* and are linked holistically in both space and time throughout the narrative of the dissertation.

1.2 The Inquiry Relevance

Markets have long been the subject of scholars across many disciplines. As one of the earliest economic institutions of any civilization, markets have expanded their roles in the life and development of cities beyond their initial function as a place of commerce. One significant role of markets is as important public spaces for the community. Public spaces, including marketplaces, constantly emerge, evolve, struggle, and disappear as products of strategic policy and planning interventions as well as development practices.

In Indonesia, the past decade has witnessed continuous and rapid urbanization. Many redevelopment and revitalization projects were built by private investors including modern marketplaces, indoor malls, and department stores. The rapid development of the commercial environment has added new pressure to older institutions like the *pasar* due to an imbalance in development activity between the private and public sectors, as well as the uneven, if not absent, quality of regulatory approaches in public space planning and management. As a result, while the past decade has witnessed a boom in market revitalization projects across the country, these projects were often followed by conflicts among market actors resulting from the building revitalization process. Vendors directly experience impacts on their economic, social, and legal status, while at the same time they face struggles in maintaining business and establishing socio-economic practices and interactions in the new market setting.

This dissertation offers a study of **public space in transition**. It investigates the complexity and politics in the production and construction of public spaces, focusing on marketplaces, particularly during a transition resulted from revitalization project. Furthermore, it reveals how planning and implementation practices facilitate (or fail to facilitate) the relational

process between people and place in a particular public space setting, a marketplace, in a particular time frame of market development, during a market revitalization project.

Central to this research are issues and problems on social production and construction of space in the vending space allocation during the transition between spaces. This includes both the allocation of vendors into the temporary market shelter and the relocation into the newly built market building. As a public space, a marketplace is a melting pot for diverse groups of people. This is described by Furnivall (1939) as “one place in which the various sections of a plural society meet on common ground” (p. 449; see also de la Pradelle 1995, p. 345). My study on marketplace in transition has revealed that market actors (vendors and officials) face tremendous challenges in dealing with various legal procedures, particularly in space allocation processes and legal assessments, within this plural society setting of market people. Vendors came from different backgrounds and have different interests in interpreting the common ground on how this market is supposed to be set up as a public space. The processes of vending space allocations require planners to understand the dynamic relationships in which market actors, both vendors and authoritative officers, interpret each other’s behavior, struggles, claims, and interests to vending space. Different system ideas of values and interactions (social, cultural, and legal) may have long existed prior to modern government, much less individual market revitalization projects of the last 50 years.

In addition to that, my fieldwork in 2014-2015 has witnessed how the political rhetoric leading to a boom in market revitalization projects initiated by various levels of Indonesian governments. This started as the Decentralized System of government began in 2000 and fostered a new discourse, which emphasized more localized and bottom-up planning processes (Beard, 2002; 2003). Various redevelopment projects were built by private investors including

modern marketplaces, indoor malls, and department stores. The rapid development of the commercial environment has added new pressure to older institutions like the *pasar*. Traditional marketplaces need to be competitive with such modern marketplaces. Various market revitalization projects have been booming yet have often been followed by complex problems in the post-revitalization phase. Investigating how this implementation of decentralized government practice shows how such decentralization can vary in its implementation and with respect to its outcomes.

1.3 Methods and Methodological Considerations

The findings of this dissertation resulted from twelve months of on-site and off-site research on various *pasars* in numerous cities in Central Java and D.I. Yogyakarta Provinces between mid-2014 and mid-2015. This research took place in a total of 13 urban markets (five in Semarang, four in Surakarta, and four in Yogyakarta) and 10 rural markets (two near Semarang and eight near Surakarta).

1.3.1 Study case selection

In investigating the three research questions posed above, the data collection and case study site selection incorporated macro and micro assessments. The macro assessment includes analyzing how *pasars* work in regional socio-economic networking as well as comparing their roles in urban/spatial settings. The micro incorporates how *pasars* and market actors deal with a particular revitalization project. For the macro, 23 markets were selected from two provinces, Central Java and D.I. Yogyakarta. Zooming in the micro one, two markets—*Pasar Bulu* in Semarang and *Pasar Gede* in Surakarta—were selected as the case studies.

The two provinces were selected among other provinces in Java Island for how they represent traditional Javanese cultural practices. In these provinces, several towns and urban amenities, including marketplaces, were designed according to age-old Javanese principles. Some marketplaces, particularly the rural ones, still perpetuate ancient Javanese principles in the current days such as following the Javanese 5-day calendar of market days¹. In researching rural markets, my research objective was to get more exposure to and familiarity with both periodic rural markets as well as specialty markets.

For the macro assessment, initially, I selected only 20 markets, instead of 23. Along with the micro assessment, I added three more markets making a total of 23 researched markets. The addition of these three markets is based on some specific reasons that I will explain in the micro assessment section. The markets are located in or near three cities, Semarang, Surakarta, Yogyakarta². Geographically speaking, Semarang, with the area of 373.70 sqkm (144.3 sqmi), has 54 public markets citywide³, while Surakarta, with the area of 44.04 sqkm (17 sqmi), has 44 public markets⁴ and Yogyakarta with the area of 32.50 sqkm (12.55 sqmi), has 23 markets⁵. Table 1-1 depicts the comparison between the total number of public markets in these three cities.

¹ My fieldwork reveals that almost all markets in the urban area are a daily market while some in rural area are still as a periodic market.

² Semarang and Yogyakarta are the capital cities of Central Java and D.I Yogyakarta Provinces consecutively. Surakarta and Yogyakarta are where the ancient Javanese Kingdoms were and are still located. Semarang used to be an important *entrepot* of the northern coast of Java during the global maritime trade of the Southeast Asian Sea from the 5th to 13th century. The detailed explanation is depicted in chapter 2.

³ Data were taken from SCyMark, a website managed by the City of Semarang for promoting local products and event in Semarang. <https://scymark.semarangkota.go.id/v18/konten.php?data=alamatpasar-tradisional-di-semarang&lang=in&lon=alamatpusat-belanja> [last accessed August 30, 2021].

⁴ Data were taken from the website of City of Surakarta <https://dinasperdagangan.surakarta.go.id/berita-dan-agenda/> [last accessed August 30, 2021].

⁵ Data were taken from *Laporan Kajian Peraturan Daerah Pemantauan Pelaksanaan Peraturan Daerah Nomor 8 Tahun 2011 tentang Pasar Tradisional, Pusat Perbelanjaan dan Toko Modern* (D.I. Yogyakarta, 2017).

Table 1-1 Total Number of Public Markets in Semarang, Surakarta, and Yogyakarta

City	City area	Total number of public markets	Average
Semarang	373.70 sqkm (144.3 sqmi)	54	1 market per 6.9 sqkm (1 market per 2.7 sqmi)
Surakarta	44.04 sqkm (17 sqmi)	44	1 market per 1.0 sqkm (1 market per 0.4 sqmi)
Yogyakarta	32.50 sqkm (12.55 sqmi)	23	1 market per 1.4 sqkm (1 market per 0.5 sqmi)

From table 1-1 we can see that Surakarta City had more public markets per square area than the other two cities, Semarang and Yogyakarta. Surakarta city has also been well known nation-wide for their success stories in public market revitalization projects.

Since the research includes the assessment of legal (state) vendors, the 20 markets I chose are all public markets that are owned and regulated by public (the City). These markets are all indoor markets found in permanent market building except *Pasar Ambarawa* (depicted in the following table 1-2), which is an outdoor market selling animals.

The selection of the first 20 markets was determined according to how markets provided insight to the three research questions. There are four rationales. First, I focused on markets that represent distinct spatial morphological contexts. By context I mean both urban and rural⁶ as well as coastal and inland city, since comparing these two pairs would show us different roles of markets as a public space within different spatial contexts. Second, I chose several markets exemplifying Javanese periodic markets⁷. Third, I included historic grand marketplaces designed

⁶ The dichotomic terms rural and urban used here refer to the terms of administrative area (of a city or outside city) where the market is located. The 10 rural markets here are in regencies, not the cities. The usage of the terms neither relates to the market size nor the scope or scale of their economic distribution/networking since many rural markets are huge and have a strong economic network with some grand urban markets.

⁷ Although my research is about present-day markets, the 10 rural markets studied are chosen among those that still perpetuate the ancient principles of Javanese traditional markets.

by a famous Dutch architect specializing in designing public buildings, Herman Thomas Karsten. Compared to other market designs in general, Karsten's markets have successfully maintained their role in providing public space in the current context. Studying these markets became significant since it offers an important resource on how the Dutch not only translated indigenous local living culture into market building design, but also accommodated the relational process between people and place in a particular public space setting. Fourth, I included markets that had been experiencing an on-going revitalization project as well as the ones that were revitalized in the past.

For the micro assessment, I selected two markets—*Pasar Bulu* in Semarang and *Pasar Gede* in Surakarta—to do my intensive fieldwork, I add three more markets, which are *Pasar Bandungan*, *Pasar Tawangmangu*, and *Pasar Karanganyar*, thus making a total of 23 researched markets. I have two principal reasons. First, *Pasar Bandungan* is an important market that connects to *Pasar Bulu* since most of the floating vendors in *Pasar Bulu* (*pancakans*) are from the town of Bandungan and acquire their commodities from *Pasar Bandungan* to sell at *Pasar Bulu*⁸. Second, both *Pasar Tawangmangu* and *Pasar Karanganyar* closely connect with networking activities of *Pasar Gede* since many vendors of *Pasar Gede* reside in Tawangmangu and Karanganyar and acquire their commodities from those markets to sell at *Pasar Gede*. These additional three markets help me get familiar with the social-economic distribution of *Pasar Bulu* and *Pasar Gede* from the surrounding neighboring cities/towns. In the nutshell, table 1-2 represents the list of the 23 researched markets and their important features.

⁸ Further detailed in chapter 3 and 4.

Table 1-2 Significant Features in Each Researched Market

Timeframe, location, & market name	Significant features to study					
	urban/rural morphology, role in spatial setting (1)	periodic market (2)	Karsten's market (3)	revitalization project (4)	Net-working system (5)	
Central Java Province						
urban market						
<u>Semarang City (coastal city)</u>						
1	<i>Pasar Bulu</i>	grand-urban market	-	-	<i>Undergoing</i>	-
2	<i>Pasar Johar</i>	grand-urban market	-	☐	<i>Undergoing</i>	-
3	<i>Pasar Peterongan</i>	urban market	-	-	<i>Undergoing</i>	-
4	<i>Pasar Randusari</i>	urban market	-	☐	-	-
5	<i>Pasar Jatingaleh</i>	urban market	-	☐	-	-
<u>Surakarta City (inland city)</u>						
6	<i>Pasar Gede</i>	grand-urban market	-	☐	<i>Finished 2000</i>	-
7	<i>Pasar Klewer</i>	grand-urban market	-	-	<i>Undergoing</i>	-
8	<i>Pasar Gading*</i>	urban market	-	-	<i>Finished 2009</i>	-
9	<i>Pasar Notoharjo</i>	urban market	-	-	<i>Finished 2006</i>	-
rural market						
<u>near Semarang City (hinterland town/village)</u>						
10	<i>Pasar Ambarawa**</i>	grand-rural market	☐	-	-	-
11	<i>Pasar Bandungan</i>	grand-rural market	-	-	-	☐
<u>near Surakarta City (hinterland town/village)</u>						
12	<i>Pasar Cokro Kembang</i>	grand-rural market	☐	-	<i>Finished 2014</i>	-
13	<i>Pasar Tawangmangu</i>	grand-rural market	-	-	-	☐
14	<i>Pasar Karanganyar</i>	rural market	-	-	-	☐
15	<i>Pasar Gawok***</i>	rural market	☐	-	<i>Undergoing</i>	-
16	<i>Pasar Bekonang***</i>	rural market	☐	-	-	-
17	<i>Pasar Delanggu***</i>	rural market	☐	-	-	-
18	<i>Pasar Pengging***</i>	rural market	☐	-	-	-
19	<i>Pasar Pedan***</i>	rural market	☐	-	-	-
D.I. Yogyakarta Province						
urban market						
<u>Yogyakarta City (inland city)</u>						
20	<i>Pasar Beringharjo</i>	grand-urban market	-	-	<i>Undergoing</i>	-
21	<i>Pasar Satwa dan Tanaman Hias Yogyakarta (PASTY)</i>	urban market	-	-	<i>Finished 2010</i>	-
22	<i>Pasar Kranggan</i>	urban market	-	-	<i>Undergoing</i>	-
23	<i>Pasar Kotagede</i>	urban market	☐	-	-	-

Notes:

Findings from markets in columns (2) and (3) are mostly useful for chapter 2 whereas findings from markets in columns (4) and (5) are used in understanding the context of revitalization projects for chapter 3 and 4.

* : *Pasar Gading* is one among several national models and pilot projects of successful market revitalization projects. The revitalization was finished on February 16, 2009, and grand re-opened by Mari Elka Pangestu, the Minister of Trade and Commerce.

** : *Pasar Ambarawa* is a very well-known big animal periodic market held every Javanese day of *Pon*. Vendors selling livestock and other domestic animals like goats, chickens, ducks, swans, birds, fish, and the like are easily found in the market. It has a section for livestock auction.

*** : Five rural markets of *Pasar Gawok*, *Bekonang*, *Delanggu*, *Pengging*, and *Pedan* exemplify a set of rural markets and neighboring villages that are interconnected within a social-economic networking. Their activities are rotated following the Javanese market days as further explained in chapter 2.

Among these 23 markets, I narrowed down my research and chose two *pasars*—*Pasar Bulu* in Semarang and *Pasar Gede* in Surakarta—to do the micro assessment of how markets deal with revitalization project. The selection of these two case studies is based on two rationales. First, both cases represent the public space role of marketplaces in different urban morphological contexts. Surakarta is an inland/hinterland city whereas Semarang is a coastal city. Both cities have experienced different planning approaches. While Surakarta was designed following the Javanese traditional town planning principles, Semarang was designed based on the ideas of the Dutch colonial town. Particularly interesting, while *Pasar Gede* in Surakarta has become part of the traditional Javanese urban square (*alun-alun*), the market is located in the “Chinatown” area of the city. Yet, both markets provide the same scale of operation: they are grand urban markets, and they have had revitalization projects. These similarities and differences in contexts, design/planning backgrounds, and scales of institution are important variables for my study to capture the dynamic roles of the marketplace as a center of community economic activities, and in explaining the dynamics of their socio-economic interactions and social order.

The second rationale mainly focuses on revealing and comparing the survival of these markets as a continuous response to changes in planning and development practices. While both markets have experienced several revitalization projects since their first establishment, particularly important is that during my fieldwork, *Pasar Bulu* in Semarang was experiencing a revitalization project resulted from a city-wide downtown renewal program. This context is important for my study in showing a firsthand view of various dynamics of the struggles, negotiations, and adjustments that the market actors had to endure during the revitalization project.

These two markets may be just a few among many old, historic, or long-lasting public markets that were built during the Dutch colonial era (1619-1949) and have survived on maintaining their basic function as a place of commerce. But what is interesting is that they keep standing out as role models for having preserved their function as a public space through various planning and urban development processes.

Chapter 2 of this dissertation provides findings from research on *Pasar Gede* in Surakarta as well as other various urban and rural markets. Chapter 3 and 4 are focused on research findings from *Pasar Bulu* in Semarang.

1.3.2 Research methods

This research will be largely qualitative in nature. While witnessing the social production and construction of space, I employed multiple methods for investigating public marketplaces, such as participant observation, socio-ethnography, semi-structured interview, visual observation, hand sketch and photographic documentation, and archival research. Table 1-3 shows the list of the researched market and the methods used in each market.

Table 1-3 Research Methods Used in Each Researched Market

Timeframe, location, & market name	Research methods	
	- participant observation	- casual interview
	- socio-ethnography	- hand sketch documentation
	- semi-structured interview	- photographic documentation
		- archival research
<i>July 2014 – June 2015</i>		
Central Java Province		
urban market		
<u>Semarang City (coastal city)</u>		
1 <i>Pasar Bulu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2 <i>Pasar Johar</i>		<input type="checkbox"/>
3 <i>Pasar Peterongan</i>		<input type="checkbox"/>
4 <i>Pasar Randusari</i>		<input type="checkbox"/>
5 <i>Pasar Jatingaleh</i>		<input type="checkbox"/>
<u>Surakarta City (inland city)</u>		
6 <i>Pasar Gede</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7 <i>Pasar Klewer</i>		<input type="checkbox"/>
8 <i>Pasar Gading</i>		<input type="checkbox"/>
9 <i>Pasar Notoharjo</i>		<input type="checkbox"/>
rural market		
<u>near Semarang City (hinterland town/village)</u>		
10 <i>Pasar Ambarawa</i>		<input type="checkbox"/>
11 <i>Pasar Bandungan</i>		<input type="checkbox"/>
<u>near Surakarta City (hinterland town/village)</u>		
12 <i>Pasar Cokro Kembang</i>		<input type="checkbox"/>
13 <i>Pasar Tawangmangu</i>		<input type="checkbox"/>
14 <i>Pasar Karanganyar</i>		<input type="checkbox"/>
15 <i>Pasar Gawok</i>		<input type="checkbox"/>
16 <i>Pasar Bekonang</i>		<input type="checkbox"/>
17 <i>Pasar Delanggu</i>		<input type="checkbox"/>
18 <i>Pasar Pengging</i>		<input type="checkbox"/>
19 <i>Pasar Pedan</i>		<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>February 2015 – June 2015</i>		
D.I. Yogyakarta Province		
urban market		
<u>Yogyakarta City (inland city)</u>		
20 <i>Pasar Beringharjo</i>		<input type="checkbox"/>
21 <i>Pasar Satwa dan Tanaman Hias Yogyakarta (PASTY)</i>		<input type="checkbox"/>
22 <i>Pasar Kranggan</i>		<input type="checkbox"/>
23 <i>Pasar Kotagede</i>		<input type="checkbox"/>

Among those 23 markets, my intensive fieldwork—using participant observation, socio-ethnography, and semi-structured interview methodology—was mostly conducted in two urban markets, *Pasar Gede* in Surakarta and *Pasar Bulu* in Semarang. All informants and respondents

in this research are assigned a pseudonym, except otherwise not noted, and all questions posed to the respondents are approved in accordance with the policy of the University of Wisconsin-

Madison Institutional Research Board (IRB). The questions are as follow:

1. How long have you been a vendor at this market? Have you come and gone from the market? Have you had partners in your business?
2. Did your family have prior experience in this market? For how long?
3. What role has marketplace vending in your life?
4. What role has the market played in your city?
5. What role has the market played in your neighborhood? How has this role changed?
6. How did you get your vending space at the market? Has that process changed for you over time? Has the process changed with changes in the city?
7. How has the process of finding a vending space changed over time?

In both markets, *Pasar Gede* in Surakarta and *Pasar Bulu* in Semarang, I became an assistant to a legally certified vendor. By doing so, I was able to observe marketplace interactions first-hand. In *Pasar Gede* in Surakarta, I participated in daily market activities five days a week. In *Pasar Bulu* in Semarang, I took part in the market four days a week. During this time, I became friends with many vendors; I often attended the market community gatherings as well as visiting and spending the night with some vendors. Many parts of my field work did not become part of my research findings since they were key to becoming a member of the community but not part of the marketplace research.

While my intensive fieldwork was conducted in two urban markets, *Pasar Gede* and *Pasar Bulu*, this dissertation, particularly chapter 3 and 4, largely focuses on findings from the fieldwork in the latter one, *Pasar Bulu*. The selection of this market is based on two rationales. First, when I started my fieldwork in mid-2014, the market was in a critical situation and had been experiencing a major revitalization project. The revitalization was started two and a half years prior to the beginning of my fieldwork. The vendors were relocated into a temporary

shelter and the old building was demolished. After the first two months of my fieldwork, vendors were relocating back into a newly built market building.

At that period, vendors went through various stages of struggles as obvious results of revitalization and relocation: among others, relocation space conflicts, dynamics on space allocation in temporary shelter, and space claim contestations among different market actors. All struggles undoubtedly offer valuable resources for my research inquiries since it provides a rare opportunity for me to experience first-hand the dynamics of space allocation and space claims resulted from a revitalization project.

During my fieldwork, I attended various important public events relating to the revitalization project. I observed five internal meetings between vendors and both market offices that were about the allocation and relocation process from the temporary shelter into the new market building. Additionally, I held four interviews with the *Bulu* Master. The complete list of these events, meetings, and interviews is presented in Appendix A. Wherever possible, these were recorded, and those transcriptions are included in the database. In the last months of my research, I examined 42 articles from major national and local newspapers regarding the revitalization project. The list of the newspapers is depicted in Appendix B. My analysis of all this data reveals the social construction of vending space. In addition to that, I employed an archival research methodology on municipal regulations in two research case studies, the City of Semarang and the City of Surakarta (also known as Solo). I also included several regulations that are a central part of marketplace and public space planning. These are listed in Appendix C. I collected these regulations from the website as well as from the City office. This data provides information about changes in City ordinances regarding the marketplace. I also collected data from the library archives and Department of Architecture of four universities in both cities:

Universitas Diponegoro (Undip) and *Universitas Katolik Soegijapranoto (Unika)* in Semarang, and *Universitas Sebelas Maret (UNS)* and *Institut Seni Indonesia (ISI)* in Surakarta.

All of the interviews were open-ended and semi-structured. The interviews were part of my ethnographic approach that developed from daily interactions with the market. The interviews were with vendors and formal market actors, I did not interview customers. By becoming a participant observer, I have learned the perspective of the vendor, their life in the market, and vendor interactions with government agents and others, as well as market planning processes. This method supports my research in observing and obtaining a close understanding of the social production and construction of space among market actors.

The interview questions were often translated to both Indonesian and Javanese depending on the situation and the participant's background and translated back to English. Some specific dialects in Javanese were employed in the interviews since the people I interviewed came from various traditional Javanese villages of two different provinces in Java, Central Java, and D.I. Yogyakarta⁹. Most of the formal interviews with market authorities were conducted in Indonesian. Fieldnotes of these interviews and discussions were included in the database. I also took hundreds of black and white photos of the markets as well as hand-sketched architectural features of the market buildings.

During the last stage of my fieldwork, I actively participated in the advisory committee of marketplace revitalization planning for several cities in Central Java that were part of joint work with *Disperindag Provinsi Jawa Tengah* (the Division of Industry and Trade of the Central Java Province) under the Ministry of Trade and Commerce. This opportunity allowed me to

⁹ Although the traditional language used in both Central Java and D.I. Yogyakarta Provinces is mostly Javanese, different dialects are used by different groups of village people or communities.

experience the policy-making process relating to marketplace planning. In Surakarta, I gave lectures on “public space design and development” as well as “urban design in marketplace” for both the Department of Architecture and Planning in *Universitas Sebelas Maret* (UNS) and the Department of Design in *Institut Seni Indonesia* (ISI).

1.4 Review of the Dissertation

In chapter two I discuss the history of the word and concept, *pasar*. The key discussion in this chapter locates the conceptualization of *pasar* as a relational process among three elements: people, place, and the celebration of living rituals. These concepts are developed through analyzing the word’s ancient forms and characteristics. I adopt both an etymological and historical analysis in describing the nature and characteristics of *pasar* as an indigenous Indonesian marketplace and public space.

Chapter three discusses the problem of the social construction of space when a marketplace undergoes transitions in a revitalization project. Central to this chapter is the notion of plurality in interpreting space claims and legality. As the project took longer than expected (from 6 months to 3 years), people’s interpretations of each other’s behavior and claims differed based on several systems of ideas and interactions.

Chapter four discusses problems of vending space allocation when vendors are moved into the new market building. The space allocation occurred using a common process called an *Undian Lapak* (“space lottery”). The new setting provided significant challenges to the agents administering the space allocation process in part from the vendors’ familiarity with space allocation practices from the old market setting. Using an interactionist approach, I elaborate on

how market actors reconstruct vending space allocation processes in the new market building setting.

Central to chapter four are the ideas of inclusivity, adaptation, and the iterative process that Government officers use to successfully manage vending space allocation. The space allocation utilized a space lottery, but adjustments had to be made. Various spatial negotiations made by both vendors and officers were contested and discretion was practiced by market actors alike. The question of who deserves to be included in the new building becomes important in the *Undian Lapak*. The problems for planning, particularly on vending space management, are explored throughout the chapter.

Chapter five is the conclusion containing a broad summary of the work and an overall discussion of limitations, future research agendas, and implications for marketplace planning.

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CHAPTER 2

THEORIZING *PASAR* AS PUBLIC SPACE: A CRITICAL REVIEW ON THE HISTORY OF THE WORD AND THE CONCEPT

Abstract

This chapter explores the historical and philosophical discourses of *pasar*, the Indonesian marketplace, through its ancient forms and characteristics. I posit that the earlier narratives of *pasar* have significantly shaped its conceptualization as a relational process among three elements: people, place, and the celebration of living rituals. These narratives also help to theorize *pasar* in its indigenous nature as an Indonesian public space. While dominant theories trace the origin of the word and concept to the Persian *bazaar*, as introduced by Persian Moslem merchants during global maritime trade in the 13th century, I argue that the conceptual origin of *pasar* occurs earlier in Indonesian history. Adopting both an etymological and historical analysis, I critically investigate the historical discourse of the concept of *pasar* as an indigenous Indonesian marketplace and public space.

Keywords: historical discourses, etymology, narratives of *pasar*, public space

2.1 Introduction

“As we can see, there are two words that refer to the Javanese marketplace—*pasar* and *peken*. I have noticed that the word *peken* has gradually ‘disappeared’, being less often used in informal daily conversation than the word *pasar*. Why and when has this been happening?

So, I think it is important to do research on when and how the word *pasar* first emerged, or when it replaced the ancient word *peken* as a common reference for the Javanese marketplace.”¹

(T. S. Nastiti, direct personal interview, August 14, 2014.)²

Most theories on the origins of the Indonesian marketplace *pasar* assume that the concept was imported into Java during a period of Islamic influence in the 13th or 14th century (Dewey, 1962; Boeke, 1953). These theories hypothesize that *pasar* was a variation of the Persian-Arabic word *bazaar* (Geertz, 1963a; Wisseman, 1977), which implies that *pasar* as an institution was a new socio-organizational form (Geertz, 1963a; Boeke, 1953) brought to Indonesia by Persian-Arab Muslim traders³ from maritime trading routes along the Southeast Asian Sea. The *bazaar*, which was similar in concept and practice to the Indonesian *pasar*, was established in the first century CE. The existence of two words that have been used to describe the Indonesian

¹ This excerpt is a response to three questions I pose about the word *pasar*, namely: (1) what it means; (2) to what extent the word’s meaning describes the nature and characteristics of the market it refers to; and (3) whether the word covers the same meanings as the Persian-Arabic word *bazaar*. Particularly in regard to the last question, I thank my committee member from the Department of Anthropology, Maria Lepowsky, who brought up that important point and inspired me to research the origin of the word *bazaar*.

² Titi Surti Nastiti, an Indonesian anthropologist specializing in the ancient Javanese market, argues that the words for the Javanese marketplace—*pasar* and *peken*—have changed as socio-cultural contexts have evolved. She believes that research on these terms will help us to better understand how and to what extent these changing contexts have affected the indigenous nature and other characteristics of the market itself.

³ Despite evidence of Arab Muslim traders entering Indonesia as early as the 8th century, it was not until the end of the 13th century that the Islamic kingdoms were founded in Java, particularly in Central Java (Martin, 2004), marking the official era of Islamic influence in Indonesia.

marketplace, especially in Java, Bali, and Sumatra—*pasar* and *peken*, stand as a counter-argument to this established origin narrative and serve as the basis for this chapter.

In the first half of this analysis, I use an etymological approach to theorize these early concepts of *pasar*. Comparing the words *pasar* and *peken*, I find that four dimensions behind each word's meaning emerge: time, place, people, and events. These dimensions of relational processes are inclusive of the celebration of collective living rituals. Occurring at a scheduled and recurring time, in a designated public place, by a dedicated community, and consisting of component social, economic, and cultural interactions, the marketplace reflects the Indonesian world view including symbolically embodying and affirming cosmic order.

Using this analytical approach, insights into the changing conception of the marketplace as a central public space in Indonesian life are revealed. These changes in meaning reveal how the social and cultural roles of the marketplace materialized and fragmented in the lived experiences of Indonesian people. This analysis provides an entry point to the historical, social, and cultural context that defines the indigenous aspects of an Indonesian marketplace. With this knowledge, planning and managing the traditional Indonesian marketplace can be accomplished in a more robust, culturally competent way.

The etymological analysis consists of two main parts which will engage three research questions:

1. What is the *pasar*?
2. Is a *pasar* simply a marketplace—like a *bazaar*?
3. What are the historical components of the word's meaning, and how do these exemplify *pasar* as public space?

Etymological research helps illuminate the meanings and conceptions of *pasar*, and to what extent they are different from *bazaar*, revealing the unique nature and characteristics of a

traditional Indonesian marketplace. These meanings also provide a better understanding of the socio-cultural contexts that historically existed alongside Indonesian marketplaces.

In the second part of this analysis, the historic nature of *pasar* as Indonesian public space is further elaborated on. Any discussion of the indigenous characteristics of the Javanese market must refer to the origin and historical transformation of the words *pasar* and *peken* into their current forms. The terms themselves have been used to refer to the activities of the *pasar* and are complementary to one another. In this analysis of the indigenous nature of *pasar*, two research questions emerge:

1. Does the word *pasar*, as used in pre-Islamic times prior to the Persian influence, refer to a local indigenous public space?
2. What historical processes explain the early nature, characteristics, and conceptualization of *pasar* as an Indonesian public space?

This research reveals that the word *pasar* and *peken* emerged much earlier than previously thought, while the concept of *pasar* is identified in the etymological literature as an important urban place and public space for early Javanese towns and cities.

2.2 *Pasar*: A Critical History of the Etymology of the Word

The word for the Indonesian marketplace is historically dynamic. While the term *pasar* is commonly used in both Indonesian and Malay, it is not the oldest word used to describe an Indonesian marketplace, particularly in Java, Bali, and Sumatra. The word *pěkěn*, *peken*, or *pekan*, regularly appears in both classic Malay and Javanese contexts. Studying the origin of the words *pasar* and *peken* provides an entry point for understanding early concepts of indigenous Indonesian marketplaces, particularly in ancient Javanese society. The system of ideas and interactions they refer to, indicates that *pasar*, or *peken*, has always been more than (just) a

marketplace. Both words represent a relational process linking place and people in upholding and celebrating indigenous socio-cultural systems in Indonesia.

Additionally, there is a narrative that the word *pasar* was historically derived from the Persian *bazaar* brought by Persian-Arab Muslim traders during the spread of Islam across Indonesia in the 14th century. By comparing *pasar* and *bazaar*, I am able to show that *pasar* contains many indigenous Indonesian characteristics that existed prior to Persian influences.

Utilizing papers and archival materials of etymologists, I compare the etymologies of *pasar*, *pekan*, and *bazaar* and synthesize this information with evidence from the sociocultural contexts within which these words were derived or widely used⁴.

I begin by etymologizing the words *pasar* and *peken*

2.2.1 *Pasar* and *peken*: Word meanings and origins

How and when the word *pasar* first appeared in the linguistic repertoire of the early Malay, Indonesian, or Javanese languages is shrouded in history. The earliest uses of the word are found in the oldest known Javanese literary texts dating back to the 10th to 13th centuries. The word was used to mean “traders”, *mapasar-pasar* (Nastiti, 2003, p. 69, quoting from Zoetmulder, 1982, p. 1312). The word *pasar*, together with *ser pasar* (Balinese “market officer”), was also found in ancient Balinese inscriptions (Goris, 1954; see also Veth, 1889, p. 365; van der Sijs, 2003, p. 220)⁵. The word’s ancient forms *passar* and *passer* are often said to

⁴ The etymological evidence I use was not generated from a single language, but from several, namely Indonesian, Malay, Javanese, and Sanskrit. These are not entirely independent languages, having histories of cultural and linguistic cross-connections from ancient to recent times, but it must be understood that as each language has developed and evolved separately, so have the meanings of its words.

⁵ Veth and van der Sijs are not very clear about the date or which inscriptions they are referring to, yet most Balinese inscriptions date back to the 9th to 12th centuries. Some of them arguably relate to Veth’s points as they include references to *pasar* (“market”) and *ser pasar* (“market officer”).

derive from Malay (Roorda & Gericke, 1875). However, Veth, an ethnologist and geographer, claims that they originated from Javanese (1889; also quoted by van der Sijs, 2003; Phillipa, 2003).

Pasar was not the oldest word used to describe an Indonesian marketplace, especially in Java and Sumatra. Another word, *pěkěñ* or *peken* or *pekan*, is used in the most formal Javanese language⁶—the *Kromo Inggil*—along with the Balinese and Sumatran languages. Like *pasar*, no one knows for certain how or when the word *peken* first appeared. The term *pkan* or *pkên*—known also by its ancient forms *pakan*, *pekan*, *pken*, or *pkan*—consistently appears in old Javanese inscriptions written in *Pallava* scripts⁷ and the Old Javanese-Sanskrit language⁸ dating back to 728-975 *Çaka*⁹ or 806-1053 CE (Nastiti, 2003). Other ancient words such as *apakan*, *apkan*, *apêkan*, *mapakkan*, *mapakan*, or *mapkan* referred to market officers/administrators or market masters (Nastiti, 2003, p. 12; see also Sumadio, 1985, p. 213; Boechari, 1977, p. 9).

⁶ In common with other Austronesian language, Javanese language distinguishes three different levels of honorifics—the low *Ngoko*, the middle *Madyo*, and the high *Kromo* or *Kromo Inggil*. They are used differently depending on the social context according to several considerations, such as: (1) the difference of social levels between the speaker and the recipient; (2) the relationship of the two parties; (3) the difference in age of the two parties; and (4) the particular occasion. *Kromo*, the politest form, is commonly used when speaking to social superiors or among the upper class in formal occasions (Smith-Hefner, 2009; Koentjaraningrat, 1984; Moedjanto, 1986; Mulder, 2005). These levels began to develop in Javanese during the period of Indian influence more than a thousand years ago and have served the functions of imposing social control and defining boundaries between groups (Diane & Milne, 2002, p.100).

⁷ *Pallava* is the earliest form of the alphabet used to write Javanese. There have been many, evolving as follows: (1) from the 4th century the *Pallava* (derived from the Southern Indian *Pallava*); (2) by the 10th century the *Kawi* (developed from *Pallava* but with a distinct Javanese form); (3) from the 15th century the *Pegon* (developed from a version of Arabic); and (4) by the 17th century the current Javanese alphabet (de Casparis, 1975). In the 19th century the Latin alphabet was introduced by the Dutch, and it has gradually replaced the Javanese. Currently, the Javanese alphabet is only used in traditional writings and ceremonies.

⁸ As the Indian classical language and the language of Hindu liturgy, the status of Sanskrit is similar to that of Latin and Greek in Western literature. It was brought to Indonesia and Southeast Asia during the early centuries of the Common Era and gradually became the preferred language of inscriptions (Bronkhorst, 2011, p. 263). Sanskrit loan words made up nearly half the vocabulary of the earliest form of Javanese.

⁹ The solar calendar of *Çaka* or *Śaka* or *Saka* was adopted into the Javanese and Balinese traditional calendar, due to influences from India (Hindustan) starting approximately in the 1st century CE.

Van der Sijs (2003) claims that the word *pasar* “did not exist at all in the earlier Javanese literature” (p. 219), which “only used the indigenous form of the word, *peken*” (p. 220). These statements support the claim that the term *peken* is older than *pasar*, and that the use of *peken* was ‘replaced’ by the use of the newer word *pasar*. While van der Sijs is not clear about which period she refers to as the “earlier Javanese”, her statement aligns with Wisseman’s argument that the frequently used term for market in its earliest creation was not the “possible foreign term” *pasar*, but instead the old Javanese word *pkan* [*pkĕn*, *pĕkĕn*] (1982, p. 150). Despite inscriptions including the word *peken* being older than ones with the word *pasar*, establishing a conclusion about which word emerged first requires further analysis of each word’s historical meaning.

There are two compatible terms for *pasar* and one of them has come into common usage following historical changes in Indonesian/Javanese culture. In the following section, I further detail the meaning of these two terms using data from etymological resources. I begin by exploring the long-standing but debatable assumption that *pasar* covers the same range of meanings as *bazaar*.

2.2.2 Distinguishing the concept of *pasar* from *bazaar*

There is debate on whether the Indonesian *pasar* resembles the Persian *bazaar*, in terms of the origin of the words and in the system of ideas and interactions they refer to. By exploring the meanings and origins of both *pasar* and *peken*, we can distinguish *pasar/peken* from *bazaar* in two ways: by the etymology of the word *pasar* and their basic references in day-to-day life.

First, etymologically speaking, the Indonesian word *pasar* did not originate from the Persian *bazaar*. Various scholars have claimed that the origin of the word *pasar* is ‘probably’

from the Persian-Arabic *bazaar* or *bāzār* (Geertz, 1963a, p. 30; see also Wisseman, 1977; Bezemer, 1921, p. 407) This argument is similar to those of early etymologists studying the term (Marsden, 1812; Pijnappel, 1863; Roorda & Gericke, 1875; see also Veth, 1889) and more recent research (van Veen & van der Sijs, 1997; see also van der Sijs, 2003; Phillipa, 2003). However, linguistic evidence indicates that the Indonesian word *pasar* had origins not directly influenced by the Persian-Arabic *bazaar*.

The etymological transformation from Persian-Arabic *bazaar* or *bāzār* [بازار] into *pasar* is “completely unacceptable/implausible¹⁰”—“*geheel onaannemelijk*” (Veth, 1889, p. 364; see also van der Sijs, 2003, p. 219)¹¹. Instead, the transformation of Persian *bazaar* into Hindustani-Tamil *pajār* [பஜார்] is more acceptable¹² (van der Sijs, 2003, p. 219-220; see also Raap, 2015).

Meanwhile, the Hindustani-Tamil *pajār* originated from Persian influence. We can hypothesize that Tamil traders from Southern India who initially adopted the word *pajār* from the Persian-Arabic *bazaar*, later used this word to refer to marketplaces in Indonesia. The word was most likely assimilated into Malay, which was the main *lingua franca* of the Southeast Asian maritime trade, and was introduced by Tamil merchants in the mid-5th century¹³ who pioneered the Spice Trade Route between India and China (van der Sijs, 2003, p. 220).

¹⁰ Translated into English by Ade Tinamei.

¹¹ Veth (1889) explains that the transformation contravenes rules of linguistic change. In Javanese and Malay borrowings from Arabic, *z* has invariably become *dj*, and not *z* as in *tradjoe* (Persian *trazoe*), *djakat* (Arabic *zakáh*), or *djimat* (Arabic *'azímah*). Therefore, *bazaar* would have transformed into *badjar*, instead of *pásar* (p. 364, see also van der Sijs, 2003, p. 219).

¹² Tamil common pronunciation stresses the first syllable and sharpens *b* to *p* (van der Sijs, 2003, p. 219).

¹³ Tamil merchants were closely involved in the Southeast Asian maritime network. This network was part of the Silk Trade Route between the Roman Empire in Europe and China in the Far East, established in the 1st century CE. Although the Arab and Persian merchants later dominated trade over the whole route between Europe and China in the period between the 7th and 8th centuries (Donkin, 2003), or even during its peak period in the Late Medieval Era around the 13th to 15th centuries, Southern Indian and Tamil merchants were initially more prominent in this particular route. It became the most significant route in the early history of the Southeast Asian region, including Indonesia. As the trade to the islands intensified after the supply of Persian silver was exhausted, this route, well-

We see how the use of the word *pasar* spread, colored by markets from Hindu culture rather than directly from the Islamic world. In addition, we see how the markets in coastal towns might have developed in response to the arrival and interests of Tamil and other global traders. The narrative of market creation in the *entrepots*¹⁴ of Northern Java is the result of international trading within the Southeast Asian maritime network between India and China. The history of *entrepots* provides resources that help to reveal typologies of coastal marketplaces which can be contrasted to market typologies of the less globally influenced inland and rural markets.

Secondly, the characteristics of the Indonesian *pasar* do not resemble the Persian *bazaar*. Veth (1889) suggests that while the Persian *bazaar* is more often described by its spatial aspect, as “a covered market building”, the Indonesian *pasar* instead means a “*time* and a *place* for the get-together of the market/trade”¹⁵, or “*tijd en plaats voor de samenkomst ten handel*” (p. 363; quoting from Dozy, 1867; see also van der Sijs, 2003, p. 218). *Pasar* signifies both spatial and temporal arrangements for trading activities—a market *place* and a market *time*—thus differentiating itself from the Persian *bazaar*.

Here we can see that the discourse between *bazaar* and *pasar* is similar to the conception between “space” and “place”. The conception of space and place noted by Tuan (1977) is key in understanding the difference between *bazaar* and *pasar*. The former, *bazaar*, is more about something abstract, an area of trading activity without any substantial and conceptual meaning,

known as the Spice Trade Route, not only brought in Tamil as the *lingua franca* among traders across the Southeast Asian seas, but also introduced integral cultural and political influences—Indian ideas, religion, and knowledge—from the Hindustan-Tamil region (Lombard, 2005; Widodo, 2004). Evidence shows that the earliest ancient kingdoms in Indonesian history were actually Indianized kingdoms.

¹⁴ An *entrepot*, derived from the Latin word *inter* (“between”) and *positum* (“positioned”, “placed”), is a port, city, or trading post that becomes a center of exchange or distribution of foreign merchandises when there are few or no local commodities to export (Widodo, 2004, p. 41).

¹⁵ Translated into English by Ade Tinamei.

while the latter one, *pasar*, indicates the existence of space that has been given a particular meaning. As Tuan (1977) notes that “space” can easily be described as a location with no social connections and values added for a human being. In contrast, a “place” is a location with meanings created and resulted from human experiences. In the case of *bazaar* and *pasar*, specific meanings have created the term *pasar* indicating that the area is not just a space for trade, but rather a place with a variety of intersecting activities.

As mentioned earlier, the word *pasar* may have originated with Tamil merchants during the global trade in the Southeast Asian Sea. However, *pasar* as a socio-cultural system emerged from an ancient Javanese system that predates the 5th-century Persian-Arabic trading era (Veth, 1889, see also van der Sijs, 2003, p. 219; Bezemer, 1921, p. 407). This system is the 5-day Javanese week of *pañcawara*¹⁶ that was used to arrange the market schedule. This five-day week, called *pasar*, *pekenan*, or *hari pasaran*, (“market days”) consists of the days of *Lěgi*, *Paing* (or *Pahing*), *Pon*, *Wagé*, and *Kliwon*. The archaic Javanese calendar system was inherited from a pre-Islamic era (Ricklefs, 2001) and therefore predates the period of Persian-Arabic influence on Indonesian society. A 7-day week has been followed in Java for many centuries since it was initially adopted into the Javanese calendar because of Islamic influences in the 13th century superseding the previous Buddhist and Hindu calendar¹⁷. This timeline supports claims that the word *pasar* was not derived from the Persian-Arabic word *bazaar*.

¹⁶ In the pre-Islamic era, Javanese society made use of several calendar systems, consisting of concurrent cycles repeating over periods from 2-days to 10-days, consecutively named by the number of days—*dwiwara*, *triwara*, *caturwara*, *pañcawara*, *sadwara*, *saptawara*, *astawara*, *sangawara* and *dasawara*. While most of the cycles no longer currently exist, *pañcawara* (5-day) and *saptawara* (7-day) week cycles still order the scheduling of cultural events in Central Java and Bali, and the days on which both cycles conjoin are of particular ritual significance. This 7-day *saptawara* is quite distinct from the current Indonesian 7-day cycle adopted from Islamic or Gregorian calendars. Currently, this Javanese 7-day *saptawara* is still used in the daily calendar, simultaneously with Islamic or Gregorian calendars, in several areas of Central Java, mainly for cultural purposes and traditional ceremonies.

¹⁷ The Javanese calendar underwent two major transformations: (1) from the 8th century, the adoption of the Hindu solar calendar of *Çaka* or *Śaka* or *Saka*; and (2) by the 17th century, the current formal Javanese calendar, established

Scholars specializing in Indonesian markets believe that *peken*, the ancient form of *pasar*, was applied not only to the “market” itself (Wisseman, 1982, p. 222), but also the “open space” (Wisseman, 1982, p. 150) or the “field” (Nastiti, 2003, p. 63)¹⁸ in which the trade activity commonly took place and the “five-day market week” that dictated the market’s schedule (Wisseman, 1982, p. 150). *Peken* is described as “the square/plaza/court in which the regular market (*pasar*) is held”¹⁹ or “*het plein, waar op geregelde dagen markt (pasar) gehouden wordt*” (Bezemer, 1921, p. 386). The field or *alun-alun* (civic square) commonly held *pasar* on market days and was used to hold other social activities on non-market days (Nastiti, 2003, p. 62).

The *pasar* includes meaning beyond merely being a market or a place of economic transaction, the definition of *bazaar*. The concept of *pasar* embodies at least four different dimensions: time, place, people, and events. In the next section, I focus on the words *pasar* and *peken* in modern Indonesian, examining their meanings and to what extent the original meaning is still used.

2.2.3 The most common current term for the Indonesian market

The current *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* or KBBI (the official Dictionary of Indonesian, a government publication)²⁰ simply defines *pasar* as “a place for trading activity”

by the Sultan Agung of the kingdom of Mataram as part of the effort to spread Islam to the Indonesian archipelago (Ricklefs, 2001). This Javanese calendar combines three systems, Islamic, *Saka*, and Gregorian.

¹⁸ I compare two translations of a famous quote “*pkên ri himad*” from two inscriptions posed by Wisseman and Nastiti. Wisseman translates it into “the market of *Himad*” (1982, p. 222; also quoted by Nastiti, 2003, p. 63) while Nastiti offers her own preferred translation, “the field of *Himad*” (2003, p. 63). I believe that the latter interpretation is more acceptable and more suitable to the narrative context of the inscriptions. This strongly supports the view that the term *pkên* has multiple and interchangeable meanings—as “a market” (an event) or as “a field” (a place).

¹⁹ Translated into English by Ade Tinamei.

²⁰ *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* or KBBI (“The Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language”) is the official dictionary issued by the Language Center of the Indonesian Department of Education. The online source is <http://kbbi.web.id/> using Version 1.5 of October 2015 [last accessed 24 April 2021].

(KBBI, n.d.)²¹. The word *pasar* has been widely used across the country and across indigenous languages and dialects to refer to a market, marketplace, or market building, both formally and informally, in speech and writing. Local terms are still used in regional and local dialects, including the terms *peken* or *pekan* in Javanese.

Do the words *peken* or *pekan* exist in current spoken and written Indonesian? While *pekan* is rarely used to refer to a market, it is often used in both daily conversation and formal language to refer to a “period of a week”. Interestingly the current KBBI defines *pekan*, not *peken*, as both “a market” and “a week (of 7-days)” (KBBI, n.d.)²². One of the examples given is *pekan budaya*, which may be translated as “a week-long cultural fair”. The current usage is consistent with the historical usage of *pekan* having multiple and interchangeable meanings, such as “a fair/festival week” (a week) or as “a week-long fair/festival” (an event). The context of the interaction signals the appropriate meaning. *Pekan* is rarely used to refer to common trading activities or marketplaces since most of its current uses relate to social, cultural, or even political events occurring on an urban scale. *Pasar* is the regular term used to refer to common trading activities or marketplaces. No longer does *pekan* refer to a particular place, or the spatial aspect of events. The current meaning of *pekan* has shifted and narrowed to mean any week-long celebration or ceremony.

In current Indonesian, the word *pasar* has evolved from a broader historic usage into something more specific. Over the last two decades, the original term and usages of *pasar* are found in daily conversations, but the term has been replaced in formal contexts by *pasar tradisional* (“traditional market”). This usage is common in government documents and

²¹ <http://kbbi.web.id/pasar> [last accessed 24 April 2021].

²² <http://kbbi.web.id/pekan> [last accessed 24 April 2021].

regulations. In the past, the term *pasar* was common in documents and regulations. Today, *pasar tradisional* is the term most often used in planning documents and spatial regulations—especially on marketplace planning and management—in all levels of government: central, provincial, and municipal/local. A new term, *pasar rakyat* (“people’s market” or “folk market”), has also been introduced among urbanists—such as academics and professional architects/planners—and is occasionally included in marketplace planning documents on the national level. Figure 2-1 shows a diagrammatic timeline of how the terms referring to public markets—*pasar*, *pasar tradisional*, and *pasar rakyat*—were introduced and have evolved within regulations of marketplaces. The timeline includes regulations occurring on a national level as well as municipal level case studies of the City of Semarang and the City of Surakarta (also known as Solo)²³. The figure also includes important social-political milestones in Indonesia.

²³ A brief note on my research methods is appropriate here. This research was part of my twelve months of on-site and off-site research on various *pasars* in Central Java and D.I. Yogyakarta Provinces from mid-2014 to mid-2015. I employed an archival research methodology on municipal regulations in two research case studies, the City of Semarang and the City of Surakarta (also known as Solo). I also included several central regulations that relate to marketplace planning. I focused on how the term for referring marketplace in those two cities has changed. I also compare the usage and the concept. A further description of my research methods, particularly in the case of my intensive main fieldwork in *Pasar Bulu*, Semarang, can be found in chapter 3 and 4.

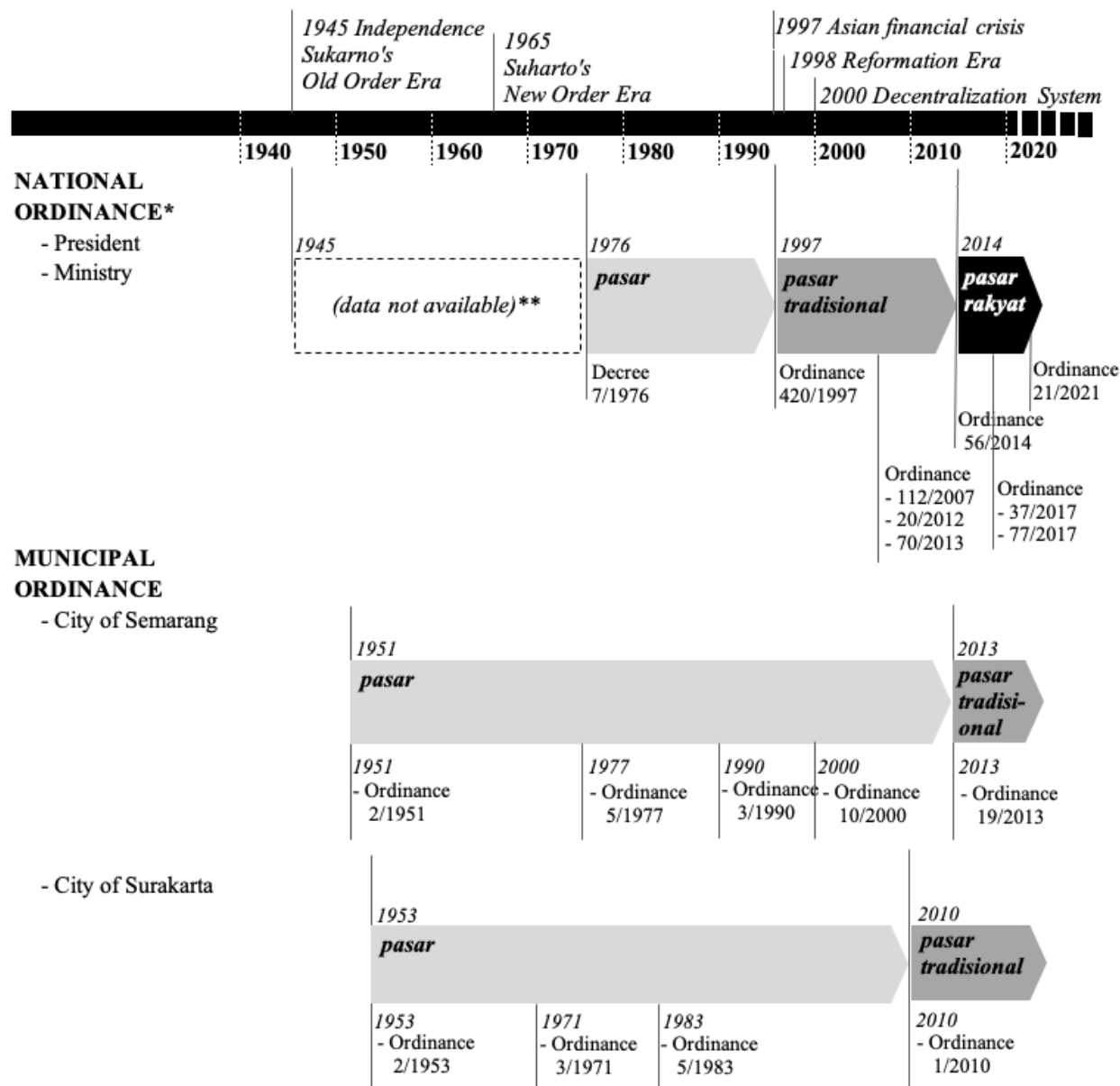


Figure 2-1 Diagrammatic Timeline of Changes on Referring Term in Marketplace Regulations

Source: drawn by Author

Notes/Disclaimer:

- *) National ordinance includes presidential and ministerial regulations in various types (i.e., instruction, decree, bill, ordinance, etc.) issued by various ministries (i.e., Dept. of State and Dept. Trade & Industry).
- ***) No data available from various resources.
- Translations: *pasar* (“market”), *pasar tradisional* (“traditional market”), *pasar rakyat* (people’s/folk market).
- For convenience’s sake, I only use the term ‘ordinance’ in each product of regulations. This term ‘ordinance’ should not be taken to relate factually to the variety of titles of the ordinances issued by each party for each milestone. The completed title of each regulation is further detailed in the References and Appendix C.
- Each title of the ordinances above only depicts the main documents of the ordinance. Some of these ordinances have one, two, or even three amendment documents as supplementary and revised regulations. For convenience’s sake, I only put the title of the main document. The complete list of all regulations is detailed in References and Appendix C.

Figure 2-1 shows that most current regulations and decrees about marketplace planning at the national and municipal levels use the term *pasar tradisional*. In Semarang, the term *pasar* was used in the four earliest ordinances about market planning and management from the years 1951, 1977, 1990, and 2000. In the most recent ordinance, adopted in 2013, the term changed to *pasar tradisional*²⁴. In Surakarta, the term *pasar* was used in the three earliest ordinances—in 1953, 1971, and 1983. In the most recent ordinance from 2010, the term changed to *pasar tradisional*²⁵.

This change from the *pasar* into *pasar tradisional* is related to some national milestones. The economic crisis that hit Asia in 1997 brought Indonesia to its lowest economic level since the 1960s during the latter days of Sukarno’s presidency²⁶. The Decentralized System²⁷ of government began in 2000 and fostered a new discourse, which emphasized more localized and bottom-up planning processes (Beard, 2002). Various redevelopment projects were built by private investors including modern marketplaces, indoor malls, and department stores. The rapid development of the commercial environment has added new pressure to older institutions like the *pasar*. This change helped spur the inclusion of the word *tradisional* (“traditional”) to distinguish the older markets from the increasingly popular *pasar modern* (“modern market”), which covers newer economic institutions such as grocery stores, mini markets, modern fresh markets, shopping centers, and malls.

²⁴ The complete titles of the 1951, the 1977, the 1990, the 2000 and the 2013 ones are detailed in the References and Appendix C.

²⁵ The complete titles of the 1953, the 1971, the 1983, and the 2010 are detailed in the References and Appendix C.

²⁶ Sukarno is the Indonesian founding president. His era is known as the Old Order Era (1945-1965).

²⁷ The 2000 Decentralized System replaced the previous system of centralized government and development planning with a wide range of decentralization programs.

It is important to note that although the term *pasar tradisional* appears to be introduced in 1997 with the Ordinance 420/1997, formal usage of the term in legal regulation documents does not appear until later documents. The term *pasar tradisional* officially started with the issuances of three documents: Ordinance 112/2007, Ordinance 20/2012, and Ordinance 70/2013. These documents are presidential and ministerial (State and Trade & Industry) ordinances respectively. These regulations indicated the government's aim to empower *pasar tradisional* among many other economic institutions as stated in a clause from Ordinance 112/2007, “[W]ith the development of small, medium, and large scale of modern retails, *pasar tradisional* needs to be empowered so that they [both] can grow and develop in harmony, mutual complementing, mutually strengthening, and mutually benefitting (2007, p. 1, article a)”²⁸. This statement is responding to the pressure on traditional markets created by more modern development. Indonesian could now formally distinguish the traditional *pasar* from the modern *pasar*.

Before concluding our analysis on the meanings of *pasar*, I pose a final question: has the word *bazaar* itself persisted in the modern Indonesian lexicon? The official *Kamus Besar* translates the word *bazar*²⁹—not *bazaar*—as “a market that is purposely held over a period of several days for the exhibition and sale of handicrafts, food items, etc., with the proceeds going to charity”. What is interesting about the modern use of *bazar* in an Indonesian context, is that it never specifically refers to the space in which the event takes place. This stands in contrast to Veth's early concept of the original form, *bazaar*, which primarily represents the spatial aspect: “a covered market building” (Veth, 1889, p. 363; van der Sijs, 2003, p. 218) which he quotes

²⁸ The original sentence is “[B]ahwa dengan semakin berkembangnya usaha perdagangan eceran dalam skala kecil dan menengah, dan usaha perdagangan eceran modern dalam skala besar, maka pasar tradisional perlu diberdayakan agar dapat tumbuh dan berkembang serasi, saling memerlukan, saling memperkuat serta saling menguntungkan (quoted from *Permendagri No. 112/2007, 2007, p. 1 ayat 1*)

²⁹ <http://kbbi.web.id/bazar> [last accessed 24 April 2021].

from Dozy (1867). Thus, the current Indonesian word *bazar* differs in concept from both the original term *bazaar* and the historic and more recent meanings of *pasar*.

In comparing the term *bazar* with *pasar*, or *peken*, we can see that they have a few things in common. First, these terms involve trade and transactions. Second, they suggest various activities in addition to trading. Like *pasar*, or *peken*, *bazar* includes a wide range of possible economic, social, or cultural activities.

On the other hand, *bazar* and *pasar/peken* have meanings that differentiate them. First, *bazar* is a temporary, short-term, and incidental event. Whereas *pasar/peken* is a regular or periodic one. In fact, people have named short-term exhibitions or fairs that have trading activities as a *bazar*—but not as a *pasar*.

Second, *bazar* could easily occur in any place, even in a private space. On the other hand, a public component is a defining trait of *pasar/peken*. The existence of *pasar/peken* often plays an important role in the urban square—as one of four essential planned features of a civic center—or in the rural settlement arrangement. In this setting, *pasar* is a periodic market that functions within a regional socio-economic system of interconnected settlements. This concept will be explored in section 2.3.

Third, the existence of *bazar* does not represent the presence of a consistent community. While *bazar* may be sponsored by both public (government offices) or private institutions (banks, companies), it is typically managed by an event organizer. As an incidental event, the participants of *bazar* are by invitation based on the theme of the event. As a result, the participants change as the theme changes. Since there is no permanency in the participants' involvement, the *bazar* provides inconsistent social commitments and ties. Conversely, *pasar* or

peken represents a consistent community. Regular vendors contribute to the life of the market and often serve as managers of the *pasar*.

Fourth, *bazar* is an event with a circumstantial purpose whereas *pasar*, or *peken*, occurs without a theme. For example, a *bazar* would typically be held during special national days, such as during the month of Ramadan³⁰ as well as in welcoming Eid-al-Fitr³¹, Eid-al-Adha³², and New Year. The specific theme of these special *bazars* would relate to the specific national day and the items sold would be associated with that theme. Items sold in a *bazar* are more commonly ready-to-eat food and beverages as well as thematic products of contemporary handicrafts, souvenirs, etc. *Pasar*, or *peken*, tends to provide fresh produce, meat and poultry, grains, and other basic raw ingredients regardless of when the market takes place.

As part of *pasar* activities and located in an area of the *pasar* such as the entrance, a *bazar* might be held. In this case the *bazar* becomes supplementary or complementary to the main activity provided by *pasar*, while the *pasar* remains an essential or basic occurrence that is never part of an independent *bazar*.

2.2.4 Summary: The etymology of *pasar*

What can we learn from etymological assessments of the origins and meanings of the two words *pasar* and *peken*? I have demonstrated how, the ethno-etymological origins of both words help us understand the Indonesian market and how these two terms have retained some essential meanings of periodicity, social time, place, people, event. At the same time, their meanings have

³⁰ *Ramadan* is the Islamic holy fasting month.

³¹ *Eid-al-Fitr* is the first major Muslim festival celebrating the end of *Ramadan*, the month of fasting.

³² *Eid-al-Adha* is the second major Muslim festival commemorating Ibrahim's devotion to God and his readiness to sacrifice his son, Ismail.

changed with modern consumer tastes and as the course of socio-political life changes in Indonesia.

Having compared the etymological narratives of the words *pasar* and *pekan*, I conclude that the two words initially had no significant difference in meaning. Both words equally support the view that *pasar* or *pekan* was never just a market or marketplace. Regardless of the likelihood that one word, *peken*, originated in ancient (pre-Hindu) times while the other, *pasar*, was likely introduced through other languages (from Persian *bazaar* to Tamil *pajār* to Indonesian *pasar*), the meaning of both stayed the same for an initial period. In both cases, their early meanings were not affected by the original characteristics of the Persian *bazaar*. The word *pasar*, although indirectly and historically related to the Persian *bazaar*, differs in meaning from the original meaning of *bazaar*. The assimilation process that led to the new meaning of *pasar* does not imply changes in the nature of the original Indonesian market as an event.

Can we argue that *peken* is older than *pasar*? Etymologically, the word *peken* may have originated in an earlier period than did *pasar*, while *pasar* would have spread later during the first period of intensive international maritime trade in Southeast Asia. However, the evidence presented in section 2.2.2 suggests that *pasar* existed in earlier Javanese texts, contradicting van der Sijs (2003, p. 219) claim to the contrary. Further, the common theory that *pasar* ‘replaced’ *peken* is challenged by the evidence in section 2.2.2. Information about ancient Javanese, or ancient Indonesian generally, is sparse. Since the Tamil language came to the region with several waves of Tamil traders, the word *pasar* may have emerged before Indonesia’s exposure to Tamil in the Age of Commerce.

Based on this fact, I suggest two possible conclusions. The first possibility is that *peken* is older and that *pasar* appeared after its emergence, as a product of Tamil trade during the peak of

the Age of Commerce. The second is that both words, *peken* and *pasar*, came into use around the same time. Though *pasar* may have been influenced by the Tamil language, this influence did not necessarily take place during the era of global trading. The cultural landscape of Indonesia, especially the island of Java, had long been influenced by Southern Indian culture, including the Hindustan-Tamil region. The *Pallava* alphabet, the Sanskrit language, the *Çaka* calendar, and other archeological artifacts are among many examples of such influences. Historically, both terms may have been used together to refer to marketplaces, in which case the age of both words would be the same.

Assuming the concepts are identical and the origins irrelevant, I argue that the only difference between the words may lie in usage. The word *peken* is commonly found in the highest level of Javanese, whereas *pasar* is rarely used at that level. As aspects of ethnicity and traditionality, the levels of language that are mandatory in spoken Javanese make explicit the boundaries between social groups. Further research on the uses of different words in different levels of language is needed to reveal the characteristics of *pasar* and *pekan* that relate particularly to social groups, locational boundaries, economic mobility, and community practices.

The analysis and discourse of both words in recent contexts have shown that while *pasar* and *peken* may have initially been identical in concept and usage, the words have transformed, adapted, and been adjusted to the changing nature of the *pasar*, as well as the changing social, political, and cultural context of Indonesian society.

By charting the meanings of the word *pasar* as they have changed, I've been able to distinguish the myriad uses from the different cultures existing within distinct historical timeframes. Above all, the analysis has revealed that the concept of *pasar* has developed into an

important element in the creation of local cultural landscapes and urban spaces. Now I will show how the concept is applied in historical and contemporary urban planning.

2.3 *Pasar* as Public Space: A Critical History of Early Javanese Urban Planning

“From a historical point of view, the main reason for the interstitial position of the *pasar* within Javanese society is that it is, for the most part, not a local growth but was introduced from outside at a point when Java had already achieved a very high level of social, political, and religious development (Geertz, 1963a, p. 42).”

In this section, I examine early forms of the *pasar*³³ to reveal the indigenous nature and characteristics of the Indonesian market. Within this historical analysis, special attention will be paid to the characteristics of *pasar* as a public space playing a role in the development of urban life and urban planning in early Javanese towns and cities.

The *pasar*, as a public space of economic exchange and socio-cultural growth, is first and foremost a narrative of Indonesian urban history. The common narratives of *pasar* mostly relate to the historical presence of *pasar* as an open-air marketplace in the era of Javanese kingdoms (c. 1500s-1600s). The *pasar* in cities was commonly known as *pasar kuta* (“urban market”), and it was one of four essential planned features of a civic center, the others being the public square (*alun-alun*), the palace (*keraton*), and the grand mosque (*masjid agung*). The *pasar kuta* will be further described below (section 3.3.4). In rural villages, the *pasar* served the same centralizing function on a smaller scale, but over a wider area. These were known as *pasar desa* (“village market”) and were held on a rotating basis in five different neighboring villages during the five-

³³ From this section forward, for convenience’s sake, I only use the term *pasar* in referring to the Indonesian market. The term *pasar* used hereafter should not be taken to relate conceptually to any explanation given in previous sections.

day cycle of market days. This concept of a ‘periodic market’ was explicitly expressed in the meaning of the word *pasar* as ‘market days’.

These narratives indicate that the *pasar* provides a social and public place for the community, but also embodies and expresses a relational process between the site and the people who meet there and trade together. I use historical research methods in reconstructing the earliest concepts and characteristics of the Indonesian *pasar*, deriving my data from the writings and other material records of historians, urbanists, architects, and urban planners.

2.3.1 *Pasar* as a relational process: People, place, and the celebration of collective way of living

Under the system of *pañcawara*—the five-day Javanese calendar week of *Lěgi*, *Paing* (or *Pahing*), *Pon*, *Wagé*, and *Kliwon*—the village (*desa*) was developed in a pattern that connected sets of neighboring settlements with a rural market (*pasar desa*), an early form of the *pasar* or *peken*, being held in an orderly rotation within different settlements. Historical assessments of ancient Javanese urban planning have revealed that traditional Javanese towns were linked together locally as close-knit communities, following the Javanese planning principle called *pañatur desa*, or *pañasta desa*. Villages were typically grouped as *mañcapat*, a set of five neighboring villages with one village in the center circled by four villages facing the four Cardinal directions, or of *mañcalima*, a set of nine villages with one village in the center, circled by eight villages facing eight Cardinal directions (Wiryomartono, 1995; Nastiti, 2003; Koentjaraningrat, 1984; Damais, 1969, p. 15; Sumadio, 1984, p. 244; Bezemer, 1921, p. 407; Dewey, 1962; Wisseman, 1982).

Mañcapat and *mañcalima* provided communal harmony and a socio-economic support system within a cluster of villages (van Ossenbruggen, 1975, p. 7), as well as the opportunity to

practice integrated self-management and self-governance in addressing agricultural problems (Wuryantoro, 1981, p. 87; Nastiti, 2003, p. 55). The market schedule was cyclically rotated, so that, for a five-village group, *pasar* would be held in a different village on each day of the five-day market week. For example, within one cluster of *pañca desa* (“five villages”), the market day would be *Kliwon* for the center village, *Wagé* for the North village, *Lěgi* for the East village, *Pahing* for the South village, and *Pon* for the West village (Damais, 1969, p. 105; van Ossenbruggen, 1975, p. 41; Sumadio, 1984, p. 244; Nastiti, 2003, p. 55). Thus, the market was held not only as ‘a periodical event’, but also as ‘a spatial event’ within a set of villages³⁴. Among these five locations, since the *Kliwon* village is typically located equidistant from all the others, the *Kliwon* market day commonly offers the biggest market activity compared to the other four within the same cluster.

This arrangement ensured that the people visiting the market on different days in different villages would regularly and routinely meet each other in a semi-informal social gathering ritual. Each village took a turn to ‘play host’ for all the other villages once every five days. The role of each market was determined by the five-day rotation and the established boundaries of one cluster of *pañca desa* (“five villages”). The ritualized social contact was ordered both by time (scheduled over the five-day cycle of the Javanese week) and by space (held across five assigned locations): it was a complex and advanced organization of social relations, manifested in social space both physically and conceptually. This is, as Low (1996) calls it, the practice of spatialization of human experiences (p. 861). Each set of villages, being organized at the local level, was not necessarily permanent. Over time these sets changed. When

³⁴ In reality, one market may easily be held on two separate days. For example, *Pasar Kaloran* is held every *Wagé* and *Pahing* (Nastiti, 2003, p. 56-57).

one village grew bigger, it became the center of a new set; therefore, its market would also grow and eventually become the center of networked trading activities for surrounding villages and other markets within the cluster of settlements. This arrangement can still be found in the modern rural villages in Central Java, especially in Northern coastal and inland towns/villages³⁵. The historic spread of this social ritual has contributed to local self-governance which is a feature of the local socio-economic networking system. This system is embodied in the clustering principle of settlement planning.

This approach views the *pasar* as a stage for the transmission of sociocultural beliefs and behaviors among market vendors and visitors, particularly through the rituals of the market's economic activities. This section contextualizes these rituals through time, in the rotation of market days. In the following section, the rituals relate to space, in the rotation of market locations.

2.3.2 *Pasar* as a regional public space and trading/networking system

The allocation of the market's day and location may appear to be a rigid system operating exclusively within one territorial cluster, but the arrangement has been flexible and easily crossed territories. Since the early 19th century, literature has demonstrated that not only could one marketplace have one or two market days within a cluster (Raffles, 1817, p. 198; Nastiti 2003, p. 56), but one marketplace could also serve a cross-territorial area beyond its own cluster. Cyclical market days and locations may vary based on local arrangements, and the boundary of

³⁵ When a rural village grows to become a town and a city, many of its markets, particularly those near the downtown, tend to gradually transform from a periodic market into a daily one. This transformation is related to the gradual change in initial distribution patterns of the socio-economic networking system, affecting the scheduling time and place of markets. Some markets in the peripheral area of the city may continue to be a periodic market as before preserved as part of networking trading activities among the neighboring villages.

the clustering distribution is very fluid since the schedule results from community consensus that are unwritten. Nastiti (2003), quoting from her research about market rotation in the Kabupaten (“regency”) of Temanggung and Malang, discovered that a market in one *pañca desa* (“five villages”) belongs to two groups of village clusters due to its ambiguous geographical and topographical setting (p. 56-57)³⁶. She uses as an example the position of a *pasar* in the Village of Tepusen. On the one hand, *Pasar Tepusan* has been the Central Market (with market days every *Pon* and *Kliwon*) for four other villages/markets: *Kaloran* in the East (every *Wagé* and *Pahing*), *Kandangan* in the West (every *Wagé* and *Lěgi*), *Tegowanuh* in the South (every *Wagé* and *Pahing*), and *Telogopucang* in the Northeast (every *Pon* and *Lěgi*). On the other hand, the same market, *Pasar Tepusan*, also acts as an East Market for another cluster of four other villages/markets: *Kedu* in the Center, *Malebo* in the North, *Temanggung* in the South, and *Parakan* in the West (p. 56-57). This is because, given its geography, *Pasar Tepusan* could be seen as part of either village cluster.

Since ancient times, merchants have had the flexibility to sell their goods in markets of their choosing. In fact, there have been no written or unwritten state laws, local norms or orders that limit or prohibit merchants from selling their goods in any market within a cluster. Since merchants who can travel tend to go where customers gather, they set up their businesses according to the market’s rotation, and thus markets grew organically. Nastiti (2003) quotes from the *Garamān* Inscription from 975 *Çaka* (1053 CE), which states that merchants from the village of *Garamān* were allowed by the authorities of the *pañca desa* (“five villages”) to sell their goods in any market of the neighboring villages (p. 105). This practice reflects the integrated

³⁶ Although Nastiti's research is about present-day markets, the markets studied are chosen among those that still perpetuate the ancient principles of traditional markets.

networking within clusters of villages that provided self-reliant socio-economic support systems. In the following section, I will focus on how *pasar*, particularly in urban areas, are part of the ancient Javanese urban square planning system and how it relates to the cosmological dialogue between the sacred and profane.

2.3.3 *Pasar* in the morphological structure of the ancient Javanese city center

In the previous section, we see how the *pasar*, especially the *pasar desa* (“village market”), creates and confirms a cultural link between people and place. We may now ask how such a link might appear in the *pasar kuta* (“urban market”).

The *pasars* first appeared in Javanese traditional town centers in the era of the Kingdoms (c. 1500s-1600s) as open-air marketplaces held on a periodic schedule. They were planned in accordance with the Javanese town planning principle of *Catur Gatra Tunggal* (“four elements as one”), these four essential elements of a civic center being a main square (*alun-alun*), a palace (*keraton*), a grand mosque (*masjid agung*), and a grand market (*pasar/peken agung*). This arrangement focused on the role of the square as the “heart” of the city, embodying the centers of political, economic, and spiritual power and providing a public space for the community (Wiryomartono, 1995; Lim & Padawangi, 2008; Lim, 2007; Kusno, 2000). This arrangement is depicted in figure 2-2 and 2-3.

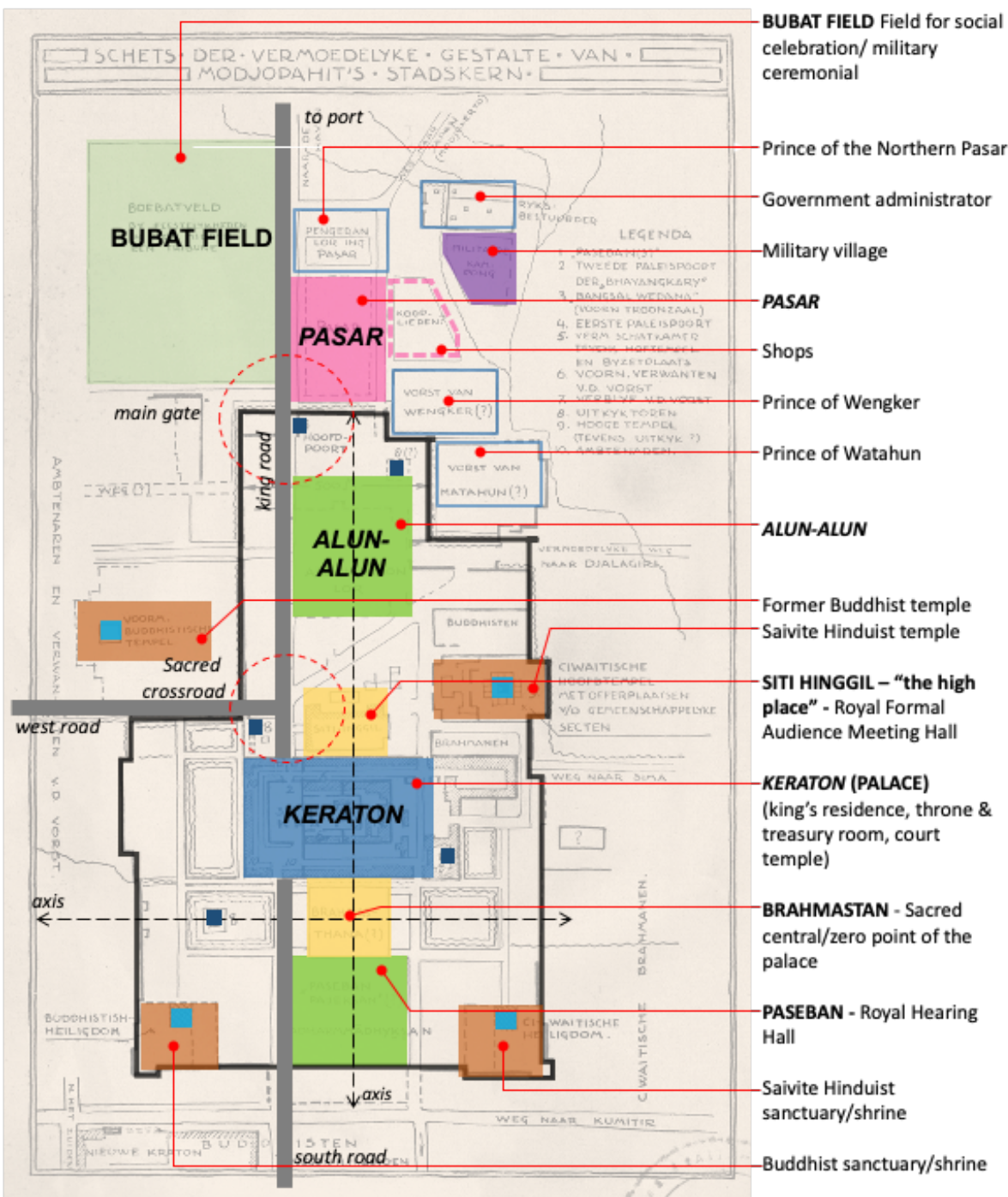





Figure 2-2 The Morphological Structure of City Center in Majapahit Kingdom

Source: redrawn by Author based on Pont (1925) and Hall (1996)
 Notes: Majapahit was one of the important and well-known Javanese-Hindu empires in Indonesia and Southeast Asia existed between 13th and 16th century.

- Symbols:
-  Palace wall
 -  Temple area with a temple building
 -  Watch tower

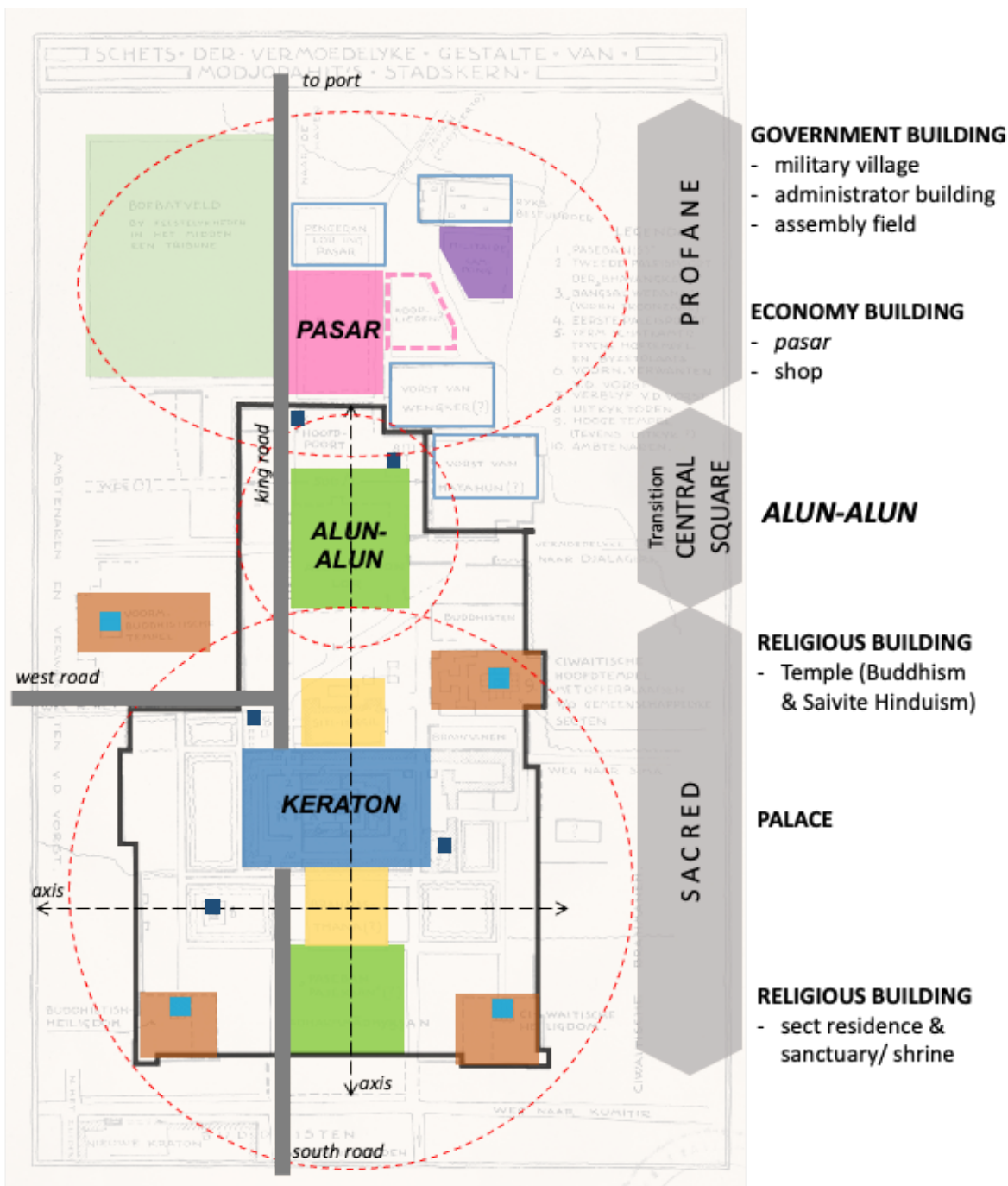


Figure 2-3 Diagram of Sacred and Profane Area in the Morphological Structure of City Center in Majapahit Kingdom

Source: redrawn by Author based on Pont (1925) and Hall (1996)
 Notes: Majapahit was one of the important and well-known Javanese-Hindu empires in Indonesia and Southeast Asia existed between 13th and 16th century.

The *alun-alun* was created to be a space where sacred and profane elements could meet (Lim & Padawangi, 2008; Lim, 2007), in a conversation of cosmic importance among nature, the political authority, and the people. This great open square, site of festivals, entertainments, and executions, was also the only place where the king—the authority—met with laypeople and conducted civic dialogues (Wirjomartono, 1995; Lim & Padawangi, 2008; Lim, 2007). However, Lin indicates that the dialogue itself was “never an actual two-way communication; it was very much ritualistic and ceremonious (2007, p. 213)”. Religious (Padawangi, 2006), cultural, and social ceremonies (Lim, 2007) were also held in this space. As a major public and civic place, the *alun-alun* complex reflected a relationship between the state and civil society that was at once symbiotic and in tension. Built on *tanah sultan* (the land of the king, whose palace was adjacent to it), the *alun-alun* was not only a meeting place for citizens but a focal center of authority and political, economic, and spiritual power, where the role of the state in exercising authority and maintaining civic harmony was manifested.

In contrasting the *alun-alun*, Wirjomartono (1995) argues that the *pasar* was a public space that was never influenced by ritualistic civic and symbolic activities. The *pasar* was still a part of the civic center but acted as an independent urban entity; never did it represent a ‘civil democratic space’. Although the *pasar* was on the king’s land, its activities were never controlled by any political and cultural agendas of the landowner. Instead, as “an economic institution and a way of life”, *pasar* was and remains “a sociocultural world nearly complete in itself” (Geertz, 1963a, p. 30). However, the king strategically controlled the land, and thereby was the ‘owner’ of this major economic institution. Since the *pasar* was “a general mode of commercial activity reaching into all aspects of [urban] society” (Geertz, 1963a, p. 30) the control of *pasar* legitimated the king’s sovereign power to control society.

In responding to Wiryomartono's statement above, I argue that activities 'collectively owned/managed' by certain members of the market community have made *pasar* a public space with its own ritualistic and symbolic activities influenced by and performed as part of social-cultural beliefs of the market community. This will be the topic for the next section.

2.3.4 *Pasar* as a place for the celebration of collective living

To further explore the core concept of *pasar* or *peken*, I will argue that the market's essential importance is through the emergence of a meeting place where social and economic interactions occur rather than in the creation of a trading place or in the activity of trade itself (Wiryomartono, 1995, p. 58). The noun *peken* is closely related to or even derived from the verb *mapeken*, meaning "to get together in a market" or "to gather in a market" (Wiryomartono, 1995, p. 58). I take this definition further and argue that in some cases, *pasar* provides a meeting place or an event that celebrates collective living. This point is complex and is best understood through excerpts of conversations that occurred while working in the field³⁷.

³⁷ A brief note on my research methods is appropriate here. These scripts were part of my twelve months of on-site and off-site research on various *pasars* in Central Java and D.I. Yogyakarta Provinces from mid-2014 to mid-2015 in a total of 13 urban markets (three in Surakarta, six in Semarang, and four in Yogyakarta) and 10 rural markets (seven near Surakarta, two near Semarang, and one near Yogyakarta). The complete list of these markets is described in chapter 1. Some of these rural markets are periodic markets. My intensive fieldwork—using participant observation, socio-ethnographic, and semi-structured interview methodology—was mostly conducted in two urban markets, *Pasar Gede* in Surakarta and *Pasar Bulu* in Semarang. Additional research was carried out in various urban and rural markets to provide supplementary data for understanding the nature and characteristics of *pasar* in a wider spatial and social context. The research methods for this additional research included visual observations, casual/semi-structured interviews (with visitors and vendors), hand sketches, and photographic documentation, in the 13 urban markets as well as the 10 rural ones. In researching the urban market, I aimed to study the dynamics and problems of urban markets that had experienced or were experiencing a revitalization project. In researching the rural market, my research objective was to get more exposure to and familiarity with both periodic rural markets as well as specialty markets. A further description of my research methods, particularly in the case of my intensive main fieldwork in *Pasar Bulu*, Semarang, can be found in chapter 3 and 4.

The first conversation describes young people deciding what to do with their free time. It relates most closely to the meaning of *peken*, derived from the verb *mapeken*, which is “to get together in a market” or “to gather in a market” (1995, p. 58).

Excerpt I:

Two groups of young men are enjoying a Saturday night in the Alun-alun, the main square of the city of Surakarta. They sit on a coconut leaf mat spread on the sidewalk and enjoy the traditional ukulele music being played by the street performers as they eat fritters sold by a street peddler. Here is a snapshot of their conversation³⁸. [All the original conversation was in Javanese, not Indonesian. The terms Kliwon and Legi refer to two among five Javanese market days, Lëgi, Paing, Pon, Wagé, and Kliwon.]

- Man A:* Any idea how to spend this night?
Man B: Tonight? Today is *Kliwon* [day of week], isn't it? What about *Kliwonan* in *Pasar Klithikan Cebongan*?
Man A: But I don't want to *Kliwonan* there. It [the market] is just a flea market. Full of used bike/auto parts. It's not interesting to me.
Man C: Hey guys, what about *Lëgen* in *Pasar Kotagede*³⁹ tomorrow instead? Tomorrow is *Lëgi* [day of week], isn't it?
Men A+B: That's a good idea! You know what, it has been a while since the last time we did *Lëgen* together.
Man C: So, that's it! Let's *Lëgen* in *Pasar Kotagede* tomorrow and meet friends there!”

(Direct personal observation, September 28, 2014.)

The excerpt illustrates the idea that marketplaces are entertainment, but also that each market day signifies a distinct, meaningful social occurrence. The social and cultural functions of the market emerge through a relationship to the socio-spatial network of participants. *Pasar Khlitikan Cebongan* only opens on *Kliwons*, whereas the *Pasar Kotagede* only on *Legis*. These young men have rituals of enjoying different markets on different days and are accustomed to

³⁸ Both *Pasar Klithikan Cebongan* and *Pasar Kotagede* mentioned in the conversation are located in Yogyakarta.

³⁹ *Pasar Kotagede* (Kotagede Market) is one of the oldest markets, if not the oldest one, in Java, active since the era of the Javanese kingdoms. The market is located in the historic neighborhood district of Kotagede in the City of Yogyakarta, D.I. Yogyakarta Province. The city, particularly in its urban square, contains the historical remains of the first capital of the Javanese kingdom, *The Mataram Sultanese*, established in the 14th century.

meeting in the market on market-days that follow the Javanese calendar system (*Lěgi*, *Paing*, *Pon*, *Wagé*, and *Kliwon*).

The verb *Lěgen* is derived from the noun *Lěgi*, the same way *Kliwonan* is derived from *Kliwon*. The literal meaning of *Lěgen* (sometimes called *Lěgenan*) is actually “to get together on the day of *Lěgi*” or “to celebrate the day of *Lěgi*”, or more literally, “to (do) *Lěgi-ing*”⁴⁰. The sentence “Let’s *Lěgen* in *Pasar Kotagede*” is translated as “Let’s get together on the day of *Lěgi* in *Pasar Kotagede*” or “Let’s celebrate *Lěgi* by going to *Pasar Kotagede*”, or literally, “Let’s do *Lěgi-ing* in *Pasar Kotagede*”. This is similar to the verb *mapeken* derived from the noun *peken*, translated as “to get together at a *peken* (market)”, explained above.

In the next excerpt, I show that the activity of “to get together in a market” is a sort of ritual practice associated with a gathering event at a market. Here I use my own experience in one particular market, *Pasar Gawok*.

Excerpt II: Ade in *Pasar Gawok*

This is my third visit to Pasar Gawok⁴¹. I have always loved this market. I come at 11.30 am. Today is Saturday, as well as Pon. I am very aware that Pasar Gawok is a Legi and Pon market; and I know that it starts at 6 AM and finishes around 1 PM, and so I am late. There are fewer than a couple of hours left. However, a crowd is still congregated here.

⁴⁰ Here I use the English suffix “-ing” as an equivalent for the Javanese derivation process by which the initial nouns *Lěgi* and *Kliwon* are transformed into the verbs *Lěgen* (or *Lěgenan*) and *Kliwonan* by adding the Javanese suffix -n, with variant adjustments of -an, -en, or -enan. This suffix -n has a function similar to that of -ing in English, essentially denoting a verbal action or an instance of the initial noun word. The other three words for the days of *Pon*, *Pahing*, and *Wagé* are transformed into *Ponan*, *Pahingan*, and *Wagén* or *Wagénan* respectively.

⁴¹ *Pasar Gawok* (“Gawok Market”) is located in Gatak, Sukoharjo, Central Java, Indonesia. I visited this periodic market about eleven times from mid-2014 to mid-2015. The market is one of the huge rural markets in which aspects of the ancient rural community and traditional trading remain strong. Not only does the market sell daily essentials, but also various traditional house wares, kitchen wares, and food. Vendors selling livestock and other domestic animals like goats, chickens, ducks, swans, birds, fish, and the like are easily found in the market. It has a section for blacksmiths creating knives and sickles or mending them, all in an old-traditional way, as well as an arena for cockfighting.

In one corner, people sell colorful traditional snacks. Men are gathered to watch the cockfights or set their champion birds at each other. Some of the cocks that have been a winner for several fights in the past has become the main actor in this 'show'. The owners, who is from the neighboring villages, are now being challenged by the other cocks' owners from various villages. In another corner, there is a lively auction of goats and birds. Seeds and flowers are sold next to street peddlers loudly advertising their traditional kitchen appliances, and blacksmiths noisily brazing knives and farm tools in fire. Children are happily screaming as they enjoy riding the mini mobile "marry-go-round" attached to a mini truck while the parents are window shopping. Some people gather in the spot where a "medicine man" is preaching and promoting his so-called newly discovered medicine; a healer for various illnesses, he is claiming.

I am strolling around the market. I know I only have a little time left. Yet, I am not stressed. I have no particular thing to buy. I just want to enjoy these crowds and escape from my hectic daily schedules.

(Direct personal observation, November 15, 2014.)

This excerpt offers four important points. First, it shows that *Pasar Gawok* was a place where economic transactions were held and where people from Gawok village and neighboring villages met. The market became a communal meeting place where habitual activities took place. Second, the economic interactions were just one part of the socio-cultural activities, recreation, leisure, and amusements provided by the market. Third, we can see that some of the activities, particularly the cockfight, appeared as ritual-like practices and are communal, repetitive, and culturally patterned. Fourth, actions and interactions in the market were collectively and repetitively produced in every *Legi* and *Pon*, thus explaining the existence of the Gawok community and their social cultural beliefs on collective living. The periodicity of the market helps organize events in which any form of exchange—economic, social, and cultural—is accommodated while conveying and transmitting the social life of a community.

This excerpt continues and describes how periodic markets function within a regional settlement system.

Excerpt III: (continued) A knife seller, a kitchenware seller, and Ade in *Pasar Gawok*

I am walking around Pasar Gawok. One street vendor, a knife seller, hastily looks at me. He then starts a conversation with me. (All the original lines of the conversation were in Javanese, not Indonesian.)

A knife seller:

Hey, young lady, you're late! It [the market] is almost finished. You've missed it. You'd better come back on the next day of *Pon*. Mmmm, you know what, you may come back on [the day of] *Lēgi*, but meeh, it won't be as lively as it will be on [the day of] *Pon*! So, just please come back on next *Pon* instead, OK!

*Upon hearing the man's warning, I smile and thank him. I tell him that I will try my best to visit this market again on next *Pon*, not next *Lēgi*. Before I finish my lines, another vendor, who sells kitchenware next to him jumps into our conversation.*

A kitchenware seller:

But if you want to come on another day than *Legi* and *Pon*, you can visit the other markets though! If it is on *Kliwon*, it is [*Pasar*] *Bekonang's* and [*Pasar*] *Delanggu's* day. If you come on *Wage*, just go to [*Pasar*] *Pengging* instead! What? Looking for something in particular? Bird market? Besides this market [*Pasar Gawok*], you can easily go to the bird market of [*Pasar*] *Pedan* on *Wage*!

(Direct personal observation, November 15, 2014.)

This excerpt shows the existence and persistence of periodic markets within a regional settlement system of villages in transmitting the social cultural beliefs. The five *pasars*—*Gawok*, *Bekonang*, *Delanggu*, *Pengging*, and *Pedan*—mentioned in the last paragraph exemplifies a set of rural markets and neighboring villages that are interconnected within a social economic networking. This system may have been inherited from the Javanese traditional planning principle of *pañatur desa*, or *pañasta desa*.

The excerpt from the kitchenware seller indicates that the periodicity of the four markets demonstrates the organization and standardization of time and place in holding a communal event of *pasar* among a group of communities. The ritual held by these periodic markets transmits a collective consensus among the community members about the assigned day for each

market within an agreed collective and inherited arrangement. The kitchenware seller's statement gave information about a given socio cultural ritual and tradition applied in the society he belonged to, and therefore, those who join the market as a newcomer—like me—were savvy to acknowledge this ritual and local knowledge.

The excerpts detailed above support four conclusions. First, the scripts relate to Wiryomartono's argument that the economic transactions in *pasar* are not the essential core of the event. Rather, the circumstances in which both social and economic interactions happen easily and swiftly are what make the *pasar* culturally important (1995, p. 58), as a crucial element of lively urban life. The space may be defined as a trading space or marketplace, but material transactions are just one among various symbolic cultural activities that are socially and spatially constructed through people's interactions in *pasar*.

Second, the event is a regular and recurring ritual, periodically scheduled and spatially rotated through a series of *hari pasaran* ("market days"). Wiryomartono describes the concept of *hari pasaran* rather poetically as "a rhythmic re-occurrence" (1995, p. 58)⁴². This regularity is a structure that constrains individuals to act as members of a particular community. Members who maintain and perform their social roles within the boundary of their set of neighboring villages. The committed and scheduled regularity of celebrating this ritual is central to the concept of *pasar* or *peken*. In both scenes above, the concept of getting together regularly shows how the relational bond between the people and the place they are attached to manifests through these strongly ritualized gatherings. The cyclical arrangement of the market's location binds each group of village people in this social gathering. This arrangement essentially represents and

⁴² The original Indonesian phrase is "*kejadian yang berulang secara ritmik*" (Wiryomartono, 1995, p. 58).

recreates a cosmological link between people and place as they celebrate their collective living rituals.

Third, the exchanges above demonstrate the social consensus among a group of neighboring villages that creates the *pasar* as a public space shared by its members. The market schedule has never been directly controlled or legally dictated by formal authority. Instead, the role of each market and the way events are held are determined by both the five-day rotation of *hari pasaran* and the geographical boundaries of the sets or clusters of villages, which are established by collective agreement.

Lastly, since the conversations above took place in present-day settings, in which the Gregorian calendar is commonly used on a daily basis, we can see that this collective agreement has included the communal assumption that every member can and does utilize the traditional Javanese calendar in determining market days. The exchange between the group of young men demonstrates that market vendors make the communal assumption that visitors will be familiar with the Javanese calendar system used to determine market days, and its relationship to the expected size of the market. Again, we can see that *pasar* has become a platform for the transmission of sociocultural and socio-spatial behaviors and communal consensus, symbolized through the rituals of its economic activities. In the next section, I further elaborate the role of *pasar* as a stage for ongoing community traditions.

2.3.5 *Pasar* as a place for the celebration of tradition

In some cases, *pasar* accommodates rituals that are prescribed by the traditions of certain communities. This community might be the market community, or even a larger one, such as the community of a neighborhood district or a city. The excerpt that follows exemplifies *pasar* as the

medium for practicing cultural traditions. Although the script was taken from a modern context, the rituals are inherited from a historical context.

Excerpt IV: Diah, Dar, and Ade in Pasar Gede

It is one [in the] afternoon in October 2014 in Pasar Gede⁴³, Surakarta. After a long rush-hour helping my “vending mother”, Diah⁴⁴, we both are taking a break in the back area of her vending spot. There are two long wooden benches where she or other vendors used to sit, take a nap, or just gossip. It is a small gathering spot for vendors in her cluster.

Diah then introduces me to a vendor, a well-known market activist, yet a humble guy, Dar. He was once a vendor, a coolie in another time, and now he prefers to become a supplier of traditional snacks. Dar states that he was “literally” raised in the market by accompanying his mother vending ever since he was born. He was the third generation in his family who joined vending in Pasar Gede. I am asking him how he spent his childhood in Pasar Gede, and his answer is as follows.

(All the original lines of the conversation were combining and mixing both Javanese and Indonesian. The term SarDe used here is a popular abbreviation for the name of the market, [Pa]Sar-[Ge]De. It is commonly used in informal daily conversation among vendors and Surakarta’s people.)

Dar:

Well in my mom’s era, this *pasar* had become a place for celebrations. Village people often came to *pasar* to do the tradition of *angon putu*⁴⁵. It starts when they had made themselves a *nazr*⁴⁶. “One day, if I had grandsons of my own, or if I had

⁴³ *Pasar Gede* (“Gede Market”) is located in Surakarta (Solo), Central Java, Indonesia. It is the second biggest grand market in the city and was established and grand-opened by the Surakarta King in 1930. The building was designed by a Dutch architect, Herman Thomas Karsten who was well known as a populous architect focusing on designing public building. He built various beautiful grand markets across the country. Most of these markets have remained as protected historical artifacts of cultural heritage buildings.

⁴⁴ Diah is a banana seller with whom I did my ethnographic research as a vendor in *Pasar Gede*.

⁴⁵ *Angon putu* (literally “grandchildren shepherding”) is one of the Javanese ceremonies performed by grandparents who have reached a certain number (usually 25) of grandchildren. As one of the old Javanese traditions in reflecting gratitude of blessings upon big family moment, this family gathering is performed in a huge group of a family consisting of the children, the relative-in-law, or even the extended ones visiting various family houses and important place for celebration. The rituals of this tradition typically started at the grandparents’ house and continued by visiting interesting town destinations. A Javanese common term for explaining this tradition is *angon putu nang pasar* (“shepherding grandchildren to market”). The meaning of the term highlights the fact that *pasar* is the most popular destination for celebrating the tradition of *angon putu* celebration.

⁴⁶ In Islam, *nazr* is a religious promise, vow, or commitment to God to carry out a certain act once a certain milestone has reached.

reached a certain number of my grandchildren, I promise to take them to this *SarDe*. I will do [the ceremony of] *angon putu* in *SarDe*.”

So then, one day, [in fulfilling their *nazr*,] they would do [the tradition of] ‘shepherding grandchildren’ by taking and babysitting their grandkids in this market. They would come and gather in this inner court and pray to ask for family blessing here. Then they would meet the *Lurah Pasar*⁴⁷ (“Market Master”) and pray for God’s blessings upon him [the *Lurah Pasar*], his family, especially his grandchildren. Of course, it would have taken place in this *pasar*’s central inner court! After that, they would walk around this big market enjoying shopping and exploring *SarDe*.

Dar’s story exemplifies the role of *pasar* in becoming a place where cultural traditions are practiced. From a ritual perspective, Dar demonstrated a shared belief about the importance of *pasar* in society. As the tradition *angon putu* was executed through a sequence of ritual actions—gathering, praying for blessings, and enjoying the market—, here we can see that the ritual was performed as, what Leach (1968) states, aesthetic and communicative acts. These acts convey messages about the society’s value system and beliefs. The symbolic meanings and the social cultural beliefs transmitted in the *angon putu* tradition are relatable and reinforced by the ritual. The market symbolizes the source of society’s prosperity and an important place that supports the community’s well-being. People who visit this market are seeking blessings for their life’s prosperity. Thus, the *Lurah Pasar*, the market manager, administers this source of the society’s prosperity and is prayed for and blessed as the society’s prosperity keeper.

⁴⁷ *Lurah Pasar* is a common term for a Market Master in Surakarta. Other nicknames are *Carik Pasar* and *Kepala Pasar*, depending on locality and tradition.

2.3.6 Market architecture design and planning for tradition

The last excerpt shows how the design of the market hall accommodates cultural rituals in *Pasar Gede*. Karsten, the architect of *Pasar Gede*, designed and built the market in 1930 with a spacious inner court located by the main entrance area serving as a welcoming open space. We easily find this kind of market hall in almost every one of Karsten's market designs. In the following section, I will advance some tentative and preliminary arguments that claim Karsten designed markets to incorporate social, economic, cultural, and technological aspects.

The early conceptual design idea for *Pasar Gede*'s central inner court served as a multi-function open space where ceremonies, celebrations, and other cultural and social activities/events were held by the market community. Karsten's design for *Pasar Gede* created a centralized space with an open atrium to the second floor offering natural light and air circulation and clear sightlines for patrons on the second floor.

The open space of *Pasar Gede* has accommodated socio-cultural events and ceremonials, weekly or annually. The market birthday ceremony annually held by *Pasar Gede* vendors is one example. The market also held other social and cultural activities relating to the celebration of both the market community and the larger community, such as the neighborhood district community. The event of *Grebeg Sudioprajan* ("Sudioprajan Festival) is a cultural festival commemorating the community of Sudioprajan⁴⁸ in which *Pasar Gede* participated annually. The celebrations of both Islamic New Year and Chinese New Year have also been held in the

⁴⁸ Sudioprajan is a neighborhood precinct in which *Pasar Gede* is located. The formal name of this precinct is Kelurahan Sudioprajan. A *kelurahan* is the lowest structured level of government administrative area. While there are two levels of administrative area/precinct below a *kelurahan*—which are *RW* (*rukun warga*) and *RT* (*rukun tetangga*)—, these two levels are not administrated by the City; instead, they are local community administrated precincts with leaders who are appointed by the community.

market. During my fieldwork, I witnessed the 2014 Celebration of *Notasi Laras Kepatihan*⁴⁹ in *Pasar Gede*.

This inner court has also functioned as a place where the government authority conducts official procedures. More recently information and announcements, relating to market society's events and administrative errands, are displayed or announced by officers in this area. The space also serves as a "stage" for the authority. With the addition of the Office for the Market Master, located on the second floor with an open corridor as a porch/terrace facing to the atrium of this inner court, the "ruler" is able to observe market activities from the "higher" level, which creates a sort of "inspection area".

Karsten built several grand markets that were part of a civic center and of *alun-alun*. In other words, he continued the legacy and identity of *pasar* as an important part of the urban civic center. Karsten might have noticed that in the pre-colonial period, it was obvious that *pasar* was the representation of the power of the authority (the kingdom). Yet, the way he designed the market hall with a public common area at the market entrance, like in the design of *Pasar Gede*, suggests that Karsten had included representation of the power of the society (the public and the market people) in the socio-cultural image of *pasar*.

My fieldwork reveals that in the current setting, while this inner court in *Pasar Gede* has been almost fully occupied by floating vendors, the space still functions as a stage for authority figures to make various public announcements and speeches. Furthermore, in some cases, this space also is used for political moves. During the last stage of my fieldwork, this inner court was used for celebrating various national political events. One example is the celebration of Jokowi,

⁴⁹ *Notasi Laras Kepatihan* is an annual cultural celebration commemorating the founding of the traditional Javanese musical notation.

who was the former Mayor of Surakarta, and was elected as Indonesia's new president 2014-2019 on October 20, 2014. While most of the vendors were genuinely happy with the election result and voluntarily provided dozens of *nasi tumpengs*⁵⁰ for celebrating this moment, some event organizers mobilized vendors in this inner court area to amplify the celebration by holding posters of Jokowi and shouting his name and slogans while being recorded by the media. I was among those who were asked to hold a poster and shout slogans. In short, some aspects of the celebration were made for the media, by the media. The images in picture 2-1 to 2-4 help us to understand the situation in *Pasar Gede* during the celebration of Jokowi on October 20, 2014,

In some other cases, in the past two decades, various political campaigns for local government or mayor have targeted market vendors to amplify their political campaigns. Furthermore, we can easily see how the candidates included marketplace improvement—in the forms of revitalization, financial supports/subsidiaries, or other economy or legal supports—as part of their election and campaign promises. However, the implementation of these promises does not always follow the election.

So, we can see how not only has marketplace become a political stage, but also market vendors have become a media for political moves. Marketplaces play a significant role as public spaces where ideologies, cultures, and aspirations are socially expressed and politically contested.

⁵⁰ *Nasi tumpeng* or *tumpeng* is a traditional ceremonial dish formed as a cone-shaped pile of turmeric rice surrounded by side dishes and served on a woven bamboo plate. Although the role of *tumpeng* is different than ritual offerings commonly found in Balinese traditional ceremonies, it shares the same conceptual symbol of gratitude. It is widely adopted in Java for celebrating birthdays, anniversaries, or other gratitude events.



Picture 2-1

A poster of the new elected president Jokowi (with the elected vice president of Jusuf Kalla) was hung from the ceiling of *Pasar Gede*'s inner court.



Picture 2-2

Nasi tumpeng and fruit-tumpeng were served in *Pasar Gede* as ceremonial dish in celebrating Jokowi as the new elected president.



Picture 2-3

Campaign masks with of Jowoki's face were distributed and worn by *Pasar Gede* vendors.



Picture 2-4

Posters of the new elected president Jokowi were hold by the vendors of *Pasar Gede* in celebrating the result of the election. The event was recorded by various newspaper medias.

2.4 Concluding Remarks

During an interview with Nastiti, an Indonesian anthropologist specializing in the ancient Javanese market, she posed a hypothetical question about the history of the Indonesian *pasar*: “You know what, it would be interesting to do research on when and how the word *pasar* predictably emerged or even maybe replaced the ancient word *peken* as a common reference for Javanese marketplace.” She theorized that the word referring to the Javanese marketplace changed over time with the evolution of the living context in which the market existed. She argued that such an inquiry would lead us to better understand how and to what extent these different contexts have affected the indigenous nature and the characteristics of the Indonesian *pasar*.

This chapter is written based on her encouragement. Her statement serves as the basis for my background research about *pasar*. As we see from the above analysis, this chapter has demonstrated how a historical approach to the origins of the word *pasar* has provided an entry point for better understanding early concepts of *pasar* as both an indigenous marketplace and an important source of data on the nature of Indonesian public space.

In the first half of the analysis, I used an etymological approach to theorize earlier concepts of *pasar*. By comparing the history of the two words *pasar* and *peken*, we reveal four dimensions behind each word’s meaning: time, place, people, and event. Historical data have supported the conceptualization of *pasar* as a relational process among these elements. The *pasar* embodies an enactment of collective living. This embodiment is created at a scheduled and regularly recurring time, in a designated public place and by a dedicated community and consists of various social-economic-cultural interactions. As such, it plays a major role in Indonesian

social relations and their worldview, including symbolically embodying and affirming cosmic order.

In the second half of my analysis, I investigated the indigenous nature of *pasar* as an Indonesian public space and outlined several important roles of the *pasar* in the development of urban life and structure. The narratives I traced reveal that the *pasar* was an important urban entity in the planning of early Javanese towns and cities. The multiple roles of *pasar* in the development of urban structure have expanded its importance far beyond its initial function as a place for economic transactions. *Pasar* has become a tool to comprehend the living social, political, cultural, and cosmological aspects of the community.

In addition to the two points above, I also briefly examined the meaning of the word *pasar* in current times. It has become clear that the meaning of *pasar* cannot be isolated as an independent aspect of communal existence limited to a particular place and time, but rather should be viewed in the larger context of the history of the development of urban life and socio-cultural structures in Indonesia.

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CHAPTER 3

VENDING SPACE DISTRIBUTION IN TRANSITION: LEGAL PLURALISM AND THE POLITICS OF SURVIVAL

Abstract

When a marketplace undergoes transitions in a revitalization project, how do vendors and officers interpret each other's behavior and claims to vending space? How does the transition challenge or transform the legality of space allocation in the social construction of space, and to what extent? How do both parties navigate choices and opportunities in maintaining legality while preserving their business survival? What are the implications of this surviving transition for planning? I address these questions by tracing the everyday practices of establishing vending space in a marketplace within the legal pluralism perspective. I examine how public space planning impedes or supports vendors in space-making processes. Participant observation and ethnographic methods were deployed in *Pasar Bulu*, an urban marketplace in Semarang, Central Java, Indonesia, which underwent a major revitalization project. My research describes the transformations that market actors and institutions endured during the relocation of the market during a revitalization activity. By examining the struggles experienced by two parties, the vendors and the officers, I reveal complexities in how vendors maintained their businesses and vending spaces during the transition. I argue that vendors established and maintained their businesses in "the Shelter" (a temporary facility/shelter) through a combination of changes in business arrangements, relationships with each other, and relationships between themselves and state agents.

Keywords: marketplace revitalization, legal pluralism, space allocation, public space planning.

3.1 Introduction

Marketplaces are complex economic structures (Mintz, 1959; Bohannan and Dalton, 1962; Dewey, 1962; Skinner, 1964; Schwimmer, 1976; Appleby, 1976; Bromley, 1978; Malinowski and Fuente, 1982) and socio-political spaces where multiple legal systems coexist (Beek and Thiel, 2005; Aguir, 2015) and where multiple ways of organizing vending space can be (Morales, 1993). Issues of vending space challenge us to understand the dynamic relationships in which people interpret each other's behavior and claims to vending space. These relationships are further complicated when a market is moved or reorganized, creating a shock to the interpersonal dynamics that operate within the marketplace (Morales, 2010).

I will trace these dynamics at an urban market in Semarang, Central Java, Indonesia. In 2011, a city-wide urban renewal project called for a major renovation of the market, leading to the demolition of the existing building in mid-2012. Vendors were relocated to a temporary market, where they struggled to preserve their businesses. After three years of vending in the shelter, vendors were able to reopen their business in the new market building that opened on December 30, 2014. Fieldwork observation of this process, along with interviews with principal actors reveals how vendors and officials dealt with vending space allocation. This research shows the negotiations between vendors and officials as well as vendors themselves, serving to illustrate how vending space allocation was established, interpreted, and reconstructed.

This study proceeds in three parts. First, I will use the planning literature related to vending space and pluralism as an interpretive framework. Second, I will describe the social construction of allocating vending space within the market. Then, I will draw lessons for planning theory and professional practice.

3.2 Legal Pluralism in Public Space Planning

The marketplace is acknowledged as a key site of public space where different space-making processes, legal and socio-legal, coexist. Legal pluralism helps us understand how coexisting processes create diverse and often contradictory spaces and boundaries, resulting in expectations for behavior that may also appear contradictory.

Scholars describe legal pluralism as “a situation in which two or more legal systems coexist in the same social field” (Merry, 1988; see also Pospisil, 1971; Griffiths, 1986; Moore, 1986), or as the presence of “multiple systems of legal obligation... within the confines of the state” (Hooker, 1975, p. 2). The term “legal system” broadly includes the form of law supported by the state as well as normative forms of ordering (Merry, 1988, p. 870). While the former definition easily denotes state law, the latter is not concretely defined. “Non-legal” normative ordering, or “non-state” legal orders, may range from “informal” forms of law issued by local institutions or communities to other indigenous-traditional forms of customary rule systems e.g., moral norms, customs, habits, or even table manners (Tamanaha, 1993).

Legal pluralism refuses the dichotomy that opposes state law with customary law. Building on Moore’s conception of the “semi-autonomous social field” (1973, p. 720) as well as Pospisil’s argument that “every functioning subgroup in a society has its own legal system which is necessarily different in some respects from those of the other subgroups” (1971; as cited in Merry, 1988), I will examine legal pluralism in the field. Empirical inquiry informs theoretical debates, and several authors (K. von Benda-Beckmann, 2001; F. von Benda-Beckmann, 2002). Kleinhans and MacDonald (1997) argue that legal pluralism should focus on “a variety of interacting, competing normative orders —each mutually influencing the emergence and

operation of each other's rules, processes and institutions (p. 31)", so that inquiries in legal pluralism describe the relations among a multitude of orders.

Planning literature has long voiced concerns regarding the integration of legal and regulatory aspects of marketplace planning (Plattner, 1989; Morales, 1998; Morales, 2010) and future research agendas (Morales 1993; 2011; Austin, 1994; Jacobson, 1994). Morales (2010) demonstrate how marketplace vendors in Chicago created a complex social order in the absence of the state. Similarly, this paper shows how social order is produced when the physical location of a marketplace changes.

Municipal administrators planning marketplaces manage highly concentrated economic activities, as well as a complex market community of vendors, customers, and officials with distinct socio-cultural backgrounds. As people make decisions (Mintz, 1959, p. 25; Morales, 2010), conflicts over who oversees the market emerge in different and unique ways. Market actors respond to planning and regulatory processes in diverse ways so that their resources match their needs. Throughout this process, a multifaceted social order is created.

3.3 Research Design and Methods

3.3.1 Methodology and data collection

Legal pluralism is based on the perspective of life on the ground level, that is, "[from] the perspective of the individual subject of law, legal pluralism may be said to exist whenever a person is subject to more than one body of law" (Woodman in Kleinhans and MacDonald, 1997, p. 31). This highlights the importance of observing interactions between individuals in conducting research on legal pluralism.

To obtain a close understanding of vending space allocation, I became a vendor at an urban market in Semarang, Central Java, Indonesia. This method of ethnography or participant observation was part of my twelve months of on-site and off-site research on various *pasars*¹ in Central Java and D.I. Yogyakarta Provinces from mid-2014 to mid-2015. Particularly for this chapter, intensive fieldwork was conducted in *Pasar Bulu*, in the months before and after the official Grand Opening of a new market. By becoming an assistant to a legally certified vendor, who has been in business since 1970, I was able to observe marketplace interactions first-hand. The vendor I assisted moved together with other vendors to the new building. I participated in daily market activities four days a week. I also conducted four interviews with the *Bulu* Master. The complete list of these events, meetings, and interviews is listed in Appendix A. I also conducted archival research, reading 26 articles from national and local newspapers regarding the revitalization project. The list of the newspapers is in Appendix B. I also employed archival research on municipal regulations of the City of Semarang as listed in Appendix C.

While this research reports eight months of on- and off-site research held in *Pasar Bulu*, it is important to note that my ethnography in the temporary shelter was limited to the three weeks before the official grand opening of the renovated *Pasar Bulu*.

3.4 Market History and Wares

The history of *Pasar Bulu* (previously *Passer Boeloe*; hereafter “the *Bulu*”) exemplifies the centuries-old role of public markets in fulfilling civic and economic purposes (Tangires, 2003; Pirenne, 1925). Situated in the area adjacent to the Tugu Muda Intersection, the *Bulu* exists

¹ The complete list of these markets is described in chapter 1, both table 1-1 and 1-2.

within the city of Semarang. It is the second oldest market within the city with only the *Pasar Johar*, in the district of Kota Tua, being older.

The Tugu Muda Intersection was planned and developed around 1870 following the earlier urban expansion of Semarang from Kota Tua to the city outskirts. It connected city consumers to food suppliers in Southern Semarang. Unlike the area of Kota Tua, which grew and developed as an old fort-styled downtown district, the area of Tugu Muda was formally designed by the Dutch to emulate a colonial civic-styled downtown district. It was carefully planned as a prestigious urban node with a complete set of political-religious-economic entities—including the *Bulu*—and was supported by a steam tramway that connected the city to its outskirts.

The tramway had once provided a significant mode of transportation and socio-economic network for both commuters and agricultural products from the hinterlands, rural areas, and neighboring towns. It proved to be an important resource for vendors and customers alike to access to the market. A market existed more organically and crudely on-site, long before the first formal marketplace was built. In 1957, a permanent market building was designed and built by an Indonesian architect, marking the first formal milestone of the *Bulu*'s operation.

Since the market's physical establishment, the number of vendors at the *Bulu* has grown significantly. Prior to the 2014 revitalization, there were approximately 894 licensed vendors and 393 peripheral vendors located in a 13.733-sqm (3.39-acre) area. The *Bulu* served as the second biggest inter-city wholesale and retail market among 54 public markets citywide. Before revitalization, the market expanded from a single building into a five-building campus consisting of *Pasar Bulu Lama*, *Pasar Inpres Bulu I and II*, and *Pasar Induk Bulu I and II*. In these five buildings, a total of 1580 vending spaces were available. Pictures 3-1 to 3-9 show photos of *Pasar Bulu* before demolition.



Picture 3-1

Pasar Bulu before demolition (1): The entrance area (Source: “Dikaji ulang, desain baru Pasar Bulu [Being reviewed, new design for Pasar Bulu]”, 2012).



Picture 3-2

Pasar Bulu before demolition (2): the frontage area of *tokos* (stores) on the first floor (Source: Ministry of Industry and Commerce, 2011).



Picture 3-3

Pasar Bulu before demolition (3): the frontage area of *tokos* (stores) on the first floor and the second-floor façade. Photo taken on 17 July 2011, 9 a.m. before the demolition (Source: Prasetyo Budi Santoso, 2011).



Picture 3-4

Pasar Bulu before demolition (4): vending area on the second floor. Vendors left their goods in their spots. (Photo taken on 17 July 2011, 9 a.m., before the demolition; source: Prasetyo Budi Santoso, 2011).



Picture 3-6

Pasar Bulu before demolition (6): entrance area on the second floor. (Photo taken on 17 July 2011, 9 a.m., before the demolition; Source: Prasetyo Budi Santoso, 2011).



Picture 3-5

Pasar Bulu before demolition (5): vending area on the first floor. Vendors parked motorbikes inside the building. (Photo taken on 17 July 2011, 9 a.m. before the demolition; source: Prasetyo Budi Santoso, 2011).



Picture 3-7

Pasar Bulu before demolition (7): vending area on the second floor with the detail of the façade. (Photo taken on 17 July 2011, 9 a.m., before the demolition; source: Prasetyo Budi Santoso, 2011).



Picture 3-8

Pasar Bulu before demolition (8): vendors' activities on the first floor. (Source: Ministry of Industry and Commerce, 2011).



Picture 3-9

Pasar Bulu before demolition (9): vendors occupied the entrance area (Source: Ministry of Industry and Commerce, 2011).

Today, the *Bulu* sells a variety of goods ranging from fresh produce, meat, and poultry to produce, to consumer goods and services such as tailoring. The market also provides a wide range of food services, from small street food vendors to large food outlets such as hotels, restaurants, and catering services. The market is a long-established wholesaler for traditional

kitchenware and houseware, particularly home-industry clayware and other earthenware products. While the fresh produce and goods come primarily from neighboring rural areas, most of the *Bulu* vendors purchase their goods from “middlemen” suppliers, or from other wholesale markets in both rural areas and within the city of Semarang.

3.5 Components of Vending Space Allocation prior to Revitalization

In this section, I describe the various components of the arrangements that vendors and government agents use, observe and practice in the *Bulu*. These components include the physical market, law and regulations, and interactions between people. I begin by describing market managers and regulations.

3.5.1 Market management agencies

In Indonesia, planning of both public and private markets is regulated by various levels of government: central, provincial, and municipal or local. These different agencies each contribute to the creation of uniform standards, procedures, and legal regulations for each market. Public markets, which are typically on public land and owned by the city, leave on-site planning, management, and operations of the market—including vending space allocation—to the discretion of the municipal or local level of government. The City, which is responsible for implementing the legal regulations and procedures set up by higher levels of government, deals first-hand with the emergence of social interactions and pluralist governance from the space allocation process.

Located on public land, the *Bulu* is owned and operated by the City of Semarang under the *Kantor Dinas Pasar* (hereafter “the City Market Office”). Led by *Kepala Dinas Pasar*

(hereafter “the Head of the City Market Office”), this city-level agency is responsible for the planning and management of 54 public markets citywide, including the *Bulu*. At the local level, each public market has their own local Market Office and Market Master. The *Bulu* is managed by the *Kantor Pasar Bulu* (hereafter “the *Bulu* Office”), led by *Kepala Pasar Bulu* (hereafter “the *Bulu* Master”). The *Bulu* Office also includes seven on-site officers who are responsible for administrative routines and daily management of the *Bulu*, particularly with collecting daily retribution fees. The officers’ scope of work is divided among the types of commodities that are physically separated in the market into “commodity zoning divisions”. They typically start their work at 7 a.m. and finish around 2 p.m.

By employing various managers and officers, the City can enforce legal regulations. However, city agents exercise discretion in their enforcement. This discretion allows for the creation of a more complex and socially responsive organization of vending space. In the following section, I detail these legal regulations, standards, and procedures.

3.5.2 Legal regulations as a component of space allocation

The market is a complex community of vendors, customers, and officials, often with distinct socio-cultural backgrounds. In this space, different methods of claiming authority and rights over vending spaces readily emerge. State regulations, standards, and procedures become important for managing this public amenity; and offer a legal guide of interactions for the market community. The process of space allocation is defined by vendor type, vending area, and vending fee.

Among numerous market regulations issued by various levels of government, there are two important city ordinances for marketplaces in Semarang. First, Ordinance 9/2013 (2013) is

the primary document specifying space allocation/use and vendor status as well as associated legal rights and state obligations. Second, Ordinance 2/2012 (2012) regulates general fee assessment for public service and amenities, including public markets, supplementing the first ordinance. Relating to the second ordinance, Ordinance 2/2012, three supplementary regulations have been recently issued—serving as the first, the second, and the third amendment. They are Ordinance 2/2016 (2016), the Ordinance 1/2017 (2017), and Ordinance 18/2018 (2018). These ordinances serve as blueprints for Market Offices and Market Masters in Semarang. For the purposes of the research, Ordinance 9/2013 and Ordinance 2/2012 are those needed to understand the social construction of vending space.

3.5.2.1 *Two types of vendors and vending spaces*

According to the ordinances, space allocation and legal management in Indonesian marketplaces are regulated by one key parameter: whether the certificate a vendor has indicated that they sell from a shop or a stand. Market ordinances issued by the City specify two types of vendors: *pedagang toko* (“shop vendor”; hereafter *toko*) and *pedagang los* (“stand vendor”; hereafter *los*). In this case, the terms *toko* and *los* reflect both vendor and vending space². All decisions associated with vending space—such as allocation, design, and ownership—as well as vendor rights and obligations are associated with one or the other.

While ordinances use the term “typology” in classifying vendor types and vending space, the categorizations *toko* and *los* include both vendors and space. The two terms are mutually

² Each vending space of *toko* is walled in, floor-to-ceiling, with open display frontage. This type is often grouped as a continuous corridor of stores and typically located in the outer edge of the building directly facing the sidewalk, thus becoming the face of the market and benefiting from direct access to customers. *Los* is typically grouped into clusters formed in built-in concrete tables, as is found in the *Bulu*. This type offers an open-layout vending area instead of individual cubicle shops and are allocated in the inner court of the market.

exclusive when categorizing vending space, but not vendor types. The same vendor may access both types of spaces by owning both a *toko* and a *los*, yet only receive the license for one. For example, Vendor A owns a *toko* and a *los* whereas Vendor B owns a *toko* and three *loses*.

Vendor A is given the title of a ‘*toko* vendor’ since she first acquired a *toko* certificate and later inherited a *los* space from her sibling. Vendor B might also be a ‘*toko* vendor’ even though his certificate is for a *los*. He acquired the *toko* and leases the three *loses* to other vendors.

Regardless of how vendors combine these types, all vending spaces are allocated by the description found in, and legally secured by, their certificate(s). The potential for confusion and inconsistency in this categorization scheme are numerous.

One consequence of this system is the difficulty associated with identifying the total number of vendors within a single market. Morales also describes such difficulties in his study of Chicago’s Maxwell Street Market, in 1993. Prior to the project, the *Bulu* Office claimed 894 legal vendors consisted of 140 *loses* and 842 *tokos*³ in five two-story buildings. However, it is not clear that the number of each corresponds with the number of businesses, nor does it correspond with the number of vendor employees. In addition, my fieldwork also found that this number, ‘894’, provided by the *Bulu* Office does not necessarily mean the number of vendors or the number of certificates, or the combination of vendors *and* certificates. Vendors can easily acquire multiple certificates by using more than one name in order to secure more *loses* or *tokos*. In short, the database system was very poorly documented and inconsistently applied. Thus, accurate data to represent the number of vendors, spaces, or businesses in the market does not exist.

³ Taken from a table of *Rekap Pedagang Pasar Bulu* (“The Total Vendors in the *Bulu* Market”) given by the *Bulu* Master.

To compound matters, each individual certificate may represent a type of vendor no longer represented at the space because of physical changes made by the vendors to their space. For instance, while a vendor may have reconfigured the physical design of a *los* into a *toko*—by transforming it into a walled-in, floor-to-ceiling vending space—, and vice versa, this does not change the labeling of the space type depicted in the Certificate. A *los* will remain a *los*, as will a *toko* remain a *toko*, because it was first documented as such on the Certificate.

I will discuss space size and business hours in the following section.

3.5.2.2 Vending area

In general, vending areas are determined by a vending unit which differs for each type of vendor. The vending area is defined by multiples of a vending unit called *dasaran* (“vending base”). In general, one unit of *toko* ranges from 4 sqm to 16 sqm (43 sqft to 172 sqft)⁴. Each vending space is walled in, floor-to-ceiling, with open display frontage. *Tokos* are often grouped as a continuous corridor of stores and typically located and layered in the outer periphery of the building. In some markets, the outermost *tokos* are designed with their entrances directly facing sidewalks. This benefits vendors by providing direct access to new customers.

On the other hand, one unit of *los* ranges from 2 sqm to 3 sqm (21.5 sqft to 32 sqft)⁵. *Los* are typically grouped into clusters using built-in concrete tables, as is found in the *Bulu*. This type of unit offers an open layout. These units are allocated in the inner court of the market. Both *toko* and *los* may be designed as either a rectangle or a square; The design for each type varies by different markets and locations. Table 3-1 compares the design of *toko* and *los*.

⁴ One typical design of *toko* is in a square of 2x2m to 4x4m (6.6x6.6ft to 13.2x13.2ft).

⁵ One typical design of *los* is in a rectangle of 1x2m to 1.5x2m (3.3x6.6ft to 4.9x6.6ft).

Table 3-1 Design Comparison between *Toko* and *Los*

<i>Toko</i>	<i>Los</i>
	
<p><i>Tokos in Pasar Gading, Surakarta.</i></p>	<p><i>Loses in Pasar Gading, Surakarta.</i></p>
	
<p><i>Tokos in Pasar Cokro Kembang, Klaten Regency, Central Java Province.</i></p>	<p><i>Loses in Pasar Cokro Kembang, Klaten Regency, Central Java Province.</i></p>

How an individual acquires the vending space can vary, and spaces acquired can change over time, while the permit they possess is based on whether they first register as a *los* or a *toko*. If the vendor initially acquired a *los* certificate, they would remain a *los* vendor, regardless of changes to their business including acquiring a *toko*. My fieldwork reveals that generally there are two ways vendors acquire vending space. First, the space was passed down through family, generation by generation. Second, the space was acquired, rented, or purchased, from a former vendor through other social relationships, namely fictive kin, neighborhood (in home village/town), social group affiliation, or acquaintance/friendship.

When the vending space was transacted, vendors passed the associated legal document along with the space. It is important to note that these transactions for space could provide vending space to many new vendors or concentrate it with a few. For instance, a parent might divide their space among several children, or vice versa, multiple persons might sell their individual spaces to a single person. Typically, the legal documents were modified accordingly, but occasionally some vendors did not make those modifications or record those changes with government.

There are other situations that further complicate the process of determining the status of vending space. For example, Vendor A acquired a space from her mother but did not transfer the “certificate”. Then the daughter subleased the space to another vendor for a limited period of time. As a result, several layers of ‘ownership’ parameters and associated definitions exist. These range from ‘the legal (*de jure*) owner’ versus ‘the factual (*de facto*) owner’, to ‘the daily user’. In this case, the mother is ‘the legal (*de jure*) owner’, and also ‘the practical (*de facto*) owner’, while the renter is ‘the daily user’.

Theoretically, the formal business hours for a market are typically from 6 a.m. to 3 p.m.—but the business hours of *tokos*, particularly the ones located on the sidewalk, do not necessarily follow the hours of the market. This is due to *tokos* having their own front facing the entrances. These *tokos* are open for business whenever they are staffed. On the other hand, *loses*, which are gathered in an open-layout hall area inside the building, share an entrance controlled by the Market Office. This does not mean consumers will be limited to set market hours. For example, vendors who sell vegetables, particularly wholesale, start their business at 3-4 a.m. and conclude operations around 1 or 2 p.m. Additionally, not all markets have a gate for each entrance allowing for the market to remain open and accessible anytime.

To secure a vending space, vendors submit legal documents, which are my next topic.

3.5.2.3 *Legal documents*

According to Ordinances 9/2013 & 2/2012, vendors are legally entitled to acquire ownership of their vending space. The space ownership and rights for each legal vendor, either *toko* or *los*, are established by a permit certificate. These certificates indicate the location, area, and associated legal rights and obligations for each space. The name of this certificate in Semarang is SIPTD or *Surat Ijin Pemakaian Tempat Dasaran* (“Certificate of Permit for Vending Space Use”; hereafter “the certificate”). In addition to this certificate, an ID card is issued for each market vendor.

The term, ‘ownership,’ is a tricky concept. Theoretically, the *Bulu* vendors do not ‘own’ the vending space they use. This is because the public marketplace is owned by the city. The certificate acts as a permit for using the vending space in the market. Yet, my fieldwork reveals that the certificate is influential in various economic processes outside the market. It acts as an

asset for collateral—similar to a car, home or real estate property—and is commonly used to guarantee loans or mortgages. Furthermore, while copies of the certificate are typically kept by both the vendor and the City Market Office vendors use their certificate as collateral without knowledge of the government and without approval from any legal agent.

While the certificate plays an important role in the vendor's life, they also present legal and planning problems. Vendors with certificates interpret vending space as their own and assume they can transact it. Consequently, vendors' claims over their space often clash with that of the state; this occurs especially when a market experiences a revitalization project. While this issue will be captured in the space allocation section of this paper, this issue will be further analyzed in chapter 4, which examines practices of space allocation following revitalization.

3.5.2.4 Government agents

Agents from two different market agencies/offices—the *Bulu* (market) Office and the City Market Office—manage the *Bulu*, with the *Bulu* Office responsible for daily administrative routines and management of the *Bulu* prior to the revitalization project. Overseeing the day-to-day operations of the old *Bulu* includes issues related to vending space allocation and daily usage, as well as one specific legal procedure, which is collecting the daily vending or “retribution” fee. The administrative activities of the officers from the *Bulu* Office include daily observations and monitoring, fee collection, as well as on-site documentation and databasing. It means the *Bulu* Master and the seven on-site officers are the on-site representatives who witness and assess changes in the marketplace.

Agents from the latter agency, the City Market Office, are mostly in charge of procedures and assessments that involve the vendor's legal documents. These are the certificate and the ID

card. Some examples of these procedures include transferring legal ownership, changing legal status, or reissuing a legal document. These tasks are not part of the job descriptions for the officers in the *Bulu*'s Office.

Changes in vending space allocation and usage are reported to the officers of the *Bulu*. Some vendors will carry documents with other vendor's name to support their claim of the space having been transferred and with an intention to report this to the City Market Office. However, they simply never made it to the City Market Office to record these changes. As a result, officers of the *Bulu* Office become the walking and living database of space re-allocation, re-adjustment, and re-arrangement. The *Bulu* agents serve as a dynamic mediator for vendors negotiating new space allocation arrangements as well as witnessing and recording adjustments to the market space allocation landscape. They have the best understanding of how the market has evolved, better than any reports generated by a market office.

Next, I will describe a third type of vendor in the following section.

3.5.2.5 *The third type of vendor*

Besides *toko* and *los*, a third type of vendor is associated with almost all markets in Indonesia. Dubbed as "floaters" or "wanderers," these vendors do not have legal access to market space, and they vend and display products on open ground (similar to the "garage sale guys" described by Morales 1993, 2010). While they are categorized as street vendors, their activities take place in an open area (e.g., a market, outside the market, or on the street). These

floating vendors create a culture of market activity around the market. In some cases, they shape a phenomenon of what is known as *pasar pagi* (“morning market”)⁶.

In the *Bulu* case, and additionally in the case of Semarang, these floaters or wanderers are called *pancakan*. In *Bulu*’s old location, there were a total of 393 *pancakans*. Unlike the other two types, *toko* and *los*, *pancakan* attain space on a first-come, first-served basis. Floating vendors tend to settle and cluster around the same area. The consistency of their location is how they are interpreted as “outside” vendors, whereas legal vendors are “inside” vendors.

These traders enter the marketplace differently than vendors who use a *toko or los*. In time some are recognized as belonging to the market while others may be part of another market’s *pancakan*. Still others may simply be street vendors or middlemen who occasionally vend in the *Bulu*⁷. During my fieldwork, I once asked a *Bulu* vendor, Temi, who sells vegetables, whether she feels that this kind of vendor threatens other *Bulu* vendor’s business and she responded, “Why? The market is open for everybody! They just attach [themselves] to the market when vending their stuff. It is normal!” She indicates acceptance of the marketplace as a public space, an open resource for the public. The market is an inclusive space, no matter the legal definitions associated with the official roles of vendors or government, many types of vendors fit together serving the interests of many types of visitors. With time, floating vendors, who are regular participants of the market, are given an ID card and charged a daily vending fee called the retribution fee. However, floaters are not given certificates.

⁶ *Pancakan* commonly starts their business very early in the morning—around 2-4am—to catch the earliest customers and finish it much earlier than other market vendors—around 8-9am—to avoid their goods, mostly perishable produces, being exposed too long to the sun.

⁷ The forms of these vendors are various, such as, among others, *gerobak* (“vendor with a mobile wheeled cart”), *pikulan* (“vendor with carrying bamboo stall on their shoulder”), *asongan* (“vendor who carries goods on their hands/back”), and many others.

It is important to note that the three different types of vendors and/or vending space—*toko*, *los*, and *pancakan*—are used to define those who practice regular business in the market. Others might use the market as their seasonal or incidental place to hold business. While 393 *pancakan* vendors were listed in records at the *Bulu* Office, this does not include other irregular traders who occasionally come and vend in the *Bulu*. There is always a high possibility that there are some additional traders that vend seasonally or irregularly or incidentally at the *Bulu*.

3.5.2.6 Market fees

As imposed by Ordinances 9/2013 & 2/2012, vendors are legally obligated to pay a vending space fee, called *retribusi*. Literally translated as a “retribution fee”, the term corresponds more closely to a “vending service fee” (hereafter “vending fee”), as the fee itself does not necessarily compensate for a legal violation. According to Ordinance 2/2012, the vending fee⁸ is determined according to several parameters: (1) market class, (2) market location, (3) vending space type, (4) trading scope type, and (5) total area of the vending space.

⁸ The currency exchange rate of Indonesian rupiahs (Rp or IDR) to U.S. dollars (\$) or USD) during my fieldwork timeframe (2014-2015) was ranging from Rp12,440 - Rp13,795 for \$1.00 (Statista, 2021). From this section forward, for convenience’s sake, I employ the average currency exchange rate of \$1 = Rp13,000.

Table 3-2 Vending Space Retribution Fee for Semarang Marketplace*

Market Class & Location	Retribution fee** based on vending space type and vending scope type (rupiah/sqm/day)				
	<i>toko</i>		<i>los</i>		<i>dasaran terbuka</i> for <i>pancakan</i> (open vending base for floaters)
	wholesale	retail	wholesale	retail	
Urban Market					
Strategic Location I	Rp800 (¢6.2)	Rp700 (¢5.4)	Rp700 (¢5.4)	Rp600 (¢4.6)	Rp800 (¢6.2)
Strategic Location II	Rp600 (¢4.6)	Rp550 (¢4.2)	Rp550 (¢4.2)	Rp500 (¢3.8)	Rp600 (¢4.6)
Regional Market					
Strategic Location I	Rp700 (¢5.4)	Rp600 (¢4.6)	Rp600 (¢4.6)	Rp550 (¢4.2)	Rp700 (¢5.4)
Strategic Location II	Rp550 (¢4.2)	Rp500 (¢3.8)	Rp500 (¢3.8)	Rp450 (¢3.5)	Rp550 (¢4.2)
Neighborhood Market					
Strategic Location I	Rp600 (¢4.6)	Rp550 (¢4.2)	Rp550 (¢4.2)	Rp500 (¢3.8)	Rp600 (¢4.6)
Strategic Location II	Rp500 (¢3.8)	Rp450 (¢3.5)	Rp450 (¢3.5)	Rp400 (¢3.1)	Rp500 (¢3.8)

Notes: * : adopted from Ordinance 2/2012 (p. 22-24), ** : the currency exchange rate \$1 = Rp13,000.

Since the *Bulu* is categorized as an urban market located in the strategic location I, the fees for all types of vendors are as follows:

Table 3-3 Vending Space Retribution Fee for *Pasar Bulu**

Type of vending space type and vending scope	Retribution Fee** (rupiah/sqm/day)
<i>toko</i>	
- wholesale	Rp800 (¢6.2)
- retail	Rp700 (¢5.4)
<i>los</i>	
wholesale	Rp700 (¢5.4)
- retail	Rp600 (¢4.6)
<i>dasaran terbuka (open vending base)</i>	
- <i>pancakan (floater)</i>	Rp800 (¢6.2)

Notes: * : adopted from Ordinance 2/2012 (p. 22-24), ** : the currency exchange rate \$1 = Rp13,000.

The total amount of vending fees that are required of vendors is based on calculations from these two tables and the total vending area depicted in their certificate. Besides these two

ordinances, no other regulation or document regulates how these fees are set and adjusted, or how they might change if the dynamics of the market change such as being relocated due to revitalization.

I have now summarized the basic aspects of the physical place and the system of roles and ideas associated with the legal expectations of the market. These systems make up some of the expectations for the allocation of vending space. Next, we will learn how social relationships modify and practice these systems of ideas and roles.

3.5.3 Social relationships as a component of space allocation

Social relationships of market vendors exist and are shaped by various relations such as (blood-related) familial, fictive kin, neighborhood (in home village/town), ethnic kin, or even other social group affiliation. These relationships are maintained across generations. My fieldwork reveals that in certain commodity groups, many vendors share a complex mix of relationships. For example, most beef butcher vendors in the *Bulu* were the second or third generation to vend in the market. Many of these family businesses came from the same village or hometown. Among garment/clothing vendors in the *Bulu*, there are several vendors from the same neighborhood. These kinds of social relationships offer a strong basis for acquiring and maintaining vending space. In other cases, it is common to see these neighborhood ties have overlapped with ethnic ties. Certain commodity groups are often dominated by particular ethnic or family groups, and the organization of family/ethnicity provides an advantage for vendors in acquiring and maintaining vending space.

Familial ties play a significant role for new vendors as they navigate the process of acquiring and maintaining vending space in a market. The successor of a family business may

easily acquire a spot in the market. All transfers of space are defined as, what the vendors call, an “internal deal”. These successors are familiar with and understand the market system before they acquire ownership of their family vending spot.

A vending space may also be handed down to a vendor from the same neighborhood or hometown. Vendors’ success stories are shared and attract new vendors to the same market. Often, these new vendors choose to sell the same commodity since they benefit from the established network of clientele.

Another component that shapes the social interactions of market vendors is gendered relations. It is not uncommon to see that the majority of market vendors, including ones in the *Bulu* are principally women. This is particularly the case for retail businesses that require direct contact with customers. Female traders evince more flexibility and display more charm in the art of bargaining and negotiating. Furthermore, many long-established family businesses were inherited across generations by family females. However, we cannot yet say that gender plays a significant role in space allocation, even in the revitalization process. Although my fieldwork reveals that male vendors tend to be vocal in space allocation processes and space claims, initial complaints and adjustments may begin with female vendors as frequently as male vendors, proportionate to their numbers in the market. A deep dive into more examples on how gender figures play in space allocation processes is needed to specify how the space is inflected with gender.

The basic systems of ideas and interactions that make up the allocation of vending space are complicated. This system is composed of legal and social expectations associated with the type of vendor, what they sell, and the government expectations as well as how government agents mediate the social construction of vending space.

Next, I will examine how the market revitalization process produced changes, in the system of vending space allocation. In doing so I will show the relationship between social and legal components of the larger system of vending space allocation. Although the categories remain the same, fee structure, area size, and social relationships changed. These alterations had crucial implications for businesses in the market. We will learn from the vendors how these changes manifested in the market.

3.6 Changes in Space Allocation Caused by the Revitalization Project

3.6.1 Reconstructing the system of ideas and interactions of vending space

Given the important role played by the market in serving public and civic roles in the region, policymakers sought to develop the market and the surrounding area. A city-wide project initiated in mid-2012 called the *Tugu Muda* Historic District Renewal Project reconstructed the *Bulu*, calling for a complete demolition of the existing market building. When the project began, government agents believed that there were 894 legal vendors who needed relocation into a temporary/provisional shelter called the *Pasar Darurat Bulu*. The move-out was carried out by the City Market Office together with the *Bulu* Office in a program called *Undian Lapak*⁹ (“vending space lottery”) particularly for allocating the vendors into the temporary shelter. By the end of the construction, a second *Undian Lapak* was held to relocate the vendors back to the newly renovated market. In this section, I focus on implications for vending space allocation

⁹ *Undian Lapak* (“vending space lottery”) is commonly used in distributing vending space based on a random drawing, especially in relocating market vendors into a new or revitalized market or in allocating street peddlers into specific shelters or markets. During the revitalization project, the *Bulu* held three *Undian Lapak*. The first was for relocating the *Bulu* vendors to the shelter, the second one was for moving vendors into the new *Bulu*. The third one aimed to solve the problem of *pancakans* (the floating vendors) who were allowed to vend in the new *Bulu*. While I did not witness the first—since my fieldwork started months after the sortition program—, I am very fortunate that I was able to observe the other two.

because of smaller vending spaces in the shelter (the *Pasar Darurat Bulu*); the *Bulu*'s second *Undian Lapak* will be thoroughly explained in chapter 4.

While vending in the temporary shelter, vendors were allocated space based on a “one-name, one-spot” policy—meaning that each vendor was delegated one *toko* which is 3 sqm (32 sqft) regardless of the commodity type, the business scale, or the size of vending space they had in the old market. Officials initially projected this to be a one-year project. However, construction stretched on for three years. This extended period in the shelter disrupted some vending businesses, ended others, and compelled negotiations with respect to space allocation. Government agents exercised discretion in their work, helping to foster new relationships with vendors. Both sides developed new approaches to vending space, reflecting significant modifications to the processes of allocating vending space. This new pluralist environment moved with the vendors into the new market building.

Changes within the system of ideas and interaction are many, beginning with the physical space vendors were provided.

3.6.1.1 The Shelter

*Pasar Darurat Bulu*¹⁰ (hereafter, “the Shelter”) was a temporary facility/shelter made up of long-narrow wooden buildings¹¹—shaped like a narrow American rental storage building—expanding in two different wings of the N-S and the E-W. The N-S wing was comprised of a six-

¹⁰ The term *darurat* in *pasar darurat* offers a meaning that it is as a temporary way of dealing with a problem or satisfying a need (of having a marketplace), or a temporary solution to a problem (of accommodating market activities) until it got later fixed. While it is true that the nature of *pasar darurat* is as a temporary shelter, the term *darurat* conveys additional meanings of “stopgap” or “exigent”. Therefore, I argue that the whole concept of *pasar darurat* includes a meaning that it is a temporary market, yet it demandingly requires an exigent solution.

¹¹ The length of the block varies from approximately 24m to 200m (80ft to 660ft).

block shelter building whereas the E-W was a two-block shelter building, totaling eight blocks. The blocks were similarly designed, with unfinished floors, walls made of wood covered by thin galvanized roofing, and having been constructed directly on the asphalt of HOS Cokroaminoto St. and Jayengan St. Facilities such as public restrooms, praying and meeting areas, and public access were limited and poorly designed.

In the initial design, the Shelter was to be built along three streets instead of two, with the additional of Suyudono St. (“Pedagang Pasar Bulu direlokasi di tiga tempat [Vendors of Pasar Bulu were relocated into three different locations]”, 2011) as the third street¹². The initial design would have provided a total of 886 single vending lots/units distributed throughout the three streets, with 536 spaces allocated on HOS Cokroaminoto St. and the other spaces along the two other streets, Jayengan St. and Suyudono St¹³. The building blocks on Suyudono St. were never built, reducing the number of total spaces. The old *Bulu* possessed 1580 vending spaces in the old *Bulu* whereas only around 750 vending lots were constructed in the Shelter. The number of vending spaces in the Shelter was significantly decreased compared to those in the old *Bulu*.

All these vending spaces were double-sided and doorless, with rows of wooden clapboard punctuated by long, dark alleyways. Vendors were allocated space based on a “one-name, one-spot” policy on which each vendor was delegated one lot based on *toko* or *los*, regardless of the commodity type, business scale, or the size of vending space they had in the old market. The lot area for *toko* was 3 sqm (32 sqft) whereas for *los* was between 1.35–1.5 sqm (14.5–16 sqft)¹⁴.

Figure 3-1 shows the location of blocks of the Shelter.

¹² My fieldwork witnessed that no building as part of the Shelter ever built on Sudoyono St. I assumed that since the street is too far from the location of the old *Bulu* and does not offer a very strategic setting this initial plan had been changed.

¹³ There is no clear information about how many lots were planned for each street in its initial design.

¹⁴ *Toko* is shaped as a 1.5x2m (4.9x6.6ft) lot whereas *los* a 0.9x1.5m – 1x1.5m lot (3x4.9ft – 3.3x4.9ft).



Figure 3-1 The locations of the Shelter along HOS Cokroaminoto St. and Jayengan St. around June 2012.

Source: diagram by Author, the base aerial map was taken from Google Earth on August 18, 2021.

Ultimately, comparing vending areas in the Shelter with vending areas in old *Bulu* is rather difficult. My fieldwork began when the old *Bulu* was already demolished, and the *Bulu* Office did not keep documentation of the events that occurred pre-demolition. I have provided a table, table 3-4 that roughly compares the vending units within a typical market and those used in the Shelter.

Table 3-4 Comparison of Vending Unit Area

Vending space type	Vending unit area	
	Typical market* (1)	The Shelter** (2)
<i>toko</i>	ranging from 4 – 16 sqm (43 – 172 sqft)	3 sqm*** (32 sqft)
<i>los</i>	ranging from 2 – 3 sqm (21.5 – 32 sqft)	ranging from 1.35 – 1.50 sqm**** (14.5 – 16 sqft)

Note: * : adopted from the average vending unit standard from various market designs; ** : taken from the average real measurement on the spot; ***: shaped as 1.5x2m; ****: shaped as 0.9x1.5m – 1x1.5m.

Based on this information, the vending units in the Shelter are significantly smaller than those of the typical market. It should be noted that Column 1 displays the area for a single vending unit, rather than the total area a vendor owns in a market. Each vendor's Certificate states the total area the vendor owns in terms of the unit. For example, within a market with a vending unit of 6 sqm if "Vendor A legally owns 24 sqm area of *toko*" then they own 4 units of 6 sqm for their *toko*. On the other hand, Column 2 represents the area of a single vending unit as well as the total area owned by individual vendors. The area Vendor A would acquire in the Shelter (3 sqm) was just one-eighth of the area he legally owned (24 sqm) according to his Certificate.

The Shelter was intended to accommodate all the vendors from the pre-revitalization market. Due to the difficulties for establishing a true count of vendors, as well the structural limit of their being only around 750 available vending lots, not every vendor was allocated space in the Shelter. However, my fieldwork reveals that the Shelter was never full. One finding from my fieldwork reveals that some vendors did not use their space and went on hiatus. Despite leaving the Shelter and conducting their business remotely, they retained the right to vend in the new marketplace. Another finding reveals that some vendors chose to vend outside the Shelter, occupying the pedestrian way along Jayengan Street. Initially, many vendors made the move, but the number of vendors fluctuated and consistently decreased over time. These dynamics significantly changed the volume and types of customers as well.

It is important to note that my fieldwork was not able to discern the exact number or percentage of the vendors who did not use their space in the Shelter or the number of those who chose to vend outside. The *Bulu* Office was not able to provide such data due to the lack of a database system. The images in picture 3-10 to 3-14 help us to understand the situation in the

Shelter and how difficult it is to recognize and count each vending space in the Shelter.



Picture 3-10

The block of the Shelter along HOS Cokroaminoto St. Vendors were vending outside the building. It is hard to recognize and count each vending lot.



Picture 3-11

The block of the Shelter along HOS Cokroaminoto St. Some vendors occupied the pedestrian area across the Shelter.



Picture 3-12

The block of the Shelter along Jayengan St. Vendors were vending outside the building. It is hard to recognize and count each vending lot.



Picture 3-13

The situation inside one of the blocks of the Shelter in Jayengan St. Some vending lots were empty and used as a storage. It is hard to recognize and count each vending area.



Picture 3-14

The situation in the beef/poultry section in Jayengan St. Some vending lots were empty. It is hard to recognize and count each vending area.

For the sake of this study, I chose to focus on the changes in the systems of interactions

made over space between vendors and government officials, and their implementations on the continuation of business. I will begin with the latter point by explaining the legal vending space expectations placed upon vendors.

3.6.1.2 Legal expectations on vending space use in the Shelter

In general, through both Ordinance 9/2013 and Ordinance 2/2012, the City of Semarang expects vendors to fulfill the following legal state obligations: (1) committing to their commodity type, (2) occupying their legal appointed space within the associated zone of commodity, (3) keeping their vending space active for daily transactions, and (4) paying a retribution fee. While these legal expectations initially applied to the activities in the old *Bulu* prior to the project, the City never amended the two Ordinances to address vending in a temporary market shelter. Despite the poor conditions, *Bulu* vendors were expected to continue complying with all four obligations.

My fieldwork revealed few instances of vendors fulfilling all four obligations. Again, I was not able to provide the exact number of these vendors. However, the pictures from the Shelter demonstrate the difficulty associated with collecting data. Vendors rarely sold their wares within their designated space nor remained in their zone of commodity. Vendors were rarely able to sell exactly the same commodity they had in the old market. We will observe how vendors adjusted by organizing new space arrangements and new business practices in the Shelter. But first, a brief review of the Shelter from the view of government.

3.6.1.3 The Management perspective

The new *Bulu* space created through the revitalization project will not be open to new

vendors¹⁵. The *Bulu* Master indicated that a Certificate of legal vending in the old *Bulu* would guarantee a right to space in the new building. The *Bulu* Master also indicated that, during construction, the retribution fee paid in the Shelter was discounted by as much as 25%. This arrangement applied to all vendors, regardless of whether a vendor was active in the Shelter, or how much a vendor's space decreased in the Shelter.

I illustrate the struggles vendors faced in their new spatial environment, followed by the choices they commonly made in dealing with these struggles. Here we learn that changes in vendor demographics and business activities have triggered changes in the systems of interactions between vendors and government officials.

3.6.2 Vending or waiting: Vendors' reactions to the Shelter

The Shelter limited the economic interactions vendors had with customers, in part by limiting customers' access to vendors. The building design and location of the Shelter failed to attract visitors. Long corridors with dark alleys and limited passageways discouraged potential customers from strolling through, threatening the economic and social life of the market community. Vendors experienced isolation from fellow vendors even within their own block. These labyrinthian alleys failed to provide visual accessibility of vendors' wares or encourage visual interactions between vendor and customer. Furthermore, poorly designed restrooms contributed to vendor and visitor discomfort.

Market life in the Shelter was caught in a vicious loop. The poor design of the market made for fewer visitors, pushing vendors to leave the market; in turn, the decreased number of

¹⁵ Quoted from one of the interviews with the *Bulu* Master.

vendors provided even less of an attraction for potential visitors. Furthermore, many revitalization projects take an unexpectedly long time. In the *Bulu* case, the project far exceeded its original timeline of completion in one year. The period of struggle in the Shelter was thus extended, forcing vendors to make decisions regarding their business without a clear timeline of when the market would return to normal. In this section, I will provide two examples of vendors waiting for the new *Bulu* and one example of a vendor choosing to remain in the Shelter.

3.6.2.1 Electing not to vend but retaining vending space in the new Bulu

Leaving the market by forfeiting their vending space had become a viable option for many vendors in the *Bulu*. So long as vendors paid their retribution fee, they retained their right to vend in the new market.

Below is one such example; Winta, a 62-year-old lady, who had been vending since 1973, made her living as a second-generation clothing/garment vendor. She inherited her business from her mother. In the old *Bulu*, she used to have a *toko* on the first floor. Winta opted to go on hiatus but occasionally visited her spot and other vendors in the Shelter. I met her when I was taking pictures in the field. She was standing next to her empty space in the Shelter while gossiping with her other fellow vendors.

Winta and other garment vendors were compelled to go on hiatus during the revitalization project but retained their right to vend in the new market. Her story illustrates how vendors adjusted their practices by switching her place of business, but also how the long-standing system of ideas and interactions relating to the first three legal obligations for vending had been transformed in the Shelter.

Winta

I used to have a 2x3m *toko* [in old *Bulu*]. But I only got 0.9x1.5m [in the Shelter].

Yes, less than half of the area I had before! That is why it is hard for me to utilize the space here (*pointing to her empty spot*) to fit my goods. [...] There are so many vendors who experience the same! See over there? (*Pointing to some empty spots in the clothing section*) Those vendors could not use their space to vend either.

[...]

My regular customers? I am a *pedagang macet*!! (*literally “a stuck vendor” or “a vendor on hold”; meaning “vendor on a hiatus”*) I moved my goods to my house and am continuing my business there. [...]

I used to sell clothing [in the old *Bulu*]. At my house I also sell clothing and anything that is saleable.

[...]

My spot in the Shelter? I have never used it. I tried to lease it, but nobody wanted it! That [location] is unsaleable! [...]

But I never miss paying my retribution fee! I am a legal vendor; of course, I diligently pay it every day! In my opinion, it is a must!

Winta’s case shows an example of how the Shelter dynamics significantly affected her business. Winta’s excerpt shows two important points. First, Winta elected not to vend in the Shelter and completely moved her business and her daily routines to her house. Her house became her place of business. This move was meant to be temporary; Business would resume as usual once the construction of the new *Bulu* was completed. She moved since could not maintain her business.

Second, there exist four legal obligations each vendor owes the state. Winta remained committed to her commodity and paid the fee but refused to occupy her space. Further, Winta was unable to lease the space to another vendor, regardless of their connection to her. While the practice of leasing was quite common in the old *Bulu*, and satisfied the obligation to occupy a vending space, the limitations of the Shelter significantly reduced this practice.

Below is another example of changes to vendors’ status and operations in the Shelter; Magi and some of her fellow beef butcher vendors were compelled to go on hiatus during the project but retained their right to vend in the new market.

Magi was a beef butcher vendor from Kebumen¹⁶ who had been vending since 1980. While most of the beef butcher vendors were originally from Kebumen, connected by kinship, many of them had been residing in Semarang. One of Magi's fellow beef butchers was Mahim, a veteran vendor. Mahim had been vending in the *Bulu* since 1973, as a second-generation beef butcher vendor. Magi stated that "Most of them [beef butcher vendors] are my relatives! I mean [they are] my nephews and nieces, cousins and the like! The majority of us are from one particular village in Kebumen." One of her children became a vendor in the *Bulu*, selling ready-to-eat meals. Magi's mother was a fruit trader in one of Kebumen's local markets.

Throughout my fieldwork, I found Magi occasionally visits her stall, a beef *los*, as well as other vendors in the Shelter. Magi and her fellow beef butchers had been keeping each other informed about important updates on the progress of the project and recent announcements from the *Bulu* Office. They attended the Shelter to run errands and whenever they were required to be present for events related to the redevelopment project.

Her case demonstrates how the long-standing system of ideas and interactions relating to the first three legal obligations had been transformed in the Shelter.

Magi

Well, these days I only deliver meat. I don't vend in my space (*pointing to her empty spot*). Many of my friends [the fellow butchers] do that too.

[...]

There used to be around fifty of us [beef butchers]. But now the number has decreased. Only a few still vend here. Many of us preferred to be home and [deliver to other sellers]

[...]

Did you ask me why? That is because the space here is too tiny! No space for storing and displaying the meat. And it is hard for our customers to spot me here (*pointing to the long dark aisle*). And there is no parking area nearby available for them to approach us easily.

[...]

Are you asking if we [she and her fellow vendors] are planning to come back [to vend in

¹⁶ Kebumen is approximately 177 km (110 miles) from Semarang.

the new building]?

Of course, for sure! We still hold our legal right [our Certificate]. I will vend in the new building once it is done. I am a legal vendor of the *Bulu*. They [her fellow vendors] are surely still the legit vendors of the *Bulu* too. They will be back vending in the *Bulu*! They still hold the right of their space. In the meantime, they are mostly not vending here and just waiting for the new building to finish.

Magi described strong social relationships within her group. This solidarity would be important in the move to the new *Bulu*. Magi's case indicates that, in dealing with the consequence of vending in the Shelter, Magi changed her business practice by focusing on delivery. She did so to maintain her business while retaining her space when the new market was finished.

Magi's statement, "they will be back vending in the *Bulu*," reveals a preliminary assumption that most vendors believe they retain their space and vending rights, even during the revitalization project. However, do they all hold a legal Certificate? My fieldwork was not able to access copies of legal documents. While conducting interviews with vendors—a fairly difficult process due to infrequent attendance—the *Bulu* Master indicated that most of the vendors planned to return once the new market was built, as they were still the legal owners of the space. But the *Bulu* Master intended to grant space only to legal vendors.

In the next section, I will discuss one example of a vendor choosing to remain in the Shelter and how they dealt with the reduced space allocation.

3.6.2.2 *Electing to vend as abiding by the official programs*

Electing to vend in the Shelter was a safe way for vendors to abide by the space allocation program created by the City of Semarang. These vendors focused on working with the constraints faced in the Shelter. Those constraints include limited space, adjusting their business

scale and practice, as well as navigating opportunities in preserving the longevity of their business in the temporary marketplace.

Like Winta, Runi was a garment vendor who had been selling apparel on the first floor of the old *Bulu*. Runi spent much of her childhood accompanying her mother to the market who had been a vendor for decades. Runi is a second-generation vendor. Her current spot in the Shelter was at the very end of one of the Shelter's blocks, located in the HOS Cokroaminoto Street. At the time of our conversation, Runi was sitting on a small bench in front of her spot gossiping with her friends. Her story below illustrates how those who chose to stay and vend in the Shelter struggled with the situation.

Runi

Look at this building now (*pointing to the long alley of the Shelter*). This is a train car!! You know a long cargo train they use for transporting logs? That's what this looks like, huh? Haha haha.

[...]

But, you know, most of us [vendors] basically [agreed] when they [the officers] told us: "Well, you all will get a spot here [in the Shelter], okay?" Okay, we agreed. But look at my space now. Mine is here, small and at the end of this train car (*pointing to the endless dark alley between*). Hahaha.

[...]

And you know, none of us had ever complained. There was no such thing as "I don't want to move out". When they asked us to move out, then we moved out. Now they are going to ask us again to move in [to the new *Bulu*], well, we will then move in! As simple as that. Yeah, what else could we say?

(Upon hearing Bu Tri's term "a train car", the whole group burst into laughter, which brought a gossip session about how they agreed on mockingly referring to the Shelter this way.)

Runi's answer highlights two important points: first, her disappointment presents itself in the form of sarcasm. Such complaints were never serious in the old market, but frequent and pointed in the Shelter. Her disappointment centered on the fact that she, like other vendors, did

not receive the space they were expecting even after abiding by program guidelines. This excerpt also shows that Runi chose to accept the condition of the Shelter and any following programs set by the officers as well as bear with any of the consequences, “what else could we say”. By the time I talked with Runi, the vendors had been in the Shelter for about two years and nine months. This had significantly exceeded the initial schedule of six months as promised by the authorities upon the initial move to the Shelter.

Three cases above (Winta’s, Magi’s, and Runi’s) outlined the initial challenges in space allocation that vendors of the *Bulu* faced during the revitalization project. The implications of the revitalization project for the organization of business are many and complex, in short, businesses failed, changed product lines, or changed organization and routine to continue in business. Now, I will focus on the consequences for space organization from the move to the Shelter.

3.6.3 Changes in spatial arrangements

Over time, vending in the Shelter made vendors realize that the social construction of space in the old market did not translate well to the Shelter. With notable consequences for the relationships between vendors and customers. Vendors that remained in the market adapted their previous practices to the Shelter. Vendors adjusted their business to the physical design of their space, or they sought alternative spaces. In this section I will discuss two points, the first describes situations where vendors sought alternative spaces and the second analyzes physical adjustments vendors made to their space through interpersonal negotiations. With regards to the second point, two cases will show that some negotiations involved monetary payments often involving multiple parties.

3.6.3.1 Space encroachment

Having found out that the space they acquired in the Shelter failed to accommodate their business practices and interactions, some vendors sought to find alternate spaces for vending outside the Shelter. Other vendors found options to utilize open spaces in the surrounding area of the Shelter, as exemplified by Muni's and Rita's cases below.

Muni was a 60-year-old woman who had a *warung makanan* ("food stall")¹⁷ in front of the Shelter. She started vending around the age of 21 and had witnessed four revitalization projects at the *Bulu*. Her story illustrates how vendors independently sought a solution for dealing with space limitation by utilizing space outside the Shelter.

Muni

I used to have a *warung makanan* ("food stall") in the eastern part [of the old *Bulu*]. [It was] [a]bout 2x2 meter. [...] But the officers did that [space allocation in the Shelter] negligently (*pointing to the Shelter*). The spaces are too small! [...] There is no way for such business like mine to fit into 1-some meter wide. For a *warung makanan*, of course, it requires 2 meters [for the frontage width].

[...]

Me and my friend, Yita [another *warung* lady] (*pointing to another food stall next to hers*), immediately decided to move out [from their spots in the Shelter] and built these stalls together here [outside the Shelter].

[...]

But I never miss paying my retribution fee. NEVER! Some other vendors may have found [it] difficult to pay the fee promptly. Sometimes they did not have enough money [to pay some days]. But in my opinion, [paying the] fee is important! I have been here [during the revitalization] for two years, yet I have never missed paying it even once! For two years! I don't want my space [in the new *Bulu*] to be taken over by anyone else, so I keep paying!

¹⁷ The term *warung makan* refers to an "on-site mini stall for street food" or "mini street deli" selling food and beverage. They either have ready-to-eat food, or they cook and serve it on-site. The basic term *warung* refers to an on-site mini stall that sells daily necessities like a mini convenience store. *Warung* is commonly sprung in market area, residential areas, slums, street sides, and tucked between high-rise building in business areas. *Warung* is typically constructed from wood, bamboo, or tin. Although it looks like a semi-permanent building, it is properly roofed and semi-walled. *Warung makan* is typically equipped with long communal bar tables and benches.

Muni, along with Yita, elected not to utilize the Shelter as the vending space dimensions were not conducive to food stalls. They made this decision despite long-established practices of adapting to the spaces they are allotted and with the long-term risk to their businesses.

Traditionally, any type of *warung* that serves ready-to-eat food and beverage—like *warung makanan* and *warung kopi*¹⁸—serves a social function as a gathering place. *Warung makanan* is a place where people socialize and trade news in the market. During my fieldwork, Muni’s *warung* had become one of my favorite lunch spots and an important place to get in touch with the community’s news — particularly about the revitalization project and community events. I bumped into various market people there when they came to get lunch, socialize, or simply rant about the *Bulu* revitalization and gossip about one another. This kind of social atmosphere was the reason why Muni placed so much emphasis on having enough space to run her business.

Once Muni and Yita, realized that the Shelter did not allow for the right atmosphere to gather and eat, they set up shop in the open space outside the Shelter. Upon leaving their designated spot, they were pleased to find they were no longer isolated from the social center of the Shelter; Their clientele had been restored.

Rita had been selling *sembako* since 1970. She legally owned 1 *toko* and 1 *los*¹⁹ on the first floor of the old *Bulu*. Similar to Muni’s case, Rita’s story also shows how vendors independently navigate choices to pursue an alternative solution to vending space challenges.

¹⁸ *Warung kopi* means a “mini coffee shop/stall” that sells coffee with simple snacks. Similar to *warung makanan*, *warung kopi* is also equipped with long communal bar tables and benches.

¹⁹ Although Rita had been owning two different types of vending space since 1 *toko* and 1 *los*, she had been only using the *toko* one for holding her *sembako* business. She had been sub-leasing her other spot, the *los* one, to another vendor even since in the old *Bulu*.

Rita

You asked me how I got this space? I asked for help from some people I know in this market. I happened to know this guy and asked him, “Could you please help me find a place so that I don’t have to stay in The Shelter?” No, I was not related to this guy. [He was] just a regular acquaintance from *Pasar Bulu*. So, then, here I am now! (*Smiling proudly while opening her arms, welcoming me to her spot*)

[...]

Well. This lot used to be an empty front yard. It is part of the corner building where they usually dumped empty barrels. I built everything [, like her kiosk,] from scratch. [...] So basically, I am not renting a vending space, I am renting the whole corner of this land.

[...]

Since I do not use my spaces in the Shelter, I subleased them to other vendors.

Rita constructed her own alternate vending space separated from any of the blocks occupied by the Shelter. The land she rented is privately owned and has nothing to do with the *Bulu* property. The kiosk was built strategically in the main intersection—between HOS Cokroaminoto St. and Jayengan St.—near the Shelter’s back entrance. Clapboards make the walls, and it is equipped with a rolling door, roof, ceiling, and lock. She has been able to preserve her business and keep selling the same commodity as before. She also has been able to maintain her network of loyal customers which consists mainly of hostels, restaurants, and catering businesses.

For Rita and Muni, while pursuing a good location was important for their business, they were aware that they needed to secure their legal status in advance and preserve their rights in the new market when it was finished. Rita and Muni never waived the right to their spots in the Shelter. They maintained their rights by subleasing their spots to others or paying the retribution fee to preserve the right to spaces in the new market.

These adjustments resulted in vendors occupying open spaces along the three streets surrounding the Shelter (e.g., HOS Cokroaminoto St., Jayengan St. and Suyodono St.). Rita and Muni were two among many vendors who illegally occupied these areas. Thus, vendors held a

complex mix of legal statuses: those who migrated from inside to outside the Shelter, *pancakan* who never got assigned a lot inside the Shelter, and incidental traders who occasionally/incidentally came and vended in an empty space outside the Shelter.

The land Rita rented was privately owned and had nothing to do with the *Bulu* property. She left the Shelter and settled on the land outside the control of the *Bulu* management by negotiating with another party outside of the system. In the following case, I show how vendors often negotiated with other parties in the Shelter.

3.6.3.2 *Collective consensus*

As these struggles of dealing with the new environment in the Shelter progressed and affected more individuals, vendors often made agreements with other vendors. Rudana, the *sembako* seller who switched her commodity during vending in the Shelter, exemplifies this matter.

Rudana

(The alleyways in the Shelter are mostly dark and humid, lacking air circulation and sufficient lighting. There are not many passageways to break up the long block of tokos. There is one narrow alley passage—about 2m [6.6ft] wide—lying perpendicular to Rudana's toko, I ask her about it).

Well, as you can see, no one wants to come inside since it looks dark and uninviting. It is unnoticeable from outside.

[...]

But we had removed one wall [that used to be] here [pointing to the narrow passage in front of her.] This used to be somebody's *toko*. We removed its outer wall. The owner [of this *toko*] said, "I am willing to sacrifice and give up my space as long as you all keep paying my daily retribution fee. You may remove the wall, then you keep paying its fee." Then we said, "Okay, we will take care of the fee."

[...]

And so, the next day, I reported to the *Bulu* Master that a vendor left the *toko* and a wall will be removed from that place.

The decision to alter the adjacent *toko* was reached through collective negotiation rather than an individual decision. Removing one *outer* wall of a private *toko* transformed it into a public passageway that provided a new entrance to the Shelter. Rudana, and nearby vendors, benefitted from the influx of customers. The vendor whose *toko* was converted into a passageway decided to not use the space since, according to Rudana, “He has rented a *toko* outside the Shelter anyway.”

While this modification benefitted both the vendors and the market visitors, we can foresee potential legal and planning problems. This type of multi-lateral negotiation disconnects the state from the vendors’ activities. In the absence of government involvement or approval from any legal agent of either the *Bulu* Office or the City Market Office, this demonstrates, what the vendors call, an “internal deal”. Typically, The *Bulu* Office is informed later, after the results of an internal deal have already been implemented among vendors. Furthermore, vendors only communicated with the government when the decision required actions by a legal authority (e.g., transferring legal ownership, changing legal status, or reissuing a legal document). While the deal in Rudana’s case was reported to the *Bulu* Master, in many other cases, changes are only reported to the representative officers who perform daily market inspections. These officers serve as both formal government and informal agents who help vendors negotiate their arrangements. They possess a walking database of the latest changes in space use. Which are more accurate and better quality than reports found in the *Bulu* Office.

In responding to this practice, the officers and the *Bulu* Master have indicated that this is normal and acceptable since they were considered part of the vendors’ practical reactions to changes in market dynamics created by the revitalization project. The officers and the *Bulu* Master acknowledged the vendors’ need for business while at the same time they were not able

to offer a better solution. However, my fieldwork revealed that such bi-lateral negotiations, or “internal deals”, occur frequently between vendors. Remember the case of Rita in the earlier section; she once explained that the way she acquired her vending space at the first place in the old *Bulu* was by “buying” it from an acquaintance, a former egg vendor, and executed through a bi-lateral negotiation, or an “internal deal”, with money exchanged. The negotiation was made in the absence of government knowledge and involvement or approval from any legal agent of either the *Bulu* Office or the City Market Office. The *Bulu* Office was informed later after the results of the internal deal had been implemented between Rita and the former vendor. Rita mentioned that the former vendors and herself later came to the City Market Office to do the transfer of land-title.

The adjustments vendors made in the Shelter were not necessarily anticipated prior to the project’s execution. New physical and practice adjustments formed from everyday responses to struggles faced in the Shelter. Rudana’s case is just one example. I employ another example of how physical adjustment resulted from negotiations with other vendors.

During my fieldwork, I noticed that most of the walls within the Shelter’s blocks facing Jayengan St. were missing, presumably because they had been removed. These blocks were the most common area for vendors to conduct their business. Many of them vended on the asphalt facing the street. Many vending lots in the interior of these Shelter blocks were unused and empty. This is depicted in the following photos in picture 3-15 and 3-16. When I asked Tami, one of the vendors in these blocks, about the walls, she responded:

Tami

Yes, they removed most of the walls. Why? Because *pancakans* were selling outside and easily reached customers while they had to vend inside. It was very dark and not many customers were willing to go inside. So, they decided to remove them all together!!

The vendors in those blocks had collectively agreed to remove the wall as they had faced competition from other vendors outside the Shelter. *Pancakans* who vended outside had more opportunities to get direct access to customers compared to those who vended inside. After a while, many vendors, with certificates to vend within the Shelter, decided to remove the walls and locate their business outside. Their spots inside remained empty.

This arrangement was made solely among the vendors without any involvement or approval from the legal agents of the market. The decision was agreed upon internally by this group of vendors, seeing as they believed the spatial arrangements in the Shelter failed to accommodate pre-existing business practices and interactions.



Picture 3-15

The situation in one of the blocks of the Shelter in Jayengan St. Most of the walls here had been removed. Vendors chose to vend outside. While they vended together with the *pancakans*, it is hard to recognize which ones were the *Bulu* vendors and which ones were *pancakans*.



Picture 3-16

The situation in another block of the Shelter in Jayengan St near Suyodono St. Most of the walls here had been removed. Vendors chose to vend outside. While they vended together with the *pancakans*, it is hard to recognize which ones are the *Bulu* vendors and which ones are *pancakans*.

This section has described some examples of social arrangements made between vendors in the Shelter. The uncertainty of spatial allocation and management in the Shelter created opportunities for those flexible enough to take advantage of them.

3.6.4 The Shelter and new business formation

While vending in the Shelter produced business uncertainties for business owners, the new environment opened opportunities for those vendors who were adaptable enough to take advantage. To maintain the survival of their business, vendors were compelled to strategically invent new systems of ideas and interactions that worked with, and sometimes transcended, their spatial limitations.

Gebah, was a very active 90-year-old vendor. In 1960, after the construction of the building in 1957, she started vending on the second floor of the old *Bulu* until the demolition in 2012. Gebah's story below is one example of how flexibility and versatility in seeking opportunity have become one, if not the most, important strategy, to survive in business.

Gebah

I started my business by [selling] *pete* (“stinky/bitter bean”), then I switched to fruits. But nowadays I expanded by selling *gerabah* (“traditional kitchen clayware”) here (*pointing to her lots outside the Shelter*).

[...]

You asked me when I decided to start selling *gerabah*? Since the old market was demolished! The current space I have here [outside the Shelter] offers a huge area to vend!!

[...]

And now I have several *agens* (“agents”)²⁰ who work with me! They are the ones who peddle around the city selling my goods. Young lady, there have always been people who are looking for a job in the market, so it is important to see this opportunity by offering these people work.

Gebah moved her business from the Shelter to the pedestrian area along the main corridor of Jayengan St., stating, “there is no way I could fit my goods there. It was only 3 sqm.” Within less than three years, she had expanded her business from being a single-person vendor to an employer with 15-18 employees.

For Gebah, the *Bulu* is not just a working space; it is also a living space. She is from Boyolali²¹, “But [she] lives and sleeps here in the market.” Like many other vendors, whose hometowns are up to three hours outside of Semarang, the daily commute was a significant problem for Gebah. She explains below how she expanded her businesses while addressing the problem of commuting.

²⁰ *Gerabah* vendors typically employ several mobile agents. They use bicycles, motorbikes, or carrying poles. According to Gebah, one *gerabah* vendor may easily employ up to 30 agents.

²¹ Boyolali is approximately 87 km (54 miles) from Semarang or almost a two-hour bus ride.

Gebah (continued)

No, I mean, I do not sleep here, here! (*Pointing to her spot*) But there! (*Pointing to a house in the alley across Jayengan St*)

[...]

(*we are walking together approaching the house*)

No. I don't live alone. People stay overnight here. Each person pays me Rp5,000 [\$0.39] per visit.²²

[...] These people, like her (*pointing to a lady coming out from her house*), also use this place for taking a shower as well as doing their ritual prayers. Occasionally, they go home. Vendors whose homes are far away from here, like in Sragen²³, Demak²⁴, and Purwodadi²⁵, prefer to stay overnight here.

Gebah saw the opportunity to expand her business beyond selling goods. She rented a four-bedroom one-bathroom house and became a “hotelier” by renting rooms. Her regular customers ranged from *Bulu* vendors to agents, middlemen to coolies, *becak*²⁶ drivers to street peddlers. Two rooms were designated for female occupants and two for males. The rooms were simple, equipped with thin rugs and *tikars* (“coconut leaf mats”) to sleep on, with no mattresses or furniture. This ‘budget transit inn’ offered limited facilities yet was perfect for a short stay. Rooms were offered on a first-come, first-served basis any time during the day and night.

The images in picture 3-17 to 3-18 help us to see how the situation in Gebah’s house looked like.

²² Gebah mentioned that the house costed her Rp2.25 million [\$173.08] per month; or Rp75,000 [\$5.77] per day. Each of her customers paid Rp5,000 [\$0.38] per day or per visit. On busy days, there were up to ten, twelve, or even fifteen people who slept in her house.

²³ Sragen is approximately 132 km (82 miles) from Semarang or a three-hour bus ride.

²⁴ Demak is approximately 29 km (18 miles) from Semarang or a forty-five-minute to a one-hour bus ride.

²⁵ Purwodadi is approximately 65 km (40.5 miles) from Semarang or a one and half-hour bus ride.

²⁶ *Becak* is a traditional three-wheeled pedal-powered bike with a passenger seat in the front.



Picture 3-17

The dark alley heading to Gebah's house.



Picture 3-18

One of the rented rooms in Gebah's house.

On one hand, the revitalization project benefitted Gebah, motivating her to diversify her businesses from simply vending wares to becoming an employer and landlord. On the other hand, her new business addressed the demand for a facility/amenity that supported the *Bulu* community. In other words, she established a new practice that mutually benefitted her and the *Bulu* community at large. Although she left the Shelter, Gebah retained her legal right to space in the new *Bulu*. However, as her business outside the market thrived, she had doubts about the future of her business inside the market. Gebah's plan to continue her core vending business in the new *Bulu* was no longer her first priority.

Gebah (continued)

Well, I plan to keep this business [renting rooms] when I move into the new market. [...]

But, about my [*gerabah*] shops, hmmm, we'll see! I have three lots of *tokos* in the market, but if my new location [in the new building] does not offer a good business, I will simply sublease or transfer my spaces to other vendors.

Gebah's choice to expand her business outside the market relates to the on-going changes and rapid development of the streetscape outside of the *Bulu*, particularly on Jayengan St. Shortly after the construction of the Shelter, a variety of new commercial buildings emerged along the street. These buildings, including residential buildings, had gradually transformed into retail stores, and street vendors occupied the pedestrian path. The fact that Gebah was among one of them indicates that other vendors may have done the same thing. The street had become an alternate vending space for the *Bulu* vendors who refused to utilize the Shelter. Jayengan St. had essentially become an extension and supporting system of the *Bulu*.

The project challenged existing interpretations of legality, particularly the legitimacy of space use, vendors' rights, and obligations to the state. The move to the Shelter created many problems and recreated the social relationships that were practiced in parallel to legal

relationships. These new social relationships represented the reconstruction of the legal pluralism in the old *Bulu*, in which vendors and government officials made new choices regarding vending space arrangements and vending structures. Organic responses to the dynamics inside the Shelter questioned the planning used to design the Shelter. Government officials were unable to translate the very different expectations from the old *Bulu* to the market in the Shelter. This complex mix of social relationships created a difficult challenge.

3.7 Conclusion: Interpretation, Interaction, and Purpose in Public Space Planning

In summary, we can see how vendors established their businesses in the Shelter through a combination of changes in business arrangements, relationships with each other, and relationships between themselves and state agents. The scheme vendors developed relied on expectations of state agents to preserve space rights for those vendors when the new market was finished. The shared goal of eventually moving to the new market helped orient expectations and relationships and established different ways of maintaining those expectations.

However, several problems arose in the temporary market and its organization that severely impacted vendors. These impacted vendors introduced ambiguities that would alter how they may approach moving into the new market. The first of these ambiguities followed from the “one-name, one-spot” scheme that failed to recognize the pre-existing ideas of working space held by vendors in the old *Bulu*, particularly of their vending size and nature of each business. The scheme was applied the same for each vendor regardless of the original amount of area they owned. The new rule harmed vendor businesses. Vendors who previously enjoyed the privileges of utilizing big lots or who ran businesses that were less adaptable to the conditions gradually lost business. Other vendors adopted and thrived.

Secondly, the scheme had two assumptions, (1) that each of the 894 vendors own exactly one Certificate and therefore should be assigned to one spot in the Shelter, and (2) that only two parties would be involved: the legal holder of the Certificate (the vendor) and the authority enforcing the legal order. These two assumptions did not reflect the pre-Shelter vending space and business dynamics.

Dynamic relationships spring forth in almost every market across the country. They stem from numerous possible reasons: parents passing down family businesses, vendors who sublease their business to multiple other vendors, and other situations. Conflicts emerge when the previous owner does not transfer the title of the vendor space. Many changes in ownership are not formally documented, operating on the ground among the users. Because of these dynamics, there exist many different layers and definitions of “ownership,” ranging from “the legal (de jure) owner” to “the factual (de facto) owner”, or even to “the daily user.” The complexity of space allocation is multiplied, as legal documents are duplicated and various legal terms (owner, holder, and user) and their associated rights are widely interpreted.

Vendors often had to change from selling one product to another in the Shelter. This adds potential planning problems in space allocation processes for the newly built market building regarding the management of the future commodity zoning area. The new market was intended to accommodate 894 vendors categorized by twenty different commodity groups and zones, but the reality is that groups shrunk or expanded in number since some vendors disappeared or changed products following customer demands. An interview with the *Bulu* Master indicated that the new market building had been designed based on data taken from vendor profiles in the old market. The savvy market planner needs to carefully examine existing vendor’s plans for what they will sell and create a new commodity group map before the space allocation is executed. Of

course, such mapping work will be adjusted by government policy and vendor practices.

Space claims and legality are often contested across a spectrum of individual interpretations. I will further illuminate this issue in the next chapter, which examines practices of space allocation and the corresponding legal establishment during one important milestone: the *Undian Lapak* (vending space lottery) introduced at the new market.

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CHAPTER 4

WHOSE RIGHT? DISCRETION AND PURPOSE IN ESTABLISHING LEGITIMATE MARKETPLACE VENDORS

Abstract

The article answers important questions for planning practice and theory: how are Indonesian marketplace vendor relocation and space allocation planned and executed in a market that undergoes transitions during a revitalization project and with what implications for planning? How does the transition challenge the existing social construction of space, and to what extent? Participant observation and ethnographic methods are used to understand how market actors—both vendors and officers—navigate and negotiate contested choices and opportunities in organizing vending space and reclaiming rights in the newly-renovated market of *Pasar Bulu*, an urban marketplace in Semarang, Central Java, Indonesia, which underwent a major revitalization project. I combine spatial justice and interactionist approaches as well as related planning literature to understand how market actors reconstruct vending space allocation processes in the new market building setting. Doing so demonstrates the ongoing utility of the interactionist approach in planning theory and expands the scope of public space planning practice, particularly marketplaces, to include all the actors co-producing vending space.

Keywords: marketplace revitalization, interactionist approach, spatial justice, space allocation, public space planning

4.1 Introduction

“Market (*pasar*) revitalization projects in Semarang did not guarantee that the *pasars* will become clean, comfortable, nicely ordered, and organized. Evidence shows that some revitalized markets, with a new, vast, and spacious design, failed to meet expectations. The vendors preferred to stay outside and congregate around the ground floor while the upper floors remain empty.”

(“Salah desain, tak libatkan pedagang [Wrongly designed, no vendors’ involvement]”, 2015)¹

“Pasar Temanggung Permai, supposedly the role model, is now an empty space and lacking customers. Projected to become the ‘qibla’ of revitalized public marketplaces, the market is now being deserted.”

(“Pasar percontohan nasional sepi [The abandoned national model of *Pasar*]”, 2014)²

The past decade has witnessed a boom in market revitalization projects initiated by various levels of Indonesian governments—central, provincial, and local³, and such efforts have been followed by news about complex problems in the post-revitalization phase. These two examples were reported in Indonesian newspapers. Most newly renovated market buildings—ranging from small-neighborhood buildings with up to two or three hundred vendors to huge-central buildings with hundreds or thousands of vendors—dealt with conflicts among market

¹ The excerpt was taken from a newspaper article headlined in *Jawa Pos* on May 4, 2015. *Jawa Pos* is one of the oldest national daily newspapers. While it was founded and based in Surabaya, East Java, it remains one of the most-read daily newspapers for both East and Central Java.

² The excerpt was taken from a newspaper article headlined in *Jateng Pos* on October 9, 2014. *Jateng Pos* is one of the local newspapers covering the Central Java area. It is based in Semarang, Central Java.

³ During my 2014-2015 fieldwork, on December 26, 2014, Antara News, the official national news agency under the Ministry of State-owned Enterprises, reported that “...[T]he Indonesian central government claimed to have renovated a total of 2,758 traditional markets in the period between 2005 and 2013 at a total cost of Rp4.01 trillion [US\$308.5 million]. [...] In 2014, funds worth Rp556 billion [US\$42.8 million] were allocated from the state budget to revitalize traditional markets across the country. In 2015, the government, through the Trade Ministry, will revitalize 469 traditional markets across Indonesia with a funding of about Rp997.5 billion [US\$76.7 million]. [...] The number of revitalized markets was relatively small as compared to the total number of traditional markets in the country, which stood at about ten thousand (“Indonesian government to continue market revitalization program in 2015”, 2014)”. [The currency exchange rate of Indonesian rupiahs (Rp or IDR) to U.S. dollars (\$) or USD) during my fieldwork timeframe (2014-2015) was ranging from Rp12,440 - Rp13,795 for \$1.00 (Statista, 2021). From this section forward, for convenience’s sake, I employ the average currency exchange rate of \$1 = Rp13,000.]

actors resulting from building revitalization. These conflicts include persistent vendors' resistance to and rejection of the revitalization project, endless conflicts about vending space allocation in revitalized markets, negotiations and deal-making on claims to vending space, and nuanced questions of space allocation between old vs. new vendors.

During my fieldwork in *Pasar Bulu*, an urban marketplace in Semarang that experienced a major market revitalization project in 2014-2015, I found that vendors directly experienced impacts on their economic, social, and legal status. During and after the renovation project, they had to deal with challenges that resulted from vending space relocation and re-adjustment. The vending space setting in the new market building provided significant challenges to the vendors familiar with the practices of the old market setting. Vendors struggled to establish a consistent organization of vending space. The government officials were not always helpful, they often produced more ambiguity.

This research describes the vendors' struggle to attain vending spaces after relocating into the new market building. It highlights various compromises made by market actors on the ground, including vendors and on-site officers/managers, in maintaining their market businesses and exercising discretion on the legal framework established by the City. I show the socio-spatial struggles vendors had in reestablishing their socio-cultural and vending space practices in the new market setting.

4.2 Theorizing the Social Construction of Public Space

What shapes the social construction of space, particularly in the public market space context?

The struggle over geography (Said, 1993; Hayden, 1995) has changed the ways scholars see and reconsider urban space as potential political sites for the articulation and claiming of rights, and also for fighting against various forms of spatial (in)justice (Harvey, 1973; Soja, 2010). Triggered by modern research on spatiality brought by an era of the so-called spatial turn (Soja, 2009; 2010) this conception of spatial justice—linking the theory of “social justice” with “space”—has allowed scholars to further examine the on-going practices of social (in)justice spatially in relations to democracy, equity, citizenships, and human/civil rights manifested in any levels of urban geographies. Spatial justice, or ‘not injustice’, refers to an intentional and structured emphasis on the spatial or geographical of justice, or injustice (Soja, 1999). Drawing on classical justice philosophers like John Rawls (1971), Iris Marion Young (1990), and Nancy Fraser (1997; 1992), spatial justice—most notably developed from Harvey’s (2009) and Soja’s (2010)—combines Foucault’s (1984a, 1984b) classical conception of space that is political—thus becoming “fundamental to any exercise of power (p. 252)” —with Lefebvre’s (1968) idea of “the right to the city”.

While deeply interesting, these authors do not help us describe how spatial orders are created in face-to-face relationships. So, how do we theorize the social construction of vending space in marketplace contexts? How does behavior relate to and produce local notions of spatial fairness and justice?

Morales (2010; 1993) theorizes the social construction of vending space at a large marketplace in Chicago. His interactionist approach acknowledges the psychological tie vendors have with their vending space, the discretion different participants exercise in the process of vending space acquisition, and how that discretion is discernable and sorted into categories according to vendor purposes and vending business organization; and how vendors recognize

and reciprocally acknowledge each other's claims to vending space, co-producing social order in the market. With multiple actors constructing vending space through social processes, the result is a variety of spatial orders that express complex and occasionally contradictory practices of spatial justice.

In the Indonesian case, marketplaces are subject to state regulatory powers. The marketplace becomes a resource for the community of users and any relevant actors. The state, through its various agents—the City Market Office, the Market Master, and their on-site officers—acts to uphold the legal requirements of participating in the market while also using discretion to honor the practices of the community of vendors and users. People, in their roles as vendors or agents of the state, interpret, negotiate, and contest these “spatial structures of privilege and advantage” in making claims on space and co-producing the marketplace.

In planning public marketplaces, space allocation is at the center of various socio-legal conflicts due to its status as a public space. Different ideas on how this public resource is planned and managed are found among different vendors and other market actors. Things get complicated when a marketplace experiences a revitalization project. Space is disputed, politically controlled, economically dominated, and culturally negotiated (Morales, 2010; Soja 2010). The vendors and other market actors deal with changes in their understanding and definitions of the basic social production and construction of space. Through this process, market actors reinterpret their roles, adapt their practices and the meanings of spatial justice that coincide with them.

4.3 Research Design and Methods

4.3.1 Methodology and data collection

This chapter is the culmination of eight months of on- and off-site research. By using an interactionist approach, my research focuses on this social construction of reality through the ongoing and interwoven systems of ideas and behavior that marketplace vendors and state agents create and practice. A basic assumption of this qualitative approach is that the social world is constructed through the mundane, observable acts of everyday social interaction. People's ideas and purposes manifest through these interactions and serve as the primary data source, with participant observation the primary method, for this research. This method of ethnography or participant observation was part of my twelve months of on-site and off-site research on various *pasars*⁴ in Central Java and D.I. Yogyakarta Provinces from mid-2014 to mid-2015. Particularly for this chapter, my most intensive fieldwork was conducted in *Pasar Bulu*, one of the oldest markets in Semarang, in the months before and after the official Grand Opening of a newly built market building on December 30, 2014. By becoming an assistant of one legally certified vendor who has been doing business since 1970, I obtained a privileged place to conduct research from. Through this access, I developed a close understanding of the meaning of people's actions within the marketplace. This allowed me to define different situations, and the general process of social space construction, through observing interactions related to the allocation processes of vending space. I conducted participant observations among marketplace insiders as well as participating in daily market activities three days a week. The vendor I assisted moved together with other vendors to the new building.

⁴ The complete list of these markets is described in chapter 1, both table 1-2 and 1-3.

During my fieldwork, I attended four important public events during the revitalization project, these included the Soft Opening and the Grand Opening of the newly built *Pasar Bulu*, the *Undian Lapak* (space lottery), and the Briefing Event for the *Undian Lapak*. These events were held by the City Market Office in cooperation with the *Bulu* Office. I observed five internal meetings between vendors and both market offices that were about the allocation and relocation process from the temporary shelter into the new market building. I also held four interviews with the *Bulu* Master. The complete list of these events, meetings, and interviews is presented in Appendix A. In the last months of my research, I conducted archival research on 26 instances of media coverage from major national and local newspapers regarding the revitalization project. The list of the newspapers is depicted in Appendix B. My analysis of these data unravels the processes by which vending space is constructed. I also employed archival research on municipal regulations of the City of Semarang as listed in Appendix C.

4.4 Context on Market History, Legal Regulatory, and Vendor's Types

4.4.1 Market history

Of Semarang's many urban-public marketplaces, *Pasar Bulu* (then *Passer Boeloe*; hereafter "the *Bulu*") is undoubtedly one of the two most important *pasars* because of its central location and overall size. Both the *Bulu* and *Pasar Johar* (hereafter "the *Johar*") are situated in adjacent areas of the two of the oldest urban nodes of Semarang, the *Tugu Muda* Intersection and the *Kota Tua* District. The *Tugu Muda* is the second oldest downtown, thus making the *Bulu* the second oldest market within the city, only the *Johar* is older, it is located in the oldest district of *Kota Tua*.

The history of the *Bulu* offers a contrasting role of urban public amenity compared to the *Johar*. Between the 8th and early 16th century⁵, the earliest form of the *Johar* had presumably become part of the *entrepot*⁶ activities. The *Johar* played a significant role as a maritime trading hub⁷ for the Semarang port and North Java coastline. In the typical *entrepot* setting, the market became the meeting place of two primary settlements. The cosmopolitan nature of an *entrepot* created a cultural melting pot between the fortified foreign settlements and the indigenous inhabitant settlements (Widodo, 2004, p. 41). Around 1870, as part of the first city expansion project of Semarang, the *Bulu* became a socio-economic resource and networking outlet that catered to the local population as well as inland communities in Northern Central Java. The *Bulu* and the *Johar* have played differing roles in the social and economic life of Java.

Based on these different historical trajectories, the *Bulu* has offered different products than the *Johar*. While both markets may have served as the two biggest wholesale markets for Semarang, some products sourced regionally, from Central Java, are more easily found in the *Bulu*. For vendors from neighboring areas and rural outskirts purveying seasonal and fresh produce, the *Bulu* is their main marketplace.

The market building of the *Bulu* has evolved. Prior to the 1950s, the market building was a group of non-permanent roofed *loods* (the Dutch word for “open-layout stand”) before being replaced by a semi-permanent zinc-roofed building. In the 1960s, a formal, and permanent, brick-walled building was built. Unlike the original design of the *Johar*, planned as part of the

⁵ Semarang served as one of the important *entrepots* in Northern Java. Entrepot markets emerged as the result of the international trading network in Southeast Asia between India-China during the Maritime Trade Era.

⁶ *Entrepot*—derived from the Latin word *inter* (“between”) and *positum* (“positioned”, “placed”)— is a port, city, or trading post that becomes a center of exchange or distribution of foreign merchandise with little or no local commodities to export (Widodo, 2004, p. 41).

⁷ Well known as Spice Trade Route, this Southeast Asian maritime network was part of the Silk Trade Route trading network between the Roman Empire in Europe and China in the 1st century.

Dutch colonial-style downtown district, the style of the *Bulu* utilized vernacular features. The tropical ecology is reflected in the market's big hallways, high-ceiling corridors, and large roofs.

Since its establishment, the number of vendors at the *Bulu* has grown significantly. Up until mid-2011, when there were approximately 894 market vendors and 393 peripheral vendors, the *Bulu* comprised 13,733 sqm (147,820 sqft) in a two-story building located on 8,451 sqm (2.09 acre) of public land⁸. Prior to the revitalization project in 2012, the market complex consisted of five buildings consisting of *Pasar Bulu Lama*, *Pasar Bulu Inpres I* and *II*, and *Pasar Bulu Induk I* and *II*. Taken together, these are the *Bulu*.

Both fresh vegetables from the neighboring areas as well as seasonal fruits are important wholesale items sold at the *Bulu*. Additionally, the market is a long-established wholesaler of traditional kitchenware and houseware—particularly home-industry clayware and other earthenware products—as well as home industry wholesaling and tailoring of clothing and accessories.

4.4.2 Market legal agencies, regulations, and vendor legal documents

While public markets in Indonesia are regulated by standards, procedures, and legal regulations/ordinances issued by various levels of government: including central, provincial, and municipal/local government, the city government plays the primary role of on-site planning, management, and operation of the market. When a public market experiences a revitalization project, the city government is responsible for designing and implementing procedures to transition from the old building to a temporary site and back to the revitalized market. During the

⁸ Data were taken from the City Market Office.

transition, the city government exercises discretion in dealing with the system for allocating vending space.

A public market is owned by the city government and operated by a municipal/local office called *Kantor Dinas Pasar* (hereafter “the City Market Office”). This office is responsible for the planning and management of all public markets citywide. In Semarang, this city-level agency handles 54 public markets. Each public market has their own local Market Office and Market Master. In our case, they are the *Kantor Pasar Bulu* (hereafter “the *Bulu* Office”), and *Kepala Pasar Bulu* (hereafter “the *Bulu* Master”). The *Bulu* Office supervises seven on-site officers who are responsible for administrative routines and daily management of the *Bulu*. The officers’ scope of work is divided among the types of commodities. They typically start their work at 7 a.m. and finish around 2 p.m.

The *Bulu* office enforces legal regulations that are part of the system for allocating vending space. There are two important city ordinances for marketplaces in Semarang— Ordinance 9/2013 (2013)⁹ and Ordinance 2/2012 (2012)¹⁰— which serve as blueprints for managing public markets in Semarang. Ordinance 2/2012 has had three supplements issued—the first, the second, and the third amendment. They are the Ordinance 2/2016 (2016), the Ordinance 1/2017 (2017), and the Ordinance 18/2018 (2018). For analyzing the legal aspects of space allocation in the *Bulu*, this paper employs all five ordinances. However, for convenience’s sake, I only use the terms Ordinance 9/2013 and Ordinance 2/2012 which relate to all five ordinances.

⁹ It is the primary document specifying space allocation/use and vendor status as well as associated legal rights and state obligations. The original title is “The City of Semarang - Municipal Ordinance Nr. 9/2013, Regulating Market”; translated from *Perda No. 9/2013 tentang Pengaturan Pasar*. (Ordinance 9/2013, 2013).

¹⁰ It regulates general fee assessment for public service and amenities, including public markets, supplementing the first ordinance. The original title is “The City of Semarang - Municipal Ordinance Nr. 2/2012, Public Service Retribution Fee”; translated from *Perda No. 2/2012 tentang Retribusi Jasa Umum*. (Ordinance 2/2012, 2012).

There are no other supplementary regulations issued for managing markets during revitalization projects. Due to the lack of additional formal rules, both the City Market Office works together with the Market Office and the Market Master to set up detailed plans for space allocation during the transition from and to the revitalized market.

The City Market Office also issues legal documents for vendors in all public markets citywide. Vending space allocation and ‘ownership’ for each legal vendor is established by a certificate, which indicates the location, area, and associated legal rights and obligations for participating in the market. There are two main documents for vendor, those are the SIPTD or *Surat Ijin Pemakaian Tempat Dasar* (“Certificate of Permission for Vending Space Use”; hereafter “the Certificate”) and the Vendor ID card (hereafter “ID Card”). One of the important obligations vendors must uphold is paying a vending space fee (hereafter “vending fee”), called *retribusi*. The fee is determined according to several parameters—market class (urban, regional, or neighborhood market), market location (strategic location I or II), vending space type (*toko*, *los*, and open vending space for floaters), scope of business (wholesale or retail), and the total vending area the vendor uses as described in their certificate.

The idea of ‘ownership’ in a *pasar* is very tricky. Technically, the vendor does not ‘own’ the vending space since the public market building is owned by the city. The certificate represents formal permission to use the vending space in the market. Yet, my fieldwork reveals that the Certificate is taken seriously as a title of ownership able to be used for various legal processes, both in state and private matters. It can serve as an asset for collateral—similar to a car, home or real estate property—and is commonly used for acquiring bank loans, mortgages, or to finance large purchases through installment plans.

Furthermore, while copies of the Certificate are typically kept by both the vendor and the City Market Office, vendors often act as the “power of attorney” of their Certificate. Any legal process outside the market that vendors made with a third party, such as bank, property developer, etc., —where the Certificate is used as collateral—are typically executed absent of government knowledge and involvement or approval from any agents of the *Bulu* Office or the City Market Office. Vendors only communicate with the offices when there is an issue that require specific actions by a legal authority.

While using the certificate as collateral benefits the vendor, the potential for legal and planning problems is great. Vendors with a Certificate have created their own interpretation of ownership over their vending space and apply this interpretation as if they had full ownership over the rights granted by the certificate. Consequently, vendors’ claims over the market space clash with the state when the market experiences a restructuring. This issue is described in the space allocation section of this chapter, which focuses on the *Undian Lapak*, or the vending space lottery.

4.4.3 Types of vendors and vending space

Both city ordinances—Ordinance 9/2013 and Ordinance 2/2012—specify two types of vendors: *pedagang toko* (“shop vendor”; hereafter *toko*) and *pedagang los* (“stand vendor”; hereafter *los*). The terms *toko* and *los* refer to the vendor and their vending space¹¹. The ordinances regulate all associated parameters, procedures, standards of space allocations as well

¹¹ Each vending space of *toko* is walled in, floor-to-ceiling, with open display frontage. This type is often grouped as a continuous corridor of stores and typically located in the outer edge of the building directly facing the sidewalk, thus becoming the face of the market and benefiting from direct access to customers. *Los* is typically grouped into clusters formed in built-in concrete tables, as is found in the *Bulu*. This type offers an open-layout vending area instead of individual cubicle shops and is typically allocated in the inner/central area of the market.

as vendor rights and obligations. Each Certificate (vendor document) depicts the total vending area that each type of vendor can use. The vending area is defined by multiples of a vending unit called *dasaran* (“vending base”). One-unit *dasaran* for the *toko* ranges from 4 sqm to 16 sqm (43 sqft to 172 sqft)¹² and one-unit *dasaran* for the *los* ranges from 2 sqm to 3 sqm (21.5 sqft to 32 sqft)¹³. Units of both *toko* and *los* may be formed as either a rectangle or a square as the design varies for different markets and locations.

The formal business hours for a market are typically from 6 a.m. to 3 p.m.—following the peak hours of most vendors’ activities. However, the business hours of *tokos*, particularly the ones located on the market perimeter, do not necessarily follow those of the market. Since *tokos* may have their own entrance facing the street and sidewalk, they set their own business hours. On the other hand, *loses*, which are gathered in an open-layout hall area inside the building, share the same entrance controlled by the Market Office. The actual business hours vary based on the type of commodities sold by individual businesses. For example, vendors who sell vegetables, particularly wholesale, start their business much earlier around 3 or 4 a.m., and finish around 1 or 2 p.m. Fruit vendors, particularly wholesale that sell seasonal fruits, are often open 24 hours. This is because seasonal fruits are ordered from villages or towns that may easily come from other provinces or even islands, and the delivery time could be any time during the day or night. Additionally, many of the markets, particularly ones with an older design, are not gated at every entrance. Thus, some markets remain open and accessible at any time, day or night.

While both ordinances use the term “typology” in classifying vendor types and vending space, my fieldwork reveals that the terms *toko* and *los* are mutually exclusive only for

¹² One example design of *toko* is in a square of 2x2m to 4x4m (6.6x6.6ft to 13.2x13.2ft).

¹³ One example design of *los* is in a square of 1x2m to 1.5x2m (3.3x6.6ft to 4.9x6.6ft).

categorizing vending space, but not vendor types. The same vendor may belong to both types of spaces by owning both a *toko* and a *los*, yet they might receive the certificate for only one. For instance, the vendor has one type of space and then later inherited another type from a family member, or otherwise acquired the right to additional space. One vendor could have multiple certificates of each type. Further, the vendor may be engaged in allocating space from other vendors directly, rather than through city offices. These inter-vendor allocations in the absence of city government result in the allocation of space irrespective of the type of certificates that the transacting vendors use. Regardless of how vendors combine these types, the expected vending spaces allocation is by the description found in, and legally secured by, their Certificate(s). This mixture of state-sanctioned and socially constructed processes for allocating vending space is particularly fascinating during normal times, and quite problematic when a market is in transition to a revitalized space.

One consequence of this system is that it is difficult to identify the total number of vendors of each type in one market. My fieldwork found that while the *Bulu* Office indicated that prior to the project, the *Bulu* hosted 894 legal vendors—occupying 140 *loses* and 842 *tokos*—, this number is likely inaccurate. Due to the mixed use of *tokos* and *loses*, a one-certificate, one-vendor count will not include expansions and contractions of vendor spaces. Further, in some cases we find legal vendors use more than one name in order to secure more *loses* or *tokos*, and so one vendor might hold multiple Certificates. Finally, the number of people working at the market, selling goods and services as employees or business partners, is underrepresented by the number ‘894.’ In short, the database system is very poorly documented and inconsistently applied.

One of the glitches in this system is that the vendor formally depicted in each individual Certificate refers to some historic assessment and labeling of the space, not necessarily the space the vendor actually uses as a result of subsequent inter-vendor deal-making, and irrespective of any physical changes made by the vendors of their space. For instance, while a vendor may have reconfigured the physical design of a *los* into a *toko*—by transforming it into a walled-in, floor-to-ceiling vending space—, or vice versa, this does not change the labeling of the space type depicted in the Certificate. A *los* will remain as a *los* in the Certificate, and so will a *toko*, regardless of the physical changes that occur.

An additional ambiguity comes in the form of ‘peripheral’ vendors who neither hold a certificate nor occupy an official place in the market. This group of vendors is explored in the following section.

4.4.4 Other types of market vendors

Toko and *los* are not the only vendors associated with markets in Indonesia. Groups of “floaters” or “wanderers” appear in almost all markets. These peripheral vendors do not have legal access to market space, and they vend and display products on the open ground (similar to some of the “garage sale guys” described in Morales 2010). Their activities take place in open areas at the market, outside the market, or on the street. These floating vendors are related to a common culture of open-air market activity that integrates with the market’s legally established activities.

In Semarang, these floaters or wanderers are commonly called *pancakan*¹⁴, thus in the *Bulu* case, they were typically called the *pancakan Pasar Bulu* (hereafter “*pancakan*”). In *Bulu*’s old location, there were 393 *pancakans* recognized by the *Bulu* master. The majority of *pancakans* in *Pasar Bulu* are from Bandungan¹⁵—a neighboring hinterland in the plateaus of the Dieng Mount. This area is well known for their fresh agricultural products. Some vendors say that, originally, Bandungan *pancakans* served as produce “middlemen” who purchased products from the hinterlands to resell to the *Bulu* vendors, but eventually became floating vendors selling directly to customers.

While *pancakans* typically only work in one market, they do not necessarily belong to that market’s community. Despite this, they commonly leave their equipment—such as display tarps, woven baskets, or scales—in the market while they are absent. They gather, cover, and tie leftover items and store them in a concealed spot outside the market building or in corners of the market’s corridor. These ‘*pancakan* deposit areas’ are kept safe since the market vendors and officers commonly acknowledge their existence, purpose, and the role they serve.

The existence of *pancakans* often creates conflict with legal market vendors regarding space allocation and legal procedures. *Pancakans*, who vend outside have direct access to customers despite not having the right to participate in the market. This situation creates competition between *pancakans* and the legal market vendors. In responding to this situation, some market vendors choose to move their vending activity outside and vend side by side with

¹⁴ *Pancakan* commonly starts their business very early in the morning—around 2-4 a.m. to catch the earliest customers—and finish it much earlier than other market vendors—around 8-9 a.m. to avoid their goods, mostly perishable produces, being exposed too long to the sun.

¹⁵ While in many cases, *pancakans* consist of peddlers who come to the market area individually and independently, some other cases show that *pancakans* could be dominated by big groups of vendors from the same hinterland area or neighboring rural villages that are well known for agricultural produces. They have come gradually along the time and eventually created a massive and consistent wave of newcomer vendors.

pancakans. Therefore, market activities often spill onto streets, pedestrian areas, or open spaces near the market building while some vending spaces in the building are unused and empty.

Unlike the *toko* and *los* vending space, *pancakan* attain space on a first-come, first-served basis. Floating vendors tend to settle and cluster around the same market area. This marks them as the “outside” vendors whereas the legal vendors are the “inside” vendors. With time, floating vendors who are regular participants of the market are given an ID Card and charged the daily vending fee. However, these partially incorporated floaters are not given space certificates.

It is important to note that the three different types of vendors and/or vending space—*toko*, *los*, and *pancakan*—define only those who carry on regular business in the market every day and not for those who use the market as a seasonal or incidental place to hold business. While 393 *pancakan* vendors were listed in the *Bulu* Office data this does not count the irregular traders who are occasional vendors. I have observed incidental traders in many Indonesian markets. They can easily be found when market activity peaks two to four times a year during Ramadan¹⁶, Eid-al-Fitr¹⁷, Eid-al-Adha¹⁸, and New Year. Markets will always attract new peddlers and these irregular vendors often become part of the *pasar pagi* (“morning market”). They can be spotted when certain fruits or vegetables are in season; while some are mobile traders who carry and sell the produce on their shoulder or from an open truck near the market entrance. Even in the *Bulu*, we can easily find a mobile trader who sells small kitchen/house merchandise—such as knives, kitchen cloth, jute bags for shopping, children’s toys, and the like.

¹⁶ *Ramadan* is the Islamic holy fasting month.

¹⁷ *Eid-al-Fitr* is the first major Muslim festival celebrating the end of Ramadan, the month of fasting.

¹⁸ *Eid-al-Adha* is the second major Muslim festival commemorating Ibrahim's devotion to God and his readiness to sacrifice his son, Ismail.

Characteristically they carry these goods in a display box on their shoulders or chest as they walk around the market.

These traders enter the marketplace differently than vendors who use a *toko or los*. In time some are recognized as belonging to the market while others may be part of another market's *pancakan*. Still others may simply be street vendors or middlemen who occasionally vend in the *Bulu*¹⁹. During my fieldwork, I once asked a *Bulu* vendor, Temi, who sells vegetables, whether she feels that this kind of vendor threatens other *Bulu* vendor's business and she responded, "Why? The market is open for everybody! They just attach [themselves] to the market when vending their stuff. It is normal!" She indicates acceptance of the marketplace as a public space, an open resource for the public. The market is an inclusive space, no matter the legal definitions associated with the official roles of vendors or government, many types of vendors fit together serving the interests of many types of visitors.

We have learned that there are many types of vendors and ways to count them, and so, there is no exact data about the number of vendors at the market. Furthermore, we learned that is difficult for the government to track the number and types of vendors. So, it is no easy matter to track the type of vending space each vendor has. The government does attempt to maintain a database, but it does not correspond to the reality on the ground. Describing such complexity is not easy, but it is built of many interwoven processes. In the following section, we will learn about the vending space lottery used for relocating allocating vending space in the new market building of the *Bulu*.

¹⁹ The forms of these vendors are various, such as, among others, *gerobak* ("vendor with a mobile wheeled cart"), *pikulan* ("vendor with carrying bamboo stall on their shoulder"), *asongan* ("vendor who carries goods on their hands/back"), and many others. She indicates acceptance of the marketplace as a public space, an open resource for the public. The market is an inclusive space, no matter the legal definitions associated with the official roles of vendors or government, many types of vendors fit together serving the interests of many types of visitors.

4.5 The Market Revitalization Project and Space Sorting Lottery Process (*Undian Lapak*)

4.5.1 Market revitalization project

The City of Semarang initiated a project in mid-2012 called the Tugu Muda Historic District Renewal Project which resulted in the reconstruction of the *Bulu*. This project called for a complete demolition of the existing market building as one of the 3161 public amenity revitalization projects planned by the City of Semarang for 2014. At the beginning of the construction stage, the existing market building was demolished. The 894 vendors were relocated into a temporary alternate marketplace called the “*Pasar Darurat*” (hereafter, “the Shelter”); a temporary shelter built along streets surrounding the *Bulu* under construction. The Shelter consisted of two long wooden buildings —shaped like a narrow American rental storage building— that stretched for several city blocks. Consisting of hundreds of double-sided doorless stands appearing like shacks, built of clapboard and daub, with very long dark alleyways between, this shelter was very different than the *Bulu*. The place literally and figuratively offered an unreal vending space for vendors with limited amenities and facilities, as well as limited transportation and access for vendors and customers. Vending in *Pasar Darurat Bulu* became a nightmare for vendors, who struggled to adapt their previous space allocation practices and businesses to the more limiting vending space of the Shelter. Not only did the Shelter reduce the space for each vendor, but the corridors that ran along the building were small and narrow, which reduced foot traffic from potential customers. Construction of the new market was originally planned to last one year but ultimately construction lasted almost three years.

From fieldwork observations, it became clear that during the revitalization project of *Pasar Bulu*, vendors struggled to maintain their business. However, Government officers faced

challenges in performing their role as formal keepers of the rules and informal mediators with the vendors. This is discussed in further detail in chapter 3.

The newly built market of the *Bulu* (hereafter “the new *Bulu*”) is built on the same location as the old building of the *Bulu* (hereafter “the old *Bulu*”). The building area has three floors of vending area with one semi-basement. While this basement is mainly for parking, some area is dedicated for vending specific fresh produce that requires certain processing, such as coconut grating. Each floor area is approximately 4242 sqm (4566 sqft). The vendor relocation process was executed by a vending space lottery program called *Undian Lapak* (vending space lottery). The City Market Office indicated that in addition to the total of 894 legal vendors of the *Bulu* there would be two additional groups allowed to vend in the new *Bulu*: a group of 393 *pancakan* vendors, and a group of 41 street vendors from Pandanaran Street. This means that vendors who were previously on the periphery of the market or not part of the market would be included in the new building. As the result, the commodity zoning system for space allocation had to change. The following table shows the changes in commodity zoning on each floor.

Table 4-1 Commodity Zoning Plan in the New *Bulu*

Location	Zoning plan for each floor
1st floor	
Initial plan*	fruit, vegetable, souvenir, clothing, accessory, <i>sembako</i> ²⁰ .
Adjusted plan**	souvenir, clothing, accessory, <i>sembako</i> . watch repair artisan, shoe repair artisan.
2nd floor	
Initial plan	meats (beef, poultry, fish, & fermented fish), <i>sembako</i> , spices, tofu, vegetables, food court (ready-to-eat food).
Adjusted plan	fruit, meat (beef, poultry, fish, & fermented fish), <i>sembako</i> . spice, tofu, vegetable, food court (ready-to-eat food), <i>pancakan</i> vendors (floating vendors)
3rd floor	
Initial plan	<i>Gerabah</i> ²¹ , multipurpose hall, the <i>Bulu</i> Office.
Adjusted plan	<i>Gerabah</i> , multipurpose hall, the <i>Bulu</i> Office.
Semi basement floor	
Initial plan	Specific fresh produce processing (such as coconut grating), parking area.
Adjusted plan	Specific fresh produce processing (such as coconut grating), parking area.

Note: * : adopted from The *Bulu* Floor Plans from the *Bulu* Office, ** : after *Undian Lapak*, taken from personal on-site observation during fieldwork, last observed on September 30, 2015.

From table 4-1, we can see the planned locations of some commodities changed significantly. For example, fruit and vegetable are no longer on the first floor and *pancakan* vendors are allocated to the second floor. These changes are the result of commodity rezoning following the space lottery, the *Undian Lapak*.

4.5.2 *Undian Lapak*

An *Undian Lapak* is often used by the City in market revitalization projects to allocate space in new market buildings. The *Bulu* was no exception. The term *Undian Lapak* is literally translated as “vending space lottery”. This city-sponsored program aims to distribute vending space(s) in the targeted market to potential users, by vendor type, based on a random drawing.

²⁰ *Sembako* (*sembilan bahan pokok*, or “nine basic/staple ingredients”) includes a great variety of staple foods (rices, grains, beans), various types of flours and sugars, as well as other basic ingredients like milk, oil, and eggs.

²¹ *Gerabah* includes houseware and traditional clay kitchenware.

This system is unlike the common ticket lottery, where the participant needs to voluntarily purchase a lotto ticket with numbers for winning the prize money, instead the tickets of *Undian Lapak* are provided to the targeted vendors who fit eligibility criteria controlled by the City.

Theoretically, *Undian Lapak* is an efficient and fair scheme; random selection supposedly protects vending space allocation from speculation, monopoly, and favoritism, or an inequitable space distribution. The vendors cannot select and choose the space location they want. As it is typically conducted by the State/City Market Office in collaboration with the associated Market Office, only two parties are involved: the vendor (as the participant) and the State/City (as the authorized operator). The scheme appears simple in theory but in reality, the *Undian Lapak* generated disputes, if not failures, because it did not incorporate previous social understandings of space.

During the project, the *Bulu* held *Undian Lapak* three times. These lotteries involved (1) moving the vendors into the Shelter (Moving-Out phase), (2) relocating the vendors back into the newly built building (Moving-In phase), and (3) accommodating street-peddlers and floating vendors including *pancakans* into the new *Bulu* (post-Moving-In phase). In this paper, I focus only on the *Undian Lapak* to relocate vendors into the new market building, or the Moving-In phase.

The event of *Undian Lapak* was held on December 17, 2014, and organized by the City Market Office in collaboration with the *Bulu* Office. Reporters and media crews were invited, and this event was in front-page news in some local and regional newspapers. Tri, the Head of the City Market Office, led the event. Tri announced that three principles underpinned the execution of the *Undian Lapak*. First, no fee would be applied to participate in the allocation. Second, vendors would be allocated the same sized vending area as written on their Certificate.

Third, every legal vendor, without exception, would be allowed space in the new building.

We should recognize that the event was itself part of a process that included a briefing for vendors about three weeks prior to the *Undian Lapak*. This event “the Briefing Meeting for the *Undian Lapak*” provided vendors a brief description of how the main event of the *Undian Lapak* would be held. It was also held by the City Market Office in collaboration with the *Bulu* Office. The vendors were invited, and about 500 people showed up. In this event, Tri mentioned the three principles with a caveat for the second point. He stated to the vendors that “In the *Undian Lapak*, you all as the legal vendors will get your space back. But there might be some adjustments. The vending area you get would be possibly slightly bigger, or smaller, or for some exactly the same.” The discretion being exercised, the resulting ambiguity, and the consequences of both of Tri’s statements will be discussed in the last part of this paper.

As for the third principle listed above, Tri had clarified that in addition to the total of 894 legal vendors of the *Bulu*, there would be two additional groups that would be also allocated into the new *Bulu*; the 393 *pancakan* vendors and a group of 41 street vendors from Pandanaran Street. This action by the city reflected a new objective in recent revitalization market projects, which is to “shelter” and incorporate floating vendors into new, local market buildings. The city developed this objective to attempt to remediate problems related to the floating vendors, such as market activities spilling onto nearby streets or open space in the city, and traffic jams in the pedestrian area.

The Pandanaran group, commonly known as the street vendors of Pandanaran Snacks and Souvenir Center²², would also be in the new *Bulu*. Although they were not part of the market activity in the old *Bulu*, they were found about half a mile from the market in one corner of

²² Translated from “*group pedagang kaki lima dari Pusat Jajanan Oleh-oleh Pandanaran*”.

Pandanaran Street, the city planned to include them in the new *Bulu* to address problems related to pedestrian access and traffic flow along Pandanaran Street.

The *Undian Lapak* was executed through three steps: the first step, each vendor draws a ticket to get *one* random number to assign *one* single cube 1.5 sqm, marked by the chalk in their commodity zone²³. This cubicle is a single vending space unit. The second step determines how many unit(s) the vendor is allocated by dividing their certified space by the unit size to get the total vending area that is close enough to what is stated in the vendor's Certificate. For example, if the Certificate states that the vendor has access to 12 sqm of *los*, she/he would be given as many as 8 units (resulted from $12 \text{ sqm} \div 1.5 \text{ sqm}$) of marked cubicles of *loses* extended from the assigned spot she/he initially gets. In the third step, the vendor is sent to the assigned location. In some areas, this 1.5 sqm vending space unit was formed as one single unit of vending table. One example of this area was in the beef/poultry/fish/fermented fish section. The further application of this vending unit space and how this vending unit of table was negotiated and adjusted will be further elaborated in section 4.6.5.

This simple process gets complicated by the reality of vendors and the commodity types they sell. The system for allocating space in the new *Bulu* assigned one vendor to one unit which resulted in several ambiguities and unexpected consequences for vendors and officers.

Furthermore, the three steps of *Undian Lapak* were extremely time-consuming with each vendor requiring at least 10-20 minutes for the officers to explain the process. Initially planned as a day-long event, it took almost a week for officers to finish the space allocation for 894 vendors. This

²³ Prior to the day of *Undian Lapak*, the vending floors across the new market were already marked with rectangular shapes of "cubicle" —as big as 1x1.5-m (3.2x4.9-ft) each— using chalk and paper tape and numbered. This cubicle (of 1.5sqm) becomes a single unit of vending space.

initial lottery did not include the 393 floating vendors²⁴. In the following sections, the research findings reveal that the *Undian Lapak* has generated disputes in incorporating previous social understandings of space.



Picture 4-1

Undian Lapak (1): The officers were the ones wearing blue uniforms. Vendors were sitting on the rug.

²⁴ These 393 floating vendors were allocated spaces in the new building eventually. During the last phase of my fieldwork, the authority held another space lottery, called *Undian Lapak Pancakan* (“vending space sortition for *pancakans*”). This aimed to allocate space for the floating vendors or *pancakans*. It was held about two and a half months after the first *Undian Lapak*.



Picture 4-2

Undian Lapak (2): Vendors are sitting on the rug mat.



Picture 4-3

Undian Lapak (3): The officers were explaining steps in space allocation to the vendors.



Picture 4-4

Undian Lapak (4): The cement floor on the third floor was marked and numbered by chalk for *los* area.



Picture 4-5

Undian Lapak (5): The tile floor on the second floor was marked and numbered by chalk for *los* area.

4.6 Findings and Analysis: Space Allocation by the *Undian Lapak*

I present my findings in two parts, first revealing interactions during the execution of *Undian Lapak*, and second, describing negotiations over space claims resulting from the *Undian Lapak*. The discussion includes the perspectives of the vendors and the on-site officers/managers. By understanding the struggles that both parties faced, I show the negotiations between the two groups, the discretion they employed, as well as provisions and resistance to each other that they each demonstrated.

The research findings demonstrate the intersection of interaction and interpretation in establishing vending space allocation associated with the *Undian Lapak*. I will use an interactionist approach to show how vendors' rights are often (re)interpreted and (re)negotiated. I will explain how the different actors within the system related to each other following the *Undian Lapak*. My goal here is not strictly to describe the spatial arrangements, but rather to reveal how vendors, particularly vendors of the old market, and government officials, shaped official judgments about who belonged in the market. The various expectations that the market actors had about vendors generally, and floating vendors in particular, were in turn organized by the *Undian Lapak* process, by vendor experience, and by government goals. Before discussing the vending space dynamics, I briefly review some features of the building design as they impacted vending space at the new *Bulu*.

4.6.1 Assessment of the building design

Throughout the revitalization project, the new *Bulu* was expected to serve as a significant urban public space in Semarang. This idea was depicted in the speech given at its Grand Opening. Furthermore, we can see that the market is reconceptualized to include tourism and

connections to the larger economy as opposed to its prior life as a hub for local and regional business activity

“Insya Allah²⁵ today, the [newly renovated] Pasar Bulu is being launched. The renovation transforms the market from a ‘traditional market’ into a ‘modernized traditional market.’ as was envisioned in 2012. In executing this concept, the City of Semarang has sought to create in the Pasar Bulu a new destination for tourism in Semarang, given its strategic location in the center of the downtown surrounded by the Tugu Muda, Lawang Sewu, Museum Mandala Bakti, and Pandanaran Gift and Souvenir Center. Hopefully, the new market stands as one example of the modernized traditional market in Central Java.”

(A speech by the Minister of Trade in the Grand Opening of Pasar Bulu, December 30, 2014, direct observation)

January of 2015 marked the beginning of the new ‘modernized’ public market. With the aims described in the speech, it was not surprising that the new *Bulu*—designed as a three-story building—emphasizes grandeur in its appearance. The rectangular shape of the market is paired with a rounded entrance. The entrance area is finished by clean and sleek lines of glass typical of a modern retail center. The main entrance area is oriented to the Tugu Muda intersection, which positions the market as part of this urban node. The other three facades of the market were open to the city with railings surrounding balconies on all three sides. The new design equips the market with stairways, a terrace, and a drop-off area meant to welcome visitors from Sugiyopranoto St., a road connecting Semarang with neighboring towns and cities in the Central Java Province.

The drop-off area welcomes visitors into a large main hall surrounded by glass walls. This hall is equipped with a pair of escalators taking visitors to the second floor. An open

²⁵ *“Insya Allah”*—or *“insha Allah”*, *“inshallah”*—is a phrase used worldwide by Muslims of all languages to discuss an event that will take place in the future. The literal meaning is “if God wills, it will happen” or “God willing”.

vending area is available on each floor and is connected by the main staircase visible to each floor. This main stair serves the vertical circulation between different floors from the first, second, and third floor, but not to the basement floor. The access from the first floor to the basement floor is served by a different staircase²⁶. Parking areas are provided in the open space behind the building as well as in the basement level.



Picture 4-6

The entrance area of the newly built *Pasar Bulu* facing Sugiyopranoto St.

²⁶ Typically, the Indonesian architectural code regulates the design of the main staircase between different floors that needs to stop on the first floor—due to the fire safety code reason—and the access/staircase between the first and basement level is separately located.



Picture 4-7

The ground floor level of the newly built *Pasar Bulu* facing Sugiyopranoto St. with the semi-basement area underneath.



Picture 4-8

The construction of bus stop and pedestrian area in Sugiyopranoto St. in front of the newly built *Pasar Bulu*.



Picture 4-9
Vending unit of *toko*.



Picture 4-10
Vending unit of *los*.

At first glance the building appears promising; however, my fieldwork reveals many design aspects that failed to meet basic operating standards. The main amenities and facilities (e.g., circulations (stairs, ramps, and escalators), plumbing, walls, and floors) are limited and poorly designed. There was no direct access from the open parking lot to the building²⁷. People were instructed to enter through the basement or the entrance on the other side of the building. Circulation paths for pedestrians were confusing and failed to promote accessibility to vendors was a chief design failure I identified.

Another design flaw occurred in the access from the basement to the ground floor that I mentioned above, which was provided by two narrow stairways, about 1.75 m (5.74 ft) wide. I saw many people—customers and vendors—fall or slip on these stairs. The one staircase for accessing the upper floors from the main vending area of *tokos* was narrow, only 1.25 m (4.10 ft) wide, and hidden in a dark alley of the vending lots. This location deterred potential customers from accessing the upper floors. Based on my architectural observation, I found no fire safety

²⁷ During the last phase of my fieldwork, two stairs were added to create direct accesses from the open parking lot to the building.

standard equipment (e.g., sprinkler or smoke detector) that is typically required by architectural and fire hazard safety code standards for multi-story public buildings²⁸, limited and improperly designed toilet and water/drainage system (i.e., only about 5-6 poorly working toilets), water leaking throughout the facility, and more. All in all, despite good intentions in the initial design, this poorly executed labyrinth offered an array of inconveniences for its users.

4.6.2 Assessment on vending space design

Among many design challenges in the new *Bulu*, the one that directly affected the vendors was the vending space design. Following the space distribution of *Undian Lapak*, some vendors found the ceilings of their assigned *toko* were not structurally sound. Many experienced collapsed ceilings. The vending space for *los*—rows of continuous built-in concrete tables with tile surfaces—also shows some design failures. The tables were too high and too wide, thus making it hard for vendors to reach goods and serve their customers²⁹. At several spots, the concrete tables and tiles were broken or cracked even before the building first opened. These are just a few examples among many design challenges and problems in the vending area. The design of the vending area not only failed to accommodate the habits practiced by the *Bulu* vendors in the old market but also fail to meet the architectural and safety standards of a public building³⁰.

²⁸ My assessment is based on the knowledge I have regarding the architectural standards, building codes, and safety codes applied in my country. My background is architecture, and I am practicing as a licensed architect in Indonesia.

²⁹ Halfway through my fieldwork, I found that many vendors decided to sit and vend on the tiles of this table while serving to the customer

³⁰ Internationally, there are several architectural standards widely used in designing public buildings (including marketplaces), the most important one is Architect's Data (Neufert, 2019; see also Neufert, 2000). In Indonesia, the main ordinance that regulates building codes for high-rise public buildings is the National Law 28/2002 on High-rise Buildings (*UU 28/2002 tentang Bangunan Gedung*). There are some supplemental ordinances for regulating high-rise building design and fire safety codes. Some of them are Ordinance 36/2005, Ordinance 45/2007. Ordinance



Picture 4-11

The vending space for *los* is formed as rows of continuous built-in concrete tables with tile surfaces. The table is too high. This is in the beef section on the second floor.



Picture 4-12

Since the table for *los* is too high, the vendor often adds additional block of step.



Picture 4-13

The ramp between the stair steps of the main stairway from the ground floor to the second floor is too steep.



Picture 4-14

The access from the basement to the ground floor is provided by two narrow stairways

16/2021, Ordinance 10/2000, and Ordinance 26/2008. In addition, for public building safety standard related to fire safety standard, stairs, and accessibility in high-rise public buildings, there are four national standards, which are: (1) Standard 03-1735-2000 or *SNI 03-1745-2000*, The Standards for the Design of Building and Neighborhood Access for Fire Precautions in High-rise Buildings; (2) Standard 03-1745-2000 or *SNI 03-1745-2000*, Code for the Design and Installation of Standpipe and Hose Systems for Fire Precautions in Residential and High-rise Buildings; (3) Standard 03-1746-2000 or *SNI 03-1746-2000*, Code for the Design and Construction Building and Neighborhood Access for Fire Precautions in High-rise Buildings; and (4) Standard 03-3938-2000 or *SNI 03-3938-2000*, Code for the Design and Construction Automatic Sprinkler for Fire Precautions in High-rise Buildings. The completed title of each regulation or standard is further detailed in the References and Appendix C.

The various design failures in the new *Bulu* provided environmental challenges to vendors in the marketplace. They did not stop the *Undian Lapak* process from occurring and vending spaces in the new building were allocated. In the following section, I will discuss the dynamics and challenges of *Undian Lapak* by describing how changing expectations about legitimate vendors were advanced, resisted, and defended, and then I will discuss the processes of allocating vending space.

4.6.3 Creating and contesting the legitimate vendor

Each market actor shaped expectations for who was a legitimate vendor, participating in the *Undian Lapak*, based on how each actor interpreted the system of ideas and interactions they were part of in the old market. First, the government elected to include various non-market vendors based on their interpretation of the new *Bulu* as a public space. Based on this interpretation, the new *Bulu* would serve a wider public than those who were previously accommodated in the old building.

The City Market Office had indicated that as part of the city-wide project, the new design of the *Bulu* should address wider urban problems, such as accommodating unsheltered street-peddlers and market vendors from the immediate area, whether they previously had a Certificate. Therefore, the list of vendors for the moving-in phase of *Undian Lapak* allocated vending spaces for both the “insiders” —the 894 existing legal vendors— as well as the “outsiders”—consisting of a group of 393 *pancakan* vendors and a group of 41 Pandanaran street-peddlers.

Prior to the *Undian Lapak*, vendors learned that the City would include “outsiders” as vendors in the building. Gossip quickly spread amongst the established vendors. Most of the rumors did not necessarily articulate resistance. Instead, vendors voiced a variety of

interpretations of who should belong to the new *Bulu*. I will further elaborate on this variety of interpretations in the next sections. In short, we will see that the parameters and interactions used in determining the list of legitimate vendors who should belong to the new Bulu were dynamic and continuously adjusted on the ground within relationships between vendors and the government.

4.6.4 The List as a dynamic document

While the execution of the *Undian Lapak* appears straightforward, the list of those who could participate in the lottery was dynamic. The dynamism occurred in terms of how each party (the vendors and the officers) interpreted the list, and also how members of both parties exercised discretion to come up with the final list. The period after the lottery was a critical point of departure for the vendors and the legal officials while dealing with the continuing problem of spatial claims. The vendors slowly began operating their businesses in the new building while also arguing for their rights within the new market.

I will begin by revealing the fact that the complexity of the space claims was often created when each party had their own version of the list of valid vendors. The evolution of the list will be described in the following section.

4.6.4.1 Vendor's list vs. official's list

During the *Bulu* market revitalization project and temporary occupancy in the Shelter, the database about vendors was incomplete. This occurred, in part, due to changes in the way business operated; many vendors had gone on hiatus or disappeared. In the *Bulu* case, while *Undian Lapak* was supposed to control and finalize the list of the vendors who would be

allocated in the new market, the vendors had come up with their own list to advance claims for vending space. During my fieldwork, I discovered some vendor and commodity groups had two versions of their list: one for vendors and another for market offices. Here I will show an example of a commodity group that operated this way. The beef/poultry/fish/fermented fish vendors negotiated their space claims in the new market. Negotiations between group members and government demonstrate how government and vendor aspirations were realized through the process of socially constructing the lists.

This case occurred on January 7, 2015, almost three weeks after the *Undian Lapak*, and about one week after the grand opening. Keep in mind that all the vendors had officially been provided their vending space and shown where they would be located. However, few of the vendors had begun business in the new building. It was around 10 a.m. In the main hall by the market entrance, a meeting between a group of officers from the *Bulu* Office and a group of butchers would be held at 11 a.m. An estimated 40 vendors, mainly beef butcher vendors, waited for the officials to arrive.

The meeting was initiated by Duni, a beef vendor who voluntarily became a spokesperson for his group of beef butchers. Duni, along with several other vendors, explained to me that the meeting was meant to deliver a list of concerns the group of beef butchers had. In short, they were not happy about the space they were allocated or who was able to vend. In the first excerpt, we see how the vendors had developed their own list of valid vendors to further negotiate their spatial claims.

Duni and Ade

(Duni is holding a list of names hand-written on a sheet of lined notebook paper. He shows me the list while explaining what his concerns are.)

Duni:

Yes, I am the one who requested this meeting. Now we are waiting for Tri, the head [of the City Market Office], to come.

Yes, I am also a beef butcher. Here is the list of all 47 beef butchers (*showing me his list*)

(While he said that there are 47 butchers, I immediately notice that the list only has 36 names. I ask him about this matter.)

Ade:

You said that there are 47 beef butchers. But why does your list only have 36 names?

Duni:

The 36 is the total number of all beef butchers. Some have 2-3 spaces.

(I am confused about what he meant. I am about to ask for an explanation but then Tri and other market officers arrive. Duni is busy welcoming them.)

Duni's list contained the names of beef butchers this group believed had a right to space in the new market and contained information on how much space each should have. The agents had their own version of the list. In the following excerpt, we will see that these two lists conflicted and led to further negotiations. This demonstrates the role of negotiation to realize both government and vendor aspirations.

Tri, market officers, and butcher vendors

(Tri, the Head of the City Market Office, and several officers sit on the rug. Tri is holding a list given by the Bulu Master. Duni approaches Tri and gives him the list that he prepared. Tri, is leading the meeting. The vendors are voicing their confusion about the execution of space allocation. Tri is holding his list, detailing those who have been legally allocated back into the new building.)

Tri:

So, 47 of beef vendors plus 19, plus 11, plus 22. All together is 99 [butcher] vendors.

(Tri and some officers are mumbling back and forth doing quick math)

(Occasionally, Tri double-checks Duni's list by asking some vendors to raise their hands when he calls their names so that he can calculate the total number of that particular group. This method is not very helpful since some vendors did not attend the meeting.)

Tri:

Okay, people, here we go. I just got your list of vendors [beef butchers]. Now we will crosscheck with the office's database, okay?

For example, it should be clear about who the 47 people [beef butchers] you've listed here actually are, whether this list is in line with what we have in the office, whether there is a vendor who owns more than what they are supposed to have, and so on and so forth.

We see how Tri attempted to address the first concern of the group: that all vendors needed to be properly allocated. This concern was the top priority regardless of the data discrepancy between the two lists. Regarding this discrepancy, Duni's list of 47 vendors only represented the beef butchers. The total number of butchers, 99 mentioned by Tri, includes butchers of beef, poultry, fish, and fermented fish.

In the next section, I will provide detail about how vendors defended other vendors' rights to vend in the new market building, despite being absent at the meeting or having no official documentation supporting their claim to vend in the market. The long history of vending at the old market and strong relationships with the vendors there play a prominent role in the case.

4.6.4.2 Inclusivity: Social and city governmental

Vendors and the officers have their own interpretations as to who is a legitimate vendor. We will see how vendors included Pani, a member of their vendor community, who was without any official documentation but who had extensive experience in the old market.

Tri, market officers, and butcher vendors

(Tri is continuing double-checking between the two lists: Duni's and his list. All of the sudden, one vendor's name, Pani, is in question. The officers informed Tri that while Pani has been actively voicing her complaints since Undian Lapak, she is in fact not on Tri's list. She has not appeared at the meeting yet and the other vendors are persistently defending her.)

Vendors V (V):

What about the NEW people?

Tri (T):

Who are you talking about? Do you mean that there are NEW vendors who should get a spot inside? Here, I have the list for the OLD vendors [*“pedagang lama”*] only! There is NO NEW vendor [*“pedagang baru”*] here on the List! And where is Pani? I heard that she has been complaining a lot about her space.

Officer A (OA):

Pani does not have any permit [Certificate or SIPTD]

V:

But we believe she has one!!

OA:

No, she does not have one. (*pointing to Tri's List*).

Okay. Let me ask you one thing, is she a NEW vendor?

V:

No. She is an OLD vendor!! We believe she has a permit!

OA:

YES, it is true that she has been vending here.

And YES, that is why we finally gave her a space here.

But, NO, she has no permit.

She is NOT on the List. It means she does NOT have permission!

The discussion shows the complexity of each party's interpretations of two opposite terms: old vendor (*“pedagang lama”*) vs. new vendor (*“pedagang baru”*). Each party interprets the meaning with regard to their own interests.

Pani is not part of Duni's list since she is a fish vendor³¹. In defending Pani, the vendor “V” interpreted the term “old vendor” based on their appreciation of Pani's long history of vending. “V” claims that she does, or ought to, enjoy legitimate legal status due to her history in

³¹ During the occupancy in the Shelter, I met Pani several times vending in the corner of the intersection between Suyodono St. and Jayengan St.

the old *Bulu*. The vendors assumed that tenure as a vendor equated with the status of legal vendor. On the other hand, the officer's interpretation hinges on the legal status of the vendor as indicated in the official list. They acknowledge that Pani has been vending in the old *Bulu* for a long time, but this fact does not automatically grant her legal status.

Vendors would often lease their space to others to generate income and ensure they retained their certificate. In Pani's case, it is possible she may have been 'renting' a permit from a vendor at the old market. Through this arrangement, Pani would have held a permit under another vendor's name, or she may have obtained a permit in another manner. Due to the government's position on inclusivity, Pani was deserving of a vending space due to her history as a vendor.

The above discussion shows the range of meanings that people had when interpreting the rules of *Undian Lapak* and who deserved rightful access to the market. We can see that some vendors defended other vendors' claims even without any official data of their legal status. These vendors attempted to represent their community, even though Pani was not present at the meeting. This may be surprising since I initially thought that vending space would be very competitive among vendors, particularly between those who had different legal statuses. Indeed, it is possible that such competition existed, but I did not witness it.

As these interpretations led to conflicting claims, agents performed on-ground adjustments and compromises regarding who to include on the official list. The following excerpt shows this process; particularly as it relates to the list becoming a dynamic document through social (re)construction.

Tri, market officers, and butcher vendors

(Upon hearing the explanation about the fact that Pani is not on the List, Tri makes a convincing appeal to the crowd to stay calm.)

Tri:

See, people! Pani has no permit. She does not appear on the List; yet, those whose status is similar to Pani's should be thankful since we will allocate you [in the new building] and not exclude you from the List!

The last part of Tri's statement urgently appeals to the crowd to stay calm by working towards a solution. We can see that Tri is exercising discretion. Pani, along with other vendors who share a similar status, is going to get vending space. This is consistent, at least in part, with the inclusivity principal X articulated. The process of vetting the list was dynamic. While the amount of vending space remained the same, the number of vendors on the list continued to grow. The discretion used by Tri supported the principle of inclusivity he deployed during meetings but it raised questions about whether the total number of vending spaces in the new *Bulu* would be enough to accommodate the people who would make it onto Tri's list. The answer is provided in the next section.

4.6.4.3 Inclusivity: Market manager

Vendors and the officers have their own interpretation on how they assess and set up the rationales for who could eventually gain space in the new *Bulu*. This shows different systems of ideas and interactions that each party learns and uses. In the following, I will switch from Tri, of City government, to Tudi, the *Bulu* Master, to show Tudi's reasons for his list and the discretion he exercised.

The *Bulu* Master and Ade

(In attaining a further explanation about the List, in the next following week, I visit the Bulu Office and ask the Bulu Master, whether all those listed in the List own the Certificate. His answer is as follows:)

The Bulu Master:

Not necessarily! Some do, some others do not. Here is the thing, young lady. Let me describe the situation in the old *Bulu*.

[...]

Some vendors indeed possess the permit but they do not actively vend. On the other hand, some other vendors who do not possess the permit actively vend.

Those vendors [the former ones] indeed have legal spaces. They put their goods in their spaces, but do not necessarily run their businesses since the businesses were sometimes not going very well. So, they didn't really utilize their spaces.

Eventually, those spaces became abandoned and deteriorated spaces. Water was leaking whenever it was raining; the floors were muddy and wet, and the area gradually became a kind of slum. Homeless people were everywhere [since] no door whatsoever [was installed in their space]. That is how this market looked like before the renovation, especially on the first floor. Many spaces were empty! So, YES, they do have a permit, yet, NO, they don't vend on their spot.

[...]

Now, let's compare it with the other group [the latter ones]. NO, they have no permit, yet, YES, they actively vend and make this market alive. So, are we going to abandon these vendors who have NO permit? Do you think it would be fair for these vendors if we only include the former ones [who have permit] into the List?

Tudi's philosophy followed on Tri's and made the list more inclusive. Tudi included vendors who were not initially included on the official list because they provided a valuable service for the marketplace, bringing the place to life. For the *Bulu* Master, any active vendor could access vending space at the new market.

Tudi, serving as the *Bulu* Master, was negotiating two parameters—legal status and vending practice—and performing discretion in constructing the list of legitimate vendors. He was not going to neglect those without a permit. Tudi understood that the vending population is dynamic and would not simply increase indefinitely through allowing non-permitted vendors access. Denying an active vendor the right to vend, even without a permit, would harm the

overall quality of the market because many permit holders choose to retire or leave for other employment without formally transferring their certificate to vend. The *Bulu* master was sensitive to including new vendors and legitimating their presence.

The *Bulu* Master and Ade

(Our continuing conversation prompts my question about how the data in the List was compiled. The Bulu Master answers as follows.)

The Bulu Master:

Well, essentially, the data I compiled on the List is based on the factual condition, the fact that was found on the site. We [the *Bulu* Office] cannot change it and we do not want to change it. It is the fact of what has been going on there. I don't have the heart/guts to change this [this fact] and not put it [into the List].

[...]

Ade:

So, it is mentioned in the meeting that Pani would be given a spot. Then what? Is a permit eventually going to be issued for her?

The Bulu Master:

Yes. After we finish all work on this Moving-In process, new permits would be issued for new cases. New vendors like Pani would get her own Certificate with a dedicated legal status of vending space as it was assigned in the meeting.

From the excerpts, we can see that interpretive and iterative processes are essential in constructing the list. The list is never finalized, instead, it is a living document responsive to policy and people's purposes.

The list of legitimate vendors was adjusted by both vendors and government officials through negotiation. In the next section, the focus on inclusivity, adaptation, and the iterative process that Government officers use to successfully manage a marketplace will be further elaborated on.

4.6.4.4 Inclusivity: Market agent

A government that follows the laws on the books would be expected to act consistently in the case of implementing space allocation practices. For that to occur the immediate enforcement

agents who patrol the market collecting fees and policing vending space would need to apply a firm approach to the rules. However, this is not always the case in the *Bulu*. Instead, we find that agents mirror the attitudes of their supervisors in exercising discretion regarding vending space. The next excerpt is a brief dialogue illustrative of the attitude of an enforcement agent on the ground.

A market officer and Ade

(I start to get confused and curious about the List and how it works. I lean over and ask Officer B regarding this matter.)

Ade:

So, if a vendor does not have a legal permit, it means that she/he would not be able to be included into the List, would they?

Meaning that the officers won't be able to allocate any space for her in the new market building, will they?

Is that what you all are saying about Pani's case?

Officer B:

Well, it is correct about the List.

But, since Pani is an "old-timer" and has been vending long here, so, come on! It is impossible that we would not eventually give her a spot here inside the market later in this Moving-In!

The initial assumption I had upon hearing Officer B's explanation was that the officers exercised discretion in favor of the vendors' business interests while arguing against the state's interest. At the same time, Officer B acknowledged the difference between legal and illegal vendor statuses. Furthermore, the way he readily categorized Pani as an old-timer who is deserving to be included in the new market together with any possible newcomers, indicates his willingness to support her cause.

Officers conduct daily on-site inspection and fee collection for all vendors, legal/floating or not. Therefore, the officers would know the frequency and history of different vendors.

However, the term old-timer is relatively subjective. My fieldwork reveals that officers

interpreted vendor experience in different ways, but all agreed that if a vendor managed a multi-generational family business, they would be considered old-timers and legitimately included in the new market irrespective of certificate status.

Remember, however, a consequence of accommodating more vendors is that some vendors will get less vending space. This assumption is based on the way Tri attempted to squeeze everyone into all available vending space in any given setting. If this reduced vending space would turn out to be true then the discretion used by the officers was not, necessarily, in favor of vendors' business interests. Instead, it was in the interest of the state. However, this is contingent, some vendors' businesses could accommodate smaller spaces, other vendors had multiple spaces in several names, in short, the fluidity created by discretionary practices created interpretive difficulties in trying to reconcile limited vending space with interested vendors. The later section of this paper will explain the situation of allocating a limited amount of space to an increased number of vendors.

Here, we have learned how different state agents and vendors exercise discretion and accommodate each other's interests. Since the new *Bulu* is a significant site of urban public space in Semarang, the list of approved vendors at the new *Bulu* is meant to serve the public at large and thus is not limited to those who were initially part of the old building.

However, the earlier excerpts in this section show examples of negotiations and the way in which officers performed discretions for the beef/poultry/fish/fermented fish vendors. During my fieldwork, I only witnessed negotiations with this group of vendors, but it is possible that other groups had similar negotiations with the *Bulu* Master.

In review, I found that vending space was a pluralistic socio-legal construction, responsive to the goals of public policy as well as the goals of marketplace vendors, old and new.

However, the new market had to include many additional vendors. In the above sections, I showed how agents addressed and solved problems of space allocation in the beef/poultry/fish/fermented fish group, but the space allocation for the remaining floating vendors—a total of 393 people as mentioned by Tri in his speech—had not been solved after the first few weeks of the market being open. In the next section, the difficulties that vendors and officers had in finishing the initial allocation of family space is fully revealed. Due to these difficulties, another kind of adjustment, spatial setting adjustment, became part of the on-going process of professional discretion performed by the government officers caused by striving to be inclusive about who was able to vend in the new market.

4.6.5 Consequence of inclusivity: Standardizing space size

The old market buildings relied on an informal process to divide and distribute vending space. New buildings have begun to implement a more formal standard for distributing space. Vendors in the *Bulu* have resisted these standards by arguing for more space. As a result, the addition of vendors has created pressure on the current space limitations.

Pani's story continues below. A group of 30-40 beef butchers gathered to discuss their space allocation within the market. The group had argued on behalf of their list, which included Pani as part of their group. However, they became frustrated in learning that the area they were allocated was significantly less than what was promised. The vending spaces assigned to the beef butchers were grouped within one row of built-in concrete tables with a tile finishing. For all kinds of butchers (e.g., beef, poultry, and seafood), 13 rows are meant for their businesses; each row was comprised of 4 tables. Each table was equipped with 4 water faucets and 4 sinks. The area of each table was 2.0 m [6.56 ft] in length and 0.9m [2.96 ft] wide.

The 4 tables of each row are situated back-to-back with another 4 tables in the next row and a service alleyway in between which served as the “back-of-the-house” for the vending area. This service alley varies but is approximately 1.2m [3.93ft] in width. Initially, I assume that each vendor will be allocated one table (with one sink); meaning that the 4 tables in each row will have 4 vendors who stand back-to-back with 4 vendors from the row behind them. This means that the service alley will accommodate 8 vendors. But in the execution, each working table is shared by two vendors³². This means that the service alley must accommodate 16 people instead of 8. An AutoCAD file depicted floor plan maps for all floors provided by the *Bulu Master* confirmed that there are 8 numbered, not 4, tables available for each row—although this numbered table does not necessarily confirm that they will be allocated for 8 vendors since this numbered table could easily act as a modular vending unit.

Based on this allocation there are a total of 104 spaces available in the 13 rows of tables, where each row supports 8 vendors. In a nutshell, each vendor will get a working area of 1.50 sqm (16.15 sqft)—that includes the table area and a portion of the alleyway area behind the table³³. This 1.50 working area relates to the system of the cubicle of a single vending space unit that was employed during *Undian Lapak* as explained earlier. Vendors complained that several tables are useless since they are blocked by support columns leaving no space whatsoever for

³² The way I initially assumed that there were 4 tables available was from the fact that there were 4 water faucets and 4 sinks—assuming that each faucet and sink were dedicated for one table (for one vendor). However, when I checked the AutoCAD files of all floor plan maps—depicting the design of vending tables for each floor—given by the *Bulu Master*, it shows that there are 8 tables for each row numbered differently. There is no further information in this initial design or from the *Bulu Master* whether each numbered table represents one vendor since the location of the faucet and sink are not depicted in this AutoCAD file. However, two things for sure are that: (1) this AutoCAD file represents the existence of the modular system of the vending table, and (2) there are eight vending tables available for each row. I, myself, have an assumption that the designer created these eight vending tables as a module, regardless of the possibility that they can be used for four or eight people depending on how the modules are allocated and grouped.

³³ Resulted from = (half of table’s length of 2.0m) x [(table’s width 0.90m) + (half of alley’s width of 1.20m)] = 1.0m x 1.5m = 1.50 sqm. The alley area is shared by two rows of vendors.

vendors to stand or work. Tri, the Head of the City Market Office, attempted to solve this problem:

Tri and the vendors

Tri:

So, there are 99 vendors [for beef, poultry, fish, and fermented fish vendors]
So, from 104 [of vending spaces available], there would be 5 extra spaces.

Okay, people. Based on my calculation, there are still five empty spots available. The officers would further examine these five spots and make sure that they belong to no one. Those five spots would be then allocated for those whose vending spots are failed spots, such as the ones blocked by column, et cetera, okay?

From this excerpt Tri attempts to solve the problem of providing enough space for all the vendors by allocating the five open spaces to vendors who have unworkable spaces currently. The next excerpt is a continuation of Tri's, the Head of the City Market Office, attempt to produce a standard measurement for vending space for the butchers. We can see how he will repeat the principle of inclusivity and policy associated with the cubicles of the space lottery.

Tri and the vendors

Tri:

And now let's talk about the extent of your vending space area.

Here is the thing. After examining and comparing areas of your vending spaces in your Certificates, it shows that, on average, your area varies between 1.50 [sqm] and 1.60 [sqm].

Here are the examples. A owns 1.60 [sqm], B owns 1.60 [sqm], C owns 2.00 [sqm], D has 1.60 [sqm], and E owns 2.00 [sqm]. (*Tri is detailing several names and their areas from his list*)

You may see that the average vending area is about 1.50 [sqm].

[...]

So... this 1.50 [sqm] becomes a vending unit. This unit is then transformed into the new building's context and that is how I came up with your individual space arrangement there! (*pointing to the butcher's location*)

[...]

Again, based on your Certificates, each vendor basically has an area close enough to 1.50 [sqm] and this amount fits with the half area of that table.

From this, we can see Tri explaining the new standard unit of vending space that was described to the vendors at the space lottery. We also can see that in the last paragraph, the “1.50” that Tri mentioned is the system of the cubicle of a single vending space unit—each cube represents 1.50-sqm vending unit—that was employed during *Undian Lapak* as explained earlier. This system of modular is also depicted in the AutoCAD file of floor plan maps. This system demands its vendors to round, either up or, down from the area assigned during the space allocation. However, Tri used a table on the market floor for this reference. The average vending space, of 1.50 sqm for each person, was not based on vendor documentation but rather the existing dimensions of the already constructed vendor area.

In this situation, we can see that Tri had done his homework. He was aware of the physical size of the vending space, he had some idea of the number of vendors, so, he decided to exercise interpretative discretion over the vendors' space rights. He may have acknowledged or been informed before the meeting or even before the move-in that the initial design of vending space in the new Bulu—as depicted in the AutoCAD file—utilized this 1.50 sqm modular system; therefore, he needed to make rationales to justify this system related to the factual vending area in each vendor's Certificate. This is how he planned to negotiate space allocation with the vendors by adjusting their future vending space in the new building. Tri was aware that by utilizing a new standard, vendor space might be reduced for those with a claim to vending area greater than said standard. He explains this decision:

Tri and the vendorsTri:

Please remember. As I always mentioned previously in the briefing, I promise that all vendors will get their space back. But, as I also mentioned before, there might be some slight adjustments. The vending area you get would be possibly slightly bigger, or smaller, or for some exactly the same.

[...]

So, it is unreasonable to claim the same amount of area you used to have within this new setting. As you can see, the building has been built! It is what it is now! We need to embrace this fact!

Tri reminds vendors of the expectations he had established in a previous meeting while being sensitive to the fact that many vendors might be losing valuable space. Many vendors were disappointed to learn this new standard. Tri continued to explain the purpose behind his discretion in dealing with the limited availability of the space:

Tri, Officer X, and the vendorsTri:

I know that some of you might have utilized a larger area back then. But actually, there may be some possibilities that back then you took some empty space next to yours. Or maybe, you have bought or used your friend's area who was located next to you and expanded your own area, and then you feel that your area used to be spacious. Am I right?

But please acknowledge that we would only give you as much vending area as written in your Certificates.

(The crowds are getting louder. They question the fact that some vendors they know have more than 2 spaces. Tri responded by saying that due to limited spaces, the distribution would be a one-name, one-spot basis, instead of a one-name, previous use-basis. I observe Tri getting confused. But then, one officer reminds him an inevitable fact that the vending space available for the butcher vendors has been controlled by the physical limitations of the design and tables. The officer then explained the detailed rationales to the crowd)

Officer (X):

It is the number of vendors that we try to accommodate, not the number [amount] of space [described in the Certificates]. It is not easy to do the distribution based on [area described in the certificates], since, the distribution is, in fact, based on the real, on-spot built-in table in front of you. It is impossible to divide the table.

In the officer's last sentence, he explained that it is impossible to divide the table, at least not any more than Tri has already done. The shared sink could not be cut, the half table allocated to the vendor cannot be modified. No matter what the vendors insisted, Tri was bound to allocating space based on the modular form of the vending area. From this, we see that space distribution during this meeting was continuously being adjusted and policies were formed spontaneously.

Halfway through the meeting, vendors finally agreed to an assignment based on the new arrangement of working tables. The vendors realized that such an arrangement might not necessarily solve their individual concerns. Yet, this arrangement would solve their communal concern—how *every* member of the group obtains the space needed to continue their business, and perhaps for some, how they could continue to rent their vending space to others.

From this section, two important points emerge regarding the on-going space distribution in *Pasar Bulu*. First, Tri recognizes the inclusive nature of the process and the interest in providing vendors with space whether the vendor has documentation or not. Such a principle requires a dynamic vending population, with new vendors interested in coming into the market while others leave the market. Tri attempted to solve the issue as fairly as possible. Second, market managers and agents understand that not every vendor actually sells the product, so, no matter what space allocation, social dynamics will then take over.

Thus, one can see that the process of space distribution is never finished, not through the program of *Undian Lapak*; nor solely by authority, not even by popular demand—space allocation requires on-ground adjustments. The process of managing a marketplace requires adjustments to account for changes in the vending population and developing workable standards can only occur through publicly negotiating with users.

4.7 Conclusion: Interpretation, Interaction, and Purpose in Public Space Planning

Using an interactionist approach, this article explores the social construction of vending space in a marketplace. The example of the *Bulu* reveals that when a marketplace experiences vast transitions resulting from a revitalization project, legal conceptions can be re-interpreted and ignored, before eventually being negotiated among market actors.

The original distribution of vending space and the original processes by which vending space was acquired in the market were disrupted when the vendors were transferred to the Shelter during the revitalization project. In the Shelter, space allocation failed to acknowledge the psychological tie vendors have with their vending space, as detailed in Morales (2010). While the vendors may have been physically accommodated in the Shelter, the project failed to preserve the market's long-held social structures and interactions. The social, economic, and cultural rhythm of the market fell off-beat. The *Bulu* lost its essence of being "at once an economic institution and a way of life, a general mode of commercial activity reaching into all aspect of society, and sociocultural world nearly complete itself" (Geertz, 1963a, p. 30). In other words, the purpose of the market as a public space for its users diminished.

In attempting to deal with the spatial limitations in the Shelter, both actors—the vendors and officers—negotiated contesting space claims. Vendors needed to preserve their business, yet they also desired to maintain their relationships. This chapter shows that conflicting constructions of vending space emerged and were resolved in the new *Bulu*. Who could access a vending space? A legitimate vendor. The initial idea of a legitimate vendor was constructed differently by various parties and through previous experiences in the market as well as the process of public negotiation, the definition of a legitimate vendor came to be shared across different levels of government and among the vending population. Vendors and officers

negotiated issues of exclusivity and inclusivity in vendors' rights to vending space. Various dichotomies of titles related to vendor status —between outsider vs. insider, old-timer vs. new-timer, and active vs. passive vendor—contributed to loosening the rigid legal parameters used in the space allocation. Often, the organically developed parameters were not formally standardized or defined. Instead, vending space claims and legality shared a conceptual basis that was sometimes accepted and occasionally contested.

From a planning perspective, the project in the *Bulu* case offers lessons for future assessments of public space planning, particularly in marketplaces. A market revitalization has the potential to restructure the legitimate vendor, the legal, and physical, structure of vending space, and to demonstrate flexibility in space the planning and management of a marketplace. Planning must deal with the difficult question of how to reinterpret existing legal orders and controls in contexts of ever-new spatial and socio-economic settings. Through the examples in this chapter, the reassessment of space allocation processes, relationship building and the social construction of space, and the creation of living policy through professional discretion are highlighted as dynamic components of pursuing spatial justice and legal fairness.



Picture 4-15 and 4-16

After *Undian Lapak*, vendors started to build their working area. This picture is in *gerabah* (traditional houseware and kitchenware) area on the third floor. The picture was taken two months after the Grand Opening.



Picture 4-17 and 4-18

After *Undian Lapak*, vendors started to build their working area. This is *sembako* (*sembilan bahan pokok*, or “nine basic/staple ingredients”) area.. The picture was taken two months after the Grand Opening.



Picture 4-19

The view from the third-floor atrium. The third floor is the *gerabah* (traditional houseware and kitchenware) area and the second floor is the beef section. The picture was taken two months after the Grand Opening.

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CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, POLICY IMPLICATIONS, AND FUTURE RESEARCH AGENDAS

5.1 Summary: Reviewing the Empirical Findings

In the second chapter, I examined the ancient forms and characteristics of *pasar* to theorize its indigenous nature as an Indonesian public space utilizing both an etymological and historical analysis. The first half of the chapter focused on the etymological research on the referring words for an Indonesian marketplace, *pasar* and *peken*. Three research questions were proposed. First, what the *pasar* is; second, whether a *pasar* is simply a marketplace like a *bazaar* following the common presumptions existed in dominant theories; and third, what the historical components of the word's meaning are and how these exemplify *pasar* as public space. Comparing those two words, I found four dimensions behind each word's meaning: time, place, people, and events. Findings suggest that the meanings and conceptions of *pasar* are different from *bazaar*, and the unique nature and characteristics of a traditional Indonesian marketplace were revealed. The second part of this chapter further elaborated the historic nature of *pasar* as an Indonesian public space. Two research questions were proposed. First, whether the word *pasar* in the ancient usage refers to and represents a local indigenous public space; and second, what kinds of historical processes help us understand the early nature, characteristics, and conceptualization of *pasar* as an Indonesian public space. My review of the literature describes how the two emerged much earlier than previously thought and the concept of *pasar* was identified as an important urban place and public space for early Javanese towns and cities.

In the third chapter, I examined the social production and construction of space when a

marketplace undergoes transitions in a revitalization project. As vendors were relocated into a temporary shelter during the project, they struggled to preserve their business and maintain their practices in the new environment that provided limited amenities and an inadequate spatial setting. I describe the consequences for vending space claims and associated legality. Vendors violated various legal expectations as they struggled with the lengthy occupancy in the temporary shelter. The lens of legal pluralism was utilized to show the negotiations between vendors and officials as well as vendors themselves, serving to illustrate how vending space allocation was established, interpreted, and reconstructed. Legal pluralism has helped us to understand how in the space-making processes, legal and socio-legal, coexisted and create diverse and often contradictory spaces and boundaries. Expectations for behavior among different market actors often appeared contradictory. Findings reveal that in allocating vending space, the multifaceted social order in the old market was recreated as claims over space were contested and negotiated among market actors. Having struggled vending in the Shelter, vendors and officers exercised their interpretations of legality and its parameters. The project continued challenging and reinterpreting legality, particularly the legitimacy of space use, vendors' rights, and obligations to the state.

The fourth chapter concerns the problem of space allocation when vendors were returned to the newly built market building through the typically used *Undian Lapak* (space lottery) process. The perspective of spatial justice was used in assessing conflicts of different interpretations among market actors about who could be allocated into the new building. As the new building market would also accommodate some groups of "outsiders", vendors and officers negotiated issues of exclusivity and inclusivity in vendors' rights to vending space. Different titles and parameters in defining legitimate vendors, those who belong to the new building,

existed, and proposed by different parties. Once again, both actors—the vendors and officers—negotiated various contesting space claims.

5.2 Research Limitations

Although this research offers empirical insights into space production and construction of space in the marketplace through the examinations of everyday interactions of locally grounded market actors, it contains important limitations. Findings from ethnographic research may not be easily generalizable, therefore, the objectivity and reliability aspects of the study are often challenged. One obvious fact is that the socio and cultural structure of the market community in *Pasar Bulu* are unique and have multiple layers, so generalizing any results to another case study would be potentially problematic. For instance, my research did not include the market-making activities of several other groups that are part of the market, such as *coolies*, middlemen, or unofficial agents. These people have been part of the market's life and play important roles in the socio-economic interactions of the market. However, these groups were not central to the problems of allocating vending space, at least as far as I could tell. Obviously, my research could examine whether or not the processes I revealed are found in other markets, I suspect they are. Further, new research could investigate how space lotteries work, before and after revitalization projects.

Time plays an important role as a specific variable affecting the findings in ethnographic research. Different findings might be easily found during different observation periods as people react differently depending on the situation. This is how I agree with Lauer & Asher (1998) that results from ethnographic research should "suggest variables for further investigation" and not generalize beyond the participants of a study (p. 43).

I was also constrained by the discrepancies in government data and a limited database provided by those offices. It is difficult to use these existing data to capture the profile of the vendors and further, government data provides virtually no insight into the socio-cultural context. At the same time, collecting secondary data during the revitalization project was very difficult since many vendors were not available. My fieldwork was focused on space allocation by examining specific interactions. I was not able to access government data/licenses and the like, since it is limited or not properly documented. One example from chapter 3 and 4 is that I was not able to access copies of legal documents. This limited me in my ability to profile vendors with legal documents vending in the Shelter.

Despite the limitations, these findings can be useful for reflection and provide readers early insights into the topic. The analytical aspects used in this research can assist policy-makers and planners in better understanding the complexities and intricacies in the social construction of space in marketplace. This, in turn, will allow for improved approaches on planning and managing the Indonesian marketplace. In this way, planners can more holistically assess planning policies to anticipate future challenges in marketplace planning.

5.3 Reflection on the Inquiries and Future Research Direction

5.3.1 Reflections and future research agendas from chapter 2

In marketplace planning, scholars and government have a great interest in the further elaboration on the various nature, roles, and characteristics of marketplaces as the providers of important public space for the community. My inquiry in the second chapter was motivated by such interest. However, based on the premise that the Indonesian marketplace *pasar* offers a unique and indigenous nature resulted from rich historical, social, and cultural contexts, I gave

special attention to the importance of historical and philosophical discourses on assessing the concept of *pasar*. In reflecting on the findings and conclusion from chapter two, I propose eight future planning research agendas.

First, there may be other characteristics of the concept of *pasar*, as used in earlier forms, that have contributed to shaping today's marketplace. Remember the two words for the Indonesian market, *pasar* and *peken*; I concluded that the two words had no significant difference in meaning and that both words indicate the multiple functions and meanings of the marketplace, both words have four dimensions: time, place, people, and events. Periodic rural markets using the 5-day Javanese market calendar are one important entry point in understanding indigenous characteristics of *pasar*. However, future research should address the historical and spatial/regional setting in which *pasar* emerged. How do *pasars* emerging in coastal areas differ from those emerging in inland? This is one important parameter/variable in distinguishing the characteristics of *pasar* beside the other parameters—such as rural vs. urban market and periodic vs. regular market.

Second, Widodo (2004) notes that historically, markets in the *entrepôt*—a port, city, or trading post for exchanging of foreign merchandise—played a different role and contained unique characteristics. Some examples of *entrepôt* markets in Semarang are provided by Widodo. The market provided a transition for products and cultures by connecting two primary zones—a fortified foreign area and a settlement of indigenous inhabitants (p. 41-42). As *entrepôt* towns typically developed as the embryo of coastal towns, the characteristics of this *entrepôt* market were associated with specific activities: “the exchange or distribution of foreign merchandise with little or no local commodities to export” (p. 41). For this reason, there is a possibility that the market did not follow the 5-days Javanese market days. There is also a

possibility that the market did not offer a place for community celebration nor a place where sacred and profane meet. Further inquiry may reveal whether or not the sacred and profane of different cultures met if distinct calendars were used and reconciled, and how cultures adopted and adapted to each other.

Third, since language lives, we should consider how academics and government are modifying *pasar*. Remember the discussion in 2.2.3; the new term, *pasar rakyat* (“people’s market” or “folk market”), has been introduced among urbanists and is occasionally included in marketplace planning documents on the national level. Although it has not yet become as popular as *pasar* or *pasar tradisional*, there is a possibility that the term *pasar rakyat* was created to replace the over-generalized term *pasar tradisional*. I argue that the term *pasar rakyat* was created to position *pasar*, which is an economic institution owned and operated by and for public, as the opposite of the privately-owned and -operated business or mall. Hence, by public, I mean communally/collectively operated institution. Perhaps interviews along with a close reading of documents will reveal the place of *pasar rakyat* in the contemporary understanding of Indonesian marketplaces, and retail activity more generally.

Fourth, there are other matters of conceptual interest. For instance, the market is identified with the community and its life. Historically, there is an overlap between marketplace interactions and the management and organization of other aspects of indigenous culture. A hint of this overlap is depicted in the last excerpt in section 2.3.5. We can see from that excerpt that people in Surakarta have been using the term *Carik Pasar* or *Lurah Pasar* in referring to a Market Master. This is very interesting since the term *carik* or *lurah* was once¹ used in referring

¹ It is believed that the term *lurah* or *carik* was adopted and used for referring to an authoritative leader appointed by the Dutch government and included in the formal government structure during the Dutch colonialization era.

to a local or community leader, particularly leaders that were respected and recognized by the local community and act as an informal leader. Historically, the *carik* or *lurah* in marketplace management is believed to have come from the community, not the state. This indigenous leadership overlaps with political leadership and equates the marketplace with a neighborhood or settlement cluster. Market leadership represents the “permanent” vendors (settlers) who vend regularly. What is the relationship between these informal leaders and those in the typical political status hierarchy? How do each exercise authority? What variation is there and how each relates to the community? Does this vary by location of community and type of market? Answers to these questions have important implications for planning, governing, and managing such communities. It is very important to understand the multifunction nature of markets and how they overlap and relate to the equally complex relationships of communities.

Fifth, in section 2.3.6 I indicated that Karsten, the architect of *Pasar Gede*, built several grand markets that were part of civic centers and of *alun-alun* and that these continued the legacy and identity of *pasar* as an important part of urban centers. This offers a line of inquiry of historical interest for future research. A study of the socio-spatial, legal, and historical context of the architecture of the Indonesian marketplace would be interesting. Have they always been permanent structures? Have they changed following changes in the political rule? How have they represented and manifested the ordinances and political agendas associated with physical access as well as maintaining and controlling this key site of public space?

In addition to that, in the section 4.4.1 my research demonstrates that prior to the 1950s the earlier building of *Pasar Bulu* was established as a group of non-permanent roofed *loods* (the Dutch word for “open-layout stand”) before being replaced by a semi-permanent zinc-roofed building. In the 1960s, shortly after the Indonesian Independence in 1945, a formal, and

permanent, brick-walled building was built. A study of the changes in the architectural design of marketplaces, particularly following changes in political rule and with changes in socio-political contexts would be very interesting.

Sixth, throughout this dissertation, I only mentioned Javanese marketplaces. However, in reflecting on Braudel (1992), cited in chapter 1 “every town, wherever it may be, must primarily be a market” (p. 501), there are many other matters of conceptual interest that are potential future research agendas. For instance, in what ways are Javanese markets distinctively, Javanese, and simultaneously distinctly Indonesian public spaces and indigenous public spaces? What differences might we find in the marketplaces of other cities in Java or other provinces and islands? What features do these markets share with the two markets of my research?

Seventh, such conceptual interest could be more important if tied to research public space in Java or Indonesia and the particular role of marketplaces in providing part of that public space. Indonesian socio-politics and the dynamics of Indonesian spatial planning might reveal a variety of aspects of public space as well as help identify how Javanese markets remain “public” and/or Javanese, or Indonesian, despite recent decades of dramatic social and political transformations and upheavals. We need investigations of changing conceptions of the marketplaces as one type of public space. What do we know about the sources of those changing conceptions? How the changing conception of marketplace as one key site of public spaces has been materialized and fragmented by different political powers within planning practice? How have these practices contributed to shaping today’s problems of traditional marketplaces? There is significant work to be done on these questions.

Eighth, future research agendas could compare *peken* and *pasar* in Indonesia with marketplaces in other countries that share a similar conceptual history of periodic markets yet

contrasting political background; for example, marketplaces also in Southeast Asia, but with a British rather than a Dutch colonial history plus a greater "overseas Chinese" influence. What features do they share with Indonesian marketplaces?

5.3.2 Reflections and future research agendas from chapter 3 and 4

Reflecting on the findings and summary in chapter 3 and 4, we can see several other future research agendas in marketplace planning. I propose nine future planning research agendas.

First, the chapters have brought to the fore one important issue in space allocation: the difficulty of mapping and counting the number of market vendors. Particularly when a market revitalization project is planned, this issue becomes a key issue that needs to be solved by the market office. I have shown that there are many types of vendors and ways to count them. The problem is not new, Dewey (1962) provides a brief description of this matter:

“It is impossible to make an accurate census of all those found in the marketplace, but for the stable core of traders and artisans who carry on their business in [New] [m]arket every day in the week, it is possible to make a reasonable estimate. [...] It is much harder to calculate the number of those who do not operate regularly in [New] [m]arket but come occasionally carrying goods from other areas (p. 75).”

Dewey reminds us that the number of people who vend in a market is always dynamic; there are always people who come occasionally and vend in the market. This public and open nature of markets creates challenges or problems to market planning and management. In many ways, this statement applies to *Pasar Bulu* case. What variation will either research show in balancing market organization between vendor self-organization and the state?

New research to attempt to reveal categories of vendors and transitions between those categories would be useful, more useful would be research that shows those relationships to household structure. For instance, the *pancakan* in *Pasar Bulu* played a variety of roles and transitioned to permanent vendors. Understanding these roles and revealing systematic transitions between roles (if any) would be of interest. Do different types of markets, rural or urban, treat these vendors differently? Does the size of market matter? How does season impact their place in the market and their activities? What is their relationship to government processes legal rights, obligations, and consequences of the ID Card, do they ever get a Certificate? Why or why not?

In this regard, the last phase of my fieldwork revealed that two months after the *Undian Lapak*, the office held another space lottery, called the *Undian Lapak Pancakan* (“space lottery for *pancakans*”), to allocate the remaining *pancakans* into the new building. This lottery was held to resolve the conflicts between *pancakans*—who vended outside the new building and, therefore, had better access to the customers—with the legal vendors who vended inside the building. I was fortunate enough to witness the event of *Undian Lapak Pancakan* and experienced the dynamics and conflicts among market actors before, during, and after this event. This also offers valuable resources for a future research agenda.

Second, my research in *Pasar Bulu* suggests that within the formal system of a marketplace, there are always “informal” practices that parallel and interact with more “formal” practices. While this could be easily captured in the case of *pancakans* of *Pasar Bulu*, my fieldwork has indicated that this is just one example among many other informal practices associated with marketplaces. The forms floating vending can take are various, such as, among others, *gerobak* (“vendor with mobile wheeled cart”), *pikulan* (“vendor carrying bamboo stall on

their shoulder”), *asongan* (“vendor who carries goods on their hands/back”), and many others. Modalities of transporting goods will be associated with how the goods are required, the amount of money made, whether or not licenses or salt or even provided, and other questions associated with legality. Furthermore, informal practices in the market are not limited to vendors. Non-trader roles, such as *coolies* or porter or parking meter guys, support vendors in different ways and are in a different relationship to the government organization. These various practices are parts of processes, not easily captured with labels like “formal” or “informal”. The example of *pancakans* in *Pasar Bulu* being middlemen who transport merchandise to legal vendors demonstrates that their activities are complimentary with the “formal and legal” practices found in the market. Coolies and parking meter guys are also part of the market system, and their practices are complimentary with the activities of the legal vendors. Further research on how these many practices and their interactions in a market system will be interesting. What overlap can we identify, and which are consequential for public policy in people’s lives? We want to practice scholarship that reveals new knowledge, but we want to be sure that such knowledge is not associated with relatively empty academic debates.

It is important to note that the authority system in the market includes these floating vendors as part of the market vendors by issuing ID cards for this group. It means that these practices are acknowledged within a formally recognized market. Furthermore, some discretion exercised by Tri, the head of the City Market Office, to allocate space for *pancakans* in the newly built market building of the Bulu indicated his flexibility in governing space in the market. This relates to what Morales (1993) notes that the notion of informality should only help us understand the historical trajectory of a market as a social institution, it should not be our only finding. This also offers an interesting inquiry for future research. To what extent have these

various practices been implicated in the legal procedures in the market system? How do these two social constructs overlap?

Furthermore, by conceptualizing *pancakan* as floating vendors—those who create a culture of an “extended” market outside the market building and as “outsiders” from the legal vendors’ list—, the existence of this group easily opens up interesting inquiries for another future research agenda, the **third** one. Research on how these market vendors and peddlers are, according to Carolyn Nordstrom's (2007) *Global Outlaws*, as “global outlaws” means comparing them to the stereotype of the international drug smuggler she studied, and how legal market vendors are part of global supply chains will provide an interesting agenda for future research. The inquiry may include various socio-economic precarity in contemporary Java and implications for competition among vendors or with legal market vendors. The phenomenon of floating vendors would be also affected by various contemporary urban problems, such as ever-increasing rural-urban migration, lack of employment options in the formal economy for informal vendors and street peddlers, and the growing alternative of supermarkets and the like for urban shoppers.

Fourth, one of the interviews with Tudi, the Bulu Master, indicated that the new Bulu space created through the revitalization project would not be open to new vendors (described in 3.6.1.3). What he meant by that is that there was no formal opening offered to the public by the market office. In fact, in the middle of my interview in his office, two ladies came in and asked him how to acquire space in the market. These ladies were interested to start their business in the new Bulu and would be willing to “rent” space through the Bulu office. Tudi immediately said no by saying “I am sorry but let me make myself clear; the spaces in the new Bulu are only for legal vendors. They are the ones who are going to be allocated into the new building”. However,

my fieldwork revealed that this policy was never fully realized. Particularly intriguing for me is that the way these ladies approached space rental reminds me how renting a space in a privately-owned modern commercial retail commonly works. People come directly to the property developer office and apply for an open space in one of their retail properties. This offers an interesting inquiry for a future research agenda. What are the differences and similarities between acquiring space in public market and private retail—in terms of legal aspects, process and procedures, as well as vendor's right and obligation? How do these two legal constructs overlap? To what extent have the space acquisition processes in the public/traditional market supported the key nature of *pasar* as a public space and differentiated it from the modern market?

Fifth, one important issue that requires further research is how vendors utilize their legal certificate in various economic processes outside the market, particularly on how it is used as collateral. Preliminary archival research on various newspaper articles and market regulations and in other cities, for instance, Jakarta, has indicated that the vendor's certificate offers economic and legal value/benefit, and that such benefit is secured by market regulation at the local/regional level. The Municipal Ordinance 3/2009 issued by the Province of D.K.I. Jakarta is one example of regulations with clauses that support this benefit. We need legal research on market regulations along with close observations and interviews with legal actors and banking/mortgage decision-makers/actors who will provide more understanding on the uses of the certificate. Furthermore, more research on how the usage of the document outside the market has impacted merchant vending space approval processes is needed. Some questions we might ask include: How long have these practices been going on? What happens if a vendor defaults on

a loan, private or from a bank? Does the bank have the legal right to take their Certificate and resell it?

Sixth, as table 4-1 and 4.5.1 reveal, the allocation of vending space by commodity zone changed from its initial plan; and this change offers opportunities to learn how government agents make allocation/zoning decisions in markets. My fieldwork indicated that markets designed by Karsten, the Dutch architect, utilized a zoning system that offered functionality and reminded visitors of their culture. In two markets designed by Karsten, *Pasar Johar* in Semarang and *Pasar Gede* in Surakarta, the front of the market is mainly occupied by vendors selling *batik* (Javanese traditional textile and clothing) and local craft products. Batik is an important local specialty product in Java. This zoning system in these markets was inherited from Karsten's initial design. Was this the way Karsten promoted local culture and specialty products? How is the zoning system practiced currently? How does it vary by market type? A deep dive into this offers an interesting research agenda.

Seventh, the market office in *Pasar Gede* in Surakarta is located in the front area of the market and near the entrance while, in contrast, the market office of the newly built *Pasar Bulu* in Semarang is located on the third floor and so we have another important inquiry for future research. How does the location of the market office affect or have implications for the operational activities of the market agents? How important is it to have the office in the front/entrance area in terms of their roles, such as surveillance of vendors or customers? Does location of market office matter in supporting enforcement or enhancing interaction with the market vendors? Particularly in the case of revitalization on *Pasar Bulu*, as the *pancakans*—who mostly were middlemen selling fresh produces—were later allocated on the second floor, how did their acceptance into the building impact the initial zoning system of the new building?

Eighth, during my fieldwork, some vendors have indicated that they were not included in the planning and design processes of the new *Pasar Bulu*. It is not clear why this happened. However, my archival research from newspapers reveals that in many other revitalization projects, it is not uncommon to see that vendors are rarely included in planning processes. In fact, the paradigm of participatory planning was rarely exercised and applied in most public amenity planning projects as it was considered as “too complicated” or “undoable” with results that are commonly “unapplicable”. This situation offers a new future research agenda. How and to what extent have the participatory planning paradigms been implemented recently in various marketplace revitalization projects in Indonesia? How has this approach facilitated (or failed to facilitate) planning and decision-making processes? Has this approach provided different outcomes for the life of the market in the new building and were these measurably better somehow? In the planning process of *Pasar Bulu* revitalization project, why was the new market planned to accommodate the same number of vendors and not to grow? What impacted those decisions?

The **ninth** future research agenda may follow from the latest news on *Pasar Bulu* after the market revitalization. On January 16, 2016, the Metro Semarang, a local Semarang online newspaper, headlined an article about the situation of *Pasar Bulu* a year after its Grand Opening. The title demonstrates the vendors’ concern with the new design of *Pasar Bulu*. The vendors felt, as the title indicated, “imprisoned” inside a majestic design of the market building (“Pedagang Pasar Bulu ‘terpenjara’ di dalam bangunan megah” [Vendors of Pasar Bulu ‘imprisoned’ in a majestic design building], 2016). In addition to this, on April 16, 2021, another newspaper, the Jawa Pos, headlined an article about the current situation of *Pasar Bulu* (“Pembeli enggan naik, kios di lantai dua dan tiga Pasar Bulu ditinggalkan pedagang [Customers feel reluctant to shop in

the upper floors, kiosks in the second and third floor of Pasar Bulu are abandoned by the vendors]”, 2021. The prestigious and modern design of the new *Pasar Bulu* market was not successful in attracting vendors who were assigned to the second and third floors. Many left the market and many vending spaces inside the market were abandoned. Many have preferred to vend on the first floor or outside the market building, one could ask if they are now “informal.” But of more interest would be research on aspects of market planning and design that affect the success and failures of market revitalization projects.

5.4 Major Contributions and Implications in Planning and Policy

The past three decades have witnessed the rising studies in urban planning and design frequently suggesting the global decline of public spaces resulting from neo-liberalist-driven urban development (Mitchel, 1995; Sennet, 1977; Sorkin, 1992; Madanipour, 1996; Madanipour, 2010). Current studies frequently suggest the diminishing publicness of various public spaces (Madanipour, 2010, Ercan, 2010), thus raising the question to what extent public spaces are truly ‘public’ (Punter, 1990; Crilley, 1993).

Findings in this dissertation demonstrate how, as a public space, marketplaces become “a point of socio-spatial articulation for the intersection of multiple changes of economy, social, and culture” (Low, 1996, p. 861) manifested in daily social processes and economic transactions. However, regulations of different kinds (social, legal, cultural, religious) influence the nature of public space in marketplaces. These social controls produce different degrees of “publicness” and “privateness” of public space, thus modifying how public a marketplace is at any given time. Planning can only influence some of these “regulatory” habits. However, it can be crucial in shaping, preserving, supporting, or even, in fact, eroding the nature of publicness in marketplace.

The analysis and summary depicted in chapter 3 and 4 exemplify this matter. Practices of inclusivity and privilege in the form of on-ground assessments, negotiations, and discretion among market actors is an important articulation between public and private orders and ordering processes. We cannot escape your articulation between the public and the private and we have to recognize the challenges implied for Indonesian marketplace planning. Will markets always be able to accommodate all the vendors who want to sell? Will dividing vending space in half always be enough? Hard and fast rules are difficult to enforce, which is why government agents deploy principles that they interpret in the course of unfolding processes. Can procedures for allocating vending space be more consistent, clear, responsive, and applicable in the current contexts? If so, does it mean the rest of society is also more regulated? It seems to me that the Indonesian market and society coevolved, and the market remains a locus of self-determination, coproduced system, but also helping organize government expectations.

Planners and government agencies could develop tools to take advantage of this generative nature of markets by not only showing the variety of participants, relation to socio-cultural context, as well as the socio-legal and economic trajectories of vendors, to provide and map the complex socio-cultural complexity of marketplaces, but also, more importantly, including these all into the planning processes. Government relates such data to other social data to project future market needs.

The past decade has witnessed tremendous market revitalization projects initiated by various levels of Indonesian governments. However, findings and results depicted in chapter 3 and 4 show that revitalization projects can fall short of expectations. I found that the revitalization made the social, economic, and cultural rhythm of the market fall off-beat; and in dealing with the struggles during the project, social cohesion was challenged but preserved.

Revitalization projects inflict profound external shocks on vendors' businesses as well as socio-cultural rituals in the community. As a consequence, a market revitalization faces challenges to restructure and "reinvent" the rituals, and furthermore, to redefine the nature of the marketplace as a public space in contexts of ever-new spatial and socio-economic settings. More research on the subject is sorely needed for planners to accommodate the community when considering revitalization projects.

Results and findings of my research contribute significantly to filling the current gap in knowledge about the social production and construction of vending space in Indonesian marketplace planning practices. I provide an entry point and a strong understanding of the Indonesian marketplaces as indigenous public spaces. Further, by examining the social construction of vending space, my research exemplifies Geertz's (1963a) that *pasar* is "at once an economic institution and a way of life" and "a sociocultural world nearly complete in itself" (p. 30). My research also shows the challenges in market development and revitalization projects commonly faced by marketplace policy-makers, managers, planners, and designers.

As discussed earlier, findings suggest that revitalizing markets requires better planning and policy, especially in post-revitalization processes. Sensitivity to different interpretations and the variety of interests and concerns will help make revitalization projects successful. I show how to anticipate and plan for issues in post-project execution. By showing how officers tend to exercise discretion spontaneously and in the context of on-going social dynamics and interactions I provide information about how marketplace policy-makers, agencies, and planners at the local level might anticipate various concerns and problems to minimize inter-personal struggles or reduce lost business. Lengthy projects with unclear direction easily lead to disappointment and increase trust issues between vendors and the state and some of the vendors

might abandon the market. Effective and proactive local policy-making, and planning can help minimize business loss while helping the market community be more resilient to the unavoidable impacts and consequences of market revitalization projects.

Results also suggest that discretion and on-site adjustments made by officers/managers might result from individual efforts at bridging vendor versus state concerns/interests. Should these practices be guided by formal regulations or government goals? While I showed how some discretion followed from efforts at aligning government policy to physical space, to vendor interests such adjustments are based on how the officers understand and creatively navigate opportunities and options within the legal procedures. In other cases, this could easily devolve to personalism since the manager's decision may be more important than government guidance. Therefore, marketplace policy-makers at the higher level should understand the situation on the ground and issue guidance on how adjustments in post revitalization phases are executed. Re-structuring space allocation and vendors' status as well as re-standardizing the vending space are matters that support broad public goals and that could be fostered by issuing and evaluating laws or regulations to minimize conflicts and resistance from vendors, but also optimize the fairness in space allocation.

Although revitalization projects provide the opportunity to re-structure and re-standardize the vending space and legal status of the vendors, this needs to be communicated prior to the project. How the vending space would be allocated and designed in the new market should be discussed between market managers, vendors, and planners or designers. My results suggest that the lack of communication about this matter would easily create tensions and competition among vendors. Lessons learned from the revitalization of *Pasar Bulu* can help planners and policy makers predict problems, prepare for and mitigate future conflicts and provide an

opportunity to influence public policy focused on preparing better revitalization planning approaches.

Another important point in market revitalization processes is the involvement of the market actors (both vendors and the on-site officers) in the planning and design processes. Results in *Pasar Bulu*'s case have indicated that vendors were never involved during the planning and design process of the new market building. In general, participatory planning is rarely used in various market revitalization projects across the country. This is crucial since this could easily lead to vendors' resistance in utilizing the new building. Yet, such participation can also pay big dividends in keep vendors happy contributors to their local economy. In addition, we have lessons to learn from the newly-built of *Pasar Bulu*. Design matters in accommodating human practices and interactions. Planners and designers, particularly the architects, need to carefully assess how a traditional market operates and how cultural aspects matter in accommodating the habitual practices and interactions of these dynamic settings. Therefore, it is necessary that the designers be aware of the existing human aspects of particular markets. Design must capture the culture of market people, which may result in different architectural design approaches based on the social-economic-cultural characteristics of the market community. Planners can learn from my work in *Pasar Bulu*'s case about paying attention to the design issues that resulted from humanizing projects from the ground level up, that is starting with the perspective of the users (vendors).

Perhaps this last paragraph may help me, us, and Indonesian planning practitioners in generating optimism about the future of Indonesian public space and marketplace planning. In June 2012, the Jakarta Post headlined an interesting article. A group consisting of mayors of seven cities in Sweden visited Surakarta city to learn about local culture as well as to seek

cooperation in urban program management (“Swedish mayors eye co-op with Surakarta”, 2012). Particularly interesting, this group visited several *pasars* in Surakarta, as part of learning exchanges on successful urban redevelopment projects, particularly marketplace revitalization projects, that made the city and the mayor, Joko Widodo², at that moment, well known in various European media. Sponsored by the Swedish International Center for Local Democracy (ICLD)³, this group considered the *pasar* worth visiting in order to learn how local government runs urban planning and public services, but also how this city pursues its democracy through successful approaches to public spaces planning and management. Following up on that visit would be of great interest to understanding the diffusion and modification of ideas in planning practice. Clearly, the richness of studies in the Indonesian marketplace as well as the Indonesian public space planning offers a challenging yet exciting future agenda and resources that may be beneficial for various disciplines and communities around the world.

5.5 References

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² Joko Widodo (widely known as Jokowi), the Mayor of Surakarta City between 2005-2010, was the man behind the success stories. Jokowi’s agendas have always emphasized public service improvement projects, such as improvements in local marketplaces, public spaces, public health and insurance, education support, as well as public infrastructures. Meitsner (2015) notes that “Jokowi’s pragmatism populism prioritized improvements to day-to-day services over grand political visions (p. xiii)”. In 2014, he was elected as the President of Indonesia and got re-elected for the second time in 2019.

³ As part of Swedish development co-operation, ICLD (International Center for Local Democracy) aims to promote local democracy in low and middle-income countries. For the ICLD, local democracy principally concerns strengthening local institutions, issues regarding decentralization, local autonomy, citizen influence, and collaboration between various participants. <http://www.icld.se/eng/start.pab> [last accessed May 5, 2013].

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. List of events, meetings, and interviews

I. Events and meetings

1)	<p><u>2014/12/10</u> Briefing Event for Space Lottery (Sosialisasi Persiapan Undian Lapak)</p> <p><i>Type of event</i> PUBLIC EVENT <i>Objective</i> A briefing meeting between market offices in preparation of the space lottery. <i>Location</i> Market hall of Pasar Bulu (1st fl.) <i>Initiator(s)</i> City Market Office and Bulu Office <i>Attendee(s)</i> Around 300 vendors + 6 officials + medias + Ade Tinamei <i>Target of interview (officers/others)</i> No interview, just attending & observing <i>Interview's script/list of questions</i> No script</p>
2)	<p><u>2014/12/15</u> Pasar Bulu Gratitude Event (Tasyakuran Pasar Bulu)</p> <p><i>Type of event</i> PUBLIC EVENT <i>Objective</i> A briefing meeting between market offices in preparation of the space lottery. <i>Location</i> Market hall of Pasar Bulu (1st fl.) <i>Initiator(s)</i> Association of Pasar Bulu Vendors <i>Attendee(s)</i> Around 300 vendors + medias + Mayor of Semarang + invitations from Ministry of Trade and the City of Semarang + Ade Tinamei <i>Target of interview (officers/others)</i> No interview, just attending & observing <i>Interview's script/list of questions</i> No script</p>
3)	<p><u>2014/12/16</u> Preparation Meeting for Grand Opening (Rapat Persiapan Pembukaan)</p> <p><i>Type of event</i> INTERNAL MEETING <i>Objective</i> A meeting between market offices in preparation of the Grand Opening. <i>Location</i> City Market Office <i>Initiator(s)</i> City Market Office <i>Attendee(s)</i> 4 vendors + the Head of City Market Office + Ade Tinamei <i>Target of interview (officers/others)</i> No interview, just attending & observing <i>Interview's script/list of questions</i> No script</p>
4)	<p><u>2014/12/17</u> Space Lottery (Undian Lapak)</p> <p><i>Type of event</i> PUBLIC EVENT <i>Objective</i> Vending space allocation of the newly built Pasar Bulu. <i>Location</i> Market hall of Pasar Bulu (1st fl.) <i>Initiator(s)</i> City Market Office and Bulu Office</p>

	<i>Attendee(s)</i>	Around 500 vendors + 17 officials + medias + Ade Tinamei
	<i>Target of interview (officers/others)</i>	No interview, just attending & observing
	<i>Interview's script/list of questions</i>	No script
5)	<u>2014/12/30</u> Pasar Bulu Grand Opening (Pembukaan Pasar Bulu)	
	<i>Type of event</i>	PUBLIC EVENT
	<i>Objective</i>	Grand Opening of Pasar Bulu
	<i>Location</i>	Market hall (1 st fl.) and the front yard of Pasar Bulu
	<i>Initiator(s)</i>	City Market Office + Bulu Office + Ministry of Trade
	<i>Attendee(s)</i>	Around 700 vendors + medias + Mayor of Semarang + invitations from Ministry of Trade and the City of Semarang + Ade Tinamei
	<i>Target of interview (officers/others)</i>	No interview, just attending & observing
	<i>Interview's script/list of questions</i>	No script
6)	<u>2015/01/07</u> Meeting about protest on space allocation for beef/poultry/fish/fermented fish vendors (Rapat pembahasan tentang protes lapak di area pedagang daging sapi/ayam/ikan/ikan asin)	
	<i>Type of event</i>	INTERNAL MEETING
	<i>Objective</i>	A meeting to discuss vendors' concerns on space allocation after <i>Undian Lapak</i> (space lottery)
	<i>Location</i>	Market hall (1 st fl.) of Pasar Bulu
	<i>Initiator(s)</i>	Beef vendors
	<i>Attendee(s)</i>	Around 40 vendors from beef/poultry/fish/fermented fish + the Head of City Market Office + the Bulu Master + 6 officers + Ade Tinamei
	<i>Target of interview (officers/others)</i>	No interview, just attending & observing
	<i>Interview's script/list of questions</i>	No script
7)	<u>2015/01/19</u> Meeting about protest on vending activity in the basement area (1) (Rapat pembahasan tentang protes pedagang atas pedagang yang berdagang di besmen-1)	
	<i>Type of event</i>	INTERNAL MEETING
	<i>Objective</i>	A meeting between the officers in the Bulu Office with some vendors to voice their concerns on how vendors from the upper floor moved vending to the basement area and vended with <i>pancakan</i> vendors.
	<i>Location</i>	The Bulu Office
	<i>Initiator(s)</i>	vendors
	<i>Attendee(s)</i>	8 vendors + 4 officers + The Bulu Master + Ade Tinamei
	<i>Target of interview (officers/others)</i>	No interview, just attending & observing
	<i>Interview's script/list of questions</i>	No script
8)	<u>2015/02/03</u> Meeting about protest on vending activity in the basement area (2) (Rapat pembahasan tentang protes pedagang atas pedagang yang berdagang di besmen-2)	
	<i>Type of event</i>	INTERNAL MEETING
	<i>Objective</i>	A second meeting between the officers in the Bulu Office with some vendors to voice their concerns on how vendors from the upper floor moved vending to the basement area and vended with <i>pancakan</i> vendors.
	<i>Location</i>	The Bulu Office

	<i>Initiator(s)</i>	vendors
	<i>Attendee(s)</i>	7 vendors + 3 officers + The Bulu Master + Ade Tinamei
	<i>Target of interview (officers/others)</i>	No interview, just attending & observing
	<i>Interview's script/list of questions</i>	No script
9)	<u>2015/03/06</u>	
	Meeting about protest on vending activity in the basement area (3) (Rapat pembahasan tentang protes pedagang atas pedagang yang berdagang di besmen-3)	
	<i>Type of event</i>	INTERNAL MEETING
	<i>Objective</i>	A second meeting between the officers in the Bulu Office with some vendors to voice their concerns on how vendors from the upper floor moved vending to the basement area and vended with <i>pancakan</i> vendors.
	<i>Location</i>	The Bulu Office
	<i>Initiator(s)</i>	vendors
	<i>Attendee(s)</i>	7 vendors + 3 officers + The Bulu Master + Ade Tinamei
	<i>Target of interview (officers/others)</i>	No interview, just attending & observing
	<i>Interview's script/list of questions</i>	No script
10)	<u>2015/03/12</u>	
	Space Lottery for pancakan (Undian Lapak untuk pancakan)	
	<i>Type of event</i>	INTERNAL EVENT
	<i>Location</i>	The vending area of Pasar Bulu
	<i>Initiator(s)</i>	The City Market Office + the Bulu Office
	<i>Attendee(s)</i>	<i>pancakan</i> vendors + officers
	<i>Target of interview (officers/others)</i>	No interview
	<i>Interview's script/list of questions</i>	No script

II. Interviews with the Bulu Master

11)	<u>2015/01/07</u>	
	Interview with the Bulu Master-1 (Wawancara dengan Kepala Pasar Bulu-1)	
	<i>Type of event</i>	INTERVIEW
	<i>Objective</i>	Direct interview to get familiarity with market management, revitalization project of Pasar Bulu, and vending legal procedures
	<i>Location</i>	The Bulu Office
	<i>Initiator(s)</i>	Ade Tinamei
	<i>Attendee(s)</i>	The Bulu Master + Ade Tinamei
	<i>Target of interview (officers/others)</i>	The Bulu Master
	<i>Interview's script/list of questions</i>	<p>Questions about the history of the market:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you explain about the history of Pasar Bulu over time? - What role has the market played for Semarang? How has this role changed? <p>Questions about the profile of market and vendors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you explain about the vendor's profile, status, vending space and legal procedures? - What kind of legal documents for vending space and vendors? - What kind of regulations are used? - What agencies are involved in market management?

12)	<u>2015/01/07</u>	
		Interview with the Bulu Master-2 (same day with the previous one but different time)
		(Wawancara dengan Kepala Pasar Bulu-2)
	<i>Type of event</i>	INTERVIEW
	<i>Objective</i>	Direct interview to get familiarity with market management, revitalization project of Pasar Bulu, and vending legal procedures
	<i>Location</i>	The Bulu Office
	<i>Initiator(s)</i>	Ade Tinamei
	<i>Attendee(s)</i>	The Bulu Master + Ade Tinamei
	<i>Target of interview</i>	The Bulu Master
	<i>(officers/others)</i>	
	<i>Interview's script/list of questions</i>	<p>Questions about the profile of market and vendors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you explain about the vendor's profile, status, vending space and legal procedures? - What kind of legal documents for vending space and vendors? - What kind of regulations are used? - What agencies are involved in market management? <p>Questions about space allocation and legal procedures:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How have vendors acquired vending space in the market? - What kind of processes do vendors need to do in acquiring and legalizing their space? - Have the processes changed over time?
<hr/>		
13)	<u>2015/01/19</u>	
		Interview with the Bulu Master-3
		(Wawancara dengan Kepala Pasar Bulu-3)
	<i>Type of event</i>	INTERVIEW
	<i>Objective</i>	Direct interview to get familiarity with market management, revitalization project of Pasar Bulu, and vending legal procedures
	<i>Location</i>	The Bulu Office
	<i>Initiator(s)</i>	Ade Tinamei
	<i>Attendee(s)</i>	The Bulu Master + Ade Tinamei
	<i>Target of interview</i>	The Bulu Master
	<i>(officers/others)</i>	
	<i>Interview's script/list of questions</i>	<p>Questions about space allocation and legal procedures:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How have vendors acquired vending space in the market? - What kind of processes do vendors need to do in acquiring and legalizing their space? - Have the processes changed over time? <p>Questions about revitalization project:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you explain about the history of revitalization project(s) of Pasar Bulu over time? - Can you describe the situation of the market prior to the revitalization? - How was the revitalization project of Pasar Bulu initiated? - What role have different state agencies in the revitalization project? - How is the adjustment of space allocation typically executed during revitalization project? How are the space claims typically negotiated?
<hr/>		
14)	<u>2015/04/28</u>	
		Interview with the Bulu Master-4
		(Wawancara dengan Kepala Pasar Bulu-4)
	<i>Type of event</i>	INTERVIEW
	<i>Objective</i>	Direct interview to get familiarity with market management, revitalization project of Pasar Bulu, and vending legal procedures
	<i>Location</i>	The Bulu Office

<i>Initiator(s)</i>	Ade Tinamei
<i>Attendee(s)</i>	The Bulu Master + Ade Tinamei
<i>Target of interview (officers/others)</i>	The Bulu Master
<i>Interview's script/list of questions</i>	<p>Questions about space allocation and legal procedures:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How have vendors acquired vending space in the market? - What kind of processes do vendors need to do in acquiring and legalizing their space? - Have the processes changed over time? <p>Questions about revitalization project:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you explain about the history of revitalization project(s) of Pasar Bulu over time? - Can you describe the situation of the market prior to the revitalization? - How was the revitalization project of Pasar Bulu initiated? - What role have different state agencies in the revitalization project? - How is the adjustment of space allocation typically executed during revitalization project? How are the space claims typically negotiated?

III. Interview with the Head of the City Market Office

15)	<u>2015/03/13</u>
	Interview with the City Market Office
	<i>(Wawancara dengan Kepala Dinas Pasar Kota Semarang)</i>
<i>Type of event</i>	INTERVIEW
<i>Objective</i>	Direct interview to get familiarity with market management in the city level, revitalization project of Pasar Bulu and other revitalization projects in the city level, vending legal procedures in city level
<i>Location</i>	The City Market Office
<i>Initiator(s)</i>	Ade Tinamei
<i>Attendee(s)</i>	The Head of the City Market Office + Ade Tinamei
<i>Target of interview (officers/others)</i>	The Head of the City Market Office
<i>Interview's script/list of questions</i>	<p>Questions about the history of the market:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you explain about the history of Pasar Bulu over time? - What role has the market played for Semarang? How has this role changed? <p>Questions about market regulations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What kind of regulations are used? - What agencies are involved in market management? <p>Questions about space allocation and legal procedures:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How have vendors acquired vending space in the market? - What kind of processes do vendors need to do in acquiring and legalizing their space? Have the processes changed over time? <p>Questions about revitalization project:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you explain about the history of revitalization project(s) of Pasar Bulu over time? - Can you explain success story of revitalization projects in Semarang? - How was the revitalization project of Pasar Bulu initiated? - What role have different state agencies in the revitalization project? - How is the adjustment of space allocation typically executed during revitalization project? How are the space claims typically negotiated?

IV. Interviews with actors from the City of Semarang and the Ministry of Industry and Trade

- 16) 2014/12/02
Interview with the Head of National Trade Division, the Ministry of Industry and Trade-1
(Wawancara dengan Kabid Perdagangan Dalam Negeri, Kementerian Industri dan Perdagangan-1)
- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>Type of event</i> | INTERVIEW |
| <i>Objective</i> | Direct interview to get familiarity with market management in the national level, revitalization project of Pasar Bulu and other revitalization projects in national level. |
| <i>Location</i> | The Office of Industry and Trade for Central Java Province |
| <i>Initiator(s)</i> | Ade Tinamei |
| <i>Attendee(s)</i> | The Head of National Trade, the Ministry of Industry and Trade + Ade Tinamei |
| <i>Target of interview (officers/others)</i> | The Head of National Trade, the Ministry of Industry and Trade |
| <i>Interview's script/list of questions</i> | <p>Questions about revitalization project:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you explain about the history of revitalization project(s) of Pasar Bulu over time? - How was the revitalization project of Pasar Bulu initiated? - Can you explain success story of revitalization projects in Semarang and Indonesia? - What role have different state agencies in a revitalization project? |
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- 17) 2015/01/07
Interview with the Head of National Trade Division, the Ministry of Industry and Trade-2
(Wawancara dengan Kabid Perdagangan Dalam Negeri, Kementerian Industri dan Perdagangan-2)
- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>Type of event</i> | INTERVIEW |
| <i>Objective</i> | Direct interview to get familiarity with market management in the national level, revitalization project of Pasar Bulu and other revitalization projects in national level. |
| <i>Location</i> | The Office of Industry and Trade for Central Java Province |
| <i>Initiator(s)</i> | Ade Tinamei |
| <i>Attendee(s)</i> | The Head of National Trade, the Ministry of Industry and Trade + Ade Tinamei |
| <i>Target of interview (officers/others)</i> | The Head of National Trade, the Ministry of Industry and Trade |
| <i>Interview's script/list of questions</i> | <p>Questions about revitalization project:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you explain about the history of revitalization project(s) of Pasar Bulu over time? - How was the revitalization project of Pasar Bulu initiated? - Can you explain success story of revitalization projects in Semarang and Indonesia? - What role have different state agencies in a revitalization project? |
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- 18) 2015/03/27
Interview with the Head of National Trade Division, the Ministry of Industry and Trade-3
(Wawancara dengan Kabid Perdagangan Dalam Negeri, Kementerian Industri dan Perdagangan-3)
- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| <i>Type of event</i> | INTERVIEW |
| <i>Objective</i> | Direct interview to get familiarity with market management in the national level, revitalization project of Pasar Bulu and other revitalization projects in national level. |
| <i>Location</i> | The Office of Industry and Trade for Central Java Province |
| <i>Initiator(s)</i> | Ade Tinamei |
| <i>Attendee(s)</i> | The Head of National Trade, the Ministry of Industry and Trade + Ade Tinamei |
| <i>Target of interview</i> | The Head of National Trade, the Ministry of Industry and Trade |

<i>(officers/others)</i> <i>Interview's script/list of questions</i>	<p>Questions about revitalization project:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you explain about the history of revitalization project(s) of Pasar Bulu over time? - How was the revitalization project of Pasar Bulu initiated? - Can you explain success story of revitalization projects in Semarang and Indonesia? - What role have different state agencies in a revitalization project?
19) <u>2015/04/28</u>	<p>Interview with the Head of Spatial Planning Division, the City of Semarang (Wawancara dengan Sekretaris Bappeda Kota Semarang)</p>
<i>Type of event</i> <i>Objective</i>	<p>INTERVIEW Direct interview to get familiarity with market management in the national level, revitalization project of Pasar Bulu and other revitalization projects in national level.</p>
<i>Location</i>	The Office of Industry and Trade for Central Java Province
<i>Initiator(s)</i>	Ade Tinamei
<i>Attendee(s)</i>	The Head of National Trade, the Ministry of Industry and Trade + Ade Tinamei
<i>Target of interview</i> <i>(officers/others)</i>	The Head of National Trade, the Ministry of Industry and Trade
<i>Interview's script/list of questions</i>	<p>Questions about spatial planning and public space planning:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you explain about the history of the city development in Semarang? - How has the revitalization project affected the spatial development of Semarang? <p>Questions about revitalization project:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you explain about the history of revitalization project(s) of Pasar Bulu over time? - How was the revitalization project of Pasar Bulu initiated? - Can you explain success story of revitalization projects in Semarang and Indonesia? - What role have different state agencies in a revitalization project?
20) <u>2015/04/30</u>	<p>Interview with the Secretary of the District Planning Agency, the City of Semarang (Wawancara dengan Sekretaris Bappeda Kota Semarang)</p>
<i>Type of event</i> <i>Objective</i>	<p>INTERVIEW Direct interview to get familiarity with market management in the national level, revitalization project of Pasar Bulu and other revitalization projects in national level.</p>
<i>Location</i>	The Office of Industry and Trade for Central Java Province
<i>Initiator(s)</i>	Ade Tinamei
<i>Attendee(s)</i>	The Head of National Trade, the Ministry of Industry and Trade + Ade Tinamei
<i>Target of interview</i> <i>(officers/others)</i>	The Head of National Trade, the Ministry of Industry and Trade
<i>Interview's script/list of questions</i>	<p>Questions about revitalization project:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you explain about the history of revitalization project(s) of Pasar Bulu over time? - How was the revitalization project of Pasar Bulu initiated? - Can you explain success story of revitalization projects in Semarang and Indonesia? - What role have different state agencies in a revitalization project?

V. Interview with non-governmental actor

21)	<u>2014/08/14</u>	
		Interview with Titi Surti Nastiti, an Indonesian anthropologist specializing in ancient Javanese market
		<i>(Wawancara dengan Titi Surti Nastiti, antropolog Indonesia dengan spesialisasi pasar kuno Jawa)</i>
	<i>Type of event</i>	INTERVIEW
	<i>Objective</i>	Direct interview to get familiarity with market management in the national level, revitalization project of Pasar Bulu and other revitalization projects in national level.
	<i>Location</i>	The Office of Industry and Trade for Central Java Province
	<i>Initiator(s)</i>	Ade Tinamei
	<i>Attendee(s)</i>	The Head of National Trade, the Ministry of Industry and Trade + Ade Tinamei
	<i>Target of interview (officers/others)</i>	The Head of National Trade, the Ministry of Industry and Trade
	<i>Interview's script/list of questions</i>	<p>Questions about Indonesian marketplace:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you explain about the history of Indonesian marketplace? - How you explain the origin of the word <i>pasar</i>: (1) what it means; (2) to what extent the word's meaning describes the nature and characteristics of the market it refers to; and (3) whether the word covers the same meanings as the Persian-Arabic word <i>bazaar</i>. - How have these nature and characteristics changed over time?

Note:

- All informants and respondents in this list are assigned a pseudonym, except otherwise not noted, and all questions posed to the respondents are approved in accordance with the policy of the University of Wisconsin-Madison Institutional Research Board (IRB).
- The list does not include casual interviews with vendors since they are part of participant observation.

Appendix B. List of articles from national and local newspapers

	Date	Newspaper/Author	Title
I. Articles from print newspaper			
1	2014/10/29	Jateng Pos	<i>Pasar percontohan nasional sepi</i> (Abandoned national role model of pasar).
2	2014/12/10	Wawasan	<i>Sosialisasi penempatan los Pasar Bulu</i> (Briefing meeting for space allocation of Pasar Bulu)
3	2014/12/11	Rakyat Jateng	<i>Penempatan kios Pasar Bulu dengan pengundian</i> (Space allocation of Pasar Bulu will employ space lottery)
4	2014/12/11	Jawa Pos Radar Semarang	<i>30 Desember, Pasar Bulu ditempati</i> (30 December, new Pasar Bulu will start to be occupied)
5	2014/12/11	Suara Merdeka Semarang Metro	<i>30 Desember, pedagang tempati gedung baru</i> (30 December, vendors will occupy new building)
6	2014/12/11	Tribun Jateng	<i>Ruwiyah kagum ada eskalator di Pasar Bulu: Pedagang mulai ke pindah pasar baru pada 30 Desember</i> (Ruwiyah is amazed by new escalator in new Pasar Bulu: Vendors will move to new market on 30 December)
7	2014/12/11	Wawasan	<i>Penempatan kios Pasar Bulu disepakati gunakan sistem undian: Pemkot jamin tak ada jual beli</i> (Space allocation of Pasar Bulu will employ space lottery: The City guarantees there will no transaction of vending space)
8	2014/12/11	Wawasan	<i>Bekas penampungan diusulkan jadi lahan parkir</i> (Ex-Shelter building is proposed to be parking area)
9	2014/12/13	Tribun Jateng Simpang Lima	<i>Imron kurangi jumlah barang saat kulakan: Wali Kota Semarang minta Dinas Pasar percepat pengoperasian Pasar Bulu</i> (Imron limiting goods: Semarang Mayor require City Market Office to speed up finishing new Pasar Bulu)
10	2014/12/15	Wawasan	<i>Ikuti undian kios, pedagang sumringah</i> (Joining space lottery, vendors are happy)
11	2014/12/18	Wawasan	<i>Pembangunan Pasar Bulu belum 100 persen rampung: Air macet, pintu lepas</i> (Construction of Pasar Bulu not yet 100 percent complete: broken plumbing, collapsed door)
12	2014/12/18	Jawa Pos	<i>28 Pedagang tak ambil Undian Lapak</i> (28 Vendors did not take Space Lottery)
13	2015/02/07	Jateng Pos/ Trijoto Sardjoko (The Head of City Market Office Semarang)	<i>Pedagang bakal ditindak tegas: Nekat jualan di areal parkir</i> (Market vendors would be strictly enforced: To those insisting vending in parking area)
14	2015/01/08	Suara Merdeka	<i>Kios dasaran di Pasar Bulu banyak ditinggal pemiliknya</i> (Many vending lots in Pasar Bulu were left empty and abandoned by vendors)
15	2015/01/09	Suara Merdeka	<i>Pedagang menolak kembali</i> (Vendors refusing to move into new building of Pasar Bulu)
16	2015/01/09	Tribun Jateng	<i>Saya belum pegang data pedagang saat Pak Wali sidak ke Pasar Bulu</i> (I did not have vendors' data when the mayor visited Pasar Bulu impromptu)
17	2015/01/10	Jateng Pos	<i>Pedagang masih enggan pindah ke Pasar Bulu</i> (Vendors hesitate to move vending to new building of Pasar Bulu)
18	2015/01/14	Jawa Pos	<i>Pedagang pancakan dipindah ke basement</i> (Pancakan vendors were moved to basement area)
19	2015/01/16	Koran Sindo	<i>Pemkotancam bongkar paksa: Pedagang Pasar Bulu masih banyak yang berjualan di lokasi lama</i>

- (City of Semarang warn to evict violators: Vendors of Pasar Bulu insisting to stay vending in Shelter)
- 20 2015/01/17 Koran Sindo *Pedagang jualan di tempat parkir: 95% Pedagang sudah masuk ke dalam Pasar Bulu*
(Vendors vending in parking area: 95% of vendors have moved vending inside Pasar Bulu)
- 21 2015/01/17 Suara Merdeka *Dipaksa masuk, pedagang kebingungan: 393 Pedagang belum mendapat tempat*
(Having forced to get back vending inside the building, vendors feeling lost: 393 vendors have not got vending space)
- 22 2015/01/18 Koran Sindo *Pedagang minta Dinas Pasar tegas*
(Vendors demanding City Market Office to be stricter)
- 23 2015/01/19 Koran Sindo *Pedagang Bulu diklaim sudah 100%*
(Being claimed that vendors of Pasar Bulu have been 100% moving to new building of Pasar Bulu)
- 24 2015/01/19 Suara Merdeka *Lahan parkir diserobot pedagang*
(Parking area being sabotaged by vendors)
- 25 2015/02/06 Koran Sindo *Menolak dipindah, ancam kembali ke jalan*
(Refusing to be moved into market building, *pancakans* impending to vend back on street)
- 26 2015/02/06 Wawasan *Puluhan pedagang Pasar Bulu jualan di basement*
(Dozens of Pasar Bulu vendors vending on basement area)
- 27 2015/02/08 Wawasan *Pedagang tetap nekat jualan di basement: Peringatan Dinas Pasar dicuekin*
(Pasar Bulu Vendors kept insisting vending in basement area: Ignoring warnings from City Market Office)
- 28 2015/02/10 Wawasan *Pedagang Pasar Bulu nekad berjualan di basement: Bikin cemburu pedagang lain*
(Pasar Bulu Vendors kept insisting vending in basement area: Making other vendors envy)
- 29 2015/02/26 Jawa Pos *Dinas Pasar harus tegas*
(City Market Office needs to be stricter)
- 30 2015/02/28 Wawasan *Pedagang pindah lantai atas*
(Vendors of Pasar Bulu moved to upper floors)
- 31 2015/03/03 Tribun Jateng *Ny Didik kecele, lantai II pasar sepi*
(Madam Didik was surprised, second floor of the market was empty)
- 32 2015/03/07 Wawasan *Pasar sepi, Wahid tak pasang tarif angkut dagangan*
(Low activity in market, Wahid does not want to be strict about transporting service fee)
- 33 2015/03/12 Wawasan *Tolak pindah ke Bulu*
(Refusing to move to Pasar Bulu)
- 34 2015/04/25 Wawasan *Sepi pembeli, pedagang Pasar Bulu mengeluh*
(Low activity in market, vendors of Pasar Bulu complaining)
- 35 2015/05/04 Jawa Pos *Dinas pasar tidak tegas, lantai atas kosong*
(The City Market Office was not strict enough; upper floor area becoming empty)
- 36 2015/05/04 Jawa Pos *Salah desain, tak libatkan pedagang*
(Wrongly designed, no vendors' design involvement).

II. Articles from online newspaper

- 37 2011/10/13 Suara Merdeka *Pedagang Pasar Bulu direlokasi di tiga tempat*
(Vendors of Pasar Bulu were relocated into three different locations)
(<http://www.suara-merdeka.com>)
<http://suaramerdeka.com/v1/index.php/read/news/2011/10/13/99057/Pedagang-Pasar-Bulu-Direlokasi-di-Tiga-Tempat> Last accessed July 27, 2016.

- 38 2012/01/13 Antara Jateng
(<http://www.antarajateng.com>) *Pasar Bulu menuju pasar tradisional berfasilitas modern*
(Pasar Bulu looking forward to be a modernized traditional market)
<http://www.antarajateng.com/detail/pasar-bulu-menuju-pasar-tradisional-berfasilitas-modern.html> Last accessed September 1, 2021.
- 39 2012/06/02 The Jakarta Post
(<http://www.thejakartapost.com>) *Swedish mayors eye co-op with Surakarta*
<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2012/06/02/swedish-mayors-eye-co-op-with-surakarta.html> Last accessed April 25, 2013.
- 40 2014/12/26 Antara News
(<http://www.antarane.ws.com>) *Indonesian government to continue market revitalization program in 2015.*
<http://www.antarane.ws.com/en/news/97049/indonesian-government-to-continue-market-revitalization-program-in-2015> Last accessed July 29, 2021.
- 41 2016/01/16 Metro Semarang
(<http://metrosemarang.com>) *Pedagang Pasar Bulu 'terpenjara' di dalam bangunan megah*
(Vendors of Pasar Bulu 'imprisoned' in a majestic design building).
<https://metrosemarang.com/pedagang-pasar-bulu-terpenjara-di-dalam-bangunan-megah-31815> Last accessed August 30, 2021.
- 42 2021/04/16 Jawa Pos Radar Semarang
(<https://radarsemarang.jawapos.com/>) *Pembeli enggan naik, kios di lantai dua dan tiga Pasar Bulu ditinggalkan pedagang*
(Customers feel reluctant to shop in the upper floors, kiosks in the second and third floor of Pasar Bulu are abandoned by the vendors)
<https://radarsemarang.jawapos.com/berita/semarang/2021/04/16/pembeli-enggan-naik-kios-di-lantai-dua-dan-tiga-pasar-bulu-ditinggalkan-pedagang/> Last accessed August 30, 2021.
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Appendix C. List of regulations for market, public building codes, and safety standard

I. Regulations about market - issued by national agency

Decree 7/1976. (1976). *Inpres No. 7/1976 tentang Program Bantuan Kredit Pembangunan dan Pemugaran Pasar*. (Presidential Decree Nr. 7/1976 on Program of Credit Assistance for Market Development and Revitalization). Kantor Presiden Republik Indonesia.

Ordinance 420/1997. (1997). *Kepmen No. 420/1997 tentang Pedoman Penataan dan Pembinaan Pasar dan Pertokoan*. (“Ministerial Decree Nr. 420/1997 on Guidelines for Management and Empowerment of Marketplace and Shopping Stores. Kementerian Perindustrian dan Perdagangan Republik Indonesia.

Ordinance 112/2007. (2007). *Perpres No. 112/2007 tentang Penataan dan Pembinaan Pasar Tradisional, Pusat Perbelanjaan dan Toko Modern*. (Presidential Ordinance Nr. 112/2007 on Planning and Management of Traditional Market, Shopping Center and Modern Retail). Kantor Presiden Republik Indonesia.

Ordinance 20/2012. (2012). *Permen No. 20/2012 tentang Pengelolaan dan Pemberdayaan Pasar Tradisional*. (Ministrial Ordinance Nr. 20/2012 on Management and Empowerment of Traditional Market). Kementerian Dalam Negeri Republik Indonesia.

Ordinance 70/2013. (2013). *Permen No. 70/2013 tentang Pedoman Penataan dan Pembinaan Pasar Tradisional, Pusat Perbelanjaan dan Toko Modern*. (Ministrial Ordinance Nr. 70/2013 on Guidelines for Planning and Management of Traditional Market, Shopping Center and Modern Retail). Kementerian Dalam Negeri Republik Indonesia.

Ordinance 56/2014. (2014). *Permen No. 56/2014 tentang Perubahan atas Permendagri No. 70/2013 tentang Pedoman Penataan dan Pembinaan Pasar Tradisional, Pusat Perbelanjaan dan Toko Modern*. (Ministerial Ordinance Nr. 56/2014 on Amendment of Ministerial Ordinance Nr. 70/2013 on Guidelines for Planning and Management of Traditional Market, Shopping Center and Modern Retail Store). Kementerian Dalam Negeri Republik Indonesia.

Ordinance 37/2017. (2017). *Permen No. 37/2017 tentang Pedoman Pembangunan dan Pengelolaan Sarana Perdagangan*. (Ministerial Ordinance Nr. 37/2017 on Guidelines for Planning and Management of Trading Facilities). Kementerian Perdagangan Republik Indonesia.

Ordinance 77/2017. (2017). *Permen No. 77/2017 tentang Perubahan atas Permendag No. 37/2017 tentang Pedoman Pembangunan dan Pengelolaan Sarana Perdagangan*. (Ministerial Ordinance Nr. 77/2017 on Amendment of Ministerial Ordinance Nr. 37/2017 on Guidelines for Planning and Management of Trading Facilities). Kementerian Perdagangan Republik Indonesia.

Ordinance 21/2021. (2021). *Permen No. 21/2021 tentang Pedoman Pembangunan dan Pengelolaan Sarana Perdagangan*. (Ministerial Ordinance Nr. 21/2021 on Guidelines for Planning and Management of Trading Facilities). Kementerian Perdagangan Republik Indonesia.

II. Regulations about public building code and safety standard - issued by national agency

Ordinance 441/1998. (1998). *Kepmen No. 441/1998 tentang Persyaratan Teknis Bangunan Gedung*. (Ministerial Ordinance Nr. 441/1998 on Technical Code for High-rise Buildings). Kementerian Perkerjaan Umum Republik Indonesia.

Law 28/2002. (2002). *UU 28/2002 tentang Bangunan Gedung*. (National Law Nr. 28/2002 on High-rise Buildings). Kantor Presiden Republik Indonesia.

Ordinance 36/2005. (2005). *PP No. 36/2005 tentang Peraturan Pelaksanaan UU 28/2002 tentang Bangunan Gedung*. (National Ordinance Nr. 36/2005 on Operational Regulation for Law 28/2002 on High-rise Buildings). Kantor Presiden Republik Indonesia.

Ordinance 45/2007. (2007). *Permen No. 45/2007 tentang Pedoman Teknis Pembangunan Bangunan Gedung Negara*. (Ministerial Ordinance Nr. 45/2007 on Technical Guidelines for Designing Public High-rise Buildings). Kementerian Perkerjaan Umum Republik Indonesia.

Ordinance 16/2021. (2021). *PP No. 16/2021 tentang Peraturan Pelaksanaan UU 28/2002 tentang Bangunan Gedung*. (National Ordinance Nr. 16/2021 on Operational Regulation for Law 28/2002 on High-rise Buildings). Kantor Presiden Republik Indonesia.

Ordinance 10/2000. (2000). *Kepmen No. 10/2000 tentang Ketentuan Teknis Pengamanan Bahaya Kebakaran pada Bangunan Gedung dan Lingkungan*. (Ministerial Ordinance Nr. 10/2000 on Technical Standards for Fire Precautions in High-rise Buildings and Environment). Kementerian Perkerjaan Umum Republik Indonesia.

Ordinance 26/2008. (2008). *Permen No. 26/2008 tentang Persyaratan teknis sistem proteksi kebakaran pada bangunan gedung dan lingkungan*. (Ministerial Ordinance Nr. 26/2008 on Technical Standards for Fire Precautions in High-rise Buildings and Environment). Kementerian Perkerjaan Umum Republik Indonesia.

Standard 03-1735-2000. (2000). *SNI 03-1735-2000 tentang Tata Cara Perencanaan Akses Bangunan dan Akses Lingkungan untuk Pencegahan Bahaya Kebakaran pada Bangunan Gedung*. (National Standard 03-1735-2000 on Standards for the Design of Building and Neighborhood Access for Fire Precautions in High-rise Buildings). Badan Standardisasi Nasional.

Standard 03-1745-2000. (2000). *SNI 03-1745-2000 tentang Tata Cara Perencanaan dan Pemasangan Sistem Pipa Tegak dan Slang untuk Pencegahan Bahaya Kebakaran pada Bangunan Rumah dan Gedung*. (National Standard 03-1745-2000 on Code for the Design and Installation of Standpipe and Hose Systems for Fire Precautions in Residential and High-rise Buildings). Badan Standardisasi Nasional.

Standard 03-1746-2000. (2000). *SNI 03-1746-2000 tentang Tata Cara Perencanaan dan Pemasangan Sarana Jalan Keluar untuk Penyelamatan terhadap Bahaya Kebakaran pada Bangunan Gedung*. (National Standard 03-1746-2000 on Code for the Design and Construction Building and Neighborhood Access for Fire Precautions in High-rise Buildings). Badan Standardisasi Nasional.

Standard 03-3938-2000. (2000). *SNI 03-3938-2000 tentang Tata Cara Perencanaan dan Pemasangan Sprinkler Otomatik untuk Pencegahan Bahaya Kebakaran pada Bangunan Gedung*. (National Standard 03-3938-2000 on Code for the Design and Construction Automatic Sprinkler for Fire Precautions in High-rise Buildings). Badan Standardisasi Nasional.

III. Regulations about market - issued by City of Semarang

Ordinance 2/1951. (1951). *Perda No. 2/1951 tentang Peraturan Pasar*. (“Municipal Ordinance Nr. 2/1951 on Market Regulation”). Semarang: The City of Semarang.

Ordinance 5/1977. (1977). *Perda No. 5/1977 tentang Peraturan Pasar*. (“Municipal Ordinance Nr. 5/1977 on Market Regulation”). Semarang: The City of Semarang.

Ordinance 3/1990. (1990). *Perda No. 3/1990 tentang Peraturan Pasar*. (“Municipal Ordinance Nr. 3/1990 on Market Regulation”). Semarang: The City of Semarang.

Ordinance 10/2000. (2000). *Perda No. 10/2000 tentang Pasar*. (“Municipal Ordinance Nr. 10/2000 on Market”). Semarang: The City of Semarang.

Ordinance 19/2013. (2013). *Perda No. 9/2013 tentang Pengaturan Pasar*. (“Municipal Ordinance Nr. 9/2013 on Regulating Market”). Semarang: The City of Semarang.

IV. Regulations about retribution fee - issued by City of Semarang

Ordinance 2/2012. (2012). *Perda No. 2/2012 tentang Retribusi Jasa Umum*. (Municipal Ordinance Nr. 2/2012 on Public Service Retribution Fee). The City of Semarang.

Ordinance 3/2012. (2012). *Perda No. 3/2012 tentang Retribusi Jasa Usaha*. (Municipal Ordinance Nr. 2/2012 on Business Service Retribution Fee). The City of Semarang.

Ordinance 2/2016. (2016). *Perda No. 2/2016 tentang Perubahan atas Perda No. 2/2012 tentang Retribusi Jasa Umum*. (Municipal Ordinance Nr. 2/2016 on Amendment of the Municipal Ordinance Nr. 2/2012 on Public Service Retribution Fee). The City of Semarang.

Ordinance 1/2017. (2017). *Perda No. 1/2017 tentang Perubahan Kedua atas Perda No. 2/2012 tentang Retribusi Jasa Umum*. (Municipal Ordinance Nr. 1/2017 on Second Amendment of the Municipal Ordinance Nr. 2/2012 on Public Service Retribution). The City of Semarang.

Ordinance 18/2018. (2018). *Perda No. 18/2018 tentang Perubahan Tarif Pelayanan Persampahan/Kebersihan dan Retribusi Penyediaan dan/atau Penyedotan Kakus*. (Municipal Ordinance Nr. 18/2018 on Changes in Retribution Fee for Public Waste/Cleaning Service and Septic Tank Provision and/or Pump Service). The City of Semarang.

V. Regulations about market - issued by City of Surakarta

Ordinance 2/1953. (1953). *Perda No. 2/1953 tentang Pasar*. (“Municipal Ordinance Nr. 2/1953 on Market”). Surakarta: The City of Surakarta.

Ordinance 3/1971. (1971). *Perda No. 3/1971 tentang Pasar*. (“Municipal Ordinance Nr. 3/1971 on Market”). Surakarta: The City of Surakarta.

Ordinance 5/1983. (1983). *Perda No. 5/1983 tentang Pasar*. (“Municipal Ordinance Nr. 5/1983 on Market”). Surakarta: The City of Surakarta.

Ordinance 1/2010. (2010). *Perda No. 1/2010 tentang Pengelolaan dan Perlindungan Pasar Tradisional*. (“Municipal Ordinance Nr. 1/2010 on Management and Protection of Traditional Market”). Surakarta: The City of Surakarta.

VI. Regulations about retribution fee - issued by City of Surakarta

Ordinance 9/2011. (2011). *Perda No. 9/2011 tentang Retribusi Daerah*. (“Municipal Ordinance Nr. 9/2011 on Local Retribution”). Surakarta: The City of Surakarta.

Ordinance 5/2016. (2016). *Perda No. 5/2016 tentang Perubahan atas Perda No. 9/2011 tentang Retribusi Daerah*. (“Municipal Ordinance Nr. 5/2016 on Amendment of the Municipal Ordinance Nr. 9/2011 on Local Retribution”). Surakarta: The City of Surakarta.
