Shaping the City on the Move

Urban Informality and Spatiotemporality of Mobile Street Vendors in Jakarta, Indonesia

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Abstract.

Street vending is a widespread phenomenon in many cities around the world, yet street vendors continue to face discriminatory treatment and lack of—if not ambiguous—recognition from the government. This research aims to explore the interplay between state rationalities and everyday practices of urban informality. It uses the case study of mobile coffee vendors in Jakarta, Indonesia, known as *starling*s. Using the framework of urban informality, multi-scale production of space, and spatiotemporality, this study employs a qualitative approach. Interviews with vendors and observations are conducted to investigate the spatial and temporal practices of *starling*s in three different areas in Central Jakarta. Document analysis is done to reveal narratives and strategies which are produced and utilized by the municipality to govern street vending. The research reveals the different characteristics, needs, and challenges of street vendors in the urban context and their particular ways of navigating the regulatory landscape. Street vending practices are shaped not so much by state policies, but by daily interventions of state apparatus, as well as the everyday practices of vendors, which in turn influence the spatiotemporality of their activities. The study highlights the importance of recognizing the diversity and complexity of street vending practices, and the need for policies that take into account the specific needs and characteristics of street vendors. This research contributes to the ongoing debate about urban informality and the need for more nuanced and context-specific approaches to understanding the spatial practices of street vendors. The study provides insights into the challenges and opportunities faced by street vendors in Jakarta and the ways in which they navigate the city to sustain their livelihoods.

Keywords: urban informality; street vendors; spatiotemporality; Jakarta.

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I. Introduction.

"I'm so fed up and tired, I can't breathe anymore."
— (Lageman, 2020, para. 12)

The above quote was conveyed by Mohamed Bouazizi, a street vendor in Sidi Bouzid, Tunisia, a week before he set himself on fire in front of the governor's office (Lageman, 2020). The events that followed this tragic act, were multinational—if not global—in scale: the Arab Spring movement. For Mohamed, as might be shared by fellow vendors and other marginalized groups in the region, working in the street, had never been a wholly pleasant routine. The police had always harassed and demanded bribes from him. This came with how the authorities perceived his activity as illegal, that in order for him to carry on conducting his business, he had to sacrifice his dignity and material possession, having no choice but to participate in illegitimate gratuity as well.

In light of this common, global phenomenon of unfair treatment toward street vendors, a significant number of scholars, intergovernmental bodies, and international NGOs have advocated for fairer handling of street vendors. The Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO) (n.d.) states that informal livelihoods should be integrated into urban and economic planning; institutional impediments to the working poor should be addressed; and demand for their goods and services should be increased. But urban street vendors around the world, especially in the Global South, continue to face exclusionary policies and practices in the form of violent evictions, as well as verbal and physical harassment by the authorities. This is despite their significant proportion in urban employment and economic contribution (Roever & Skinner, 2016). In Indonesia—a country with a high proportion of informal economy—street vending is highly visible, especially in metropolitan cities. Yet, it is still perceived as an "out-of-place" urban element (Yatmo, 2008), which results in discriminatory interventions from the state, private entities, and the public in general.

This type of perspective and the policies which follow are often framed as "formalization" of the informal street work. The creation and implementation of municipal-level regulations that aim to enforce order in the urban space, such as the case in Jakarta, Indonesia (Rahayu & Widyastuti, 2021) define and limit what kind of street vendors are allowed to operate, including where and what time during the day, and so on. Strategies produced by urban planning and zoning regulations include the provision of designated places and shelters for street vendors. However, this strategy would only further the exclusion among street vendors with different modes of trading and needs, as well as disrupt the established relations between fellow street vendors, intermediaries, and consumers.

Aside from the impact of certain regulations towards on street vending and the urban space, scholars have noted the significance of street vendors in shaping the urban space. Following the work of Lee (2022), it is important to note that the urban space is produced both through macro-scale strategies with systematic, large-scale holistic approaches, and individual, small-scale pluralistic approaches. Together, it can potentially create what Flock & Breitung (2016) call "transient space", where people, goods, and rules are in constant change. This way of seeing begs the question of not only the significance of street vendors as forms of agency but the interaction

between these actors and state authorities, including regulations that legitimize certain interventions.

This study addresses the problem by investigating municipal policies and strategies which intervene in the urban space and thus limit, exclude, or benefit street vendors, whether directly or indirectly, as well as looking at the everyday life of street vendors themselves. I critically engage with the social and spatiotemporal side of street vending to reveal the interplay between the two different—but linked—processes: the state rationalities-strategies and the everyday practice or subaltern urbanism of street vendors. This is done by investigating *starling*s, informal mobile street vendors typical to the city of Jakarta, Indonesia. They possess distinctive characteristics compared to other (permanent or semi-permanent) vendors, as they are more able to operate flexibly in seemingly regulated and/or affluent areas of the city. The main question that will be answered through this study is:

How does the interplay between the everyday practice of mobile street vendors and state strategies manifest itself spatiotemporally in different urban spaces in Jakarta?

To operationalize this question, three different—but interrelated—subquestions are applied:

1. How does the municipality govern street vending in the city? What are the rationalities behind their strategies?
2. How do *starling*s operate on a day-to-day basis? What elements constitute their "informality"?
3. What are the spatiotemporal implications of this interplay?

This research contributes to the ongoing debate about street vending and urban informality, a topic that has been extensively researched, especially through cases from the Global South (Banks et al., 2020; Lindell, 2019; Recio et al., 2017; Sheppard et al., 2020). It puts both Jakarta and *starling*s "on the map", following a few urban scholars and their research in the effort to recentre urban knowledge from the South—borrowing the decolonial perspective in urban studies. Beyond the geographical divide, it acknowledges and advocates the use of the concept of urban informality, derived from various case studies, beyond the mainstream dualistic (formal-informal) view. This is to understand the spatiotemporal nature of the urban space and how it is produced globally and the inequality that results from it.

To answer the question, I utilize the gap that exists within street vending and urban informality literature, which is the lack of attempt in seeing urban informality both as state rationalities (from above) and the everyday practice of informalized street vendors (from below) (Bunnell & Harris, 2012; Lindell, 2019). Not only juxtaposing the two, but by using the concept of multiscale perspective production of space (Lee, 2022), I aim to show how they create a "different kind" of space, and how modalities and materialities of informal urbanism are expressed (Moatasim, 2019) as already argued by a few scholars (see Jabareen, 2014; Roy, 2012; Streule et al, 2020).

The thesis is structured as follows. After this introduction, the second part concerns a literature review that provides definitions and debates of the main ideas used in this study: street vending, urban informality, the multi-scale production of space, and how it addresses the spatiotemporality of street vendors. The third section deals with the research methodology, including the research approach, data collection methods, and analytical tools. This section also includes an introduction

to the case study. I will present the findings from secondary data collection and fieldwork which consists of interviews and observations in the section that follows. They are structured based on the three subquestions: informality from above, informality from below, and the spatiotemporal aspect of their relations. The fifth section includes an analysis of these findings and discussions following the three subquestions. The main research question will be revisited and answered in the last part, as well as study limitations and recommendations for future research.

II. Literature Review.

This section clarifies some important terminologies and theories used in this study, including street vending and urban informality. The link between the two will also be elaborated, encompassing the significance of urban informality within urban studies (such as a site of critical analysis, see Banks et al., 2020) and a proxy for decolonial perspective in urban studies. Considering these issues, the importance of looking at the spatiotemporal aspects of street vending will be explained. Finally, I will present the theoretical framework developed from these various concepts at the end of the chapter.

2.1. Street vending.

Street vending, street trading, or street hawking, which is used interchangeably in this study, is a commonly used term in the academic context to describe the selling of products by individuals or groups of vendors, traders, or hawkers, also used interchangeably. It also goes by a plethora of different local names around the world (Graaff & Ha, 2015). In Indonesia, street vendors are generally called *pedagang kaki lima* ("five-feet trader" in English), abbreviated as PKL. The name has been used since the colonial era when the Dutch Empire decided to standardize the width of the sidewalk as having to be five feet (*lima kaki,* then became *kaki lima*). It was even adopted by official government regulations. Nationally, street vendors or PKL are defined as:

> *…business actors conducting trading business by using movable or immovable business facilities, using city infrastructure, social facilities, public facilities, land, and buildings owned by the government and/or private parties that are temporary/non-permanent..* (The President of the Republic of Indonesia, 2012, p. 2)

In India, for another instance, a street vendor is defined as "a person who offers goods for sale to the public without having a permanent built-up structure but with a temporary static structure or mobile stall (or headload)" (Bhowmik, 2010, in Graaff & Ha, 2015). WIEGO specifies street vendors as "those who sell goods in public spaces other than a store, as well as those who sell services in public spaces", further giving examples of hairdressers, shoeshiners, and mechanics, as well as vendors who sell in non-private spaces including sidewalks, parks, and construction sites. It also notes that it is imperative to include, but differentiate, between stationary ("selling from a fixed location") vendors and mobile ("who move while they sell their goods and services") vendors (Vanek et al., n.d.). This definition echoes that by Bhowmik (2005), "…a person who offers goods for sale to the public without having a permanent built-up structure from which to sell," separating between stationary and mobile vendors.

Street vendors, especially in the Global South, have been acknowledged for their size and contribution to both local and national economies (Roever & Skinner, 2016). In India, Thailand, and Mexico, street vendors account for two to six percent of the total urban employment (*Street Vendors,* n.d.). Street vendors also create demand for various kinds of goods and services for other informal workers and formal sector actors (Roever & Skinner, 2016). A closer look into the comparison between research on street vending in the Global South and the Global North reveals

that, while in the former street vendors work informally yet represent an intergenerational and stable occupation, in the latter street vending is perceived as temporary and less significant in shaping the urban economy (Recchi, 2020). But this is not only the way to measure the significance of street vending. As will be elaborated in the next sections, the ways in which street vendors shape the urban space and contestation surrounding the production of urban spaces also signify the importance of research about street vending.

With these differences in defining street vending or street vendors, the phenomena have been questioned, whether fundamentally in terms of definition or on different methods of collecting, categorizing, and analyzing relevant data. Another factor surrounding this discussion is the availability of data in the national or local context (Vanek et al., n.d.). In this research, by trying to incorporate different definitions, street vending is understood as the selling of products and services by individuals or groups of vendors, whether stationary or mobile, in non-private spaces. This definition is in line with that of WIEGO and Bhowmik (2005), especially in excluding market traders who sell their goods or services in the designated market in public or private spaces.

This study focuses on mobile street vendors, particularly those using bicycles both as a mode of moving around and vending themselves. As elaborated before, there has been a clear separation between mobile and stationary vendors. In the comparative study of highly mobile and less mobile vendors in Abuja, Nigeria, Adama (2020) highlights vendors who are relatively more mobile are more likely to utilize "spatial and temporal tactics", while their counterparts tend to depend on "informal relations and networks". As will be revealed in this study, this idea of tactical navigation is indeed apparent in the case of *starling*s as mobile vendors in Jakarta, but they also rely on networking between different formal and informal actors. Regardless of this finding, there is still a need to dehomogenize informal practices, including those of street vending, since there are always differences in the mode of vending as well as geographical, socio-political, and institutional contexts (Crossa, 2016).

Other differences occur if we look at different kinds of street vending in Asia. Bhowmik (2005) situates street vendors across Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, Vietnam, Cambodia, South Korea, and India through the lens of state regulations and economic changes over the years. Among these countries, different state recognition and the degree to which they are treated unfairly differ, as well as how street vendors are unionized. The share of the trade sector within a city or a country's economy also determines the size and composition of street vending, as reflected in sub-Saharan Africa in contrast to Asian cities where non-trade sectors have a higher share of total urban employment (Roever & Skinner, 2016).

In Indonesia, as explained before, each city has its own way of intervening with street vending, and this, in turn, results in different characteristics of hawking. "Ambivalent attitudes" of the local government towards street vending practices might force street vendors to contend and/or adapt through their everyday practices, as shown by research conducted by Malasan (2019) in Bandung. This ambivalence is often coupled with the lack of providing accessible basic and recreational infrastructures, which in turn provide opportunities for street vendors to operate and tap into the market dominated by low-income groups of urbanites, as highlighted by Zahrah & Nasution (2019) in Medan. On the other hand, as exemplified in Yogyakarta, the existence of NGOs and other non-state actors supporting these practices also reflect the relative experience of being in a safe environment and the degree of vulnerability (Brata, 2010). An extensive study of street

vendors in Malang reveals that the capacity of street vendors in learning and adap to the constant changes in the governing of every urban space allows the "constant reassembling, and the dispersion, realignment, and shapeshifting" (Sarasmita, 2019, p. 181).

However, the majority of these studies on street vending often put the subject as a sector (informal economy) or its actors within an isolated group. The development of urban informality research and its evolving and critical take on actors and phenomena is useful to break through this dualism and/or isolation (see Recio et al., 2017; Roy, 2005). There is also a major significance in looking historically into the changes in urban regime and traces of colonialism to unearth how informality works, both as state strategies and everyday practices by the ordinary citizens, as will be elaborated in the second part of the next subsection.

2.2. **Urban informality.**

Street vending is commonly framed as one of the forms of urban informality and is often situated within the broader understanding of the term. Commonly known, was Keith Hart (1973) who coined the term "informal economy" after conducting and publishing his research in Ghana. He categorizes street vending as a form of legitimate informal income opportunities. This is as opposed to an illegitimate informal economy, such as drug dealing, smuggling, or prostitution, as well as a formal economy, whether in the public or private sector and transfer payments in the form of pensions and unemployment benefits (Hart, 1973). But in many cases, street vendors also have to work in and against the formalized environment, and thus street vending can also be examined as an "informalized practice, not just an informal one", which refers to the processual character of street vending as an activity that straddles the line between avoiding, resisting, and cooperating with government intervention (Graaff & Ha, 2015, p.3).

As a subject, urban informality itself has invited debates in the field of urban sociology, geography, economy, and anthropology, typically in relation to housing, labor, and economy. Two contrasting frameworks, for example, one of the crises of urbanization and the other of entrepreneurial heroism dominate the discussion (Roy, 2005). AlSayyad (2003) elaborates on two main types or groups in informality studies: the structuralists and the legalists. The former consists of the International Labour Organization (ILO) and advocates of the so-called "underground economy", with a strong emphasis on informality as a manifestation of the "uneven nature of capitalist development". Meanwhile, the latter group, the legalists, view informality within the framework of neoliberalism, asserting the role of the state in creating a stark division between the formal and the informal.

These frameworks are scrutinized mainly because they still dichotomize the formal and the informal, isolating it from global capitalism, equating informality with poverty, and tend to put the blame on the failures of the urban poor themselves (AlSayyad, 2003). As such, policies surrounding urban informality often lean toward formalizing informal actors and activities, seeing them as residue or unfavorable outcomes of urban planning, without investigating the relation between the structural process and the agency that causes the emergence and persistence of informal urban spaces, as well as the network and flows between those spaces and the so-called formal city. In this process, it is then easy to ignore urban informality as a site of critical analysis (Banks et al.,

2020), which is how research on urban informality can shed light on who benefits and who loses from urban growth, as well as how advantages and disadvantages are distributed. To echo Roy (2005) once more, informality is better understood as a "mode of urbanization", which is an "organizing logic, a system of norms that governs the process of urban transformation… not a separate sector but rather series of transactions that connect different economies and spaces to one another" (p. 148).

2.2.1. Urban informality and the colonial past

Along with the development of research on urban informality, there has been a rising interest in the study of postcolonial cities and urbanism, and often this perspective brings along the importance of investigating informality itself (see Streule et al., 2020). The postcolonial is used to signify a critical perspective of the colonial repercussions and knowledge production and its usefulness to "destabilize" the dominant discourses of the West (Yeoh, 2001):

> *For postcolonial urban geography to aspire to significant breaks with the prescribed script, the first step would be for the oncecolonized to claim 'the freedom of imagination', in a contested field of power to imagine our cities differently.* (p. 464)

The history of academia and power disparities have led to worldwide inequities in the development of urban theories (Haid & Hilbrandt, 2019). Although many modern theories have been produced in the West, they aim to speak to cities on a worldwide basis. As a result, models of urban development are created using research on a select few European and American cities. As argued by Roy (2009), however, studying cities of the Global South only as intriguing, unusual, and esoteric empircal situations are insufficient. The perception of "Third World" cities as the heart of "the Other" is kept alive by such types of benevolent difference-making. There needs to be a recalibration of the geographies of authoritative knowledge if theory-making is to shift to the Global South. Perhaps, the exceptional experiences of the Global South cities might provide fruitful and thought-provoking theoretical frameworks, just as the parochial experience of Euro-American cities has been shown to be a useful theoretical model.

In this effort, informality comes forward as a proxy to reveal how knowledge production dominated by Western ideas works. For instance, in the context of everyday interaction between the state and citizens in Indonesia, informality, in "mediation, the invocation of social norms, and the use of informal networks", construct the ability of the citizens to realize their rights (Berenschot & van Klinken, 2018, p. 107). This finding was the result of an attempt to understand citizenship in the postcolonial states as something that is not always in accordance with or follows the trajectory of the Western conception. Not only produced in the Global South but the link between the postcolonial and the informal has been used to reveal informal practices in the Global North. For example, in the context of housing in London, research suggests that colonialist viewpoints that perceive immigrants and their socio-ethnic communities as agents of informality, whose expulsion or censure will fix the problem, underlie the ways in which the problem is framed and understood (Schiller & Raco, 2021).

Little that the mainstream knows, there is a strong historical connection between the global urban informality research and Indonesia's colonial history. Kusno (2020) argues that scholars have abandoned the history that the "informal sector" discourse was first stimulated by the research conducted by Julius Herman Boeke, a Dutch scholar, on the state of the economy in Indonesia in

the 1910s. In contrast to larger (colonial) enterprises operating on capitalist logic, "small traders, craftsmen, and farmers" (p. 7), who were mostly Indonesian natives, stood out as they were organized with an "oriental mentality", and family kinship was a central feature in this sector of the economy. Around six decades later, after the Second World War, Hart (1973), among others, picked up this idea and introduced the term "informal economy", as elaborated previously.

In this research, the postcolonial perspective is adopted by an attempt to investigate the history of mobile street vending and the relation between the practice with the state strategies. Modern urban planning has brought with it ideas of order and cleanliness, albeit with loose and ambiguous implementation, neglecting that even street vendors—which are often considered unfavorable in this regard—predate its introduction to Indonesian cities, and vendors have become an integral part of urban culture (see Lynn & Steijlen, 2012, regarding the significance of street vendors during the late colonial era of Dutch East Indies), especially in Jakarta. While discussing space too, as will be further elaborated in the following subsection, there is an urgency to understand space as a "historical construction formed through processes based on political and social power, contextuality, and resistance" and to consider the agency of the subaltern who is "either totally or partially transformed, or in other ways, resist the exercise of the Western power" (Kusno, 2014, p. 7).

2.2.2. Urban informality: from above and from below

Scholars have argued in describing and understanding urban informality through different perspectives. Lindell (2019) proposes two different "ways of seeing", one is subaltern or everyday urbanism and the other one is called "state rationalities". These viewpoints speak of broad conceptual tendencies that occasionally merge and may partially overlap. However, they frequently have different priorities and ontological presumptions, which imply significant ramifications. They also echo the idea of "informality from below" and "informality from above" argued by Bunnell & Harris (2012). Both of these similar categorizations advocate moving beyond the dualistic understanding of formal versus informal.

Ways of seeing (Bunnell & Harris, 2012; Lindell, 2019)	Concepts/Theories	Authors
Informality from above, or state rationalities	Governmentality	Kooy, 2014
	Gray spaces	Yiftachel, 2009
	State's fetishism	Kamete, 2013
Informality from below, or subaltern/everyday urbanism	Quiet/bold encroachment of the ordinary	Bayat, 2004; Gillespie, 2016
	Occupancy urbanism	Benjamin, 2008
	People's spaces	Perera, 2009
	People as infrastructure	Simone, 2004

Table 1.Different "ways of seeing" urban informality and their respective concepts. Source: Author, 2023, adopted from Bunnell & Harris (2012) and Lindell (2019).

Informality from above is understood as the capability of the state to determine what is and is not informal, as well as which forms of informality are deemed to flourish while others are let or made to perish (Roy, 2005 in Bunnell & Harris, 2012). This lens utilizes the investigation of "state rationalities and inquiring into relations of rule and processes of subject formation" (Lindell, 2019, p. 7). Instances of this perspective include governmentality in the research of urban water supply in Jakarta (Kooy, 2014); the designation of gray spaces to regime-favorable groups in Beer Sheva, Israel (Yiftachel, 2009); and the state's fetishism of achieving modern urban conditions in southern Africa (Kamete, 2013). In trying to answer the question of why informality persists in the provision of clean water in Jakarta, Kooy (2015) advocates and proves that by looking at and treating the issue from a government's point of view, one can unearth "the discursive and material practices enrolled within relations of rule and contestation of rule" (p. 38). In addition, according to Yiftachel (2009), the existence and criminalization of gray space have been supported by the state through the use of urban planning tools. Gray space is a term used to describe a wide range of "groups, bodies, housing, lands, economies, and discourses" (Yiftachel, 2009, p. 89) that exist in part outside the purview of state authorities and city plans.

Considering how each municipality has its own way of intervening with street vending activities, it is important to be able to differentiate different aspects within the governing of street vending and how they might create different types of approaches. Recio et al. (2017) propose three policy epistemologies on informality, namely the hostile orientation, the tolerant atmosphere, and the accommodating environment. The hostile orientation refers to "a policy narrative anchored on a modernist dualistic framing and neoliberal agenda, which favors formal arrangements and embraces control and order" (p. 139). The tolerant atmosphere is understood as the liberal stance that governments adopt to govern informal vending, which commonly translates to the discretionary power of municipal officials that allows certain street vendors to operate. The political resistance organized by street vendors themselves is also crucial in realizing this kind of policy. A high degree of this organization then could even push the realization of an accommodating environment, which is contrary to the hostile orientation. In this kind of approach, municipalities recognize informal street vendors as having a significant socio-economic potential and this is reflected in, for example, the implementation of street vendor's permits and, based on this granting of legitimacy, organizing empowerment and management of street vendors.

As opposed, but linked to this top-down view, there has also been an emergence of studies surrounding the everyday life of urbanites. Even in observing different policy epistemologies, as illustrated above, street vendors' own practices and their tendency to organize or not organize themselves politically have proved crucial in shaping the wider narrative of street vending in a city. In this study, following Lindell (2019), the terminology of subaltern or everyday urbanism, or informality form below, is used to refer to practices that are resilient to economic and political changes and take advantage of urban opportunities, with particular ways of being lived, known, learned, and expressed (Bunnell & Harris, 2012). Within this perspective are ideas by scholars such as Appadurai (2004), Arabindoo (2011), Bayat (2004), Benjamin (2008), Perera (2009), and Simone (2004, 2011). Writing against the shortcomings of many prevailing views of the urban marginalized groups, Bayat (2004) formulates the idea of the quiet encroachment of the ordinary, which is "the silent, protracted, but pervasive advancement of ordinary people in relation to the propertied and powerful in order to survive and improve their lives" (para. 35) defined by open, ephemeral struggles, sustained mobilization. Building on this notion, Gillespie (2016) argues that by

differentiating between Bayat's examples of the informal actors in authoritarian regimes and his of street vendors and squatters in Ghana, these groups have the ability to create dialogues and to advocate themselves with the authorities. This creates more than quiet encroachment: a "bold" encroachment of some sort.

The protection of territorial claims and appropriation of public services by underprivileged groups to create political spaces that support an economy that forges intricate alliances has also been called occupancy urbanism (Benjamin, 2008), or, in a historical study of place-making in Colombo, people's spaces (Perera, 2009). Simone (2004) also argues for extending the notion of infrastructure as we know it "directly to people's lives in the city" (p. 407). Drawing from his research in African cities, the constantly adaptable, mobile, and temporary intersections of ordinary city dwellers without any definite ideas about how the city is to be occupied and used, constitute what he calls as people as infrastructure. It is largely dependent on the ability of the residents to interact with complicated arrangements of things, places, people, and behaviors. This creates a specific kind of economic cooperation among residents, who appear to be excluded from and negatively impacted by urban life.

This research uses both of these perspectives, informality from above and from below, to understand untangle relations between actors, activities, and rules and to see street vending beyond the dichotomy of informal versus formal. In the process, as noted by Lindell (2019), it is possible "to broaden the field of vision in ways that can bring into view the complex relations and heterogeneous processes" (p. 8) that create and remake street workspaces and subjects by drawing on their respective strengths (subaltern urbanism and state rationalities) while also exercising caution when making assumptions. As will be further elaborated in the next section, it is the extent and limit of space-making practices of both the urban elites and street actors that are at the center of this study.

2.3. The spatiotemporality of street vending.

In the Global South, where informal spatial practices have been studied to understand the politics of the poor and inform discourses on the rights to the city, urban streets emerge as both the physical site and the political terrain for mapping social relations, economic realities, and structural hierarchies (Moatasim, 2019). Yet, in the increasingly neoliberal modes of governing urban space, public space has been perceived and negotiated as a commodity, often in the spirit of competitiveness and as means to boost the promotion and aspirations of global cities (Graaff & Ha, 2015; Sheppard et al., 2020). Street vendors often become the casualties of this commodification because they are regarded as violators of certain zoning regulations or vending-free designated areas (Yatmo, 2008). This is not the only outcome, however, as street vendors have also managed to navigate in the grey areas, compromising or resisting such discriminatory practices, and they employ everyday tactics to counter this discipline (see Roy, 2012). In this regard, urban space should be viewed as both defining urban activity, as well as serving as a backdrop to urban activity and action, which reinforces disparities in the distribution of power and resources (Kudva, 2009). What is seldom understood is how architectural forms and spatial practices relate to the regular operation of street hawking. The modalities and materialities of this kind of urbanism are barely examined (Moatasim, 2019).

There are instances of the use of particular "spatial technologies" (Lindell, 2019, p. 9) that only side with certain manifestations of urban informality, at the same time neglecting or even eliminating others. The state is able to use strategic regulations and practices to apply and regulate forms of informality (Roy, 2012). These uses reflect some questions about how different spatial variations can occur and what kind of spatial rationalities explain these variations. Aside from national or local formal regulations, as well as executive decisions and acting institutions made by the state to control street vending, the agency of street vendors and their affiliated street practitioners is also a key dimension of spatial politics (Lindell, 2019).

Ananya Roy (2012) argues, "While planners and rulers seek to create and enforce the 'economy of the proper place' through strategies of rule, everyday and commonplace tactics refuse this discipline" (p. 5). Citing Michel de Certeau's idea, she continues to maintain that this contested (and complementary, perhaps) nature of strategies versus tactics fuels the idea of looking not only into top-down arrangements of space-governing but also giving way to the investigation of bottom-up, street complexities that shape the urban space. Not only is informality a mode of urbanization but it is also a mode of the production of space Roy (2012). It is fair to also note that disadvantaged urban groups may interact with powerful players in nuanced and varied ways and through a variety of political registers, however, there may be important trade-offs involved (Lindell, 2019).

As explained previously, the top-down and bottom-up perspectives of urban informality imply that there also should be a similar way of looking at the production of space. Lee (2022) demonstrates that it is possible to utilize Henri Lefebvre's idea, especially how he questioned "the validity of understanding space without looking at the political economy of its production" (p. 2) and how he addressed "the theme of everyday life, a perspective that addresses the subjective and intersubjective aspects of social life" (p. 2). In this sense, the author proposes a multiple-scale perspective on the production of space, in which the process is understood as a constant reterritorialization and reinterpretation of space. There is both macro-scale (view from above) and micro-scale (view from below); the former relates to a systematic, large-scale, holistic approach, while the latter is individual, small-scale, and pluralistic.
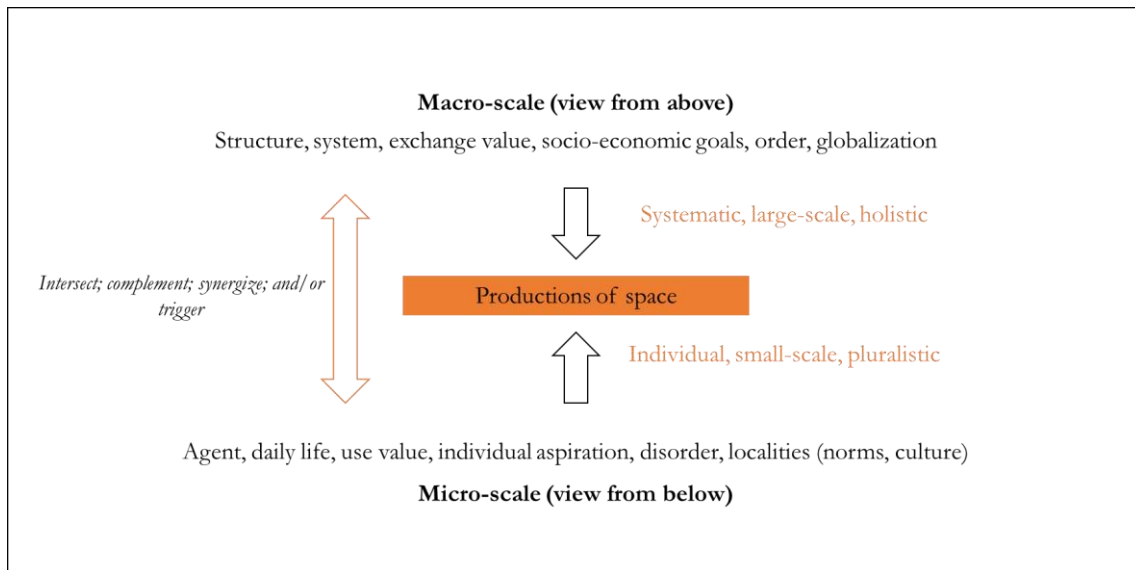
Figure 1. A multiple scale perspective on the production of space. Source: Author, 2022, adopted from Lee (2022).

While the macro-scale perspective has been covered by Roy's arguments above, spatialized take of informality from below can be seen in the idea of *DIY (Do It Yourself)* space (Jabareen, 2014) and "popular urbanization" (Streule et al., 2020). Also borrowing Lefebvrian notion of the production of space, DIY space can be understood as—simultaneously—perceived, conceived, and lived spaces. As a perceived space, it is a tangible physical environment that represents the spatial organization of social processes; it is experimentally observable, readable, and apparent, and has an organizational spatial logic. As a conceived space, it can be understood as a space that instead of being created by state or municipal planners, architects, or professionals; is planned, created, and produced by the populace. Meanwhile, lived space signifies that it is not always a random or irrational spatial product; rather, it is produced, designed, and experienced through unwritten cultural conventions of the people.

In the case of popular urbanization, based on a comparative study between Mexico City, Lagos, and Istanbul informal settlements, collective action is also the central feature (Streule et al., 2020). Different kinds of actors are involved, often "without evident leadership or overarching ideology, but with a shared interest in producing urban space for themselves" (p. 653). There is a strong emphasis on the material aspect, which is understood as the physical changes entrenched in social, cultural, and political networks organized by migrants. In relation to the macro-perspective, there is still a recognition of the role of state agencies in intervening in the process, in terms of mediation, negotiation, support, development, and so on. Indeed, it cannot be considered as the only mode on its own: popular urbanization has to be analyzed together with other kinds of urbanization happening at the same time within a bounded spatial context.

In the case of street vending, not only its spatial aspect, but its temporality is also crucial to be observed. This study echoes the understanding of temporariness by Moatasim (2019). The idea that formal and informal practices are a continuity and that they are interconnected has created urban conditions that possess dynamism, flexibility, and adaptability. This is in contrast with the "rigidity" identical to the centralized planning mechanism. However, while Moatasim's study

focuses on semi-permanent structures of street vending that are still linked to the "rituals of daily assembly and disassembly" (p. 292), the flexibility and mobility of *starling*s take on a different kind, perhaps to a higher degree, which might feed into the debate of street vending spatiotemporality. In his reflection on his fieldwork involving street vendors in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, Malefakis (2015) describes the spatiotemporality of street vendors as "where the money was" and "when the money was" (p. 183). This understanding is shaped very specifically depending on what kind of vendors is in question: what they sell, how they sell it, how do they move between different areas of the city, and so on.

Up until this point, it is noticeable that most spatialized takes on informal space production draw from empirical studies on informal settlements, and only a few have been done on street vending. Still, it is possible still to learn from these different ideas and observe the resemblances in the realm of street vending. In light of linking informal settlement, informal economy, and the capitalistic nature of urbanization, Kusno (2020) argues that informal settlement (in the case of Indonesia is called *kampung kota*) can be viewed as a "spatial domain for income pooling activities" (p. 9). Workers residing in these settlements are bound together by a duty to contribute to the family's finance and to partake in the consumption that results from their pooling of various sources of income. While some family members work in the formal sector with low wages, others potentially (have to) work in the informal sector, by being street vendors or maids, for example. The eradication of both informal street vending and/or settlements, in this regard, contradicts capitalist accumulation, which explains why forms of urban informality are left to prevail. Thus, the study of the spatiality of street vending should also regard its link to where domestic life happens and whether there is any connection between this locality and the actors and activities inside it to the street work itself.
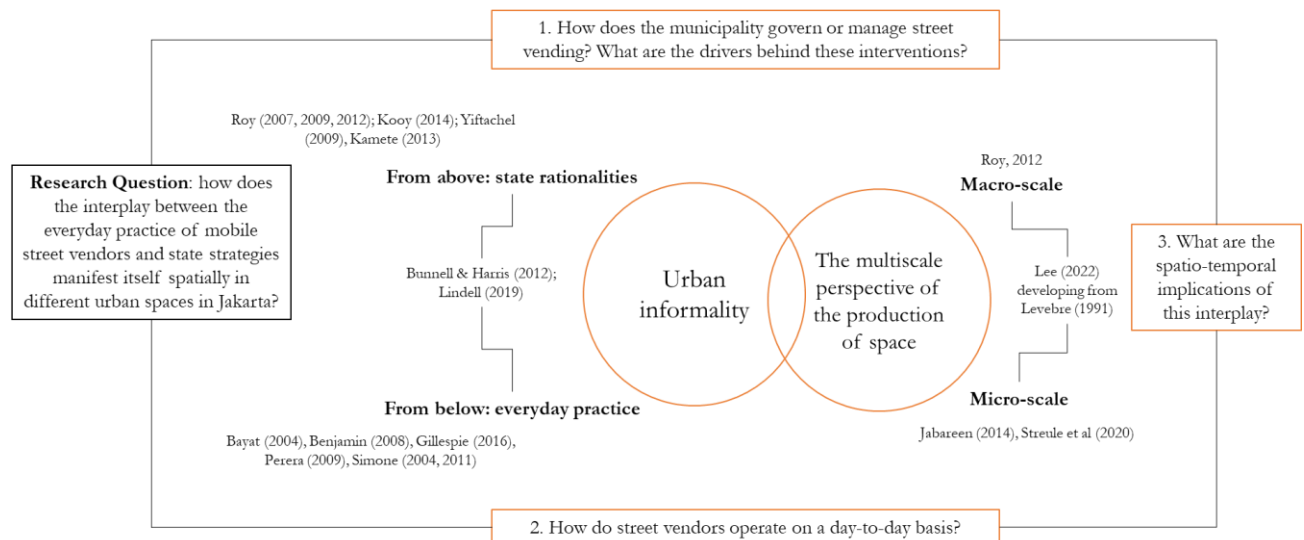
Figure 2. Forming a theoretical framework from the different concepts related to the study. Source: Author, 2023.

To tie all these different concepts together, by going back to the main research question and subquestions, this study is located at the intersection between the concept of urban informality

(from above and from below) as well the multiscale perspective of the production of space (macro and micro scale). The first sub-question relates to mostly the dimension of urban informality from above, while the second subquestion concerns urban informality from below or the dimension of everyday practice. The third subquestion expects the answer regarding the interplay between the first and second inquiries and further elaborates on the spatiotemporal implications of this phenomenon.

III. Methodology.

The focus of this study is urban informality exercised by the state as well as by street vendors, and in this case, they are *starling*s, mobile street vendors typical to the city of Jakarta, Indonesia. The aim of the research is to reveal the interplay between municipal strategies and the everyday practices of the vendors, by looking at the spatiotemporal aspect of three different areas in Central Jakarta, where *starling*s' operations exist, yet differ from each other. There are also different designations of purpose and land use of these areas, regulated by the provincial and city government. To unearth these different aspects, I utilize different methods of data collection and analysis. Before getting into this matter, it's important to, first, lay the foundation in terms of the philosophical and reasoning approach of this research. It will be elaborated further in data collection and analysis. I will also elaborate on my positionality in this research, as well as the research timeline or time horizon.

3.1.   Research philosophy: interpreting space and experience.

As this study looks at street vending and the phenomenon of urban informality as a reality experienced subjectively by their actors, interpretivism serves as the fundamental philosophical understanding. It refutes the notion that there exists only a single and observable world separate from our senses (Rehman & Alharthi, 2016,). The ontological premise is that human action and interaction generate local and specific social reality (Andrade, 2009).

Interpretivism is often juxtaposed with the idea of positivism, which is the understanding that reality exists apart from people (Abdul Rehman & Alharthi, 2016). It is unmediated by our senses and subject to unchangeable rules. Positivists want to comprehend society in the same way they do the natural world. As argued by Davoudi (2012), the legacy of positivist planning has dominated the view that space is an "absolute, empty vessel filled with acitivities and object" (p. 438), and that it should be treated as an objective matter and it can always be scientifically measured. Although this study was drawn from the UK, it echoes the tradition left by the Dutch in Indonesia during the colonial era, and has continued to dictate the planning system in the country (see the history of planning education in Indonesia in Setiawan, 2018). The implication of this for the research and intervention of urban informality is that of treating spaces only according to the designated national and/or regional zoning ("for what") rather than looking at what has transpired in the field: the use value and subjective experience of urbanites that might not resemble the "intended" use of the space (see Malasan, 2019; Yatmo, 2008).

This view features the dualistic view of formal versus informal, and as stated in the literature review, it is certainly avoided in this study. Instead, it focuses on how actors—in this case, *starling*s—perceive their activities and the spaces they inhabit and work in:

> *Understanding of spatiality as matters of fact is combined with its understanding as matters of concern. Fluidity, contingency, dynamism and simultaneity are key characteristics of interpretive planning.* (Davoudi, 2012, p. 438).

Furthermore, it is also important to consider the relation between interpretivism and critical theory, which are commonly differentiated when discussing the different types of research paradigms. While the focus is the subjective experience of participants, at the same time, this study also looks at limitations, failures, and other broader impacts of the political-economy system. As argued by Baynes (2016), drawing from Hegel's idea of "reason in history" and Habermas's "communicative rationality", the interpretive approach should be complemented by the view that society is a system with reason to be found in history, in the "social and cultural products of rational human activity" (p. 81).

3.2. On inductivist and qualitative approach.

To understand and to be open toward participants' experiences, this study tries not to use theories (or a single theory) to frame or to make categories regarding these experiences, nor to challenge or disprove certain hypotheses. Different theories or ideas collected from the literature review section serve as broad themes and "sensitizing devices", which implies that the pilot theoretical framework could be challenged during data collection and analysis processes (Andrade, 2009). Thus, in the spectrum of deductive-inductive reasoning, this study leans towards the latter category.

Certainly, to ask for, listen to, and narrate participants' stories, it is more suitable to then employ a qualitative approach. The same can be said regarding the investigation of state rationalities in governing the informal space. The former adopts the long tradition of "street studies" (Jacobs, 1993), which is understood as possessing "the potential to direct attention to the spatial and temporal ontology of individuals in a specific setting" (p. 838). Meanwhile, the discourse of state rationalities related to urban informality requires a broader understanding of "the relationship between ideology, power and the built form" (Jacobs, 1993, p. 831), which a plethora of studies have proven. Despite its limitations, the qualitative approach has been argued to be the best path in unveiling these topics.

In relation to the philosophical take of this study, Rehman & Alharthi (2016) assert that the majority of the information that interpretivists get from participants over a long period of time is qualitative. The method used to analyze the data created in this way is inductive: the researcher looks for patterns in the data that may be grouped into general themes to comprehend a phenomena. Because they believe that theory emerges from data collection rather than acting as the primary motivation for research, interpretivists frequently employ this approach. The majority of data is verbal, and it is often documented to preserve the events for later data analysis while maintaining a reasonable level of authenticity.

3.3. Interpretive case study of *starling*s.

Much of this part involves drawing from Andrade's (2009) appeal for an "interpretive case study". The case study itself is understood as an empirical investigation that examines a current phenomenon in its actual setting, particularly when the distinctions between phenomena and settings are not clearly evident (Andrade, 2009). This strategy frequently takes place in a natural environment with the goal of understanding the nature of present processes in a "previously little

studied area" (p. 44). This enables researchers to develop a comprehensive understanding of the topic they are studying.

In an interpretive case study, the researcher should be involved directly and heavily in the data collection and analysis. They become enthusiastic participants (Andrade, 2009). This provides an opportunity to gain a deep understanding of the problem, since the focus is to document the stories of participants and then package this into an easily readable form. In this way, an interpretive case study enables the presentation of the researcher's own constructions, as well as the participants.

3.3.1. Getting to know *starling*s

The chosen case study of this resrach is *starling*s, a variant of mobile street vendors typically found in Jakarta, Indonesia. They are known for their flexible and highly mobile nature, as they operate using bicycles, allowing them to move quickly from one area to another. They sell cold and hot coffee and other types of instant beverages, as well as light snacks (such as crackers and peanuts) and cigarettes. Usually, they peddle and interact with customers in public spaces such as sidewalks and public parks. Rame-Rame Jakarta, an organization focused on researching and advocating the accommodation of informal activities in Jakarta, finds that *starling*s, compared to other vendors, possess a high degree of flexibility, and may operate in both highly busy and seemingly "empty" areas, particularly in the night when other formal businesses and informal traders are not available.

Figure 3. A starling in the area of Bundaran HI, Central Jakarta. Photo by Kris K., 2022.

The name *starling* is an abbreviation of Starbucks *keliling*—literally means "mobile or itinerant Starbucks"—signaling both a colloquial term and a satire of the international chain that is not affordable enough for most of the people in the city. *Starling*s' customers mostly consist of construction workers, cleaning employees, cooks, waiters, security guards, other informal vendors, and another middle-to-low income group of Jakartans. Although in a way they are needed by these

groups of the population, they have been vulnerable to confiscation and other types of harassment by the Satpol PP (civil police squad) and private security officers guarding private establishments.

*Starling*s are mostly male, and so are their customers. These vendors share the same migrant background, coming from the island of Madura in the eastern part of Java Island. One of the reasons for this is the moor ecology (*ekologi tegalan*) in Madura, which creates disproportionate agricultural produce, and in turn force Maduranese people to *merantau* (migrate), not only to Jakarta, but also to other metropolitan cities in Indonesia and even abroad (Teguh & Irfani, 2020). There are even *kampung*s (singular: kampung, a local name for a type of unplanned settlement) in Jakarta built and dedicated for welcoming and housing (new) *starling*s (and potentially non-*starling*s Maduranese as well). This arrangement has allowed networking and the forming of potentially organizational operations, i.e., informal socio-economic and patron-client relations between suppliers and *starling*s, although many of them are also known to be independent or not related to any network or organization.

3.3.2. Zooming in: the study areas in Central Jakarta

Data collecting was done in three distinct Central Jakarta neighborhoods to show the differences and importance of various urban area types (see Figure 4). These three main areas were chosen, partly, due to the number of *starling*s that frequently sell there. And even though these areas are located approximately only 700 meters from each other, they possess distinct characteristics, not only in terms of physical aspects and land use, but also the way *starling*s navigate and operate in these spaces. Contrary to the majority of informality research, which often occurs in state-designated "informal spaces" like slum and/or squatter communities, these places are more well-known for their significance on a national and regional level, as well as their wealth, order, and cleanliness.

The Welcome Monument (*Monumen Selamat Datang*) and the two retail malls, Grand Indonesia and Plaza Indonesia, are located at the Bundaran HI (Hotel Indonesia Roundabout), the first area. It is a well-known landmark and a well-liked public area that is bordered by businesses including hotels, restaurants, and office buildings, making it a hive of activity and a gathering point for both locals and visitors. The monument and Hotel Indonesia, which is now Hotel Indonesia Kempinski after being transferred to the renowned global organization Kempinski in 1987, were built in 1962. Given that independence had just recently been attained, it was intended to represent the nation's aspirations for modernity and advancement.

Dukuh Atas is the second location, which is likewise a busy commercial and business district. A public railway hub connecting the commercial centre and the suburbs has been established there. Dukuh Atas was in the midst of "Citayam Fashion Week" during the time fieldwork was being done, where young people from the outskirts of the city flocked to show off their attire and produce material for social media. Menteng, which in this context mostly refers to Jalan Sumenep rather than the entire district, is the third region. Aside from two little parks, a mosque, and a fish market, it is primarily a residential area with a few small businesses like restaurants and cafés.

During the fieldwork, we also acquired some information about the residence of *starling*s in the neighborhood of Abdul Muis, still in Central Jakarta. We decided to do some interviews and observations in this *kampung*, interviewing a couple of suppliers and *kontrakan* (housing) owners, as well as an owner of a bicycle workshop where local *starling*s take their bikes to get them repaired

or modified. *Starling*s from these neighborhood live together with their family members and there are also a few supporting businesses that sell ice cubes, coffee, cigarettes, snacks and so on that are essential to *starling*s' operation.

1. Bundaran HI: historical, iconic area of regional and national importance; luxurious shopping malls and hotels.

2. Dukuh Atas: public transportation hub connecting the central business district with the suburban; recently spotlighted by "Citayam Fashion Week"

3. Menteng: mostly residential, single-family houses, but also offices, restaurants, cafes, and public parks

+ *Kampung starling* (*starling*s' settlement) of Abdul Muis

Figure 4. Three different areas under study and their short descriptions. Map by author, 2023.

3.4. Data collection.

In line with the interpretive, qualitative case study approach, this research uses mainly interviews to gather the necessary data informing informality from below, including each *starling*'s background, their reasons for choosing certain areas and routes, their perceptions and experiences in dealing with the authorities, and so on. Meanwhile, to gather information regarding informality from above, I mainly conduct regulation document collection from national and regional government online portals. The spatiotemporal aspect is also elaborated based on observations in the three different areas.

For the the interviews, we[1] prepared some key questions such as what *starling*s' origin stories are, their spatial practices, and relations with other actors (see Appendix, interview questions). However, in practice, we did not really force ourselves to follow these questions, rather we were trying to be open to other inquiries and stories told by the participants. That is why, in some

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[1] The use of "we" signifies activities or part of the research that was conducted together with members of Rame-Rame Jakarta.

interviews, only a handful of questions prepared were answered, but on the other hand, we were able to gain important information that initially we had not thought about. We did these semi-structured interviews with 12 *starling*s in the three different areas, as well as three different interviews with varying numbers of participants in each interview (see Table 2). A little note on the participant's consent: I acknowledge that it is crucial to uphold the rights and dignity of those taking part in this study. The consent procedure for this study is mostly verbal and informal to ensure the *starling*s' comfort and willingness to participate. By allowing for their free engagement and ensuring that their perspectives are heard in an ethical and respectful manner, this adaptable approach fosters an environment that is favorable to open dialogues.

Areas	Number of interviews	Pseudonyms of participants
Bundaran HI	5	Jalu, Saleh, Susan (female, not identified as *starling*, but sells similar products), Mahmud, and Alif
Dukuh Atas	4	Saidan, Riza, Bayu, Tri
Menteng	3	Rahmat, Anton, and Rifa
Kampung starling	3	Darma; Rahmat and friends; bike workshop owner and mechanics

Table 2. Number of interviews and participants in each area.

For observations, I created a table containing relevant points to be observed from vending activities, use of public space, changes in vending locations, vending methods, the dynamics of customers and authorities, and so on (see Appendix, observation guide). However, during the fieldwork, we noticed other important elements of the vending practice as well as related practices that occurred in the areas, which we assumed would be important to the research. In total, nine observations were conducted, three times in each area, differing between weekends and weekdays.

The process of gathering secondary data was rather straightforward; most answers were discovered by scanning and reading through the papers. However, I had to consult additional sources, such as academic writing, reports, and media coverage, in order to conduct more research on several significant terms and terminology. For instance, the regulation paper itself does not expound on the word "people's economy", which in my opinion is a key factor in the empowerment—or rather, tolerance—of street sellers. The history and development of this narrative, which has set the way for the allegedly "ambiguous" treatment of street sellers, have been better understood by reading a number of scholarly works of literature. The documents collected and analyzed in this study are the Presidential Decree Number 125 of 2012 concerning the Coordination of Arrangement and Empowerment of Street Vendors (*Peraturan Presiden Nomor 125 Tahun 2012 tentang Koordinasi Penataan dan Pemberdayaan Pedagang Kaki Lima*) and the Jakarta Governor's Regulation No. 10 of 2015 concerning the Arrangement and Empowerment of Street Vendors (*Peraturan Gubernur Provinsi Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta Nomor 10 Tahun 2015 tentang Penataan dan Pemberdayaan Pedagang Kaki Lima*).

3.5. **Data analysis.**

Respective of each dimension in this study as well as its data collection method, I apply different forms of data analysis. For data gathered from official documents, in the case of informality from above, we utilize discourse analysis. It is an analytical method that examines language use in social contexts, aiming to uncover the underlying power structures, ideologies, and social practices embedded in discourse (see Jacobs, 2006). In the case of examining regulation and planning documents, it can help to reveal the assumptions, priorities, and interests that shape policy-making and implementation. By analyzing the linguistic strategies used in regulatory texts, discourse analysis can also expose the ways in which power relations are negotiated and contested, and how language is used to justify and legitimize particular policies and practices.

Within this study, discourse analysis is used to understand the text, the discursive practice, and the social practice (Lees, 2004) of regulations related to street vending. While textual analysis focuses on vocabulary and structure, the discursive practice emphasizes the context in which the policy was made and implemented. Meanwhile, the social practice dimension focuses on "the more general ideological context within which the discourses have taken place" (Lees, 2004, p. 104).

For both interviews and observations, grounded theory is used, which is understood as an approach used inductively to analyze evidence on social phenomena in order to develop ideas about such phenomena (Bhattacherjee, 2012). In line with the inductive reasoning of this research, th grounded theory allows researchers to develop theoretical insights that are grounded in empirical data and that are relevant to the specific context being studied. It provides a flexible approach, as it allows for modification of data collection and analysis as new insights emerge from the data. In this study, open coding will be used to operationalize this approach. With this type of coding, among others, the aim is to identify concepts or ideas that are hidden within textual data, which might be linked to the observed phenomenon. Similar concepts are then put together into categories, which are more "broad and generalizable" (Bhattacherjee, 2012, p. 114).

Dimensions	Data collection methods	Sources	Key themes	Analysis
Informality from above	Secondary data collection: regulation and planning documents	Online government portals	Motivations, narratives, strategies	Discourse analysis
Informality from below	Semi-structured interviews	*Starling*s	Origin stories, preferred vending spots, routes, establishing networks, dealing with authorities, aspirations	Grounded theory
Spatiotemporality	Participant observations	Vending activities and mobility of	Use of (public) space and facilities, interactions with	

Dimensions	Data collection methods	Sources	Key themes	Analysis
		*starling*s, as well as activities of customers and other related actors	other actors, movements (mobility in and outside of studied areas), clustering of customers and other activities	

Table 3. Data collection and analysis for each research dimension.

3.6. Author's positionality.

In order to identify potential impacts on the research process and conclusions, it is crucial for me as a researcher to be aware of my position and background. Due to the fact that I am an Indonesian student presently residing overseas, I may possess and potentially express a distinctive viewpoint and set of experiences pertaining to Indonesian culture and society. Even though I am familiar with many aspects of Indonesian culture and beliefs, I am also not a native of Jakarta. I have a good knowledge of the larger Indonesian context because of my experiences growing up there, and I am—to an extent—familiar with the general culture and dynamics of street vendors. Nevertheless, I am aware that my upbringing, education, and exposure to many places outside of Jakarta may have shaped my outlook.

I acknowledge that I need to be mindful of any potential power dynamics at work in the research process given my position as a researcher studying abroad. The trust and connection I build with *starling*s—partly via interviews and observations themselves—may be impacted by my positionality as an outsider in Jakarta. I am aware that my foreign education and potentially privileged background may cause my presence and interactions to be seen differently. To reduce any unintentional biases or power disparities, I have intended to be open, polite, and culturally sensitive during the research process.

In addition, my perception and analysis of the facts gathered might be influenced by my personal experiences and opinions. I have made an attempt to regularly reflect on my own presumptions and prejudices by engaging in reflexive practices. I have tried to incorporate diverse viewpoints to pay close attention to *starling*s' voices, and make sure the study findings accurately reflect their experiences.

I acknowledge and affirm that *starling*s themselves are invaluable experts and that they are the ones who possess a first-hand understanding of their situations. I recognize the importance of their lived experiences, viewpoints, and insights in grasping the complexity of their day-to-day struggles. I have used a strategy that frames the street sellers as authorities in their own right over the course of my investigation. I actively seek out their opinions, pay close attention to their accounts, and appreciate their contributions as the main sources of knowledge and comprehension.

3.7. Research timeline.

This research began in the Spring of 2022, during which the research design was established and the fieldwork plan was organized. In July and August of 2022, fieldwork was conducted in Jakarta, in collaboration with the NGO, Rame-Rame Jakarta (RRJ). We worked together on the same data collection design, and RRJ mainly utilized the interview and observation guide which we formulated and executed together. For RRJ, this research has resulted in the publication of a zine titled "*Kita Berkeliling Kota Berkeliling*" ("We Go Around, The City Goes Around") in December of 2022. It contains some stories gathered from *starling*s and includes some trivia regarding the act of coffee vending in the city.

Right before the seminar in Madrid, interview transcription and observation notes were finished, and findings as well as initial results were presented in the seminar. After the fieldwork and during Fall and Spring semesters, the majority of secondary data collection to gain information regarding the dimension of "informality from above" was conducted, mainly by accessing online government portals. After the seminar, the final write-up of the thesis was undertaken, and it was planned to finish at the end of May 2023 for pursuing the July 2023 thesis defense.

Activities	2022						2023						
	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul
Supervisor Meeting	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	
Field Work	■	■											
Reorganizing data - Transcribing			■	■	■	■							
Additional data (online) documenting, if necessary				■	■								
Data Analysis			■	■	■	■	■						
Discussion and conclusion								■	■				
Thesis Write Up					■	■	■	■	■	■	■		
Review, proofreading										■	■		
Final review											■		
Thesis submission												■	
Thesis defence													■

Table 4. General Research Timeline.

IV. Findings

This section covers the findings gathered from different data collection methods, addressing three dimensions of this study, which are informality from above, informality from below, and the spatiotemporal implications of the earlier dimensions. The first part of this chapter contains findings from two documents: the national-level decree on the management of vending and the regional regulation of street vending. The second part concerns mostly results from the interview, however, a few pieces of information from observations are also utilized. The last part includes the spatiotemporal aspect of the study, with maps and pictures as the main output.

4.1. State rationalities and strategies.

The first step in looking at the way informality works from above in this study is to investigate the policy on informal street vending on the national, regional or provincial, and the city scale. A read into the Jakarta Governor's Regulation No. 10 of 2015 on the Arrangement and Empowerment of Street Vendors reveals that the provincial law was derived from various national regulations on spatial planning, regional government, tax retribution, formation of legislation, medium-to-micro enterprises and a separate guideline on street vendors management and empowerment. The focus of this part will be to, first, investigate the national-level regulation, before going to the specificity of provincial and city-wide street vending management.

4.1.1. The national decree and guidelines

The deliberation of developing this strategy is first and foremost stated in the Presidential Decree Number 125 of 2012 on the Coordination of Arrangement and Empowerment of Street Vendors. On the one hand, the government admits that street sellers, who operate in the informal sector of trade and are "actors of people's economy" (*aktor ekonomi kerakyatan*), need to be given the tools they need to expand and strengthen their operations. The rising number of street sellers, however, "have impacted the aesthetic, cleanliness, and function of urban facilities and infrastructure, as well as the disruption of the flow of traffic" (p. 1), which is why there has to be control of street selling. (p. 1). The definition of street vendors, or *Pedagang Kaki Lima* (abbreviated as PKL) in this decree, is defined as business actors conducting trading business by using mobile or immovable business facilities, city infrastructure, social facilities, public facilities, land and buildings owned by the government and/or private parties that are temporary/non-permanent. In the discussion section, these two narratives—people's economics and municipal order—will be further developedThe Ministry of Home Affairs has established guidelines for these empowerment and management measures, and they state that their objectives are to create business opportunities for street vendors through the designation of street vending locations, to build the business capacity of street vendors into a resilient and independent micro-economy, and to realize a clean, beautiful, orderly, and safe city with adequate urban facilities that are environmentally friendly. These objectives are consistent with the thought processes outlined in the regulation.

To realize these goals, there are several strategies stipulated in the decree. The first one is data collection and registration of street vendors, including location, type of business place, business

field, business capital, and selling volume. The second strategy is the designation of street vending locations. This location can be categorized as permanent or temporary, and this is further elaborated based on the regional spatial plan. For locations "not intended for street vending activities", a third strategy is to relocate and remove street vending locations. Meanwhile, for locations intended for street vending use, there is a fourth strategy which is the rejuvenation of street vending locations. Last but not least, the planning of space provision for street vending activities is undertaken based on the national regulations of spatial planning.

Article 5 of this decree states that the management of street vendors at the provincial level is the responsibility of the governor, in accordance with the Regulation of Ministry of Home Affairs Number 41 of 2012 on the Guidelines of Management and Empowerment of Street Vendors (*Pedoman Penataan dan Pemberdayaan Pedagang Kaki Lima*). In this guideline, the term "arrangement" (or management) and "empowerment" are defined. Arrangement of street vendors means "the efforts made by the local government through the determination of the target location to determine, move, control and eliminate the location of street vendors with due regard to public interests, social, aesthetics, health, economy, security, order, environmental cleanliness and in accordance with laws and regulations" (p. 2). While this can be categorized as a "spatial" strategy, empowerment is also a crucial part of the overarching intervention against street vendors. It is understood as "the efforts made by the government, regional government, the business world and the community synergistically in the form of growing the business climate and business development of street vendors so that they are able to grow and develop both the quality and quantity of their business" (p. 2).

For the provincial government, this management of street vendors includes the facilitation of street vendors management across regencies/cities, facilitation of cooperation between regencies/cities, preparation and incorporation of programs and activities for managing street vendors into regional development plan documents, and determination of the criteria for the location of street vendors' activities in the Provincial Spatial Plan as a reference for determining the location of street vendors in the Regency/City Spatial Plan. This function of facilitation, coordinating cooperation between regencies/cities within the province, also applies to the empowerment strategy.

Meanwhile, regents/mayors are also responsible for both the management and empowerment of street vendors. They have to follow the guidelines published by the national ministry as well as the provincial strategy. For management, it includes the formulation of street vendors management policy, designation of locations and/or areas for street vending activities in the city-wide Detailed Spatial Plan, management of street vendors through the cooperation of Regional Government, the development of partnerhsip with the "business world", and the formulation of programs and activities of street vendors management within the document of city/regency development plan. For empowerment, they are responsible for the formulation of policy regarding empowerment itself, as well as incorporating this policy into the development plan.

Level	Arrangement (*Penataan*)	Empowerment (*Pemberdayaan*)
Province	- facilitation of street vendors management across regencies/cities - facilitation of cooperation between regencies/cities, - preparation and incorporation of programs and activities for managing street vendors into regional development plan documents - determination of the criteria for the location of street vendors' activities in the Provincial Spatial Plan as a reference for determining the location of street vendors in the Regency/City Spatial Plan.	- Facilitation of street vendors empowerment across regencies/cities - Cooperation between regencies/cities in their respective province - Supervision of street vendors empowerment implemented by regencies/cities
City/Regency	- formulation of street vendors management policy - designation of locations and/or areas for street vending activities in the city-wide Detailed Spatial Plan - management of street vendors through the cooperation of Regional Government - the development of partnerhsip with the "business world" - the formulation of programs and activities of street vendors management within the document of city/regency development plan	- the formulation of policy regarding the empowerment itself - incorporating this policy into the development plan

Table 5. Management and empowerment directives for the provincial and city governments, derived from the Presidential Decree Number 125 of 2012 on the Coordination of Arrangement and Empowerment of Street Vendors.

The guidelines from the Ministry of Home Affairs further specify the ways in which regents and mayors can manage street vendors, including data collection, registration, designation of location,

relocation of street vendors and elimination of locations, and rejuvenation of street vendors' locations. For data collection purposes, the municipality has to differentiate between movable and immovable vending structures. The guideline categorizes mats, *lesehan* (a structure allowing customers to sit on the ground for eating or drinking), tents, and shelters as immovable structures. Movable structures are further categorized into motorized and unmotorized, with examples including pushcarts and bicycles. Another type of categorization is the "business field" *(bidang usaha)*, which includes seven different groups: culinary, crafts, ornamental plants, birds, ornamental fish, clothes, and antiques.

In terms of registration, regents/mayors have to acknowledge "old" and "new" street vendors. Old street vendors are those who—when the registration is conducted—have been selling on a land or location designated for street vending purposes, and/or street vendors who are, during the registration, have been selling on a location that is not intended for street vending activities and designated as a temporary location. Meanwhile, "new" street vendors are those who are about to start becoming street vendors and presently never occupy any space within the city. These street vendors must apply for a Business Registration Certificate (*Tanda Daftar Usaha*, or TDU) to sell at a location designated by the municipality. This application consists of several documents to be possessed, which at a glance, are not easy to acquire—considering, for instance, that street vendors are mostly migrants from other regions in Indonesia. This is reflected in the requirement to have an identity card with the address section stating that the person resides within the administrative city or regency. There is also a number of forms of statement including to not modify, add, or change the function and facilities that are in the street vending location; to not give the permit to another party; and the willingness to empty, return, or give back the location of selling in case of: location is needed at any time or must be returned to "its use", if the location is not occupied in a consecutive month, and after "some evaluation" the street vendors is considered to be a small business (therefore, different regulations apply).

Within this framework of registration and obtaining permits, Article 30 of the guidelines imposes "the rights of street vendors". These rights involve getting the service of registration; conducting businesses in a designated location; gaining information and socialization or announcement regarding business activities in this location; receiving management, empowerment, and supervision in developing their businesses; as well as getting assistance in obtaining capital loans with bank partners (pp. 8-9) . The next article also contains the responsibility of *street vendors*, which are to follow all implemented regulations; to obey the time of business activities imposed by the Mayor/Regent; to maintain the beauty, order, security, cleanliness, and environmental health of the place of business; placing and arranging merchandise and/or services as well as trading equipment in an orderly and regular manner; does not interfere with traffic and public interest; to surrender the place of business or business location without demanding compensation in any form, if the business location is not occupied for one month or at any time the location is required by the city government; and to occupy a place or business location that has been determined by the regional government according to the TDU owned by the street vendors (p. 9).

Street vendors are also forbidden to carry out their business activities in a public space that is not designated for the location of street vendors; to remodel, add and change the functions and facilities in the street vendors' business locations or locations that have been determined by the Regent/Mayor; to occupy the land or location of street vendors for residential activities; changing

places or locations and/or transferring TDU without the knowledge and permission of the Regent/Mayor; abandoning and/or leaving the business location empty without continuous activity for one month; change the field of business and/or trade illegal goods; carry out business activities by destroying and or changing the shape of sidewalks, public facilities, and/or the surrounding buildings; use the public road for the place of business, except for those determined for the location of the scheduled and controlled street vending; street vendors whose business activities use vehicles are prohibited from trading in places where parking is prohibited, temporary stops, or sidewalks; and trading or renting out street vendors' business premises to other traders. These rules are derived from Article 32 of the guideline.

For the designation of street vending locations, the deliberations are "to pay attention to the interests of public, social, culture, aesthetic, economy, security, order, health, and cleanliness, as well as their accordance with the regional spatial plan". As written before, there are two types of this location: permanent and temporary. While the former is a place with proper accessibility, and supporting facilities (electricity, water, waste management, and public toilets), there is no requirement to provide these facilities for a temporary location. This location is also scheduled by the municipality, with a fixated time period. According to Article 36 of this guideline, street vendors who occupy locations that are not intended for street vending, whether temporary or permanent, can be moved or relocated to these designated locations. Another important article in terms of the management of street vendors is the "transaction ban" (Article 38). Everyone is forbidden from doing any kind of transaction with street vendors in public facilities that are not intended for street vending activities. These facilities and areas must be marked with a sign stating so. Each mayor or regent could decide and apply sanctions for this violation.

As for the empowerment of street vendors, according to Article 40, the regent or mayor has the responsibility to improve business capacity; facilitate capital access; facilitate the assistance of trading means; achieve institutional strengthening; facilitate production capacity improvement; develop network and promotion; and to give technical assistance. The city municipality can also empower street vendors with the corporate social responsibility (CSR) of private companies residing in the province or city (Article 42). This empowerment program can be in the form of the arrangement or rejuvenation of street vendors' business premises; increasing entrepreneurial ability through guidance, training, and capital assistance; business promotions and events at vending locations; and playing "an active role in managing street vendors in urban areas to make them more orderly, clean, beautiful and comfortable" (p. 12).

Level	Arrangement (*Penataan*)	Empowerment (*Pemberdayaan*)
Province	- facilitating the arrangement of street vendors across regencies/cities in their territory; - facilitating cooperation in managing street vendors between regencies/cities in their territory - capacity improvement of regents/mayors in their respective regions.	- facilitation of cooperation between regencies/cities within the province, or with private entities ("business world", or *dunia usaha*) - assistance and supervision of street vendors conducted by regents/mayors
City/Regency	- street vendors data collection - registration of street vendors - determining the location of street vendors - relocation of street vendors and elimination of street vendors locations - rejuvenation of street vending locations	- to improve business capacity - faciliate capital access - facilitate the assistance of trading means - institutional strengthening - facilitate production capacity improvement - to develop network and promotion - technical assistance

Table 6. Management and empowerment strategies stipulated in the guidelines published by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

4.1.2. The regional regulation

The current regulation at the provincial level concerning street vending is the Governor's Regulation of DKI Jakarta Province Number 10 of 2015 on Management and Empowerment of Street Vendors (*Peraturan Gubernur Provinsi Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta Nomor 10 Tahun 2015 tentang Penataan dan Pemberdayaan Pedagang Kaki Lima*). The "deliberation" section of this regulation shares one point regarding "city order" as stated in the Presidential Decree, in that the regulation is created to "prevent the negative impact of the use of public facilities and utilities for street vendors' businesses…" (p. 1). Meanwhile, another reason for the passing of this regulation is to replace the older regulation on "place arrangement and assistance of street vendors as micro-businesses in the Province of Jakarta" (p. 1) from 2010, also due to the implementation of the 2012 presidential decree and the ministerial guidelines.

The aims of this regulation are "to create order and comfort as well as city beauty"; to give opportunities for street vendors as long as they operate in the designated areas, "to give income and work opportunities"; and to control the growth of street vendors' businesses in non-vending zones (p. 5). To achieve these goals, this regulation consists of articles concerning the management of street vendors, the business permit, responsibility and rights of street vendors, street vendors' empowerment and partnership with private enterprises, supervision of street vendors, the structure of the regional coordination team, monitoring and evaluation, and financing.

The majority of the contents of this regulation resemble those of the presidential decree and the guidelines. However, there are articles that operationalize the more normative language used in the decree and guidelines. The first article concerns the data collection and registration of street vendors, especially in terms of who is responsible for this program and the steps to undertake it. "Location mapping" is one of these steps, in between creating a schedule for data collection and conducting data renewal.

For determining street vending locations, the government stipulates, in Article 8, that mayor or regent in each city or regency adopt recommendations from the Street Vendors Management and Empowerment Team in each city/regency as well as the head of the Department of Industry, Trade, Cooperatives, and Small and Medium Enterprises (*Dinas KUMKM*). And, as stated in the ministerial guidelines, it must follow multi-dimensional public interests such as social, cultural, aesthetic, economic, and so on. Furthermore, in Article 9, various types of street vending locations are established, including temporary locations, scheduled locations for micro-businesses, foodcourt, decorative plants and natural rocks traders location, controlled locations for street vendors micro-businesses, night markets, alternative locations for street vendors' shelter, and street vendors integrated area. There is no further explanation as to what the government means by each of these locations. The categorization of "business field" also differs a little bit from what the national level government recommends. Aside from the seven items, there are four extra categories, including motorcycle and car parts, secondhand goods, household needs, as well as photo-copy service, and stationery. As for types of structure or selling mode (i.e., movable and immovable structures), they are similar to the national guidelines.

One significant difference is regarding the application of "retribution". This regulation does not specify what exactly it is, but from the beginning of the document, the province of Jakarta tries to incorporate its own Provincial Regulation Number 3 of 2012 about Regional Retribution (*Peraturan Daerah Nomor 3 Tahun 2012 tentang Retribusi Daerah*). The implication for street vendors is that, if they possess TDU (the business permit) they have to "pay retribution in accordance with applicable regulations", and if they fail to pay retribution "for a maximum of seven calendar days", their TDU can be revoked. As for empowerment strategies, a number of articles contained detailed strategies, such as in terms of technical assistance, supporting the formation of street vendors' temporary locations, and supporting street vendors to form cooperations in these locations. And again, the "partnership with the business world" is also mentioned, but contrary to the expectation of this being elaborated further, the content of this article is the same as stipulated in the national guidelines.

This provincial regulation also specifies more regarding "who does what". There is a strong emphasis on the role of *lurah* and *camat*. *Lurah*s are responsible for governing their respective *kelurahan* or sub-district. They are appointed by the *camat* or district head, who in turn is appointed by the mayor or regent. In the context of street vending governance in Jakarta, *lurah*s and *camat*s are responsible for data collection and registration of street vendors. They also have to be involved in the supervision of street vendors, which includes raising awareness, application of sanction, and coordinating "the control of street vending location" (*penertiban lokasi PKL*) that is not intended for such activities. *Lurah*s and *camat*s are also a part of the Street Vendors Management and Empowerment Team in each city/regency. Other responsibilities of these district and sub-district

heads include the various monitoring and evaluation, as well as the reporting of street vendors' activities in their respective areas.

In relation to the on-site policing that was observed during the fieldwork, the regulation mentions the position of the Civil Police Force (*Satuan Polisi Pamong Praja,* or Satpol PP) in the Street Vendors Management and Empowerment Team in each city/regency as well as at the Jakarta provincial level. There is no further specification regarding their role or task, but from what the observation reveals, in the street, it is their presence and activities that are the most impactful for *starling*s operation. In the next sub-chapter, we will see how their interventions are played out, including how they impact *starling*s' operations as well as how *starling*s perceive Satpol PP officers. However, further dynamics and the broader narrative of the involvement of this police force will only be elaborated on in the next chapter.

4.2. The everyday practices of *starling*s.

This sub-chapter of the findings follows the structure of how interviewed *starling*s "come to be". Along this journey, a few important features will be revealed, from how they establish their own infrastructure, including the story of the particular *kampung starling,* to how *starling*s choose their routes and preferred vending locations. Furthermore, the essential element of this explanation is how *starling*s perceive their relations with fellow vendors, their suppliers, and the authorities, as well as how they deal with opportunities and adversaries posed by these actors.

4.2.1. "No one nags me if I work like this": the transition to becoming a *starling*

*Starling*s whom we interview have various experiences and periods in which they have been selling. There are those who have been *starling*s for more than ten years, and a few who just started a couple of years ago. One *starling* claims that he began selling in 2009, while another *starling,* much younger than him, says that he has been selling coffee for only two days during the time of the interview. Susan, who refuses to be identified as *starling*, says that she has been a coffee vendor with her pushcart for more than ten years. The majority of vendors originate from the island of Madura in East Java province, particularly the regencies of Pamekasan and Sampang. However, there are also three *starling*s from Tasikmalaya in West Java, Bekasi (the neighboring city of Jakarta), and Susan who is from Wonosobo in Central Java.

These *starling*s have various reasons as to why they decide to become coffee sellers in the first place. However, one frequent answer is that they do not enjoy working for other people or having a boss that tells them what to do and not do. They partly point out the specific "character" of Maduranese people who are not used to being nagged. As told by one *starling*, Tri, "When I first came to Jakarta, I worked for other people (*kerja sama orang*). It was not good for me to work like that, they always nagged me. No one nags me if I work like this, *hahaha.*"

This idea of being *keras* (literally means "hard", but can be understood as tenacious), drives them to look for another way of sustaining their livelihoods. As the history of *starling*s itself is not clear (although I tried to gather the information from the participants themselves), one *starling* believes that this character might explain why *starling*s began to appear in Jakarta in the first place, and why almost all of them are from Madura.

We could say around ninety percent [of starling*s] are Maduranese. It was Maduranese people who started selling coffee like this. Ten percent of them are maybe not from Madura, maybe Javanese or Sundanese. Why? I don't really know the exact story. My feeling is that maybe the first idea of* starling *came from Maduranese people, my feeling is always like that. Maduranese people, most of them, don't like to work for other people. We are 'keras' (tenacious), we cannot work like that. We are not strong enough for that. That's why even if people see this as a lowly job, we enjoy it. We decide when to leave and and when to go home. As for the income, we let God decide* (pasrahkan pada Allah), *whatever our blessing is. So, we enjoy the work.* (Bayu)

An interview with Susan is very interesting. She has a negative view towards *starling*s, who according to her, "*Madura-Madura ini*" ("these Madura people") have stolen her livelihoods away from her. "Before Maduranese people started to sell [coffee], I was already selling coffee here. There was no one using a bike." And Ahmad, who also shared the same space with Susan in Bundaran HI, was sure that it was actually Javanese people who started selling coffee, but they did not use bicycles, and instead, they went around with "carrying pole, and they did not have ice [cubes]".

For a few *starling*s, the transition is not easy. Even if "want-to-be" *starling*s manage to secure all the necessary equipment and supplies, they have to deal with deciding when and where to go and to consider the risk of being "caught" by Satpol PP. Anton, another *starling* that is selling in Menteng, describes that for a while, he used to sell coconut water with a pushcart, besides working as a *starling*. He thought that it was not profitable to only sell coffee. He retired from coconut water vending because there had been a lot of "cleaning" or policing by Satpol PP. He realizes that by focusing on being a *starling* and continuing just using a bicycle, it is safer because it is easier to move around. However, learning from this experience, he realizes that it is possible to find another job if he can afford to do so: "It is not permanent, I can change job if I want to. If it does not work, then I can always go back to selling coffee [being a *starling*]."

Saidan, who usually can be found in Dukuh Atas, adds two other reasons as to why so many people decide to work as *starling*s. First, it cannot be denied that there is a huge demand from people that like to *nongkrong* (meaning to sit around and chat with peers, while drinking coffee, having snacks, and smoking). People need to buy easy and cheap coffee. Second, "because if we sell [fresh] food", it can get 'stinky' (go bad; spoilt) quite easily. But these instant beverages, in sachets, can last for months."

Now, a significant motivation for people to consider being *starling*s is having a friend or family member from the same hometown who is already a *starling* or knows all the details to be one. As Rahmat said, "…if we don't have family [here], who will teach us [to become *starling*s]?" Solihin also claimed that there was someone who taught him "how to sell, how to organize the supplies". Besides, to be a *starling*, one does not need a huge amount of money. When talking about this topic with Rahmat, a follow-up question was asked about why he did not just have a *warung* (a semi-permanent stall that could also be used to sell coffee, among other products). To buy or to rent a *warung* is much more expensive. To start becoming a *starling*, a person only needs around two million rupiahs (around 120 euros) in total. This money is for buying a secondhand bike, including all the modifications needed, such as the addition of front and back racks.

As told by Bayu before, "letting the God decide" (*"pasrahkan kepada Allah"*) is an important principle for many *starling*s. Despite the already existent support system, being a *starling*, especially at the beginning, is a rough process for them. Bayu continues to say that it is not "rational"—and in fact, people do not have to think rationally—to think about how many *starling*s there are in Jakarta and whether the demand can keep up with it. He told me about his struggle:

> *I already had a child and a wife…at the beginning, I only could get seventy thousand to eighty thousand rupiahs. One friend asked me why I did not have another job. It was a lot of trial and error, so many challenges. I got caught by Satpol PP a few times.* (Bayu)

4.2.2. Inviting, arriving, and living: the story and influence of *kampung starling*

When conducting an observation in Bundaran HI, a *starling* tells us about the information of one *kampung starling*. There are three different *kampung*s: Kwitang, Tanah Abang, and Senen. These areas are still relatively close to Bundaran HI, Menteng, and Dukuh Atas, or to Central Jakarta and the northern part of Southern Jakarta in general. However, from some interviews, there are also different locations: one *starling* says that he lives in Halimun, and another one claims that he resides in Tanah Abang, but not together with other *starling*s. This one *starling* that tells us about one *kampung* said that it is the one that is close to the National Monument, which might be what people assume as in Senen. Two people from Rame-Rame Jakarta and I decide to go there to conduct interviews and to observe the place, and we name it "*Kampung Abdul Muis*". To protect the safety of these *starling*s and their families, I choose not to disclose the exact location.

The history of this particular *kampung* is a little bit blurry, which for the most part is because we only spend a very limited amount of time there, and therefore we are not able to gather enough information regarding this neighborhood. However, an owner of a bike workshop and a *kontrakan* (a common local name to call a rented flat or shared house), shares with us:

> *In 2003, there were still a few starlings. Because when we bring friends [from Madura], those friends also bring other friends, and it keeps multiplying like that. Every time someone goes home [to Madura], they bring another friend here. They even bring their wives, and all their families here.*

To acquire a place to live, one needs to rent a room for an owner of this *kontrakan*, who commonly is also an owner of a *warung* where *starling*s buy their coffee, snacks, and cigarettes to sell. *Starling*s call these owners "*bos*" (like a "boss" in English). In *Kampung Abdul Muis*, there are a few of these owners, and we manage to interview two of them. One of them states that *starling*s usually buy their supplies from these owners. But according to him, most of "the boys" in the *kampung*, get their supplies first, and then they pay later. This system is commonly called *nge-bon*.

I do not expect to see Rahmat, a *starling* that we have previously interviewed in Menteng, in this *kampung*. We sat down and talked to him. He is just sitting together with other people in front of a *kontrakan* building. This building looks like it is not permanent—instead, I notice bamboo and wood are used as kind of like supporting structures, and it was quite clear that the building has been "extended" upwards thanks to the use of these materials. "One room can be filled with three people, and this is a two to three-level housing with forty rooms in total. There are people who live with their family, but a lot of single men as well," according to Rahmat and his fellow *starling*s sitting there.

Family members generally help *starling*s in preparing the supplies before they go to work early in the morning. For those with wives and children, their family members usually help with packaging the snacks, refilling hot water, putting ice cubes in the container, and so on. Although coming from different villages in Madura, the fact that they share the same *kontrakan* also makes mutual help possible. As also argued by the owner of the bike workshop, "There's many of us, but we just *ngumpul-ngumpul* (hang out) together."

Although it might seem that there is a "more than family" relationship existing in *the kampung*, there is still some anonymity. Even the owner of a bicycle workshop, who was also a *kontrakan* owner, despite what he said before, claimed that he never really knew who stayed in his housing. "My *anak buah* (personal assistant) takes care of it." He met them once usually when they first moved to the *kontrakan*, but he said that he was never really close with his tenants.

However, he has a curious story. He tells us about how he became a *kontrakan* and a bike workshop owner. When he first arrived in Jakarta in 2003, he worked as a traveling snack vendor (*pengasong keliling*). He then went back to Madura for a while, and he came to Jakarta again bringing a bicycle. In 2008, he "pretended" to sell coffee, just to approach some security guards working in a bank. He finally got a job as a security guard in this local bank. Then, he thought that he wanted to be independent, and familiar thinking occurred, "I did not want to work for other people". He resigned from his job, and moved between jobs (a parking attendant, a food vendor, a taxi driver, and so on). After having enough money, he began looking for a place to buy, and he found housing in the *kampung* to be rented to fellow Maduranese people.

His bicycle workshop, the only one in the *kampung*, has been operating for two years. It is a place for *starling*s to go and repair their bikes, to consult about various problems occurring on their bikes. Previously, *starling*s from this neighborhood had to go to another area if they wanted to repair their bikes. A mechanic tells us about how he learned to do bike modification by himself, "Now I already understand what this [a rack] is for, how to measure it so the *thermos* (hot water container) could fit, and so on." Apart from offering bike repair and modifications, want-to-be *starling*s can also come to this place to buy secondhand bikes. However, they actually do not have these bikes at the workshop. Instead, when a person wants to get a bike, they will contact a dealer in another part of Jakarta that specializes in procuring this kind of bike.

Not only this bike workshop, but along with a bunch of shops providing coffee, cigarettes, snacks, and instant noodle cups, there are also ice shops in which *starling*s could get ice cubes. When we came on that Friday morning, the place was bustling. So many vendors were arranging their bikes, some were picking ice, and others were just pedaling away on their way to work, avoiding the holes and puddles.

4.2.3. On the move: routes, preferred spots, and working schedule

For *starling*s, regular vending spots vary, and this is mostly related to whether the place already has a few other *starling*s, or if there is already a friend or a family member selling there. For Rahmat, for example, other than Menteng and Bundaran HI, he also sometimes goes to Pancoran in South Jakarta, Setiabudi, as well as Rasuna Said. When there are "too many *starling*s", he decides to move to another area. A surge of potential customers also attracts many kinds of vendors, as told by Tri, "I usually stay in Thamrin Residence, but since it gets busy here [in Dukuh Atas], I have been here for three months." Indeed, in the unique case of Dukuh Atas, as will be elaborated in the next

subchapter, many *starling*s who have never been there before decided to vend in the area due to the crowd of Citayam Fashion Week. Among the three places, Bundaran HI, Dukuh Atas, and Menteng, Mahmud says that Menteng is less preferable. *Starling*s who usually sell in other areas close to Menteng usually go there to find *penglaris* (customers/sales that are believed to attract more sales). Especially, they notice that since COVID-19, the place has been *sepi* (quiet), with only a few customers.

Most *starling*s prefer to leave in the morning, and only a few choose to go out slightly late in the day. "I usually start from dawn (*subuh*) [and work] until 8 pm. I don't usually sell until late at night, especially if I already run out of water in the *thermos*, then I just go home." Indeed, this is a very specific factor as to how *starling*s decide that it is time to go home, other than just feeling tired. Rifa, another *starling* we met in Menteng, says that he usually starts selling from 5.30 in the morning, "If I'm on fire (*lagi semangat*), I sell until 8 pm, but I usually stop at 7 pm." *Starling*s expressed that having flexibility about when and where to go, and what time to go home, is the point of becoming a *starling*. As said by Tri, "I have no schedule, this is Jakarta! (*namanya juga Jakarta!*) Hahaha. Jakarta is free, right? What is not free is Satpol PP."

The participants claim there is no rule about choosing where to sell regularly among *starling*s. There is no agreement between them in deciding who goes where. Other *starling*s claim that they just do not want too many *starling*s around, seeing them as competitors. As Solihin said, "…if there are already people selling there, it is kind of not allowed for us to be there." Younger *starling*s, especially those just who got into the business, usually "respect" older and seasoned vendors. This makes them look for other spots or just cycle around, rather than staying in one place for a long period of time. Anton, when he was asked about why he did not go to Dukuh Atas to follow other *starling*s due to the crowd of Citayam Fashion Week, said,

> *…I don't follow other starlings to Dukuh Atas, because there are already so many of them there. It actually opens up opportunities for those of us who want to go around (not stay in one place)… I decide on the route myself. If in two hours, for example, there is no one buying, then I move again.*

4.2.4. Between sharing and competing: relationship among *starling*s and with other street vendors

*Starling*s, especially those who share the same vending spot, usually know each other, either by making friends along the way or are members of the same family. The fact that many of them also live in the same *kampung* together also creates this sense of knowing each other. Bayu argues, "..we can call this one culture and one 'habitat', we live close to each other but we have different 'bosses'." Our observations also reveal that many *starling*s that are selling close to each other often interact with and help each other in preparing what the customers order. "We just have our own spots. But if there are two people [in the same spot], we don't take all the orders, we give one order to the other *starling*s," according to Alif, who has been a *starling* for twelve years. *Starling*s also often borrow each other's tools (such as an ice pick), or even supplies such as water coffee, or water.

It is also common for *starling*s to share the same space or vending area with other kinds of street vendors. During our observations, we notice vendors such as *bapao* (Chinese-Indonesian sweet buns) and *cilok* (tapioca-based snack from West Java) sellers. Food-selling activities are seen as opportunities to sell what these vendors might not have, which are various types of (instant) beverages, and this is where *starling*s come in. Mahmud, when he is interviewed in Bundaran HI,

also expresses the idea of *bagi-bagi rezeki* (roughly translated to "sharing fortune"), in the context of moving somewhere else when a place gets too crowded and he already had customers before.

However, *starling*s also cannot deny that there is competitiveness between them. Rahmat tells us a story,

> *I don't like to sell together with too many starlings in one place. Because once there was a fight over one [order of] glass of coffee between Maduranese (referring to* starlings*). I thought then why would we fight over one glass of coffee? Aren't we friends? Saudara (brothers)?*

Alif, despite expressing the camaraderie between *starling*s, claims that since he started selling in Bundaran HI twelve years ago, he has noticed that people have been setting up "posts" (*ngepos-pos*), and further added, "If it is not like this, then people will *berebutan* (compete) with each other." Meanwhile, Susan, who does not identify herself as a *starling* and had a negative sentiment towards *starling*s, said explicitly that they are her *saingan* (competitors) and that she does not really want to get to know them,

> *Yeah, there are many vendors here. In the past, it was not like this, there was only me and a batagor (a fish-based snack from West Java) seller. And then it's become so crowded with Madura-Madura ini ('these Maduranese', referring to starlings).*

During our observations and interviews, we notice that *starling*s, especially in Bundaran HI, have "*paguyuban*" stickers on their bike rack. In Indonesian, *paguyuban* means community, and we assume that these *starling*s are members of this community (or communities). However, we ask about what the sticker means, Saleh says, "I don't really get that either. I'm new here. I got it from someone who has been here for a while." Alif, who also has this sticker on his bike, even says, "There is no *paguyuban,* some people who hung out when buying coffee from me put that sticker." But Bayu, when interviewed in Dukuh Atas, says that he knew that there was a *paguyuban*, but did not want to join, because "they don't have any activity" and because he cannot "leave his customers" if he did something else. "If they (his customers) did not see me, they would buy any coffee even from other *starling*s," he said.

4.2.5. From *bos* to customers: the significance of other actors

Most *starling*s claim that they work independently. However, they still rely heavily on their *bos*. This actor is understood as someone who owns a *kontrakan* (housing) and/or a supplier of coffee and other instant beverages. If it's only a supplier, they also call this actor an *agen* (like "agent" in English). "So the system is we rent a room from them (*bos*) and buy supplies from them too," said Bayu. He implies that "reciprocating each other is inevitable" when talking about how usually *starling*s who rent housing from a *bos* usually get supplies from them too. When we assume that there is potentially some kind of *setoran* system (where vendors pay a certain amount of money from their profit to a middleman, but do not really pay for the supplies), it turns out that *starling*s get to keep all the profit, although they then spend the money they get to resupply from the same person. Mahmud says that he can spend around two hundred thousand rupiahs (around twelve euros) when he runs out of supplies. Anton tells us that when there were more and more people that became *starling*s, many suppliers also turned into middlemen who procure bicycles and *thermos* (hot water containers).

While the rest of *starling*s own their own bicycles, one *starling* we met in Bundaran HI, Saleh, claims that his bicycle is owned by his *bos*. When we interview him, we notice that he has some light snacks, packaged in small plastic bags, that are different from what other *starling*s have. He tells us that he acquired these snacks not from his *bos*, but from someone in Madura, "Because if you get them here, it is more expensive."

The dynamics of street vending activities also consist of the existence of customers. *Starling*s' buyers are generally male employees in their 20s or 30s working in various establishments, such as Plaza Indonesia and Grand Indonesia in Bundaran HI area. They usually buy coffee or other kinds of beverages and cigarettes from *starling*s, usually in the morning before going to work or in the afternoon during their break. Other than this group, there are also security guards, construction workers, and people who just happen to pass by and notice *starling*s. "*Satpam* (private security guards) in this residential area, also people who work in offices (*orang kantoran*) and construction workers (*orang proyek*)," said Rifa when describing the demography of customers in Menteng. In Dukuh Atas, especially during Citayam Fashion Week, buyers are mainly teenagers and young adults who were enjoying the crowd. Bayu, who is regularly staying and selling in Dukuh Atas, says that even his "loyal members" who work around Bundaran HI, usually come to him first in the morning,

> *Hotel employees and some workers from nearby offices. Cleaning staff (OB, stands for office boys), working in Grand Indonesia usually walk pass by this street in the morning and buy coffee from me. They have become my regular customers. Maybe we could call them… 'loyal members'? Haha. They usually have a coffee before going to work.*

4.2.6. "Just go around and come back": responding to on-site policing and surveillance

As demonstrated before, one factor deciding whether *starling*s can stay or not in a certain area is the existence or absence of Satpol PP (civil police) officers. It is also important to note that even if these officers are around, as told by Alif, "Some of them are strict, some are not." In Bundaran HI, *starling*s usually can stay and sell there during certain times of the day, typically in the late afternoon and past nine or ten in the evening. An exception can be made, however, when it is a rainy day. According to Alif, usually, Satpol PP officers are not on duty when this happens.

*Starling*s also perceive that, during the peak of Citayam Fashion Week, for some unknown reason the policing in Bundaran HI gets stricter, although the fashion week mostly happens in Dukuh Atas. "Satpol PP officers are [now] usually there until 12 [in the night]. It's been like that since that viral thing (referring to Citayam Fashion Week)," said Mahmud. He continues to share that before that phenomenon became well known, there was less Satpol PP, "Even if they came, it was only for one to two hours. Now, they are here from six already, until eleven in the night." Susan, who is a regular seller in Bundaran HI, however, still sees that Bundaran HI is safer than other places, "I have been here since the beginning. There, in Dukuh Atas, there are a lot of people, but here is safer. There, the Satpol PP are busy."

The perception that Bundaran HI is more dangerous is also shared by *starling*s we interview in Dukuh Atas and Menteng. "Different from Bundaran HI, there is a lot of Satpol PP there," according to Saidan, who is selling in Dukuh Atas. Before that, he says that it was "okay to sell at this spot", but *starling*s there cannot go to the main street, where most of the crowd of Citayam Fashion Week congregate. In Menteng, depending on where exactly *starling*s operate, surveillance

differs. According to Mahmud, in Sumenep Street, where we conduct most observations and interviews in Menteng, *starling*s are rarely told to move away, aside from the fact that there are fewer Satpol PP. This argument is also supported by Rifa, saying that, "It's relatively safe, no Satpol PP. However, Anton says that "Menteng is dangerous to be in, all over." This might refer to other spots or streets in Menteng.

Indeed, the perceived risk of getting disciplined by Satpol PP seems to always fluctuate. Riza and Tri, both interviewed in Dukuh Atas, argue that there have been changes in the "rules" applied by Satpol PP. "We used to be allowed to sell close to Sudirman train station, but now we are not allowed to do that," said Riza. Meanwhile, as already expressed by other *starling*s before, Tri shares that only certain spots in Dukuh Atas are safe for *starling*s to be in, such as on street corners. "Since there is a crowd every day [in Dukuh Atas], they (Satpol PP officers) decided to tighten the security."

Usually, what Satpol PP officers did is to tell these vendors to move away. But if they did not obey, it could escalate to confiscation of *starling*s' merchandise and even physical violence. Some *starling*s share with us their experiences of getting disciplined by Satpol PP. "I have never been caught by Satpol PP, but I have been told to move away. My friends say that even if they take your stuff it's useless to redeem it (*menebus*)," said Anton. Tri also tells us his story,

> *I had an encounter with Satpol PP once. They told me that I could not cross the street, but I forced it because it was raining quite hard. They told me to turn around [but] I refused. Then, they chased me, they took my* thermos *(hot water container) and I had to buy a new one. I did not get it back, because I knew it would be more difficult than just buying a new one.*

It seemed that taking *thermos* is the main tactic of Satpol PP when they have to confiscate something from *starling*s. Alif said, "They never took my bike, but once they took my *thermos*." As for Susan, who uses a pushcart to sell her products, she had to save the supplies, but she "let the cart go". She continued to tell us that he had to take care of some legal documents from RT/RW (neighbourhood level authorities, lower than subdistrict) to get her cart back.

Rahmat, interviewed in Menteng, shares his story of getting physically assaulted by a Satpol PP officer, which has made him hesitant to go back to the Sudirman area, including Bundaran HI,

> *I was kicked once by a Satpol PP, about a year ago. Since then, I don't want to go there (Sudirman) anymore. I actually just wanted to help a homeless person, I wanted to give them some bread. But I did not realize there was a Satpol PP officer. I was not even selling there. But luckily, none of my stuff was taken [by Satpol PP].*

One note from our observations revealed the tendency of Satpol PP to become violent, at least verbally, when trying to discipline *starling*s. That one evening, two Satpol PP officers went up to a starling that was eating under a tree in Bundaran HI area. One Satpol PP officer took the hot water container, and after some argument (during which none of his belongings were taken), the starling decided to leave. A second Satpol PP officer arrived at the unattended *starling*'s bicycle and took it to the spot where they parked their car. When I was already at home, I was informed by RRJ members who were also doing the observation that the Satpol PP officers eventually returned the bike to the *starling*s after some negotiation.

Against this surveillance, a few participants share how they usually respond. On the one hand, *starling*s can just be somewhere first before going to their regular spots. "I just go around first, and then I come back. If the Satpol PP is still there, I just wait somewhere close, playing on my cell phone," said Riza. Saleh also claims that he usually just cycles around while looking for customers, if the place he wants to stay at (in this case, Bundaran HI) is guarded by Satpol PP. Susan thinks that it is safer to just go home, "It's better like that, to go home first, and then in the evening I come back here again." On the other hand, *starling*s like Saleh, sometimes choose to be just *pasrah* (resigned), "Yeah, what can we do… Satpol PP, it's their role, so we can just obey. What can I do, what I do is just sell."

Although Satpol PP is perceived as the biggest challenge in conducting their businesses, some participants realize that they can form a positive relationship with the officers, especially those who are usually put on duty in their selling area. Bayu, who seems to be "friends" with Satpol PP officers in the area of Dukuh Atas, tells us how in the beginning he was also "chased by Satpol PP a few times". "They took my thermos, but did not take the supplies. But in the end, they supported me, [and] now we know each other, *hahaha*." Anton also explains to us, "If you already know them, they will tell you when they are going to be here, what time, and so on. I know one or two Satpol PP myself."

4.2.7. On changes and hopes for the future

There are a few topics surrounding the perceived changes that the participants have felt during their journeys of being *starling*s. The first one is regarding changes in the level of surveillance, particularly what they think is allowed and not allowed to do. Bayu shared his aspirations,

> "I want it to be like the old days, to work without concern and be safe. I even used to work every Sunday too, selling coffee in car free day (CFD). It was so nice. But now we are not allowed to sell on the main boulevard anymore. But the situation in the past is what we are waiting for. I hope that something like this ends soon. Now there is surveillance everywhere. It's a pity to those who cycle around, the younger ones. You know it yourself, even though they are young, they are already married, so they have a family to feed."

In Dukuh Atas, Citayam Fashion Week has opened up opportunities for *starling*s, especially those who have been regularly selling in the area, to earn more money. However, exactly because of the crowd and the increase in the number of vendors that follow, surveillance has also been tightened and new rules are imposed. This, in turn, forces *starling*s to adapt to how they approach their buyers. Tri claims that it was him that created the new way of selling beverages, by making them ready to drink and offering them to people enjoying the Citayam Fashion Week crowd. He is able to predict some beverages that are the most sought after, typically cold coffee and instant "juice", and prepares these drinks in plastic cups, put them on a tray, then leaves his bicycle to go to the main street, the epicenter of Citayam Fashion Week, and offers these beverages to people there. "Now, my fellow *starling*s are copying my system, *haha*." But Riza says that this system is ineffective and "tiring", and he prefers to just be able to sell on the main street, like what he usually did "in the past". During the time when we conduct the interviews, there has been news circulating among the vendors in Dukuh Atas that the municipality will ban the fashion week, and this has created concerns among *starling*s, such as Bayu. "I've heard that there is a plan to move the fashion week. I heard it from people around here, from the government of Jakarta… it will make our income decrease too."

When asked about their hopes for their own futures, Rahmat and Tri share the same vision for improving their life quality in Madura, in their respective hometown. They talk about renovating their own house and building a new one for their parents. For Tri specifically, he sees that it will be impossible to continue living in Jakarta. He says that it is *ribet* (difficult). Indeed, for *starling*s they still perceive this job and living in Jakarta as a temporary measure considering the difficulties they face at home (in Madura). They even still try to afford going home every *lebaran* or Idul Fitri, the biggest holiday and Islamic celebration every year, before coming back to Jakarta to resume their work.

Some of the themes elaborated on in this section have touched on the spatiotemporal aspect of *starling*s' everyday practice. However, it is still unclear how these practices are manifested materially. The following section concerns just this. It includes the way *starling*s occupy the urban space and how their interactions with other actors, including customers, fellow *starling*s, and other vendors, as well as state authorities, can be seen in three different localities in Central Jakarta.

4.3. Staying and moving in Central Jakarta.

To describe the spatiotemporality of *starling*s and their vending practices, several key themes will be laid out following each area. They consist of the number of *starling*s, where exactly and how they utilize public infrastructures, as well as their interaction with customers and other actors (including mostly Satpol PP officers). It is important to note that despite several observations in the same place, the description here is generalized and the focus is on the pattern that emerges. I consider using maps to help illustrate the micro-geography of *starling*s (and their movement), customers, and Satpol PP officers.

4.3.1. Bundaran HI

The number of *starling*s who operate in this area varies between three to seven at one time, depending on whether it is a weekday or weekend, as well as the time of the day. Other types of street vendors, usually around one or two, can also be seen. An observation conducted from 16.00 to 19.00 reveals a fluctuation in the number of *starling*s, especially when Satpol PP officers arrive around 17.00 to 18.00: *starling*s will retreat away from *Monumen Selamat Datang* (Welcome Monument) towards the west entrances of both shopping malls. The arrival of Satpol PP is always a few minutes before the passing of government-owned cars with police forerunners clearing the traffic ahead. While some *starling*s move towards the west entrances of shopping malls, a few others usually choose to move across the monument towards Thamrin Police Station where they have a break and practice the dusk Islamic prayer in the nearby mosque. They do this before coming back to their regular spots in Bundaran HI or moving elsewhere. This return is marked by the departure of Satpol PP officers from the area, usually later, around 21.00.
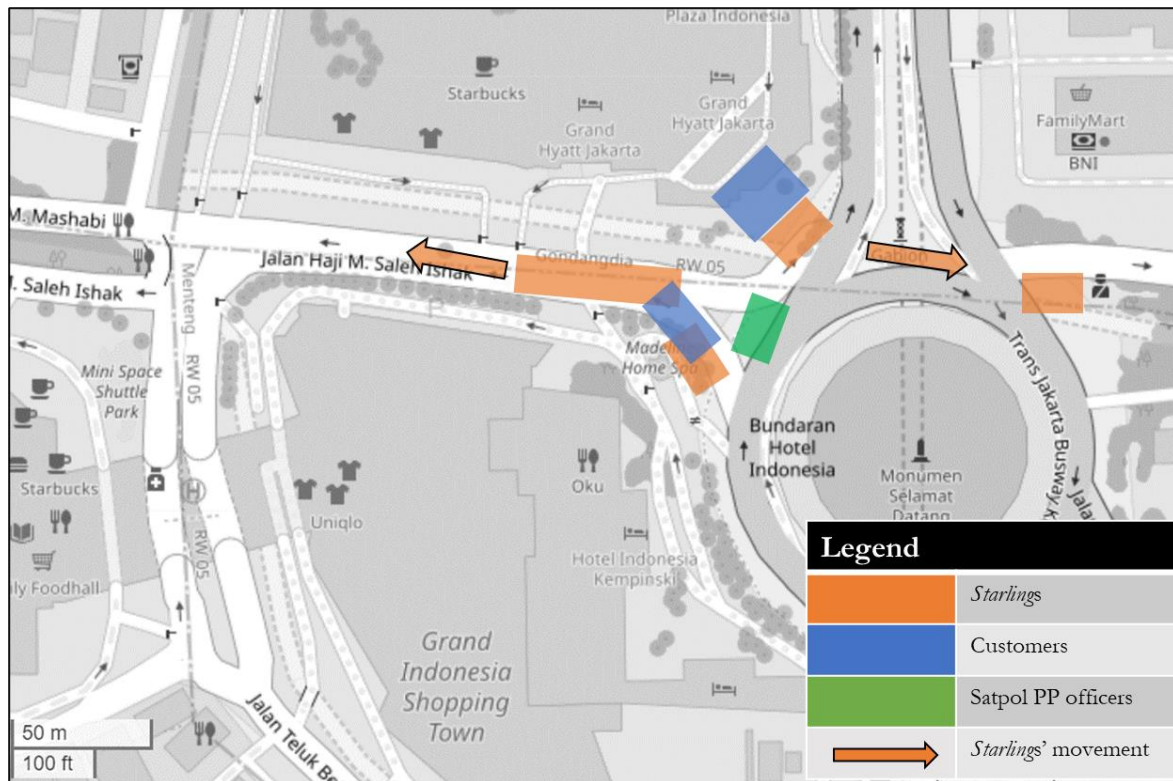
Figure 5. Common positions of starlings, customers, and Satpol PP officers. Map by author, 2023. Basemap retrieved from openstreetmap.org, 2023.

When selling, most street vendors stay and then leave their bikes on the concrete street median between the two shopping malls (see Figure 6). This proximity allows them to interact with each other and potentially share customers' orders, as well as to borrow others' tools and resources (as demonstrated by a *starling* who borrows another *starling*'s ice pick). Between the sidewalk and the street, one can notice traffic cones and ropes. These are used to limit online motorcycle and car taxis to pick up and drop off customers, as well as to limit street vending activities on the sidewalk. This is also potentially another reason why most *starling*s are clustered in the street median, instead on the sidewalk.

*Starling*s are also seen constantly moving, walking towards where people usually sit down in front of Plaza Indonesia, facing the monument. They will come close to where people are sitting to covertly offer coffee, other kinds of beverages, as well as cigarettes. When customers want something, *starling*s will go back to their bikes and prepare the drink before taking them back to the customers. At one instance, during a late afternoon on a weekday, other *starling*s are seen cycling through the area, riding their bicycles on the sidewalk, and ringing their bells to signal that they are selling. This is right before a few security guards come to tell them that they are not allowed to be on the sidewalk. In an observation conducted in an early evening on a weekday, some *starling*s are seen staying on the sidewalk of Grand Indonesia Mall, facing the monument, sheltering under the trees, and resting. During this time, without Satpol PP in sight, security guards also do not intervene with *starling*s' activities, despite occupying the sidewalk.

Figure 6. Starlings staying close to concrete median separating the street in Bundaran HI. Photograph by author, 2022.

In this way, most of the interactions between vendors and customers we observed are transactional. At one point, I am trying to buy some coffee directly from a *starling* that is selling at the street median, but he tells me to go back to where I was sitting, at the small plaza. It strikes me as he is being very vigilant about not inviting buyers to come directly to him, and we assume that it is because he is worried that it might create an unwanted crowd that can put him in a tough situation with Satpol PP officers, perhaps telling him to move away.

Figure 7. Potential customers of starlings in front of Plaza Indonesia. Photograph by author, 2022.

People who are sitting at the plaza (see Figure 7) utilize small trees to shelter themselves from the sun. They use the different levels of the surface as places for sitting, leaning against the concrete blocks, or sitting just on the ground. Sometimes, both Satpol PP and security guards (working for the shopping malls) will tell them to move away. Security guards are often seen walking back and forth between Plaza Indonesia's entrance and the place where mall employees usually have their break. In some instances, we see that nearby security guards also buy coffee from *starling*s. At one point, in an observation conducted late afternoon on July 21st, we see a couple of military police (Polisi Militer, PM) officers sitting, smoking, and drinking coffee from *starling* outside of Plaza Indonesia. In this same observation, I and a few other people who are sitting in front of the shopping mall are told to move away, because the security guards are trying to take pictures showing that the area is clear. After that, we are allowed to sit down again.

Figure 8. Satpol PP officers and their truck, standing by in Bundaran HI area in the evening. Photograph by author, 2022.

Approaching night time, usually, Satpol PP officers will stand and just oversee to ensure that no vendors are selling (see Figure 8). When these officers are around, often they will just stand in the corner of the street. A few times, we also notice that once there is no street vendor in the area, one of the officers will take pictures to show that the area is sterile from street vendors, including *starling*s.

4.3.2. Dukuh Atas

One of the noticeable differences between the practice of *starling*s in Bundaran HI and Dukuh Atas is the ones in the latter are more stationary, and not as mobile (albeit moving within the same area) as those who regularly stay in Bundaran HI. This is because it is relatively safer for them to park their bicycles on the street corners, although they are not allowed to sell on the main street (Jalan Tanjung Karang), except, according to one starling, around midnight time. There are also more of them. At one point during an observation conducted on June 23rd in the afternoon, there are twelve *starling*s lined up on the street corner between Jalan Sungai Gerong and Jalan Tanjung Karang. This high number of *starling*s can be correlated with the phenomenon of Citayam Fashion Week (see the vertical blue line across Jalan Tanjung Karang in Figure 9, showing the occupancy of people attending the event almost every night, but especially more crowded on weekend evenings). This kind of situation of feeling safer also creates scenes where *starlings* can be seen interacting and laughing with each other, as well as sharing customers' orders together. Not only with fellow *starling*s, but these vendors share the space with more varied kinds of other vendors.

Figure 9. Common positions of starlings, customers, and Satpol PP officers in Dukuh Atas. Map by author, 2023. Basemap retrieved from openstreetmap.org, 2023.

Apart from opening up more opportunities for *starling*s to sell in Dukuh Atas, the combination of the ban to sell on the main street and the crowd of Citayam Fashion Week have forced *starling*s to modify the way they market, sell, and deliver their beverages. As demonstrated in the previous subchapter, *starling*s will make ready-to-drink beverages instead of taking orders from their customers ahead of preparing the beverages. They will offer these beverages by walking towards the crowd, carrying the drinks (usually coffee and "instant" juices) on a tray. This is done especially by *starling*s selling in Jalan Sungai Gerong or Jalan Plaju (see Figure 9), because customers tended to not go there to shop for food or beverages.

Figure 10. A starling and another vendor selling in one of the street corners in Dukuh Atas. Photograph by author, 2022.

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The same thing that happened in Bundaran HI about me getting told to move away while sitting also happens in Dukuh Atas when I was conducting an observation on August 1st. I was told by a security guard of an office building where I was sitting in front that it was *jam pulang kantor* (time of the day when office employees leave). I was assuming that he was trying to avoid any trouble from his employer because people were sitting in front of the building.

Figure 11. Satpol PP officers standing by under the tents in Dukuh Atas. Photograph by author, 2022.

Meanwhile, Satpol PP activities in this area, at least during the observations, are less hostile toward *starling*s. They are seen mostly just sitting under the tents set up close to each street corner. But here, their job is not only to make sure that street vendors do not sell on the main street but to keep things in order during Citayam Fashion Week. In a few instances, the Satpol PP is joined by government representatives from the subdistrict or district who are there to maintain order and remind people to keep the area clean.

Figure 12. Potential customers of starlings in a street corner in Dukuh Atas. Photograph by author, 2022.

4.3.3. Menteng (Jalan Sumenep)

Compared with Dukuh Atas and Bundaran HI, the Menteng area has fewer *starling*s, especially in Jalan Sumenep. Except for clusters of two to three *starling*s in Sumenep Promenade and Taman Lawang (see Figure 13), *starling*s mostly just pass through the street, both from Bundaran HI (Sudirman) area (northwest) and Jalan HOS. Cokroaminoto (southeast). They cycle through this street while ringing their bells to tell their regular customers that they are around. Observations are mostly conducted in a stationary manner in Sumenep Promenade before walking towards Taman Lawang. In Sumenep Promenade, *starling*s usually share the space with other vendors, including the regular *bapao* seller. Much less crowded, then, for example, the small square in front of Plaza Indonesia in Bundaran HI, Sumenep Promenade is mostly used for people to sit and as a pickup point for employees working across the Sudirman street.

Figure 13. Common locations of starlings and customers in Menteng (Jalan Sumenep). Map by author, 2023. Basemap retrieved from openstreetmap.org, 2023.

The buildings along Jalan Sumenep are mostly single, landed houses (see Figure 16) with a terrace and a garage in each house. There are a few establishments as well, such as a coffee shop and a restaurant, making the land use in the street not only exclusively for residential purposes but also commercial. Customers of *starling*s in this area, other than in Sumenep Promenade, are private security guards working the houses and establishments, as well as people hanging out in the park along the street. We also notice a couple of times that only motorcycle drivers buy coffee from *starling*s staying in the area.

Figure 14. A starling and a bapao seller in Sumenep Promenade. Photograph by author, 2022.

Indeed, as shown on the map (Figure 13), during a few observations conducted in this area, there is no Satpol PP in sight. The policing in this area is mostly conducted by security guards themselves and traffic cones lined with a rope (see Figure 16) along Jalan Sumenep to prevent cars and motorcycles from parking on the street, as well as to limit street vending activities. However,

*starling*s are still able to stop if there is a customer who wants to buy something from them. I tried this myself during an observation conducted on August 2ⁿᵈ in the late afternoon (see Figure 15).

Figure 15. A starling in Jalan Sumenep. Photograph by author, 2022.

*Starling*s also utilize Taman Lawang and a mosque nearby the park to rest. This place is tucked in the side street and distanced from commercial and business activities. During an observation on August 2ⁿᵈ, we notice more than five *starling* bicycles without their owners or anyone else watching, as most probably they are in the mosque practicing early evening prayer.
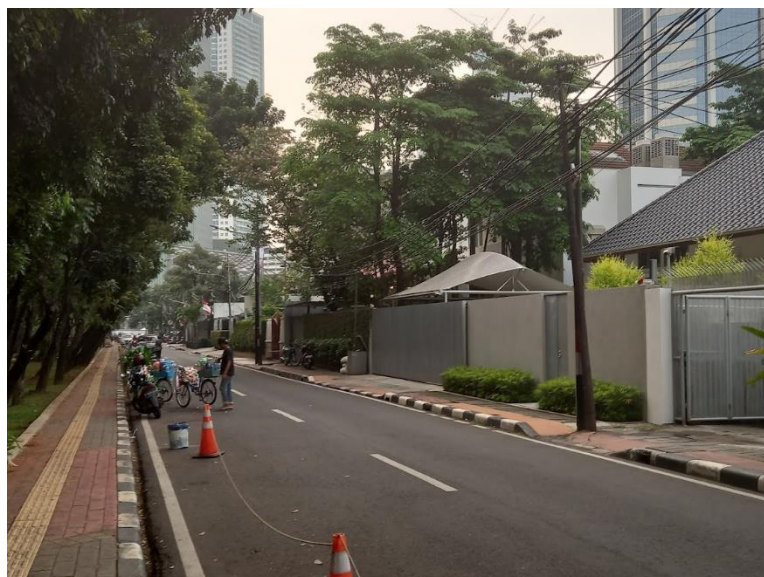

Figure 16. The houses and the street in Jalan Sumenep with a starling in the background. Photograph by author, 2022.

V. Discussion.

The findings presented in the previous chapter have detailed a multifaceted phenomenon of informality, both framed by the national and regional government as well as by the practices of *starling*s themselves, with then a particular focus on the spatiotemporality in three different areas in Central Jakarta. Through a comprehensive analysis of the data collected, several key patterns and dynamics have emerged, illuminating the intricate relationship between these dimensions. Building upon these findings, in this chapter, I delve deeper into the implications of informality from above and below, as well as the spatiotemporal practices of mobile street vendors.

5.1. Informality from above in Indonesia and Jakarta.

This subchapter concerns crucial aspects derived from various government regulations elaborated in the previous chapter. Two main drivers of street vending governance will be put under scrutiny: first, the idea of "people's economy" which leads to empowerment strategies that mainly is used as a narrative at the national level; and second, "city order" which results in (spatial) management programs that work mostly in the local level. Then, a narrowed-down perspective on how the state perceives and intervenes in *starling*s' vending practices will be elaborated, before revisiting the literature on the top-down informality approach.

5.1.1. The notion of "people's economy"

The idea of people's economy (*ekonomi kerakyatan*) was first coined by Mohammad Hatta, the first vice president of Indonesia. It was understood as a "resistance and criticism against the domination of liberal concepts" (Pohan et al., 2019, p. 22). Hatta assessed that both capitalism and socialism at that time failed (and will fail) to bring about prosperity for the masses, especially in Indonesia. He envisioned an economy that "sides with the poor people (*rakyat kecil*)". This economic vision was then embodied in the National Constitution of 1945 in Article 33:

> …*an economic system aimed at realizing people's sovereignty in the economic field with three basic principles: the economy is structured as a joint venture based on the principle of kinship; production branches which are important for the state and affect the life of the people at large are controlled by the state; and earth, water, and all the wealth contained therein shall be controlled by the state and used for the greatest prosperity of the people.* (Baswir, 2010, p. 1)

In the context of micro, small, and medium enterprises (MSMEs), people's economy is often used as an overarching term to describe the economy of these enterprises and includes both small businesses and (informal) street vendors. Pohan et al. (2019) argue that MSMEs were "saviors" of the Indonesian national economy during episodes of economic crises, particularly from 1997 to 1999, "MSMEs provide jobs for workers in the midst of large corporate actions that were forced to lay off their workers" (p. 22). Writing in the context of street vending management in the city of Solo, Central Java, Wiyono (2009) proposes that proper management and empowerment of street vendors can in turn "develop people's economy" (p. 24) itself.

With the wave of neoliberalism experienced in full working after the crisis of 2008 in Indonesia (albeit many other scholars have argued that it began in the late 1980s, for example, see Bunnell & Miller, 2011), the idea of people's economy has been promoted as an alternative to how the economy works nowadays, together with the rising sentiment of anti-neoliberalism. As described by Rosser (2013), within the "radical populist perspective" of the causes of human rights violations in Indonesia, people's economy has come forward as a "model of development" that prioritizes citizens' socio-economic rights, as recommended by many economic scholars. However, in reality, this idea has only been mobilized mainly as a "populist lip service" by political contenders (Bunnell & Miller, 2011), and perhaps by the current government as seen from the regulations concerning street vending.

As elaborated in the previous chapter, empowerment (*pemberdayaan*) strategies stated in the guidelines published by the Ministry of Home Affairs include improving business capacity, facilitating capital access, facilitating the assistance of trading means, institutional strengthening, facilitating production capacity improvement, developing network and promotion, and providing technical assistance. These strategies were then adopted by the provincial government of Jakarta in their Governor's Regulation concerning street vending. They are deemed necessary to be implemented to achieve the vision of people's economy, one that gives street vendors "business certainty" (Wiyono, 2009, p. 24).

One key condition for street vendors to benefit from these programs (which also applies to management or *penataan*) is to be registered street vendors. To achieve this, street vendors at least must possess an identity card that states that they reside in Jakarta. In a study concerning the economic resilience of street vendors during COVID-19, it was revealed that there was still a huge proportion of migrants coming from other regions in Indonesia, mainly from Java and Sumatera Island that still did not have Jakartan identity cards (Nurbaiti et al., 2023). Many migrants in Jakarta have maintained strong ties with their places of origin and have not fully adopted the city as their permanent residence. Instead, they have chosen to keep their families in their hometowns, where they establish homes and businesses, and as a result, it is quite common for migrants in Jakarta to consider returning to these places as their "retirement destination" (Martinez & Masron, 2020). Moreover, the application of the retribution system might also put more burden on street vendors and affect their decision to register.

5.1.2. Maintaining city's order

So far, it can be understood that an economic ideology that in turn has shaped street vending governance depends on not only internal socio-political dynamics but external power such as the global economy and episodes of crisis it has brought with it. Within the context of Jakarta, it is then crucial to also see how the idea of "city's order" has been perceived and changed by each political regime, as this is also another significant driver in shaping the landscape of street vending in the city. This idea has guided the spatial dimension of street vending, the so-called "management" (*penataan*), as stated in the national and regional regulations.

The paradigms of urban spatial planning and maintaining city order in Jakarta have undergone significant changes since the colonial era. In the colonial period, Jakarta, then known as Batavia, was planned and developed primarily to serve the interests of the Dutch colonial administration. The city was segregated along racial and social lines, with distinct areas for Europeans, Chinese,

and indigenous populations. When VOC (*Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*) or the Dutch East India Company went bankrupt at the end of the eighteenth century, the Dutch moved the city to the South, in an area called Weltevreden. Here, as the quest to establish and display power continued, two major patterns were manifested: first, the "leaps and bounds" way of development by leaving behind decaying areas, and second, the separation between built and unbuilt areas which in fact was the segregation between European and indigenous land ownership (Kusno, 2015). The latter, particularly, has been argued as the embryo of the formal-informal duality (Leaf, 1993 in Kusno, 2015). During this period as well, street vendors were framed as a form of "urban radicalism", and a law was passsed to prevent the growth of vendors, especially by keeping them in markets and to prevent their activities in certain hours (Gibbings, 2016).

After the independence, Jakarta continued to be a site where two important national leaders led the modification of the overall urban makeup of the city. During Soekarno (the first president) era from 1950 to 1965, Jakarta was established as the "portal of the country, a stage upon which Western and Eastern traditions merge" (Martinez & Masron, 2020). Soekarno built statues, monuments, boulevards, a big mosque, and so on to symbolically state the success of Indonesia in releasing itself from the shackle of colonialism. The efforts to control street vendors continued, but a significant change happened after Soeharto come to power. This era of New Order from 1965 to 1998 was marked, especially in Jakarta, by the resume of division between the proper and improper, the formal and the informal. Crackdowns were happening all over the city, especially to eliminate activities of the "dangerous classes" from the street, including vendors (Kusno, 2015):

> *These state-invented categories have produced a profoundly fragmented civil society that is materialized in the order of space in Jakarta. The city is marked by a division between the street and the flyovers, the* kampung *and the new town associated with a gated neighborhood, and often (though not exclusively) the Chinese; the vendors and the shopping malls; the motorbike and the car.* (p. 58)

Following mass demonstrations and riots taking place all over the city, Soeharto was overthrown from the presidency. He left a significant mark in Jakarta: Soekarno's legacy was continued with Soeharto spearheading the development of broad avenues, highways, electric railway lines, highrise buildings, and golf courses. The city became "an urban environment dominated by the upper classes" (Martinez & Masron, 2020, p.3). As elaborated in the previous section, post-1998 to the year 2000 saw laid-off workers going to the street, working as informal vendors. Vendors were unprecedentedly tolerated, and the government believed that their option was limited in terms of how to save the economy (Gibbings, 2016).

Until recent years, however, street vendors have been subjected to, not only planning and street vending regulations but also gentrification led by the development of private sectors, especially in the central area (see Martinez & Masron, 2020). On the one hand, a significant number of vendors as well as *kampung* residents of Jakarta, have invited regional political candidates to make campaign promises about "protecting" the urban marginal groups, such as what happened in the 2017 regional election (see LBH Jakarta, 2018). All candidates at that time promised that they would regulate and empower street vendors, providing legal certainty, and approaching the issue more humanely. Before this election, then-governor Sutiyoso was notorious for displacing tens of thousands of *kampung* dwellers and street vendors, narrowing sidewalks, and fencing public spaces (Wilson, 2010). On the other hand, the increasing understanding of the importance of the informal sector could be seen from planners and politicians, especially after the economic crisis of 2008

(Bunnell & Miller, 2011). The implication of these different paradigms now is apparent in street vending regulations, as elaborated in the previous chapter. It is also visible on-street policing that continues to be utilized as a way to maintain the city's order strategically. The role of Satpol PP as the executors of this policing and its impact on *starling*s will be scrutinized in the following section.

5.1.3. How the state sees *starling*s

By looking at the definition of street vendors (PKL) and their categorizations both stated in the ministerial guidelines and regional regulations, it is safe to assume that the municipality recognizes *starling*s as street vendors and that they are subject to this regulation. *Starling*s can be included as street vendors that have unmotorized "movable" vending structures, and the fact that they sell beverages and snacks puts them in the group of culinary in terms of the "business field". Furthermore, *starling*s possess the rights to be involved in registration, to get access to a vending location, to be beneficiaries of various empowerment strategies, and so on. On the other hand, they are required to follow all these rules, to be aware of their "responsibilities", especially to—perhaps—unpredictable changes in the designation of certain places.

The question remains, however, as to what strategies target specifically mobile street vendors such as *starling*s and how these strategies have been implemented. Clearly, this study does not concern the implementation and evaluation of these strategies. As already revealed in more detail in the previous section, this study has chosen to inquire a step further, seeing state rationalities beyond regulations, and instead has investigated the drivers behind them. Together with the evolution of Indonesia's economic orientation and the city's sentiment toward street vendors, *starling*s have increased in number, and they have spread to the nooks and crannies of the city. Although the state might believe that they are still "actors of people's economy"—at least from what the regulations inform us—that perform informal street vending, the idea of the city's order still outweighs intervention strategies that might otherwise have a huge potential of improving *starling*s' lives.

Moreover, although the municipality has designated places or areas that are forbidden for vending activities, *starling*s still can encroach into these areas to sustain their livelihoods—or in Bayu's (one of the *starling*s we interviewed) words, to not "leave his customers". Like what was demonstrated starkly in Bundaran HI, *starling*s continued to be the victims of authorities' violent treatments: getting "chased", "kicked", and yelled at, as well as having their important resources for selling taken from them. Although it might seem that this kind of arrangement (*penataan*) intervention is justified by state regulations (Satpol PP is one of the stakeholders in "supervising" vending activities), the unpredictability of it has invited further questions about *actually* why, how, where Satpol PP officers are deployed. This study has assumed the national and/or regional (symbolic) importance of places like Bundaran HI, as well as how this significance increases temporarily (in the case of *jam pulang kantor*, the time when government officials leave their offices to go home), thus making it more necessary for the place to be clear from street vendors, including *starling*s. This finding echoes the argument made by Ian Douglas Wilson (2010), that Satpol PP's enforcement is often "sporadic and usually conducted without prior negotiation" (p. 120).

Furthermore, Satpol PP officers, as the executors of this intervention, have had a horrible track record, especially in terms of their lack of recognition for upholding human rights principles. Consecutive reports published by Jakarta Legal Aid Institute (*Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Jakarta*) in

2017 and 2018 reported that most of the forced evictions that result in human rights violations were led in the field by Satpol PP force (LBH Jakarta, 2017, 2018). The common pattern of these evictions toward street vendors is "destruction and seizure of goods" which are oftentimes crucial for vendors to continue their businesses, and there is usually no compensation in any form, further depriving vendors of their right to work (LBH Jakarta, 2018). There has also been "significant evidence suggesting corrupt and collusive practices" conducted by Satpol PP, which led to a recommendation to disband the force altogether (Wilson, 2010, p. 120).

However, how do we make sense of the perceived "positive" relationship between Satpol PP and a few *starling*s, as testified by participants of this research? This issue is not black and white, and perhaps this finding could also serve as a gateway into investigating how this kind of relationship has evolved over time, and what are the factors surrounding it. While this partly depends on the agency of individual *starling* and Satpol PP officers (see "the tolerant atmosphere" in Recio et al., 2017), it is useful to see changes in the planning regime, especially in the city of Jakarta. Particularly, it is about how the coalition formed between different entities has affected the way in which enforcement bodies like Satpol PP operates, and how much deliberation is given to tolerate street vendors despite the strict regulation that applies.

Going back to the perspective of informality from above, in the case of street vending and *starling*s, the state has the capability to determine what is and is not informal (see Roy, 2005 in Bunnell & Harris, 2012) through, first, formulating and implementing street vending regulations. Particularly, it does so by defining and further categorizing different types of street vendors. While regional or city municipality has more power and influence in operationalizing and applying regulations, the national government still gives directions and guidelines, as well as supervises the implementation. Second, it creates illegitimacy by enforcing on-site policing to ban street vending activities. It can be said that even the latter has more significance than the first one, especially in how street vendors themselves perceive whether or not their activities are allowed to be conducted. Both ways of informalizing street vending activities are strengthened by the degree to which certain areas are framed as having national or regional (temporal) importance.

Informal street vending studied in this research echoes the understanding of informality argued by Kooy (2014), that it is not "an emblem of the lack of modernization, or state (or private sector) failure, but is a function of the historically mediated, political, process of development" (p. 48). While this study has been unsuccessful in gaining a full understanding of the history of *starling*s and their practices, the history and changes of street vending governance approach, at least in Jakarta, has revealed that indeed, informality is "a discursive construction, but it has material effects in the types of practices it condones and/or denies" (p. 48). Of course, this argument emerged from a different case (water governance in Jakarta), but the idea of "governmentality" has proved to be useful in explaining how the informal economy is perceived and intervened by the state.

While *starling*s are recognized in the regulation, the degree to which the government really comprehends their practices invites the question of whether street vendors "exist partially outside the gaze of state authorities and city plans", which in turn creates "gray spaces" (Yiftachel, 2009, p. 89). Nevertheless, the multi-level street vending regulations have revealed that the planning process has been a "lynchpin" in the emergence of gray spaces:

Planning (or lack of) provides the authorities with a set of technologies with which they can legalize, criminalize, incorporate, or evict. Planning categories and mechanisms allow the loci of power to construct or destroy, whiten, or blacken urban development and populations. (Yiftachel, 2009, p. 96)

A more grounded approach to understanding the policy of street vending has been established by Recio et al. (2017) by mapping different "policy epistemologies". While street vending regulations in Indonesia and Jakarta might reflect an "accommodating environment" for street vendors (as seen in registration and relocation strategies), on-street policing of *starling*s' practices reveals both "tolerant" and "hostile" approaches. The coexistence of these different approaches signifies the importance of how the state perceives different forms of street vending, and, despite the acknowledgment of different ways of practicing, a "fetish about formality" that the state only fails to realize (see Kamete, 2013). In the end, this almost unpredictable, ambiguous treatment—a "double-edged move"—has perpetuated "permanent temporariness" (Yiftachel, 2009, p. 90), in which uncertainty looms, and in the case of *starling*s, to be constantly on the move and always being vigilant about the constant (re)adjustments "from above".

5.2. Informality from below.

Within this dimension, the findings that have emerged can be categorized into three different aspects: the factors pushing people to become *starling*s; the social infrastructure that supports *starling*s' operations; as well as factors surrounding when, where, and how they operate, how their relationships with different (informal) actors affect their decision or preference to do their businesses. Respectively, I will label these categories as *forces, infrastructure,* and *chances*. These categories should be seen as closely related to each other, and they constitute *starling*s' informality beyond economic and legal senses. They contribute to explaining *starling*s' practices with specific ways of being lived, understood, learned, and articulated that are resilient to economic and political upheavals (see Bunnell & Harris, 2012), including the restrictions imposed by municipal regulations and policing.

Regarding the *forces* surrounding the decision to become *starling*s, this study has revealed that many *starling*s used to work for other people, but then they despise "getting nagged" by their employers. Their self-awareness regarding the Maduranese trait of *keras* (tenacious) is partly responsible for this mindset that in turn drives them to look for other occupations. Related to this cultural acknowledgment, it is valuable to also consider the "moor ecology" (*ekologi tegalan*) in Madura that drives Maduranese to not be involved in agricultural activities in their villages, which then affects their migration to Jakarta and other metropolitan cities in Indonesia (Irfani, 2020). In this regard, seeing their family members or friends who are already *starling*s provides them with the idea of sustaining their livelihoods in a more independent and flexible way. They are also aware of the constantly high demand for easy, cheap, and accessible coffee that only certain groups of people can afford, and where these potential customers can be found.

Meanwhile, the coexistence of friends and family members (some are also *starling*s), as well as suppliers or *bos* (flat owners), ice cube parlors, and bike dealers and mechanics has helped to form *starling*s' social *infrastructure*, or "people as infrastructure" as coined by Abdoumaliq Simone (2004). It places a focus on inhabitants' economic cooperation who appear to be left out of and threatened by metropolitan life (Simone, 2004), and it is mostly made possible through interpersonal

connections (Malasan, 2019). While these relationships can be reflected in *starling*s' day-to-day operations in their regular selling spots (such as with fellow *starling*s and vendors, authorities, and customers), in this study, it was more pronounced in their *kampung*s, or residential neighborhoods. It is common for family members (usually wives and children) to help *starling*s in getting ready before they leave for work.

Despite this seemingly tight-knit, familial relationship between immediate actors, however, people such as suppliers or *bos* still treat their relations with *starling*s as transactional, with minimal effort of getting to know them personally. But this is also the essence of the notion of people as infrastructure, that there are "needs to generate concrete acts and contexts of social collaboration inscribed with multiple identities", with the implication of reforming the concept of belonging beyond the logic of group representation (Simone, 2004, p. 419). Migration origin or kinship is only one dimension that comprises this concept, and the ability to map and gain access to certain actors that allow oneself to conduct a business, including those who present themselves as seeming antagonists, is another key in operating this infrastructure.

In relation to this are *chances* that push away or pull *starling*s into certain areas of the city, which further affect their spatiotemporality in moving between or staying in these areas. The first layer of this aspect is the tendency of collaboration and competition between *starling*s and other vendors. It is imperative that this is not perceived as either-or, but that it is intersecting and changing. On the one hand, in terms of collaboration, this study has revealed that kinship and the understanding of "fairness" drives *starling*s to collaborate with similar vendors in the same area. This allows *starling*s to exchange information, tools, and supplies that can keep them working without having to go back to their *kampung/kontrakan* or to find certain supplies somewhere else. On the other hand, this tendency could shift if *starling*s see other vendors as unfamiliar and that they might threaten their source of income. Furthermore, this can lead to a conflict that the *starling*s themselves will regret.

The second dimension of this aspect is how *starling*s perceive the existence or absence of state authorities, especially Satpol PP officers. It should be noted that, as our observations reveal, there are different levels of policing or surveillance at different times and locations which depend on the regulation and strategic importance of these areas. But *starling*s can establish a good relationship with private and state authorities, perceiving them as customers and/or acquaintances, even guardians. They do not actually worry (or feel the need to be knowledgeable) about areal regulations. However, some *starling*s still claim that they totally perceive Satpol PP officers as law enforcers who are unfair in treating them. These *starling*s have had horrible experiences in dealing with these civil police officers, which affect their vigilance and preference to stay on the move until these officers leave the area.
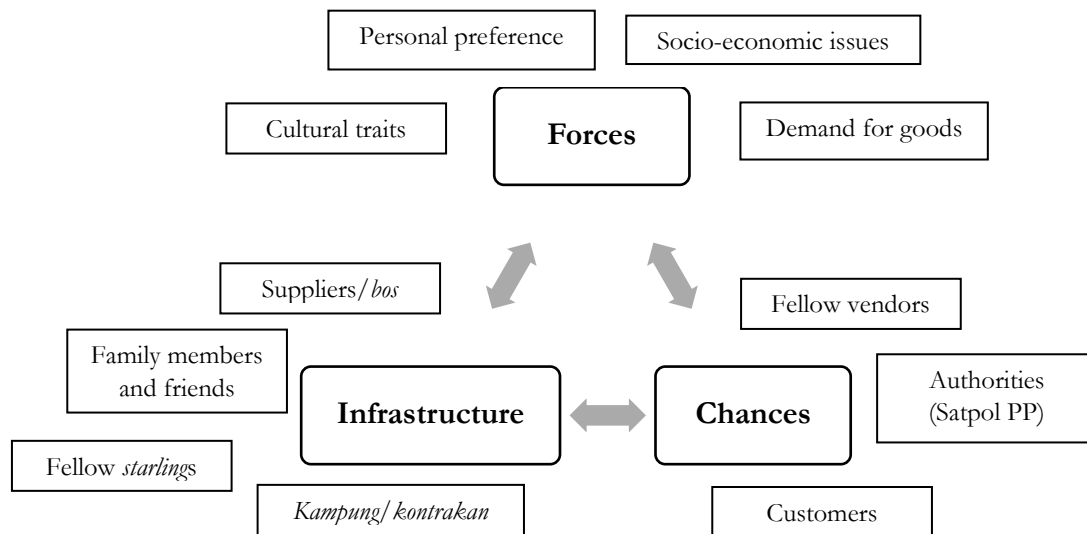
Personal preference

Socio-economic issues

Cultural traits

Forces

Demand for goods

Suppliers/*bos*

Fellow vendors

Family members and friends

Infrastructure ⟷ **Chances**

Authorities (Satpol PP)

Fellow *starling*s

Kampung/ kontrakan

Customers

Figure 17. The three dimensions constituting the practiced informality of starlings. Source: Author (2023).

It is then important to revisit the quote and the opening remark laid out in the introduction section regarding the potential of linking street vendors' everyday practices to (broader) political movements. Indeed, within the debate of informality, especially regarding the everyday practice of urbanites or subaltern urbanism, a lingering inquiry is whether the tactics used by the ordinary people possess political value, or are explicitly political to some degree. From our findings, despite acknowledging the existence of *paguyuban* (community) and the *kampung* (*starling*s' residence), *starling*s are not involved in any kind of social and political advocacy. Asef Bayat (2004), in his postulate about "the quiet encroachment of the ordinary" cites many examples from street vendors' practices (in the context of authoritarian cities of the Middle East) to prove that the ordinary people have the ability to be involved in a "silent, protracted, but pervasive movement" (para. 35). He argues that this notion is different than mere survival strategy or everyday resistance, especially in terms of how the actors do not handicap the poor but instead the state or the rich in their process of encroachment.

In the case of *starling*s, it is important to see the form and the working of their networks that enable them to conduct their businesses. From mutual help between family members and fellow *starling*s to providing the low-waged employees working in formal establishments cheap coffee, *starling*s have made sure that even if they could turn out to be competitive, there is still respect for the idea of "fairness" toward fellow vendors and trust of their own faith ("letting the God decide"). Instead, they focus on observing and utilizing public infrastructure and surveillance gaps that exist in certain areas to perform their businesses, which is a loss on the municipality's part considering how *starling*s actually operate by breaking their rules and free-riding on the provision of the state.

As opposed to the top-down planning and designation of certain areas based on the seemingly "objective" view of the planners, *starling*s have been able to constitute "people's spaces" (Perera, 2009) in areas where they congregate, including their *kampung* or residential neighborhoods. In elaborating on this concept through his research in Colombo, Sri Lanka, Nihal Perera (2009) emphasized the importance of looking at the process of "familiarizing space", an act of accommodating, adapting, redefining, and negotiating space to support people's daily lives. Indirectly undermining the status quo of activities that are permitted or not permitted based on the views of the municipality and the planners, these itinerant vendors perceive their chances to occupy a space with their own "culture and worldview" (Perera, 2009). They typically engage in indifference or reluctant acquiescence rather than explicitly opposing the system or the authority, while also attempting to enhance their standard of living within the setting through the use of everyday actions.

These "simple and seemingly mundane practices" which are the result of "necessity", eventually, are expected to turn into collective action if the "gains are threatened" (Bayat, 2004, para. 41). To the extent of the findings, we did not acquire any information regarding the crisis that *starling*s had faced which then triggered a collective protest or advocacy. However, when one *starling* faces confiscation or harassment by the authorities, fellow *starling*s or other vendors might engage in the process of on-site negotiation with the authorities. This responsive, spontaneous act reflects a sense of solidarity among the vendors and a benefit of their social infrastructure. It resembles the function of social infrastructure to mitigate the exclusion process resulting from uneven power dynamics (Malasan, 2019).

Indeed, while these practices are mostly quiet, individual, and gradual, episodic, bigger collective action that defends the gains of *starling*s as a whole is left to be seen. It is also very different, then, if we compare *starling*s' practices to what Gillespie (2016) describes as a "bold encroachment of the ordinary", in which the vendors in Accra, Ghana, were able to form coalitions and engage with consistent dialogues with the authorities. Despite this, the small-scale appropriation of public services by *starling*s has to be acknowledged as having the potential to produce political spaces that accommodate their own economic activities, while at the same time forming intricate alliances with actors across the political-economic spectrum (Benjamin, 2008; Simone, 2004).

5.3. Spatiotemporality of mobile street vending.

This subchapter addresses the third subquestion of the main inquiry regarding the interplay between the everyday practice of mobile street vendors and state strategies that manifest itself spatiotemporally in different urban spaces in Jakarta. This study has taken into account the material manifestations and practices, which are rarely addressed academically (Moatasim, 2019), related to *starling*s' street vending activities in these spaces. "Spatial technologies" (see Lindell, 2019) in the forms of regulation-based management (*penataan*) and on-street policing have been scrutinized in detail. Through mainly the latter, based on the observations, it has been proved that state apparatus to intervene in street vending practices was mostly deployed strategically (Roy, 2012). However, the space-producing practices of *starling*s themselves, including their entanglement with customers as well as private and state surveillance actors, have not been elaborated yet, especially in the three areas that were observed.

The main differences between these three areas are the number of *starling*s at a certain time, the methods of selling, the demography of customers, and the level of on-site surveillance. Between the three areas, *starling*s are most visible quantitively in Bundaran HI and Dukuh Atas. In Bundaran HI, *starling*s usually utilize the concrete median separating the two big shopping malls to park their bicycles and to be on standby, while sometimes leaving their merchandise and walking to where potential buyers are to offer coffee, other beverages, cigarettes, and snacks. A few *starling*s can also be seen cycling through the area, riding on the sidewalk while ringing their bells to signal their arrival (or return) to their regulars. This too is visible in Menteng (Jalan Sumenep), albeit there are fewer transactions happening. In Dukuh Atas, *starling*s have to adapt to the restriction of not selling on the main street by preparing ready-to-drink beverages while sometimes still taking orders from buyers as usual.

As for the type of customers, in Bundaran HI, they are usually employees working in the two shopping malls who are on their break from work. They are mostly male, although a few female customers could be seen as well. There are also people who happen to be in the small plaza in front of Plaza Indonesia to enjoy the public space, including passersby. In Dukuh Atas, especially during Citayam Fashion Week, we observe youngsters who attend the event to be the most common buyers. In Menteng, people who spend their free time in the two parks are usually those who buy coffee and other beverages from *starling*s. In the three areas, both private security guards and state authorities, including Satpol PP, although less likely, are potential customers as well.

This last group of customers also constitutes the degree of surveillance. In Bundaran HI, policing depends on what time of the day it is. From the morning until late afternoon, private security guards are mainly "in charge" of disciplining *starling*s, especially to prevent them from getting on the sidewalk next to both shopping malls. However, from late afternoon until around nine or ten in the evening, Satpol PP will supervise and make sure that no *starling*s and other vendors are visible, especially in the small plazas in front of both shopping malls as well as in the intersection close to the roundabout. In Dukuh Atas, Satpol PP officers can be observed being on standby throughout the day, sitting under their tents on street corners. This surveillance activity might be attributed to the Citayam Fashion Week and the number of people that usually flooded the streets, especially during (weekend) evenings. In Menteng (Jalan Sumenep), there is no surveillance or policing, except for private security guards working almost every day and night securing the houses and various establishments.

Areas	Number of *starling*s	Demography of customers	Interaction with customers	Policing
Bundaran HI	Fluctuating between daytime and nightime, around 7-10 *starling*s during peak hours (late afternoon)	Shopping mall employees, security guards	Offering products by going on-foot, transactions happen mostly off-bike	Fluctuating number but especially high during the evening, more hostile toward street vendors
Dukuh Atas	During Citayam Fashion week,	Citayam Fashion Week	Preparing and carrying drinks on a	High number of officers on-stand by

Areas	Number of *starling*s	Demography of customers	Interaction with customers	Policing
	there could be more than 15 *starling*s in total. But during less busy days, only three to four in total.	attendees, mostly teenagers and young adults	tray, walking toward the crowd to offer the drinks	and more constant throughout the day, but less hostile toward street vendors
Menteng (Jl. Sumenep)	Two to three *starling*s in Sumenep Promenade, the rest usually just cycle through the street, three to four *starling*s every 30 minutes	Park visitors, security guards	Standing by in a park or passing through and ringing their bells	No policing

Table 7. Characteristics of each observed area. Source: Author, 2023.

How do we make sense of these different characteristics and various drivers pushing street vendors to sell or not to sell in certain areas, as well as the technocratic and political motivations of the state to govern public spaces? What is the best way to think of, in the case of *starling*s, their spatiotemporal practices, and the spaces they produce? As a framework, the multi-scale perspective of the production of space (Lee, 2022) can contribute to understanding the state rationalities and technologies (informality from above) as "macro-scale" and the everyday practices of *starling*s and related actors (informality from below) as "micro-scale". In this regard, the study recognizes the role of state agencies in intervening in the production of space through street vending practices, as argued by Streule et al. (2020) in proposing the concept of "popular urbanization": while there is a type of urbanization that is ordinary and acted by everyday actors, there are still other processes of urbanization that happen simultaneously, which are bigger in scale and can still alter these spaces.

It is imperative to understand that, due to the changing rules which in turn affect street vending practices, these spaces that are created from these macro and micro forces are open and fluid, where urbanites, goods, services, and regulations are in continuous change, and thus can also be called "transient spaces" (Flock & Breitung, 2016). In some cases, such as what has transpired in Dukuh Atas with its Citayam Fashion Week, municipal governance of public space has to adapt to the unexpected crowd and activities. Directly, it has affected street vendors, including *starling*s, and they too have to modify the way they conduct their business. In Bundaran HI, especially, *starling*s have to be vigilant about the time at which Satpol PP comes to clear street vendors off the street which is motivated by the passing government officials who do not want to see the national symbol be disturbed and "messy".

But *starling*s can always find another place to be, or to just cycle around for a while before coming back to this regular spot. This is exactly what separates them from other vendors. Moatasim (2019)

argues that street vendors commonly practice the "rituals of assembly and disassembly" in their daily operations, but *starling*s do not necessarily have these rituals. Instead, they possess a different kind of flexibility and mobility, something that is more agile, quick, and adaptable—perhaps less ritualistic acts of coming and going, without needing to do as much in putting together and disassembling their structure. This practicality of always being on the move is a result of a necessary long-standing learning process, which has formed *starling*s' knowledge about the practice of vending and navigating in the city. It is also related closely to what influences the concept of temporality demonstrated by *starling*s. While in the case of street vendors in Islamabad, as demonstrated by Moatasim (2019), the notion of temporality consists in the allowances given by the municipality, the temporality of *starling*s is very much affected by the existence of surveillance authorities. Their temporality is less extended compared to static or immobile street vendors, but their familiar arrival and departure still invoke a sense of permanence, a significance in cohering with the changing cityscape of Jakarta.

VI. Conclusion and Reflection.

This chapter consists of the conclusion of this study, going back to the main research question, "How does the interplay between the everyday practice of mobile street vendors and state strategies manifest itself spatiotemporally in different urban spaces in Jakarta?" I recognize the need for more research about less explored themes within this study, as well as on other forms of urban informality and spatiotemporality of street vendors. Last but not least, a few points of reflection regarding the current debate and how this study contributes to it will also be elaborated.

6.1. Conclusion.

This study has shown that urban informality in the context of street vendors in Jakarta is influenced by factors coming "from above" and "from below". The arrangement and management policy for street vendors on a national scale, which was later adopted by the Province of Jakarta, was developed based on the idea of a people's economy (*ekonomi kerakyatan*) and maintaining city order. These rationalities have evolved over time, with their roots dating back to the Dutch colonial era, and continued to shape the governance of both street vending and public spaces in Jakarta. The formulation and implementation of strategies developed from these ideas, spearheaded by often intermittent on-site policing, have resulted in certain vendors, including *starling*s, being illegitimate—and thus, *informalized*. City planning that favors order, cleanliness, and beauty of the city has been a "lynchpin" (Yiftachel, 2009) in this process, culminating instead in the coexistence of accommodating, tolerant, and hostile environments (Recio et al., 2017)—perhaps, a ceaseless uncertainty—for *starling*s and other street vendors.

Meanwhile, by learning from *starling*s' origin and day-to-day practices, this study has revealed forces, infrastructure, and chances that shape their own informality. Aside from structural, top-down impetus, their specific cultural features have encouraged them to become *starling*s in the first place. At the same time, these features have allowed for the formation of a social infrastructure (Simone, 2004) that retains *starling*s' work. Not only limited to family members, suppliers, and fellow *starling*s from the same *kampung* or migration origin, *starling*s can also form relations with other vendors, buyers, suppliers, private security guards, state authorities, and other immediate actors across the socio-economic spectrum to create (momentary) certainties for themselves. They constantly straddle between seeing each other as competitors or collaborators, friends and enemies. *Starling*s always have to be aware of these chances, which can invite or push them away from certain locales. Then, this vigilance can grant them potential utilization of public infrastructure with minimum—if not, zero—state surveillance, a basis of their "quiet encroachment" (Bayat, 2004) and space familiarization (Perera, 2009).

The interplay between state rationalities-strategies and the everyday practice of *starling*s has been observed in three areas in Central Jakarta (Bundaran HI, Dukuh Atas, and Menteng). I have made clear that they differ in terms of the number of *starling*s that operate, the demography of customers, how *starling*s interact with customers, and the level of on-site policing. These varying characteristics are shaped by both the "macro-scale" and "micro-scale" ways of producing urban spaces (Lee, 2022). But these spaces are open and fluid, and their people, products, and rules are in unceasing

change—ones that are called "transient spaces" (Flock & Breitung, 2016). For *starling*s, their activities are shaped by and contribute to shaping these spaces, in between—yet entangled with— the movement of the rest of the urbanites and the state's erratic interference.

6.2. Limitation and Contribution.

This research has taken a wide-ranging viewpoint to scoop out different forces shaping the urban informality of mobile street vending and its respective (material) significance to the urban space. The implication of this is, potentially, the lack of detailed accounts regarding a few crucial elements. In this regard, I suggest fellow urban researchers investigate more closely, for example, the assessment of street vending strategies or programs in Jakarta (especially those which affect *starling*s), by also considering a close engagement with government officials responsible for implementing these interventions; comparative research into the implementation of the national level regulations between different cities; a deeper dive into the history of *starling*s; and using a similar framework to investigate other types of street vendors, perhaps in a more intersectional way (e.g. incorporating gendered lens to scrutinize working arrangements or to include women street vendors). All of these can also be replicated in other cities and can be a basis for comparative studies.

Indeed, I admit that due to financial and time constraints, it was difficult to conduct a more intensive, longitudinal ethnographic exercise, which is seemingly ideal in this kind of study, especially to really understand and gain insights from vendors' everyday lives. Options then became limited—such as choosing between also interviewing government officials or focusing on talking with and observing vendors. I did not conduct the former, in the end, but luckily a careful and deep look into government regulations has proven to be sufficient. With these tough choices that I have had to make along the way, I maintain that there are still facets that need to be probed if more time and resources allow.

Despite these limitations, I believe that the study has contributed to the understanding of urban informality and its importance in the shaping of urban spaces. With the plethora—but still a lack of—research about street vending I have borrowed concepts stemming from other forms of urban informality, including the dominant knowledge about informal settlement. I argue that this is beneficial to open up possibilities of seeing—and thus, to draw learnings, by moving beyond the dualism of formal-informal and acknowledging both the structural force and the everyday practice. It has also filled some gaps in terms of, first, de-homogenizing street vendors; second, looking at experiences from the so-called "elsewhere" (see Robinson, 2016), in this case, Jakarta, Indonesia; and third, recognizing the historical aspect of street vending and public space governance and their ties with the colonial past.

The fieldwork, including interviews and observations with *starling*s, has yielded invaluable insights. The Rame-Rame Jakarta (RRJ) team, who were a vital help during the fieldwork, also provided helpful tips and prior understanding. The interviews have given me an opportunity to interact directly (*ngobrol*) with the vendors, to understand their aspirations, challenges, and survival tactics. These conversations have unveiled the resourcefulness and their ability to adapt to the ever-changing urban environment and state's strategies. Observations—through which, at most times, we actively participated as their buyers—of the vendors' practices in three different areas in Central Jakarta have made prominent the temporality in their operations, as they skillfully navigate different locations and times to maximize their gains. The fieldwork has emphasized the need to

acknowledge, respect, and learn about *starling*s' knowledge and their contributions to the urban fabric. To cite Nihal Perera (2009) one last time:

> *I do not wish to imply that familiarization of space carried out by the subalterns is one quixotic adventure after another, nor do I wish to ignore the chilling effects of heavy-handed government action used on them such as 'slum clearance', or the significance of large-scale struggles. The small space-making processes by small people are not totally separate from stronger power structures and processes; yet these are not structurally determined by those either.* (p. 56)

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Appendix: Data Collection Guides

Interview Questions.

<u>**These questions are translated from their original format in Indonesian.**</u>

[Greeting example] Hello. Can we have a little bit of your time? We are conducting research about coffee vendors. Can we ask you some questions?

Introduction

1. How long have you been a *starling* or selling coffee? Can you share with us your transition to becoming a *starling*?
2. Where are you from originally?

Spatial aspect

3. Where do you usually go everyday? Do you have a regular vending spot?
4. Why do you sell there? Do you decide it yourself or is there someone else that directs this?
5. If you want to sell like this, to become a *starling*, is there any rules or regulations? Do you apply for permit or is there any other process to go through?
6. What do you consider as difficulties or challenges of being a *starling*?

Relationship with other actors

7. Who are your typical customers? Are they mostly men or women? Can you notice what their occupations are?
8. Are you selling independently or are you a part of a community/collective? And do you consider yourself to be competitive with other *starling*s?
9. We noticed that there is a community called *Paguyuban Starling* (Starling Community), what is this exactly? What are its activities?
10. Did you ever have to deal with *Satpol PP* or other authorities? How did you manage to negotiate with them?
11. Is there any other actors that are influential to your daily activities?

Observation Guide.

Observation: site of starling street vending / *Observasi: tempat starling berdagang*

Location/*Lokasi*   :

Date/*Tanggal*   :

Time/*Waktu*   :   until/*sampai*

Weather/*Cuaca*   :

No.	Observation points/*Poin observasi*	Notes/*Catatan*
A.	**Starling**	
	Number of starling in sight (every hour)	
	Age estimation/diversity	
	Types of product (other than coffee and other beverages)	
B.	**Spatiotemporality**	
	Selling location(s) (on sidewalk, road median, park, etc)	
	Utilization of public infrastructures (benches, concrete, clean water, etc)	
	Change of location - within the same area & duration in the same exact location	
	Change of location – moving to another area & duration in the same area	
C.	**Interaction with & nature of customers**	
	Method(s) to offer their products (waiting, shouting/offering directly, etc)	
	Nature of conversation (strictly transactional, small talks, etc) Location of consumption (including proximity to starling)	

No.	Observation points/*Poin observasi*	Notes/*Catatan*
	Utilization of public infrastructure(s)	
	Age & sex of customers	
D.	**Interaction with other starling and/or other street vendors**	
	Nature of interaction with other starling	
	Nature of interaction with other street vendors	
E.	**Interaction with authorities/surveillance**	
	Encounter/interaction with private security guard(s)	
	Encounter/interaction with Satpol PP	
	Encounter/interaction with other types of authorities, if any	
	If noticeable (in the form of banner, signage, etc), how starling deal with areal regulation/rule	

Drawing(s)/map(s)   :

Other notes   :

Document collection guide.

Documentation: policy document

Name of document   :

Issued by   :

Year published   :

Link (if any)   :

No.	Documentation point	Notes
	Directive(s) (national/provincial/municipal, and what are the regulations)	
	Motivation or drive in enacting the policy	
	Definition & criteria of informality	
	Definition & criteria of street vending	
	Definition & criteria of starling	
	Programmes/intervention directed towards street vendors	
	The framing of "problem" i.e. informal street vending	
	Focus area(s) and reasons behind the prioritization	
	Actors involved/deployed in managing street vendors	