

**'OUT OF PLACE' IN THE CITY:
The users' evaluation of street vendors
in Jakarta at day and night**

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ABSTRACT

The temporal dynamics of the city involve the presence of temporary elements that are unplanned and unexpected. Yet the presence of such elements is contrary to the attempts to achieve harmony and perfection of 'ideal city', and they become 'out of place' elements that need to be rejected. This thesis is about the rejection of street vendors as temporary elements in the city.

The great increase of street vendors in many countries has inevitably changed the visual image of the cities. Their presence has continuously become the subject of debates, whether they should be maintained or banished from urban areas. However, there was a lack of evidence on the users' view regarding the street vendors as rejected urban elements.

This research explores the users' evaluation towards the presence of street vendors in urban places in Jakarta, Indonesia through a preference approach. The objectives are to examine: 1) the extent to which the users perceive the street vendors as 'out of place' elements in urban places; 2) the change of the users' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements in urban places from day time to night time; and 3) the extent to which the presence of street vendors as 'out of place' elements contributes to the users' general evaluation of urban places. The methods combine open-ended questionnaire with a standardised rating scale to elicit the users' responses towards slides of urban scenes with street vendors.

The research found that users' evaluation towards the presence of street vendors as 'out of place' elements is not absolute; the street vendors are not always perceived negatively by the users. In particular, the users' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' changed from day time to night time, and their presence were perceived as less 'out of place' at night time. The research confirmed the important role of street vendors as temporary elements in the users' general evaluation of urban environment. The findings provide some implications for planning process to incorporate the presence of street vendors in the cities. They suggest some possibilities to develop ways to make their presence 'in place', rather than taking for granted that their presence is 'out of place'.

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PREFACE

This thesis is a result of my long involvement with the topic of ‘change’ in architecture. I have long been interested in the idea of change in the city, especially that which occurs throughout 24-hour daily cycle. It was the focus of my work during my Diploma and Master’s studies.

I have spent much times walking through many cities, enjoying the experience of being in places. And every time I walk through cities, one of the things that become an important experience for me is seeing the dynamic of the place from time to time; how the change of things and the actions in the city happens. For me, presence of elements and actions that change over time is what makes a place special.

My understanding of architecture has gone beyond the spaces and buildings planned and created by the architects. I have a great sympathy towards the presence of elements and human actions that emerge around the completed building and urban spaces. Unexpected some of them might be, yet they truly become the parts of dynamic urban life. My work in this thesis reflects my interest in the temporary elements in the city that become an integral part of change in cities.

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

1.1.1 The 'out of place'

A city is a place of strangers, of people from all walks of life, of many kinds of activity and event. It becomes a place of conflicts – conflicts between groups of people, conflicts of interest. City spaces are contested domains, and the domination of some parties creates a perception that other uses and other users are inappropriate, 'out of place'.

The expression 'out of place' implies a sense of impropriety (Cresswell, 1996); Douglas (1966) used the term 'dirt', something that needs to be eliminated. Many elements of the everyday life of a city have been viewed in this way: graffiti, car parking, stickers on the wall, dustbins, homeless people, skateboarding teenagers - these are just a few of a long list.

Elimination of the 'out of place' elements can be seen as the way to achieve a better urban environment. Lofland (1973) wrote that "the ideal of the modern city is like the ideal of a well-ordered home: a place for everything and everything in its place" (p. 67). The concept of ideal city implies the need for control by an urban elite, the need to ensure that everything is in its proper place, and the elimination of anything that is unplanned or unexpected (Sennett, 1970; Jacobs, 1961; Eaton, 2001).

However, determining whether an object is 'out of place' is not a simple matter. In a changing situation, something that is 'out of place' can become something 'in place' (Nolan, 2003; Cresswell, 1996). There is a need to consider the presence of an object in relation to its context (Douglas, 1966, Cresswell, 1996; Neyrey, 1996). Whether the presence of an object is appropriate or inappropriate is relative: it depends on the context where the object exists. Lofland (1973) suggested that the concept of appropriateness of an object or an activity is not a static one. "What is appropriate at one time may not be at another" (Lofland, 1973, p. 67). In perceiving something as "out of place" in the city, it becomes necessary to consider the temporal dynamic of the city.

The city that we inhabit is not in a constant state; it varies with time. The life of the city occurs within a 24-hour cycle (Schlor, 1998; Shapcott and Steadman, 1978). Activities and spaces in the city change through day and night, and this phenomenon of temporality includes the presence of temporary elements. But the presence of such elements may add to or subtract from a city's form, or lead to conflict between the temporary and the fixed. A search for a resolution to such conflict raises again the concept of an ideal city, and of whether changeable elements fit within it. In the attempt to achieve an urban ideal, temporary elements are often labeled as 'out of place', and thus to be rejected (Cousins, 1994; Cresswell, 1996). This research is about the nature of temporary elements and people's reaction to these elements, as an attempt to explore the extent to which the 'out of place' elements become 'in place'.

1.1.2 Street vendors as rejected elements

This thesis is a study of street vendors as 'out of place' elements in Jakarta, Indonesia. The growing presence of vendors can be observed in many countries, particularly in urban areas (Bromley, 2000; Cross, 1998). They have changed the visual appearance of urban places; they exist in almost every corner of many cities. In Indonesia, this has occurred to such an extent that newspaper articles have described some places as the 'cities of street vendors' (Sidharta, 2000; Taufiq, 2001; "Jakarta mirip", 2000).

Prominent characteristics of street vendors are the mobility and flexibility of their everyday operation (Tinker, 1998). These enable them to appear in various places in the city, performing their trading activities in one spot at certain time, and then moving to another site, often following a regular daily cycle. Some street vendors perform their trading activities at day time, others at night. Their changing presence is an integral part of the temporal dynamic of the city.

Although street vendors exist in cities as temporary elements, they often trade regularly in specific places. Their repeated and expected presence there is familiar to many people in the cities and therefore they could be perceived as if they 'belong' to these urban places (Mayo, 1991; Maharika, 2001; Smith, 1978). They make regular claims to occupy spaces, which may be used for some other purposes or abandoned, though there remains ambiguity about the street vendors status - whether they should be regarded as temporary or permanent. Their presence has created many conflicts and whether they

should be maintained or banished from urban streets and public places is a matter of debate. The street vendors typically find themselves in uncertain position between those arguing for their presence in cities and those calling for their removal (Bromley, 2000).

Debate about the presence of street vendors in Jakarta, Indonesia has been highlighted in the media. Newspaper articles have pointed out the problems that street vendors cause: reducing the aesthetics and order of the city, blocking public streets and worsening traffic congestion. These problems have become the justification for local government Acts that require the eviction of street vendors from urban places. Despite this the number of them in Jakarta keeps growing. They have become an integral part of urban places and an evidence-based policy is necessary to manage and plan their presence.

That there are arguments both for and against street vendors indicates that perception of the temporary and changeable elements of the urban environment is not a simple matter and may be related not only to local circumstances but to fundamental views about the nature of the city. The thesis addresses this issue by using theories of the 'out of place' (Douglas, 1966; Cresswell, 1996) to help understand the process by which certain elements within the urban environment are rejected and in particular to examine the extent to which street vendors are perceived as 'out of place'.

1.1.3 The need for empirical research

The present debate rarely considers the point of view of the ordinary people that come into direct contact with street vendors in everyday life. The majority of arguments against the street vendors come from the urban elite with the power to determine order in urban physical environments. There is an evident tendency to adopt a general negative attitude towards street vendors, without considering the nature of their temporality in the city. There exists, though, little empirical evidence that supports this attitude. Neither is there clear evidence about the visual impact of street vendors in urban places. In these circumstances negative judgements which lead to the eviction of street vendors become questionable.

1.2 Objectives

The objectives of the research are to examine:

- 1) the extent to which the city users perceive street vendors to be ‘out of place’ elements in urban places;
- 2) the change of the users’ evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements in urban places from day time to night time;
- 3) the extent to which the presence of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements contributes to the users’ general evaluation of urban places.

The research uses a preference approach (Kaplan, 1988a, 1988b; Nasar, 1998).

1.3 Significance of the research

The focus of the thesis is the attitude towards street vendors held by people who use the city – a subject which has not previously been studied in depth. The outcome of the work is new empirical evidence that the ordinary users tend not to share the unsympathetic views expressed through the media and by public authorities. The people’s views are more complex: knowledge of these views increases our understanding of the nature of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements and could be the basis of better planning and regulation of city spaces.

Underlying all of the research is the aim for a deeper knowledge of the dynamic nature of the city, especially of the transformation of daytime into evening. Street vendors are a major element of city life: a dominant element of the evening environment in warm climates but an aspect of the street scene in virtually every major city. By examining one case in detail, studying the nature of the activity and users’ responses to it, it is hoped that there may be conclusions that are applicable beyond the particular subject of street trading to other informal and temporary elements of a city.

1.4 Organisation of the thesis

This thesis is organised into the following chapters:

Chapter 2 provides a general overview of the main problems associated with street vendors. It describes the presence of street vendors in Indonesian cities and summarises

the principal debates and governmental policies regarding the street vendors as reported by the media.

Chapter 3 discusses the presence of street vendors within the context of 'ideal cities'. It argues that the problems associated with street vendors are rooted in the dissonance between the aspiration of the urban elite and the everyday city where the street vendors' presence is supported by public.

In Chapter 4 the concept of the 'out of place' in relation to the position of street vendors as rejected elements in the city is discussed. In particular its focus is the proposition that 'out of place' is not absolute.

The subject of Chapter 5 is the importance of understanding how the public make visual evaluations of urban environment, and the role of preference studies to reveal the users' evaluation. This discussion becomes the methodological basis for the empirical investigation in this research.

The Stage 1 of the empirical studies is presented in Chapter 6 and 7. This study is to confirm whether the street vendors are perceived as the negative elements within urban places by the users as is generally highlighted in the media. Chapter 6 describes the detailed procedures of the research, while Chapter 7 discusses the findings from Stage 1.

Chapter 8 and 9 present Stage 2 of the empirical studies, which attempts to examine the users' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements in urban places at day time and night time. The detailed procedures of this stage of research are explained in Chapter 8 and the findings are discussed in Chapter 9.

The final chapter summarises the key findings of this thesis, both from literature review and from empirical studies. It describes the implications for theories and for practice in dealing with street vendors as temporary elements in the city. This chapter also discusses the limitations of the research and some possible directions for further studies.

2 STREET VENDORS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the street vendors, which become the main subject of investigation in this research. It first provides an overview of street vendors as a general phenomenon in many countries. It discusses the presence of street vendors in the cities as one of the urban informal sectors, the general characteristics of street vendors and reviews some of the problems associated with their presence in urban areas.

The following section focuses on street vendors in Indonesia, which are also known as *kakilima*. It discusses the recent development of street vendors in Indonesia and presents some data describing their presence in Indonesian cities, their characteristics, and their use of urban environments. Issues relating to street vendors have been highlighted in the media. A summary compiled from various articles in well-established Indonesian newspapers from the last five years is presented in this chapter. This summary highlights the problems created by the presence of street vendors in Indonesian cities, the positive contribution that they may make, and the various policies that have been introduced to control them. The chapter closes by summarising the presence of street vendors as a continuous problem in urban area that needs to be addressed.

2.2 Overview of street vendors

2.2.1 Street vendors as urban informal sector

The term ‘street vending’ generally refers to “the retail or wholesale trading of goods and services in street and other related public axes such as alleyways, avenues and boulevards.” (Bromley, 2000, p. 1). There are several other terms that are often used to describe the street vendors, such as peddlers, hawkers, street traders and petty traders.

The practice of street vending can be observed in many countries, however, their presence is the largest in the third world countries, especially in urban areas (Bromley, 2000; Charmes, 2004; Cross, 1998a, 1998b; Pena, 1999). Street vendors are a part of informal sectors. In fact, street vending is the most visible manifestation of informal

economy (Hays-Mitchell, 1994). As urban informal sectors, street vending activities have generated employment opportunities for the expanding urban workforce, whilst also offering flexibility and innovation in the economy (Suharto, 2003).

The term 'informal' suggests that the activity of street vending is different from other 'formal' economic activities. According to Cukier and Wall (1994), "By definition, informal workers operate largely outside the official system..." (p. 464). One of the most important distinctions between formal and informal sectors is the official recognition by the authority. In general, governments officially recognise the activities of formal sectors but not those of the informal sectors. As a consequence, much of the assistance from government is only available for formal sectors (Timothy and Wall, 1997). For example, street vendors have some disadvantages in terms of the spatial provision for their trading activities. The governments' allocation of spaces for trading is prioritised for formal economic activities, while the spaces available for street vendors are more limited.

Although street vendors are generally classified into informal sectors, there remains a question regarding the dichotomous separation between formal and informal activity. De Bruin and Dupuis (2000) found that some street vendors exhibit the characteristics of both formal and informal sectors. The street vendors may become formal to some extent because there is some evidence of the official recognition from the government and the policies to regulate their activities. With this official recognition and regulation, the street vendors may be considered as semi informal (Timothy and Wall, 1997).

Furthermore, there is also a possibility of interconnectedness between formal and informal sectors. For example, the street vendors might become an extension of formal economic activity, selling the leftover goods or the second-class quality products from the formal, officially registered shops (De Bruin and Dupuis, 2000). These examples suggest the unclear distinction between formal and informal activities (Cross, 2000).

The term 'informal' in the discussion of urban economic activities is often associated with the meaning of 'illegal' (Cross, 2000). In the case of street vendors, evidence of this 'illegality' can be seen in their presence in urban areas. Cross (2000) described that one of the characteristics of informal economic activity is "the violation of 'zoning code'" (p.37). In their operation, the activities of street vendors in many countries

involve this violation, by occupying the spaces which are not designated for trading activity. This includes their operation in areas that can be classified as public spaces which are not originally intended for trading purposes, such as busy streets and sidewalks (Suharto, 2003).

2.2.2 Characteristics of street vendors

Street vendors vary in scale, timing, location, remuneration, workforce, as well as in the types of good and services they offer (Bromley, 2000; Cross, 2000; Bass, 2000). One of the prominent characteristics of street vendors is their mobility and flexibility in their everyday operation. This characteristic is illustrated in the following description of the daily routine of *Pak* and *Ibu* Sidik (*Pak* means ‘father’ and *Ibu* means ‘mother’), two street vendors in Bogor, Indonesia:

Pak sells iced drinks from a mobile cart, parking it near Ibu’s fried food stall, which is located at the entrance of their *kampong* and near several schools. Their teenaged children replace Ibu at her stand when they return from school around noon so that she can go home to cook a family meal. Pak might move his cart nearer a transportation center and then return home only in time for dinner. (Tinker, 1997, p. 27)

The description above illustrates some flexible characteristics that street vendors possess, in terms of the possibility to move location. It also shows that street vending can be a family business, providing flexibility where the trading operation can be shared amongst family members to suit family commitments.

Tinker (1997) described two major types of street vendors based on their degree of mobility, classifying them as *permanent* or *non permanent*. The *permanent* type includes the vendors with permanent stalls or kiosks that remain at the same location all the time, even when there are no trading activities. The *non permanent* type includes the vendors who are truly mobile or those with the structures that could be easily assembled and disassembled from time to time.

Tinker (1997) also made another classification of street vendors, in terms of their methods of operation. The first category is *ambulatory* vendors, who continuously move about from place to place to sell their goods or offer their services. The second category is the *stationary* vendors, who offer their goods and services at regular place. These vendors remain in a certain place, and they may sell from permanent stalls, trays, boxes

and baskets, parked pushcarts or tricycles. Therefore the stationary vendors may include both the permanent and non permanent vendors. Further examples of these different types of street vendors will be illustrated in Section 2.3.2.

Stationary vendors are often present in very large numbers and concentrated in particular streets or areas. The presence of street vendors in such situation may create a kind of a market place, and therefore often called 'street market' (Bromley, 2000; Hays-Mitchell, 1994). In some location the street vendors may operate in time rotation, so there might be day time market and night time market (Pena, 1999; Mustafa, n.d.). The flexible nature of street vendors allows them to operate from one place to another. In this way, they may form the market place that only operate on particular day such as Sunday Market or particular season (Cross, 1998; Mayo, 1991).

2.2.3 General problems of street vendors

In most cities, the presence of street vendors is visible almost everywhere in urban public places; the streets, parking lots, street junctions, pedestrian sidewalks, parks and other places. In fact, it is not possible to avoid their presence in the cities as a part of everyday life (Cross, 1998b). This is particularly true in the location where high population of the cities are concentrated (Yeung, 1977, Hays-Mitchell, 1994) such as markets, cinemas, city centres and other public places.

The existence of street vendors in large numbers inevitably creates problems to the public life in the cities. Nevertheless, the debates on the street vendors in urban areas have led in two different directions. On one hand, those arguing against street vendors believe that they only create problems and therefore should be removed from the cities. On the other hand, there are other arguments that justify the continuation of street vending activities in urban areas.

Bromley (2000) reviewed various arguments justifying the presence of street vendors and the arguments against them. These arguments are summarised in Table 2-1. It can be seen that there is a variety of different arguments. Some are related to social and economic factors, such as the role of street vendors in creating employment opportunities. Others relates to issues that are physically visible in urban spaces, such as

the problems related to traffic and urban aesthetics. These physical aspects are the issues that will be considered further in this thesis.

Table 2-1 Arguments for and against street vendors (Bromley, 2000, pp. 4-10)

Arguments to justify the continuation of street vendors	Arguments against street vendors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The right to the occupation • Potential sources of government tax revenues • Street vendor sustain themselves and their dependents— as social safety net • As a laboratory for entrepreneurship • Provide entrepreneurial opportunities for those who cannot afford to buy or rent fixed premises • Expand the range of places and times where goods and services can be provided • Bring life to dull streets—they can witness and report crime, provide atmosphere, information and enhance tourism • Very effective way to cater for seasonal, sporadic and special demands due to its low capital requirements and potential mobility • Flexibility for worker in hours and levels of activity. • Remarkable example of self-help and grass-roots initiative. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concentrated very heavily in busy locations and increase congestion • May cause traffic accidents, pollutions, impede emergency traffic flow • Spaces created for street vendors may reduce motor vehicle routes • Blocking the routes of egress from public crowded public • Forestall off-street businesses, divert costumers • Unfair competition to tax paying businesses • Violate consumers rights (inaccurate scale, false price, fake merchandise) • Health problem in food and drink • No guarantees, exchange and repair services • Include child labours • Illegal trades (narcotics, pimping, prostitution, ticket-touting) • Contribute to underground economic activity (bribing municipal police) • Increase crime • Irritating pedestrian and motorist • Generate disorder (unsightly, noisy and dirty) • Dysfunctional to the economy as a whole, pulling labour away from the places and economic activities which need to grows

Bromley (2000) stressed that both sets of arguments in the above table are considerably valid, and that “Both sets are correct to some degree, and it is possible to mix the two sets, arguing that some types and locations of street vending are desirable while others are undesirable” (pp.10-11). This statement has raised the question of appropriateness, to what extent the presence of street vendors can be accepted in urban places. This issue of appropriateness will become one of the themes addressed in this thesis.

Bromley (2000) further suggested that each argument, both for and against street vendors, should consider various aspects of time, location, type of vending activity, type and degree of official controls, as well as the backgrounds and aspirations of the

individuals involved. These indicate that the issue regarding the street vendors in urban areas is inherently complex.

Table 2-1 also shows that the majority of the arguments against street vendors point out the street vendors' misuse of urban spaces and their contribution to urban disorderliness. According to Cross (1998b), these arguments mainly come from urban elite and big businesses, which tend to see street vendors as a "plague" and creating "eyesores" in urban areas (p. 18). The presence of street vendors were considered as "...an unsightly nuisance, a source of disorder, congestion and crime, and a threat to larger-scale off-street commerce" (Bromley, 2000, p. 11). Therefore, their presence should be eliminated. On the other hand, the arguments that justify the street vendors have supported their continued presence in the cities.

The debates regarding the presence of street vendors in urban areas also exist in Indonesian cities. The following section will provide further description of the street vendors in Indonesia which become the focus of this thesis.

2.3 Street vendors in Indonesia

2.3.1 *Kakilima*

In Indonesia, street vendors are known as *kakilima*, which literally means 'five feet'. According to Sidharta (2000), this term is originated from the physical form of one type of street vendors, which is a vendor with a pushcart. 'Five feet' represent the number of the legs of this type of vending: two legs of the vendors, two wheels of the pushcart and one additional support of the pushcart to create balance when the vendor remains in stationary position as illustrated in Figure 2-1.

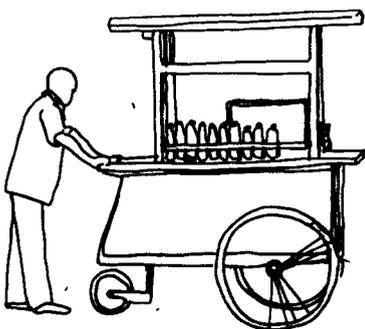


Figure 2-1 Kaki lima

Sidharta (2000) further mentioned that the term *kakilima* also represents the width of the pedestrian sidewalk in front of the shops in the past. This sidewalk was then used as a trading place, and the vendors who were trading there were called *kakilima*. In a further development, the term *kakilima* is used to describe street vendors in general, not only those with pushcarts or those trading on the sidewalks.

The street vendors in Indonesia are also known as “PKL”, which stands for *Pedagang Kaki Lima* (*pedagang* means vendor). However, the use of the term *kakilima* generally refers not only to the person who trades, but also includes the goods and the tools that they use for trading. The use of the term ‘street vendors’ in this thesis refer to this definition of *kakilima* as a unit of vendors with their goods and tools.

In Jakarta, the term *kakilima* is defined in City Bylaw no. 2/2002, Section 1 Clause 27 (Pemerintah Propinsi DKI Jakarta, 2002) as the following: “*Pedagang kakilima adalah perorangan atau pedagang yang didalam kegiatan usahanya melakukan penjualan barang-barang tertentu yang tidak memiliki tempat dan bangunan sendiri yang umumnya memakai tempat-tempat/fasilitas untuk kepentingan umum serta tempat lain yang bukan miliknya.*”

This legal definition can be translated as the following: “Street vendors are the individuals or the vendors who run their business of selling certain goods, do not possess their own place or building and usually utilise public places or public facilities and other places that do not belong to them.” Furthermore, in the same City Bylaw (Section 4), street vendors or informal sectors are classified into one of the four types of private businesses, along with large-scale business, medium-scale business and small-scale business.

2.3.2 Types of vendors

In Indonesia there are both types of stationary and ambulatory street vendors, as well as permanent and non permanent vendors (Tinker, 1997; see Section 2.2.2). These various types of street vendors are illustrated in Figure 2-2 to Figure 2-6.

Stationary vendors are present in various places in the cities. Some of these stationary vendors have permanent structures such as *warung* or *kios* (Figure 2-2), while some

others are non permanent who only trade at certain times. The non permanent vendors may just park in a spot for a while and go, or they may assemble the stall or goods at a *lapak* (plot) and disband it when they go. These non permanent vendors include those with *gerobak* (pushcart), tent, or car. Some vendors only lay their goods on a mat, which is called *gelaran* (Figure 2-3). Some vendors use any combination ways of vending, for examples using a pushcart for the preparation and cooking of food, while the customers are provided with benches and tables under a tent (Figure 2-4).

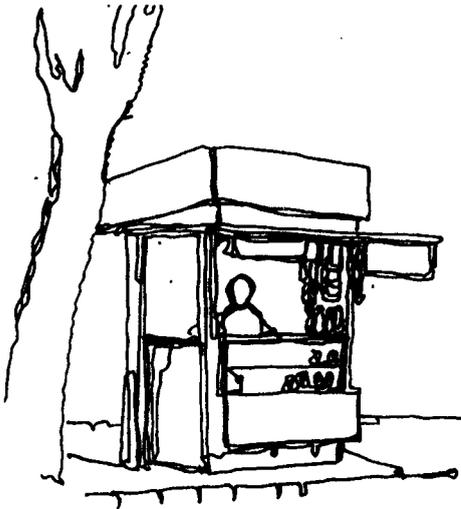


Figure 2-2 Warung



Figure 2-3 Gelaran

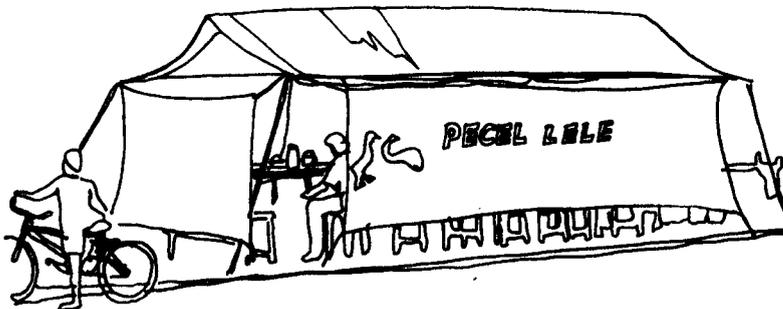


Figure 2-4 Tent

The ambulatory vendors, who continually move around the neighbourhoods, also use various methods of vending. The most common types of ambulatory vendors in Indonesia were those with *gerobak* (pushcart) as illustrated in Figure 2-1, although other tools may also be used. *Pikulan* is a long stick held on the vendor's shoulder, carrying goods on both ends (Figure 2-5). *Bakul* is a basket carried on the vendor's back or head (Figure 2-6). Some vendors, usually those selling cigarettes or sweets, carry boxes held

by a string around their neck; they are called *asongan*. Bicycles with baskets or boxes in front or at the back are also often used by ambulatory vendors.

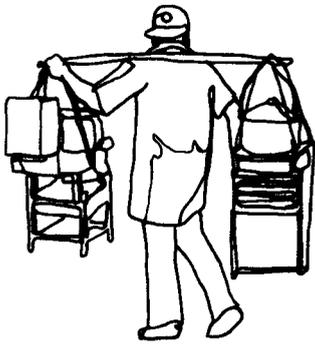


Figure 2-5 Pikulan



Figure 2-6 Bakul

The ambulatory vendors keep moving along the neighbourhood streets, waiting until any residents call them to buy their goods or use their services. To alert the residents of their presence, most vendors have particular way of signalling. Some may use bells, *kentongan* (a wooden block or piece of bamboo with a hole in it) or other objects to create unique sounds. Others may play musical tones or just shout loudly mentioning the name of the goods they offer.

This thesis focuses on the stationary vendors. By definition, the stationary vendors are the ones that occupy various public places for a certain period of time. Therefore this type of vendors often creates such problems as traffic congestion and urban aesthetic disorderliness as previously mentioned in Section 2.2.3.

2.3.3 Number of street vendors

The presence of *kakilima* is highly visible in many Indonesian cities. Of about 89.7 million people employed in Indonesia, about 62% or 55.6 million work in informal sectors (Taufiqurrahman, 2003). Data from 1980 also showed that among those working for informal sectors, 55% operated in trade, restaurants or related activities (Sethuraman, 1985). This clearly shows that street vending has become one of the popular choices of employment amongst the Indonesian population.

The number of street vendors in Indonesia has increased dramatically during the past few years. This is particularly due to the monetary crisis that occurred around 1997-

1998. McGee and Firman (2000) found that between these two years, there was a shift of labour employment in Indonesia, from modern economic sectors (including manufacturing and construction) to agriculture, trade and informal services. This finding suggests that in the situation where other sectors were collapsed, many people chose to enter informal sectors, and this included trading activities on the street.

Street vendors have become a viable choice for many people, because this type of employment offer some flexibilities in operation, easy access, and no burden of legal tax (Suharto, 2003; Timothy and Wall, 1997; Haryadi, 2002). Suharto (2003) found that the street vendors' decision to participate in street vending activities is related to the difficulty of obtaining a job in formal sectors, as well as the relative ease of starting and operating street enterprises. In addition, people with a limited educational background can participate (Cukier and Wall, 1994), since the activities of street vending do not require a high level of education.

This flexibility and ease of operation has contributed to the sharp increase in the number of street vendors in Indonesian cities during the difficult period of economic development. The data in Jakarta shows that between 1997 and 2000, the number of street vendors increased by about 225% ("Governor blames", 2000). In Bandung, another Indonesian major city, there were also an increasing number of illegal street vendors by 300% between 1997 and 1999 (Suharto, 2003).

Table 2-2 presents the number of street vendors in several major cities in Indonesia along with the number of city population based on Population Census in 2000.

Table 2-2 Number of street vendors in several Indonesian major cities

City	No of street vendors	Total population ^g
Jakarta	141,073 ^a	8,347,083
Bandung	32,000 ^b	2,136,260
Bogor	17,754 ^c	750,819
Surabaya	27,500 ^d	2,599,796
Semarang	11,029 ^e	1,348,803
Cirebon	1,000 ^f	272,263

From various sources:

- a) Biro Pusat Statistik DKI Jakarta, 2001; b) Suharto, 2003; c) Tinker, 1997; d) "Jadikan PKL", 2002; e) "PKL melonjak", 2001; f) Rukmana, 2002; g) Biro Pusat Statistik, 2000

However, it should be noted that these figures do not necessarily reflect the real situation in the field. The problem is particularly due to the fact that the majority of street vendors

are not legally registered. Among the number of street vendors recorded in Jakarta, only around 11,000 or less than 8% operate legally (“Street vendors”, 2002). The data in Surabaya indicates 27,500 street vendors who are registered, and this figure does not include the other unregistered vendors. It is also difficult to know the exact numbers of street vendors due to their mobility and flexibility in operation. Some vendors may appear in particular location at certain time and disappear at another time. A source mentioned that the number of street vendors in Jakarta could reach around 500,000 units (Junaidi, 2001), which is much higher than the figure 141,073 units recorded by the government.

The number of street vendors also fluctuates from time to time. In particular, the number may dramatically increase during the period of religious festivals such as during Ramadan, Eid or Christmas. For example, during Ramadan months, there are around 6,655 units of street vendors in Central Jakarta, which is an increase by 36% from the usual figures of 4,904 units in other months (Indriasari, 2003). This increasing number of street vendors is a response to public demand of certain goods and services in their preparation for celebration.

It is also not clear whether the figures in Table 2-2 include all types of vendors or stationary vendors only. Ambulatory vendors are especially difficult to track since they are moving all the time. Only the data in Bogor reflects the total number of vendors, both the ambulatory and stationary. Nevertheless, the figures in Table 2-2 can give a rough idea regarding the presence of street vendors in large numbers in Indonesian cities.

2.3.4 Types of goods and services

Street vendors in Indonesia sell all kinds of goods and provide various types of services. Table 2-3 presents the goods and services offered by the street vendors in Jakarta.

Table 2-3 Types of goods offered by street vendors in Jakarta

Type of goods	Number of vendors	% of vendors
Food ingredients	88,479	62.72%
Textile/clothing	10,751	7.62%
Food and beverage	9,915	7.03%
Others	31,928	22.63%
Total	141,073	100%

Source: Biro Pusat Statistik DKI Jakarta, 2001

The data shows that the majority of street vendors in Jakarta (62.72%) sell food ingredients such as fruit, vegetables and dried ingredients. About 7.62% of the street vendors sell textiles, clothes or other clothing items (hats, scarves, bags, shoes etc), and 7.03% sell ready-made food and beverages, either for take-away or for dining-in. Another 22.63% of the street vendors in Jakarta sell other types of goods including household items, electronics, magazines, books and stationary, cosmetics, etc. This category also includes street vendors offering various services such as tyre fixing, shoe repair, stamp and key duplicate making, etc.

2.3.5 Street vendors' income and educational background

Figure 2-7 illustrates the daily income of the street vendors in Jakarta. It shows that the majority of the street vendors in Jakarta have the daily turnover of Rp300,000¹ or less, indicating that the majority of them are small-scale traders. However, there are also few percentages with turnover higher than Rp1,000,000 per day.

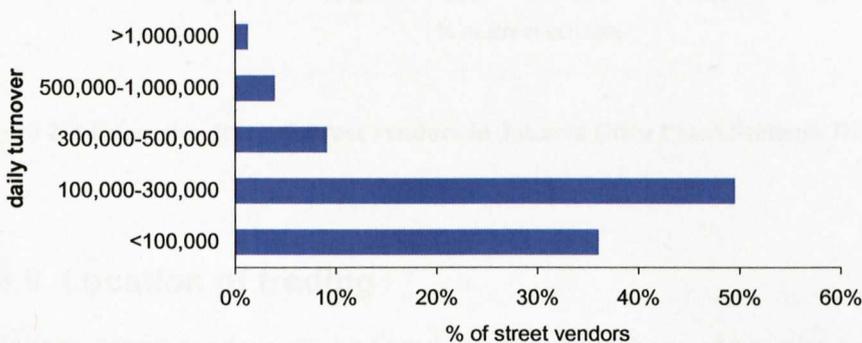


Figure 2-7 Daily turnover of street vendors in Jakarta (Biro Pusat Statistik DKI Jakarta, 2001)

In overall terms, street vending activities offer the vendors relatively sufficient income. In a study of street vendors in Bandung, Suharto (2003) found that in average the street vendors' monthly income is well above the regional minimum wage (known as UMR or *Upah Minimum Regional*²). Another previous study in Bali found that about two-thirds of the street vendors have monthly income higher than double of the UMR (Cukier and Wall, 1994). In fact, street vendors may have monthly net income as high as Rp 2.7

¹ Rp17.000 = £1 (June, 2005)

² UMR varies across region in Indonesia. For example, UMR in Bandung in 2003 is nearly Rp500,000 per month; UMR in Bali in 1992 is Rp84,000 per month; UMR in Jakarta in 2002 is nearly Rp600,000 per month.

million (“Kaki lima”, 2002) which is more than four times of UMR in Jakarta. These facts explain why the street vendors have become the popular choice of employment, and therefore their number keeps increasing from time to time.

Figure 2-8 presents the level of education background possessed by the street vendors in Jakarta. It can be seen that the majority of street vendors (47.08%) were educated to elementary school. Only less than 20% have the education background from senior high school, college or university. This data indicates that the street vendors offer the employment opportunities in which many people can participate regardless of their educational background.

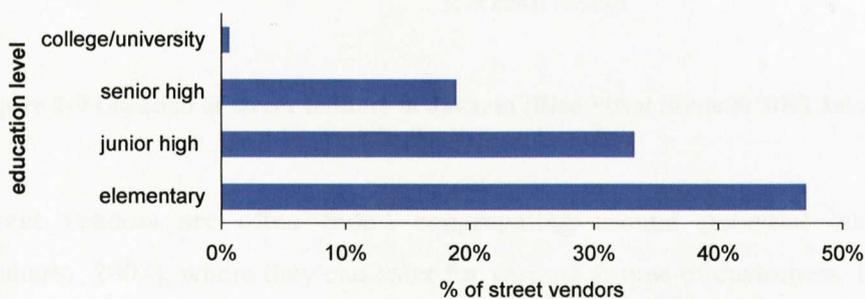


Figure 2-8 Education level of street vendors in Jakarta (Biro Pusat Statistik DKI Jakarta, 2001)

2.3.6 Location of trading

In Jakarta, street vendors can be found in various locations. As can be seen in Figure 2-9 the majority of street vendors occupy the sidewalks (38.7%) and the streets (28.2%). Others occupy green areas, urban parks, parking areas, shopping and market areas and other public spaces. Some street vendors utilise the empty lots that can be found in the city. There is also evidence that some street vendors operate under the highway flyover (“Street vendors”, 2001).

Suharto (2003) found that there are three main reasons for street vendors to choose their location of vending. First, street vendors favour locations where they can attract customers. Second, they prefer locations which can be easily accessed from the main roads. Third, they are forced to choose particular location due to the lack of alternative sites. The use of streets and sidewalks as a favourite trading location is related to the

potential to attract the costumers while there were nowhere else they can sell their goods.

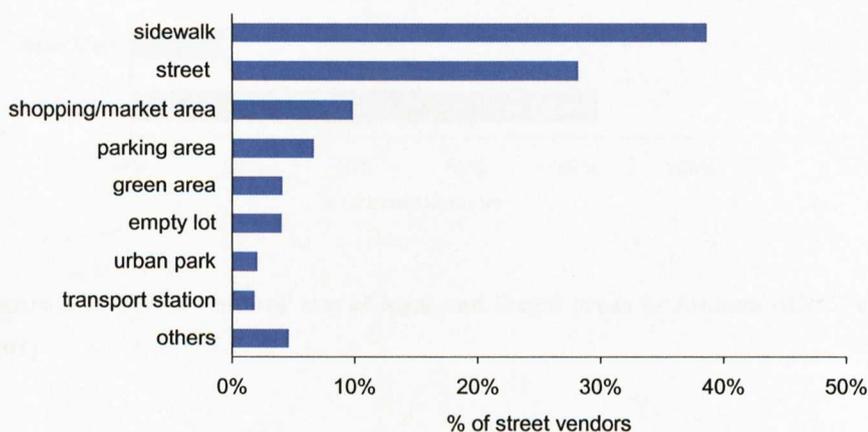


Figure 2-9 Location of street vendors in Jakarta (Biro Pusat Statistik DKI Jakarta, 2001)

Street vendors are often found congregating around potential business locations (Suharto, 2003), where they can cater for various groups of customers. For example, the location around the markets, shopping areas and commercial complexes are potential to attract the shoppers. Bus stations are the location where they can cater for the transport passengers and drivers. The entrances of public buildings such as schools, hospitals and worship buildings are also good locations to attract many people to buy their goods.

Tourist areas are also locations where the street vendors are often congregated. For example, street vendors are present in a large number along Malioboro Street in Yogyakarta and Bali beaches (Timothy and Wall, 1997; Cukier and Wall, 1994). These vendors usually sell souvenirs for domestic and foreign tourists, while also offering other goods and services to local residents. In Borobudur and Prambanan, the two largest temples in Indonesia, the street vendors can be found occupying the entrances and the exits. Their presence often makes life difficult for the tourists trying to reach or leave the main complex of the temples.

Street vendors can be found occupying various locations in the city. However, there are only a few places that are determined by the official governments as legal locations for street vendors. Figure 2-10 shows that the majority of street vendors in Jakarta (83.4%) operate in illegal location, while only 16.6% occupy those that are legal. Figure 2-9 had

shown previously that most street vendors occupy streets and sidewalks, and these locations are by definition not designated as the vendors' location.

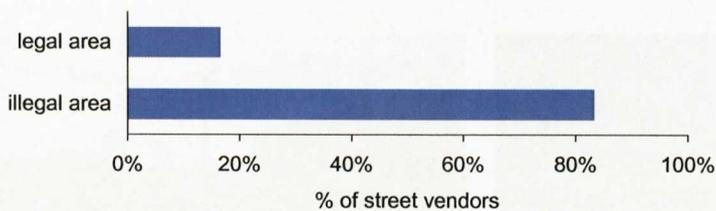


Figure 2-10 Street vendors' use of legal and illegal areas in Jakarta (Biro Pusat Statistik DKI, 2001)

2.3.7 Time of trading

In general, street vendors show variation in their time of trading (Bromley, 2000). This temporal dynamic of activities can be seen amongst the street vendors in Indonesian cities. Street vendors may operate at day time only, night time only or throughout both the day and night (Suharto, 2003).

In fact, street vendors in Indonesia may be seen trading as early as dawn. In particular areas of the cities, there are vendors selling traditional cakes and snacks at early morning, around 4 to 5am ("Memenuhi jajanan", 2000). These vendors cater for the housewives who shop early in the morning before working hour, as well as distributing to cake shop owners or catering services who will sell on the cakes at a later stage. Some street vendors only appear after dark. They usually sell hot meals, which are prepared and cooked on location. These street vendors offer various kinds of food as alternatives to restaurant dinners.

Very often in one location several different vendors operate in time shift ("Kaki lima", 2002). A famous example can be found in Malioboro Street, Yogyakarta. During the day, the sidewalks of the street are full of street vendors selling souvenirs, clothes, accessories and other goods. When the night comes, different vendors occupy the sidewalks, setting up their stalls and offering traditional meals with "lesehan" style of eating, in which the customers sit on the mat to enjoy their dinner. In many areas of the cities, there are the shifts from day-time use by certain activities to night-time use by street vendors. For example, the parking areas or sidewalks in front of the office

buildings may be occupied by the street vendors after the close of normal working hours as illustrated in Figure 2-11.

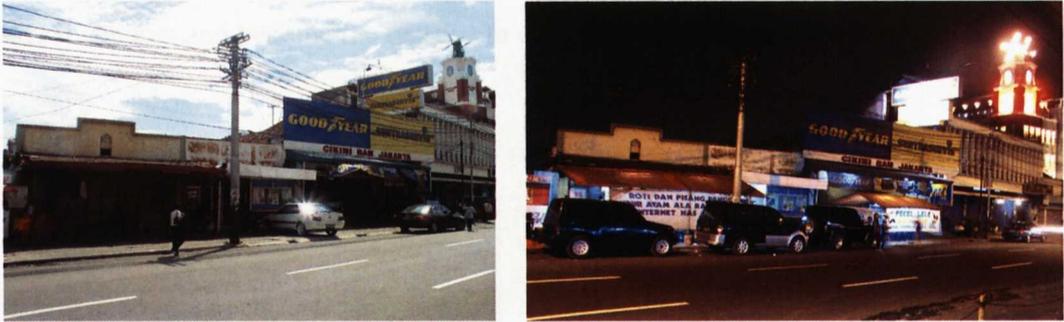


Figure 2-11 The presence of street vendors after dark

Street vendors often try to find suitable times to sell their goods in order to cater for consumers' demands. In Senayan, a sport complex in Central Jakarta, there are usually street vendors selling various kinds of breakfast for people who just finished their sport activities every Sunday morning. Street vendors can also be seen congregating in front of schools or offices during lunch break or at the end of school hours, while at other times they may trade elsewhere.

Street vendors also find opportunities to sell particular goods that are in high demand at particular seasons, especially around the celebration of religious days or other special days. For example, during Ramadan months the street vendors sell various foods for breaking the fasting and clothes for Ied, while around New Year's Day they may sell trumpets.

2.4 Problems of street vendors in Indonesia

The street vendors in Indonesia are continuously appeared as the highlights in the media. They are considered problematic to cities and their presence is continuously debated as to whether they should be maintained or banished. To understand the problems created by the street vendors, the following sections present a summary taken from articles in various major newspapers in several Indonesian cities within the last five years (2000-2004; see list of newspaper articles in Bibliography). This summary highlights various public opinions as well as the governments' views regarding the presence of street vendors in the cities.

2.4.1 Problems created by street vendors

Table 2-4 summarise the negative aspects of street vendors as found in various newspaper articles. These negative aspects are often cited as the arguments against the street vendors and become the reasons to evict them from many urban areas.

Table 2-4 Summary of problems created by street vendors cited from newspaper articles

The problems that street vendors created	Sources
Occupying illegal location	Wangsitalaja, 2003; Pemerintah Kota Magelang, 2002; "PKL makin", 2003; "Street vendors", 2001
Taking up streets or public places	Taufiq, 2001; Saraswati, 2001b; "Pedagang K-5", 2001; "Blok M dikepung", 2002, "PKL makin", 2003; "PKL melonjak", 2001; "2005, Tanah Abang", 2004; "Penertiban jalan", 2000, "Street vendors", 2002; "No more space", 2001
Creating traffic congestion	Karyadi, 2001; Prinantyo, 2002; Junaidi, 2002; Taufiqurrahman, 2003; Pemerintah Kota Magelang, 2002; Saraswati, 2001a, 2001b; "Pedagang K-5", 2001; "Blok M dikepung", 2002; "PKL makin", 2003; "Masalah PKL", 2002; "Jakarta mirip", 2000; "Penertiban jalan", 2000; "Street vendors", 2002; "No more space", 2001
Chaotic, unregulated, disrupting city aesthetic and order	Wangsitalaja, 2003; Devie, 2002; Sidharta, 2000; Prinantyo, 2002; Patmistik, 2004; Indriasari, 2003; Karnaji, 2001; Junaidi, 2002; Saraswati, 2001b; "Pedagang K-5", 2001; "Blok M dikepung", 2002; "PKL melonjak", 2001; "Masalah PKL", 2002; "2005, Tanah Abang", 2004; "No more space", 2001
Unhealthy and disrupting city cleanliness	Devie, 2002; Karnaji, 2001; "Masalah PKL", 2002
Creating urban slum areas	Karnaji, 2001, Karyadi, 2001, "2005, Tanah Abang", 2004
Creating image of danger and crime in public places	Devie, 2002; Sidharta, 2000; "Masalah PKL", 2002; Junaidi, 2002
Decreasing comfort of other users (public and official traders)	Sidharta, 2000; "Blok M dikepung", 2002; Karnaji, 2001; Pemda Magelang, 2002; "PKL makin", 2003; "Jakarta mirip", 2000; Rinaldi, 2004; "C. Jakarta reallocates", 2002

One of the reasons that street vendors are evicted from the cities is because they occupy illegal locations. As already illustrated in Figure 2-9 and Figure 2-10, the majority of the street vendors' locations are not intended to be locations for trading activities. The eviction was conducted by the city officials based on City Bylaw no 11/1988, Section 16 (Pemerintah Propinsi DKI Jakarta, 1988). This regulation states that it is illegal to sell goods or carry out business on the streets, green areas, parks and other public places except in the locations determined by the Governor. Based on this regulation, the presence of street vendors in such locations is considered to be violating public order.

As already mentioned in Section 2.3.6, street vendors often operate on the streets. In fact, they occupy not only the sidewalks but they also take up the road as illustrated in Figure 2-12. In some extreme situations, the street vendors may take up 75% of the road width (“Penertiban jalan”, 2000). As the consequences, this situation certainly creates vehicular traffic congestion, since the street cannot accommodate the motor vehicles as it should. In addition, there is also evidence that the road surface is marked with white lines (“PKL makin”, 2003), indicating the area for each vendor. This fact suggests that the street vendors have taken up the streets as their permanent location for their trading activities.

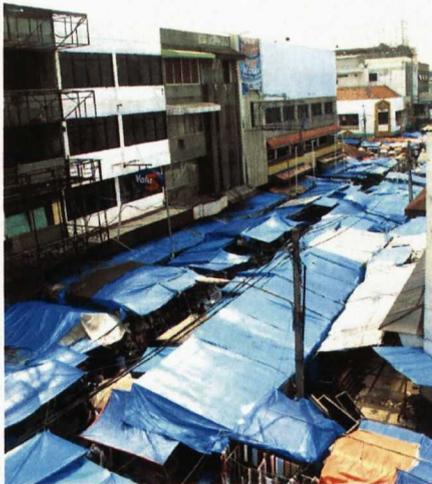


Figure 2-12 Street vendors on the road

Another negative aspect of street vendors is related to their physical appearance within the urban environment. The street vendors in Indonesia may appear in various forms. However, many of them are not maintained very well with rotten pushcarts, dirty tents and a disorganised arrangement of goods. They often use the space in arbitrary ways. All these situations of street vending as illustrated in Figure 2-13 are considered to be disrupting the appearance of the city in general.

Furthermore, in operating their business street vendors often produce garbage in their location. This creates an unhealthy environment and disrupts the cleanliness of the city. A further area of concern is that a concentration of street vendors set up in a disorderly manner may create slum areas in the city as well as reduce the feeling of safety among other members of public.



Figure 2-13 Physical appearance of street vendors

The presence of street vendors in many locations also creates some conflicts with other public groups. Their presence on the commercial street or shopping areas is often considered as a threat for the existing businesses that occupy the legal trading area since they have to compete to attract the customers (Devie, 2002). Their presence on the sidewalks and streets also creates discomfort for pedestrian and vehicle drivers (“PKL makin”, 2003). Very often the pedestrian cannot use the sidewalks and are forced to use the roads, which then become very dangerous for both the pedestrian and drivers.

2.4.2 Benefit of street vendors

Nevertheless, the street vendors in Indonesia are not always portrayed as detrimental urban life. As Bromley (2000) previously mentioned, street vendors are always seen as having both positive and negative contribution (see Section 2.2.3). Some of the positive contributions of Indonesian street vendors that have been cited in the media are summarised in Table 2-5.

Table 2-5 Positive contribution of street vendors cited from newspaper articles

Positive aspects of street vendors	Sources
Giving positive character of the city	Wangsitalaja, 2003; “Penertiban jalan”, 2002
Support tourism	Sidharta, 2000
Solution to unemployment	Wangsitalaja, 2003; Indriasari, 2003; Pemerintah Kota Magelang, 2002; Junaidi, 2001; Karyadi, 2001; Taufiqurrahman, 2003; Saraswati, 2001a; The Jakarta Post, 21 May 2001
Local government revenue	Kompas, 2001, Taufiqurrahman, 2003; Saraswati, 27 December 2001; Saraswati, 30 november 2001; “No more space”, 2001

- Despite the fact that street vendors are generally considered as disrupting the aesthetics of the city (see Section 2.4.1), street vendors also have potential to give a positive

character of the city. The presence of street vendors may enhance the liveliness in the atmosphere in the city. The interaction between seller and buyer can animate the life of the city. Although the street vendors have often been blamed as disrupting the urban aesthetic (see Table 2-4), they may also improve the appearance of the city.

The uniqueness of the street vendors as small trading activities run by local people may also contribute to the life of the city. As Sidharta (2000) argued, street vendors that are regulated, ordered, clean and representing local uniqueness have potential to make the city more interesting and will support tourism.

Other positive contributions from street vendors are mainly related to economic aspects. Street vendors have successfully provided solutions to the problems of unemployment in cities. It can be argued that the opportunities to participate in street vending have diverted unemployed people from criminal activities in the city (Saraswati, 2001a). Street vendors are a source of local government revenues through tax payments and other collections. In 1999 street vendors in Jakarta contributed Rp27 billion or USD 2.7 million (Saraswati, 2001a). However there is a debate whether street vendors really provide substantial contribution to the local government (“PKL melonjak”, 2001). Reality in the field has shown that often the money goes to *preman* (the thugs) operating in particular trading areas (Tunggal, 2002).

The summaries in Table 2-4 and Table 2-5 suggest that the problems of street vendors centre around their use of spaces in urban areas and their physical appearance. On the other hand, street vendors do contribute positively to the economic aspects on the city. Although street vendors have some potential to contribute positively to the physical image of the city, it seems that this positive aspect has not been well exploited. In fact, it has been over shadowed by the negative image of street vendors.

2.4.3 Policies toward street vendors

To control the presence of street vendors in Indonesian cities, local governments have created various policies. The policies may vary from one place to another in different situations. Generally there are four main types of policies for controlling street vendors that have been practiced within the last five years, as concluded from various newspaper articles.

a) Regulation

The first type of policy regulates the presence of street vendors. Street vendor regulation has been done by the local government through the process of registration, legalisation and the designation of certain areas as official trading locations. The street vendors that have been registered and given memberships card are considered as legal and have obligation to pay tax (Saraswati, 2001a, 2001b). One of the recent legalisation processes was conducted in Monas area in Central Jakarta. In this legalisation process, the number of street vendors was reduced from 2000 to 647 registered vendors (Indriasari, 2003).

Local governments have also introduced the regulation to control certain locations where the street vendors are permitted to operate. The regulation is meant to organise the street vendors so that they do not take up too much public space (Taufiqurrahman, 2003). Another way to control the presence of street vendors in the city is by scheduling the trading time. For example, in particular areas the street vendors are allowed to operate at night time only (Patnistik, 2004). Another possibility is to regulate the street vendors to trade during the time when the demand of certain goods is high (“Penertiban jalan”, 2000).

In general, the policy to regulate the street vendors may work to a limited extent only because it is unable to accommodate the actual number of street vendors. The number of official stalls or locations that are provided by the local government is usually much less than the number of existing street vendors (Junaidi, 2002). For example, in the legalisation process in Monas, more than half of the street vendors did not get permission and yet there are no places and no solutions for them.

b) Relocation

The second type of policy is to relocate the street vendors from illegal locations to other permitted locations. In this policy the local government may relocate them to various different places. For example, street vendors are moved to the basement or the top floor of the market buildings (Rinaldi, 2004; “Blok M dikepung”, 2002), the area behind bus interchange (“PKL makin”, 2003) or empty lots (Saraswati, 2001a; “Jadikan PKL”, 2002,). The street vendors may also be accommodated in particular place called *Sentra PKL*, which means the street vendors centre (Karyadi, 2001).

However, relocation policies have also brought some problems. In many cases, the street vendors refused to be relocated (Indriasari, 2003b; Karyadi, 2001; Taufiqurrahman, 2003; Saraswati, 2001a). The main reason of their refusal was because according to the vendors the relocation destinations are not the strategic locations for trading. This certainly will reduce their opportunity to attract potential buyers, as the buyers will not be able to see them or they will have to walk further.

Another problem of relocation is the insufficient space to accommodate all the existing street vendors and the high rent prices in the new location (Harsanto, 2004; Devie, 2002; “2005, Tanah Abang”, 2004). In addition, when the street vendors are relocated into the places with existing traders, their presence are considered as business threat as now they are competing for costumers (Rinaldi, 2004, Junaidi, 2001).

An alternative for relocating the street vendors is to integrate them within the main buildings, such as offices and shopping malls. In this way, street vendors can fulfil the needs for the employees in those buildings (Taufiqurrahman, 2003). This particularly applies to food vendors who can provide various types of food with cheap prices.

An attempt to integrate the street vendors with existing formal businesses has been implemented through City Bylaw no. 2/2002 (Pemerintah Propinsi DKI Jakarta, 2002). This regulation requires that the developers of new built commercial projects have to provide spaces for street vendors. Buildings with gross area between 200 and 500m² have to allocate 20% of their space for street vendors, while buildings with gross area between 500 and 8000m² have to allocate 30%.

In reality, many developers prefer to pay compensation fee rather than to accommodate street vendors in their buildings. It seems that they want to maintain the prestige image of their businesses and they do not want to lose the commercial space areas for their profit. The data between 1993 and 2000 indicate that the compensation fees paid by the developers have reached Rp15 billion. So far, from this amount the local government has allocated Rp9 billion to build places for vendors elsewhere (“No more space”, 2001). Nevertheless, creating special places for street vendors will hardly work as long as the street vendors perceived that the relocation cannot give them any benefits.

c) Eviction/‘street cleaning’

The third policy is the eviction of street vendors from illegal trading locations through a ‘street cleaning’ operation. Often after being given several warnings, the street vendors are forced to leave the locations by the government officers. The ‘street cleaning’ operations were also conducted against the vendors who refused to be relocated and resisted to stay in their current locations (Darmawan, 2003; Satoto, 2004; Prasetyo, 2002; “City threatens”, 2000; “Street vendors raided”, 2001; “PKL di pinggir”, 2004).

So far this type of policy has invited public reaction against ‘street cleaning’. The operation has often been followed by public or vendor demonstrations and protests, and has often led to open fights between the evicted vendors and government officers. (Kurniawan, 2004; Karnaji, 2001; Patnistik, 2004). This eviction operation is considered to be a violation of people’s right to earn a living (Junaidi, 2001).

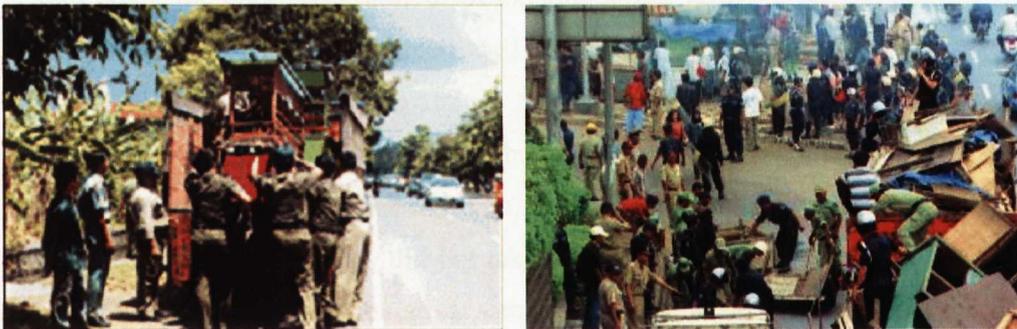


Figure 2-14 Eviction of street vendors (“Penertiban pedagang”, 2004)

Eviction strategy is not always successful to avoid the presence of street vendors in particular areas. The street vendors often have a ‘hide and seek’ strategy to avoid eviction. They usually run away or stop their trading activities when the eviction operation is taking place, but afterwards they will come back to the location and trade as usual (“Blok M dikepung”, 2002).

d) No solution

Apart from the three types of policies described above, in certain situations the local government just temporarily leave the street vendors where they are during certain period of time (Rukmana, 2002). This can be seen throughout some religious festival seasons such as Ramadan. At this season, local government let the vendors to operate in

the locations where they are normally not allowed until the end of the season (Ramidi, 2004). This lenient attitude was also seen at the beginning of monetary crisis period.

In some locations, often the government did not take any action when the number of street vendors operating is still very small (“Relokasi kaki lima”, 2002). However, this temporary policy has given way to street vendors spreading without control. If certain illegal locations can be occupied, then these will give precedent and encourage other street vendors to occupy other locations without regulation.

2.4.4 Continuous problems of street vendors

In general the policies to control the street vendors have not completely solved the problems. So far, the effort of local government to relocate and regulate street vendors have only reached very small fraction of street vendors (Sethuraman, 1985). They cannot cover the enormous number of existing street vendors. As the number of street vendors keep increasing, the problem will be more difficult to solve.

Moreover, the government seems to have inconsistent treatment toward the street vendors (Saraswati, 2001a). For example, in some locations, after the officers conducted street cleaning operation, they did not take proper control of the location. This can give way to the possibility for some street vendors to come back and operate there. It seems that the government tend to take action against the street vendors rather than to take preventative measures to control particular locations. This inconsistent attitude has resulted in repeated ‘street cleaning’ operation in the same places (Masud, 2004; “Pedagang K-5”, 2001; “Blok M dikepung”, 2002; “Seusai mudik”, 2004; “Penertiban jalan”, 2000).

The flexible and mobile characteristics of street vendors have also contributed to the difficulty in controlling their presence. It is very easy for the street vendors to disassemble their goods and leave the location to avoid the ‘street cleaning’ operations. It is also very easy for them to come back, reassemble their stuffs and start trading again only a few hours after the operation takes place (“Officials unable”, 2001).

Thus the problems regarding the presence of street vendors in Indonesian cities stay unsolved. Street vendors are always positioned in the middle of the debates, as to

whether they need to be retained or removed from the cities. The discussion in this chapter has shown that the issue of street vendors represents a conflict between different parties in the cities. The majority of arguments against street vendors presented in Table 2-4 have come from urban elite. They tend to point out the street vendors' inappropriate use of urban spaces and their contribution to urban disorderliness. On the other hand, as shown in Table 2-5, there is a need to consider the street vendors' right of employment to earn a living.

In their everyday activities, the street vendors occupy the "conflict zones" in the cities, which was claimed by the city officials as illegal (Cross, 1988b, p. 17) in the name of urban aesthetic and order. Street vendors have become the vulnerable sectors that often lose the battle of spaces in modern cities (Post, 1995). The problems of street vendors in the city reflect a conflict between the official expectation of ideal urban environment and the street vendors as the reality of urban life, as will be addressed further in Chapter 3.

Nevertheless, the presence of street vendors in the cities mainly responds to the demand of the public. So far, there seems to be a lack of consideration of the street vendors from the point of view of ordinary people who come into direct contact with street vendors in everyday life. There is no empirical evidence as to the perception of general public toward their presence, and the extent to which the street vendors disrupt the aesthetic of the city. This will become the main subject of investigation in this thesis.

2.5 Summary

The presence of street vendors is highly visible in large number in many Indonesian cities. The street vendors have the flexible characteristic that has enabled them to move easily from place to place. The street vendors occupy the locations anywhere in the cities, particularly in public places; some occupy the illegal locations which are not designated for trading activities. The street vendors may operate at different times of day.

The increasing presence of street vendors has created conflicts in urban areas. A series of arguments, both justifying and rejecting their presence are highlighted in the literatures as well as in the newspaper articles. The arguments that justify their presence are mainly related to social and economic aspects. Meanwhile, the majority of

arguments against the street vendors point out their misuse of urban spaces and their negative contribution to urban aesthetics. These arguments mainly come from urban elite who tend to generalise the presence of street vendors as 'eye sores' and associate them with the violation of spatial zoning in the cities.

Eventually these arguments have led into various governments' policies to regulate the presence of street vendors in the city. The policies include the regulation, the relocation and in many cases end up with the eviction of street vendors through 'street cleaning' operation. All these policies indicate the general judgment towards the street vendors as the negative aspects of the cities that need to be rejected. Nevertheless, despite such policies, the street vendors continue to grow and continually create conflicts that remain unsolved. The debates continue as to whether their presence in the cities should be retained or removed.

3 STREET VENDORS AND THE IDEAL CITIES

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the presence of street vendors within the context of ‘ideal cities’. It argues that the rejection of street vendors is a manifestation of an attempt to achieve an ‘ideal’ urban environment. This chapter begins with a brief overview of the concepts of ideal city as an attempt to achieve perfection through the ordering of the environment. It illustrates various examples of the manifestation of order in the physical environment of the ideal cities, and how the concept of the ideal city is implemented in the modern cities.

This chapter also presents some realities in urban life that are contrary to the perfect condition of ideal cities. In particular it focuses on the existence of disorder and diversity in cities, and argues that these are the aspects of real city life that are rarely considered in the ideal cities. This section includes a discussion of the temporal dynamics found in cities and the presence of temporary elements, which are often unplanned and unpredictable. Nevertheless, the presence of such elements is a part of the reality in urban life, as is the case with street vendors.

The final section argues that street vendors have, by their nature, positioned themselves as a resistance against the ‘ideal’ concept of modern cities. The urban elite consider street vendors to have negative effect on cities and want them to be removed in the name of aesthetic perfection and order. This section also identifies a lack of evidence from the public point of view. This has raised a further question of how the presence of street vendors is perceived by the public who are the everyday users of the urban environment.

3.2 Ideal city

3.2.1 What is an ideal city?

Eaton (2001) defined ideal cities as “cities whose life begins (and usually ends) in the form of ideas and which are often presented as being as close to perfection as possible” (p. 11). Rosenau (1983) described that “...an ideal city represents a religious vision, or a

secular view, in which social consciousness of the needs of the population is allied with a harmonious conception of artistic unity” (p. 2). These two descriptions of the ideal city share a similar notion which basically refers to the endeavour for harmony and perfection for human life in the city.

Windsor-Liscombe (2004) also proposed another description of ideal city:

The Ideal City stands at the intersection between imagination and experience, where the mind reconstructs ordinary living into harmonious community. It is a virtual place that can correct or change what seems deficient in contemporary conditions by recovering the effective in past practice and revealing previously undefined improvements in organization and appearance. (p. 28)

This definition suggests that the concept of ideal city becomes a means to amend the imperfect condition of the city and reconstruct the reality of everyday urban life into the harmonious situation. This idea is parallel with the suggestion from Eaton (2001), who suggested that the ideal city is an alternative to the chaotic situation, which can be achieved through social restructuring and ordering of the chaotic environment.

Ideal city is often associated with utopian condition. The concept of utopia began with the idea of Thomas More (1951) in *The Island of Utopia*, in which he described the form and order of the places that is considered as the best and ideal. Ackroyd (1998) explained that “Utopia itself means literally ‘no-place’”, indeed it exists as “a form of nothingness” (p. 171).

The terms ‘ideal city’ and ‘utopia’ are often used interchangeably, yet there is a difference between these two concepts (Rosenau, 1983). Rosenau mentioned that Utopia suggests more violent change to the existing condition than the proposals of ideal city (p. 170). Both the concepts of ‘ideal city’ and ‘utopia’ exist in the level of ideas, however, the ideal city seems to be closer to realisation. Windsor-Liscombe (2004) suggested that the ideal city is located between the imagination and experience, and thus it remains in the virtual domain and never be realised. However, Barnett (1979) believed that an ideal city is not beyond reach. Therefore the search for ideal cities has continued with the expectation to achieve the condition close to the perfection in urban environment.

Windsor-Liscombe (2004) summarised several principles of Ideal/Utopian city design. These principles are: 1) the comprehensive planning of built environment; 2) a total view of societal function; 3) the assumption of entirely equitable relations between all

social subjects; 4) the expectation of citizen obedience, service and community; 5) the satisfaction of personal expectation and aspiration; 6) the constructive use of natural and social resources; and 7) the protection of the ideal community. These are all the qualities that he believed must be fulfilled to achieve the perfection of ideal city. These seven principles indicate the need for a form of control in order to achieve such ideal conditions.

The attempt to achieve harmony and perfection in the ideal city is inseparable from the needs to control and order. The planning and implementation of the ideal city belongs in the domain of the elite of the cities. This concept was proposed by Plato (in Eaton, 2001) where only the elite were capable of introducing harmony and order into the chaotic urban environment through ideal city planning. This highlights the dominant role of planning profession in ordering the physical environment as an attempt to achieve the ideal cities.

In the above definitions of the ideal city, the term 'city' includes both the aspect of urban physical environment and the social political condition of the urban society (Eaton, 2001). This thesis focuses on the physical aspects of the city and the use of the term ideal city refers particularly to the attempts of urban elite who, through the planning process, determine the physical environment of the city. This elite include governments, urban planners and architects.

3.2.2 What ideal cities look like

The definition in Section 3.2.1 suggests that ideal cities are associated with the condition of harmony and perfection. This is reflected in the physical environment of the ideal cities. Ideal cities are based on the belief that “the physical form of the city can both reflect and condition the networks of a society and behaviour of its citizens” (Eaton, 2001, p.11). Barnett (1979) also emphasised the importance of the quality of the environment in achieving the ideal city.

Ambrogio Lorenzetti, an Italian painter, illustrated the relationship between the physical environment of cities and the life of the people in 14th century in Siena through a series of frescoes in Siena Town Hall (Figure 3-1 and Figure 3-2).



Figure 3-1 Effect of Good Government on the City Life (by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, in Web Gallery of Art)



Figure 3-2 Effect of Bad Government on the City Life (by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, in Web Gallery of Art)

One part of the painting represents the Effect of Good Government on the City Life (Figure 3-1). It depicts a happy life in a well maintained city with happy people dancing and chatting. No rotten materials and damage are visible in the buildings. Everything in the scene looks tidy and clean.

Another part, the Effect of Bad Government on the City Life (Figure 3-2) illustrates the opposite condition. The city is ruined, the houses are torn down, and the streets are full of debris. While the first painting shows a scene with full lively activity, the second one

only shows violence, killing and death. These paintings demonstrate that the perfect physical condition and well maintenance of cities reflect good government. In turn, the fabric of the city also affects the happiness and harmony life of the people living there.

The search for perfection in ideal cities has been reflected in the physical appearance of cities. More (1951) described some physical characteristics of the cities in the Island of Utopia.

The city is compassed about with high and thick stone wall full of turrets and bulwarks. ...The streets be appointed and set forth very commodious and handsome, both for carriage and also against the wind. The houses be of fair and gorgeous building, and on the street side they stand joined together in long row through the whole street without any partition or separation. The streets be twenty foot broad...Every house hath two doors, one into the street, and a postern door on the back side into the garden. ...They set great store by their gardens. In them they have vineyards, all manner of fruit, herbs, and flowers, so pleasant, so well furnished, and so finely kept... (pp. 60-61)

This description depicts the fine appearance and the orderliness of the streets, houses and gardens in the ideal cities. Barnett (1979) proposed a series of patterns for the ideal city, and one of which states that “The ideal city will be new” (p.58). He believed that the ideal city is the new city where there are no smells, filth, danger or noise, no old houses, no cemeteries, no prisons, no slaughter houses with ugly appearance. Instead there are good houses with broad and lighted streets. Barnett further mentioned that “A visitor to the Ideal City would be charmed by its first aspect: its variety of architecture, its beauty of colour, its freshness and purity” (p. 58).

This clearly shows an emphasis on the perfection in the city appearance, and that any forms of ugliness or poverty have no place in the ideal city. This is also supported by Geddes (1979), who considered poverty, dirt, disease and ugliness as the evils of city life which need to be destroyed. More (1951) has emphasised the need to avoid such nuisances, “Neither they suffer anything that is filthy, loathsome, or uncleanly to be brought into the city...” (p. 71). The need to avoid such forms of nuisances seems to be carried through the modern practice of city planning

In order to achieve the perfection and harmony in ideal cities, an attempt to order the environment was done through geometry. The importance of geometry has been emphasised since early ages of Plato, with his famous words “No body untrained in geometry may enter my house” (Eaton, 2001, p. 14) and it has been used throughout the

history of ideal cities (Kostof, 1991; Eaton, 2001; Windsor-Liscombe, 2004). The attempts to arrange ideal cities based on geometrical order suggests “humankind’s rational domination of the chaotic forces of nature” (Eaton, 2001, pp.16-17). It becomes a way in which human beings can introduce order into the urban physical environment.

Figure 3-3 and Figure 3-4 present two paintings from late 15th century that illustrate what the ideal city looked like. The Ideal City and The Ideal City with Circular Temple illustrate the cleanliness and the beauty of the scene and the use of geometrical pattern in the physical arrangement of the cities. Although there are some people in the painting, the life of the cities is hardly seen. In the second painting there are no people evident, only beautiful grand buildings and empty plazas under the blue sky. Lynch (1982) commented that the painting of The Ideal City reflects “Order, precision, clear form, extended space, and perfect control: The Renaissance ideal of the city as a well-managed stage for upper-class life” (p. 77).



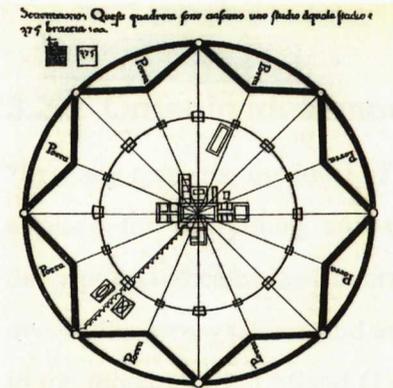
Figure 3-3 The Ideal City (by Anonymous, in Eaton, 2001)



Figure 3-4 The Ideal City with Circular Temple (by Piero della Francesca, in Eaton, 2001)

Geometry has been used to develop the layout of ideal cities. Most often the use of geometry results in a regular pattern of streets and spaces in the cities (Windsor-Liscombe, 2004). Two basic geometrical forms, the circle and square, have generated

the basic layouts of many ideal cities (Johnston, 1983; Kostof, 1991; Eaton, 2001) as illustrated in Figure 3-5.



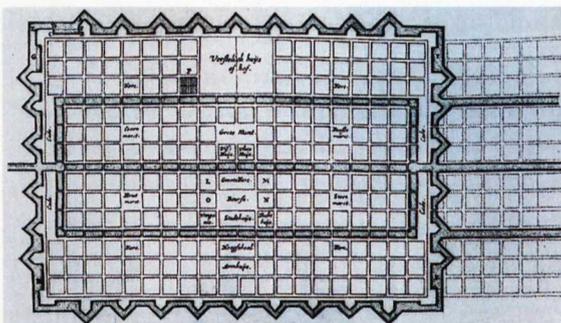
Plan of Sforzinda by Filarete (Johnston, 1983)



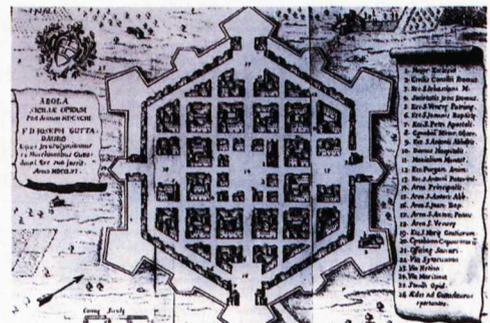
Plan of Palma Nova in Braun and Hogenberg (Eaton, 2001)

Figure 3-5 Ideal cities with basic geometrical forms

The use of the grid has also become another obvious implementation of geometry in ideal cities. Eaton (2001) described that “The grid, the orthogonal plan with parallel streets and right angles, used frequently in ancient planning, appears to be the ideal-city form par excellence. It represents the most common and universal pattern of urban history, a reflection of order...” (p. 28). In the utopian island of More (1951), “The city is divided into four equal parts or quarters. In the midst of every quarter there is a market-place of all manner of things” (pp. 70-71). This indicates the use of grid for the spatial organisation of the city. Some further examples of the ideal cities with grid are illustrated in Figure 3-6.



Ideal port city plan by Simon Stevin (Kostof, 1991)



Plan of Avola (Sicily) by Amico (Kostof, 1991)

Figure 3-6 Ideal cities with grid

All the above examples clearly illustrate the implementation of geometry as a reflection of order in the urban environment to achieve harmony and perfection in urban life. The use of geometrical forms for urban layout has been practiced in ideal cities in the past,

and it also influenced the development of the concept of ideal cities in subsequent centuries (Eaton, 2001), as will be discussed in the following section.

3.2.3 Order in ideal modern city

“In many respects, the ideal of the modern city is like the ideal of a well-ordered home: a place for everything and everything in its place” (Lofland, 1973, p. 67). This description indicates the importance of spatial ordering in modern cities. The location of everything, every person and every activity becomes crucial factors in determining order in the modern city. Lofland (1973) further described that the order of modern cities has different characteristic than of pre-industrial cities. The modern city is characterised by the dominance of *spatial ordering*, while *appearential ordering* dominated pre industrial cities, where order was determined by appearance, regardless of location.

‘Order’ became a concept that was “highly valued by the first generation of modernist architects” (Forty, 2000 p 240), although later it became one of the aspects of modern architecture that was most criticised. The needs of human beings to order their environments have been emphasised by Le Corbusier (1929). He believed that “Nature presents itself to us as a chaos; ...The actual scene which lies before our eye...is a confusion.” (pp. 24-25). Thus, to respond to this chaotic and confusing situation, ordering is necessary.

Forty (2000) explained that order in architecture has several meanings:

1. the attainment of beauty, through a relationship of parts to the whole;
2. the representation of the ranks (orders) of society;
3. the avoidance of chaos, through architecture’s use as model, or instrument, of social and civil order;
4. in an urbanistic sense, to resist the inherent tendency of cities to disorder. (p. 240)

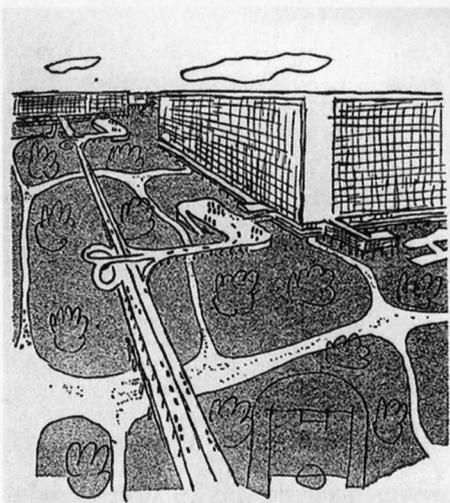
The principle of order in architecture has also been explained by Mies van der Rohe as the following:

So we shall emphasize the organic principle of order that makes the parts meaningful and measurable while determining their relationship to the whole...The long path from material through purpose to creative work has only a single goal: to create order out of the godforsaken confusion of our time. But we want an order that gives to each thing its proper place, and we want to give each thing what is suitable to its nature. (In Neumeier, 1991, p. 317)

This concept of order from Mies, according to Forty (2000), includes the definition of order as the relationship of parts to the whole, the avoidance of chaos, and that things should have its proper place. In particular, the latter meaning of order “that gives to each thing its proper place” is parallel to the definition of order in ideal modern cities from Lofland (1973), and this will become one of the major themes addressed in this thesis in dealing with the place of temporary elements in the cities.

Le Corbusier (1929) believed that order can only be achieved through geometry. This is a belief that already existed in the previous concepts of ideal city as described in Section 3.2.2. According to Le Corbusier (1929) “Geometry is the foundation. It is also the material basis on which we build those symbol represent to us perfection and the divine.” (p. 1) Le Corbusier also suggested the search of perfection in human environment through “exactitude”. To some extent this is similar to the search of harmony and perfection in the examples of ideal cities as discussed earlier.

Another theme in the ways of achieving order in the cities is through separation. Modernist cities have been characterised by the separation of pedestrian from the automobile (Kostof, 1992). This idea is portrayed in Le Corbusier’s sketch in *La Maison des Hommes* (1942) as illustrated in Figure 3-1, with the caption stated “100 per cent of the ground is given over to pedestrians. Cars roll along their motor roads sixteen feet [5 m.] above the ground. The impossible has become possible: separation of the pedestrian from the automobile has been accomplished.” (in Kostof, 1992, p. 235).

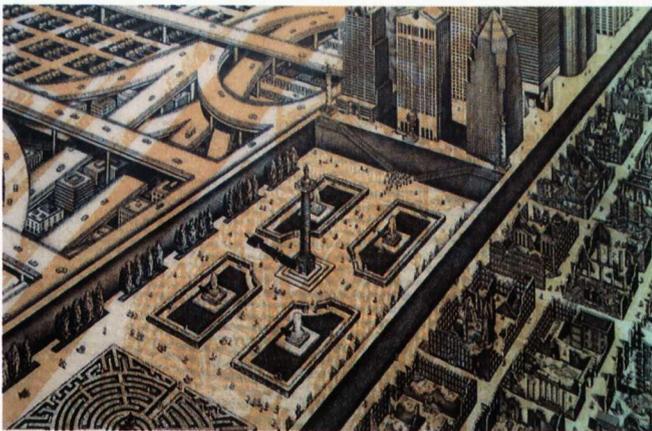


**Figure 3-7 Separation of automobile and pedestrian
(sketch by Le Corbusier in Kostof, 1992)**

This separation was an attempt to allow great speeds within the cities. This was considered to be a sign of a good city. As Le Corbusier (1929) mentioned “A city made for speed is made for success” (p.179). Therefore, nothing should come in the way of the traffic flow, and the separation was seen as the best way to achieved obstruction-free movement in the city.

Lofland (1973) has also mentioned the separation of activities as the prominent character of modern cities. The planning of modern cities tends to designate certain activities to certain spaces and to avoid the “pile-up” of activities (Lofland, 1973). Zoning regulation has become “one of the more interesting instruments of segregation” (Lofland, 1973, p. 74), as a way to ensure that everything has its proper place.

The practice of ordering urban environments by separating activities is illustrated in the work of artist Nancy Wolf “Perfect Order” (Figure 3-8). In this work she interpreted the contemporary urban environment in which, “Buildings, spaces, and their inhabitants are defined by and consigned to their own clearly differentiated areas. It is an order that reflects how we think about ourselves” (Wolf, 1994, p. 203). The areas in the centre representing the wealthy and the powerful are separated by high walls from the ruined areas on the right and residential suburb with the highways on the left.



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Figure 3-8 Perfect Order (Nancy Wolf, in Franck and Schneekloth, 1994)

The attempts to put everything in its proper place are often implemented through the total control of the physical environments by those holding the power, including the planners and architects. Jacobs (1961) mentioned that many ideal plans of the cities, such as garden city (Howard, 1985) and radiant city (Corbusier, 1967), basically attempt to create harmony and order in the physical environment under the “total, absolute and

unchallenged control” of the architects (Jacobs, 1961, pp. 388-389). This clearly indicates the role of urban elite in determining the planning of the physical urban environment.

The importance of planning to control the chaotic environment has also been proposed before by Le Corbusier (1929), who believed that

We must build on a clear site. The city of –to-day is dying because it is not constructed geometrically. To build on a clear site is to replace the ‘accidental’ lay-out of the ground, the only one that exists to-day, by the formal lay-out... (p. 220)

This statement is similar to what is previously mentioned by Plato, quoting Socrates (in Eaton, 2001) that “artists will not work unless they are given clean canvas, or have cleaned it themselves” (p. 17).

The discussion above illustrates that the planning of ideal modern cities attempt to control the physical environments of the city and to ensure that everything is under control. Sennett (1970) believed that the goal of the planners of modern cities is “that nothing be out of control ...all manner of diverse activities must be ruled by their lowest common denominators” (p. 80). To some extent this view implied the rejection of everything that is unplanned, uncontrolled or accidental.

3.2.4 Some questions regarding the ideal cities

Ideal cities represent attempts to achieve perfection in urban environment. Nevertheless, there are some questions that need to be addressed. According to Eaton (2001), the concept of ideal cities presents a global solution toward perfection and in this attempt often ignores the specific local context. The solutions offered in the concept of an ideal city tend to create uniformity. This is described by More (1951) in the island of Utopia, which suggested the creation of uniform and identical cities:

There be in the island fifty-four large and fair cities, or shire towns, agreeing all together in one tongue, in like manners, institutions and laws. They be all set and situate alike, and in all points fashioned alike, as far forth as the place or plot suffereth (p. 56)

The tendency toward uniformity may risk the danger of neglecting variety of historical, geographical, cultural and other local factors (Eaton, 2001). Furthermore, Eaton pointed out that “It is a sad truth that diversity, pluralism and tolerance, the essence of

democracy, are frequently sacrificed in utopian societies, an almost inevitable result of the painful, eternal conflict between the collective and the individual..." (p. 17). Another criticism is conveyed by Windsor-Liscombe (2004), who argued that the ideal city "underscores the multiplicity of factors" (p. 41). This has raised a question of whether the global solution of the ideal city may respond appropriately to the different context of urban life with its diversity.

Another question can be asked regarding the capability of the ideal city plans to involve the users (Windsor-Liscombe, 2004). As can be seen in Section 3.2.1, the concept of ideal city has emphasised the dominant role of urban elite as those who hold the power. This suggests a top-down approach in controlling the physical environment of the cities. Windsor-Liscombe (2004) raised a question on the role of users, proposing the need to shift into a bottom-up approach to involve the user in the attempt to achieve the ideal condition. The position of users within the implementation of ideal city plan will become one of the issues addressed later in this thesis.

In addition, whether the plans of ideal cities can really succeed in bringing perfection into urban life remains a question. To some extent the planning of modern cities has practiced the principle of physical determinism. This principle emphasises the importance of physical environment in influencing human behaviour and activities (Lang, 1987, Franck, 1984). With this belief, the physical environment can be used as a means of controlling everything that happened in the cities.

Eaton (2001) suggests that ideal cities may either improve the real life or create disaster. The ordering of modern cities tends to create "purified cities" with everything under control in advance (Sennett, 1970, p. 75). Sennett (1970) further criticised the planning of purified cities as deterministic, in assuming that changing the physical landscape can alter the social pattern of the cities. However, for him this is a "terrible simplicity" (pp. 77-78), which ignores the reality of the city.

On one hand, order has been used as the effort to achieve the ideal condition of perfection in modern cities. On the other hand, the reality in urban life also includes the presence of slum, poverty, ugliness and other kinds of disorders that are contrary to the harmony and perfection. Nevertheless, such reality has been recognised as one of the characteristics of real urban life. Lofland (1973) mentioned that "A city is many things"

(p. 3) which suggests that anything may exist and happen in the cities, both those perfect and imperfect things.

Jacobs (1961) believed that “the big cities are natural generators of diversity...” (p. 156) and therefore the presence of diversity cannot be avoided. Sennett (1970) described the diversity in urban life as the following: “Each piece of the city mosaic had a distinct character, but the pieces were “open”, and this was what made life urban” (p. 54). However, the discussion of ideal cities in previous sections clearly did not incorporate the idea of how to accommodate this diversity. The emphasis was on the attempt to ensure that everything was under total control, suggesting the need to reject the other unexpected aspects. The following section will discuss some aspects that occur in the reality of urban everyday life.

3.3 City of reality

This section discusses two aspects of reality that occur in the cities. The first aspect is the presence of disorder and diversity in the city. The second aspect is related to the temporal dynamics of the city, and includes the presence of temporary elements in the city. Both aspects are discussed as the sources of conflict with the harmony and perfection that are expected to occur in the ideal cities as illustrated in Section 3.2.

3.3.1 Disorder and diversity in the cities

The existence of diversity in cities opens the possibility for conflict. Nevertheless, contradiction between conflicting parts may lead to disorder in the cities. Within the concept of an ideal modern city that attempts to achieve harmony and perfection, such conflicts become the single thing that cannot be allowed to occur. In the planning of modern cities, conflicts between the parts of the city are considered bad qualities that should be eliminated (Sennett, 1970).

However, this seems to be impossible, as “disorder is what cities produce of their own accord...” (Forty, 2000, p. 243). Sennett (1970) further argued that this disorder is actually a good thing that should happen in the cities. In particular he criticised the strict control of the urban spaces in the cities through predetermined planning and functional zoning.

This prohibition on preplanned, functional space is important because it permits great diversity to arise in city neighbourhoods, and because it permits whatever social encounters and conflicts exist in the neighbourhood itself ...Encouraging unzoned urban places, no longer centrally controlled, would thus promote visual and functional disorder in the city. My belief is that this *disorder* is better than dead, predetermined planning, which restricts effective social exploration. (Sennett, 1970, p. 116)

This statement clearly illustrates a view against order in the ideal modern city. In particular it criticises the concept of zoning in ensuring that 'everything is in its place'.

Similarly, Jacobs (1961) argued that the greatest mistake in zoning is that it permits monotony and leads to disintegration of environment (p. 250). Lawson (2001) also criticised the practice of zoning in modern cities as "the tyranny of functionalist space" (p. 221). According to him, in reality, people lives were "simply not functionally compartmentalized, and therefore not spatially zoned or planned" (Lawson, 2001, p.222). In fact, the practice of zoning that separates functions in urban environment tends to ignore this reality.

Another criticism against order came from Venturi (1977) who criticised modern architecture which is 'pure', 'clean', 'straightforward' and 'articulated', simple, direct and clear. In contrast he believed that architecture elements should be hybrid, compromising, distorted, ambiguous, redundant, inconsistent and equivocal. He stressed that "I am for messy vitality over obvious unity" (Venturi, 1977, p. 16). This clearly suggests the needs to accept complexity and diversity in human environment, rather than merely depend on the cleanliness and simplicity, which he refers as "bland architecture" (p. 17). In fact, there is nothing wrong with diversity; as Jacobs (1961) further argued, the belief that diversity looks ugly is just a myth.

However, Venturi is not entirely against order (Forty, 2000). In fact he proposed different kind of order from what have been applied in modern architecture, and he called this as "complex order" or "difficult order" (Venturi and Brown, 1972). What he means is the order that includes the mixture of clashing elements and "it is not order dominated by the expert and not easy for the eye" (Venturi and Brown, 1972, p. 56).

This statement indicates the criticism against the urban elite's planning of modern cities, which tends to avoid the presence of conflicting parts. Venturi and Brown (1972)

believed that the presence of conflicting element can be justified. “The difficult whole in an architecture of complexity and contradiction includes multiplicity and diversity of elements in relationship that are inconsistent or among the weaker kinds perceptually” (Venturi, 1977, p. 88).

Jacobs (1961) supported this argument by mentioning that monotony, which is often thought as a sort of order, actually carries a deep disorder. For her monotony contains “the disorder of conveying no direction” (p. 236). Both Jacobs and Venturi had made clear that diversity of the elements in the city is definitely acceptable. They had challenged the use of order as a way to achieve harmony and perfection of physical environment in ideal modern cities.

Nevertheless, there seems to be a need to find the balance between order and disorder. Lynch (1960) suggested that “Complete chaos without hint of connection is never pleasurable...an environment which is ordered in precise and final detail may inhibit new patterns of activity...what we seek is not a final but an open-ended order, capable of continuous further development” (p. 6). This indicates the need to consider the situation between total order and total chaos in the planning of the cities.

The use of order in modern city planning has led to the development of “purified city” (Sennett, 1970, p. 85) which has everything under total control, without any conflicting or unexpected parts. In fact, Sennett (1970) believed that the abstract plan of purified city has destroyed the life of real people, as also observed by some other critics (Jacobs, 1961).

Many modern cities were planned on the basis of geometrical order through grids. The use of the grid is an attempt to neutralise and unify the environment into the totality of the city (Sennett, 1990; Sasaki, 2000). In this way, the grid denies the existence of contrast, complexity and difference, which are the basic characteristics of urban life. Venturi (1977) believed that this neutrality only causes blandness. Jacobs (1961) even mentioned that “the ugliness of our cities is owing to our grid-iron street systems” (p. 393). Sasaki (2000) further argued that “the visuality of the Cartesian city was abstract, since it was addressed not to human eyes but to God’s eye” (p. 38).

The use of grid also leads to the repetition of pattern in the cities, and this tendency for this repeated uniformity may create a risk of losing the character of specific places (Sennett, 1990). Venturi (1977) further emphasised the need for contrast in human environment. “A building with no ‘imperfect’ part can have no perfect part, because contrast supports meaning” (p. 41). This indicates that the imperfect parts, which are normally rejected in the concept of ideal cities, can actually convey meaning and constitute the everyday urban life.

The discussion in Section 3.2 has shown that the ideal city aimed at achieving harmony and perfection through conflict-free urban environment (Sennett, 1970). However, this notion seems difficult to match with the reality of modern cities which are characterised by diversity. The tendency toward uniformity at the expense of neglecting diversity has become one of the problems in the concept of ideal city (Eaton, 2001).

Nevertheless, such diversity needs to be accepted in the everyday life of the urban environment. Venturi (1977) suggested that “it is perhaps from the everyday landscape, vulgar and disdained, that we can draw the complex and contradictory order that is valid and vital for our architecture as an urbanistic whole” (p. 104). Jacobs (1961) also believed that the attempts to remove diversity from the city will eventually have detrimental effect on the functional order of the city.

The discussion in this section has illustrated the importance of considering the existence of disorder and the ‘imperfect’ parts of urban environment. These aspects are often rejected in the planning of ideal cities and they are considered to be disruptive to the harmony and perfection, yet they are part of an everyday reality. This thesis attempts to address this issue by examining the position of street vendors as one of these rejected urban elements.

3.3.2 Temporal dynamics of the cities

Another aspect that needs to be considered in everyday urban life is the temporal dynamics of the city. This section focuses on how urban environment may change within the context of the day time-night time cycle. It also focuses on the presence of temporary elements as a part of this temporal dynamic.

Schlor (1998) described how the life of the city has extended into night time when he wrote that “the city itself no longer sleeps” (p. 93). Some of the functions of the city must be carried out in the evening such as factory work, newspaper printing, transport services, mail services and city cleaning. In addition, evening time is the time when people search for recreation and entertainment (Montgomery, 1994). In most cities there are countless businesses and activities which offer their services during evening hours.

This situation has created the dynamic of 24 hour city. Some of the activities only exist during day time, and disappear when night falls. On the other hand, some activities only exist in the evening, such as theatre and night club (Shapcott and Steadman, 1978; Bromley, Tallon and Thomas, 2003).

The dynamic of peoples’ activities in the cities inevitably affect the pattern of use of urban places. “City form continually changes as a result of a multitude of actions, and it affects many ordinary people in their day-to-day activities” (Nasar, 1998, p. 2). According to Lynch (1976) there are four types of cycles of use in the cities: *Continuous use*, *evacuation*, *invasion* and *displacement*. An area with *continuous use* is occupied by the same activities from day to night. *Evacuation* refers to the urban area that is only active during the day and empty at night time. Some urban areas are active especially at night (*invasion*), while in some area there is the *displacement* or the shifting from day to night activity. These different types of cycle represent the various dynamics that occur in the urban environment as the result of the changes of activities from day to night.

However, the existence of urban life at night time seems to have been neglected, and the design of urban environments often fails to consider these temporal dynamics of the city (Von Meiss, 1990). Only recently have there been approaches to consider the 24-hour city life (Biancini, 1994; Montgomery, 1994), where various economical, social and cultural activities have been promoted to take place both in the day time and night time in cities. Worpole (1998) emphasised the need to consider seriously the temporal dimension in urban planning. “It is now time as much as space that separate urban function, so urban planning needs to take serious note of time planning” (p. 114).

In considering the temporal dimension in the city, one of the important issues is the possibility of the change of urban elements through time. Cities consist of various elements. Some elements exist permanently once they are built, while others are

temporary. The elements that make up the city have varying degrees of temporality. Buildings might be considered permanent objects, but they may change over time (Brand, 1994). Some of the changes in cities may occur very slowly over many hundreds of years. Some buildings and other cities elements may change quicker, in such a way that the changes are easily noticed. There are also elements in the city that keep moving such as people and vehicles. The presence of all these elements with varying degrees of temporality creates the dynamics of the urban environment.

The physical elements in the human environment can be classified into three categories (Rapoport 1982; Hall 1966): *Fixed-feature elements*, *semifixed-feature elements*, and *nonfixed-feature elements*. Fixed-feature elements are the elements that change rarely and slowly. These include streets and buildings in the city and most of architectural elements (walls, ceiling, floor etc.). Semifixed-feature elements are the elements which change fairly quickly and easily, such as furniture, plants, advertising signs, shops windows display etc. Nonfixed-feature elements are those related to human occupants and their spatial relations, body postures and movements.

The street vendors, which become the focus of this thesis, are often categorised as a semifixed-feature element. Their presence in the cities is temporary and may change from time to time. Maharika (2001) suggested street vendors as one of the case of ephemeral architecture in the city as their presence “can be detached” from urban space. Just like other temporary elements, their presence also contributes to the dynamic of the city.

The presence of semifixed-feature elements in the city is as important as the fixed-feature elements. In the everyday life of the city, the presence of “moving elements in a city, and in particular the people and their activities, are as important as the stationary physical parts” (Lynch, 1960, p. 2). In particular, these changing elements may play an important role in the changes of urban environment.

However, architects and the planners are not well prepared for the possible changes that may occur over time (Brand, 1994). The need to compromise with the changes that occur in the environment was also emphasised by Venturi (1977), “indeed, change in the program of existing buildings is a valid phenomenon...” (p. 42). Therefore such changes should be accepted in everyday life of urban environments. Jacobs (1961) also suggested

that “unpredictable uses and peculiar scenes” (p. 250-251) make up a part of the diversity in cities.

Most of the time, the planning process seems to concentrate on the treatment of buildings as fixed elements, while semi-fixed elements are seldom controlled by regulations (Rapoport, 1982). In the design and planning of the urban environment, it seems that not enough attention is given to the non-permanent elements and the ephemerality of spaces (Maharika, 2001). Rapoport (1982) further mentioned that fixed elements are more likely to be under the control of designers while the semi-fixed elements are often under the control of the users.

Nevertheless, Rapoport (1982) believed that there is difference in the way planners and users see space. Often architects tend to restrain the users’ control in changing the semi-fixed elements “in order to preserve an overall aesthetic ideal” (Rapoport, 1982, p. 21). Furthermore, when the environment changes in a way that was not originally anticipated, the response of the planners “has not been to try to understand the new changes and learn from them, but rather to cry for greater policing powers to enforce what they originally envisaged” (Sennett 1970, p. 84). This indicates the tendency of the planners to take total control of the environment, leaving no room for any possible changes or unpredictable situation that may occur later in its everyday use.

Many changes in the physical environment of the city are created by the presence of the elements with varying degrees of temporality. However, the extent to which an element can be considered as ‘permanent’ or ‘temporary’ does not seem to be simple to classify. There are many occasions in which temporary elements or ephemeral objects exist in the city for a prolonged period of time, or appear so regularly that their presence can be easily recognised.

An example can be seen in the case of “A Box Man” – the homeless people with the cardboard boxes homes, who were regularly present in particular spots (Abe, 2003). This is also true for the street vendors, who are always present in cities. For street vendors “the ceremony is an everyday life: finding a place, constructing and then deconstructing the shelter, moving to other place, constructing and deconstructing it again and again” (Maharika, 2001).

In these examples, prolonged and regular existence may raise a question of whether these elements can still be considered to be temporary. Their presence may be physically temporary, in a sense that they can be detached easily from the cities, unlike the buildings or streets that are difficult to be demolished. However, their “recurring patterns of activity” create the image of their presence that can be easily recognised by the public, and create “social imageability” (Stokols and Shumaker, 1981, p. 446). Although they are physically temporary, their presence in urban places is well-understood and well-recognised by the people in the cities, as they appear regularly and therefore predictably. To some extent these temporary elements display permanence through their regular presence in cities.

3.4 Street vendors: between ideal city and reality

Chapter 2 demonstrated the fact that the street vendors in Jakarta are considered to be a problem for various reasons. The reasons include their presence in illegal locations, their contribution to traffic congestion, as well as the disruption to city order, aesthetics, cleanliness and safety.

The discussion in this chapter has shown that the concept of ideal modern cities aims to achieve order and perfection. Everything must be under control, and therefore those in power tend to reject everything that is unplanned, uncontrolled or accidental. This rejection can be clearly seen in the case of street vendors. By their nature, street vendors are semifixed-feature elements, and their presence is not well regulated. The presence of street vendors is a phenomenon of real urban life which does not fit within the concept of ideal modern cities where everything must be under control. According to Cross (2000), the presence of street vendors is considered by the elite to be “the clearest sign of the ‘disorder’ and ‘wilfulness’ of the informal economy that needed to be stamped out” (p. 40).

In practice, as illustrated in Chapter 2, most street vendors occupy illegal locations, which are designated for certain functions and not as areas for trading. The majority of street vendors in Jakarta operate on the streets and sidewalks. The street is designated for vehicles, and the use of streets for trading is considered to be obstructive (Bluestone, 1991; Lofland, 1973). In this instance, street vendors are considered to be violating

zoning regulations, which also means polluting the perfection found in the concept of the ideal modern city.

Another issue raised as the reason to reject the street vendors, as already shown in Chapter 2, is that the street vendors disrupt the aesthetic of the city. The street vendors are considered to have poor appearance and represent backwardness. Often their presence is synonymous with “slumness and dirt” (Maharika, 2001). The dilapidated condition of street vendors is in contrast to the perfect condition of ideal modern cities, which must be new, clean, with no slums, poverty or ugly appearance (see Section 3.2).

In fact, for the modernists and authoritarians, street vending is considered as “a manifestation of both poverty and underdevelopment, and its removal is viewed as progress toward a brave new developed world of universal prosperity” (Bromley, 2000, p. 12). Therefore the presence of street vendors tends to be rejected in an attempt to reach the ideal condition of urban environments.

The discussion above shows clearly that the street vendors have become the rejected elements from the point of view of urban elite, who tend to make attempts to achieve the ideal urban environment. The street vendors, with the characteristics as temporary, unplanned and unexpected elements, are considered not belong to the concept of ideal city. They have no place in the cities, and therefore need to be removed. Such rejection indicates that the presence of street vendors are seen as ‘out of place’ elements. The concept of ‘out of place’ (Douglas, 1966; Cresswell, 1996) and its relevance to the case of street vendors are further discussed in Chapter 4.

Nevertheless, the presence of street vendors in cities is inevitable, just as the existence of many other urban elements that create nuisance in the city appearance. Venturi (1977) called such elements as “honky-tonk elements”, and he stated that

The main justification for honky-tonk elements in architectural order is their very existence. They are what we have. Architects can bemoan or try to ignore them or even try to abolish them, but they will not go away. Or they will not go away for along time, because architects do not have the power to replace them (nor do they know what to replace them with)...banality and mess will still be the context of our new architecture... (p. 42)

Cross (2000) described the existence of street vendors as a resistance to modernity. “Street vending, despite some problems and frequent attacks, is a thriving and growing phenomenon...”(Cross, 2000, p. 30). Street vendors also become a part of the diversity

found in the city. "Diversity grows in a city area because of economic opportunity and economic attraction" (Jacobs, 1961, pp. 264-265). Their continuous presence in the cities is supported by the customers. The presence of street vendors in the city is strongly related to the need and demand of the costumers (Bromley, 2000). For many city inhabitants, the presence of street vendors has become the part of their everyday life, as they use their services regularly. Hence there is the term "langganan" which means "loyal customers" (Maharika, 2001). Therefore it is clear that the presence of street vendors has inevitably become the reality of urban life.

It seems that the problem of street vendors is rooted in the dissonance between the ideal planning of the cities by the elite (government and planner) and the reality in the field, where the presence of street vendors is continuously supported by the everyday users of the cities. A criticism regarding this dissonance is pointed out by Sennett (1970). He emphasised the needs for planning profession to know about the real problems in peculiar places in the city rather than "drawing maps of the new metropolitan 'whole' in central office" (p. 134). This suggests the need to know the details of the problem in various situations in the field.

Nevertheless, so far the discussion of street vendors as a problem in the urban environment seems to leave out the view from the public as the everyday users of the urban environment. This seems to become one missing aspect in the concept of the ideal city that needs to be addressed. Windsor-Liscombe (2004) in evaluating the concept of ideal city suggested that "Perhaps, then, the greatest lesson from the Ideal City is the need of a constantly reflective analytic that embraces every aspect and agent of urban living" (p. 42). This suggests the importance of considering the public point of view.

In fact, so far there has been no empirical evidence of whether the general public visually perceive the street vendors in similar way as the elite; i.e. perceive them as disrupting the order of the cities and therefore need to be rejected. This will become the issue to be addressed throughout the rest of this thesis. Further discussion on the importance of knowing public visual evaluation of urban environment is presented in Chapter 5. Stage One of the research (Chapter 6 and 7) attempts to confirm whether the street vendors are perceived by the users as the elements which are to be blamed as negative aspects of urban environment. Stage Two (Chapter 8 and 9) focuses on the users' evaluation of street vendors as rejected elements.

3.5 Summary

The concept of ideal city emphasises on the search for harmony and perfection in urban environments. This concept suggests that there is no place for ugliness, poverty and unplanned elements in ideal cities. Control and order becomes important in the attempts to put everything in its proper place and ensure that everything is under control. The ideal city is where there is “a place for everything and everything has its place”. Separation of activities through zoning regulation has become a way to achieve order in the modern cities.

On the other hand, the reality of urban everyday life is characterised with diversity and the involvement of users. Furthermore, the temporal dynamics is also part of this urban reality, with the presence of unplanned and unexpected elements and activities. Such characteristics of urban real life seem to be neglected within the concept of ideal cities.

Street vendors exist in the cities as a part of the everyday urban life. Their presence as unplanned and unexpected elements becomes a resistance against the ideal modern cities. The problem of street vendors seems to be rooted in the dissonance between the ideal planning of the cities by the elite and the reality in the field, where the presence of street vendors is continually supported by everyday users. From urban elite’s point of view, street vendors tend to be rejected and considered to have no place in the cities.

Meanwhile, so far the decision on the problem of street vendors seems to overlook the point of view of the everyday users of urban environments. This thesis explores the users’ view of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements. Further discussion on ‘out of place’ is presented in Chapter 4, while the importance of public assessment of urban environment is discussed in Chapter 5. Both these chapters will provide the theoretical basis for empirical investigation in this thesis to assess the users’ visual evaluation of street vendors in the cities.

4 STREET VENDORS AND THE ‘OUT OF PLACE’

4.1 Introduction

The discussions in Chapter 2 and 3 have shown that the presence of street vendors in the city is often rejected as a way to achieve the ideal situation where “everything is in its place”. This chapter discusses the concept of ‘out of place’ as an important concept in the discussion concerning the position of street vendors in the city. It is primarily based on the theory of ‘dirt’ as the matter out of place (Douglas, 1966).

In particular this chapter is focused around the fact that ‘out of place’ is not an absolute concept. The extent to which something is considered appropriate may change from one situation to another. The chapter also reviews some studies which have examined various phenomena in the built environment in relation to the concept of ‘out of place’. Based on these discussions, the chapter then attempts to highlight the position of street vendors as ‘out of place’ objects in the city. It also provides the background for examining the users’ view towards the presence of street vendors in the city, to what extent the street vendors are considered by the users to be ‘out of place’.

4.2 ‘Out of place’

Douglas (1966) introduced the concept of “dirt as a matter out of place” (p. 44). She used the term ‘dirt’ to discuss what is generally considered as ‘polluted’, ‘unclean’ or ‘taboo’. Douglas (1966) explained that the definition of dirt as a matter out of place implies two conditions, “a set of ordered relations and contravention of that order” (p. 44). This definition suggests that the condition of ‘dirt’ or ‘out of place’ has something to do with breaking certain orders that exist in the human environment.

The term ‘dirt’ has been associated with the problem of “hygiene and cleanliness” in the human environment (Forty, 1986, p. 156). Certain objects may be considered as ‘dirt’ when they are associated with the possibility of carrying germs and transmitting disease. Dirty clothing, unwashed hands and dust are all ‘dirt’, and therefore they need to be cleaned regularly. In this way, cleanliness has become a norm in everyday life. This is clearly seen in the domestic spaces, where so many parts of housework are devoted to

maintaining cleanliness as illustrated in Figure 4-1. Maintenance becomes important in order to eliminate dirt.



Figure 4-1 Against dirt (Walter, 1985)

Nevertheless, the concept of dirt is not merely related to something unhygienic (Walter, 1985). Douglas (1966) further explained that “dirt is essentially disorder” (p. 2) and that “disorder spoils pattern” (p. 117). The presence of certain objects as dirt may risk disrupting or polluting the order that exists in the environment. There is a tendency for human beings to remove the presence of dirt from the environment, and “Eliminating it is not a negative movement, but a positive effort to organise the environment” (Douglas, 1966, p. 2).

Walter (1985) gave an example of gardening as the act of maintaining order and combat chaos, and likened it to housework.

In gardening there is also the constant struggle against chaos except here it is weeds rather than dirt that represent chaos. Weeds are like dirt in that they cannot be adequately defined physically: a dandelion is a pretty flower in a meadow but a weed in a herbaceous border. Weeds are plants out of place; flowers are plants in place. Weeds are plants which are not properly controlled by the gardener. Weeds are disorder. (p. 3)

In this illustration, gardening becomes the continuous activity to deal with weeds as the ‘out of place’ object in the garden. The perfect garden therefore is the one that is in order and under the control of the gardener.

Cousins (1994) expanded Douglas' theory to examine the nature of 'ugly' objects. He considers ugliness to be matter out of place. He explained that "The dirt is an ugly deduction from 'good' space, not simply by virtue of occupying the space, but by threatening to contaminate all the good space around it" (p. 63). This suggests that the ugly object, or the 'out of place' object has characteristics that can endanger its surroundings. Cousins further described that "The ugly object is an object which is experienced both as being there and as something that should not be there. That is, the ugly object is an object which is in the wrong place" (p. 63).

It is a very common occurrence in human life to get rid of the objects that are ugly and imperfect. Cousins (1994) also highlighted how this 'perfection' has become a means to assess the beauty or the ugliness of an object.

For Aristoteles, the beautiful object is one which has the ideal structure of an object; it has the form of totality... The perfect object is, rather, one which is finished, completed. Any addition or subtraction from the object will ruin its form. (p. 61)

Hence, the imperfect condition of an object that is broken, leaking or out of order will ruin the object itself. Perfection is related to the extent to which something is proper, for example being in proper space, staying where it belongs and behaving as it should (Neyrey, 1996). Those that do not meet the criteria are considered to be unclean or imperfect. Furthermore, Cousins also suggests that imperfect objects may run the risk of ruining the environment where they are present. They may become a danger to the order of the environment.

Architecture has become a discipline which put great emphasis on creating the order in the environment (Forty, 2000; Walter, 1985). The presence of dirt or 'out of place' objects in architecture and in the city is often seen as the antithesis to the attempt to create order in the human environment. One example of this is illustrated in the following description by Till and Wigglesworth (2001) regarding one of the response against their unusual attempt to use quilt as the cladding material for walls in their project:

Both our fathers ask when we are going to put up the final cladding – the quilt is too soft and fragile for them to cope with. More worrying is when an affronted student asks at the end of lecture why we are doing this. 'What's wrong?', we ask. 'It is going to look dirty in a few years' time,' is the reply. Dirt is clearly a threat to the sanctity of proper architecture, ergo our building is not proper. (p. 25-26)

This indicates that it is generally normal practice in architecture to eschew ‘out of place’ elements. The inclusion of ‘out of place’ elements in the built environment seems to become a mistake.

Cresswell (1996) developed the concept of ‘in place’ and ‘out of place’ to explain the relationship between behaviour and place. This concept is related to the sense of the “proper”, whether “something or someone *belongs* in one place and not in another” (p. 1). Whether something or someone is ‘in place’ or ‘out of place’, according to him is related to the expectations regarding their behaviour in that place. Cresswell (1996) also explained that often this expectation is written into some forms of law or regulation.

The above discussion show the use of the concept of ‘out of place’ in various issues. The concept has been used to make judgements regarding the condition of physical materials, the presence of physical objects in environment, as well as the occurrence of certain behaviour or activities in certain places. All these concepts share similar ideas that the ‘out of place’ elements or behaviour threaten the order of the environment.

4.3 ‘Out of place’ is not absolute

An important concept introduced by Douglas (1966) is that dirt is a relative idea, and that “There is no such thing as absolute dirt: it exists in the eye of beholder” (p. 2). Neyrey (1996) also suggested that “Objects and persons may be ‘clean’ in one situation but ‘dirty’ in another”. Only in some rare cases is there an absolute dirt (Cresswell, 1996), such as the fatal disease that will be rejected in any situation.

However, in most other cases, the degree of ‘out of place’ of an object is determined by the relationship between that object and its context. The extent to which something is considered as ‘out of place’ cannot be detached from the system where it exists. Douglas gave an illustration regarding this relativity in the concept of the ‘out of place’:

We can recognise in our own notions of dirt that we are using a kind of omnibus compendium which includes all the rejected elements of ordered systems. It is a relative idea. Shoes are not dirty in themselves, but it is dirty to place them on the dining table; food is not dirty in itself, but it is dirty to leave cooking utensils in the bedroom, or food bespattered on clothing; similarly, bathroom equipment in drawing room; clothing lying on chairs; outdoor things indoors; upstairs things downstairs; under-clothing appearing where over-clothing should be, and so on. In

short, our pollution behaviour is the reaction which condemns any object or idea likely to confuse or contradict cherished classifications. (pp. 44-45)

This description clearly illustrates that the position of an object as 'out of place' is not simply caused by its own condition but also depends upon its presence in the environment. Cresswell (1996) believed that the meaning of dirt depends on its location. Douglas (1966) further explained that "What is clean in relation to one thing may be unclean in relation to another and vice versa" (p. 10).

Douglas (1996) suggested that the perception of 'out of place' is related to how something fits into the whole system. An object may become 'out of place' when it does not fit well with the rest of the pattern.

In perceiving we are building, taking some cues and rejecting others. The most acceptable cues are those which fit most easily into the pattern that is being built up. Ambiguous ones tend to be treated as if they harmonised with the rest of the pattern. Discordant ones tend to be rejected. (p. 45)

Alexander (1964) also discussed the issue of 'fit' and 'misfit' in the design process. He explained that

...every design problem begins with an effort to achieve fitness between two entities: the form in question and its context. The form is the solution to the problem; the context defines the problem. In other words, when we speak of design, the real object of discussion is not the form alone, but the ensemble comprising the form and its context (Alexander, 1964, pp. 15-16)

Alexander (1964) further argued that while the design of a form is aimed to achieve 'fit', in fact it is much easier to find the 'misfit' in our environment.

Their wrongness is somehow more immediate than the rightness of peculiar behaviour, and therefore more compelling. Thus even in everyday life the concept of good fit, though positive in meaning, seems very largely to feed on negative instances; it is the aspects of our lives which are obsolete, incongruous, or out of tune that catch our attention (p. 22).

For example, when looking at the home environment, it is very easy to recognise the mess that exist in that space or the things that do not work well in that house.

In physical space, some objects or some activities may become 'out of place' when they do not fit with the rest of the pattern that exists in that space. However, there is an issue regarding how to identify the identity of certain places in order to be able to determine whether or not something 'belongs' to that place. Leach (2003) explained the problem of

'belonging' in physical space, and he believed that it is much derived by the performance. He described the place as a stage, "For if identity is performed, then the space in which that performativity takes place can be seen as a stage. After a certain number of performances, that stage will no longer seem neutral" (Leach, 2003, p. 79). At this point the physical space has the identity that makes it different from others.

Leach further explained that "a space used for particular activities will accrue a certain character over time, but as new activities take over – and as memories of the former activities fade – the space will take on a different character" (p. 79). This clearly suggests that a single place can experience a change of identity, and this may raise a question of how to determine what is 'out of place' in that place. It indicates the importance of understanding the identity of the place in order to determine whether or not something belongs to that place. The issue of place identity becomes one of the aspects to be explored later in the Stage 1 of this research.

Lofland (1973) has discussed the term 'appropriate' to determine whether or not something is in its place. She used this term to explain the ideal modern city where there is a place for everything and everything is in its place, just as in a well-ordered home. Certain areas or spaces are limited for certain people or certain activities. For example, "children and dogs stay out of mother's bedroom" (Lofland, 1973, p. 67). In this spatial segregation of activities, certain activities become inappropriate or 'out of place' when they are not conducted where they are supposed to be.

Similar to Douglas, Lofland (1973) believed that the appropriateness is not static. "What may be appropriate at one time may not be at another (don't go into the study while brother is working...)" (p. 67). This suggests that determining whether an object or an activity is 'out of place' depends on its specific contexts.

The relativity of 'out of place' is related to the socio-cultural context (Douglas, 1966; Cresswell, 1996). What is considered as 'out of place' might differ across different societies or different groups of people. It is intrinsically related to the different values or norm held by these different groups.

The discussion in Section 4.2 and 4.3 suggests that the process of identifying certain objects as 'out of place' involves the identification of the state of the object itself as well

as the relationship of the object with the context. The concept of 'out of place' emphasised on the inappropriateness of the objects in certain contexts. In addition, identifying the condition of the object itself is also important in determining this appropriateness. The imperfectness or the ugliness of an object may play a role in shaping the perception of the object as 'out of place'. Furthermore, the degree of 'out of place' of the objects should not be seen as a static phenomenon. This thesis will address this relative nature of the 'out of place' in the investigation of street vendors as a rejected element in modern cities.

4.4 'Out of place' in the city

In the urban environment, there are various phenomena that involve the presence of 'out of place' elements that seem to be rejected or avoided. The following examples illustrate some phenomena of 'out of place' elements or 'out of place' activities that can be found in cities.

Lynch (1990) illustrates the presence of 'waste of place' in various forms in the city, from derelict land, cemeteries, areas of urban wilderness and city dumps. Such places are often considered as dirt in the city, as the evils of city life that need to be out of sight (Geddes, 1979). However, Southworth in his introduction to Lynch (1990) emphasises that waste in the city is unavoidable.

Decline, decay and wasting are a necessary part of life and growth; we must learn to value them and to do them well...we should acknowledge most waste and the processes of wasting as valuable and necessary in the life of people, things and places. (p. 10)

This illustration clearly indicates that the presence of the 'out of place' in the city is an integral part of urban everyday life that cannot be taken for granted.

Lofland (1973) illustrated the attempts in ideal modern cities to 'hide' the public toilets from view. It is based on the belief that human eliminating activity is considered as inappropriate to be seen in public; therefore the toilets should be located hidden from public view. This has often caused people some impracticality. However, the appropriateness in the presence of public toilets is a relative concept. In a gas station, the prominent presence of toilets is desirable for the sake of motorway users and thus it becomes acceptable.

Cresswell (1996) discussed the phenomenon of graffiti as an ‘out of place’ element in public spaces. It has been referred to as “garbage, pollution, obscenity, an epidemic, a disease, a blight, a form of violence, dangerous, and a product of the mad, the ghetto, and the barbarian” (p. 37). Graffiti is ‘out of place’ because it does not comply with the expectation of what is appropriate and what is not. As a result, the reaction against graffiti suggested that it does not belong in public places, and that it is associated with “other places – other contexts – where either the order is different and more amenable to graffiti or disorder is more prevalent” (Cresswell, 1996, p. 37).

Cresswell (1996) drew an analogy of graffiti as a disease that pollutes the body. The intrusion of a disease that does not belong to the body can cause illness. Similarly, the presence of graffiti as a disease makes the city as the whole body becomes ill. However, Barthel (2002) suggested that graffiti can have ambiguous position in urban public space. On one hand it is considered to be threatening the ideal of urban aesthetic and therefore needs to be removed from the city. On the other hand graffiti offers positive contribution to the community, uniting young people and allowing them to gain a sense of self awareness and empowerment.

Cresswell (1996) explained that graffiti can be seen both as crime and as art. Graffiti that is considered to be ‘out of place’ in public streets can become art within the context of the gallery; hence it becomes ‘in place’. It has changed from an eyesore into a valuable piece of art. The same physical material of graffiti may display different attributes when it exists in different contexts as seen in Table 4-1.

Table 4-1 The attributes of graffiti as crime and art (Cresswell, 1996)

Graffiti-as-crime	Graffiti-as-art
outside	inside
temporary	permanent
wild	tame
nonartifact	artifact
large	small
illegible	readable
noncommodity	commodity
unexpected	expected

Table 4-1 also shows that one of the attributes that makes graffiti-as-crime different from graffiti-as-art is the temporary nature of graffiti. Graffiti in public spaces is relatively temporary, as it can be cleaned off at anytime. Meanwhile, the presence of graffiti in a gallery is more permanent. This suggests that the ‘out of place’ is related to

the extent to which an object is permanent or temporary. The object that is more temporary is more vulnerable to rejection, as is true for a stain that can be easily cleaned anytime (Cousins, 1994).

Another example of the 'out of place' in the city is the activity of eating on the street or in public spaces (Valentine, 1998). This phenomenon indicates that the appropriateness of an activity may change over time. Eating used to be considered as an 'out of place' activity in public spaces. It should be conducted only in private places, and eating in public was considered as uncivilised. However, this norm has changed in contemporary culture. Eating in public has become part of recreation, and it is no longer 'out of place' to consume food in public areas.

Cresswell (1996) gave an example of the hippies using Stonehenge as the setting in which to perform the Festival of Peace and Light. The authorities consider this to be an improper use of the place, and consequently the hippies were barred entering Stonehenge. This case illustrates the different perception of the place function by different groups. The authority considers Stonehenge to be a place for tourism and a symbol of Britain's national identity. Meanwhile, the hippies perceive Stonehenge as an interactive place where they should perform rituals, not merely as a museum object which is viewed from afar. This clearly demonstrates two different interpretations of what is 'in place' and what is 'out of place'.

Skateboarding is another 'out of place' phenomenon that can be found in many cities. Public places have become places in which skateboarding activity takes place amongst predominately groups of young people (Borden, 2001). Usually in the evening or at weekends, the skateboarders make use of various physical elements of public spaces for skating, and "anything is part of the run" (p. 181), from planters, benches, low walls, handrails, etc. However, the presence of this activity is considered inappropriate by many people; it is often deemed as dangerous and destructive. It has become a common practice to ban the skateboarders from public spaces.

Nolan (2003) examined various occurrences of skateboarding activities in public spaces. He concluded that the extent to which skateboarding is 'in place' or 'out of place' is not so simple. Skateboarding might be seen to be more legitimate in certain locations than in others. There is also a distinction between 'good' skateboarding and 'bad'

skateboarding, as not all skateboarding activities damage property and become dangerous for other people. Therefore, he suggested that it is not sensible to solve the problem of skateboarding by totally banning this activity from public space.

From the study of skateboarding activity, Nolan (2003) concluded that “an activity can sometimes be both in and out of place in the same space, and that the black and white rule of the law may not be the most effective way to manage skateboarding or other activities” (pp. 325-326). The examples in this section have suggested that determining whether or not something is ‘out of place’ in the cities is not an easy task. An object or an activity can become ‘in place’ and ‘out of place’ depending on the context. In dealing with the ‘out of place’, it seems that generalisations in determining whether or not an object or an activity is ‘out of place’ can be misleading.

4.5 Street vendors as ‘out of place’

The discussion on street vendors in Chapter 2 and 3 has shown some evidence that the presence of street vendors in the cities is considered to be ‘out of place’. The following quotations from newspaper articles illustrate that the street vendors of Jakarta are seen as ‘out of place’ urban elements.

...the authorities launched intensive crackdowns, accusing the vendors of violating public order. (Saraswati, 2001a)

City officials perceived street vendors as a source of traffic congestion and garbage that hinder the implementation of proper city planning. They, therefore solve such problems by removing them to isolated areas (Taufiqurrahman, 2003)

...the plan to demolish the kiosks is a part of the government’s efforts to restore orderliness and cleanliness to the area.. (“City threatens”, 2000)

This is unfair...roadside vendors are not the only party to blame for traffic congestions. However, there will always be scapegoats. (“Better city”, 2004)

...nasib PKL dari waktu ke waktu tetap saja tak menentu, bahkan mereka dianggap sebagai kotoran di mata pejabat kota. (Prinanty, 2002)

[Translation: ...the destiny of street vendors is uncertain from time to time, they are even considered as dirt in the eye of the urban authorities]

Keberadaannya tidak jarang menimbulkan konflik dengan Pemerintah Kota, yang cenderung menganggap mereka sebagai pengganggu kelancaran dalam aktivitas dan ‘ketertiban’ kota, sehingga perlu disingkirkan (Haryadi, 2002).

[Translation: Their presence often creates conflict with city government, who tend to blame them for disrupting urban activities and urban order, therefore they need to be evicted]

Kami dianggap seperti sampah. (Abidien, 2003)

[Translation: We are treated as dirt – a comment from a vendor]

Street vending in the city is representative of an activity mostly initiated by the urban grassroots and as a product of poverty (see Chapter 2). This has positioned street vendors as the ‘dirt’ or ‘evil’ in the city (Appadurai, 2003; Geddes, 1979); “the poor are certainly matter out of place” (Appadurai, 2003, p. 48). In addition, the presence of street vendors as ‘out of place’ seems to be related to their nature as temporary elements in the city. As in the case of graffiti (Cresswell, 1996) discussed in Section 4.4, the street vendors with its temporary nature is vulnerable to eviction.

These illustrations clearly demonstrate how the street vendors are positioned as ‘out of place’ elements in cities. They are blamed as threatening the order that is enforced by the local government. From the point of view of the government, eliminating the street vendors from the urban areas has become “a positive effort to organise the environment” (Douglas, 1966, p. 2). The removal of street vendors is considered as a sign of progress in the urban environment (Bromley, 2000).

In the case of street vendors, it seems that the judgment that street vendors are something ‘out of place’ mostly determined by the urban elite as the groups with the greatest responsibility to controlling within space of the city. “Perception of what is considered appropriate behaviour varies between social group, but those in position of authority can label certain groups or activities as deviant” (Nolan, 2003, p. 311).

The way that the local government deals with the street vendors is to some extent indicative of the ways of dealing with dirt as explained by Douglas, “First they are recognisably out of place, a threat to good order, and so are regarded as objectionable and vigorously brushed away” (Douglas, 1966, p. 197). Furthermore, the intention to get rid of the street vendors also indicates the authorities’ ‘zero tolerance’ against anything that is considered to be threatening the order (Kelling and Coles, 1996). Through the act of removal the government attempts to prevent the possibility of further damage to the image of urban environment.

The judgement of street vendors as 'out of place' from urban elites' point of view suggest a parallel idea with the attempts to achieve harmony and perfection in ideal urban environment as discussed in Chapter 3. The presence of street vendors is viewed as unplanned and unexpected elements that threaten the order and thus need to be eliminated.

Nevertheless, there is a question of whether the general judgement of street vendors as 'out of place' can apply to all situations. The discussions in Section 4.3 and 4.4 have identified the fact that an object or an activity can be perceived as 'out of place' and 'in place' at the same time. In the case of street vendors in Jakarta, the discussion in Chapter 2 has given some evidence that the perception of street vendors is not entirely negative. This suggests some possibilities that street vendors can also become 'in place' in particular situations, and that the perception of street vendors as 'out of place' might not be absolute (Douglas, 1966).

In particular, a key issue that is addressed in this thesis is that of exploring the perception of street vendors as the 'out of place' from public point of view. This becomes important to clarify the position of street vendors, whether the users evaluate them in the same way as the urban elite's judgement of street vendors as 'out of place'.

For the purpose of assessing the users' evaluation of street vendors, the concept of 'out of place' includes the condition of the object itself as well as its relationship with its context, as already discussed in Section 4.3. These two main aspects of 'out of place' will become the basis for developing the way to measure to what extent the street vendors are judged as 'out of place' urban elements, which is explored in the Stage 2 of the research (Chapter 8 and 9).

4.6 Summary

The concept of 'out of place' basically refers to the extent to which something belongs to one place and not in another. The perception of something as 'out of place' or 'in place' is not absolute. Determining a certain object as 'out of place' involves the identification of the internal condition of the object as well as its relationship with the context where it exists. Some examples of various phenomena in urban environment suggest clearly that an object or behaviour may be 'in place' as well as 'out of place'.

The presence of street vendors in the cities has been considered as 'out of place' from the point of view of urban elite. They are considered as the enemy against the elite's attempt to create order and to achieve harmony and perfection in urban environment. A question was raised regarding the judgement towards street vendors as 'out of place', whether their presence as 'out of place' elements in the cities can be generalised. In particular, the empirical investigation in this thesis is aimed to reveal the extent to which the street vendors are perceived as 'out of place' by the users.

5 PUBLIC VISUAL ASSESSMENT OF THE CITY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the gap identified in the previous chapters regarding the lack of empirical evidence in the perception of street vendors from the point of view of the public users. The discussion begins by considering the importance of taking into account the public's visual evaluation of the urban environment. It also discusses the differences between the way designers and laymen view the environment. The next section gives overview of preference studies as the approach underlying the empirical investigation in this thesis. Various research findings on visual preferences of urban scene are reviewed, in order to understand the general tendency of what is liked and disliked by public as well as why public tend to have certain preference towards some urban elements. It also reviews the differences between visual preference at day time and night time.

This thesis focuses on the presence of street vendors in the urban scene. It becomes necessary to discuss the role of particular elements in the perception of a whole scene. Some research findings which attempt to evaluate the presence of elements in a scene are reviewed. The theoretical discussion in this chapter provides a background for the empirical investigation in this thesis to assess the extent to which the street vendors are perceived as 'out of place' elements in the urban scene.

5.2 Assessing public preference of urban environment

5.2.1 The need to know public preference

The process of planning and designing of the cities generally involves designers and planners as the parties who make the majority of design decisions, whilst the general public are the main users of the everyday urban environment. There has been growing concern about the importance of the general public point of view as those affected by the design decision made by the planners (Jeffrey and Reynolds, 1999). This emphasises the need to know how the public as everyday users perceive and assess the environment that they live in. It becomes important to understand what the public like and dislike in urban environments. In addition, it is also necessary to uncover the reasons behind their likes

and dislikes. This knowledge will provide valuable contribution and guidance for planning and design process.

Nasar (1998) introduced the term *evaluative image of the city*, to describe the way in which “the public evaluates the cityscape and what meanings they see in it” (p. 2). He believed that the process of designing the city form and appearance should be responsive to the needs of the general public who experience the city on a regular basis. However, this evaluative image of the city as seen by the public is often under represented within the normal planning and design processes. Generally there is little or no contact between designer and end users of the environments (Hershberger and Cass, 1988), and this has limited the opportunity to involve end users’ view of the environment within the whole design process.

Nasar (1998) emphasised that the way in which the public view their urban environment is important because it conveys a general understanding of the city image. He explained that one aspect of the evaluative image of the city is *likability*. This refers to “the probability that an environment will evoke a strong and favourable evaluative response among the groups or the public experiencing it” (p. 3). It is important to measure public preferences in order to determine the degree to which they like or dislike the urban environment. By understanding public preferences, it is possible to know the agreement in the way public evaluate cities. In this way, “If most people like the imageable elements, the city will probably convey an agreeable evaluative image. If they dislike them, the city will convey a disagreeable evaluative image, suggesting a need for changes in appearance” (Nasar, 1998, p. 9).

The need to know the public’s preference of the environment is also important as the general public often view the environment differently from those with professional design training. Research has shown some of these differences (for example, Devlin and Nasar, 1989; Groat, 1995; Hershberger, 1988; Gifford, Hine, Muller-Clemm and Shaw, 2002). This will be described later in Section 5.2.2. With the existence of such differences between designers and laymen, the designer cannot just depend on his own intuitive knowledge which is only based on his own experience without considering the experience of other people (Lang, 1988).

Designers have attempted to predict the preference of end users. However, there is a problem of how precise their prediction can be. Some evidence suggests that designers are not very good at predicting how the public evaluate the buildings they use (Nasar, 1989b). Furthermore, Hershberger and Cass (1988) argued that a great difference exists between architects and users which is likely to result in false predictions made by the architects. However, when architects have sufficient knowledge of the users' preference they can make quite accurate prediction regarding the way the users view the environments (Buhyoff, Wellman, Harvey and Fraser, 1978).

The knowledge of public's preferences can provide lessons for designers on how other people think about buildings and cities. It can also reveal the underlying basis of the difference in preferences between the lay people and the professionals (Gifford et al., 2002). These can help architects to make correct predictions, to understand where possible disagreements may arise between different groups, and to avoid conflicts. As Devlin (1990) mentioned, "To create 'better' architecture we must understand both the interpretations of architects and the non architects and also these respondent groups' similarities and dissimilarities" (p. 242-243).

The knowledge about publics' preference of urban environment can be very useful as a contribution to an urban planning process that is sensitive to the needs of everyday users. Although the users of the city comprise of various different groups, Nasar (1998) believed that it is possible to measure the agreement of the public in their preference. The agreement can become the basis for developing guidelines regarding the urban form and appearance. For example, the knowledge about public preference of signscape can contribute to the direction for controlling the size, type and colour of the signs to achieve the desired visual quality of the scenes (Nasar, 1988b).

5.2.2 Differences between environmental designers and public

The differences between designers and public or laymen in their perception of the environment have been examined in many research. Most of the research has consistently found that the designer and public have different preferences of buildings and urban scenes. Because of this difference, what the designer appreciates or applies in their design may not always be appreciated in the same way by laymen (Hershberger, 1988).

The differences between designers and laymen can be observed by examining the issues that they consider important. Pennartz and Elsinga (1990) found that in perceiving urban environment, the architects consider the importance of the spatial qualities such as coherence, scale and visual diversity. Meanwhile they found that the non architects consider the importance of interpretation and meaning such as the extent to which the scenes offer freedom, activities or relaxation. Another research by Hershberger (1988) found that the architects were often more concerned with the aesthetic nature of buildings whilst the non-architects and pre-architects were more concerned with how pleasant the buildings were.

Devlin (1990) found the similar result, that architects tend to emphasise on the ideas and concepts underlying the physical forms, whereas non architects tend to give more affective responses and descriptive responses. In his study the architects tend to interpret architecture by focussing upon conceptual issues such as 'historic significant', 'design quality', 'anthropomorphism' and 'form/function'.

Jeffrey and Reynolds (1999) examined the differences between planners, architects and laymen in their preference of infill buildings in urban scenes. They found that architects are more concerned with the architectural qualities of individual buildings, whilst the planners are more concerned with how the building complements the setting. Meanwhile laymen tend to be more concerned with the general quality of the scenes by evaluating their pleasantness, cleanliness and cheerfulness.

Designers and laymen also display some differences in their tendency to prefer particular styles of architecture. Devlin and Nasar (1989) compared the architects and public respective preferences of 'high' and 'popular' styles of architecture. 'High' architecture is designed by architect and published in professional architecture literature, while 'popular' architecture is those represented in non professional magazines and newspapers. The study found that architects tended to prefer the 'high' category, whilst the public prefer the 'popular' category. Groat (1995) found that groups of architects and accountants use different sets of criteria in evaluating buildings and perceive architectural styles in different ways.

Some attempts have been made to understand why such differences exist. Gifford et al. (2002) explored why architects and laymen judge buildings differently. They discovered that architects and laymen used different physical cues as the basis of their assessment. Therefore they often reach different overall judgments. For example, architects perceived a building of smaller size, which was less tall and with a less articulated facade as friendly. Meanwhile, a friendly building for laymen tends to be one with more ornamentation, roundedness and sculptural elements.

Designers and the general public also tend to use different words in their interpretation of the built environment (Devlin and Nasar, 1989). Jeffrey and Reynolds (1999) also believed in the existence of an 'elite code' and 'popular code'. Based on their findings they suggest that architects tend to share the 'elite code' as the basis for making aesthetic judgments and this code is different from the 'popular code' that is shared by the majority of planners and laymen.

It is interesting to note the magnitude of difference that exists between the opinions of groups of designers and laymen. Jeffrey and Reynolds (1999) found that in their study of infill building preference, the boundaries between architects, planners and laymen are blurred and irregular. Some individual subjects in each groups share their preference with those from other groups. Furthermore there seems to be considerable similarity between planners and laymen while the architects tend to display different judgment. Another study even found that there is no significant difference between planners and users in their landscape preference (Dearden, 1984).

Some findings on the research into the differences between designer and laymen indicate that the two groups may publicly display this extreme dissimilarity. In many cases there is a mismatch between the two groups, in which architect tends to like what public disliked, whilst the public tend to like what the architects disliked (Nasar, 1998; Devlin and Nasar, 1989, Hershberger, 1988). For example, the buildings most preferred by architects are those least preferred by publics and vice versa (Devlin and Nasar, 1989). Hershberger (1988) also found that a building judged by the architects as good, pleasing, beautiful, interesting, exciting, and unique, was judged by the non-architects as bad, annoying, ugly, boring, calming, and common. In another study, the winners of architectural competitions are not judged as the best buildings by the public (Nasar and Kang, 1989).

However, it is also important to note the homogeneity of judgment within each group. Among the architects, the amount of experience received during education and practice may influence the different preferences (Jeffrey and Reynolds, 1999; Hershberger, 1988). However, Hershberger (1988) found that people with an architectural educational background, both architects and pre-architects, tend to be more homogenous in their judgment of buildings than those without architectural education background. Nasar (1989b) also found that architects are more accurate in predicting the judgment of their peers than in predicting public judgment. It seems that the training received in architecture education has developed their similarity in preference.

On the other hand, there is a high degree of variability among the general public in their preference. There are some demographic, socio-economic and cultural factors that may influence the public's environmental preference (Pennartz and Elsinga, 1990; Rapoport, 1977). Nevertheless, Nasar (1998) has suggested that there is a degree of agreement in preference of expressed urban environment. The use of a preference approach is an attempt to reveal this public agreements as well as disagreements in order to understand their evaluative image of the environments.

The public may show the disagreements between exactly which urban elements that they liked and disliked. In a survey of public opinion towards public buildings by *The Architects' Journal* (Allen, 2004), the Swiss Re headquarter office in London designed by Sir Norman Foster has been voted as one of the best building in 2003. However, it has also been voted by the public as one of the least favourite buildings. This is an example of how the public judgement towards particular buildings can be very diverse.

This discussion clearly shows that it is important to understand the public's preference of the urban environment. Furthermore, it is necessary "to understand exactly why or why not certain architectural structures are liked or disliked" (Devlin, 1990, p. 242). Nevertheless, the different preference between designers and users has raised a question of who should have the final word in the design decisions. Jeffrey and Reynolds (1999) believed that the crucial issue is that of how exactly to incorporate the values shared by the public. It is possible to design to suit both design professionals and the public (Gifford et al., 2002). This indicates that the knowledge about public preference is important in order to complement the whole planning process.

Unfortunately, the information regarding specific user groups is limited and there is a tendency to generalise such information to extend to groups that have not been studied (Hershberger and Cass, 1988). This limitation indicates the need to expand research on public preference into more particular issues. Particularly in this thesis, the previous chapters have shown a lack of information regarding the public's view towards the presence of street vendors in cities. In fact there was a tendency to generalise the judgment towards street vendors as 'out of place' urban elements. This thesis attempts to respond to this lack of information through the preference approach and this will be discussed in the following section.

5.3 Preference approach

5.3.1 Overview of preference studies

Preference has become a common research technique used to examine the way people perceive the environment. In these preference studies, preference is defined as "how much you like the scene, for whatever reason" (Herzog, 1988, p. 346; Kaplan and Herbert, 1988, p. 380; Kaplan, 1985, p. 165). Preference is used as an indication of the extent to which people like or dislike particular scenes. Other studies also extended this like-dislike evaluation into other dimensions such as pleasant-unpleasant or interesting-uninteresting (Hanyu, 1997, 2000; Nasar, 1988c).

The study of preference has been very useful in understanding "how people view their environment and what they like or dislike about" (Herzog, 1988, p. 355). Preference also indicates the way in which the environment is experienced by the public (Kaplan, 1985). The approach in preference study is fundamentally based on eliciting public judgment towards the immediate information given to them. According to Kaplan (1985), the process involves "rapid and largely unconscious decision" (p. 173).

In perceiving the environment, the public may make subjective judgments towards environmental qualities and attributes. Preference studies offer a way to explain this 'subjectivity' of public reaction in terms of quantifiable measurement (Nasar, 1989a). Groat (1988) found in her research that there is a consistency in preference judgements made amongst the respondents. Therefore the information obtained from preference

studies is useful because it illustrates the public's view of the environment. The preference approach has been used mainly in studying preferences of natural landscapes (Herzog, Kaplan and Kaplan, 1976; Herzog, 1989), preferences of urban scenes (Heath, Smith and Lim, 2000a, 2000b; Nasar, 1998) and preferences of particular buildings (Stamps, 1999; Devlin and Nasar, 1989).

Preference has often been used as an indication of aesthetic judgments. According to Jeffrey and Reynolds (1999), "a simple statement of liking or disliking is not, in itself, an aesthetic judgment; it is a stimulus which gives rise to one" (p. 273). Kaplan (1988a) explained that "Preference judgments are not antithetical to aesthetics. Rather, they are seen as providing a powerful tool for understanding the patterns underlying what we consider to be aesthetic" (p. 47). Many findings in preference studies are closely related to the rules found in classic aesthetics as well as quantifiable spatial features such as order, scale and spatial organisation (Kaplan, 1988a; Im, 1984). This indicates that although the preferences primarily represent people's judgments of like and dislike, they are not merely based on random or arbitrary judgments.

Although preference indicates aesthetic judgments, Nasar (1998) tended to replace the term "aesthetic response" with "evaluative response" in order "to convey broader meaning and to eliminate association with artistic expression" (p. 26). Hence the studies of preference can reveal public perception further beyond the aesthetic definition often found in traditional arts. In fact, they also record people's emotional response and draw out their experience of the environment.

Kaplan (1988a) explained that human beings react "both to visual array, the two-dimensional pattern- as though the environment in front of them were a flat picture- as well as to the three dimensional pattern of space that unfolds before them" (p. 48). This suggests that human experience in space seems to be an important part of human visual preference.

Kaplan (1985) illustrated preference as the process of interpreting physical arrangements in space in terms of their compatibility with individual needs and goals. The arrangement of physical elements in space becomes central in the process of expressing environmental preference.

The task of visual assessment... must focus on the organisation and pattern of space and on the interpretations of these spatial characteristics in term of human functioning... Embedded in the preference reactions are assessments of compatibility of the environment with one's anticipated needs and goals. (Kaplan, 1985, p. 174)

Kaplan (1988a) went on to suggest that in making preference judgements about their environment, human beings consider the extent to which the environment can be supportive to their needs and goals.

Hence, one can view preference as an outcome of a complex process that includes perceiving things and space and reacting in terms of their potential usefulness and supportiveness. In this perspective, aesthetics must, at least to some degree, reflect the functional appropriateness of space and things. (Kaplan, 1988a, p. 45-46)

For example, in making decisions about an environment, human being may consider such aspects as safety, access and opportunities to learn from the environment (Kaplan, 1988b). It also involves a human reaction towards the appropriateness of space and things. This may suggest that a physical arrangement in space that is considered inappropriate may evoke a negative response, while an appropriate space or object may evoke a positive response.

This overview has illustrated that a visual preference approach is very useful in obtaining the publics' judgment of their environment. Although preference is defined as the judgment of like and dislike for whatever reason, it is strongly related to human experience, needs and goals. While it reflects a human's immediate response toward the environment, preference can be reliable as an approach to understand the publics' visual assessment of the environment.

5.3.2 Predictors of preference

There is evidence that preference as the judgement of what a person likes and dislikes does not exist independently. A series of research papers reviewed in this section illustrate various predictors or variables that are found correlated significantly with preference.

One of the variables that is found to have an important role in preference is order. Order has been used as a parallel term to *organisation*, *coherence*, *fittingness*, *congruity*,

legibility or clarity (Nasar, 1998). Nasar (1998) suggested that in general people tend to like order and dislike disorder in the environment. However, order may also create a monotony which should be avoided in our environment (Jacobs, 1961; Hesselgren, 1971; Venturi, 1977). Hesselgren (1971) and Nasar (1998) suggested that it becomes necessary to incorporate complexity, which may add interest to order.

There is evidence that human beings prefer environment which have a certain degree of complexity. Some early laboratory experiments have indicated that a relationship exists between preference and complexity (Day, 1967; Vitz 1966). Complexity has been defined as “the amount of variation in the scene” (Nasar, 1988b, p. 302) and “intricateness, or the opposite of simplicity” (Herzog et al., 1976, p. 630). The relationship between preference and complexity was found to be in an inverted U-shaped graph as shown in Figure 5-1.

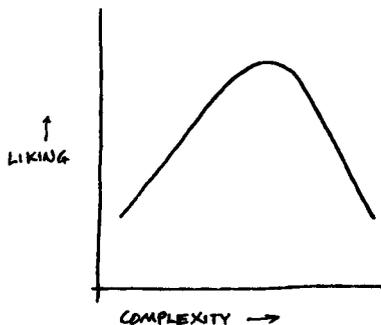


Figure 5-1 Relationship between complexity and preference (Rapoport, 1977)

This graph suggests that preference tends to increase as the complexity increases, but there is a point where increasing complexity begins to have the opposite effect and to decrease preference. These findings from laboratory experiments are also supported by another research of preference in built environment. Imamoglu (2000) found similar relationship between preference and façade complexity.

Hesselgren (1971) emphasised that it is necessary to find “the limits between optimal complexity and over-monotonous perceptions on the one hand and between optimal complexity and over-complex perceptions on the other. What, in fact, is optimal?” (p. 10). Nasar (1988b) found evidence that preference correlates with moderate complexity and high coherence. It seems that there is a need to find a balance between order and complexity, as well as a balance between contrast and repetition (Groat, 1984, p.74).

Wohlwill (1968) explored the relationship between preference and complexity in various types of outdoor environment scenes. He used the photographs of real settings and found that the relationship is not as strong as found in Day (1967) and Vitz (1966) which used simulated or synthetic stimulus. The result of Wohlwill's study suggested that complexity is not a primary factor in determining human preference of the environment.

This is supported by Herzog et al. (1976) who suggested that "the idea that complexity is the critical factor underlying preference may be too general not only in the sense that it ignores content, but also because it ignores other variables that also appear important in preference" (p. 628). They found that complexity emerges as a factor that people prefer but can not be isolated from other influencing factors; e.g., familiarity as an effective predictor (Herzog et al., 1976). Furthermore, they found that the pattern of relationship between preference and the predictors vary across the contents of the scenes. This suggests the importance of studying the phenomenon of preference in a range of scene types with different contents.

Kaplan (1987) developed a matrix of preference as shown in Table 5-1. The matrix summarises the four components as the predictors of preference. These components represent the information that an observer picks up from the environment, which is perceived not only as two-dimensional visual array but also as three-dimensional space. Kaplan proposed that these four components of preference are related to two human purposes in their experience of the environment: *making sense* and *involvement*. He explained these two purposes as the following:

Making sense refers to the concerns to comprehend, to keep one's bearings, to understand what is going on in the immediate here and now and often in some larger world as well. *Involvement* refers to the concern to figure out, to learn, to be stimulated. (Kaplan, 1988a, p. 47)

In his preference matrix these two purposes can be considered in two levels of interpretation: the two-dimensional visual array and three-dimensional space. Hence the matrix contains four components that become the predictors for human preference of the environment.

Table 5-1 Preference matrix (Kaplan, 1987, 1988a)

Level of interpretation	Making sense	Involvement
The visual array	Coherence	Complexity
Three-dimensional space	Legibility	Mystery

Coherence is the making-sense component at the visual array level. It refers to the factors that make the “picture plane easier to organize, to comprehend, to structure” (Kaplan, 1988a, p. 48). Some factors such as symmetries, repeated elements and unifying textures can contribute to the easiness in understanding the organisation of the scenes. Coherence is also defined as “the degree to which the scene hangs together” (Kaplan 1987, p. 10; Nasar, 1988b, p. 302).

Complexity, which has been found as the predictor of preference in other studies (such as Wohlwill, 1968) is the component included in Kaplan’s preference matrix as involvement component at visual array level. Kaplan defined complexity as “how much is ‘going on’ in particular scene, how much there is to look at” (Kaplan, 1988a, p. 48).

Another variable in Kaplan’s preference matrix is *legibility* which refers to the possibility of making sense of a three-dimensional space. This concept is derived from Lynch (1976), and it suggests “a concern with being able to continue to comprehend the environment, or in other word to remain oriented in space” (Kaplan, 1987, p.11). It includes the interpretation of space and the ability to find way. It is also related to “the structuring of space, with its differentiation, with its readability” (Kaplan, 1988a, p. 51).

Mystery is the component of the preference which suggests an involvement in a three-dimensional level of interpretation. Preference is related to the degree to which “one could see more if one were to ‘walk into’ the scene” (Kaplan, 1988a, p. 50). It suggests the presence of a variety of possibilities of what might be coming next, which may arouse curiosity.

Kaplan’s preference matrix has highlighted the importance of the predictors of preference beyond order and complexity. Table 5-2 also presents various further researches on preference which explored the variables that may influence the preference of particular scenes. These researches were conducted in various types of environment using either photographs of real settings or simulated/synthetic stimulus. Some of these

research studies attempt to expand the four components of preference from Kaplan (1987, 1988a) into different types of environments. Some others attempt to focus on the variables related to the quantitative physical properties of the environments, such as building age, tree density and scale.

Table 5-2 Summary of research on predictor/variables related to preference

Author(s)	Environment	Predictor/variables related to preference
Dearden (1984)	Urban fringe, rural landscape, wilderness scene	Familiarity*
Gibson and Chayutshakij (2001)	Interior setting with artificial lighting	Complexity*, mystery*
Hanyu (1997, 2000)	Residential areas at day time and night time	Naturalness* and openness*
Heath, Smith and Lim (2000a, 2000b)	Tall building and urban skyline	silhouette complexity*, façade articulation
Herzog (1989)	Urban environments containing natural vegetation	Spaciousness, refuge, coherence*, legibility, complexity, mystery*, typicality, nature*, age
Herzog, Kaplan and Kaplan (1976)	Various buildings in urban setting	Familiarity*, complexity*
Herzog and Kropscott (2004)	Forest setting without pathways	Danger*, coherence*, complexity, legibility*, mystery*, landmarks, visual access*, movement ease
Herzog and Shier (2000)	Old and modern urban building	Building age*, complexity*, maintenance*
Im (1984)	Enclosed urban space	Height ratio*, ground slope*, vegetation coverage*
Imamoglu (2000)	Traditional and modern house facades	Complexity*, familiarity*
Kaplan and Herbert (1988)	Rural landscape	Familiarity*
Kuo, Bacaicoa, Sullivan (1998)	Residential area with vegetation	Tree density*, tree placement, grass maintenance*
Lekagul (2002)	Shopping environment	Spaciousness of space*, maintenance and organisation of space*, the presence of vegetation*, opportunity to wander and see further*, opportunities to socialize and recreate in the space*
Nasar (1983)	Residential scenes	Diversity (diversity, ornateness*, colourfulness), novelty, identity/clarity*, mystery, coherence (organisation of elements, fittingness, prominence of building shape, prominence of surface texture), openness*, naturalness, nuisance factors (upkeep*, automobile, poles/wires/sign)
Nasar (1998)	Urban environment	Naturalness*, upkeep or maintenance*, openness*, historical significant*, order*
Peron, Purcell, Staats, Falchero, Lamb (1998)	Built environment and natural scenes	Familiarity*, typicality*
Stamps (1999)	Residential facades	Surface complexity*, silhouette complexity, façade articulation

*results show significant predictor

These series of research papers suggest that the significant predictors of preference may vary across different settings. This supports the important role of contents and types of setting in studying human preference as already suggested by Herzog et al. (1976). This thesis is focused on the public evaluation towards the presence of particular elements in urban scene, i.e., the street vendors. This kind of study needs to consider the role of elements as the contents of the scene, and this will be further discussed in Section 5.4.

5.3.3 Preference at day time and night time

One of the aspects addressed in this thesis is the public visual evaluation towards the presence of temporary elements in urban scenes at different times of the day. Therefore it becomes necessary to discuss how preferences may change from time to time, in particular how people evaluate the environment at day time and night time.

There is an indication that preference is not merely a static response toward particular objects in the scene. Kaplan (1985) believed that

Humans, after all respond not only to the ‘things’ but also to their arrangement, and not merely to the arrangement, but also to the inference of what such arrangement makes such possible. However, even that is not complex enough. Humans respond *differently* to these aspects depending on their prior experience and on their current situation. (Kaplan, 1985, p. 162, emphasis added)

This indicates that when people are given different arrangements of the environment, they may express different preferences.

Some studies have investigated the effects of changing the arrangement of objects to people’s preference. Bitgood (1993) found that a change of physical characteristics in gallery displays may change a visitor’s interest. Sheets and Manzer (1991) found that the addition of trees to urban streets can improve the perceived environmental quality of the areas. These findings clearly suggest that the same environment that is changed from time to time may be perceived differently.

There is an indication that a change of atmosphere may occur in the same place at different times. This might occur in daily cycle as well as seasonal cycle (Millet, 1996). It is necessary to consider how the atmosphere changes, as this is one of the central concerns in architecture (Wigley, 1998).

Figure 5-2 shows the changes of atmosphere on the façade of St. Sulpice church from dawn to night (Batar, 1992). Figure 5-3 shows the changes that occurred in Piazza del Campo from morning to midday (Alsaba Grafiche in Millet, 1996). Figure 5-4 shows the change of atmosphere under different condition of fog and sunset (Plummer, 1987). All these examples illustrate the change of appearances of the buildings and spaces as the day progress.



Figure 5-2 St Sulpice façade study (Batar, 1992)

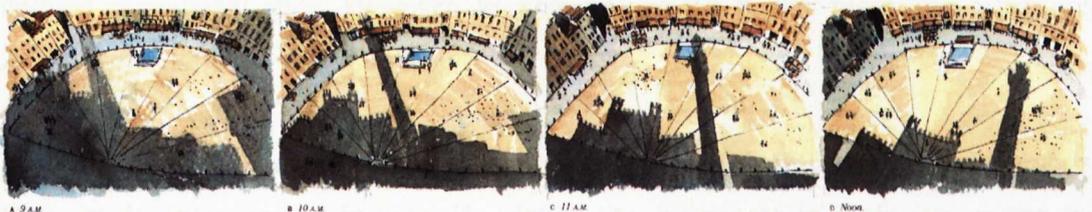


Figure 5-3 Piazza del Campo lighting study (Alsaba Grafiche in Millet, 1996)



Figure 5-4 Change of atmosphere under fog and sunset (Plummer, 1987)

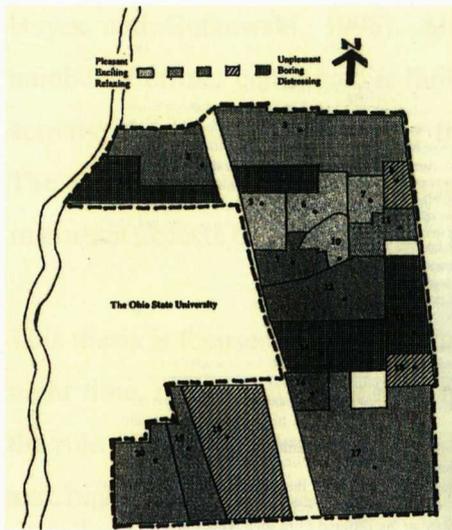
The change that occurred to the urban space is also the result of the dynamic of human activities (Shapcott and Steadman, 1978; Bromley et al., 2003; Nasar, 1998). As the day progresses, the pattern of activities and the pattern of uses in urban spaces also changes, as has already been discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2. The change of physical

appearance, human activities and the place's atmosphere may also lead to a change of preference toward a particular place.

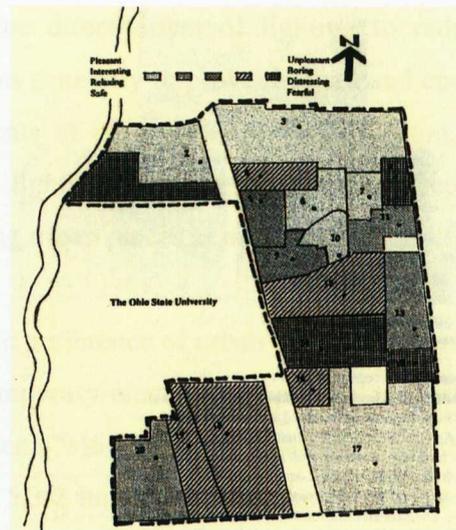
Nasar (1989a) believed that an aesthetic evaluation may change from day to night. Although the "principles of esthetics that emerge in daylight may also apply to an evening experience, but the specific features for change may vary" (Nasar, 1989a, p. 50). However, he stated that studies concerning the evening experience of urban space are still limited. Moreover, there is a tendency in architecture to be more concerned with the experience "in perfect sunshine", emphasising the experience at the perfect condition of the day (Wigley, 1998, p. 19). This indicates that there is a need to fill this gap of knowledge by expanding the studies of preference and visual experience in various settings at different times of the day.

Some studies have attempted to examine the preference of certain urban areas at day time and night time. Parkes and Thrift (1980) assessed the perceived image of various spots in the city centre of Newcastle, Australia, at four different times of the day: morning, afternoon, early evening and late night. They found that the perceived images from day time to evening time change from a disliked commercial state to a better-liked cultural-recreational state. However, as time progressed to late night, the overriding image turned into one with a lower level of safety.

Hanyu (1997, 2000) explored the evaluative image of residential areas in Columbus, Ohio, at day time and night time. He plotted the differences in preference rating for certain areas from day to night onto evaluative maps as illustrated in Figure 5-5. The maps indicate that some areas are rated more favourably at night time than at day time, while some others are perceived more favourable at day time.



Day time



Night time

Figure 5-5 Daytime and nighttime evaluative maps (Nasar, 1998, based on Hanyu, 1997, 2000)

Hanyu also explored the relationship between the ratings of visual properties and the ratings of emotional appraisal. He found relatively stable relationship between these scales for day time and night time scenes. This finding indicates that the visual properties used as the predictors of preference at day time can also be used to predict preference at night time.

Another study has attempted to assess the change of appearance of urban elements during a 24-hour cycle (Andri Yatmo, 2002). This study measured the surface luminance of various elements in three types of urban scenes at an-hour interval for a whole day. It found that the values of surface luminance vary with time, indicating that the elements of the urban scenes change their appearance and thus may be perceived differently from time to time.

Other studies attempt to relate night time experience with the aspects of fear and safety. Nasar and Jones (1997) explored the experiences reported by female respondents while walking a particular route after dark. They found that fear is associated with places with darkness, shadows, hiding places, closure and the absence of other people. Meanwhile the places judged to be safe are associated with lighting, unobstructed views and the presence of people and activities.

The role of lighting to enhance a positive evening experience has been confirmed by other studies. The improvement of street lighting has been found to significantly reduce public fear of crime (Painter and Farrington, 2001; Nair, McNair and Ditton, 1997;

Boyce and Gutkowski, 1995). Although the direct effect of lighting to reduce the number of crimes committed is limited, it can generally improve the area and encourage activity, thus indirectly lowering the incidents of crime (Ramsay and Newton, 1991). The findings of these studies suggest that lighting and human activities become the important aspects to consider when evaluating urban places at night time.

This thesis is focused on the change of public preference of urban places at day time and night time, in relation to the presence of temporary elements. In particular it addresses the role of street vendors as one of the elements which exist in urban places at day time and night time. The discussion in Section 5.3.2 has introduced the important role of contents in studying human preference, and it will be discussed further in the following section.

5.4 Preference of elements in the whole scene

5.4.1 The role of contents in scene evaluation

The majority of preference studies reviewed in Section 5.3.2 (see Table 5-2) assessed the people's preference towards the whole scene. In this thesis, the emphasis is on the assessment of public preference towards certain objects, i.e., street vendors, and their contribution to the general preference of the whole scene.

Kaplan (1985) believed that “content plays an important and complex role” (p. 167) in the assessment of human preference. This is confirmed by a series of studies that explore the differences of preference across scenes with different contents. Herzog et al. (1976) compared the rating of scenes with five different contents: culture, contemporary, commercial, entertainment and campus. They found that different preferences were made in these scenes. The commercial and entertainment scenes were least liked, while campus scenes had the highest preference. Similar findings were also recorded by Purcell, Peron and Berto (2001). They found that different preferences existed between the different scenes types: industrial zones, houses, city streets, hills and lakes.

Research has shown that human beings are able to distinguish the presence of “components” in the environment (Sorte, 1973). Furthermore, Sorte (1973) found that the presence of components is related to the general evaluation of the environment. The

following section will describe several studies that have attempted to examine the role of particular elements in the evaluation of the scenes.

5.4.2 Preference studies of elements and whole scene

Nasar (1998) in the study of residents' evaluation of two cities, Knoxville and Chattanooga, explored the urban areas that are liked and disliked. He used open-ended questionnaires to elicit which areas are liked or disliked and the reasons for these choices. Various reasons reported by the respondents are summarised in Table 5-3.

It can be seen from Table 5-3 that the reasons mentioned for the disliked of certain areas are often related to the presence of nuisance elements, which are normally not created by architects. These are semifixed elements added to the urban environments, such as billboards, poles, wires and signs. The residents also dislike the areas with poor maintenance and disorderliness. Meanwhile, certain areas are liked because of the presence of naturalness, such as vegetation and natural views. Good maintenance, good organisation and new or modern images also become the reasons to like certain areas.

Table 5-3 Liked and disliked urban elements (Nasar, 1998)

Reasons for dislike		Reasons for like	
Knoxville	Chattanooga	Knoxville	Chattanooga
Parking lots	Parking lots	Profuse vegetation	Cleanliness
Poles and wires	Dilapidation	Views (mountains, nature, river, countryside)	Views
Industry	Pollution	Historical buildings	Organised
Dilapidation	Congestion	Landscaping	Nice homes
Abandoned rail yard	Chaotic signs	Well-kept	New single-family homes
Dark canopied street	Lighting	Cleanliness	Scenery
Lack of coherent styles	Disorder, confusion	Organised	Historical significance
Dirtyness	Industry	Openness	
Billboards	Crowding	Greenery	
Signs	Litter	Design	
Poor upkeep		Open space	
Congestion		Modern	
Chaotic outdoor advertising			

The results on Table 5-3 indicate that through an open-ended questionnaire, Nasar (1998) was able to reveal the parts of urban environments which convey positive or negative images. This includes a list of liked and disliked objects.

Some studies have explored the effect of natural elements in scene preferences. Kuo, Bacaicoa and Sullivan (1998) did an experiment on the residents' preference of outdoor neighbourhood space with different tree densities, tree placement and grass maintenance. They found that tree density and grass maintenance had strong effects on preference and sense of safety. Another study by Sheets and Manzer (1991) examined the effect of tree addition to street scenes. They found that the presence of vegetation could increase the preference rating of the area. The scenes with vegetation were rated as better, safer, and cleaner place.

Herzog (1985) explored the preference of scenes which contained various types of water. He found that the types of water have a strong relationship with preference. In particular people tend to like scenes with mountain lakes and rushing water, while swampy areas are less preferred. The findings from these studies of scenes with water and trees indicate the important role of contents in the preference of the whole scene. These studies have also shown the characteristic of elements that may increase the preference rating.

Some studies attempted to examine the role of elements in urban scene. Nasar (1988d) found that preference is related to the presence or absence of vehicles. Another element that has been studied is the sign in urban streets. The presence of signs in the urban environment has been described as a nuisance element (Nasar, 1998) that creates a negative impression. Nasar (1988b) measured the effect of signs with various simulated levels of complexity and coherence on the preference of a commercial street scene. The finding of this study suggests that public preferred the scenes which included signs of moderate complexity and with high coherence.

In another study, Nasar and Hong (1999) examined the effect of sign obtrusiveness and diversity on preference. Unlike the previous study above which used simulated material (Nasar, 1988b), this study used a series of real photographs of signscape in various commercial areas. They found that people judged the less-obtrusive signsapes as more interesting, legible and desirable to visit. Meanwhile, the effect of sign diversity on preference is not confirmed. Nasar and Hong (1999) also suggested some other unmeasured features that may affect preference, such as age of sign, upkeep of sign and the actual message displayed on this sign.

These two studies of signscapes suggested that although signage is generally perceived as a nuisance element, in reality its effect on preference may vary. This indicates the need to consider the characteristic of the sign as an additional element in the scene, in order to improve the visual quality of the area. Nevertheless, this also needs to be taken into account when considering the role of other nuisance elements in urban environments.

The maintenance condition of the elements in the scenes also plays an important role in preference. Herzog and Shier (2000) found that buildings with good maintenance are preferred over those with bad maintenance. This is similar to the above findings from Nasar (1998) and Kuo et al. (1998) which suggested the importance of considering the maintenance condition of the elements in urban scenes.

Another important issue in studying the presence of elements in a scene is the extent to which the element fits with or is compatible with its context. This is particularly crucial in cases where an element is added to the existing scene. Sorte (1973) found that people can assess that certain objects do not fit into an environment. Furthermore, Groat (1988) suggested that the judgement of fittingness or contextual compatibility is not merely of personal taste but it has been found to be highly consistent across the general public.

Groat (1984, 1988) explored the comments from the public regarding a new building placed in the midst of other buildings. The findings suggested the importance of façade design of the new building to achieve the contextual compatibility over that of site organisation or even the massing pattern. She also suggested the need to achieve a balance between replication and contrast between the infill building and its context.

The degree to which an element fits into a scene may have relationship with the way people judge the preference of the scene as a whole. Sorte (1973) suggested that “when we are changing an environment by introducing units not fitting into that environment, we are dealing with the following aspects: Unity, Pleasantness and Complexity” (p. 206). Therefore, the addition of certain elements into a scene may influence the general preference of the whole scene.

A study by Wohlwill (1978) explored the judgment of fittingness regarding the addition of man-made structures in natural settings. He found a significant relationship between

the building contrast-obtrusiveness and its appropriateness. The building with a high rating on contrast-obtrusiveness in terms of size and colour is judged to be least appropriate. In addition, there is evidence that the choice of material of the added building also determines the perceived appropriateness. For example, the lumber mill building clad in a wooden material is judged to be more appropriate in a scenic wooden setting and less appropriate in a plain coastal scene. These findings clearly indicate the role of the physical characteristics of elements in determining the degree of fittingness.

Another important finding in this study is on the role of meaning, or the function attributed, to the building in the judgment of appropriateness. The 'lodge' building types generally has higher rating of appropriateness in the natural landscape than the 'factory' building types. Wohlwill (1978) also found that the types of setting determine the judgment of appropriateness. This indicates the importance of context in assessing the presence of a particular object in a scene.

The above studies have shown the important role of particular elements in preference of the whole scene. But so far there were no studies looking into the urban elements which have the characteristics as temporary, flexible and moveable elements such as the street vendors, which exist on the cities at different times of the day.

This thesis is focused on the assessment of street vendors as 'out of place' elements in urban environments. The street vendors exist in urban places as temporary elements added to the urban scene. Their presence has been judged as a nuisance element as already illustrated in Chapter 2, 3 and 4. The research in this thesis attempts to explore under what conditions the presence of street vendors may be acceptable to the public. Through the preference approach, the research examines the extent to which the presence of street vendors is considered to be 'out of place' or 'in place'.

5.5 Summary

Assessing public preference of urban environment is necessary in order to understand the evaluative image of the city as seen by the public. The users often view the environment differently from those with professional training in design. These two groups show some differences in their likes and dislikes, as well as in the underlying

basis of their preference. Understanding public preference may help the designers to make prediction and design decision that is sensitive to the needs of everyday users.

Preference studies have been used to explore about people's like and dislike of the environments. It reflects human immediate response towards the environment and it has been used as a reliable approach to understand public visual assessment of the urban scenes. Through preference studies it is possible to elicit what people like or dislike for whatever reasons. However, preference does not exist independently; research have found various predictors that are significantly correlated with preference. These predictors may help to uncover the underlying basis of human preference.

Preference approach has been applied in various studies concerning different types of environment. Mainly it has been used to explore the preference of a whole scene. A limited number of research have also focused on certain elements within a scene. These studies have shown the importance of contents or elements in the scenes and their relationship with the general evaluation of the whole scene. However, so far there were no studies concerning the role of temporary elements which are easily detached from urban scenes, which becomes the focus of this thesis.

Human preference is not static; it may change from time to time. It becomes necessary to understand how preference may change from time to time, including how it changes through the day, from day to night. Some studies show some indications of the change of human evaluation and preference from day to night. However, there are still limited preference studies that explored the evening experience of public as well as the preference toward the temporary elements in urban environment.

Preference studies become the main approach in this thesis to explore the issue of street vendors as rejected elements in the cities as discussed in Chapter 2, 3 and 4. It attempts to explore the extent to which the presence of street vendors are evaluated by the users as 'out of place' in various urban scenes at day time and night time.

6 STAGE 1: METHODS

6.1 Introduction

The research attempts to assess the public opinion toward the presence of street vendors in urban places at day time and night time. The main approach of this research is based on visual preference studies, as an approach to understand the users' perception towards the presence of street vendors as the 'out of place' elements that creates conflict in urban environment.

The research was conducted in two stages. The aim of the Stage 1 is to assess the position of streets vendors as the elements within the whole urban scenes. It is to confirm whether the street vendors were perceived by the user as the elements which are to be blamed as negative aspects of urban scene as explained in Chapter 2, 3 and 4. In particular the objectives of Stage 1 are to elicit the users' perception of place identity, place elements and preference in the urban places with the presence of street vendors. Stage 2 of the research is focused on assessing the users' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements in urban places.

This chapter provides an overview of the research methods applied in this research. It describes the detailed procedures for Stage 1 of the research. It explains the procedures in preparing the research instruments, data collection and data analysis. The detailed procedure for Stage 2 will be described later in Chapter 8.

6.2 Overview of research methods

Preference studies attempt to explore the respondents' judgement about certain types of environments. In general, the common methods used are through eliciting the responses from the respondents towards stimulus materials presented to them.

There are a variety of ways to present the stimulus materials. Most of the research use colour photographs or slides of the scenes. Besides, there are also other alternative ways to present the environment, including direct on-site experience (Nasar and Jones, 1997; Bitgood, 1993) and presenting colour video or film of the places (Hetherington, Daniel

and Brown, 1993). Some other research use photographs of models (Nasar, 1988) or drawings (Heath et al., 2000a, 2000b; Imamoglu, 2000; Sheets and Manzer, 1991).

Nasar (1998) summarised that these different methods of presenting stimulus allow for different degree of similarity to actual experience and different degree of controlling the variables, as illustrated in Table 6-1. Direct on-site experience, video and film can provide more realistic experience, yet they are difficult to control. The real settings may contain various uncontrolled variables that may influence the response. On the other hand, some methods using synthetic or simulated materials such as drawing and models can allow the researcher to have strict control on the variables that become the focus of the study. However, these types of material are less realistic and do not really represent the reality of everyday life.

Table 6-1 Various methods of presentation (Nasar, 1998)

Similarity to Actual Experience	Presentation Media	Experimental Control
More realistic	Direct on-site exposure to a place	Less control
↓	Color video or film of the place	↓
	Color photos or slides of the place	
	Color photos of the model	
	Drawing and models	
Less Realistic		More control

The use of photographs or slides of the place have been very commonly used in preference studies. Studies have found that photographs can be reliable as the substitute of the real settings (Shafer and Richards, 1974; Im, 1984). Meanwhile, this method also allows some forms of control, although not as strict as in synthetic methods with models or drawings. The research in this thesis uses this method of presentation using colour slides and photographs of urban places with street vendors.

The procedure of preference research generally involves eliciting responses towards the presented environment. There are various possibilities in the methods to obtain responses, ranging from open-ended response to standardised response (Nasar, 1998). In the methods using open-ended responses, the respondents give description or responses about the environment on their own words, without any constraints from the researcher. This method allows the researcher to obtain rich information about the environments studied. However, there may be some difficulties in quantifying the responses, although it is possible to develop certain ways of coding.

Basically open-ended method is very useful as exploratory tools to identify some issues related to human preference. An example of this method is in a study of residents' perception of two cities by Nasar (1998). The use of open-ended questionnaire in this study was an attempt to explore which areas were liked or disliked and the reasons of their likes and dislikes. It was also useful to elicit the urban elements that are perceived positively and negatively by the residents. Another study (Nasar and Jones, 1997) asked the respondents to record their comments while walking in an area. This method allows the researcher to obtain the respondents' impression towards certain place, to explore the places where they feel safe or fear as well as the elements that create those feelings.

Lekagul (2002) used open-ended responses in combination with standardised response to study the preference of shopping environments. The open-ended responses were used to obtain the description of the scenes, to explore the underlying reasons of preference and to assist the interpretation in the quantitative analysis.

In contrast to open-ended responses, preference studies also use various types of standardised responses, such as adjective checklists, sorting or ranking methods and semantic differential scales. These standardised responses are developed to get more accurate data on the variables that become the focus of the studies. Because it is standardised, this method cannot uncover some richness in the respondents' reaction towards the stimulus materials. However, it has some advantages in its relative easiness to administer and allowing more accurate analysis.

Standardised responses have been used in most preference studies as listed in Chapter 5 (see Table 5.2). By using standardised responses, it is possible to do some quantitative analysis to explore the relationship between certain variables. Most of these research attempts to find which variables become the significant predictors of preference.

Some other studies attempted to analyse the relationship between preference and certain physical characteristics of the environment, such as age of building, building façade and tree density (Herzog and Shier, 2000; Imamoglu, 2000; Heath et al., 2000a, 2000b; Kuo et al., 1998). Standardised responses have also been used to make quantitative comparison between various contents of scenes or various scene types (Nasar, 1983; Purcell et al., 2001; Hanyu, 2000, 1997). Some other studies used standardised responses to explore the differences between groups of respondent, such as between architects and

non-architects (Groat, 1995; Devlin and Nasar, 1989; Hershberger, 1988; Hershberger and Cass, 1988).

The examples above illustrate that both open-ended and standardised responses have been useful for examining people's preference of environment. This thesis combined both methods in order to take advantages from each method. In the Stage 1 of the research, the objectives are to confirm the position of streets vendors as the elements within the whole urban scenes; particularly whether they are perceived as disliked elements. In this stage the respondents were not explicitly directed to make judgment towards the street vendors. Therefore, open-ended questionnaire become suitable for this stage.

The Stage 2 of the research is focused on the users' evaluation towards the street vendors as 'out of place' elements. This stage uses the standardised questionnaire with 7-point rating scale, in order to explore the relationship between the presence of street vendors of 'out of place' and other related preference variables. The method of Stage 2 will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8. In addition, the research also uses ranking method during the process of preparation of the stimulus materials. It was used to develop a set of stimulus photograph of urban places with variety in the number of street vendors.

The following section describes the detailed procedures of Stage 1 of the research, including the development of research instruments, the procedures of data collection and data analysis.

6.3 Research instruments

6.3.1 Preparation of stimulus material

The stimulus materials for this research consisted of a series of photographs illustrating the variety of places in Jakarta with the presence of street vendors at day time and night time. The photographs were taken in several commercial locations, to reflect a variety of commercial uses; e.g., shops, markets, pharmacies, offices, superstores etc. The choice of this type of setting is based on the fact that street vendors mainly created conflicts in commercial areas (see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1).

The street vendors exist in commercial areas in various situation; they may occupy the streets, sidewalks, parks or other public places. In this research, the location chosen is focused on the areas where the street vendors are located in front of the main buildings. Therefore the photographs represent a similarity in the spatial relationship between the main buildings and the vendors. Another criterion for choosing the location is the practical possibility for photograph taking. Hence the places should not be too crowded with people or vehicles, and they should have moderate traffic density, preferably not a major road.

There were four areas in Jakarta selected as the location for photograph taking, as illustrated in Figure 6-1.

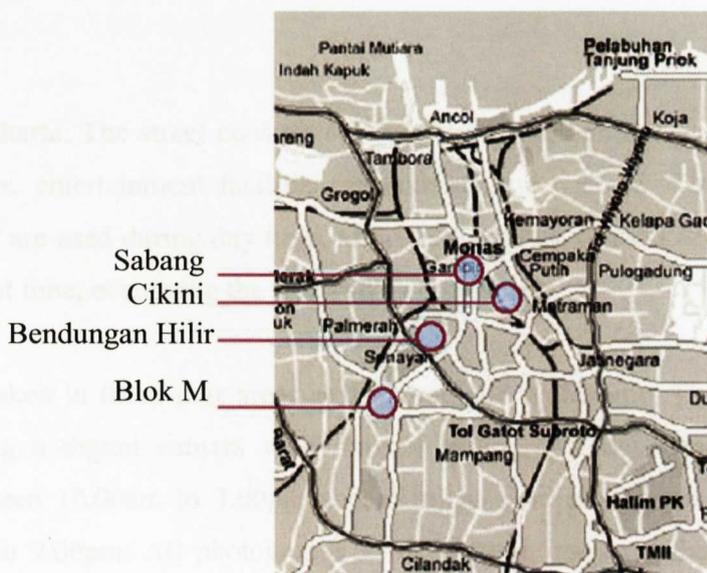


Figure 6-1 Location of photograph taking

The first area, Blok M, is located in South Jakarta. The area is well known as one of the major shopping areas in Jakarta. It has variety of shop types, ranging from indoor expensive shopping malls to cheap outdoor temporary street markets. Eating facilities in this area also vary from expensive restaurants, fast food outlets, temporary outdoor eating stalls and vendor carts. The activities in this area take place from day time to night time. The shopping malls and most shops open at both day time and night time. Some areas of street markets only open at day time, while some eating stalls start to operate after dark.

Sabang is a famous shopping street located in Central Jakarta. It comprises of various shops and restaurants along both of its sides, which are mostly open at both day time and night time. The presence of street vendors on this street can be seen during day time. However, their number usually increases when the night comes, when the street vendors occupy some sidewalks and parking spaces along this shopping street.

Bendungan Hilir is a street in Central Jakarta, located off the major city road. On one end of the street approaching the major road is the location of traditional market. The street has the mix of uses, including commercial, offices and residential. The majority of the commercial and business activities along this street take place during day time. There are also some street vendors operating during day time. When the night comes, many more street vendors operate in this area, occupying the parking spaces along the streets and around the market.

Cikini is located in Central Jakarta. The street consists of a variety of uses on both its sides, including shops, offices, entertainment facilities, restaurants and schools. The majority of the main buildings are used during day time. Many of the street vendors are present along this street at night time, occupying the sidewalks of the street.

Over 300 photographs were taken in these four areas at day time and night time. The photographs were taken using a digital camera with manual setting. All day time photographs were taken between 10.00am to 3.00pm and all night time photographs were taken between 7.00pm to 9.00pm. All photographs were taken in good weather during the months of December 2002 and January 2003.

There were several procedures to be followed during the photograph taking:

- a) The camera was set on human eye-level, approximately 1.65m.
- b) The distance from the camera to the targets was approximately 15 to 20m.
- c) The angle of the camera was approximately 45 degree against the façade of the main building.
- d) Each place was shot at both day time and night time; day time photographs and night time photographs of the same place should be taken from approximately similar camera position with similar angle.

- e) There should be no obstruction on camera view while taking the photograph. If there were any obstructions, such as the passing vehicle that blocked the view, the photograph taking should be repeated.

There were several problems encountered during this stage of photograph taking. One of the problems was the difficulty in matching the camera position for day time and night time photographs. In several places it was not possible to set the camera at exactly the same position, because the place where the camera was supposed to be had been occupied by parked vehicles or vendors. In these cases the photograph taking was repeated in order to obtain the matching pairs of day time and night time photographs.

Another problem was the presence of *preman* (people who act as ‘thugs’ of an area). At the time of this study, the problem of street vendors’ eviction in Jakarta was being highlighted and become quite a sensitive issue. During the attempts to take photograph, the researcher was being accused by some *premans* for supporting the act of eviction. Because of this misunderstanding, many vendors were objected to being photographed. Fortunately, an approach was made to have discussion with one of the leader of street vendor community who responded very positively to the research and gave permission to take the photographs.

From over 300 photographs obtained, an initial selection was done by the researcher based on several criteria:

- a) The photographs should represent various situations regarding the street vendors and the main buildings, including variety in the number of street vendors, the complexity of the area and the various functions of the main buildings. Some photographs were dropped because they looked very similar.
- b) The photographs should have the right distance and angle as described in the procedure above. Some of the photographs were dropped because the objects were shot from too short distance or from incorrect angle.
- c) The photographs should have good quality. Some of the photographs were dropped because they had insufficient light, too much contrast, or blurred.
- d) Day time and night time photographs of the same place should frame approximately similar area size. Some photographs needed to be cropped in order to match their pairs.

- e) The photographs should not display too much unnecessary focus. Some photographs needed to be cropped because the sky or the street become too dominating.

From 300 photographs, there were 24 pairs of day time and night time photographs that met the above criteria (see Appendix A.1). These 24 pairs of photographs were then further selected through the sorting task as described in the next section.

6.3.2 Sorting tasks

The aim of this sorting task was to obtain a set of photographs in rank order of the number of street vendors, from the minimum to the maximum. This is necessary to ensure that the stimulus materials represent various amounts of street vendors in the scenes. Nine people (six males and three females) were assigned as independent judges for this sorting task. These people were selected on the basis of personal connection with the researcher, therefore the researcher knows their background very well. These nine judges were between 28 to 65 years old and they had various occupations (architect, doctor, psychologist, pensioner, student and entrepreneur). The majority represents middle-class groups with high level of education, and at the same time they were also regular users of street vendors.

The 24 pairs of photographs obtained from the initial selection were divided into two sets. Set A consisted of 24 day time photographs and set B consisted of 24 night time photographs. Each photograph was given a number on its back for recording purposes. Each judge was assigned to carry out two separate sorting tasks for each set. They were asked to arrange the photographs in each set into order, based on the number of street vendors. Some of the judges worked on day time set first, while some others worked on night time set first.

The aim of the sorting task was to obtain a series of photograph in order. Due to the large number of photographs to be ranked (24 photographs in each set) it would be considered difficult for the judges to rank all photographs at once. Therefore the tasks were done in several stages as described in the following procedures.

First, the judges were asked to sort the set of 24 photographs into three groups according to the number of the street vendors showed in every scene. In the first group were photographs with small amount of street vendors, in the second group were those with intermediate amount of street vendors and in the third group were those with large amount of street vendors. After finishing this grouping, the judges were asked to check again all the three groups to make sure that they had made the right grouping.

From each of these three groups, the judges were asked to divide the photographs into three further groups. So the photographs in each group were further divided into group of small, intermediate and large amount of street vendors. Altogether the judges create nine groups of photographs. Finally the judges were asked to put all the 24 photographs into order, from the smallest number into the largest number of street vendors. This procedure was then repeated for another set of 24 photographs. The rank order of the two sets of photographs obtained from the nine judges is presented in Appendix A.2.

The results of the sorting tasks were statistically analysed using Kendall coefficient of concordance W (Siegel, 1956). The aim of this analysis was to obtain the values of W , which determine the degree of agreement among the nine judges in rank ordering the photographs in each sorting task. In addition, the values of X^2 were also computed and were used to determine the significance of W for large number of objects being ranked. The results of the analysis are presented in Table 6-2.

Table 6-2 Kendall coefficient of concordance and X^2 for each sorting task

Sorting task	W	X^2
A: the number of street vendors at day time	0.8888	183.982
B: the number of street vendors at night time	0.7844	162.360

For the level of significance $\alpha = 0.01$ and degree of freedom $df=23$, the above values of X^2 for both sorting tasks were larger than the critical value $X^2= 41.64$. Therefore the null hypotheses (H_0) that the rankings from nine judges were unrelated (or independent) may be rejected. In other words, it can be concluded that there was a high degree of agreement among the nine judges in both sorting tasks. Based on this result, as suggested by Kendall, when W was significant, the best estimate of the ‘true’ ranking is by the order of the sum of ranks (Siegel, 1956). The true ranking of the 24 photographs can be seen in the Appendix A.2.

6.3.3 Final stimulus material

After obtaining the ‘true’ ranks of the 24 pairs of photographs from the above procedure, eight pairs of photographs were selected to be used as the final stimulus material. The photographs selected represented the range of the number of street vendors as can be seen in Table 6-3. The selection also considered the variety of uses of place and the variety in how the place changed from day to night. The eight pairs of photographs selected were labeled as scenes B to I, and they would be used for both Stage 1 and Stage 2 of the research.

Table 6-3 Ranks of chosen photographs

	Ranks of chosen photographs							
	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Day time scenes	14	8	18*	1.5	20.5	6	16	15
Night time scenes	11	13	20	17	23.5	1	18	21

*For the stimulus material in Stage 1, day time photograph of scene D was replaced with the one without street vendors for the reasons explained below.

For the Stage 1 of the research, it was considered necessary that each respondent did not assess both day time and night time photographs of the same place. If they assessed both scenes representing the same place, it was possible that they might give the same responses to the open-ended questions. To avoid this possibility, the eight pairs of photographs were separated into two sets of presentation, to be presented to different groups of respondents. Each set consisted of four day time photographs and four night time photographs. No photographs representing the same place were put in the same set. For example, scene C-day was included in Presentation 1 while scene C-night was included in Presentation 2.

As already explained in Section 6.2, it is important that in the Stage 1 of the research the respondents were not directed to focus on the street vendors. Therefore it became necessary to include a scene with no street vendors as a buffer in the middle of each presentation set. For Presentation 1, scene E-day become the buffer, while day time photograph of scene D is replaced with the one without street vendors to function as a buffer.

Therefore, the eight pairs of photographs used for Stage 1 of research consist of:

- a) two pairs of photographs with no street vendors at day time and with street vendors at night time (scenes D and E)

- b) two pairs of photographs with decreasing rank in number of street vendors from day time to night time (scenes G and B)
- c) two pairs of photographs with slightly increasing rank in number of street vendors from day time to night time (scenes F and H)
- d) two pairs of photograph with largely increasing rank in number of street vendors from day time to night time (scenes C and I)

In addition, a photograph of bus stop (scene A) was added into each set and put at the beginning of each presentation set as another buffer photograph. This photograph is also used as the respondents' exercise to fill in the questionnaire. The responses for scene A would not be included in the analysis.

In final, each set of presentation consisted of nine photographs as illustrated in Figure 6-2 and Appendix A.3. These two sets of presentation were then used as the stimulus materials presented to the respondents while they filled in the questionnaire. The development of the questionnaire is described in the next section.

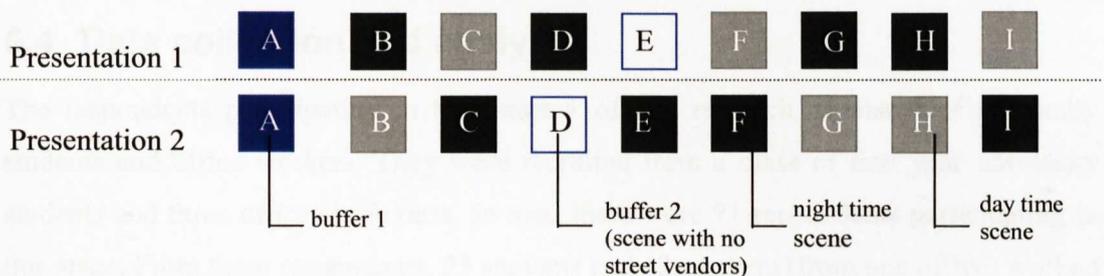


Figure 6-2 Arrangement of photographs for stimulus material

6.3.4 Questionnaire

The questionnaire consisted of seven open-ended questions for each scene delivered in Indonesian language. The first two questions asked the respondents' perception about the identity of the place. For other five questions, the respondents were asked to imagine as if they were in the place represented in the slides, so they respond to the questions accordingly. In these questions they were asked what they would do in that place, their impression about the place, the elements that they considered dominant, the elements they liked and the elements they wanted to remove.

At the end of the session, the respondents were asked to answer some background questions including age, gender and occupation. They were also asked some general questions regarding their use of street vendors. This included whether they had ever visited street vendors, frequency and time of visits, reasons to visit street vendors and their judgment on the legality of street vendors. Both Indonesian and English versions of the questionnaire are included in Appendix A.4 and A.5.

Before being distributed in the main sessions of data collection, the questionnaire was piloted in a small group of respondents. This pilot stage was to ensure the clarity of the questions and the instructions as well as to check the time needed for completing the questionnaire. On average the time taken for each slide was five minutes, therefore the total time needed for each session with nine slides was less than an hour. This duration was considered not too long for the respondents, and allowed them to maintain their concentration until the end of the session. During the pilot stages it was also found that the street and the sky became too dominant in some scenes, so they needed to be cropped again.

6.4 Data collection and analysis

The respondents participating in the Stage 1 of this research consisted of university students and office workers. They were recruited from a class of first year university students and three offices in Jakarta. In total there were 71 respondents participating in this stage. From these respondents, 23 students and 12 workers (from one office) worked on Presentation 1, while 26 students and 10 workers (from two offices) worked on Presentation 2.

The sessions were conducted in darkened rooms with the slides projected onto a screen. The sessions for the office workers were taking place in the meeting rooms in each office and the sessions for the students were taking place in the classrooms. The respondents were asked to give their responses to the slides by filling in the questionnaire according to the instruction given (see Appendix A.4 and A.5).

The open-ended responses obtained from the respondents were coded into categories. The coded responses were then entered into SPSS data editor for further statistical analysis. The main statistical test in this stage is one-way and two-way Chi-square

analysis for the nominal data (Siegel, 1956). In addition some data were also presented in graphs of frequency. The detailed analyses of the results from Stage 1 are presented in Chapter 7.

6.5 Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the visual preference research methods that become the main approach in the empirical studies in this thesis. This study examines the users' responses towards the urban scenes with street vendors, which is presented as the colour-slides of the real settings. The photographs were taken in various urban places in Jakarta. The selection of the photographs was conducted based on initial selection by the researcher and a sorting task by nine independent judges.

The study was conducted in two stages. In Stage 1, the respondents were not explicitly directed to focus on street vendors. This stage used open-ended questionnaire to elicit the responses regarding the place identity, dominant element, general impression of place, liked and disliked elements. This becomes the attempts to confirm whether the users view the street vendors as negative aspects of urban scene. The findings of the Stage 1 are discussed in Chapter 7, while the methods and findings of Stage 2 are discussed in Chapter 8 and 9.

7 STAGE 1: FINDINGS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings from the Stage 1 of the research. It relates these findings with the general issues of street vendors illustrated in Chapter 2, in particular the problems of street vendors in Jakarta as highlighted in the media. It also discusses the findings in relation to the theoretical discussion in Chapter 3, 4, and 5.

The chapter begins with the general information regarding the respondents participating in this study. The results of the open-ended questionnaires are discussed in three major sections. Section 7.3 illustrates the respondents' perception of the identity of urban places with street vendors and elements that are perceived dominant in these places. Section 7.4 discusses the respondents' general impressions of the places with street vendors. Section 7.5 discusses the elements that they liked and disliked in each places. This section also attempts to explore the extent to which street vendors are perceived as liked and disliked elements. The findings of this stage have raised some further questions that will be addressed in the Stage 2 of the research.

7.2 Profile of respondents

This section illustrates the profiles of the respondents participating in this study, their general pattern of visit to the street vendors and their judgements towards the legality of street vendors. There were a total of 71 respondents involved in the Stage 1 of the research. The respondents consisted of 42.3% male and 57.7% female as can be seen in Figure 7-1.

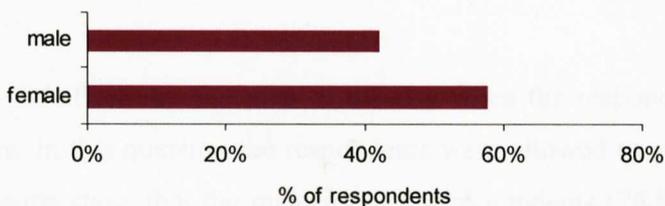


Figure 7-1 Gender of respondents (n=71)

The age of the respondents ranged from 17 to 47 years old, with the average age of 22.67. The majority of them were students (69.0%) while others were office workers (31.0%) as illustrated in Figure 7-2.

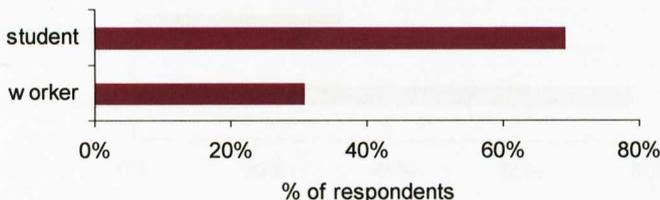


Figure 7-2 Respondents' occupation (n=71)

In the questionnaire the respondents were asked about their involvement with street vendors. All the respondents (100%) mentioned that they had visited or bought from street vendors prior to this study. Figure 7-3 illustrates their frequency of visit to street vendors. It shows that the majority of the respondents (38%) visited street vendors several times a week, while 25% visited street vendors several times a month. Only 4.2% visited street vendors everyday. The rest of the respondents (32%) mentioned that they seldom visited street vendors.

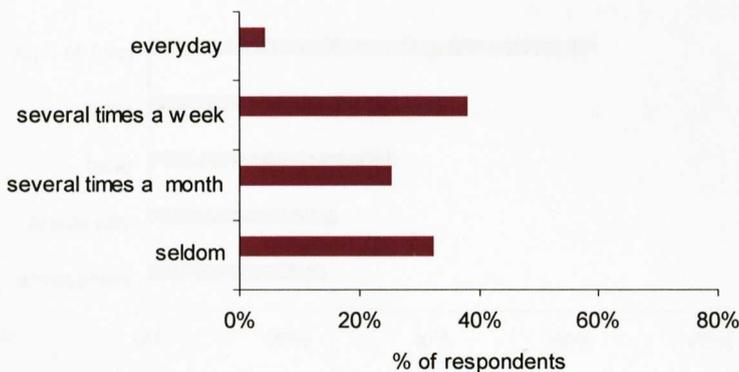


Figure 7-3 Frequency of visit to street vendors (n=71)

Figure 7-4 illustrates the time of the day when the respondents normally visited street vendors. In this question the respondents were allowed to give more than one response. The results show that the majority of the respondents (76.8%) visited street vendors at night time. Some also visited street vendors in the afternoon (42.0%). About 31.9% made their visit to street vendors in the late afternoon or the time around the end of office hours. Only 4.3% of the respondents visited street vendors in the morning.

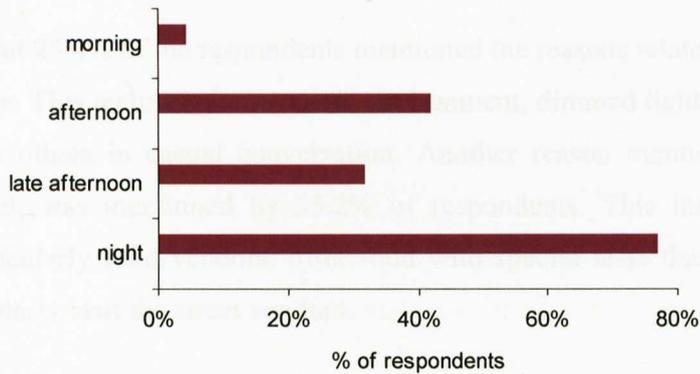


Figure 7-4 Time of visit to street vendors (n=71)

The respondents were also asked to mention the reasons of their visit to street vendors. They could give more than one reason, and all their responses were grouped into five categories as shown in Figure 7-5. The majority of the respondents mentioned ‘type of food/goods’ as their reasons (63.4%). This suggests that they were attracted by the variety of food and goods offered by the street vendors. As discussed in Chapter 2, the street vendors in Jakarta offer a wide range of goods and services (see Section 2.2.4), which can cater for the customers’ needs, both for daily necessity and for entertainment.

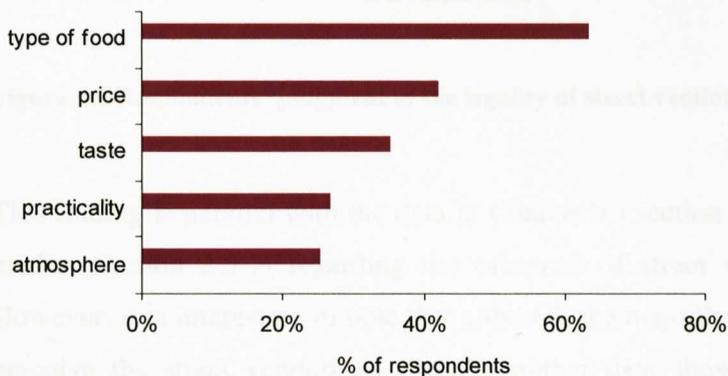


Figure 7-5 Reasons to visit street vendors (n=71)

Another reason to visit the street vendors was the ‘price’, which was mentioned by 42.3% of the respondents. This suggests that for the respondents, the street vendors offer value for money as alternatives to the more expensive food and goods in high streets. Some respondents (26.8%) also mentioned the ‘practicality’ offered by the street vendors. Their responses indicate that the street vendors can fulfil their needs easily, for example when they were on their way home or when they felt hungry.

About 25.4% of the respondents mentioned the reasons related to the ‘atmosphere’ of the place. This includes the romantic environment, dimmed light, and opportunity to interact with others in casual conversation. Another reason mentioned is the ‘taste’ of food which was mentioned by 35.2% of respondents. This indicates that street vendors, particularly food vendors, offer food with special taste that invites the respondents to regularly visit the street vendors.

Figure 7-6 illustrates the respondents’ general perception regarding the legality of street vendors. The majority of the respondents (63.4%) considered the presence of street vendors as illegal, while only 11.3% mentioned that their presence was legal. The rest of the respondents (25.4%) could not make any judgment regarding the presence of the street vendors.

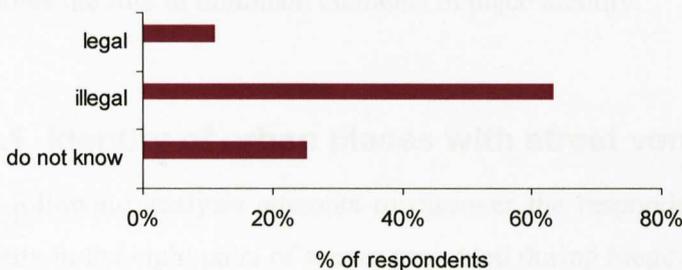


Figure 7-6 Respondents’ judgment of the legality of street vendors (n=71)

This finding is parallel with the data in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2.6) and the opinion in the media (Section 2.3.1) regarding the presence of street vendors in illegal locations. However, it is interesting to note that although the majority of the respondents generally perceive the street vendors as illegal, another data shows that 100% of them have become the customers of street vendors. It seems that the respondents’ judgement of legality is not in line with their action in everyday life as the users of the street vendors.

Summary

The data above has illustrated the general pattern in respondents’ use of street vendor. All the respondents participating in Stage 1 have previously visited street vendor. The majority of them visited street vendors several times a week, mostly at night time. The reasons to visit street vendors include the type of food/good, price, taste, practicality and

atmosphere of the place. The majority of the respondents considered the presence of street vendors as illegal.

7.3 Place identity and street vendors

This section discusses the findings on the respondents' perception of the identity of urban places with the presence of street vendors. It attempts to discover the extent to which the presence of street vendors shapes the identity of the urban places. The discussion in Chapter 2 and 3 have identified the nature street vendors as the temporary and unexpected elements in the city. Their addition into the existing urban environment has created some conflicts. Therefore it becomes necessary to explore how the street vendors as temporary elements play a role in shaping the identity of the place perceived by users. This becomes the issue to address in this section. The discussion also further explores the role of dominant elements in place identity.

7.3.1 Identity of urban places with street vendors

The following analysis attempts to discover the respondents' perception of the place identity in the eight pairs of scenes presented during Stage 1. The analysis was based on their responses to the question: "What place is represented in this picture?". For the purpose of the analysis, their responses were coded into three categories:

'vendor': When the respondents perceived the identity of place as street vendors' place, such as:

Pedagang makanan kakilima di tepi jalan di atas trotoar pada malam hari (Street vendors selling food on the sidewalk at night time)

Warung tenda pinggir jalan di malam hari (Tent stalls on the side of the street at night time)

Tempat jual makanan kaki lima (Location of street vendors selling food)

'main' : When the respondents perceived the identity of place as related to the main building or permanent building in the scene, such as:

Deretan toko tua (A row of old shops)

Toko kaset dan pelatarannya (Music recording shop and its yard)

Gedung-gedung kantor di pinggir jalan (Office buildings on the side of the street)

'others' : When the respondents perceived the identity of place as neither street vendors' place nor the place of main building, for example:

Lalu lintas kendaraan (Vehicular traffic)

Halaman depan sebuah gedung (The front yard of a building)

The analyses were conducted for overall data from all scenes as well as data from individual scene. All the responses from day time and night time scenes were also compared to see whether there were any differences between perceived place identity at day time and night time.

Two types of statistical tests were used in this analysis. *One-way chi-square test* (goodness-of-fit) was done separately for day time and night time scene sets. This test was used to reveal whether the respondents show significant tendency to perceive 'vendor' as the identity of place, as compared to 'main' or 'others'. *Two-way chi-square test* was used to explore the differences between the respondents' perception of place identity at day time and night time. In this test, the category 'main' and 'others' were combined into 'others' in order to emphasis the change of place identity in relation to street vendors as the main focus of this study.

Figure 7-7 illustrates the perceived identity of place at day time and night time for overall data from all scenes. It can be seen that for day time scenes the majority of respondents (62.1%) mentioned that the identity of the place was related to the main building. This percentage is significantly higher than the percentage of those who perceived the identity of place related to street vendors or others ($X^2=104.957$, $df=2$, $p<0.001$). Meanwhile, for night time scenes the majority of respondents (63.1%) mentioned that the identity of the place was related to street vendors, significantly higher than those who mentioned two other categories ($X^2=112.936$, $df=2$, $p<0.001$).

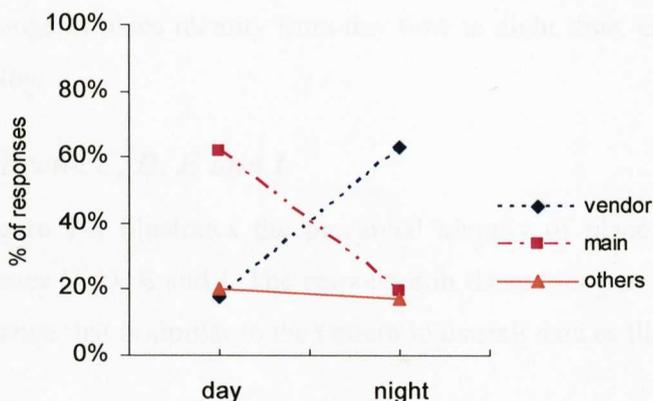


Figure 7-7 Identity of place for overall data (n-day=282, n-night=282)

Figure 7-7 also illustrates that the percentage of respondents who mentioned the identity of place as the street vendors' place increased from day time to night time (from 17.7% to 63.1%), while the percentage of respondents who mentioned the identity of place as related to main building decreased from day time to night time (from 62.1% to 19.9%). There is only a slight decrease in the percentage of the respondents who mentioned 'others' as place identity, from 20.2% to 17.0%. The result of two-way chi-square test shows that there was a significant difference between the perceived identity of place for day time and night time scenes ($X^2=133.934$, $df=2$, $p<0.001$).

Table 7-1 Summary of chi square analysis for overall data

	One-way		Two-way
	day	night	
All scenes	$X^2 = 104.957$ df= 2 p<0.001***	$X^2 = 112.936$ df= 2 p<0.001***	$X^2 = 118.744$ df= 1 p<0.001***

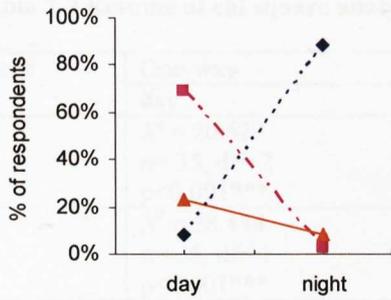
***highly significant

The results above indicate that in general *the identity of the urban places with the presence of street vendors change from day time to night time*. For day time scenes the main building tend to be perceived as the identity of the place while the street vendors tend to become the identity of the place for night time scenes.

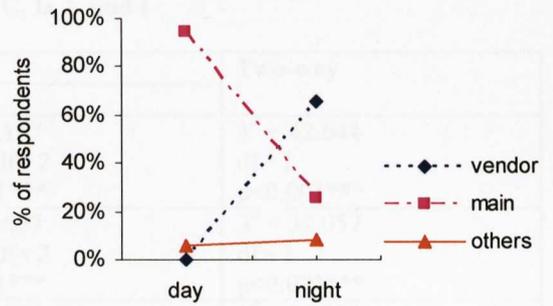
Further analyses were conducted separately for each pair of scenes, in order to explore the respondents' perception of place identity in different situation of urban places. From the analysis of data from each pair of scenes, there are three different patterns in the change of place identity from day time to night time. Each of these patterns is described below.

I. Scene C, D, E and I

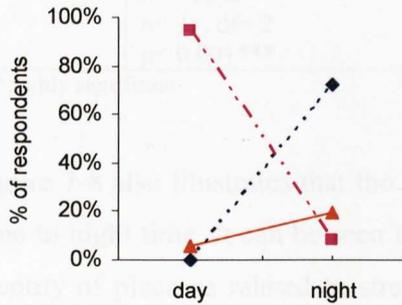
Figure 7-8 illustrates the perceived identity of place at day time and night time for scenes C, D, E and I. The responses in these four pair of scenes indicate the patterns of change that is similar to the pattern in overall data as illustrated in Figure 7-7.



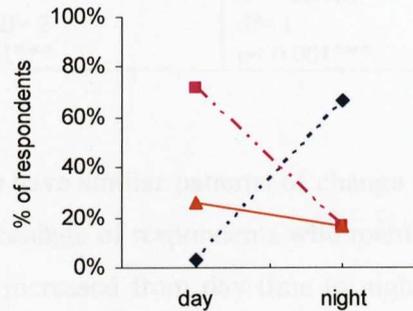
Scene C



Scene D



Scene E



Scene I

Figure 7-8 Identity of the place for scene C, D, E and I

It can be seen that for day time scenes, the majority of respondents mentioned that the identity of the places were related to the main building (68.6% in scene C, 94.4% in scene D, 94.3% in scene E and 71.4% in scene I). The results of one-way chi-square test in Table 7-2 indicates that for all these scenes the number of respondents who mentioned 'main' as place identity is significantly higher than those who mentioned 'vendor' or 'others'.

On the other hand, for night time scenes the majority of respondents mentioned that the identity of the places were as street vendors' places (88.9% in scene C, 65.7% in scene D, 72.2% in scene E and 66.7% in scene I). As can be seen in Table 7-2, the results of one-way chi-square test indicates that the number of respondents who mentioned 'vendor' as place identity is significantly higher than those who mentioned 'main' and 'others' for these night time scenes.

Table 7-2 Resume of chi square analysis for scene C, D, E and I

Scene	One-way		Two-way
	day	night	
C	$\chi^2 = 20.629$ n= 35, df= 2 p<0.001***	$\chi^2 = 50.167$ n= 36, df= 2 p<0.001***	$\chi^2 = 42.644$ df= 1 p<0.001***
D	$\chi^2 = 28.444$ n= 36, df= 1 p<0.001***	$\chi^2 = 18.057$ n= 35, df= 2 p<0.001***	$\chi^2 = 32.057$ df= 1 p<0.001***
E	$\chi^2 = 27.457$ n= 35, df= 1 p< 0.001***	$\chi^2 = 25.167$ n= 36, df= 2 p< 0.001***	$\chi^2 = 36.832$ df= 1 p< 0.001***
I	$\chi^2 = 25.6$ n= 35, df= 2 p< 0.001***	$\chi^2 = 18$ n= 36, df= 2 p< 0.001***	$\chi^2 = 28.939$ df= 1 p< 0.001***

***highly significant

Figure 7-8 also illustrates that the four scenes have similar patterns of change from day time to night time. It can be seen that the percentage of respondents who mentioned the identity of place as related to street vendors increased from day time to night time. It increased from 8.6% to 88.9% in scene C, 0% to 65.7% in scene D, 0% to 72.2% in scene E and 2.9% to 66.7% in scene I. Meanwhile, the percentage of respondents who mentioned the identity of place as related to the main building decreased from day time to night time. It decreased from 68.6% to 2.8% in scene C, 94.4% to 25.7% in scene D, 94.3% to 8.3% in scene E and 71.4% to 16.7% in scene I.

The percentage of respondents who mentioned ‘others’ as place identity only shows a slight changes from day time to night time. Slight decrease can be seen in scenes C and I, while slight increase can be seen in scenes D and E.

The results of two-way chi-square test in Table 7-2 indicates significant differences between the perceive identity of place at day time and night time for these four pairs of scenes. This suggests that the respondents perceive the change of identity in the same place. The scenes were perceived as the place of main building at day time when there were only a few or no street vendors in that place. Meanwhile the scenes were perceived as the place of street vendors at night time. It seems that the presence of street vendors at night time dominate the place, replacing the main building which shows no sign of activities.

II. Scene B and F

Another pattern can be seen in scenes B and F as illustrated in Figure 7-9. In these scenes the majority of respondents mentioned the identity of the place as related to street vendors, both for day time scenes (58.8% in scene B and 62.9% in scene F) and night time scenes (93.9% in scene B and 72.2% in scene F).

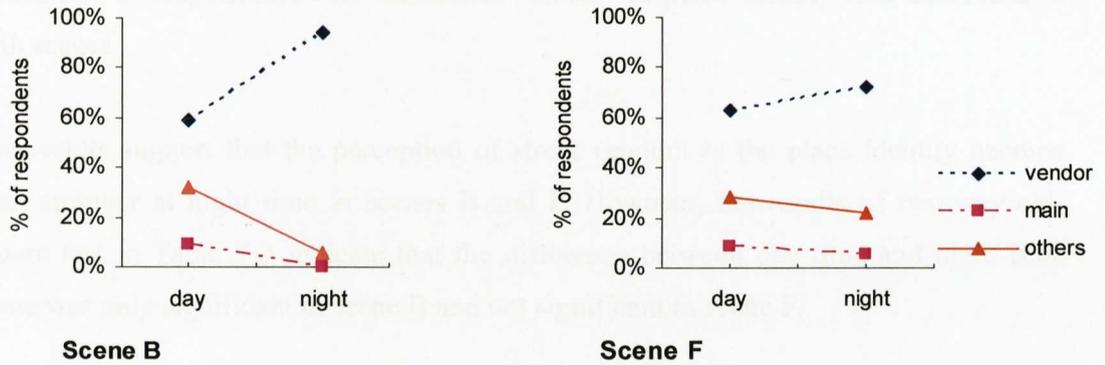


Figure 7-9 Identity of place for scene B and F

The results of one-way chi-square test in Table 7-3 shows that for both day time and night time scenes, the number of respondents who mentioned 'vendor' as place identity is significantly higher than those who mentioned two other categories. This suggests that street vendors were strongly perceived as place identity in these two scenes. In scene B, the presence of street vendors seems to be more prominent than the main building which was not too obvious. Meanwhile in scene F, the street vendors seem to be dominating the scene at both day time and night time.

Table 7-3 Resume of chi square analysis for scene B and F

Scene	One-way		Two-way
	day	night	
B	$X^2 = 12.765$ n= 34, df= 2 p<0.01**	$X^2 = 25.485$ n= 33, df= 1 p<0.001***	$X^2 = 9.51$ df= 1 p<0.01**
F	$X^2 = 15.829$ n= 35, df= 2 p<0.001***	$X^2 = 26$ n= 36, df= 2 p<0.001***	$X^2 = 0.347$ df= 1 p>0.005

***highly significant

**significant

Figure 7-9 also illustrates that in scenes B and F, the percentage of respondents who mentioned the identity of place as related to street vendors increased from day time to night time. The percentage increased from 58.8% to 93.9% in scene B and from 62.9% to 72.2% in scene F. Meanwhile, the percentage of respondents who mentioned the identity of place as related to main building slightly decreased from day time to night time. It decreased from 8.8% to 0% in scene B and from 8.6% to 5.6% in scene F. The percentage of respondents who mentioned ‘others’ as place identity also decreased in both scenes.

The results suggest that the perception of street vendors as the place identity become even stronger at night time in scenes B and F. However, the results of two-way chi-square test in Table 7-3 indicate that the difference between day time and night time scene was only significant in scene B and not significant in scene F.

III. Scene G and H

Figure 7-10 illustrates the respondents’ perception of place identity at day time and night time for scenes G and H. In contrary to scenes B and F, the majority of respondents mentioned the identity of the place in scenes G and H as related to main building, both for day time scenes (75.0% in scene G, and 72.22% in scene H) and night time scenes (48.67% in scene G and 54.29% in scene H).

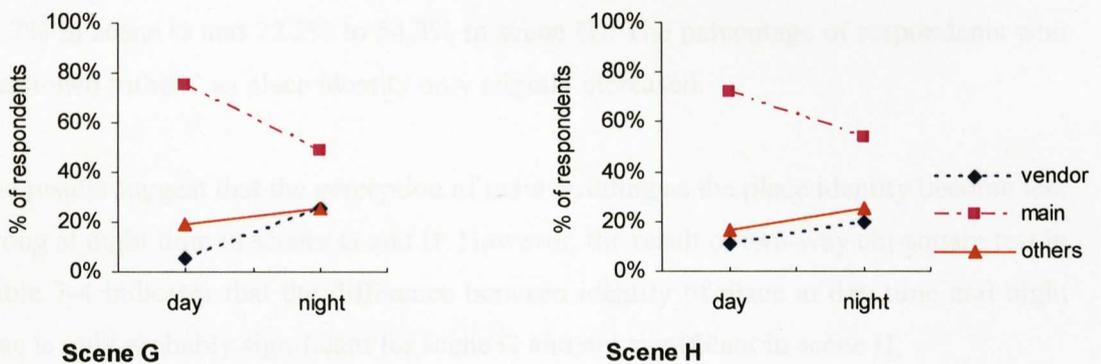


Figure 7-10 Identity of the place for scenes G and H

The results of one-way chi-square test in Table 7-4 shows that the number of respondents who mentioned ‘main’ as place identity is significantly higher than those who mentioned two other categories, except for scene G at night time. For this scene, there is no significant tendency to mention either ‘vendor’, ‘main’ or ‘others’ as the

identity of place, which suggest the respondents' ambiguity in perceiving the place identity.

Table 7-4 Resume of chi square analysis for scenes G and H

Scene	One-way		Two-way
	day	night	
G	$X^2 = 29.167$ n= 36, df= 2 p<0.001***	$X^2 = 3.657$ n= 35, df= 2 p>0.05	$X^2 = 4.076$ df= 1 p<0.05*
H	$X^2 = 24.67$ n= 36, df= 2 p<0.001***	$X^2 = 7.086$ n= 35, df= 2 p<0.05*	$X^2 = 0.5$ df= 1 p>0.05

***highly significant

*probably significant

It seems that at night time, the presence of single street vendor in scene G does not seem to be strong enough to become the identity of the place, while the main building with no sign of activities does not appear to be prominent either. Meanwhile, the main building in scene H that showed the sign of activity at night time seems to be prominent and perceived as the identity of the place at night time.

Figure 7-10 also illustrates the change of perceived place identity from day time to night time. It shows that the percentage of respondents who mentioned street vendors as place identity increased from day time to night time (from 5.6% to 25.7% in scene G and 11.1% to 20.0% in scene H), while the percentage of respondents who mentioned main building as place identity slightly decreased from day time to night time (from 75.0% to 48.7% in scene G and 72.2% to 54.3% in scene H). The percentage of respondents who mentioned 'others' as place identity only slightly increased.

The results suggest that the perception of main building as the place identity become less strong at night time in scenes G and H. However, the result of two-way chi-square test in Table 7-4 indicates that the difference between identity of place at day time and night time is only probably significant for scene G and not significant in scene H.

Summary and discussion

The analyses above suggest that *there is a change in the perceived identity of the urban places with the presence of street vendors from day time to night time*. In overall, the data indicates that the main building tend to be perceived as the identity of the place at day time, while the street vendors tend to be perceived as the identity of the place at night time. However, there are various patterns of change for some different situations.

This finding on perceived place identity suggests that the presence of street vendors plays an important role in shaping the user's perception of the identity of urban places. The discussion in Chapter 2 and 3 has indicated that the street vendors exist in the cities as temporary elements which are unplanned and unpredictable (see Sections 2.1.2, 3.3.2 and 3.4). The findings in this study have shown that the street vendors as temporary elements can be strongly perceived as the place identity. In some cases they might replace the main building as the identity of the place. Although they exist as temporary urban elements, their regular presence generates regular activities in urban places in addition to the activities designated in those places by urban elite. In this way, the street vendors may change the performance of the spaces and eventually change the identity of the places (Leach, 2003). The findings of this study clearly suggest that the users perceive this change of place identity.

The findings above also suggest that *the pattern of change in perceived place identity may vary in different situations*. This indicates the importance of context in the perception of place identity. It seems that the respondents' perception of place identity is related to the extent to which the street vendors or the main buildings dominate the scene. This study was conducted using various commercial settings. In some situations, the main building show signs of activities at daytime only and they were 'off' at night time as indicated by the absence of lighting, people and activities. Meanwhile in some other situation the main building show signs of activities at both daytime and night time. These various contexts of the main building as the background for the street vendors seems to be related to the way the users perceive place identity.

Further analysis in the next section will explore how the respondents perceived the main building, the street vendors or other elements as dominant elements in the scenes and how this perception of dominant elements is related to the perceived place identity.

7.3.2 Dominant elements

In the questionnaire the respondents were asked to mention five elements that they considered dominant in each scene, starting from the most dominant (as '1st') to the least dominant (as '5th'). Each element mentioned by the respondents was coded into three categories:

- ‘vendor’: Dominant element which is related to street vendor; such as cart, tent, street vendors’ signage and lighting coming out of street vendor.
- ‘main’ : Dominant element which is related to main building or permanent building; such as roof, window, façade and signage from the main building.
- ‘others’ : Dominant element which is not related to either the street vendor or the main building, such as tree, vehicle, cable, pole and traffic sign.

Figure 7-11 and Figure 7-12 illustrate the distribution of dominant elements perceived by the respondents in all day time and night time scenes. It shows the percentage of dominant elements in five levels mentioned by the respondents, from the first to the fifth. In these figures, the first set of data (‘1st’) shows the percentage of elements that the respondents perceived as the most dominant. The second set (‘2nd’) shows the percentage of elements that were considered as second most dominant, and so on.

Therefore Figure 7-11 and Figure 7-12 indicates the overall tendency of the respondents in mentioning certain elements as dominant. In particular, this analysis attempts to explore the extent to which the street vendors as temporary elements may be perceived as dominant elements, as compared to the main building as permanent elements. This becomes an important issue to understand the role of temporary elements in the dynamic of place, in particular their role in the change of perceived place identity as found in Section 7.3.1 above. The analysis below will explore the possibilities that dominant elements may contribute to the change of place identity.

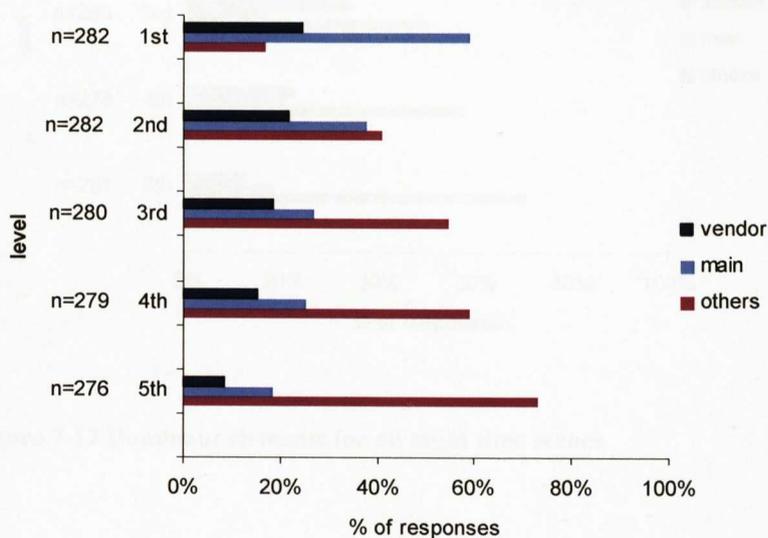


Figure 7-11 Dominant elements for all day time scenes

Figure 7-11 shows that for day time scenes, the majority of respondents mentioned 'main' (58.9%) as the most dominant elements, followed by 'vendor' (24.5%) and 'others' (16.7%). For the second most dominant elements, the majority of respondents mentioned 'others' (40.8%) followed by 'main' (37.6%) and 'vendor' (21.6%). 'Others' also become the third, fourth and fifth most dominant elements (54.6%, 59.1% and 73.0% respectively). The figure also shows that from the first to fifth level the percentage of 'main' and 'vendor' as dominant elements gradually decreased, while the percentage of 'others' as dominant elements gradually increased.

Figure 7-12 shows that for all night time scenes, the majority of respondents mentioned 'vendor' (64.4%) as the most dominant elements, followed by 'main' (21.0%) and 'others' (14.6%). For the second most dominant elements, the majority of respondents mentioned 'vendor' (49.5%) followed by 'others' (28.5%) and 'main' (22.1%). Similar to day time scenes, 'others' also become the third, fourth and fifth most dominant elements (50.0%, 57.9% and 70.6% respectively). In general, the percentage of 'vendor' as dominant elements gradually decreased from the first to fifth level, while the percentage of 'main' as dominant elements stayed relatively the same and the percentage of 'others' gradually increased.

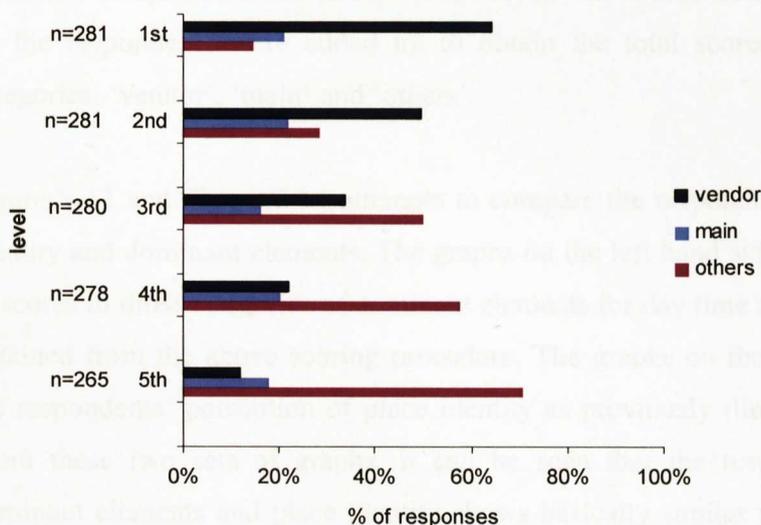


Figure 7-12 Dominant elements for all night time scenes

The results suggest some differences in the elements that are perceived as dominant at day time and night time. As can be seen in Figure 7-11 and Figure 7-12, the elements

related to street vendors tend to be perceived as dominant elements at night time, while the elements related to main building tend to be perceived as dominant elements at day time. This is particularly true for the first and second most dominant elements. This finding indicates that the dominant elements perceived by the respondents are not limited to the elements related to the main buildings as permanent urban elements. Street vendors as the temporary elements can also dominate the scene.

Further analysis was conducted to explore the role of dominant elements in the respondents' perception of place identity. The analysis in Section 7.3.1 has suggested the shifting place identity from the place of main building at day time to the place of street vendors at night time. Therefore, for further analysis below, only the first and second most dominant elements were included, as the third to fifth dominant elements were dominated by 'others'.

To compare the domination of street vendors, main buildings and other elements in each scene, each element mentioned as the most dominant (1st level) was given score '2', while each element mentioned as the second dominant (2nd level) was given score '1'. This scoring was used because the elements in the first level were considered more dominant than the elements in the second level. The scores from all elements mentioned by the respondents were added up to obtain the total scores for each of the three categories: 'vendor', 'main' and 'others'.

Figure 7-13 and Figure 7-14 attempts to compare the respondents' perception of place identity and dominant elements. The graphs on the left hand side present the percentage of scores in three categories of dominant elements for day time and night time scenes, as obtained from the above scoring procedure. The graphs on the right hand side present the respondents' perception of place identity as previously illustrated in Section 7.3.1. From these two sets of graphs, it can be seen that the respondents' perception of dominant elements and place identity shows basically similar patterns. They suggest a relationship between the dominant elements and the identity of place.

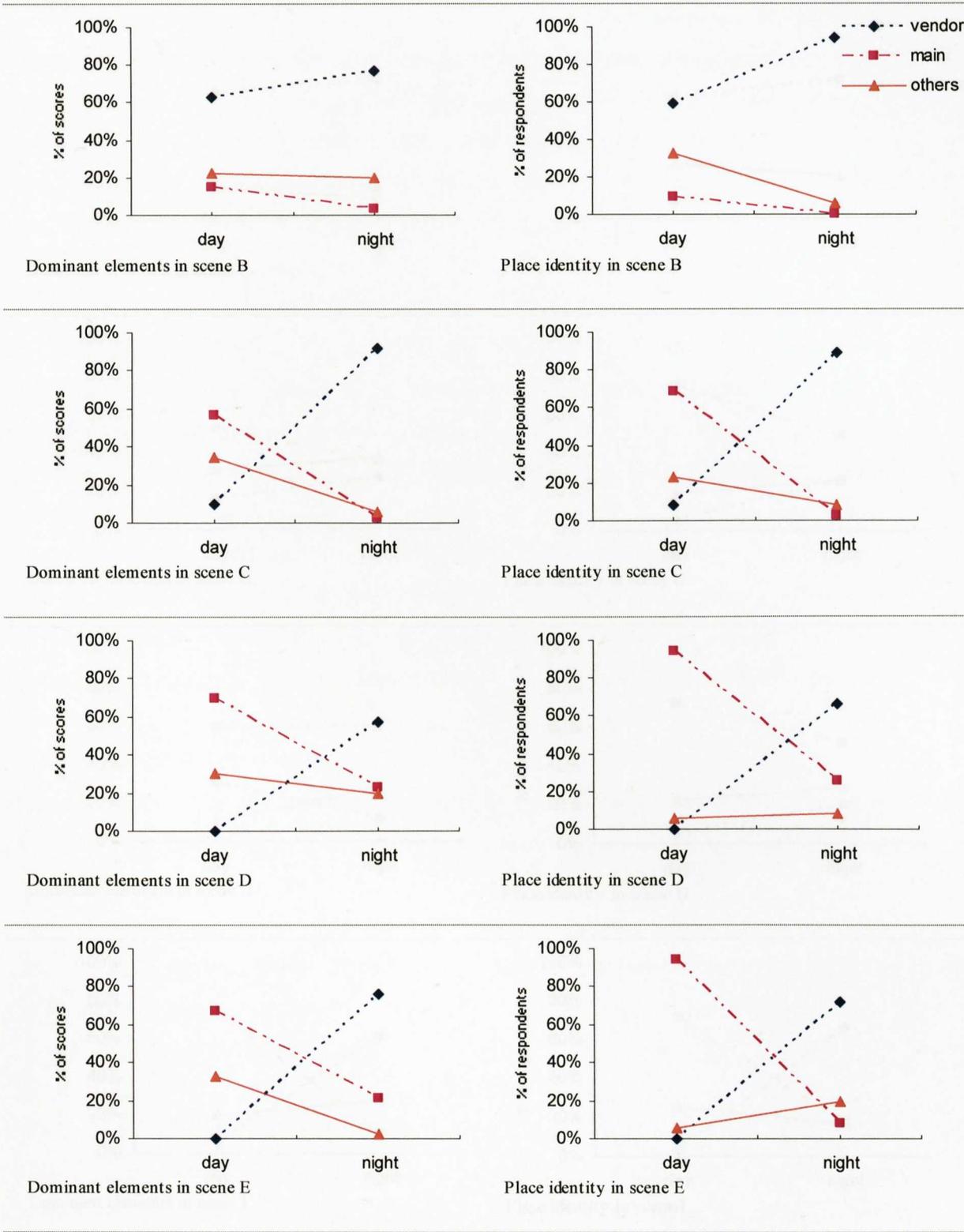
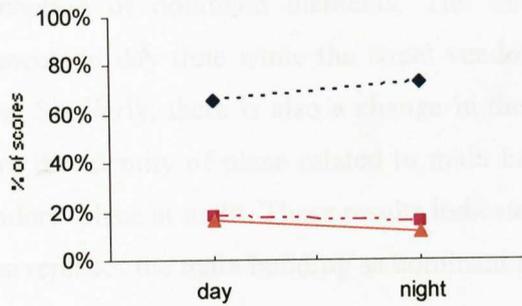
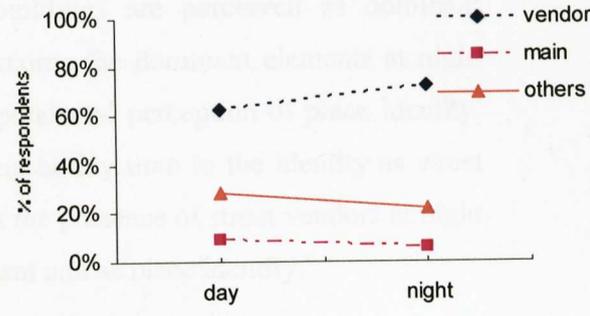


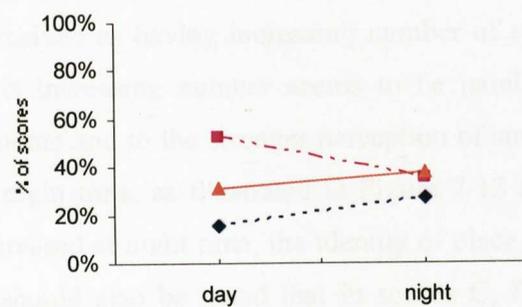
Figure 7-13 Dominant elements and place identity in scenes B to E



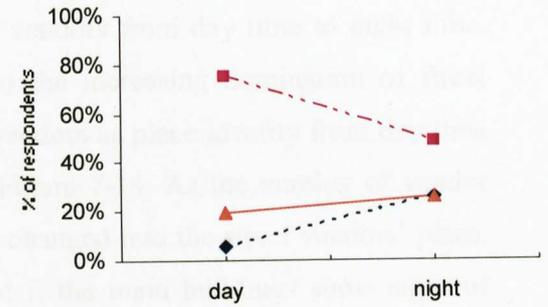
Dominant elements in scene F



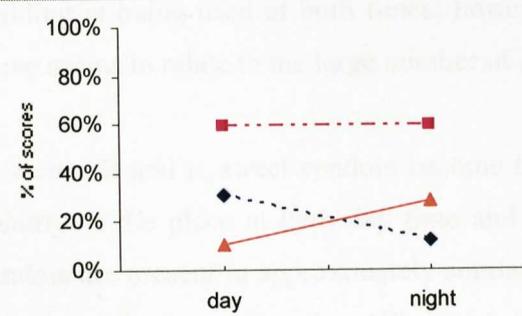
Place identity in scene F



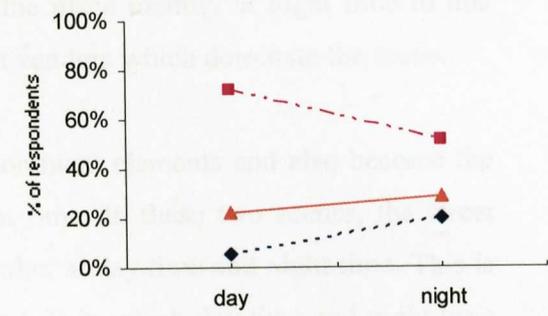
Dominant elements in scene G



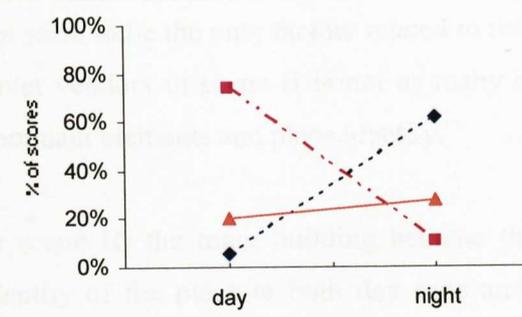
Place identity in scene G



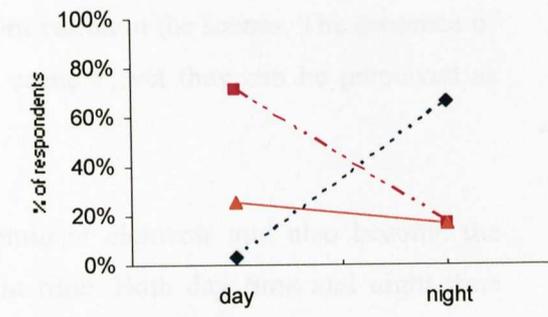
Dominant elements in scene H



Place identity in scene H



Dominant elements in scene I



Place identity in scene I

Figure 7-14 Dominant elements and place identity in scenes F to I

It can be seen that in scenes C, D, E and I, there is a change in the respondents' perception of dominant elements. The main buildings are perceived as dominant elements at day time while the street vendors become the dominant elements at night time. Similarly, there is also a change in the respondents' perception of place identity, from the identity of place related to main building at day time to the identity as street vendors' place at night. These results indicate that the presence of street vendors at night time replaces the main building as dominant element and as place identity.

Based on the result of sorting tasks in Chapter 6 (Table 6.3), these four scenes are perceived as having increasing number of street vendors from day time to night time. This increasing number seems to be parallel to the increasing domination of street vendors and to the stronger perception of street vendors as place identity from day time to night time, as illustrated in Figure 7-13 and Figure 7-14. As the number of vendor increased at night time, the identity of place also changed into the street vendors' place. It should also be noted that in scenes C, D and E the main buildings show signs of activity at day time only, while they are 'off' at night time. Only in scene I the main building is being used at both times; however, the place identity at night time in this scene seems to relate to the large number of street vendors which dominate the scene.

In scenes B and F, street vendors become the dominant elements and also become the identity of the place at both day time and night time. In these two scenes, the street vendors are present in approximately similar number at day time and night time. This is also shown in the ranking data (Chapter 6, Table 6.3) in which day time and night time rank of scenes B and F only slightly differ. However, the number of street vendors does not seem to be the only factors related to their domination in the scenes. The presence of street vendors in scene B is not as many as in scene F, yet they can be perceived as dominant elements and place identity.

In scene H, the main building become the dominant elements and also become the identity of the place at both day time and night time. Both day time and night time scenes for scene H illustrate the main building with the sign of activities. It seems that the perception of main building as dominant element is related to the fact that the main building is being used at both times. In this scene, street vendors were not perceived as dominant, although they are present at relatively high number at both times.

In scene G, there is a slightly different pattern between the place identity and dominant elements. It can be seen that ‘others’ become almost as dominant as the main building at night time, while the identity of the place remain as the place for main building at day time and night time. At night time, the main building is not in use, while there is only one vendor present in the scene, therefore other elements such as streetlight and vehicle were also mentioned as dominant elements. There seems to be an ambiguity of which elements were considered the most dominant in this scene. However, the respondents perceived the main building as the identity of the place.

Summary and discussion

The results above suggest *the role of dominant elements in shaping the place identity in urban places*. Both main building and street vendors may perform as the identity of place, when they are perceived as dominant elements in that place.

The discussion above also suggests that the perception of dominant elements in particular scene seems to be related to some factors. The presence of street vendors in large number may be perceived as dominating the scene. However, this does not seem to be the only factor determining the perception of dominant elements. As discussed above, the perception of dominant elements might also relate to the appearance of the main building. The main building which shows the sign of activities at night time may become dominant. Meanwhile, the street vendors may stand out as dominant elements when there are no signs of activities of the main building.

The analysis in this section illustrate that *the extent to which the street vendors and the main building are perceived as dominant elements that can shape the place identity vary across different situations*. This suggests that it is important to consider the contexts in understanding the users’ perception of elements in particular scene.

The findings in Section 7.3.1 and 7.3.2 clearly shows that in many cases the street vendors are perceived as the dominant elements and become the identity of the place. This suggests that *the identity of place can be created by the presence of elements that are additional to the existing elements*. The presence of these additional elements can be perceived as more prominent than the existing elements. Eventually, additional elements become the new identity of a place, replacing the existing place identity.

The fact that additional elements can create the new identity of place indicates their capability to distract the original place identity which is created by the existing elements, i.e. the main building. The role of street vendors in shaping the place identity seems to be related to some problems highlighted in Chapter 2 (Section 2.4.1). By taking up the streets, public places or existing commercial areas, street vendors may create a new place identity and become a threat to the designated functions of the places.

Furthermore, the street vendors also possess a characteristic as temporary elements, which are mainly generated by urban groups with low economic background. The presence of street vendors is often associated with poverty and backwardness (Cross, 2000; Bromley, 2000). Nevertheless, as shown in the analysis above, these ‘poor’ and ‘backward’ elements have some potential to take over the identity of the urban place. This may explain the governments’ attempts to reject their presence in the cities, in order to achieve the ideal image of the city as discussed in Chapter 3.

The potential of street vendors to shape the identity of urban places suggests that their presence in the cities cannot be ignored. Nevertheless, it is necessary to examine how the users perceive the urban places where the street vendors exist. This will be addressed in the next section.

7.4 General impression of urban places with street vendors

This section discusses the findings on the respondents’ impression of the urban scenes which contain street vendors. The analysis is based on the responses to the question: “Please mention two words that describe your impression about this place”.

In this analysis, only responses related to the 14 scenes with street vendors are included; scenes D-day and E-day are excluded as there are no street vendors in these scenes. In total there were 953 words or phrases mentioned by the respondents to describe their general impression about the scenes, including 406 responses related to day time scenes and 547 responses related to night time scenes. These responses are coded into various categories, and the percentage of each category is presented in Figure 7-15.

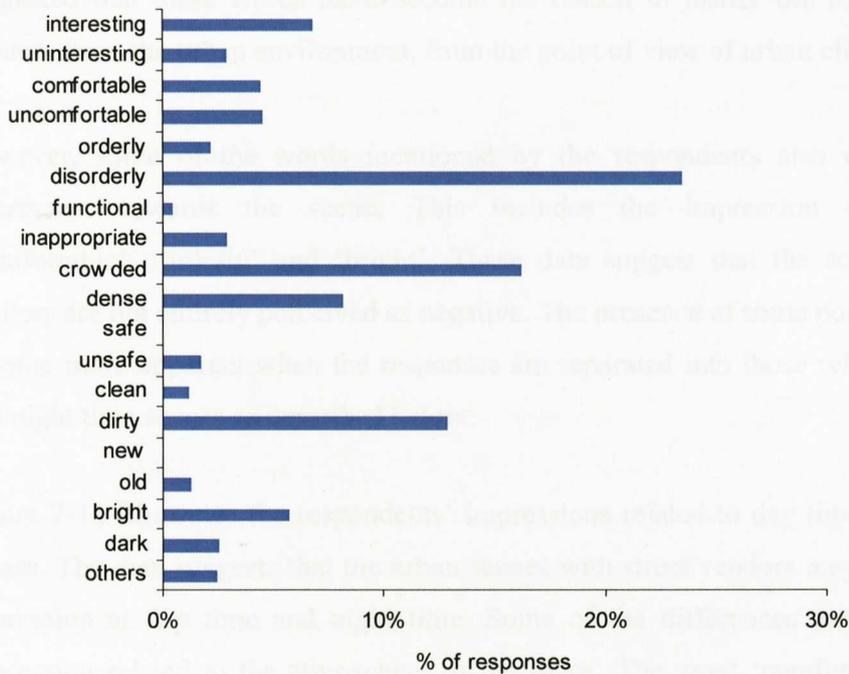


Figure 7-15 General impression of the scenes with street vendors (n=953)

It can be seen that the five top categories that illustrate the respondents' impression about the scenes are 'disorderly', 'crowded', 'dirty', 'dense' and 'interesting'. About 23.5% of the responses refer to the perception of the scenes as 'disorderly', which include the responses of chaotic, untidy, messy, complicated and disorganised. The second category 'crowded' (16.3%) refers to the respondents' impression of the large number of people, things and activities that are present in the scene as well as the busy and lively atmosphere of the scene. The category 'dirty' (12.9%) includes the perception of the scene as unclean, filthy, slum and dusty. The respondents also mentioned 'dense' (8.2%), which refers to the packed or crammed situation of the elements in the scenes. Another impression mentioned by the respondents is 'interesting' (6.8%), which include the impression of beautiful, attractive and nice.

Apart from these five top categories of responses, Figure 7-15 also shows other words illustrating the respondents' general impression towards the scenes. It can be seen that many of these words have often been used to refer to the judgement of street vendors as discussed in Chapter 2, 3 and 4. The presence of street vendors have been considered as inappropriate, dirty, ugly, chaotic, unsafe, etc. The discussion in those chapters has

suggested that these words have become the reason to justify the rejection of street vendors from the urban environment, from the point of view of urban elite.

However, some of the words mentioned by the respondents also refer to positive impression towards the scene. This includes the impression of ‘interesting’, ‘comfortable’, ‘orderly’ and ‘bright’. These data suggest that the scenes with street vendors are not entirely perceived as negative. The presence of some positive impression become more apparent when the responses are separated into those related to day time and night time scenes as described below.

Figure 7-16 illustrates the respondents’ impressions related to day time and night time scenes. The data suggests that the urban scenes with street vendors may evoke different impression at day time and night time. Some of the differences can be seen in the impression related to the atmosphere of the place. The word ‘comfortable’ was more often mentioned for night time scenes, while the word ‘uncomfortable’ was more often mentioned for day time scenes. Night time scenes also generate the word ‘bright’; this is an impression which was not mentioned at all for day time scenes.

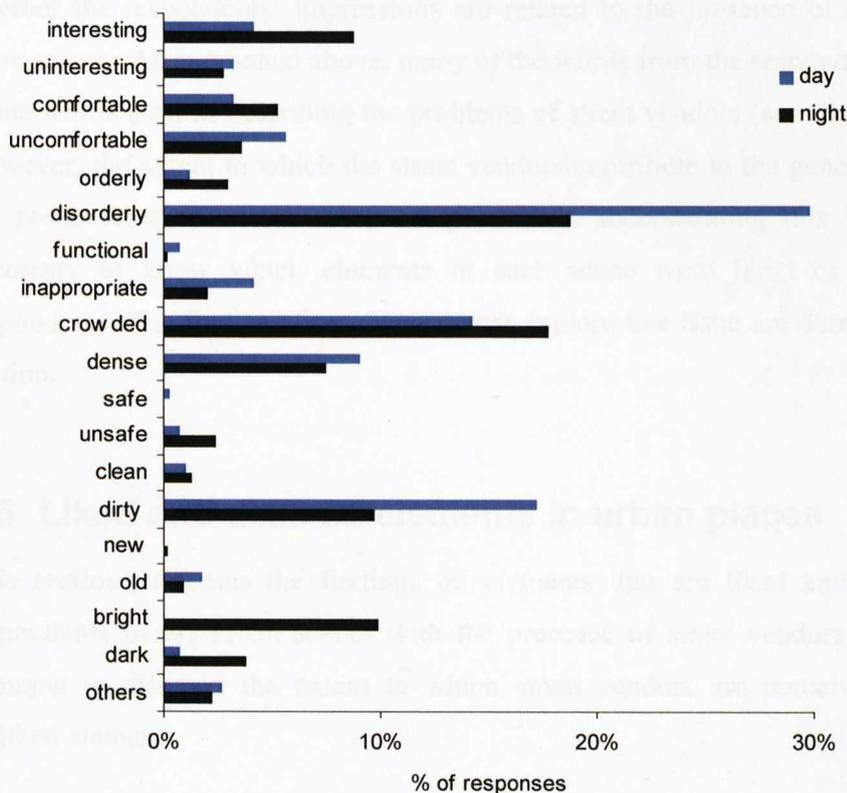


Figure 7-16 General impressions of day time and night time scenes with street vendors (n-day=406, n-night=547)

The differences can also be seen in some other impressions described by the respondents. The word ‘disorderly’, ‘dirty’ and ‘inappropriate’ were more often mentioned for day time scenes. Meanwhile, the word ‘orderly’ and ‘interesting’ was more often mentioned for night time scenes, suggesting some positive impressions perceived in night time scenes.

Summary and discussion

The results in this section indicate *various impressions of the users towards the urban scenes with street vendors; they expressed both positive and negative impressions*. This suggests that various scenes with street vendors may be evaluated differently. There is an indication found in this result that the *different contexts of day time and night time may evoke different evaluation*. This becomes a major issue to be addressed further in Stage 2.

Nevertheless, the impression expressed by the respondents refers to their perception of the urban scenes as a whole. The result discussed in this section raise a question of whether the respondents’ impressions are related to the presence of street vendors in these scenes. As mentioned above, many of the words from the respondents were similar to the words used in describing the problems of street vendors (see Chapter 2, 3 and 4). However, the extent to which the street vendors contribute to the general impression of the scene remains unclear. As a step towards understanding this issue, it become necessary to know which elements in each scene were liked or disliked by the respondents. The findings from Stage 1 that explore this issue are described in the next section.

7.5 Liked and disliked elements in urban places

This section discusses the findings on elements that are liked and disliked by the respondents in the urban scenes with the presence of street vendors. In particular, it attempts to discover the extent to which street vendors are perceived as liked and disliked elements.

The discussion in Chapter 2 and 3 has indicated some ambiguities regarding the position of street vendors. Their presence creates both problems and benefit (Bromley, 2000; also

see summary of news in Chapter 2). They are also in the position of conflict between the ideal vision of urban elite and the reality of everyday life (Chapter 3). The data analysis in this section attempts to explore the position of street vendors from the users' point of view; whether the street vendors are perceived as negative aspects of urban environments that need to be removed or whether their presence are perceived as positive elements. In the attempts to reveal this issue, the use of open ended questionnaire was meant to give some freedom for the respondents to mention whatever elements that they liked or disliked for whatever reasons.

The following analysis attempts to discover which elements that the respondents' liked and disliked in the eight pairs of scenes presented in Stage 1. The analysis of liked elements was based on the respondents' answers to the question: "Which elements do you like in this place?". The analysis of disliked elements was based on the responses to the question "If you have an opportunity to change this place, which elements do you want to remove?".

The respondents were asked to mention two elements for each question above. The purpose of the analysis in this stage was to reveal the position of street vendors as liked and disliked elements. Therefore, the responses from each respondent were coded into two categories:

- 'vendor' : If the respondent mentioned elements that relates to street vendor as one or both elements that she/he likes or that she/he wants to remove. This includes the vendors' pushcart, tent, signage and lighting.
- 'others' : If the respondents did not mention elements that relates to street vendor at all in either of his/her two responses, but mentioned other elements such as main building, tree, vehicles or signpost.

The analyses were conducted for overall data from all scenes as well as data from individual scene. All the responses from day time and night time scenes were also compared to see whether there were any differences between liked and disliked elements at day time and night time.

Two types of statistical tests were used in this analysis. *One-way chi-square test* (goodness-of-fit) was done separately for day time and night time scene sets. This test was used to reveal whether the number of respondents who liked/disliked street vendors

is significantly higher than those who did not mention street vendors as liked/disliked elements. *Two-way chi-square test* was used to explore the differences between the elements liked/disliked by the respondents at day time and night time. The results of the analyses are described below.

7.5.1 Liked elements

This section described the analysis of data regarding the elements liked by the respondents. Figure 7-17 illustrates the elements that the respondents liked at day time and night time for all scenes. It can be seen that for day time scenes the majority of respondents (81.5%) mentioned that they liked elements other than street vendors ('others'). The result of one-way chi-square test in Table 7-5 indicates that the number of respondents who liked 'others' is significantly higher than those who liked the elements related to the street vendors. For night time scenes, the majority of respondents (60.0%) mentioned street vendors as liked elements. This number is significantly higher than those who liked other elements, as can be seen in Table 7-5.

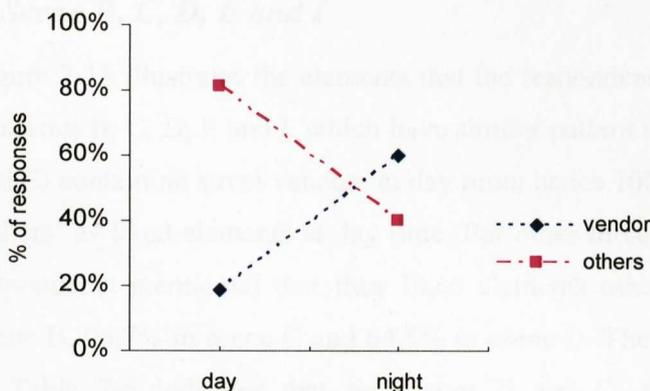


Figure 7-17 Liked elements for overall data (n-day= 265, n-night= 260)

Figure 7-17 also shows that the percentage of respondents who mentioned street vendors as liked elements increased from day time to night time (from 18.5% to 60.01%), while the percentage of respondents who liked other elements decreased from day time to night time (from 81.5% to 40%). The result of two-way chi-square test in Table 7-5 shows that there is a significant difference between the respondents' liked elements at day time and night time.

Table 7-5 Summary of chi square analysis for overall data

	One-way		Two-way
	day	night	
All scenes	$\chi^2 = 105.242$ df= 1 p<0.001***	$\chi^2 = 10.4$ df= 1 p<0.01**	$\chi^2 = 93.274$ df= 1 p<0.001***

***highly significant

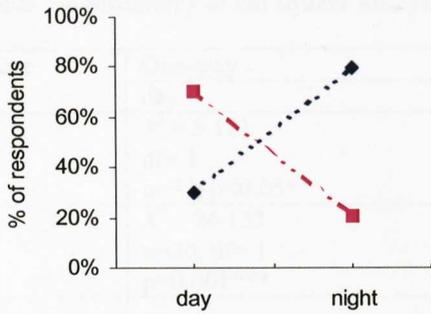
**significant

The results above indicate that in general there is a change in liked elements from day time to night time. For day time scenes, the respondents tend to like elements other than street vendors, while for night time scenes, the respondents tend to like the elements related to street vendors.

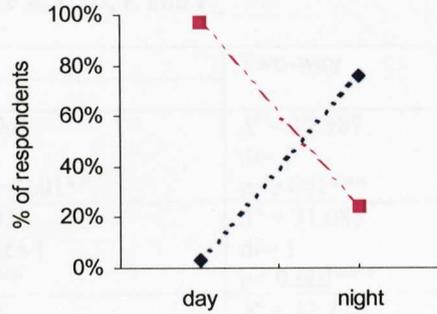
Further analyses were conducted separately for each pair of scenes, in order to explore liked elements in different situation of urban places. From the analysis of data from each pair of scene, there are three different patterns in the liked elements at day time and night time. Each of these patterns is described below.

I. Scene B, C, D, E and I

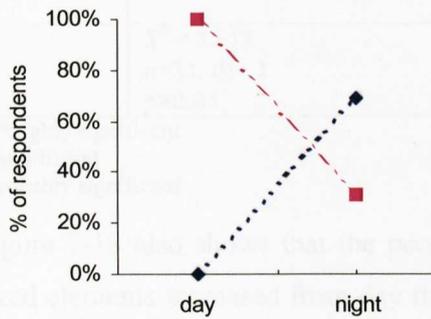
Figure 7-18 illustrates the elements that the respondent liked at day time and night time in scenes B, C, D, E and I, which have similar pattern to the overall data. Two scenes (D and E) contain no street vendors at day time; hence 100 % of the respondents mentioned 'others' as liked elements at day time. For other three day time scenes, the majority of respondents mentioned that they liked elements other than street vendors (69.7% in scene B, 96.7% in scene C and 64.5% in scene I). The result of one-way chi-square test in Table 7-6 indicates that for scenes B and C, the number of respondents who mentioned 'others' as liked elements is significantly higher than those who mentioned 'vendor'. This is not the case for scene I. The tests were not conducted in scenes D and E, which contains no street vendors.



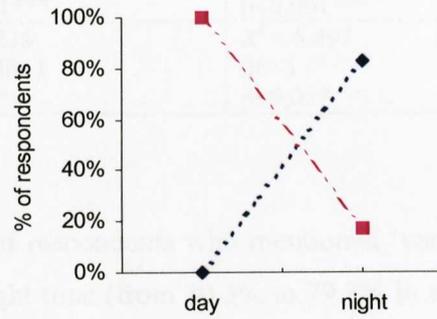
scene b



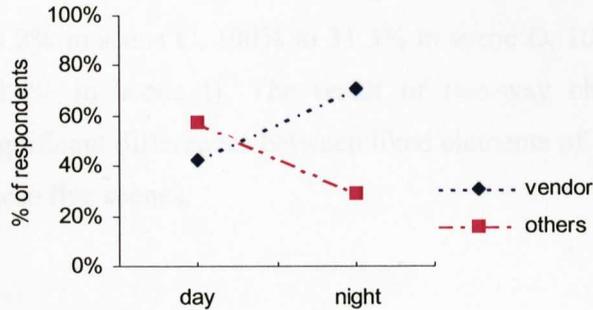
scene c



scene d



scene e



scene i

Figure 7-18 Liked elements for scenes B, C, D, E and I

For all night time scenes, the majority of the respondents mentioned that they liked the elements related street vendors (79.3% in scene B, 75.8% in scene C, 68.8% in scene D, 82.9% in scene E and 67.6% in scene I). The one-way chi-square test in Table 7-6 indicates that the number of respondents who mentioned ‘vendor’ as liked elements is significantly higher than those who liked other elements.

Table 7-6 Summary of chi square analysis for scene B, C, D, E and I

Scene	One-way		Two-way
	day	night	
B	$\chi^2 = 5.121$ df= 1 n=33, p<0.05*	$\chi^2 = 9.966$ df= 1 n=29, p<0.01**	$\chi^2 = 12.987$ df= 1 p<0.001***
C	$\chi^2 = 26.133$ n=30, df= 1 p<0.001***	$\chi^2 = 8.758$ n=33, df= 1 p<0.01**	$\chi^2 = 31.085$ df= 1 p< 0.001***
D	----	$\chi^2 = 4.5$ N=32, df= 1 p<0.05*	$\chi^2 = 32.777$ df= 1 p<0.001***
E	----	$\chi^2 = 15.114$ n=35, df= 1 p<0.001***	$\chi^2 = 45.254$ df= 1 p<0.001***
I	$\chi^2 = 2.613$ n=31, df= 1 p>0.05	$\chi^2 = 4.235$ n=34, df= 1 p<0.05*	$\chi^2 = 5.497$ df= 1 p<0.05*

***highly significant
 **significant
 *probably significant

Figure 7-18 also shows that the percentage of respondents who mentioned ‘vendor’ as liked elements increased from day time to night time (from 30.3% to 79.3% in scene B, 3.3% to 75.8% in scene C, 0.0% to 68.8% in scene D, 0.0% to 82.9% in scene E and 35.5% to 67.6% in scene I), while the percentage of respondents who liked ‘others’ decreased from day time to night time (from 69.7% to 20.7% in scene B, 96.7% to 24.2% in scene C, 100% to 31.3% in scene D, 100% to 17.1% in scene E and 64.5% to 32.4% in scene I). The result of two-way chi-square test in Table 7-6 indicates significant differences between liked elements of place at day time and night time for all these five scenes.

II. Scene F

Another pattern can be seen in Scene F. Figure 7-19 illustrates liked elements at day time and night time for scene F. It shows that the majority of respondents mentioned ‘vendor’ as liked elements for both day time (58.8%) and night time scenes (63.6%). However, the result of one-way chi-square test in Table 7-7 indicates that the number of respondents who liked street vendors is not significantly higher than those who liked other elements for both day and night time.

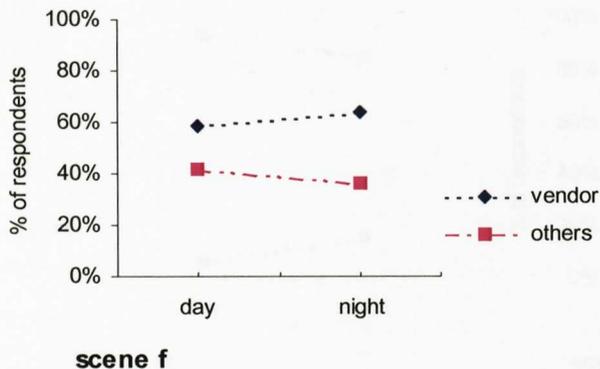


Figure 7-19 Liked elements for scene F

Figure 7-19 also illustrates that the percentage of respondents who mentioned ‘vendor’ as liked elements slightly increased from day time to night time (from 58.8% to 63.6%). Meanwhile, the percentage of respondents who liked other elements slightly decreased from day time to night time (from 41.2% to 36.4%). However, the result of two-way chi-square test in Table 7-7 shows that this change is not significant.

Table 7-7 Summary of chi square analysis for scene F

Scene	One-way		Two-way
	day	night	
F	$\chi^2 = 1.059$ n=34, df= 1 p>0.05	$\chi^2 = 2.455$ n=33, df= 1 p>0.05	$\chi^2 = 0.024$ df= 1 p>0.05

III. Scene G and H

Figure 7-20 illustrates the liked elements at day time and night time for scenes G and H. In these two scenes, the majority of respondents mentioned that they liked the elements other than street vendors for both day time (93.8% in scene G and 86.1% in scene H) and night time scenes (84.4% in scene G and 75.0% in scene H). The result of one-way chi-square test in Table 7-8 indicates that the number of respondents who mentioned ‘others’ as liked elements is significantly higher those who mentioned ‘vendor’ as liked elements, both for day time and night time.

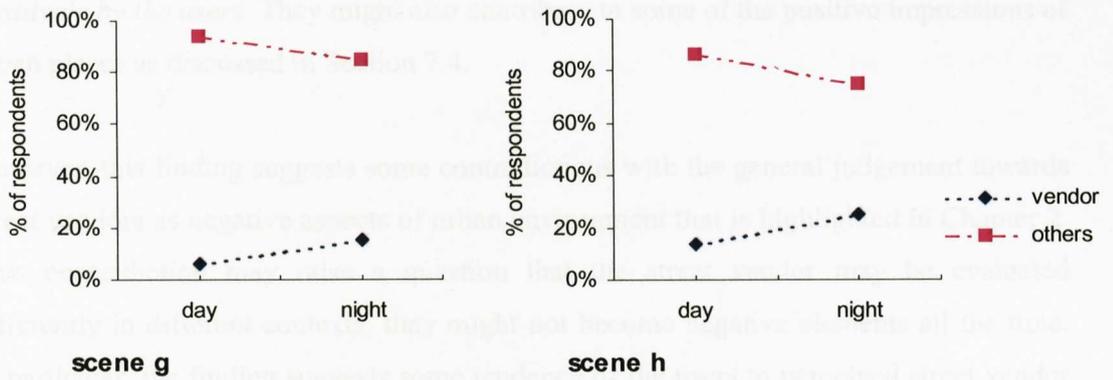


Figure 7-20 Liked elements for scenes G and H

Figure 7-20 also illustrates a slight change in the respondents' perception of liked elements. For both scenes, the percentage of respondents who mentioned 'vendor' as liked elements slightly increased from day time to night time (from 6.3% to 15.6% in scene G and 13.9% to 25.0% in scene H), while the percentage of respondents who mentioned 'others' as liked elements slightly decreased from day time to night time (from 93.8% to 84.4% in scene G and 86.1% to 75.0%). However, the result of two-way chi-square test in Table 7-8 indicates no significant difference between liked elements at day time and night time in scene H. The test was not conducted for scene G, due to two cells (50%) of the matrix having expected count less than 5.

Table 7-8 Summary of chi square analysis for scene G and H

Scene	One-way		Two-way
	day	night	
G	$\chi^2 = 24.5$ n=32, df= 1 p<0.001***	$\chi^2 = 15.125$ n=32, df= 1 p< 0.001***	----
H	$\chi^2 = 18.778$ n=36, df= 1 p<0.001***	$\chi^2 = 8$ n=32, df= p<0.01**	$\chi^2 = 0.729$ df= 1 p>0.05

***highly significant

**significant

Summary and discussion

The analysis above suggests that when the respondents were asked which elements they liked, *both the elements related to street vendors and other elements can be perceived as liked elements*. In particular, street vendors are perceived as liked elements at night time, while other elements are perceived as liked elements at day time. This becomes a hint that *street vendors have the potential to become urban elements that are perceived*

positively by the users. They might also contribute to some of the positive impressions of urban places as discussed in Section 7.4.

However, this finding suggests some contradictions with the general judgement towards street vendors as negative aspects of urban environment that is highlighted in Chapter 2. This contradiction may raise a question that the street vendor may be evaluated differently in different contexts; they might not become negative elements all the time. In particular, the finding suggests some tendency of the users to perceived street vendor as liked element at night time.

7.5.2 Disliked elements

This section describes the analysis of data regarding the elements disliked by the respondents. Figure 7-21 shows the elements that the respondent disliked at day time and night time for overall scenes.

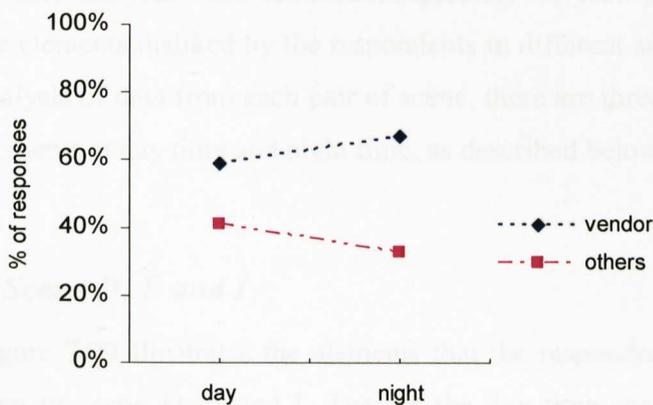


Figure 7-21 Disliked elements of place for overall data (n-day= 277, n-night= 263)

It can be seen that the majority of respondents mentioned 'vendor' as disliked elements both for day time (58.8%) and night time scenes (67.3%). The results of one-way chi-square test in Table 7-9 shows that for both day time and night time scenes the number of respondents who mentioned street vendors as disliked elements is significantly higher than the respondents who mentioned other than street vendors as disliked elements.

Figure 7-21 also shows that the percentage of respondents who mentioned 'vendor' as disliked elements slightly increased from day time to night time (from 58.8% to 67.3%), while the percentage of respondents who disliked 'others' slightly decreased from day

time to night time (from 41.2% to 32.7%). However, the result of two-way chi-square test in Table 7-9 shows that there is no significant difference between respondents' disliked elements at day time and night time.

Table 7-9 Summary of chi square analysis for overall data

	One-way		Two-way
	day	night	
All scenes	$\chi^2 = 8.668$ df= 2 p<0.01**	$\chi^2 = 31.487$ df= 2 p<0.001***	$\chi^2 = 3.782$ df= 1 p>0.05

***highly significant

**significant

The results above indicate that in general there is no change in disliked elements from day time to night time. For both day time and night time scenes, the respondents tend to dislike elements related to street vendors.

Further analyses were conducted separately for each pair of scenes, in order to explore the elements disliked by the respondents in different situation of urban places. From the analysis of data from each pair of scene, there are three different patterns in the disliked elements at day time and night time, as described below.

I. Scene D, E and I

Figure 7-22 illustrates the elements that the respondent disliked at day time and night time in scene D, E and I. Two of the day time scenes (D and E) contain no street vendors, therefore 100% of the respondents mentioned 'others' as disliked elements. For scene I, the majority of respondents (77.4%) mentioned that they disliked the elements other than street vendors at day time. The result of one-way chi-square test in Table 7-9 indicates that there is no significant difference between the respondents who mentioned 'vendor' as disliked elements and the respondents who mentioned 'others'. This indicates that in scene I-day, both the elements related to vendors and other elements can be perceived as disliked elements. The calculation was not conducted in scene D and E which contains no street vendors.

For night time scenes, the majority of respondents mentioned 'vendor' as disliked elements (77.4% in scene D, 52.8% in scene E and 70.6% in scene I). The result of one-way chi-square test in Table 7-10 shows that the number of respondents who mentioned

‘vendor’ as disliked elements is significantly higher than those who disliked other elements for scene D and I, but not significant for scene E. This suggests that in scenes D and I at night time street vendors are more likely to be disliked than other elements. However, this tendency was not seen in scene E.

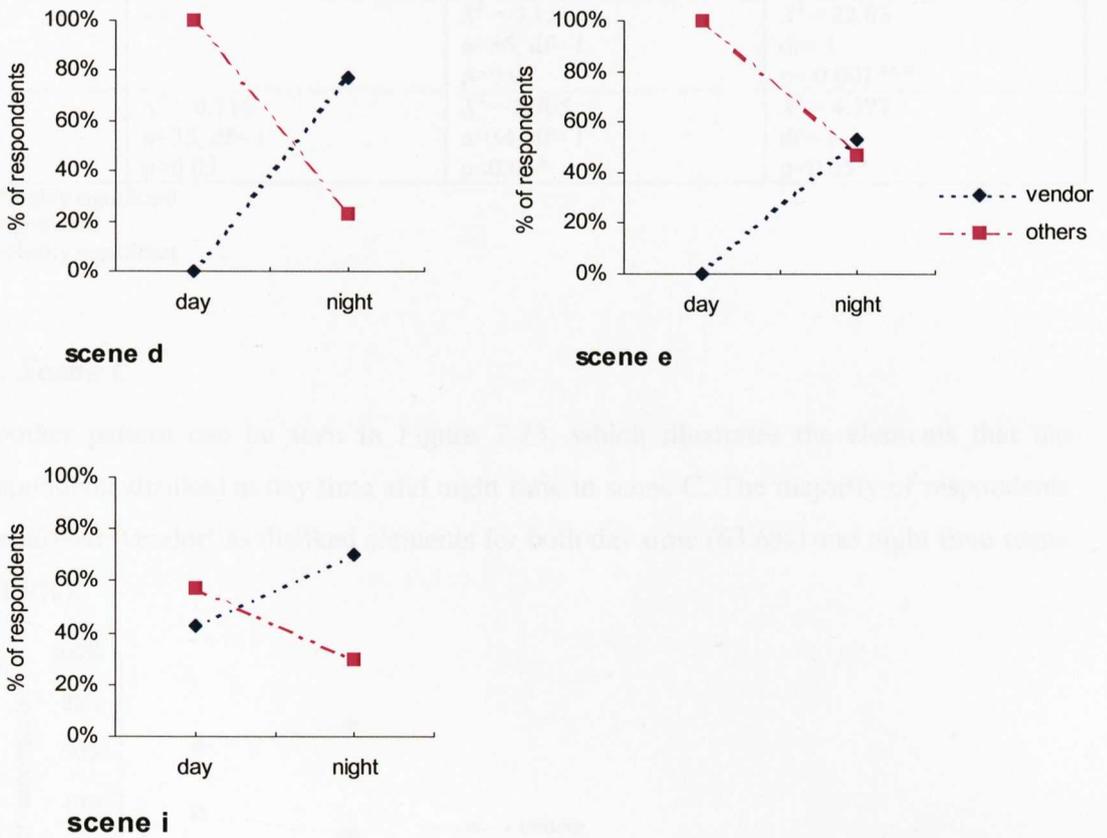


Figure 7-22 Disliked elements for scene D, E and I

Figure 7-22 also illustrates that the percentage of respondents who mentioned ‘vendor’ as disliked elements increased from day time to night time (from 0.0% to 77.4% in scene D, 0.0% to 52.8% in scene E and 42.9% to 70.6% in scene I). Meanwhile, the percentage of respondents who disliked ‘others’ decreased from day time to night time (from 100% to 22.6% in scene D, 100% to 47.2% in scene E and 57.1% to 29.4% in scene I).

The result of two-way chi-square test in Table 7-10 also shows that for all these scenes, scene D, E and I, there is a significant difference between disliked elements of place at day time and night time. This result suggest that the perception of street vendors as disliked elements tend to be increased from day time to night time, while the perception of other elements as disliked elements tend to be decreased.

Table 7-10 Summary of chi square analysis for scene D, E and I

Scene	One-way		Two-way
	day	night	
D	----	$\chi^2 = 9.323$ n=31, df= 1 p<0.01**	$\chi^2 = 39.301$ df= 1 p<0.001***
E	----	$\chi^2 = 0.111$ n=36, df= 1 p>0.05	$\chi^2 = 22.03$ df= 1 p< 0.001***
I	$\chi^2 = 0.714$ n=35, df= 1 p>0.05	$\chi^2 = 5.765$ n=34, df= 1 p<0.05*	$\chi^2 = 4.327$ df= 1 p<0.05*

***highly significant
 **significant
 *probably significant

II. Scene C

Another pattern can be seen in Figure 7-23, which illustrates the elements that the respondents disliked at day time and night time in scene C. The majority of respondents mentioned ‘vendor’ as disliked elements for both day time (63.6%) and night time scene (71.9%).

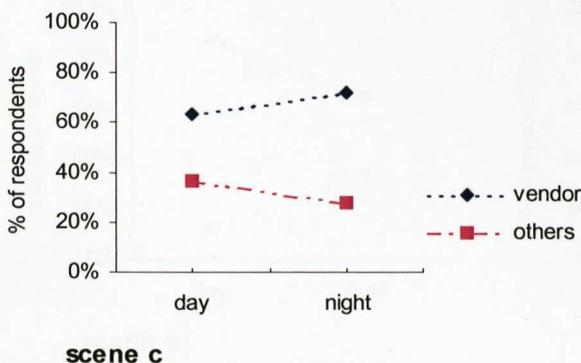


Figure 7-23 Disliked elements for scene C

However, the result of one-way chi-square test in Table 7-11 indicates that for the number of respondents who mentioned ‘vendor’ as disliked element is probably significantly higher than those who disliked other than vendor (‘others’) for night time data only.

Figure 7-23 also shows that the percentage of respondents who mentioned ‘vendor’ as disliked elements slightly increased from day time to night time (from 63.6% to 71.9%), while the percentage of respondents who disliked other elements slightly decreased from day time to night time (from 36.4% to 28.1%). However, the result of two-way chi-

square test in Table 7-11 indicates no significant difference between disliked elements at day time and night time.

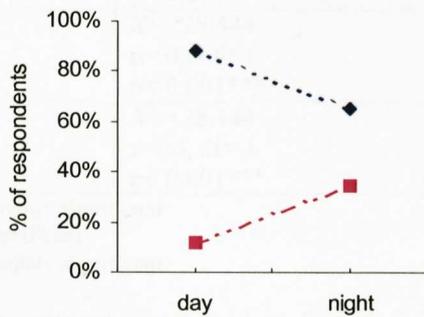
Table 7-11 Summary of chi square analysis for scene C

Scene	One-way		Two-way
	day	night	
C	$\chi^2 = 2.455$ n=33, df= 1 p> 0.05	$\chi^2 = 6.125$ n=32, df= 1 p< 0.05*	$\chi^2 = 0.198$ df= 1 p> 0.05

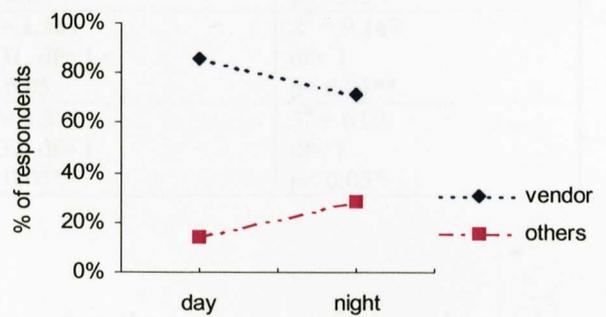
*probably significant

III. Scene B, F, G and H

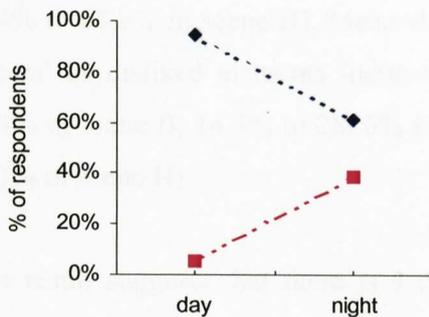
Figure 7-24 illustrates the elements that the respondents disliked at day time and night time in scenes B, F, G and H. The majority of respondents mentioned that they disliked ‘vendor’ for day time scenes (87.9% in scene B, 85.7% in scene F, 94.4% in scene G and 94.4% in scene H). Street vendors also become the disliked elements mentioned by the majority of the respondents for night time scenes (65.6% in scene B, 71.4% in scene F, 61.3% in scene G and 68.8% in scene H).



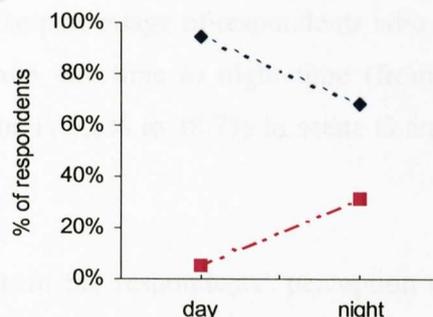
scene b



scene f



scene g



scene h

Figure 7-24 Disliked elements for scene B, F, G and H

The result of one-way chi-square test in Table 7-12 shows that the number of respondents who mentioned ‘vendor’ as disliked element is significantly higher than those who mentioned ‘others’ in all day time scenes. The data for night time scenes only indicate probably significant result for scene F and H.

These findings indicate that in these four scenes, the street vendors tend to be perceived as disliked elements at day time. However, at night time the respondents mentioned both street vendors and other elements as disliked elements, suggesting some ambiguities in which part of the scenes that become disliked elements.

Table 7-12 Summary of chi square analysis for scene B, F, G and H

Scene	One-way		Two-way
	day	night	
B	$\chi^2 = 18.939$ n=33, df= 1 p< 0.001***	$\chi^2 = 3.125$ n=32, df= 1 p> 0.05	$\chi^2 = 3.365$ df= 1 p> 0.05
F	$\chi^2 = 17.857$ n=35, df= 1 p< 0.001***	$\chi^2 = 6.429$ n=35, df= 1 p< 0.05*	$\chi^2 = 1.358$ df= 1 p> 0.05
G	$\chi^2 = 28.444$ n=36, df= 1 p< 0.001***	$\chi^2 = 1.581$ n=31, df= 1 p> 0.05	$\chi^2 = 9.162$ df= 1 p< 0.01**
H	$\chi^2 = 28.444$ n=36, df= 1 p< 0.001***	$\chi^2 = 4.5$ n=32, df= 1 p< 0.05*	$\chi^2 = 6.03$ df= 1 p< 0.05*

***highly significant

**significant

*probably significant

The patterns illustrated in Figure 7-24 shows that the percentage of respondents who mentioned ‘vendor’ as disliked elements decreased from day time to night time (from 87.9% to 65.6% in scene B, 85.7% to 71.4 in scene F, 94.4% to 61.3% in scene G and 94.4% to 68.8% in scene H). Meanwhile, the percentage of respondents who mentioned ‘others’ as disliked elements increased from day time to night time (from 12.1% to 34.4% in scene B, 14.3% to 28. 6% in scene F, 5.6% to 38.7% in scene G and 5.6% to 31.3% in scene H).

This result suggests that there is a change in the respondents’ perception of disliked elements from day time to night time in these four scenes. The result of two-way chi-square test in Table 7-12 indicates that the difference between day time and night time is only significant for scenes G and H, and not significant for scenes B and F.

Summary and discussion

The analyses in this section suggest that *the street vendors tend to be perceived as disliked elements at both day time and night time*. This perception of street vendors as disliked elements seems to be related to the respondents' general impression of the scenes. The discussion in Section 7.4 indicates some negative impressions in the scenes which contain street vendors. This might be a hint that street vendors as disliked elements contribute to negative evaluation of the scenes. This finding suggests that the rejection of street vendors from urban places (Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1) seems to be correct, as it becomes the attempt to remove the elements that are disliked. The finding also suggests the perception of street vendors as 'out of place' (Chapter 4) that need to be eliminated from the urban environment.

Furthermore, the discussion above reveals some different patterns regarding the perception of street vendors as disliked elements. In some cases, other elements may also become disliked elements apart from the street vendors. This may raise a question of whether the street vendors are the only negative elements in urban places that need to be rejected.

The finding on street vendors as disliked elements also indicate some contradiction with the findings in Section 7.5.1 which suggests that the street vendors can be perceived as liked elements. The discussion in the next section will further explore this contradiction.

7.5.3 Street vendors as liked and disliked elements

The analysis of liked elements in Section 7.5.1 indicates that the street vendors tend to become the liked elements at night time, while other elements tend to become liked elements at day time. It also shows that the perception of street vendors as liked elements tend to increase from day time to night time. Meanwhile the analysis of disliked elements in Section 7.5.2 indicates that the street vendors tend to be perceived as disliked elements both for day time and night time scenes, although some cases indicate the decrease in the dislike of street vendors from day time to night time. The findings from these two sections suggest that *the street vendors can be perceived both as liked and disliked elements*.

Figure 7-25 summarises the responses regarding the street vendors as liked and disliked elements obtained from Section 7.5.1 and 7.5.2. It presents the percentage of respondents who liked and disliked street vendors at day time and night time. The graph illustrates that for day time scenes, the percentage of respondents who mentioned street vendors as disliked elements (58.8%) is higher than those who mentioned street vendors as liked elements (18.5%). Meanwhile, for night time scenes, the percentage of respondents who mentioned street vendors as disliked elements and liked elements are almost similar (60 % who liked and 67.3% who disliked).

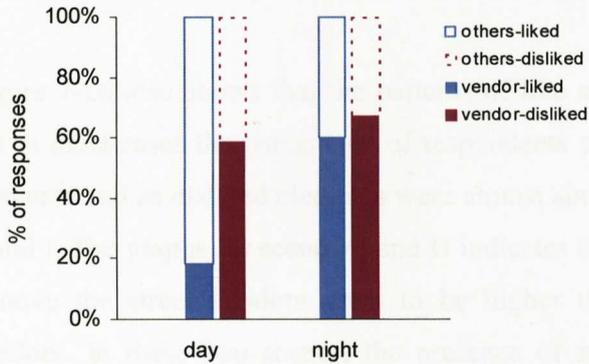


Figure 7-25 Like and dislike of street vendors in overall scenes

This data clearly shows the duality in respondents' perception of street vendors as both liked and disliked elements. It suggests that the users may have both positive and negative evaluation towards the presence of street vendors in urban places. This ambiguity in the position of street vendors has been previously discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 2.4). The street vendors have always been in between the arguments that justify their presence in and the arguments that suggest the need to remove them from the urban environment (Bromley, 2000; summary of news in Section 2.4.1 and 2.4.2). The finding in Section 7.5.1 and 7.5.2 above shows that these conflicting views regarding the street vendors also emerge among the users.

Nevertheless, there is a possibility that the street vendor-related elements that were liked by the respondents were not the same as the elements that they disliked. For example, some respondents mentioned that they liked the lighting coming out of the street vendors but they disliked the appearance of the vendors' pushcarts and the arrangements of the stalls. This suggests that the respondents' liked and disliked elements may be centred on

the same thing (Nasar, 1998). In this case, their like and dislike are centred on the street vendors.

Figure 7-26 illustrates further analysis on the respondents' like and dislike of street vendors in each pair of scenes. It presents the percentage of respondents who liked and disliked street vendors at day time and night time for each scene. It can be seen that in all day time scenes, there is a higher percentage of respondents who disliked vendor than those who liked street vendors. This suggests that the street vendors tend to be perceived as the elements to be rejected, rather than as the positive elements in urban places.

Figure 7-26 also shows that the patterns of like and dislike vary for night time scenes, but in most cases the percentage of respondents who mentioned street vendors as liked elements and as disliked elements were almost similar, as can be seen in scenes B, C, D, F and I. The graphs for scenes G and H indicates that the tendency for the respondents to remove the street vendors seem to be higher than their tendency to like the street vendors. In these two scenes, the presence of street vendors at night time might be considered as 'out of place'. The opposite situation occurred in scene E, where the street vendors seem to be more liked than disliked by the respondents. This indicates that street vendors might be considered as 'in place' in this scene at night time.

These variations in the perception of street vendors as 'out of place' or 'in place' might be related to some factors. The result in Figure 7-26 suggests some cases where the street vendors tend to be disliked. This can be seen in scene G- day, G-night, H-day, H-night, B-day and C-day. The situations of street vendors in all these scenes are different.

For example, scene G-day and G-night only contain a single street vendor with rather unattractive appearance, which might be perceived as an additional element that does not fit well with its surrounding. Scene H-day and H-night illustrate the place where the main building shows the signs of commercial activities. The presence of street vendors there might be conflicting with the image of high street commercial area.

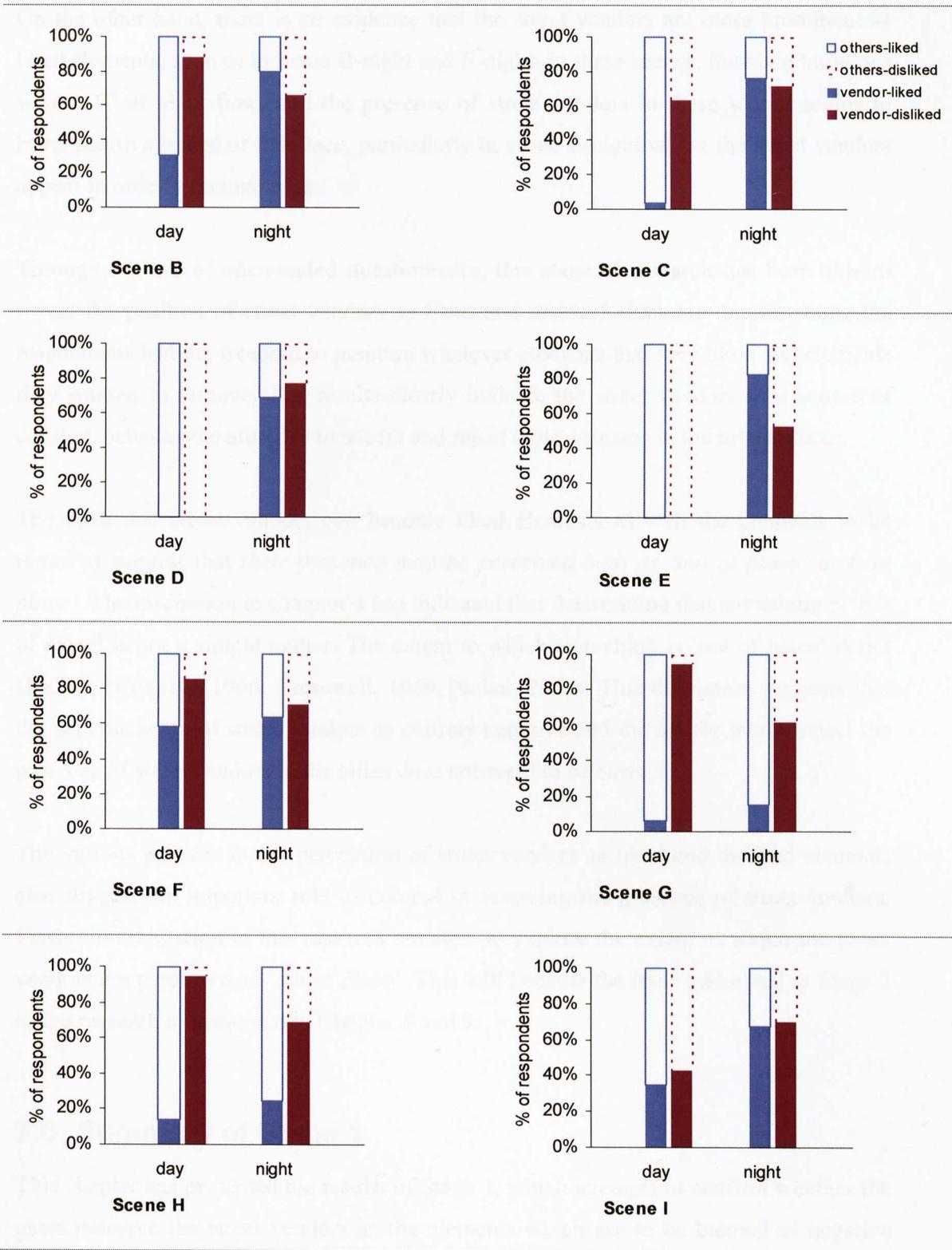


Figure 7-26 Street vendors as liked and disliked elements in each scene

On the other hand, there is an evidence that the street vendors are more prominent as liked elements, such as in scene B-night and E-night. In these scenes, the main buildings were 'off' at night time, and the presence of street vendors in these scenes seems to bring positive image of the place, particularly in scene E-night where the street vendors appear in orderly arrangement.

Through the use of open-ended questionnaire, this stage of research has been able to reveal the position of street vendors as liked and disliked elements. In this stage, the respondents had the freedom to mention whatever elements that they liked and elements they wanted to remove. The results clearly indicate the street vendors as a source of conflict, between the attitudes to accept and reject their presence in the urban places.

The facts that street vendors can become liked elements as well the elements to be removed suggest that *their presence may be perceived both as 'out of place' and 'in place'*. The discussion in Chapter 4 has indicated that determining that something is 'out of place' is not a simple matter. The extent to which something is 'out of place' is not absolute (Douglas, 1966; Cresswell, 1966; Nolan, 2003). This discussion suggests that the generalisation of street vendors as entirely negative and the act for totally reject the presence of street vendors in the cities does not seem to be correct.

The various patterns in the perception of street vendors as liked and disliked elements also suggest the important role of context in assessing the presence of street vendors. Further investigation in this research attempts to explore the extent to which the street vendors are perceived as 'out of place'. This will become the issue addressed in Stage 2 of the research as presented in Chapter 8 and 9.

7.6 Summary of Stage 1

This chapter has presented the results of Stage 1, which attempts to confirm whether the users perceive the street vendors as the elements which are to be blamed as negative aspects of urban scene as discussed in Chapter 2, 3 and 4. There are three major findings from the analysis of the data, which also lead to further exploration in Stage 2.

First, the results show that the identity of the urban places with the presence of street vendors changes from day time to night time. Street vendors primarily become the

identity of place at night time. The perception of place identity seems to be related to the perception of dominant elements. The street vendors tend to become the identity of the place in the situation where they appear dominant, both at day time and night time.

This finding suggests the important role of street vendors in shaping the identity of urban places. It also suggests that the presence of street vendors may threaten the designated place identity in certain urban places. It confirms the street vendors as a threat in urban places as concerned by the urban elite (Chapter 2, 3). However, this also raised a question of whether the change of place identity is also perceived by the users as a threat that needs to be rejected. The extent to which the users perceive the street vendors as 'out of place' is explored in Stage 2.

Secondly, the urban places with street vendors may be associated with both positive and negative impressions. However, at this stage, the role of street vendors in the general impression of the scene is not known yet and will become the issue explored in Stage 2.

Thirdly, the findings show that the street vendors are perceived both as liked and disliked elements. They tend to be perceived as liked elements at night time, and perceived as disliked elements both at day time and night time. The fact that street vendors can be liked and disliked indicates the street vendors as a source of conflict, between the attitudes to accept and reject their presence in the urban places; they may be perceived both as 'out of place' and 'in place'. The extent to which the users perceive them as 'out of place' becomes the subject of investigation in Stage 2.

8 STAGE 2: METHODS

8.1 Introduction

The objective of the Stage 2 of this research is to examine the users' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements in urban places. Four research questions were developed to guide the empirical investigation in this stage. These questions attempt to explore some important issues regarding public preference in urban places with the presence of street vendors as 'out of place' elements at day time and night time. This chapter describes the detailed procedures conducted in this stage of research. It explains the development of research instruments to assess the users' perception of 'out of place' elements, the procedures for data collection and the procedures for data analysis.

8.2 Research questions

There are four research questions that would be addressed through the empirical investigation in the Stage 2 of this research as described below.

1. Are there any differences in users' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements at day time and night time?

The discussion in Chapter 2, 3 and 4 has indicated that street vendors are generally positioned as rejected elements in urban environment from the point of view of urban elite. Their presence is contrary to the harmony and perfection within the concept of ideal city, and they become 'out of place' elements in the city. However, the concept of 'out of place' is not absolute (Douglas, 1966), as indicated in the discussion in Chapter 4. This question examines this relative nature of 'out of place' in the case of street vendors from the users' point of view.

In particular, this question addresses this issue by considering the presence of street vendors in the city that can be seen both at day time and night time. It explores:

- Whether the evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements changes from day time to night time.

2. Are there any differences in users' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements across education background and gender?

Chapter 5 has pointed out the importance of users' evaluation of urban environment. There is also evidence of the differences between people with and without design education in making judgement about environments. This research question addresses how this difference occurs in evaluating the street vendors as 'out of place' elements. This issue becomes important since the presence of street vendors represents a reality of urban everyday life which is closely related to laymen as the users' of the city. Meanwhile, most of the decisions regarding the presence of street vendors in the city are dominated by urban elite including planners and architects. In addition, this question explores gender differences in evaluating the street vendors as 'out of place' elements. It becomes a step towards understanding the homogeneity among the users' in their judgments towards the presence of street vendors.

In particular, this research question explores whether:

- There is a difference between users with architecture and non architecture background in their evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements.
- There is a difference between males and females in their evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements.

3. Are there any relationships between the evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements in urban scene and the evaluation of the scene in general?

One of the problems raised in Chapter 2 and 3 is that the street vendors are considered as the elements that disrupt urban aesthetics and urban order. Their presence creates chaotic environments and urban slums and reduces public feeling of safety. Some findings in Stage 1 have indicated that street vendors are perceived as disliked elements in urban places. The presence of elements in urban scene has important role in the evaluation of the scene in general as pointed out in Chapter 5.

This research question addresses the contribution of street vendors as 'out of place' elements to the general preference of the scene. In particular, it explores the extent to which the presence of street vendors is related the users' liking, perceived complexity, feeling of safety, disorderliness and maintenance of the scene. It examines whether:

- There is a relationship between the evaluation of street vendor as 'out of place' elements and the liking of the scene in general.

- There is a relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements and the general complexity of the scene.
- There is a relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements and the feeling of safety in the scene.
- There is a relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements and the disorderliness of the scene in general.
- There is a relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements and the maintenance condition of the scene in general.

4. Are there any relationships between the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ and the presence of street vendors as temporary elements?

The street vendors exist in the city as temporary elements added to existing urban environment. Their nature as temporary elements has created some problems. Their presence as addition to urban places may risk ruining the quality of urban form (Cousins, 1994). The rejection of street vendors in the city is also related to their presence as unexpected and unplanned elements, which has no place in the concept of ideal city (Chapter 3). Their presence in the city often creates conflict with the existing function; e.g., disturb vehicular traffic on the street and activities in the main buildings (Chapter 2). The problem of street vendors in the city becomes more complex due to their presence in large number in many urban places.

This research question addresses some issues regarding the presence of street vendors as temporary elements. In particular it explores whether:

- There is a relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements and the temporariness of street vendors.
- There is a relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements and the accessibility to the main building.
- There is a relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements and the number of street vendors.

8.3 Research instruments

The empirical studies in the Stage 2 of this research were set up to address the four research questions above. It used the stimulus materials presented to the respondents, who were asked to respond to the questionnaires containing a series of rating scale. This

section describes the development of the stimulus materials and the questionnaires, including the development of rating scale to evaluate the street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements.

8.3.1 Stimulus materials

The stimulus materials used in this stage of research were similar to the slides that have been used in Stage 1. There were sixteen slides consisting of eight pairs of day time and night time scenes consisting of street vendors, as selected based on the results of sorting task (Chapter 6, Section 6.3.2). In addition, there was a test photograph put at the beginning of the set, which was used as the exercise for the respondents. In total there were 17 slides presented to the respondents as can be seen in Appendix B.1.

8.3.2 Questionnaire

The questionnaire consisted of 15 items of 7-scale semantic differential, in which the respondents were presented with pairs of adjectives to respond to the stimulus materials. Each adjective pairs was accompanied by a question to assist the respondents in understanding the concepts given in the adjective pairs. The semantic differential rating scale consisted of various items to measure the respondents’ evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ as well as other variables as mentioned in the above hypotheses.

The rating scale items to measure the respondents’ evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements were developed based on the discussion of ‘out of place’ in Chapter 4. The judgement of an object as ‘out of place’ involves the process of identifying the object and its relationship with the context. Identifying the object is necessary to understand *the internal condition of the object* in order to determine whether it is considered as ‘out of place’. For example, the imperfect object is considered as ‘out of place’ element which is not supposed to exist in certain place (Cousins, 1994, 1995a). The evaluation of ‘out of place’ object also needs to consider *the relationship of the object to its surrounding* (Douglas, 1966; Cresswell, 1996). It involves understanding the context where the object exists (Lofland, 1973; Alexander, 1964).

For the purpose of this study, these two aspects of ‘out of place’ were developed into several variables to assess the presence of street vendors in urban places. The discussion in Chapter 2, 3 and 4 has pointed out that the judgement of street vendors as ‘out of

place' is related to their *internal condition* such as their chaotic arrangement, slum and dirty condition, and ugly appearance. This judgement is also related to their *relationship to its surrounding*. For example the street vendors were criticised for their presence in illegal location and their impact on the aesthetic of its surroundings.

Based on these two aspects of 'out of place', there were four variables used in this research to assess the extent to which the respondents perceived the street vendors as 'out of place'. The four variables are presented in Table 8-1.

Table 8-1 Four variables of 'out of place'

Internal condition of street vendor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ disorderliness ▪ low maintenance
Relationship of street vendors to its surrounding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ inappropriateness ▪ misfit

Disorderliness refers to the condition of irregular or improper arrangement of the objects. In this research this variable referred to the arrangement of the street vendors, to assess how much street vendors were perceived as disorderly. It was implemented in the adjective pair *orderly-disorderly*.

Low maintenance refers to the lack of act in maintaining or keeping the objects in proper condition. In this research this variable was used to determine the evaluation of street vendors as slum and dirty elements. It was implemented in the adjective pair *well maintained-badly maintained*.

Inappropriateness refers to the incorrect existence of objects in a particular place or context. In this research this variable addressed the issue of legality of street vendors, and the extent to which they were perceived as being in the wrong place. For example, the presence of street vendors in the street might be considered wrong when they disrupt the flow of vehicles as the designated function of the street. This variable was implemented in the adjective pair *appropriate-inappropriate*.

Misfit refers to the presence additional objects that do not adjust well to its surrounding. This variable was used in this research to assess how the presence of street vendors was perceived to be ruining the existing context. It addressed to what extent the street vendors destroyed the visual forms of the city. This variable was implemented in the adjective pair *fit-misfit*.

These four adjective pairs of ‘out of place’ were included in the rating scale together with other adjective pairs to measure the variables that would be tested in the hypotheses mentioned in Section 8.2. The rating scale consisted of three parts. Part A consisted of the questions and adjective pairs related to the general evaluation of the scene. Part B consisted of the questions and adjective pairs related to the evaluation of the main building in the scene. Part C consisted of the questions and adjective pairs related to the evaluation of the street vendors, including the four variables of ‘out of place’ in Table 8-1. Table 8-2 summarised the adjective pairs used in this study, as well as the variables measured and the research questions addressed by each variables.

Table 8-2 Rating scale

Part	Adjective pairs	Variables measured	Research questions
A	like - dislike	scene liking	3
	safe - dangerous	scene safety	3
	orderly - disorderly	scene orderliness	3
	well maintained - badly maintained	scene maintenance	3
	complex - simple	scene complexity	3
B	orderly - disorderly	orderliness of main building	3
	obvious - hidden	obviousness of main building	4
	easy - difficult	accessibility of main building	4
	well maintained - badly maintained	maintenance of main building	3
C	orderly - disorderly	disorderliness of street vendors*	all
	appropriate - inappropriate	inappropriateness of street vendors*	all
	fit - misfit	misfit of street vendors*	all
	obvious - hidden	obviousness of street vendors	4
	well maintained - badly maintained	low maintenance of street vendors*	all
	temporary - permanent	temporariness of street vendors	4

* variables to measure the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’

The rating scale was presented to the respondents in 17 pages, one for each slide including the test slide. In each page, the questions were presented on the left column, while the 7-point scales were presented on the right column. The 7-point scale was indicated on top of the adjective pairs as the scale of 3-2-1-0-1-2-3. Instead of using the scale of 1 to 7, this scale suggested more balanced judgement to both ends of the pairs. No negative sign were used, since the ‘out of place’ of street vendors was not yet predetermined as negative. The adjective pairs were arranged in such a way that not all adjectives with positive meanings located on the same side of the scale, to avoid the respondents’ tendency toward certain direction of adjective pairs.

In addition to the 17 pages of rating scale, there is a final page for the respondents' background data. The whole questionnaires were delivered in Indonesian language. Both the English and Indonesian versions of the questionnaires are included in Appendix B.2 and B.3.

8.3.3 Pilot test

Before the main data collection began, the questionnaire was piloted several times to a small group of subjects. The aim was to ensure the clarity of the questions and to ensure the similar understanding of the concepts in each item. The pilot test was also meant to anticipate the time needed for the participants in completing the questionnaire as well as any difficulties that they might face in the task.

The first pilot test was conducted with a group of students from the Department of Architecture, University of Sheffield, most of which were international students. Ten slides were used in this pilot test. From this pilot session, the researcher gained some feedbacks regarding several questions. It was found that some adjective pairs were not clear for the respondents. For example, the respondents were not sure whether the adjective pair *order-disorder* referred to the concept of orderliness of the physical arrangement or order in more general sense. Therefore this adjective pair was substituted with *orderly-disorderly*. However, in Indonesian language there was no such confusion of this concept. The adjective pair *teratur-tidak teratur* clearly referred to the physical arrangement.

The second pilot test was conducted using the questionnaire in Indonesian language. In the process of translating the questions and adjective pairs into Indonesian language, some difficulties appear in finding the words with parallel meanings in both languages. When this happened, some paraphrasing was necessary instead of word-by-word translation. The Indonesian version of the questionnaire was tested with a group of Indonesian respondents living in the UK. These respondents can speak well in both languages and therefore they were able to give feedback to ensure that their understanding of the questionnaire in Indonesian is similar to the concepts meant in the English version.

In this second pilot test, the full set of 17 slides was used. The day time and night time slides in each place were presented in alternate order (i.e, B-day, B-night, C-day, C-night, and so on). However, the respondents commented that because the slides of the same place were presented after one another, they could easily recognise that they illustrated the same place. This sometimes created bias in their responses.

During this second pilot test, the time needed to complete the questionnaire was also measured. The respondents could complete the whole set in 45 minutes. However, they suggested that it was necessary to have a short break in the middle of the session, as they started to lose their concentration after the 12th slide. They also suggested that it might be better if they were informed the total number of the slides before the session began. Based on these feedbacks, the order of the slides was rearranged so that the scenes from the same place are not presented consecutively. The final arrangement of the slides is illustrated in Appendix B.1. After this modification, a final pilot test was conducted with two Indonesian respondents, and there were no problems found at this stage.

8.4 Participants

The participants in this study were recruited among the students from the Faculty of Engineering at the University of Indonesia. In total there were 158 students involved, consisting of 42 students from architecture department and 116 students from other engineering departments, which comprise electrical, chemical, mechanical, industrial, material and civil engineering.

All the students were either in their third year or fourth year (final year) of their university study. It was expected that the architecture students in the third or fourth year have already received enough knowledge and skills in architecture. In contrast, the students from other engineering departments were those who had never received any architectural education. Although some of them may have taken design courses (such as construction), they were considered to have much less design knowledge than architecture students.

The participation of the students in this study is voluntary or self-selection; therefore there might be certain bias in their responses. All the participants in this study were those who have become the users of street vendors. Therefore their opinion could be

taken as the point of view of users, although not necessarily representative of all users with different socio-economic and education background. In addition, the recruitment of architecture and engineering students also allows for exploring possible differences between people with and without architecture education background, although both groups were also the users of street vendors.

During the recruitment process it was found that there were much more males than females who were willing to participate in this study. This is due to the fact that engineering departments were dominated by male students. To achieve a more balanced number of male and female students, in the last session of data collection only female students were recruited. After the data collection was completed, the participants were given incentives for their participation in this study.

8.5 Procedure

The data collection sessions were conducted in a darkened classroom. The slides were presented on a white screen using a data projector. The session began with presenting the test picture to the participants and asking them to fill in the first page of the questionnaire. After that, the participants could ask if there were any difficulties in filling in the questionnaire or if there was anything unclear. When everything was clear, the main session could begin.

In total the data collection were conducted in eleven sessions. The number of participants in each session varied between 5 and 24. The small number of participants in each session made it easy for the researcher to control the process of filling in the questionnaire. All the sessions were conducted in the afternoon between 1 and 3pm. On average each session lasted for 55 minutes.

8.6 Data analysis

After all the data were obtained, the responses in each item of the questionnaire were first recoded from the scale of 3-2-1-0-1-2-3 into score 1 to 7. Score 1 indicates very negative response and score 7 indicates very positive response. For example, in the adjective pair *safe-dangerous* for the variable *safety*, score 1 indicates *very dangerous* while 7 indicates *very safe*. For the four variables of 'out of place', the score indicates

the direction towards the evaluation of ‘out of place’. Hence score 1 refer to the least ‘out of place’ while score 7 refers to the most ‘out of place’.

After all the responses are recoded into the score of 1 to 7, the data were entered into SPSS data editor for further statistical analysis. Before conducting statistical tests to address the four research questions, a reliability test was conducted using Cronbach alpha coefficient (Vaus, 1996; Pallant, 2001) for the four ‘out of place’ variables. This test was to explore the extent to which these variables were related to one another as a scale to assess the presence of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements. The results of the reliability test is presented in Chapter 9, Section 9.3.1.

To address the four research questions mentioned in Section 8.2, various statistical tests were used as summarised in Table 8-3.

Table 8-3 Statistical analysis

Research questions		Statistical analysis
1	Change of perception at day time and night time	Paired-sample t-test
2	Difference between architecture and non architecture	Independent-sample t-test
	Difference between gender	
3	Relationship between ‘out of place’ and liking	Pearson correlation
	Relationship between ‘out of place’ and complexity	
	Relationship between ‘out of place’ and scene safety	
	Relationship between ‘out of place’ and scene disorderliness	
	Relationship between ‘out of place’ and scene maintenance	
4	Relationship between ‘out of place’ and temporariness	Pearson correlation
	Relationship between ‘out of place’ and accessibility of main building	
	Relationship between ‘out of place’ and number of street vendors	Spearman rank correlation

The t-test analysis was used to test the differences between two sets of data to address research questions 1 and 2. Research question 1 explored the differences between the scores for day time scenes and night time scenes, to find whether there was any change of users’ evaluation from day time to night time. Therefore paired-sample t-test was used for Hypothesis 1. Meanwhile, research question 2 compared the scores from different groups of respondents, using independent-sample t-test.

An issue that should be considered in this research was regarding the use of statistical test with a large number of samples, in which even a very small difference could become statistically significant. Therefore it was necessary to calculate the ‘effect size’ or

'strength of association', to confirm the magnitude of difference between the scores of the two sets of data (Pallant, 2001). In this study, the 'effect size' was calculated using eta squared, which had the values ranged from 0 to 1. The eta squared value of 0.01 indicates small effect, 0.06 indicates moderate effect and 0.14 indicates large effect (Cohen, 1988).

The relationships between variables in research question 3 and 4 (except relationship between 'out of place' and number of street vendors) were examined using Pearson correlation coefficient. This analysis explores the strength and direction of the linear relationship between two variables. In correlation analysis with the large number of samples, it is also very likely that the tests would show highly significant results. Therefore, to determine the strength of relationship between two variables the following guidelines are used (Cohen, 1988):

$r = 0.10$ to 0.29 or $r = -0.10$ to -0.29 indicates small correlation

$r = 0.30$ to 0.49 or $r = -0.30$ to -0.49 indicates medium correlation

$r = 0.50$ to 1.00 or $r = -0.50$ to -1.00 indicates large correlation

Another statistical analysis used in this study is Spearman rank correlation (Siegel, 1956), which was used to explore the relationship between the number of street vendors and the evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place'. This test compared the rank of each scenes regarding the number of street vendors as obtained from sorting task in Stage 1 (Section 6.3.2) and the rank of the means score of 'out of place' of each scenes. All the findings from the data analysis in the Stage 2 of this research are discussed in details in Chapter 9.

8.7 Summary

This chapter has provided detailed description of the methods conducted in Stage 2 of the research. The objective of this stage is to examine the users' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements in urban places. The methods were set up to address four research questions, which explored various issues regarding public preference in urban places with the presence of street vendors as 'out of place' elements at day time and night time.

The research was conducted by presenting the slides of urban scenes with street vendors to the respondents and asking them to respond to the questionnaires containing a series of rating scale. The rating scale was developed based on the 'out of place' concept (Chapter 4) to measure the users' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements. The respondents participating in this research consisted of university students from architecture and non-architecture departments. Various statistical analysis (t-test, Pearson correlation and Spearman rank correlation) were used to analyse the data obtained from this stage of research. The analyses of the findings from Stage 2 of the research are discussed in Chapter 9.

9 STAGE 2: FINDINGS

9.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings from the Stage 2 of the research. This stage explores the users' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements in urban places. The general information of the respondents in Stage 2 is presented in Section 9.2. The findings from the respondents' assessment of street vendors are presented in five main sections. Section 9.3 describes the rating scores of 'out of place' obtained from the respondents and the reliability test of the 'out of place' rating scale.

The other four sections discuss the findings in response to the four research questions as described in Chapter 8. Section 9.4 presents the different evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' at day time and night time. Section 9.5 presents the differences between gender and educational background of the users in their evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place'. Section 9.6 discusses the relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements and the evaluation of urban scene in general. The relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements and their presence as temporary elements is presented in Section 9.7.

9.2 Respondents' profile

The Stage 2 of this research involves 158 university students as the respondents. All of these respondents have visited, bought or used the services from street vendors prior to this study. Therefore in this study their evaluation was taken as the opinions from the users of the street vendors. As illustrated in Table 9.2-1, the respondents consist of 55.7% males and 44.3% females. The respondents came from both architecture background (26.6%) and non architecture background (73.4%). The average age of the respondents was 21.2.

Table 9.2-1 Respondents' gender and education background

	male		female		total	
architecture	18	11.4%	24	15.2%	42	26.6%
non architecture	70	44.3%	46	29.1%	116	73.4%
total	88	55.7%	70	44.3%	158	100%

9.3 'Out of place' scores

The analysis in the Stage 2 is focused around the respondents' rating of street vendors as 'out of place', in response to the urban scenes projected in front of them. As described in Chapter 8, there are four variables that were used in the rating scale of 'out of place'. These variables are *disorderliness*, *low maintenance*, *inappropriateness* and *misfit*. This section presents the reliability analysis of the 'out of place' rating scale. It also presents the 'out of place' scores obtained from the respondents for each scene.

9.3.1 Reliability of 'out of place' rating scale

The analysis in this section is aimed at testing the reliability of this rating scale as the measurement of the degree of 'out of place' of the street vendors. In this study, the respondents were asked to evaluate the presence of street vendors in 7-scale semantic differential for four variables of 'out of place': *disorderliness*, *low maintenance*, *inappropriateness* and *misfit*. Each of 158 respondents rated the presence of street vendors in 15 scenes. This excludes Scene E-day which did not contain street vendor. Table 9.3-1 presents the means of the respondents' rating in these four variables.

Table 9.3-1 Means of four 'out of place' variables

variables		N	means	SD
internal condition of street vendors	disorderliness	2363	4.571	1.889
	low maintenance	2363	4.591	1.661
relationship of street vendors to surrounding	inappropriateness	2363	5.229	1.612
	misfit	2363	4.999	1.715
overall		2363	19.391	5.761

The reliability analysis attempts to ensure that all of the variables in the rating scale have internal consistency. The analysis explores the degree to which the items that make up the scale 'hang together'. In this study, the reliability test was used to ensure that the four variables hanged together and represented the respondents' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place'.

In this research the reliability of 'out of place' rating scale was tested by using Cronbach's alpha coefficient. Table 9.3-2 presents the Cronbach Alpha coefficient of the scale as well as the Alpha if each item is deleted. In order for a scale to be considered as reliable, the Alpha coefficient should be above 0.7. In addition, the values of 'Alpha if item deleted' should not be higher than the final Alpha; any items with higher value than final Alpha need to be removed (Vaus, 1996; Pallant, 2001).

Table 9.3-2 Cronbach's alpha coefficient for 'out of place' rating scale

variables		Alpha if item deleted
internal condition of street vendors	disorderliness	0.8119
	low maintenance	0.8163
relationship of street vendors to surrounding	inappropriate	0.8325
	misfit	0.8085
Alpha: 0.8567		

The result in Table 9.3-2 shows that the Cronbach Alpha coefficient for this rating scale is 0.8567, which indicates the reliability of the scale. All the values of 'Alpha if item deleted' for each item were lower than the final Alpha. This indicates that these four variables had internal consistency as the rating scale to measure the degree of 'out of place'. For the analysis in the rest of this chapter, the respondents' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' was represented by the sum of the four variables above, which is labelled as '*out of place*' score.

9.3.2 'Out of place' scores in each scene

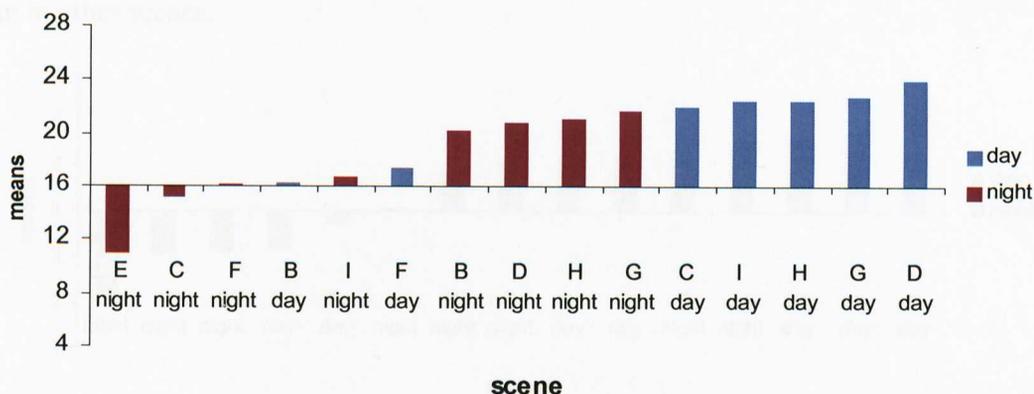
This section presents the scores of 'out of place' obtained from the respondents for each day time and night time scene. This data provides a general description on the respondents' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements, based on their rating on four 'out of place' variables (*disorderliness, low maintenance, inappropriateness* and *misfit*).

The rating scores for each variable ranged from 1 to 7. Hence, the 'out of place' score, which is the sum of the four variables, ranged from 4 to 28. Score 4 indicates the evaluation of street vendor as the least 'out of place', while score 28 indicates the evaluation of street vendor as the most 'out of place'. Score 16 represents the neutral attitude towards the degree of 'out of place' of the street vendors.

Figure 9.3-1 presents the means of 'out of place' scores in each of the scene rated by the respondents. It also illustrates how far the means were from neutral score of 16. The means were arranged in order, from the lowest to the highest. Therefore it illustrates all the scenes in the order of how the street vendors were evaluated as 'out of place'.

It can be seen that scene E-night had the lowest mean (11.01), indicating that the street vendors in this scene was perceived as the least 'out of place' among all the scenes.

Meanwhile scene D-day had the highest mean (23.96), indicating the street vendors in this scene as the most ‘out of place’. Figure 9.3-1 also shows that there were only two scenes which had the lower means of ‘out of place’ than the neutral score of 16, i.e., scene E-night and scene C-night. It can also be seen that scenes F-night, B-day, I-night and F-day had the means of ‘out of place’ close to the neutral score.



Scene	E night	C night	F night	B day	I night	F day	B night	D night	H night	G night	C day	I day	H day	G day	D day
Means	11.01	15.08	16.09	16.23	16.77	17.45	20.26	20.91	21.24	21.82	22.08	22.50	22.50	22.79	23.96

Figure 9.3-1 Means of ‘out of place’ score for each scene

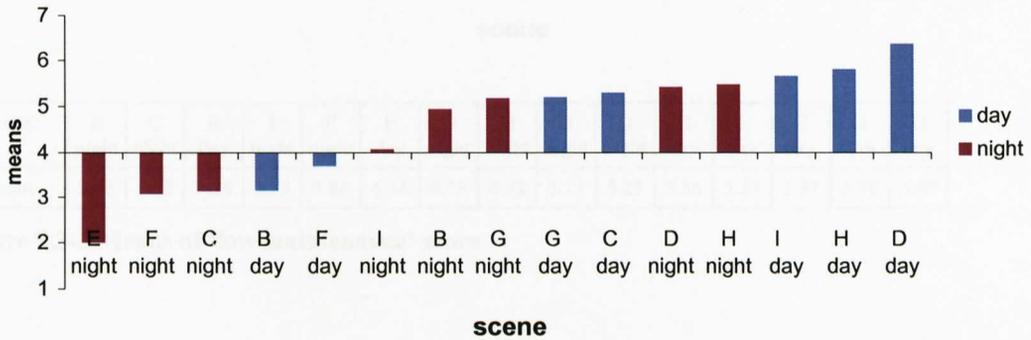
This data suggests that the respondents’ evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ varied across scenes. The street vendors in some scenes might be perceived as very ‘out of place’ while in some others they might be perceived less ‘out of place’. The data in Figure 9.3-1 also suggests that the majority of the mean scores from day time scenes were concentrated at the right end of the graph. Meanwhile, most scenes with lower means of ‘out of place’ were night time scenes. This suggests some possibilities in the difference between evaluation of street vendors at day time and night time, which will be explored further in Section 9.4.

The following part presents the means for each ‘out of place’ variables. This description illustrates how the respondents evaluated the street vendors in four variables of *disorderliness*, *low maintenance*, *inappropriateness* and *misfit*.

a) Disorderliness

Figure 9.3-2 illustrates the means of ‘disorderliness’ score for each scene and how far the means were from the neutral score. The means were obtained from the scores of each

respondent, which ranged from 1 (orderly) to 7 (disorderly). It can be seen that scene E-night had the lowest mean (2.00) while scene D-day had the highest mean (6.37). Scene E-night, scene F-night, scene C- night, scene F- day and scene B-day had the means lower than the neutral score of 4, while scene I-night had the mean score just above 4. The street vendors in these scenes were perceived by the respondents as more orderly than in other scenes.



Scene	E night	F night	C night	B day	F day	I night	B night	G night	G day	C day	D night	H night	I day	H day	D day
Means	2.00	3.08	3.14	3.16	3.70	4.08	4.95	5.18	5.21	5.31	5.42	5.48	5.67	5.82	6.37

Figure 9.3-2 Means of 'disorderliness' score

b) Low maintenance

Figure 9.3-3 illustrates the means of 'low maintenance' score for each scene. The means were obtained from the scores of each respondent, which ranged from 1 (well-maintained) to 7 (badly-maintained). Higher rating score indicated that the street vendors were perceived as having lower maintenance.

It can be seen that scene E-night had the lowest mean (2.43), indicating that the maintenance of street vendors in this scene was perceived to be better than other scenes. Meanwhile, scene D-day time had the highest mean score (5.89), indicating the worst condition of maintenance among all scenes. Scenes E-night, C-night, B-day, I-night and F-night all had the mean scores under 4, indicating relatively good maintenance of the street vendors.

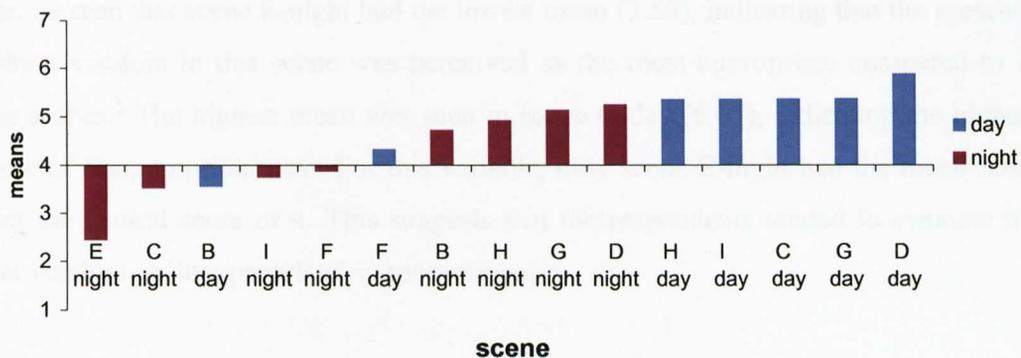


Figure 9.3-3 Means of 'low maintenance' score

c) Inappropriateness

The respondents were asked to evaluate the relationship of the street vendors to their surroundings by rating the degree to which the presence of street vendors were considered 'inappropriate' in each place. They gave rating in a 7-point scale from 'appropriate' to 'inappropriate'. Higher rating indicated that the presence of street vendors was perceived as less appropriate in particular scene. Figure 9.3-4 illustrates the means of 'inappropriateness' score for each scene.

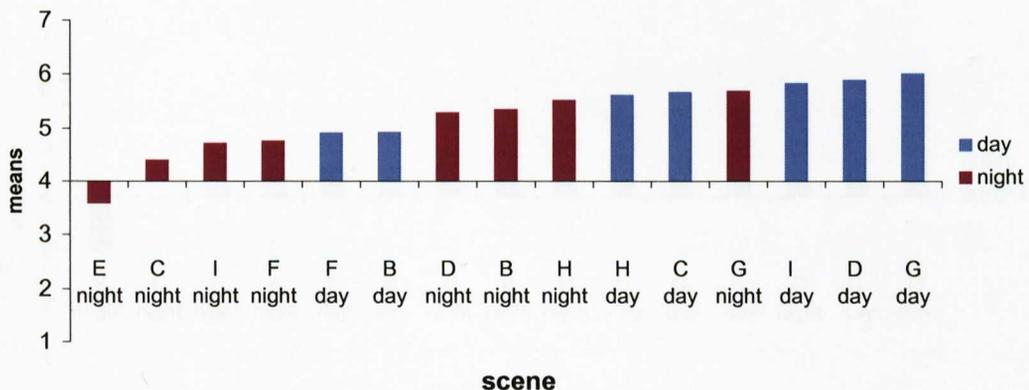


Figure 9.3-4 Means of 'inappropriateness' score

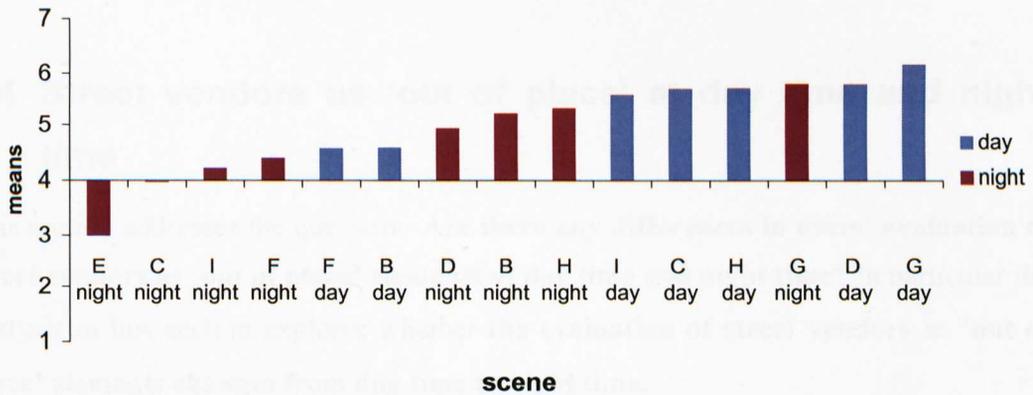
scene	E night	C night	I night	F night	F day	B day	D night	B night	H night	H day	C day	G night	I day	D day	G day
Means	3.58	4.41	4.73	4.77	4.93	4.94	5.30	5.37	5.54	5.63	5.69	5.71	5.85	5.91	6.03

It can be seen that scene E-night had the lowest mean (3.58), indicating that the presence of street vendors in this scene was perceived as the most appropriate compared to in other scenes. The highest mean was seen in scene G-day (6.03), indicating the highest degree of ‘inappropriateness’. For this variable, only scene E-night had the mean score under the neutral score of 4. This suggests that the respondents tended to evaluate the street vendors as ‘inappropriate’ in most scenes.

d) Misfit

The respondents were also asked to evaluate the relationship of the street vendors to their surroundings by rating how well the street vendors adjusted to their surroundings. They gave rating score in a 7-point scale, from ‘fit’ to ‘misfit’. Higher rating indicates the respondents’ perception that street vendors were not adjusted well to the surroundings.

Figure 9.3-5 illustrates the means of ‘misfit’ score for each scene. Scene E-night had the lowest mean (2.99), indicating the best adjustment of street vendors to their surroundings, compared to in other scenes. Meanwhile, scene G-day had the highest mean (6.17), indicating the worst adjustment of street vendors to their surroundings. Only scene E-night and C-night had the means under the neutral score of 4.



scene	E night	C night	I night	F night	F day	B day	D night	B night	H night	I day	C day	H day	G night	D day	G day
Means	2.99	3.97	4.22	4.39	4.57	4.58	4.94	5.22	5.32	5.59	5.70	5.71	5.79	5.79	6.17

Figure 9.3-5 Means of ‘misfit’ score

Summary

The data above indicates that *the evaluation of respondents towards the presence of street vendors as 'out of place' elements vary from one scene to another*. This can be seen both for 'out of place' scores as well as the scores of each variable of disorderliness, low maintenance, inappropriateness and misfit. The mean scores of each scene vary widely, from the very low score below neutral (indicating less 'out of place') to the very high score (indicating higher degree of 'out of place').

This finding supports the discussion in Chapter 4 that the perception of something as 'out of place' is not absolute (Douglas, 1966; Cresswell, 1996). In the case of street vendors, the data in this section has shown that not all street vendors were perceived as disorderly, badly maintained, inappropriate and misfit. Therefore, the general tendency to judge the street vendors as rejected elements in the city (see Section 2.4.4 and 3.4) may be questioned. *While some street vendors might be perceived as 'out of place', this judgement should not be generalised for street vendors in all situations.*

Further analysis is presented in the following section, in order to explore how the evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' may vary in different situation. In particular Section 9.4 discusses the change of the users' evaluation towards street vendors at day time and night time.

9.4 Street vendors as 'out of place' at day time and night time

This section addresses the question: **Are there any differences in users' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements at day time and night time?** In particular the analysis in this section explores whether **the evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements changes from day time to night time.**

The analysis focuses on how the users' evaluation of street vendors in the same location changes from day time to night time. Paired-sample T-test was used to compare the 'out of place' scores of the matching pairs of day time and night time scenes. It was expected that in the same location, the score of 'out of place' at day time would differ significantly from the score of 'out of place' at night time. In addition, the comparison was also made for each of four variables that made up the 'out of place' score. The aim

was to explore whether there were any changes from day time to night time in the scores of these variables.

The analysis included all rating data from 158 respondents, excluding pairs of data from location E where there were no street vendors at day time. In total, there were 1098 matching pairs of data analysed. Statistical testing was done for overall data from all scenes as well as separately for each pair of scenes.

As already mentioned in Chapter 8, in statistical testing with such a large number of samples, it often occurs that even a very small difference can become statistically significant. Then it became important to calculate the 'effect size' or 'strength of association' (Pallant, 2001). Effect size statistics provided the indication of the magnitude of the difference between day time and night time scores of the matched scenes. The effect size statistic used in this analysis was eta squared, which has the value ranged from 0 to 1. The eta squared value of 0.01 indicates small effect, 0.06 indicates moderate effect and 0.14 indicates large effect (Cohen, 1988).

9.4.1 Change of 'out of place' evaluation from day time to night time

Figure 9.4-1 illustrates the overall means of 'out of place' score from day time and night time scenes. It shows that day time scenes had higher means of 'out of place' score than night time scenes.

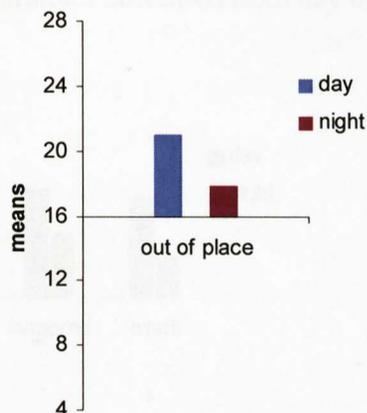


Figure 9.4-1 Means of 'out of place' score of day time and night time scenes

Paired-sample T-test result in Table 9.4-1 indicates that the decrease in overall means of ‘out of place’ scores from day time to night time was highly significant. The eta squared statistic indicates a moderate effect size, which means a moderate difference between the means of day time and night time scenes. The result clearly indicates that *the users’ evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ in the same location changed from day time to night time.*

Table 9.4-1 Change of ‘out of place’ scores from day time to night time

	N	Day time scores		Night time scores		t	Significant (2-tailed)	Eta squared
		means	SD	means	SD			
‘out of place’	1099	21.10	4.934	18.89	5.553	12.523	p<0.001***	0.125 ^{††}

*** highly significant

^{††} moderate effect size

Figure 9.4-1 also shows that the mean scores at both day time and night time were higher than the neutral scores of 16. This suggests that at both times the street vendors were considered as ‘out of place’ elements. However, their presence was perceived as less ‘out of place’ at night time than at day time.

9.4.2 Change of four ‘out of place’ variables from day time to night time

Further analysis was conducted to explore the changes that occurred in each ‘out of place’ variables. Figure 9.4-2 illustrates the means of the four variables which made up the ‘out of place’ score for all day time scenes and night time scenes. It shows clearly that all the means of the four variables decreased from day time to night time.

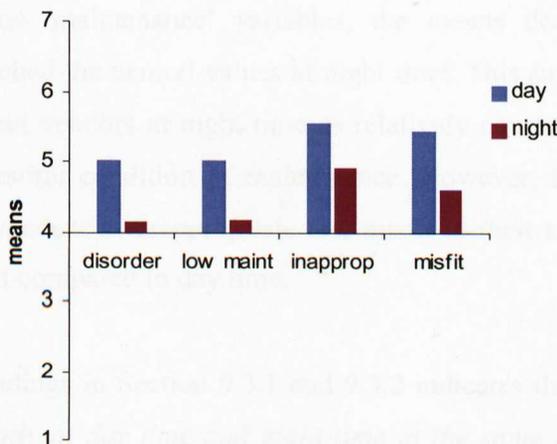


Figure 9.4-2 Means of four ‘out of place’ variables

The results of paired-sample T-test in Table 9.4-2 indicate that the changes were highly significant for all four variables. The values of eta squared statistics for those variables also indicated a moderate difference between means of day time and night time scenes. This result clearly suggests that *the street vendors at night time were perceived by the respondents as more orderly, better maintained, more appropriate and fit better to the surroundings, compared to the street vendors at day time.*

Table 9.4-2 Change of four ‘out of place’ variables from day time to night time

Indicator	N	Day time scores		Night time scores		t	Significant (2-tailed)	Eta squared
		means	SD	means	SD			
disorderliness	1104	5.03	1.726	4.47	1.826	8.890	p<0.001***	0.067 ^{††}
low maintenance	1105	5.04	1.486	4.45	1.617	10.627	p<0.001***	0.093 ^{††}
inappropriateness	1105	5.57	1.432	5.12	1.597	8.735	p<0.001***	0.093 ^{††}
misfit	1103	5.44	1.505	4.84	1.701	11.150	p<0.001***	0.101 ^{††}

*** highly significant

^{††} moderate effect size

Figure 9.4-2 also illustrates that day time mean scores of ‘inappropriateness’ and ‘misfit’ were higher than day time mean scores of ‘disorderliness’ and ‘low maintenance’ variables. This indicates that the variables which refer to the internal condition of the street vendors had lower means than the variables which refer to the relationship of street vendors to the surroundings. The similar situation also occurred for night time scenes.

It can also be seen in Figure 9.4-2 that although the means of ‘inappropriateness’ and ‘misfit’ variables decreased significantly from day time to night time, these means were higher than the neutral score of 4. This suggests that the presence of street vendors at night time was perceived as ‘inappropriate’ and misfit’. Meanwhile, in ‘disorderliness’ and ‘low maintenance’ variables, the means decreased in such a way that they approached the neutral values at night time. This suggests that the respondents perceive the street vendors at night time as relatively neutral, neither ‘orderly’ nor ‘disorderly’, with neutral condition of maintenance. However, they still perceived the presence of street vendors as inappropriate and misfit to their surroundings at night time, although better if compared to day time.

The findings in Section 9.3.1 and 9.3.2 indicates that *the users evaluate street vendors differently at day time and night time in the same location.* The data in these sections support Hypothesis 1, regarding the change of evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of

place' from day time to night time. *The street vendors tend to be evaluated as less 'out of place' at night time than at day time.* In particular, at night time they tend to be perceived as more orderly and better maintained.

9.4.3 Change of 'out of place' evaluation in each location

Further analysis in this section compares the day time and night time scores of 'out of place' for each pair of scenes. It attempts to explore the pattern of change in the users' evaluation in various situations.

Figure 9.4-3 illustrates the change of 'out of place' mean scores in each pairs of scenes. It shows that the means of 'out of place' in all locations decreased from day time to night time, except in scene B where the mean increased. The results of paired-samples T-test in Table 9.4-3 indicate that the changes of 'out of place' score were significant in scene G and highly significant in all other scenes. Eta squared statistics indicate large effects for scenes B, C, D and I, and moderate effects for scenes F, G and H. The results suggest that, with exception to scene B, the presence of street vendors in each location at night time was perceived as less 'out of place' compared to their presence at day time in the same place.

However, Figure 9.4-3 also suggests that the patterns of change in each scene were not exactly similar. It can be seen that the 'out of place' score in scene C decreased towards the values below neutral. In scenes I and F the 'out of place' scores changed approaching the neutral values. This suggests the possibility that in these situations the street vendors at night time were no longer perceived as 'out of place'.

In scenes D, G and H, although the 'out of place' scores were significantly decreased, the night time scores were still above the neutral values. This indicates that the respondents perceive the street vendors in these scenes as 'out of place' at both times, but significantly less as 'out of place' at night time.

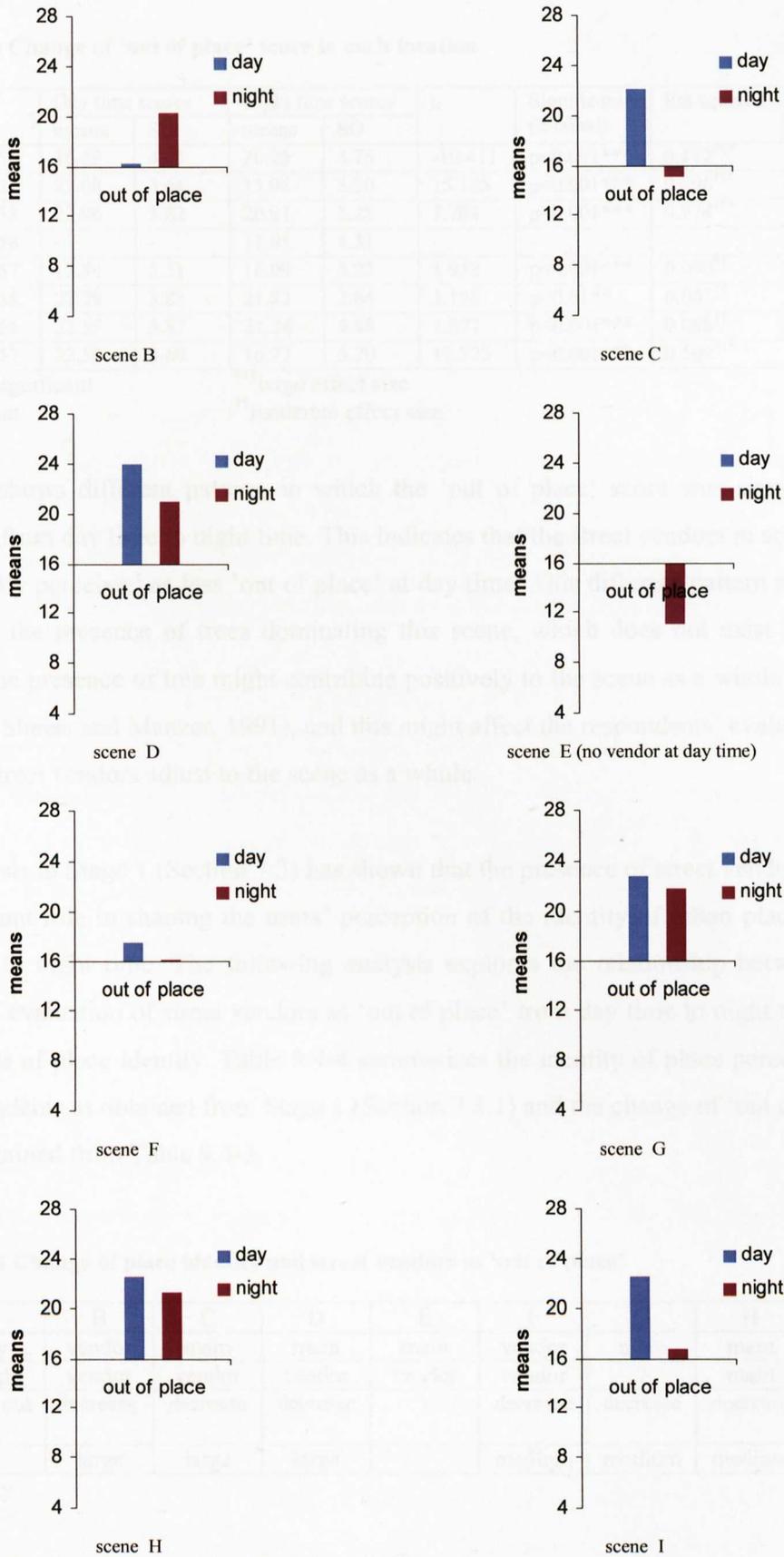


Figure 9.4-3 Means of 'out of place' score in each pair of scenes

Table 9.4-3 Change of ‘out of place’ score in each location

location	N	Day time scores		Night time scores		t	Significant (2-tailed)	Eta squared
		means	SD	means	SD			
B	156	16.23	4.45	20.26	4.75	-10.411	p<0.001***	0.412 ^{†††}
C	157	22.08	3.64	15.08	5.20	15.185	p<0.001***	0.596 ^{†††}
D	158	23.96	3.82	20.91	5.28	7.704	p<0.001***	0.274 ^{†††}
E	158	-	-	11.01	4.31	-	-	-
F	157	17.54	5.31	16.09	5.22	3.938	p<0.001***	0.090 ^{††}
G	158	22.79	3.83	21.82	3.64	3.198	p<0.01**	0.061 ^{††}
H	156	22.55	3.87	21.24	4.48	3.877	p<0.001***	0.088 ^{††}
I	157	22.50	3.60	16.77	5.70	12.725	p<0.001***	0.509 ^{†††}

***highly significant

^{†††}large effect size

** significant

^{††}moderate effect size

Scene B shows different pattern, in which the ‘out of place’ score was significantly increased from day time to night time. This indicates that the street vendors in scene B is significantly perceived as less ‘out of place’ at day time. This different pattern might be related to the presence of trees dominating this scene, which does not exist in other scenes. The presence of tree might contribute positively to the scene as a whole (Kuo et al., 1998; Sheets and Manzer, 1991), and this might affect the respondents’ evaluation of how the street vendors adjust to the scene as a whole.

The analysis in Stage 1 (Section 7.3) has shown that the presence of street vendors plays an important role in shaping the users’ perception of the identity of urban places from day time to night time. The following analysis explores the relationship between the change of evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ from day time to night time and the change of place identity. Table 9.4-4 summarises the identity of place perceived by the respondents as obtained from Stage 1 (Section 7.3.1) and the change of ‘out of place’ scores obtained from Table 9.4-3.

Table 9.4-4 Change of place identity and street vendors as ‘out of place’

Scene	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
identity-day	vendor	main	main	main	vendor	main	main	main
identity-night	vendor	vendor	vendor	vendor	vendor	?	main	vendor
change of out of place	increase	decrease	decrease	-	decrease	decrease	decrease	decrease
eta squared	large	large	large	-	medium	medium	medium	large

?: ambiguity

Some relationship can be observed in this table. In scenes C, D and I, the place identity changed from ‘main’ at day time to ‘vendor’ place at night time. In these scenes, the

evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements decrease from day time to night time, with eta squared statistics indicating large effect. This data suggests that as the place identity changed from the place of main building into street vendors’ place, the evaluation of street vendors also significantly changed; they were perceived as becoming less ‘out of place’.

Meanwhile, in scenes F, G and H, the users did not perceive different place identity at day time and night time, or they perceive a change into ambiguous identity. In these scenes, although the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements also decreased from day time to night time, the eta squared statistics only indicated moderate effect. It seems that in the places with no change of identity or with ambiguous identity, the change of perception of street vendors as ‘out of place’ did not change as strongly as in the places where the place identity change from day time to night time.

This analysis suggests *a possible relationship between the perceived place identity and the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’*. The discussion in Section 4.3 has suggested the importance of understanding the identity of place in order to determine whether or not something ‘belongs’ to certain place (Leach, 2003). In this research, the findings suggest that *when the place identity changed into the street vendors’ place, the presence of street vendors was perceived as more ‘belonging’ to that place; they were perceived as less ‘out of place’*.

9.4.4 Change of four ‘out of place’ variables in each location

Figure 9.4-4 illustrates the means of the four ‘out of place’ variables in each location. It illustrates that the means of these four variables decreased from day time to night time, except in location B, where the means increased.

Table 9.4-5 presents the results of paired-sample T-test to compare the scores of four ‘out of place’ variables in each pairs of scene. It shows that for scenes C, D and I, there were significant differences between day time and night time mean scores of four variables. This suggests that in these locations, street vendors at night time were perceived as more orderly and better maintained. Their presence at night time was also perceived as more appropriate and fit better to the surrounding than at day time. In particular for scene C and I, it can be seen that the mean scores in almost all variables

decreased to the values that are approaching or below neutral, indicating the tendency for positive evaluation towards the street vendors in terms of these four variables.

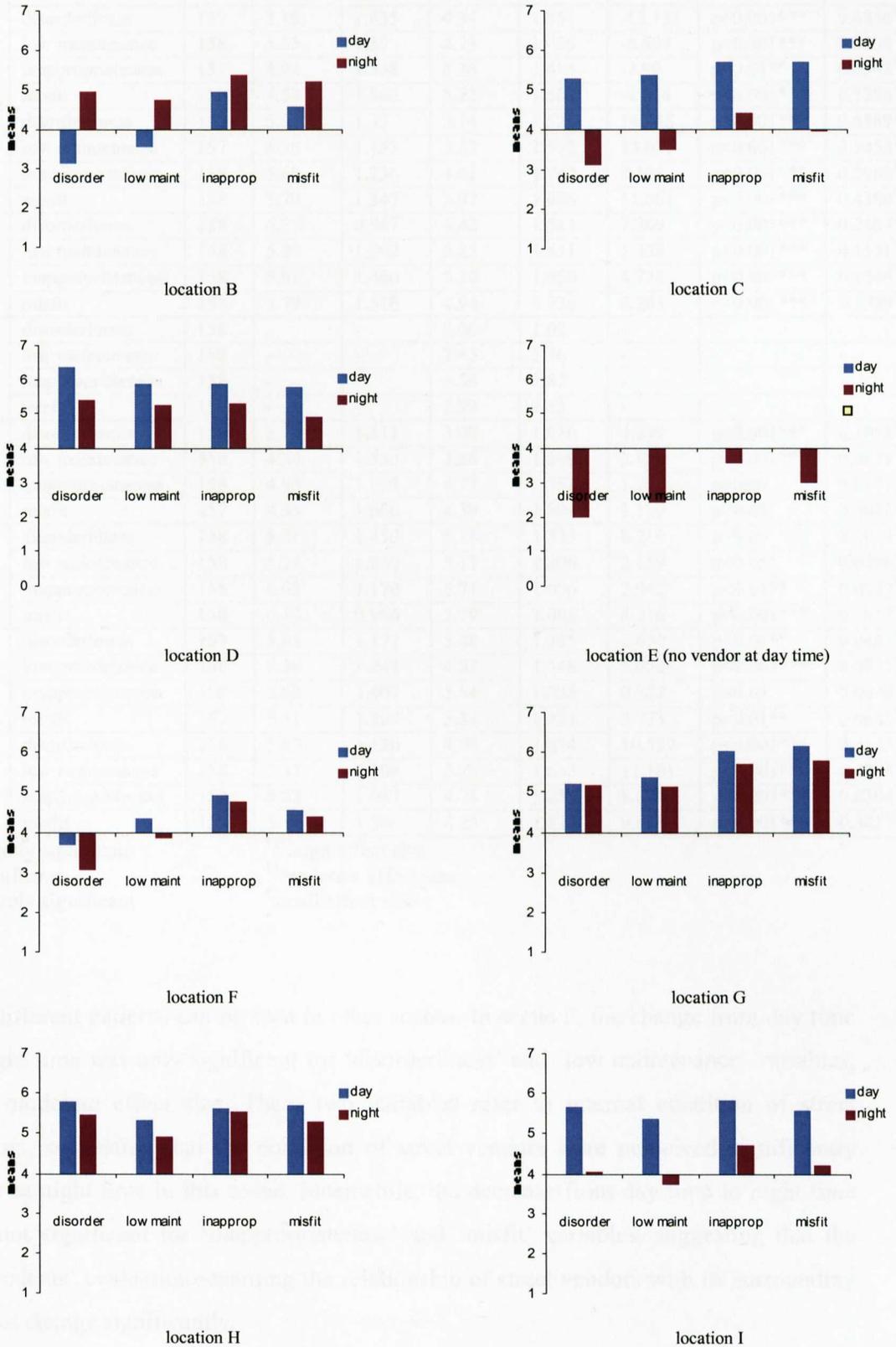


Figure 9.4-4 Means of four 'out of place' variables in each location

Table 9.4-5 Change of four ‘out of place’ variables in each location

Scene	Indicator	N	Day time scores		Night time scores		t	Significant (2-tailed)	Eta squared
			means	SD	means	SD			
B	disorderliness	157	3.16	1.435	4.94	1.551	-12.135	p<0.001***	0.4856 ^{†††}
	low maintenance	158	3.55	1.55	4.73	1.426	-8.809	p<0.001***	0.3308 ^{†††}
	inappropriateness	157	4.94	1.558	5.36	1.415	-2.99	p<0.01**	0.0542 [†]
	misfit	158	4.58	1.565	5.22	1.503	-4.814	p<0.001***	0.1286 ^{††}
C	disorderliness	158	5.31	1.33	3.14	1.525	14.048	p<0.001***	0.5569 ^{†††}
	low maintenance	157	5.38	1.157	3.52	1.592	13.677	p<0.001***	0.5453 ^{†††}
	inappropriateness	158	5.69	1.236	4.41	1.742	8.128	p<0.001***	0.2962 ^{†††}
	misfit	158	5.70	1.347	3.97	1.628	11.061	p<0.001***	0.4380 ^{†††}
D	disorderliness	158	6.37	0.947	5.42	1.541	7.209	p<0.001***	0.2487 ^{†††}
	low maintenance	158	5.89	1.092	5.25	1.431	5.328	p<0.001***	0.1531 ^{†††}
	inappropriateness	158	5.91	1.460	5.30	1.650	4.728	p<0.001***	0.1246 ^{††}
	misfit	158	5.79	1.510	4.94	1.736	6.263	p<0.001***	0.1999 ^{†††}
E	disorderliness	158	-	-	2.00	1.02	-	-	-
	low maintenance	158	-	-	2.43	1.16	-	-	-
	inappropriateness	158	-	-	3.58	1.82	-	-	-
	misfit	158	-	-	2.99	1.55	-	-	-
F	disorderliness	158	3.70	1.811	3.08	1.610	4.299	p<0.001***	0.1053 ^{††}
	low maintenance	158	4.34	1.530	3.86	1.649	3.889	p<0.001***	0.0879 ^{††}
	inappropriateness	158	4.93	1.605	4.77	1.752	1.267	p>0.05	0.0101 [†]
	misfit	157	4.55	1.666	4.39	1.804	1.139	p>0.05	0.0082 [†]
G	disorderliness	158	5.21	1.450	5.18	1.335	0.219	p>0.05	0.0003 [†]
	low maintenance	158	5.38	1.260	5.13	1.200	2.189	p<0.05*	0.0296 [†]
	inappropriateness	158	6.03	1.170	5.71	1.096	2.942	p<0.01**	0.0522 [†]
	misfit	158	6.17	0.966	5.79	1.095	4.216	p<0.001***	0.1017 ^{††}
H	disorderliness	157	5.81	1.177	5.48	1.385	2.670	p<0.01**	0.0437 [†]
	low maintenance	158	5.36	1.248	4.92	1.348	3.952	p<0.001***	0.0905 ^{††}
	inappropriateness	158	5.63	1.407	5.54	1.338	0.882	p>0.05	0.0049 [†]
	misfit	157	5.71	1.267	5.34	1.421	3.273	p<0.01**	0.0643 ^{††}
I	disorderliness	158	5.67	1.120	4.08	1.874	10.539	p<0.001***	0.4143 ^{†††}
	low maintenance	158	5.37	1.108	3.73	1.633	11.101	p<0.001***	0.4398 ^{†††}
	inappropriateness	158	5.85	1.087	4.73	1.653	8.274	p<0.001***	0.0304 ^{†††}
	misfit	157	5.59	1.306	4.23	1.825	9.814	p<0.001***	0.3817 ^{†††}

***highly significant
 **significant
 *probably significant

^{†††}large effect size
^{††}moderate effect size
[†]small effect size

The different patterns can be seen in other scenes. In scene F, the change from day time to night time was only significant for ‘disorderliness’ and ‘low maintenance’ variables, with moderate effect size. These two variables refer to internal condition of street vendors, suggesting that the condition of street vendors were perceived significantly better at night time in this scene. Meanwhile, the decrease from day time to night time was not significant for ‘inappropriateness’ and ‘misfit’ variables, suggesting that the respondents’ evaluation regarding the relationship of street vendors with its surrounding did not change significantly.

In scene G, the change of ‘disorderliness’ variable is not significant and the change of ‘low maintenance’ variable was probably significant. Meanwhile, significant change can be seen in ‘inappropriateness’ and ‘misfit’ variables. This indicates the change in the respondents’ evaluation of street vendors in terms of their relationship to the surroundings. Scene G represents the office complex that is only used at daytime, and this context might contribute to the evaluation towards the street vendors that occupy the parking area of the main building. The street vendors were perceived as inappropriate and misfit at day time; at night time they become more appropriate and fit better when there were no activities at the main building.

In scene H, the results show significant and highly significant difference between day time and night time scores of all variables, except for ‘inappropriateness’ variable. This indicates that the presence of street vendors in this location was perceived as inappropriate at both times, even though the means score of ‘inappropriateness’ at night time was lower than at day time. Scene H represents the place with the identity of place related to the main building (see Section 7.3.1) at both day time and night time. The presence of street vendors in this place was considered inappropriate at both times. They might be considered as conflicting with the image of high street commercial activities. However, the results also show that although considered inappropriate, street vendors were perceived as less misfit at night time.

The results in scene B show different pattern from other scenes. Section 9.4.3 has shown the increase of ‘out of place’ score from day time to night time in this scene. The result in Figure 9.4-4 shows that this increase also occurred in each of the four variables.

There was no hypothesis testing conducted for scene E, which does not contain any street vendors at day time. However, Figure 9.4-4 illustrates that in scene E-night the four variables have the values below the neutral score of 4. This indicates that street vendors in scene E-night were perceived as having good internal condition (orderly and well-maintained) and good relationship with surrounding (appropriate and fit). None of the other night time scenes reach the variable scores as low as in scene E-night.

The findings in Section 9.4.3 and 9.4.4 show that *the change of users’ evaluation towards the presence of street vendors from day time to night time varies across different situations*. The change in each of the four ‘out of place’ variables also indicates

different patterns of change. This finding suggests that the evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' should consider the different contexts where they exist.

9.4.5 Summary: Street vendors as 'out of place' at day time and night time

The analysis above has shown that *the users' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' change from day time to night time. The change of users' evaluation also varies across different urban places.* Similar to the findings in Section 9.3.2, this finding confirms that the perception of street vendors as 'out of place' is not absolute (Douglas, 1966; Cresswell, 1996). In particular, it confirms the important role of context (Alexander, 1964; Kaplan, 1985; Herzog et al., 1976) in evaluating the presence of street vendors in urban places. *This finding suggests that the generalisation of judgement that the street vendors are 'out of place' in any locations at any time may not be entirely correct.*

This finding was obtained from the respondents' point of view as the everyday users of street vendors. It indicates some contrary to the urban elite's point of view regarding the need to reject street vendors from the cities, as discussed in Chapter 2 and 3. The policies from the government tend to be deterministic in terms of the street vendors' use of certain urban areas. When the street vendors occupy the location not designated for trading, such as streets and sidewalks, they are judged as wrong.

In fact, the data from this study shows that the users' attitudes towards street vendors vary. In some situations where the street vendors occupy the streets or sidewalks, their presence may still be appreciated by the users. It seems that the users' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' is related to their perception of the place identity and how the place 'performs' (Leach, 2003; Section 4.3), and this seems to be unrelated to the spatial zoning determined by the urban elites.

The findings also indicate that *the street vendors tend to be perceived less 'out of place' at night time.* This finding is parallel to the study by Parkes and Thrift (1980), who found the shift of perception in certain commercial areas towards positive image. This research suggests *the potential of street vendors to give positive contribution in the temporal dynamics of urban life.* In many locations, the street vendors are present at

night time, replacing the day time activities. The role of street vendors in this *displacement* in the use of urban places (Lynch, 1976; Section 3.3.2) should be responded positively.

The findings in this section confirm the need to integrate temporal dimension in urban planning (Worpole, 1998). In particular this study clearly shows the importance to consider evening experience, which so far has been neglected (Nasar, 1989).

9.5 Differences across education background and gender

This section addresses the question: **Are there any differences in users' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements across education background and gender?**

In particular, the analyses explores whether:

- **There is a difference between users with architecture and non architecture background in their evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements.**
- **There is a difference between males and females in their evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements.**

In this analysis the data from all respondents' rating of 15 scenes were collapsed into one set of data. The independent sample t-test was used for testing differences between groups, with eta squared statistic to calculate the magnitude of difference, as conducted for the analysis in Section 9.4. The analyses were conducted for overall data as well as separately for day time and night time data. The scores of 'out of place', as well as the scores of the four 'out of place' variables, were compared between the groups of respondents.

9.5.1 Differences between architecture and non architecture background

The analyses in this section test whether **there is a difference between users with architecture and non architecture background in their evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements.**

All the respondents taken in this study are the users of street vendors in their everyday life; they consist of university students from different departments. About 26.6% of the

respondents were architecture students; in this study their opinion was taken as the opinion of the users who had received design education. The rest of the respondents came from other engineering departments; they represented the users of street vendors without design education. The following analysis compares the responses from these two groups of respondents.

Table 9.5-1 presents the overall means scores of ‘out of place’ of respondents with architecture and non-architecture background, as well as the means of the four ‘out of place’ variables. It shows that the mean score of ‘out of place’ in architecture group was higher than the mean score of non-architecture group. This data suggests that the respondents with architecture background tend to perceive street vendors as more ‘out of place’ compared to those with non-architecture background. However, the T-test result shows that this difference was not significant. It indicates that *the users with architecture and non-architecture background have similar perception of street vendors as ‘out of place’*.

Table 9.5-1 Difference between architecture and non-architecture students for overall data

	architecture			non-architecture			t	Significant (2-tailed)	Eta squared
	N	means	SD	N	means	SD			
out of place	628	19.65	6.306	1735	19.30	5.549	1.245	p>0.05	0.001
disorderliness	629	4.54	2.084	1739	4.58	1.811	-0.395	p>0.05	0.000
low maintenance	630	4.53	1.760	1739	4.61	1.621	-0.958	p>0.05	0.000
inappropriateness	630	5.40	1.717	1739	5.17	1.571	2.953	p<0.01**	0.004
misfit	629	5.18	1.799	1738	4.93	1.679	3.049	p<0.01**	0.004

** significant

The comparison in four ‘out of place’ variables in Table 9.5-1 shows that the differences between architecture and non-architecture group were not significant for ‘disorderliness’ and ‘low maintenance’ variables, and significant for ‘inappropriateness’ and ‘misfit’ variables, although the effect sizes were very small. The results suggest that both groups had similar perception of the internal condition of the street vendors, but they showed some differences in evaluating how the street vendors related to the surroundings. Architecture group tended to perceive street vendors as more inappropriate and more misfit than non-architecture group.

Further analysis was conducted separately for day time and night time data, as illustrated in Figure 9.5-1. It can be seen that at both day time and night time, architecture group has the higher mean scores of ‘out of place’ than non-architecture group. However, the

Table 9.5-3 shows that for night time data, the two groups did not show any differences in all four variables.

The above results suggest that both *architecture and non-architecture groups had similar perception regarding the internal condition of street vendors both at day time and night time. In perceiving the relationship of street vendors to the surroundings, small difference occurred between two groups for day time data.* Architecture group perceived street vendors as more inappropriate and more misfit than non-architecture group at day time. However, at night time, the relationship of the street vendors and the surroundings were perceived similarly by both groups.

The discussion in Chapter 5 has summarised some differences between non designers and designers in perceiving the environment (Hershberger, 1988; Devlin, 1990; Jeffrey and Reylonds, 1999; Groat, 1982). The findings above suggests that such differences also occurred in the evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' by the users with and without architecture education, although the difference was not too obvious.

Small difference was occurred in the way these two groups evaluated the relationship of street vendors to their surrounding at day time. In particular, the users with architecture background tended to evaluate street vendors as more inappropriate and more misfit. It seems that the training in architectural design might create more sensitivity in seeing how certain object is related to the context. This issue becomes important, as the problem of street vendors is mainly rooted in the dissonance between those with design education and the need of laymen. *It seems that the designers might have some tendency in determining the street vendors as inappropriate and misfit elements that need to be removed. However, this judgment may not be similar to the perception of the laymen.*

Nevertheless, the data above also shows *some similarities of both groups in evaluating the street vendors as 'out of place'*. This is contrary to the differences between designers and non designers as reviewed in Section 5.2.2. It should be noted that most of the research reviewed refer to the perception of day time scenes. The findings in this study suggest that the pattern of difference might change at different times of the day. In particular it shows that while the two groups showed some differences at day time, such differences were not found at night time. This finding suggests the importance of

understanding the perception of both designers and non designers towards urban places at different times of the day.

9.5.2 Differences between gender

The analyses in this section test whether **there is a difference between males and females in their evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements**. This becomes a step towards understanding the homogeneity among the users’ in their judgments towards the presence of street vendors.

Table 9.5-4 presents the overall mean scores of ‘out of place’ from male and female respondents, as well as the means of the four ‘out of place’ variables. The T-test results indicate that there were no significant differences between the scores of male and female groups. This suggests that *both genders had similar evaluation towards the presence of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements*. This result does not support Hypothesis 2b.

Table 9.5-4 Gender difference for overall data

	male			female			t	Significant (2-tailed)	Eta squared
	N	means	SD	N	means	SD			
out of place	1361	19.42	5.579	1002	19.35	6.002	0.292	p>0.05	0.000
disorderliness	1364	4.53	1.798	1004	4.63	2.001	-1.274	p>0.05	0.001
low maintenance	1365	4.61	1.612	1004	4.56	1.722	0.746	p>0.05	0.000
inappropriateness	1365	5.24	1.578	1004	5.21	1.662	0.475	p>0.05	0.000
misfit	1362	5.04	1.655	1005	4.94	1.793	1.294	p>0.05	0.001

Figure 9.5-2 illustrates the comparison of ‘out of place’ mean scores of male and female groups for day time and night time scenes. It can be seen that for both day time and night time data, the two groups had similar mean scores of ‘out of place’. These insignificant differences between males and females were confirmed by the T-test results in Table 9.5-5 and Table 9.5-6.

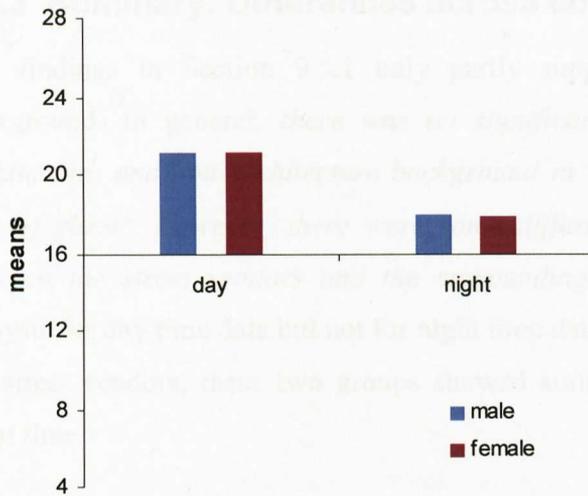


Figure 9.5-2 Mean scores of 'out of place' across gender

Table 9.5-5 Gender difference for day time scene data

	male			female			t	Significant (2-tailed)	Eta squared
	N	means	SD	N	means	SD			
out of place	634	21.12	4.804	468	21.08	5.103	0.113	p>0.05	0.000
disorderliness	636	4.99	1.630	469	5.09	1.849	-0.950	p>0.05	0.001
low maintenance	637	5.07	1.425	469	4.99	1.564	0.934	p>0.05	0.001
inappropriateness	637	5.56	1.417	468	5.59	1.452	-0.415	p>0.05	0.000
misfit	635	5.48	1.444	469	5.40	1.584	0.901	p>0.05	0.001

Table 9.5-6 Gender difference for night time scene data

	male			female			t	Significant (2-tailed)	Eta squared
	N	means	SD	N	means	SD			
out of place	727	17.94	5.787	534	17.83	6.316	0.317	p>0.05	0.000
disorderliness	728	4.12	1.841	535	4.22	2.042	-0.898	p>0.05	0.001
low maintenance	728	4.21	1.658	535	4.18	1.766	0.247	p>0.05	0.000
inappropriateness	728	4.97	1.659	536	4.88	1.761	0.927	p>0.05	0.001
misfit	727	4.65	1.729	536	4.55	1.871	0.994	p>0.05	0.001

Table 9.5-4 and Table 9.5-5 also present the comparison of four 'out of place' variables from male and female groups, for day time and night time scenes. The T-test results indicate no significant difference between males and females in these four variables, both at day time and night time. This suggests that *both genders had similar evaluation of street vendors in terms of their internal condition (disorderliness and low maintenance) as well as their relationship with the surroundings (inappropriateness and misfit)*. This can be found for both day time scenes and night time scenes.

9.5.3 Summary: Differences across education and gender

The findings in Section 9.5.1 only partly support differences between education background. In general, *there was no significant difference between students with architecture and non-architecture background in their evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place'.* However, *there were some differences in evaluating the relationship between the street vendors and the surroundings.* This was also found in separate analysis for day time data but not for night time data. Regarding the internal condition of the street vendors, these two groups showed similar evaluation both at day time and night time.

This finding gave a hint that architectural education may contribute to the users' evaluation of how street vendors adjust and fit to the surroundings. It also suggests that the pattern of difference between people with architecture and non-architecture background might change at different times of the day. While the two groups showed some differences at day time, such differences were not found at night time. It suggests the importance of understanding the perception of both designers and non designers towards urban places at different times of the day.

The findings in Section 9.5.2 do not indicate any gender differences. *There was no significant difference between male and female groups, indicating their similar evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements, both at day time and night time.*

All the above findings suggest *some homogeneity in perceiving the presence of street vendors among the groups of users* taken as the respondents in this study. In general, they share similar perception towards the street vendors as 'out of place', regardless of gender and education background. Nasar (1998) has suggested that the agreement of the users in perceiving urban environment may become the input for planning process of the cities. In the case of street vendors, the shared opinion of the users may provide valuable contribution in understanding how the presence of street vendors is evaluated by various user groups.

9.6 Street vendors as ‘out of place’ and general evaluation of scene

This section addresses the question: **Are there any relationships between the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements in urban scene and the evaluation of the scene in general?** The question explores how people perceive the presence of street vendors in relation to their general evaluation of the scene where the street vendors appear.

In particular, the analyses in this section explore whether:

- **There is a relationship between the evaluation of street vendor as ‘out of place’ elements and the liking of the scene in general.**
- **There is a relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements and the general complexity of the scene.**
- **There is a relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements and the feeling of safety in the scene.**
- **There is a relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements and the disorderliness of the scene in general.**
- **There is a relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements and the maintenance condition of the scene in general.**

The analyses in the following sections were conducted using the rating data of the 15 scenes from all 158 respondents. Each section begins with presenting the means scores of each scene for the variable analysed, along with the scatterplot which illustrates the relationship of these means with the means of ‘out of place’ score.

To examine the strength and direction of the linear relationship between two variables, Pearson correlation coefficient (r) was used to analyse the rating data from all respondents. The analyses were conducted for overall data as well as separately for day time and night time data in each scene. As explained in Chapter 8 (Section 8.6), the strength of relationship between two variables was determined using the following guidelines (Cohen, 1988):

$r = 0.10$ to 0.29 or $r = -0.10$ to -0.29 indicates small correlation

$r = 0.30$ to 0.49 or $r = -0.30$ to -0.49 indicates medium correlation

$r = 0.50$ to 1.00 or $r = -0.50$ to -1.00 indicates large correlation

9.6.1 'Out of place' and liking

The analysis in this section test whether **there is a relationship between the evaluation of street vendor as 'out of place' elements and the liking of the scene in general.** It attempts to explore to what extent the users' evaluation of street vendor as 'out of place' is associated with the users' preference of the scene in general.

'Liking' score

In this analysis, the 'out of place' scores were correlated with the 'liking' scores which represented the respondents' general preference of the scene. The liking scores were obtained from the responses to the question: "How much do you like this scene?". The respondents gave their rating on a 7-point scale, from 1 (dislike) to 7 (like).

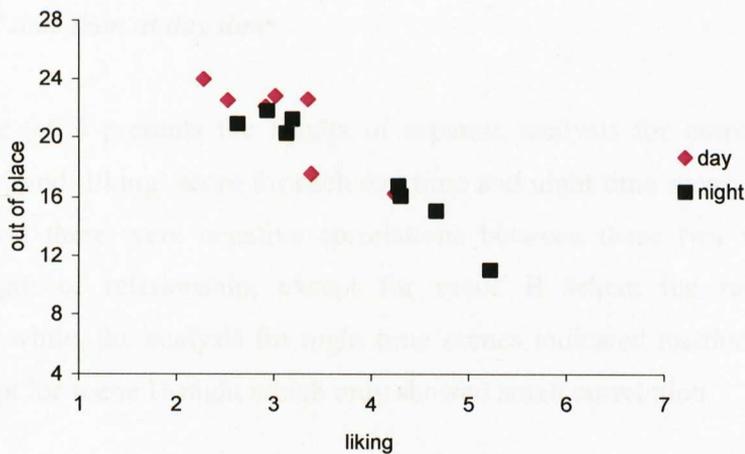
Table 9.6-1 presents the mean scores of 'liking' for each scene in ascending order, from the least liked to the most liked. The result suggests that scene E-night was the most liked while scene D-day was the least liked by the respondents. Scenes B-day, I-night, F-night, C-night and E-night had the values greater than the neutral value of 4, which suggested that the respondents tended to perceive these scenes positively.

Table 9.6-1 Means of 'liking' score for each scene

Scene	D day	I day	D night	C day	G night	G day	B night	H night	H day	F day	B day	I night	F night	C night	E night
Means	2.28	2.53	2.63	2.92	2.94	3.02	3.13	3.20	3.35	3.39	4.24	4.28	4.30	4.67	5.22

Correlation between 'out of place' and 'liking'

Figure 9.6-1 illustrates the scatterplot for the means score of 'out of place' and 'liking'. In this graph, each point represents the mean score for each scene. The scatterplot suggests the linear relationship between these two variables. It also suggests that night time scenes tend to have lower means of 'out of place' score and higher means of liking score than day time scenes.



variable	B day	B night	C day	C night	D day	D night	E night	F day	F night	G day	G night	H day	H night	I day	I night
out of place	16.23	20.26	22.08	15.08	23.96	20.91	11.01	17.54	16.09	22.79	21.82	22.55	21.24	22.50	16.77
liking	4.24	3.13	2.92	4.67	2.28	2.63	5.22	3.39	4.30	3.02	2.94	3.35	3.20	2.53	4.28

Figure 9.6-1 Scatterplot of ‘out of place’ and liking means scores

Table 9.6-2 presents the Pearson correlation coefficient between ‘out of place’ score and ‘liking’ score for overall data. The results indicate that in overall there was a strong negative correlation between the respondents’ evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ and their liking of the scene in general. This result is highly significant ($r=-0.582$, $p<0.001$). This suggests that *the more respondents evaluated the street vendors as less ‘out of place’, the more likely they would like the scene.*

Table 9.6-2 Correlation between ‘out of place’ and liking scores for overall data

location	N	r	Strength of relationship
overall	2362	-0.582***	large
day	1102	-0.473***	medium
night	1260	-0.613***	large

***highly significant

The separate analysis for day time and night time data also indicates negative correlation between ‘out of place’ and ‘liking’ scores. Moreover, Table 9.6-2 also shows that the correlation coefficient for night time data indicated strong relationship ($r=-0.613$); it was higher than the correlation coefficient for day time data, which only showed medium strength of relationship ($r=-0.473$). This result indicates that *the relationship between the*

evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' and the respondents' liking was stronger at night time than at day time.

Table 9.6-3 presents the results of separate analysis for correlation between 'out of place' and 'liking' score for each day time and night time scene. For day time scenes, in general there were negative correlations between these two variables with medium strength of relationship, except for scene B where the relationship was strong. Meanwhile, the analysis for night time scenes indicated medium and large correlation, except for scene H-night which only showed small correlation.

Table 9.6-3 Correlation between 'out of place' and 'liking' score for each scene

location	day			night		
	N	r	Strength of relationship	N	r	Strength of relationship
B	156	-0.535***	large	158	-0.422***	medium
C	158	-0.356***	medium	157	-0.489***	medium
D	158	-0.435***	medium	158	-0.541***	large
E	-	-	-	158	-0.559***	large
F	158	-0.344***	medium	157	-0.487***	medium
G	158	-0.303***	medium	158	-0.509***	large
H	157	-0.374***	medium	157	-0.242***	small
I	157	-0.306***	medium	157	-0.377***	medium

***highly significant

The results presented in Table 9.6-3 shows that the users' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' was related to their liking of each scene. However, the strength of this relationship varied across different scenes. It seems that *although to some extent the presence of street vendors are related to the respondents' preference, street vendors are not the only factor that contribute to the general evaluation of the scene.* It seems necessary to consider a various contexts of the scenes where the street vendors exist.

Further analysis was conducted to explore the relationship between 'liking' score and the scores of four 'out of place' variables. This analysis attempted to reveal whether there were any particular 'out of place' variables that had strong relationship with respondents' general preference of the scene.

Table 9.6-4 presents the correlation coefficients between 'liking' score and the scores of disorderliness, low maintenance, inappropriateness and misfit. In general, the results suggest that the *respondents' preference of the scene was more strongly correlated to*

disorderliness and low maintenance variables ($r=-0.503$ and $r=-0.509$) than to the other two variables ($r=-0.453$ and $r=-0.472$). This was also found in separate day time and night time analysis.

Table 9.6-4 Correlation between liking score and four ‘out of place’ variables

location	disorderliness		low maintenance		inappropriateness		misfit	
	r	strength	r	strength	r	strength	r	strength
overall	-0.503***	large	-0.509***	large	-0.453***	medium	-0.472***	medium
day	-0.389**	medium	-0.419**	medium	-0.357**	medium	-0.343***	medium
night	-0.539***	large	-0.525***	large	-0.476***	medium	-0.510***	large

***highly significant

**significant

As already explained in Chapter 8 (Section 8.3.2), ‘disorderliness’ and ‘low maintenance’ are the two variables that refer to the internal condition of the street vendors. The results in Table 9.6-4 suggests that the users’ like/dislike of a scene was more related to the extent to which they evaluated the street vendors as disorderly or having low maintenance. The more the street vendors were perceived as disorderly and badly maintained, the more they tended to dislike the scene. Meanwhile, the other two variables, ‘inappropriateness’ and ‘misfit’, which refer to the relationship of street vendors to the surrounding, did not have as strong relationship with the respondents’ like/dislike of the scenes.

Summary

The results of the analysis in this section suggest that *the respondents’ perception of street vendors as ‘out of place’ was related negatively with the general preference of the scenes*. These findings confirm the role of elements in the general preference of scene. It supports some studies reviewed in Chapter 5 (Nasar and Hong, 1999; Herzog, 1985; Section 5.4.2) that particular conditions of the elements may contribute to users’ preference of the scene as a whole. In this research, the presence of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements seems to play an important role in the users’ like or dislike of the particular urban scenes.

The study suggests that *the more street vendors are evaluated as ‘out of place’, the more the scene is disliked*. On the other hand, *when the respondents evaluate the street vendors as less ‘out of place’, the more likely they like the scene*. This finding suggests the possibility to explore the potential of street vendors to contribute positively to the

urban scenes. The presence of street vendors might convey the positive image of urban places when they are less ‘out of place’.

In particular, the previous findings in Section 9.4 have indicated that the street vendors at night time tend to be perceived as less ‘out of place’. Taken together with the results in this section, there seems to be a potential to develop street vendor at night time as a positive contribution to the general scene. In the night time situation where the street vendors are perceived as less ‘out of place’, it is more likely that the scene will be perceived positively. This finding suggests *the positive contribution of the presence of street vendors at night time.*

9.6.2 ‘Out of place’ and complexity

The analysis in this section tests whether **there is a relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements and the general complexity of the scene.** It attempts to explore the extent to which the perception of street vendor as ‘out of place’ is associated with the users’ perception of scene complexity. In addition, the relationship between liking and complexity is also analysed in this section.

‘Complexity’ score

In this analysis, the ‘out of place’ scores were correlated with the ‘complexity’ scores which represent the complexity of the scene in general. The ‘complexity’ scores were obtained from the question “How much is going on in this scene? How much does this scene contain elements of different kinds?”. The respondents gave their rating on a 7-point scale, from 1 (simple) to 7 (complex).

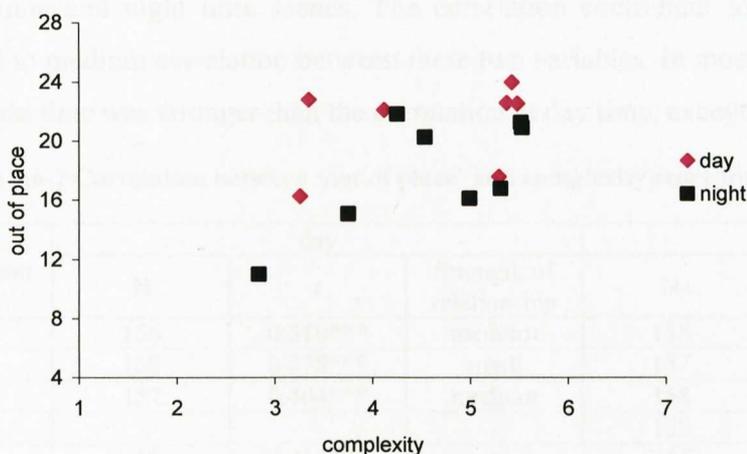
Table 9.6-5 shows the means of ‘complexity’ scores for each scene in ascending order. It indicates that scene D-night was perceived as the most complex among all scenes, while scene E-night was the least complex. Scenes E-night, B-day, G-day and C-night had the complexity means under the neutral value of 4, which suggest that these scenes were perceived less complex.

Table 9.6-5 Means of complexity score for each scene

Scene	E night	B day	G day	C night	C day	G night	B night	F night	F day	I night	H day	D day	I day	H night	D night
Means	2.84	3.26	3.35	3.75	4.12	4.25	4.54	4.99	5.29	5.31	5.37	5.43	5.48	5.52	5.53

Correlation between ‘out of place’ and ‘complexity’

Figure 9.6-2 illustrates the scatterplot for means score of ‘out of place’ and ‘complexity’, where each point represents the mean score for each scene. The figure suggests a positive correlation between ‘out of place’ and ‘complexity’ scores, although the relationship does not seem to be very strong.



variable	B day	B night	C day	C night	D day	D night	E night	F day	F night	G day	G night	H day	H night	I day	I night
out of place	16.23	20.26	22.08	15.08	23.96	20.91	11.01	17.54	16.09	22.79	21.82	22.55	21.24	22.50	16.77
complexity	3.26	4.54	4.12	3.75	5.43	5.53	2.84	5.29	4.99	3.35	4.25	5.37	5.52	5.48	5.31

Figure 9.6-2 Scatterplot of ‘out of place’ and complexity means scores

Table 9.6-6 presents the Pearson correlation coefficient between ‘out of place’ score and ‘complexity’ score for overall data. The results indicate positive correlation between ‘out of place’ and ‘complexity’ with medium strength of relationship, and this result was highly significant ($r=0.4$, $p<0.001$). It suggests that *the more street vendors were perceived as ‘out of place’, the more likely respondents would perceive the scenes as complex.*

Table 9.6-6 Correlation between ‘out of place’ and complexity scores for overall data

location	N	r	Strength of relationship
overall	2360	0.400***	medium
day	1101	0.308***	medium
night	1259	0.497***	medium

***highly significant

The separate analysis of day time and night time scenes also shows positive medium correlations, which were highly significant. Table 9.6-6 also indicates higher correlation coefficient between these two variables at night time ($r=0.497$) than at day time ($r=0.308$), although they suggest similar strength of correlation.

Table 9.6-7 presents the correlation between ‘out of place’ and ‘complexity’ for each day time and night time scenes. The correlation coefficient for each scene indicates small to medium correlation between these two variables. In most scenes, the correlation at night time was stronger than the correlation at day time, except in scene F.

Table 9.6-7 Correlation between ‘out of place’ and complexity score for each scene

location	day			night		
	N	r	Strength of relationship	N	r	Strength of relationship
B	156	0.310***	medium	158	0.448***	medium
C	158	0.278***	small	157	0.436***	medium
D	157	0.404***	medium	158	0.429***	medium
E	-	-	-	158	0.444***	medium
F	158	0.316***	medium	156	0.257**	small
G	158	0.206**	small	158	0.252**	small
H	157	0.318***	medium	157	0.523***	large
I	157	0.253**	small	157	0.497***	medium

***highly significant

**significant

Table 9.6-8 illustrate the relationship between the scores of ‘complexity’ and four variable of ‘out of place’. The results indicate that ‘complexity’ had the strongest relationship with ‘disorderliness’ variable, compared to other three variables. This suggests that the respondents’ perception of the disorderliness of the street vendors play important role in their perception of scene complexity. *The more street vendors were perceived as disorderly, the more likely the respondents would perceive the scene as complex. This was particularly obvious for night time scenes.*

Table 9.6-8 Correlation between complexity score and four ‘out of place’ variables

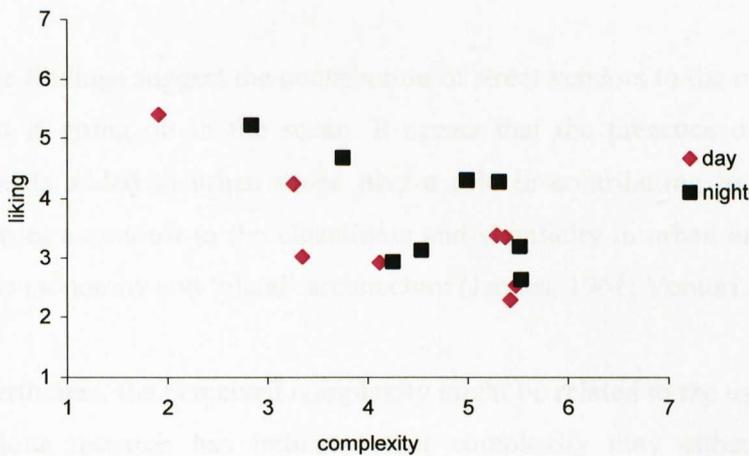
location	disorderliness		low maintenance		inappropriateness		misfit	
	r	strength	r	strength	r	strength	r	strength
overall	0.428***	medium	0.358***	medium	0.285***	small	0.261***	small
day	0.358***	medium	0.277***	small	0.187***	small	0.148***	small
night	0.503***	large	0.442***	medium	0.369***	medium	0.358***	medium

***highly significant

Correlation between ‘liking’ and ‘complexity’

Some research reviewed in Section 5.3.2 have found the relationship between preference and complexity in inverted U-shaped graph (Vitz, 1966; Day, 1967; Imamoglu, 2000). They suggested that preference tends to increase as the complexity increases, but there is a point where increasing complexity begins to decrease preference.

Figure 9.6-3 illustrates the scatterplot of means scores of ‘liking’ and ‘complexity’ for each scene. *This graph does not reflect any curvilinear relationship* as found in the previous studies in Section 5.3.2. It suggests linear relationship between liking and complexity, in which the respondents tend to dislike the scenes with higher degree of complexity.



variable	B day	B night	C day	C night	D day	D night	E night	F day	F night	G day	G night	H day	H night	I day	I night
liking	4.24	3.13	4.67	2.92	2.28	2.63	5.22	3.39	4.30	3.02	2.94	3.35	3.20	2.53	4.28
complexity	3.26	4.54	4.12	3.75	5.43	5.53	2.84	5.29	4.99	3.35	4.25	5.37	5.52	5.48	5.31

Figure 9.6-3 Scatterplot of liking and complexity means scores

This result can be explained by considering the nature of the scene types that were used in this study which is different with the scene types used in previous research. Many of the previous research in liking and complexity were conducted using synthetic materials where the elements contained in the scenes or building facades were simplified (Imamoglu, 2000). The curvilinear relationship was found in such type of research which allows strict control on certain variables. Meanwhile, this study was based on the scenes representing the real situations of urban scenes with human activities. There was

less control on such activity-based nature of materials. It is possible that for real-setting scenes, complexity is not the only predictor of preference, as also suggested by Wohlwill (1968) and Herzog et al. (1976). There is also another possibility that the graph shown in Figure 9.6-3 represents the right end of the inverted U-shaped graph, although this cannot be confirmed in this study.

Summary

The findings in this section suggest that *the respondents' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' is related with the perceived complexity. The more street vendors are perceived as 'out of place', the more likely respondents would perceive the scenes as complex.* In particular the scene complexity is strongly related to the disorderliness of the street vendors.

These findings suggest the contribution of street vendors to the users' perception of how much is going on in the scene. It seems that the presence of street vendors as the elements added to urban scene play a role in contributing to the visual diversity. It becomes a contrast to the cleanliness and simplicity in urban environment, which may create monotony and 'bland' architecture (Jacobs, 1961; Venturi, 1977).

Nevertheless, the perceived complexity might be related to the users' liking of the scene. Previous research has indicated that complexity may either increase or decrease preference (Vitz, 1966; Day, 1967). For the scenes presented in this study, the respondents showed the tendency to dislike the scenes with high degree of complexity. This suggests that *the presence of street vendors as 'out of place' elements might contribute to the complexity of the scene that is disliked by the respondents.*

9.6.3 'Out of place' and safety

The analysis in this section tests whether **there is a relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements and the feeling of safety in the scene.** It attempts to explore to what extent the perception of street vendors as 'out of place' elements are associated with the users' evaluation towards the general safety of the scene. In this study, the respondents' feeling of safety refers to whether the respondents

perceive the potentials of crime and danger in urban places, or whether they feel the places as safe or dangerous.

‘Safety’ score

In this analysis, the ‘out of place’ scores were correlated with the scores of ‘safety’, which represent the respondents’ evaluation of the general safety of the scene. ‘Safety’ scores were obtained from the respondents’ answer to the question: “What is your opinion about the safety in this scene?” The respondents gave their rating on a 7-point scale, from 1 (dangerous) to 7 (safe).

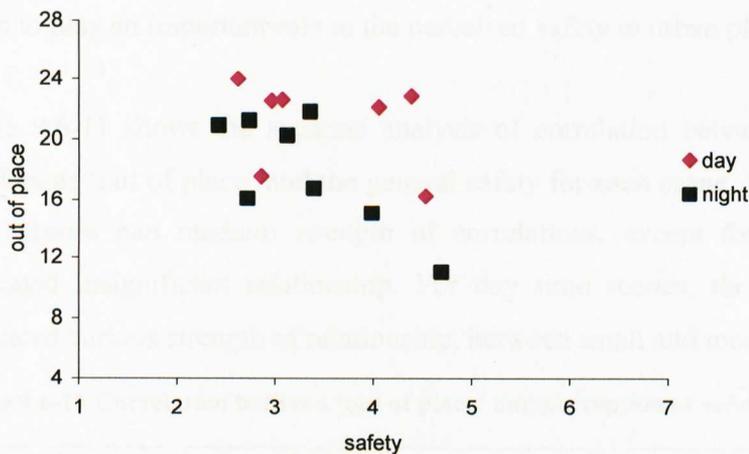
Table 9.6-9 presents the mean scores of general safety in each scene in ascending order, from the least safe to the safest. The result suggests that scene E-night was perceived as the safest scene while scene D-night was perceived as the most dangerous. Scenes C-day, G-day, B-day and E-night had the values greater than the neutral value of 4, which suggests that these scenes were perceived as the safe places.

Table 9.6-9 General safety of scene

Scene	D night	D day	H night	F night	F day	I day	H day	B night	G night	I night	C night	C day	G day	B day	E night
Means	2.43	2.63	2.74	2.72	2.86	2.97	3.08	3.13	3.36	3.40	3.99	4.06	4.39	4.54	4.70

Correlation between ‘out of place’ and safety

Figure 9.6-4 shows the relationship between the means of ‘out of place’ score and the means of general safety for each day time and night time scenes. The results indicate linear negative relationship for night time data but more inconclusive relationship for day time data.



variable	B day	B night	C day	C night	D day	D night	E night	F day	F night	G day	G night	H day	H night	I day	I night
out of place	16.23	20.26	22.08	15.08	23.96	20.91	11.01	17.54	16.09	22.79	21.82	22.55	21.24	22.50	16.77
safety	4.54	3.13	4.06	3.99	2.63	2.43	4.70	2.86	2.72	4.39	3.36	3.08	2.74	2.97	3.40

Figure 9.6-4 Scatterplot of 'out of place' and safety means scores

Table 9.6-10 presents the Pearson correlation coefficient between 'out of place' and 'safety' scores for overall data. The results indicate negative correlation between 'out of place' and 'safety' with medium strength of relationship, and this result was highly significant ($r=-0.367$, $p<0.001$). This correlation suggests that *the more street vendors were evaluated as 'out of place', the less safe the scene was perceived by the respondents.* However, the strength of this relationship was not large.

Table 9.6-10 Correlation between 'out of place' and perception of safety for overall data

location	N	r	Strength of relationship
overall	2362	-0.367***	medium
day	1102	-0.293***	small
night	1260	-0.483***	medium

***highly significant

The separate analysis for day time and night time scenes indicate that the strength of relationship was smaller at day time ($r=-0.293$) than at night time ($r=-0.483$). The result suggests that the association between the evaluation of 'out of place' and general safety of the scene was more predictable at night time than at day time. It seems that the perceived safety of the scene at day time was related to many other factors apart from

the presence of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements. Meanwhile, the street vendors seem to play an important role in the perceived safety in urban places at night time.

Table 9.6-11 shows the separate analysis of correlation between evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ and the general safety for each scene. It shows that most night time scenes had medium strength of correlations, except for scene G-night which indicated insignificant relationship. For day time scenes, the correlation coefficient indicated various strength of relationship, between small and medium.

Table 9.6-11 Correlation between ‘out of place’ and perception of safety for each scene

location	day			night		
	N	r	Strength of relationship	N	r	Strength of relationship
B	156	-0.347***	medium	158	-0.399***	medium
C	158	-0.290***	small	157	-0.388***	medium
D	158	-0.279***	small	158	-0.394***	medium
E	-	-	-	158	-0.428***	medium
F	158	-0.221**	small	157	-0.366***	medium
G	158	-0.207**	small	158	-0.156	-
H	157	-0.306***	medium	157	-0.470***	medium
I	157	-0.393***	medium	158	-0.454***	medium

***highly significant

**significant

Table 9.6-12 presents the correlation coefficients between ‘safety’ scores and the scores of disorderliness, low maintenance, inappropriateness and misfit. The result of analysis from overall data suggests that the *respondents’ perception of the general safety of the scene was more strongly correlated to disorderliness and low maintenance variables ($r=-0.343$ and $r=-0.346$) than to the other two variables ($r=-0.281$ and $r=-0.252$).* The data also suggest that at night time the relationship between general safety and the four ‘out of place’ variables were stronger than at day time.

Table 9.6-12 Correlation between perception of safety and four ‘out of place’ variables

location	disorderliness		low maintenance		inappropriateness		misfit	
	r	strength	r	strength	r	strength	r	strength
overall	-0.343***	medium	-0.346***	medium	-0.281***	small	-0.252***	small
day	-0.296***	small	-0.291***	small	-0.200***	small	-0.147***	small
night	-0.427***	medium	-0.442***	medium	-0.377***	medium	-0.375***	medium

***highly significant

This finding suggests that the users’ perception of potentials of crime and danger in the urban scenes was more related to the extent to which they evaluated the street vendors as disorderly or having low maintenance. The more the street vendors were perceived as

disorderly and badly maintained, the more the respondents tend to perceive the scene with higher potential for crime and danger, although the relationship was not very strong.

Summary

The discussion in Chapter 2 has mentioned some arguments relating the presence of street vendors with the safety problems in urban places. Their presence is associated with the image of danger and crime in urban places (Section 2.1.3 and 2.3.1). There are also some evidence of the presence of thugs operating around the street vending areas (Section 2.3.2; also experienced during the data collection-see Section 6.3.1), who may become a threat to public feeling of safety.

However, the above analysis indicates only *small relationship between the presence of street vendors as 'out of place' and the feeling of safety perceived by the respondents in the scenes at day time*. Therefore the claim that street vendors create the safety problem may be questioned. It is possible that their presence may only become one among many other factors related to the safety of the places at day time.

On the other hand, the finding above also suggests that *the relationship between the presence of street vendors and safety is stronger at night time than at day time*. This becomes an important finding, since the problem of safety is often associated with night time experience (Nasar and Jones, 1997; Hanyu, 1997). The finding of this study suggests the role of street vendors in the respondents' evaluation of safety.

The previous findings in Section 9.4 have indicated that street vendors at night time tend to be perceived as less 'out of place'. Taken together with the results in this section, *the street vendors seem to have the potential to contribute positively to the safety in urban places*.

Street vendors are often present at night time occupying the spaces that are not in use at night time, replacing the day time activities (Section 2.2.7). Some also occupy the abandoned spaces or empty lots around the city (Section 2.2.6). Their presence may contribute positively to the safety in such areas. As found in Stage 1, the urban places with street vendors at night time conveyed the impression of 'bright', which mainly

came from the street vendors' lighting. Some findings of previous research have suggested that the areas with lighting and human activities might enhance the feeling of safety (Nasar and Jones, 1997; Boyce and Gutkowski, 1995; Painter and Farrington, 2001; Ramsay and Newton, 1991). The findings of this research suggest that the presence of street vendors can improve the safety of the urban places.

9.6.4 'Out of place' and scene disorderliness

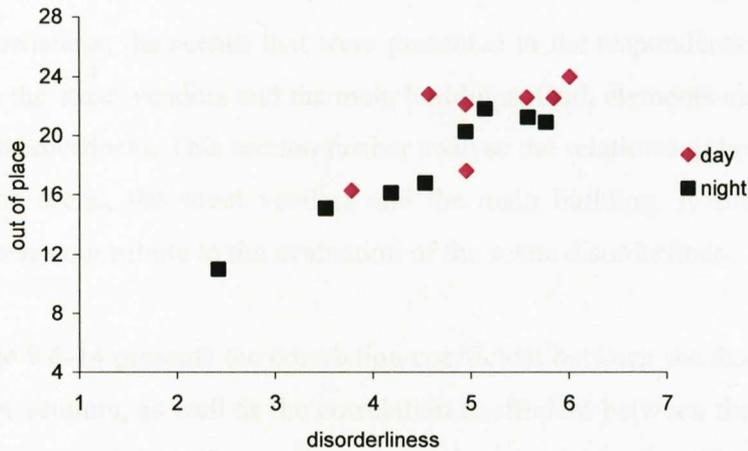
This section, together with Section 9.6.5, explores the relationship between the evaluation of scene in general and the internal condition of the street vendors (i.e., disorderliness and low maintenance). It attempts to explore to what extent the street vendors contribute to some negative impressions of the scenes as highlighted in the media (Section 2.3.1) and mentioned in Stage 1 (Section 7.4).

The analysis in this section test whether **there is a relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements and the disorderliness of the scene in general.**

Correlation between 'out of place' and scene disorderliness

In this analysis, the 'out of place' scores were correlated with the scores of 'scene disorderliness', which represented the respondents' evaluation of the disorderliness of the scene. 'Scene disorderliness' scores were obtained from the respondents' rating on a 7-point scale, from 1 (orderly) to 7 (disorderly), similar to the rating scale for the 'disorderliness' of street vendors and main building.

Figure 9.6-5 presents the relationship between the mean scores of 'out of place' and 'scene disorderliness'. In this scatterplot, each point represents the mean score for each scene. It suggests the positive linear relationship between these two variables. It also suggests that night time scenes tend to have lower means of 'out of place' score and lower means of 'scene disorderliness' score than day time scenes.



variable	B day	B night	C day	C night	D day	D night	E night	F day	F night	G day	G night	H day	H night	I day	I night
out of place	16.23	20.26	22.08	15.08	23.96	20.91	11.01	17.54	16.09	22.79	21.82	22.55	21.24	22.50	16.77
scene disor	3.78	4.95	4.95	3.52	6.01	5.77	4.70	4.96	4.19	4.58	5.15	5.58	5.59	5.85	5.54

Figure 9.6-5 Scatterplot of 'out of place' and scene disorderliness means scores

Table 9.6-13 presents the Pearson correlation coefficient between 'out of place' score of street vendors and 'scene disorderliness' score from the analysis of overall data. The results indicate that in general there was a strong positive correlation between the respondents' perception of street vendors as 'out of place' and their perception of the disorderliness of the scenes. This result was highly significant ($r=0.665$, $p<0.001$). This suggests that *the more respondents perceived street vendors as 'out of place', the more likely they would perceive the scene as more disordered.*

The separate analysis of day time and night time scenes also showed strong positive correlations, which were highly significant. However, the correlation coefficient for night time scenes ($r=0.725$) indicated stronger relationship than at day time ($r=0.533$).

Table 9.6-13 Correlation between scene disorderliness and 'out of place'

location	N	r	Strength of relationship
overall	2348	0.665***	large
day	1095	0.533***	large
night	1253	0.725***	large

***highly significant

Disorderliness of scene, street vendors and main buildings

Nevertheless, the scenes that were presented to the respondents in this research contain both the street vendors and the main buildings. Both elements may have different degree of disorderliness. This section further analyse the relationship between the disorderliness of the scene, the street vendors and the main building. It attempts to explore which elements contribute to the evaluation of the scene disorderliness

Table 9.6-14 presents the correlation coefficient between the disorderliness of scene and street vendors, as well as the correlation coefficient between the disorderliness of scene and main building. The results suggest that *the scene disorderliness was more strongly related to the disorderliness of street vendor (r=0.663) than to the disorderliness of main building (r=0.409)*. This was also true for both day time and night time data.

Table 9.6-14 Correlation between disorderliness of scene, street vendors and main buildings

location	disorderliness of street vendors		disorderliness of main buildings	
	r	strength	r	strength
overall	0.663***	large	0.409***	medium
day	0.549***	large	0.347***	medium
night	0.718***	large	0.442***	medium

***highly significant

This finding suggests *the role of the street vendors' orderliness in the users' evaluation of the scene orderliness*. The finding from Stage 1 (Section 7.4) has shown that the respondents mentioned 'disorderly' as one of their impressions towards the urban scenes with street vendors. The discussion in Chapter 2 has also indicated the general judgements that the street vendors are chaotic, unregulated, disrupting city aesthetic and urban order. The results of the analysis above confirm the contribution of street vendors to this problem.

However, the data in this section also suggests that the street vendors are not always disorderly. As already shown in Section 9.3.2, there are some scenes in which the street vendors are rated as 'orderly' to 'neutral' (e.g., Scene E-night, F-night, C-night and B-day). This suggests that street vendors with good orderliness may also contribute positively to the urban aesthetic and orderliness. The generalised judgement that street vendors create chaotic urban environment does not seem to be entirely correct.

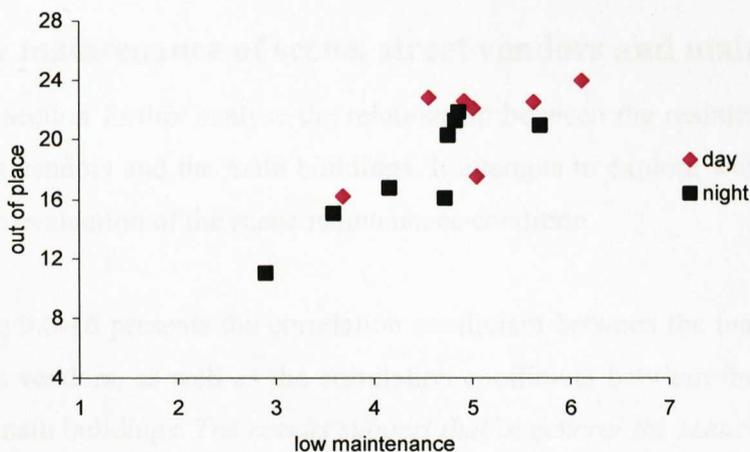
9.6.5 'Out of place' and scene low maintenance

The analysis in this section tests whether there is a relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements and the maintenance condition of the scene in general.

Correlation between 'out of place' and scene low maintenance

In this analysis, the 'out of place' scores were correlated with the scores of 'scene low maintenance', which represented the respondents' evaluation of the general maintenance of the scene. 'Scene low maintenance' scores were obtained from the respondents' rating on a 7-point scale, from 1 (well-maintained) to 7 (badly-maintained), similar to the scale for 'low maintenance' of street vendors and main building.

Figure 9.6-6 presents the relationship between the means score of 'out of place' and 'scene low maintenance'. In the scatterplot, each point represents the mean score for each scene. It suggests the positive linear relationship between these two variables. It also suggests that night time scenes tend to have lower means of 'out of place' score and lower means of 'scene low maintenance' score than day time scenes.



variable	B day	B night	C day	C night	D day	D night	E night	F day	F night	G day	G night	H day	H night	I day	I night
out of place	16.23	20.26	22.08	15.08	23.96	20.91	11.01	17.54	16.09	22.79	21.82	22.55	21.24	22.50	16.77
low maint	3.69	4.76	5.01	3.59	6.12	5.69	2.90	5.05	4.73	4.56	4.87	4.92	4.84	5.63	4.16

Figure 9.6-6 Scatterplot of 'out of place' and 'scene low maintenance' means scores

Table 9.6-15 presents the Pearson correlation coefficient between ‘out of place’ score of street vendors and ‘scene low maintenance’ score for overall data. The results indicate that in overall there was a strong positive correlation between the respondents’ perception of street vendors as ‘out of place’ and their perception of scene maintenance and this result was highly significant ($r=0.598$, $p<0.001$). *This suggests that the more respondents perceive street vendors as more ‘out of place’, the more likely they would perceive the scene as badly maintained.*

Table 9.6-15 Correlation between ‘scene low maintenance’ and ‘out of place’

location	N	r	Strength of relationship
overall	2347	0.598***	large
day	1094	0.494***	medium
night	1253	0.643***	large

***highly significant

The separate analysis of day time and night time scenes indicates positive correlation, which were highly significant. It also indicates *stronger correlation for night time scenes ($r=0.643$) than for day time scenes ($r=0.494$)*. This suggests the importance of considering the good maintenance of street vendors to improve the maintenance condition of scene in general, in particular at night time.

Low maintenance of scene, street vendors and main buildings

This section further analyse the relationship between the maintenance of the scene, the street vendors and the main buildings. It attempts to explore which elements contribute to the evaluation of the scene maintenance condition.

Table 9.6-16 presents the correlation coefficient between the maintenance of scene and street vendors, as well as the correlation coefficient between the maintenance of scene and main buildings. *The results suggest that in general the scene maintenance was more strongly related to the maintenance of street vendors ($r=0.663$) than to the maintenance of main buildings ($r=0.409$)*. This finding suggests the role of the street vendors’ maintenance condition in the evaluation of the scene’s maintenance condition. This relationship was also found at separate analysis of night time scenes.

Table 9.6-16 Correlation between maintenance of scene, street vendors and main buildings

location	low maintenance of street vendors		low maintenance of main buildings	
	r	strength	r	strength
overall	0.602***	large	0.481***	medium
day	0.507***	large	0.543***	large
night	0.644***	large	0.430***	medium

***highly significant

However, the results for day time scenes indicates different pattern of relationship. *At day time, the scene maintenance was strongly related to both the maintenance of street vendors ($r=0.507$) and main buildings ($r=0.543$).* The correlation coefficient even indicated stronger relationship of scene maintenance with the maintenance of main buildings. This finding suggests that *it is not only the street vendors who contribute to the low maintenance of the scene perceived by the respondents.* The claim that the street vendors create dirty and ‘slum’ impression of urban places (Section 2.3.1) does not seem to be entirely correct. The maintenance condition of the buildings seems to play even more important role.

The above analysis and discussion in Section 9.6.1 to 9.6.5 have explored relationship between various variables that represent the users’ evaluation of street vendors and the scenes in general. These results should be interpreted by considering some potential bias that may come from limited group of users participating in this study. The respondents in this study came from architecture and engineering students, which may not necessarily representative of all users of street vendors. Although this study has indicated the important role of street vendors in users’ general evaluation of urban scenes, some further research would be necessary in order to generalise these views to other groups of users with different background.

9.6.6 Summary: Street vendors as ‘out of place’ and general evaluation of scene

The analysis in Section 9.6.1 to 9.6.5 have explored the relationship between the users’ evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements and the general evaluation of the scene. The findings can be summarised in Table 9.6-17, which present the strength of correlation between ‘out of place’ scores and the scores of five variables regarding the respondents’ evaluation of the scene.

Table 9.6-17 Summary of relationship between ‘out of place’ and general evaluation of scene

	overall	day	night
liking	---	--	---
complexity	++	++	++
safety	--	-	--
scene disorderliness	+++	+++	+++
scene low maintenance	+++	++	+++

+++ large positive correlation
 ++medium positive correlation

--- large negative correlation
 -- medium negative correlation
 -small negative correlation

The results indicate that *the users’ evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ is related to their general preference of scene, their perception of scene complexity, scene safety, scene disorderliness and scene low maintenance.* These findings confirm the role of elements in the evaluation of the whole scene (Kaplan, 1985; Herzog et al., 1976; Nasar and Hong, 1999; Nasar, 1988). In the case of street vendors, the findings show the contribution of street vendors to the visual evaluation of the urban places where they exist. *In particular, their presence seems to be more strongly related to the evaluation of scene at night time.* This suggests the important role of street vendors in the visual evaluation of urban environment particularly at night time.

An exception was found in the relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ and safety for day time scenes, which only shows small correlation. This suggests that *the contribution of street vendors to the scene safety at day time may be questioned.* There might be other factors contributing to the users’ feeling of safety in urban places with street vendors.

The findings in this section should be considered together with the findings of Section 9.4 and 9.5, which indicate that the users’ evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ is not absolute. The data in Section 9.3 and 9.4 shows clearly that there are some situations where the street vendors are perceived as less ‘out of place’. In these situations, *the street vendors can give positive contribution to the visual image of the urban places.* When the street vendors are perceived as less ‘out of place’, the urban scenes may be better liked by the users and give more feeling of safety. This suggests the need for an effort to make the presence of street vendors to be ‘in place’ rather than stamping them out from urban places.

Further analysis in Section 9.6.4 and 9.6.5 also explored the users’ evaluation of scene disorderliness and scene low maintenance in relation to the condition of street vendors

and main building. The findings suggest that *the condition of street vendors seems to play more important role than the condition of main building in the evaluation of the scene*. This result indicates that the street vendors as temporary or semi-fixed featured elements can have crucial role in creating the visual image of urban places. It becomes important to deal with the street vendors' orderliness and maintenance condition, in order to enhance their positive contribution to the visual appearance of the city.

Nevertheless, there was an exception found for the scene maintenance at day time, which is more related to the maintenance of the main buildings. This suggests that the image of the urban places as dirty and slum is not solely created by the presence of the street vendors. The 'eyesores' in the city can also be created by the ugly appearance of the main buildings.

9.7 Street vendors as ‘out of place’ and as temporary elements

This section addresses the question: **Are there any relationships between the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ and the presence of street vendors as temporary elements?** This question explores the extent to which the temporary nature of street vendors is related to the users’ evaluation of their presence in urban places.

In particular, the analyses explores whether:

- **There is a relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements and the temporariness of street vendors.**
- **There is a relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements and the accessibility to the main building.**
- **There is a relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements and the number of street vendors.**

The first two analyses were conducted using the data from the respondents’ rating of 15 scenes. The analysis used Pearson correlation coefficient to explore the strength and direction of relationship between variables, similar to the analysis in Section 9.5. In the third analysis, the users’ evaluation of ‘out of place’ was compared with the ranking data regarding the number of street vendors obtained from sorting task (Stage 1, Table 6.3). The analysis was conducted using Spearman correlation coefficient to compare the rank of each scene.

9.7.1 ‘Out of place’ and temporariness

The analysis in this section tests whether **there is a relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements and the temporariness of street vendors.** It attempts to explore to what extent the perception of street vendors as ‘out of place’ is associated with the users’ perception of their presence as temporary elements.

‘Temporariness’ score

In this analysis, the ‘out of place’ scores were correlated with the ‘temporariness’ scores which represented the respondents’ perception of the temporariness of street vendors. The ‘temporariness’ scores were obtained from the question: “How much is the degree of

temporality of the stall in this scene? (How easy do the street vendors move from place to place?)” The respondents gave their rating on 7-point scale, from 1 (permanent) to 7 (temporary).

Table 9.7-1 presents the mean scores of temporariness for each scene in ascending order, from the most permanent to the most temporary. The result indicates that the street vendors in Scene D-day was perceived as the most temporary and the easiest to move to other places, while the street vendors in Scene F-day was perceived as the most permanent and the most difficult to move to other places.

Table 9.7-1 Means of ‘temporariness’ score for each scene

Scene	F day	F night	I night	E night	C night	G day	B night	G night	I day	B day	D night	H night	H day	C day	D day
Means	3.28	3.37	3.44	3.49	3.90	4.28	4.65	4.73	4.78	4.94	5.03	5.06	5.53	5.67	5.70

Table 9.7-1 indicates that the street vendors vary in terms of their nature as temporary elements, as already discussed in Chapter 2 (Tinker, 1997; Section 2.1.2 and 2.3.2). It shows that *the users perceive this wide range of temporariness of the street vendors*. The discussion in Section 3.3.2 has shown that the street vendors exist as temporary elements in urban places; however some may exist in urban places on a regular basis or for a prolonged period, in such a way that they display some permanence. The data on Table 9.7-1 illustrates that determining the degree of ‘temporariness’ of street vendors is not a simple matter.

Correlation between ‘out of place’ and temporariness

Figure 9.7-1 illustrates the relationship between the means score of ‘out of place’ and temporariness. In this graph, each point represents the mean score for each scene. The scatterplot suggests a positive linear relationship between these two variables.

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variable	B day	B night	C day	C night	D day	D night	E night	F day	F night	G day	G night	H day	H night	I day	I night
out of place	16.23	20.26	22.08	15.08	23.96	20.91	11.01	17.54	16.09	22.79	21.82	22.55	21.24	22.50	16.77
temporariness	4.94	4.65	5.67	3.90	5.70	5.03	3.49	3.28	3.37	4.28	4.73	5.53	5.06	4.78	3.44

Figure 9.7-1 Scatterplot of ‘out of place’ and temporariness mean scores

Table 9.7-2 presents the Pearson correlation coefficient between ‘out of place’ scores and ‘temporariness’ scores for overall data. The results indicate that in overall there is a medium positive correlation between the respondents’ evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ and their perception of the temporariness of street vendors. This result is highly significant ($r=0.310$, $p<0.001$). This suggests that *the more street vendors were perceived as temporary, the more likely they were evaluated as ‘out of place’ elements*. However, the relationship between these two variables was small for day time scenes.

Table 9.7-2 Correlation between ‘out of place’ and temporariness for overall data

location	N	r	Strength of relationship
overall	2361	0.310***	medium
day	1102	0.237***	small
night	1259	0.308***	medium

*** highly significant

Table 9.7-3 shows the separate analysis of correlation between street vendors as ‘out of place’ and their temporariness. It shows small or no relationship between the two variables in most of the scenes. Although the overall analysis in Table 9.7-2 indicated medium strength correlation, it was hardly found in the breakdown analysis of each scene.

Table 9.7-3 Correlation between ‘out of place’ and temporariness for each scene

location	day			night		
	N	r	Strength of relationship	N	r	Strength of relationship
B	156	0.091	-	158	0.100	small
C	158	0.178*	small	156	0.246**	small
D	158	0.264**	small	158	0.365***	medium
E	-	-	-	158	0.273**	small
F	158	0.155	small	156	-0.018	-
G	158	0.036	-	158	0.029	-
H	157	0.289***	small	157	0.192*	small
I	157	0.099	-	158	0.210**	small

*** highly significant

** significant

* probably significant

Table 9.7-4 also indicates small relationship between ‘temporariness’ and the four ‘out of place’ variables. This suggests that the nature of street vendors as temporary elements was hardly associated with the extent to which they were perceived as disorderly, badly-maintained, inappropriate and misfit.

Table 9.7-4 Correlation between temporariness and four ‘out of place’ variables

location	disorderliness		low maintenance		inappropriateness		misfit	
	r	strength	r	strength	r	strength	r	strength
overall	0.286***	small	0.252***	small	0.242***	small	0.257***	small
day	0.210***	small	0.172***	small	0.175***	small	0.201***	small
night	0.293***	small	0.256***	small	0.246***	small	0.243***	small

*** highly significant

The discussion in Chapter 4 has presented a case of graffiti (Cresswell, 1996), which exists as temporary elements in the city and thus vulnerable to removal. In that case, the graffiti was perceived as ‘out of place’. The finding above suggests that for the case of street vendors, *the relationship between the street vendors’ image as temporary elements and their presence as ‘out of place’ elements cannot be confirmed*. Although the overall data indicates a relationship, the breakdown of analysis in each scene and each variable do not support this. It seems that the flexible nature of street vendors (as discussed in Chapter 2) does not directly related to their presence as ‘out of place’ elements.

The discussion in Chapter 3 has shown that the presence of temporary or semi fixed urban elements are unavoidable and become integral part of the temporal dynamic in the city (Section 3.3.2; Venturi, 1977; Rapoport, 1982; Lynch, 1960). However, in the case of street vendors, their presence as unplanned and unexpected elements has positioned them as the rejected elements in the city. The findings in this section suggest that the street vendors as temporary elements are not necessarily ‘out of place’. It seems necessary to put emphasis in regulating their presence in the city rather than taking for granted that their presence as temporary elements is associated with ‘out of place’.

The analysis in the next two sections explores further the facts related to the presence of street vendors as elements that are added to the existing urban environment. Section 9.7.2 deals with the presence of street vendors that is often judged as disrupting the users’ access to the main buildings (as pointed out in Chapter 2). Section 9.7.3 addresses the increasing presence of street vendors in large number in the cities. It attempts to explore whether their presence in large number is associated with the judgement to reject them from the urban places.

9.7.2 'Out of place' and accessibility to the main building

The analysis in this section tests whether there is a relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements and the accessibility to the main building. It attempts to explore to what extent the users' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' is associated with the perceived accessibility to the main building.

Correlation between 'out of place' and accessibility to main building

In this analysis, the 'out of place' scores were correlated with the 'accessibility' score which represented the respondents' perception of easiness to access the main building. The 'accessibility' scores were obtained from the question: "How easy is it to find the way to get into the main building?" in which the respondents gave their rating on 7-point scale, from 1 (difficult) to 7 (easy).

Figure 9.7-2 illustrates the scatterplot for mean scores of 'out of place' and 'accessibility', where each point represents the mean score of each scene. The scatterplot suggests inconclusive relationship between these two variables.

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variable	B day	B night	C day	C night	D day	D night	E night	F day	F night	G day	G night	H day	H night	I day	I night
out of place	16.23	20.26	22.08	15.08	23.96	20.91	11.01	17.54	16.09	22.79	21.82	22.55	21.24	22.50	16.77
accessibility	4.27	3.10	4.19	2.61	4.01	3.41	3.05	2.32	2.50	5.90	4.42	4.29	4.04	3.00	2.49

Figure 9.7-2 Scatterplot of 'out of place' and accessibility mean scores

The correlation coefficients of the relationship between these two variables for overall data are shown in Table 9.7-5. The result indicates that there was *no relationship between the respondents' evaluation of street vendors as out of place elements and how they perceive the difficulty to access the main building.*

Table 9.7-5 Correlation between 'out of place' and accessibility for overall data

location	N	r	Strength of relationship
overall	2359	0.067**	-
day	1101	0.033	-
night	1258	-0.006	-

** significant

The presence of street vendors has been mentioned as a disturbance in many commercial areas. Their presence in front of the official shops (main building) is considered as blocking the access to the main building and diverting the consumers of the official traders (Bromley, 2000; Devie, 2002; Section 2.1.3 and 2.3.1). This problem has been highlighted as one of the reasons to reject their presence in the cities. The finding above suggests that the presence of street vendors as ‘out of place’ elements has no direct association with their role in obstructing the users’ access to the official shops in the main building.

Accessibility and obviousness of street vendors and main building

In addition, further analysis in this section attempts to discover the relationship between the users’ perception of the accessibility to the main building and the perceived appearance of the main building and street vendors. For this analysis, the respondents were asked to rate the obviousness of the street vendors and main building, from 1 (hidden) to 7 (obvious).

Table 9.7-6 presents the correlation coefficients between the accessibility of main building and the obviousness of street vendors, as well as the correlation coefficients between the accessibility of main building and the obviousness of main building. The negative correlation between accessibility and the street vendors’ obviousness ($r=-0.199$) suggests that *the more obvious the street vendors, the less easy for the users to access the main building*. Meanwhile, the positive correlation between accessibility and obviousness of main building ($r=0.382$) suggests that *the more obvious the main building, the easier for the users to access the main building*.

Table 9.7-6 Correlation between accessibility and obviousness

location	Obviousness of street vendors		Obviousness of main buildings	
	r	strength	r	strength
overall	-0.199***	small	0.382***	medium
day	-0.117***	small	0.334***	medium
night	-0.244***	small	0.364***	medium

*** highly significant

However, the strength of the correlation suggests that *the perceived accessibility to the main building was more strongly related to the obviousness of main building than to the obviousness of the street vendors*. This is also true for both day time and night time data. This finding suggests that the street vendors’ contribution to problem of accessibility to

the main building remains a question. It seems that the appearance of the main building plays more important role.

9.7.3 'Out of place' and the number of street vendors

The analysis in this section tests whether **there is a relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements and the number of street vendors**. It attempts to explore whether the street vendors that exist in large number is associated with their evaluation as 'out of place' by the users.

The analysis was conducted using the mean scores of 'out of place' from each scene (as in Section 9.3) and the ranking data regarding the perceived number of street vendors obtained from sorting task (Stage 1; Section 6.3.3). Both sets of data were converted into rank data, as presented in Table 9.7-7. The analysis used Spearman correlation coefficient to reveal whether the rank of 'out of place' and the rank of the street vendors' number were related. The analysis was conducted separately for day time scenes and night time scenes.

Table 9.7-7 Means score of 'out of place' and ranking of the number of street vendors

a) Day time scenes

scene	B-day	C-day	D-day	E-day*	F-day	G-day	H-day	I-day
means of 'out of place'	16.23	22.08	23.96	-	17.54	22.79	22.5	22.5
rank of 'number of street vendor'	14	8	18	-	20.5	6	16	15
rank of 'out of place'	1	3	7	-	2	6	4.5	4.5
rank of 'number of street vendor'	3	2	6	-	7	1	5	4

*scene without street vendors

b) Night time scenes

scene	B-day	C-day	D-day	E-day	F-day	G-day	H-day	I-day
means of 'out of place'	20.26	15.08	20.91	11.01	16.09	21.82	21.24	16.77
rank of 'number of street vendor'	11	13	20	17	23.5	1	18	21
rank of 'out of place'	5	2	6	1	3	8	7	4
rank of 'number of street vendor'	2	3	6	4	8	1	5	7

The Spearman correlation coefficient obtained from day time data was $r_s = -0.00893$, lower than the critical value for $p < 0.05$, which is 0.714. The coefficient obtained from night time data was $r_s = -0.2619$, lower than the critical value for $p < 0.05$, which is 0.643. Both coefficients indicate no significant relationship between the rank of 'out of place' and the rank of the number of street vendors. This finding suggests that *the presence of*

street vendors in large number is not directly associated with the users' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place'.

It can be seen from Table 9.7-7 that some scenes have high rank regarding the number of street vendors, but lower rank in 'out of place'. For example, scene F-day and F-night were ranked 7 and 8 for the number of street vendors, but they were ranked 2 and 3 for the 'out of place'. On the other hand, some scenes with lower number of street vendors may be ranked as more 'out of place'. For example, scene G-day and G-night were both ranked 1 for the number of street vendors, but they were ranked 6 and 8 as 'out of place'.

The street vendors have been considered as a threat in urban environment as they often exist in large number (Section 2.2.3). The policies attempted by the governments (Section 2.3.3) have pointed out the problem of providing spaces to accommodate the large number of street vendors. Nevertheless, the examples above show clearly that the street vendors that exist in large number can be perceived as less 'out of place', while those that exist in only a few number can be perceived as more 'out of place'. It seems that the presence of street vendors in large number is not necessarily become a threat that need to be rejected. This might be seen as a hint that the government can accommodate their large numbers and concentrate on making their presence as 'in place', rather than merely attempting to reduce the number.

The analysis provides important evidence regarding the problem of the number of street vendors in urban environment. However, the finding above is based on only few scenes with street vendors. It might be interesting to expand the analysis to include other situations of street vendors with varying number.

9.7.4 Summary: Street vendors as 'out of place' and as temporary elements

The analysis in Section 9.7.1 to 9.7.3 have explored the relationship between the users' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements and some aspects regarding the temporariness of street vendors. The findings can be summarised in Table 9.7-8.

Table 9.7-8 Summary of street vendors as ‘out of place’ and as temporary elements

	overall	day	night
temporariness	++	+	++
accessibility of main building	no relation	no relation	no relation
number of street vendors	n/a	no relation	no relation

++ medium positive correlation

+ small positive correlation

The finding indicates that the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ is related to their nature as temporary elements. However, the relationship cannot be confirmed at day time as well as separately for each scene. It suggests that *the street vendors as temporary elements are not necessarily associated with their presence as ‘out of place’ elements.*

Furthermore, the finding indicates that *the users perceive various degree of temporariness of the street vendors.* Although the existence of street vendors in urban places is generally classified as temporary or semifixed-feature elements, the finding in this section shows that they can be perceived to have some degree of permanence. This supports the findings in Section 9.6 regarding the important role of street vendors as temporary elements in creating the visual image of the urban places.

The finding also shows that the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ is not related to the accessibility of main building. Street vendors are often blamed as disrupting the designated function of the place (Section 2.3.1); the street vendors that occupy the spaces in front of the main building were often judged as blocking the access to the main building. However, the analysis in Section 9.7.2 *does not confirm the street vendors’ contribution to the problem of accessibility of the main building.*

Another finding in Section 9.7.3 indicates no relationship between the number of street vendors and the evaluation as ‘out of place’. It suggests that *the presence of street vendors in large number does not necessarily mean that they are ‘out of place’.*

All the above findings pointed out that some judgements regarding the street vendors as temporary elements that need to be rejected (as highlighted in Chapter 2) cannot be confirmed from the point of view of the users. In dealing with the street vendors, it seems necessary for the policy makers to concentrate on the efforts to make their presence as ‘in place’, rather than generalising their presence as the temporary elements that need to be rejected from urban places.

9.8 Summary of Stage 2

This chapter has presented the results of Stage 2, which explores the users' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements in urban places. There are four major findings obtained from the analysis of the data.

First, the study has shown that the users' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' elements is not absolute (Section 9.3 and 9.4). It may vary across different contexts of urban scenes. In particular, the finding shows the change of evaluation of street vendors from day time to night time (Section 9.4). The street vendors at night time tend to be perceived as less 'out of place' than at day time.

Secondly, there seems to be agreement among the users in their evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place'. In general there is no difference across gender and education background (Section 9.5) in evaluating the street vendors, except the small difference between architecture and non architecture students in evaluating the street vendors' relationship with surroundings for day time scenes.

Thirdly, the study has shown that the street vendors play an important role in the users' general evaluation of the urban scenes (Section 9.6). The presence of street vendors as 'out of place' is related to the users' general liking, perceived complexity, safety, scene disorderliness and scene maintenance. Together with the findings in Section 9.3 and 9.4, this finding suggests the possibility that street vendors can contribute positively in creating the visual image of urban environment when they are perceived as less 'out of place'.

The final finding from this stage of research indicates that the presence of street vendors as temporary elements added to the urban places is not necessarily associated with their presence as 'out of place' elements (Section 9.7). It suggests the importance to make their presence 'in place', rather than taking for granted that their presence as temporary elements need to be rejected from urban places.

10 CONCLUSION

10.1 Introduction

The research has examined the presence of street vendors as temporary elements in the city, from the point of view of the users. The research was an empirical investigation of whether the public's visual assessment of street vendors defines them as 'out of place' elements in urban scenes in Jakarta, Indonesia.

This chapter summarises the main findings of this research. It sets out the key findings from the literature review, the methodological approach used in the research and the key findings from the two stages of empirical studies. Based on these findings, the implications are suggested both for the theoretical approach and for including management and planning of street vendors in the urban policy. The final section of this chapter evaluates some of the limitations of this research and suggests some possible extensions for further research.

10.2 Key findings

10.2.1 Findings from literature review

The concept of the ideal city emphasises the need for total control of the environment in order to achieve harmony and perfection in urban physical environment. It requires that everything has its designated place, which has been planned in advance. This concept therefore seems to not allow for the presence of unexpected objects in the city. This leads to the conflict between the ideal city determined by the urban elite and the presence of the unplanned and the unexpected.

This thesis has addressed this conflict by looking at the ways in which street vendors are considered to be detrimental to urban areas. Their presence is a global phenomenon, and they are especially prevalent in third world countries. Politically, they lie tenuously in position between the arguments that support their presence and opposing arguments that call for their removal. The majority of the supporting arguments refer to the economic benefits of street vendors whilst most of the negative arguments accuse the street

vendors of disrupting urban aesthetics. Nevertheless, street vendors continue to have a strong presence in urban areas and resist all efforts to banish them from the city.

Street vendors are characteristically temporary, flexible and mobile in nature and can be considered elements that are unplanned and accidental in the city. These elements have no place in the concept of ideal modern city, and rejection of street vendors can be read as an attempt to achieve perfection in the name of orderliness and aesthetic values. In this 'ideal' condition, street vendors are seen as 'eyesores' or 'plagues' that need to be cleaned from the cities.

The position of street vendors in Jakarta and their struggle to resist attempts to remove them in order to achieve the perfection sought by believers of the ideal city has been strongly portrayed in the mass media. This was demonstrated in the summary of newspaper articles in Chapter 2. The opinions stated in the newspaper articles indicate a tendency exists to generalise any judgments made towards the street vendors as negative elements of the urban environment.

The rejection of street vendors from urban places can be explained by considering their presence as 'out of place' elements. The theories of 'out of place' (Douglas, 1966; Cresswell, 1996; Cousins, 1994, 1995) explored the extent to which something belongs to one place and not in another. The presence of street vendors in cities has been considered as 'out of place' from the point of view of the urban elite. The street vendors are considered a threat against the attempt to create order and to achieve harmony and perfection in the urban environment.

The literature review has demonstrated that the problems associated with street vendors are rooted in the dissonance between the concept of ideal city valued by urban elite and real urban life where the presence of street vendors is endorsed by their everyday users. The street vendors' survival lies in the balance between the need for urban aesthetics and perfection and the needs of the everyday users.

The literature indicates that the rejection of street vendors by the urban elites represents a generalisation of negative judgements towards their presence in urban places. This attitude is questionable as the process of determining whether or not something is 'out of place' is not absolute (Douglas, 1966; Cresswell, 1996). In the theories and literatures of

street vendors, so far there is a lack of discussion regarding the perception of street vendors by the everyday users of the city.

10.2.2 Methodology

The focus of the research is the opinion of users towards the presence of street vendors as elements that create a conflict of judgement. Visual preference studies were adopted as the main methodological approach to reveal public evaluation of urban environments.

The preference approach has been previously used to assess the public evaluation of 'whole scenes' in urban environments and natural landscapes (for example, Nasar, 1998; Hanyu, 1997, 2000; Herzog et al., 1976). This study extends the preference approach to assess the presence of particular elements within the whole scene. Previous studies have attempted to examine the role of particular elements in the preference of the whole scene (Herzog, 1988; Nasar, 1988; Nasar and Hong, 1999; Kuo et al., 1988) but so far there have been no studies that look specifically into urban elements that have the characteristics of being temporary, flexible and portable. Street vendors typically demonstrate all these characteristics.

The investigation of this work was conducted in two stages. Stage 1 used an open-ended questionnaire to assess the users' opinion regarding the position of street vendors as the elements within urban scenes. At this stage the respondents were not explicitly directed to make positive or negative judgments towards the street vendors. This stage attempts to confirm whether the users perceive street vendors as negative elements of urban places similar to the general judgements by urban elite.

Stage 2 focused on assessing the users' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' objects in various urban scenes at day time and night time, using a 7-point rating scale. This stage gives a methodological contribution by introducing a way in which an object can be assessed based on the 'out of place' theories (Douglas, 1966; Cresswell, 1996; Cousins, 1994, 1995a, 1995b). The concept of the 'out of place' was further adopted into the development of four indicators of 'out of place'. Two indicators, the *disorderliness* of street vendors and the *low maintenance* of street vendors, refer to the internal condition of the objects. The other two indicators, the *inappropriateness* and the *misfit*, refer to the relationship of the objects to their surroundings.

10.2.3 Findings from empirical studies

There are five key results from the two stages of empirical investigation.

a) Degrees of ‘out of place’

Street vendors are not always perceived negatively by the users. The result of this study shows *varying degrees in which the street vendors are considered ‘out of place’*; in some situations the street vendors are perceived positively. Another support for this key finding is shown from Stage 1, which shows that the street vendors are perceived both as liked and disliked elements.

This finding reflects the ambiguous position of street vendors as both negative and positive elements of the city (Bromley, 2000). The finding poses a question regarding the way in which the media portrays street vendors as having a negative impact on the visual image of the city as shown in Chapter 2 (Section 2.4). It also suggests that a judgment that street vendors are ‘eyesores’ and ‘plagues’ who have deleterious effect upon urban aesthetics (Cross, 1998) is not entirely correct. The finding suggests that the view of urban elite regarding the street vendors does not occur with the view of general public. Most importantly, this finding emphasises the importance of understanding the evaluative image of the city as perceived by the general public who experience it in everyday life (Nasar, 1998).

b) Perception of street vendors as ‘out of place’ by day and night

Users’ perception of street vendors changes from day time to night time. The result of this study shows that the evaluation of street vendors as ‘out of place’ changes significantly from day time to night time. This finding supports existing knowledge on changes of publics’ visual experience at day time and night time (Nasar, 1989; Hanyu, 1997, 2000; Parkes and Thrift, 1980).

In general, the data in this study indicates that *the street vendors at night time tend to be perceived as less ‘out of place’*. In particular, the street vendors at night time are perceived as significantly more appropriate and better maintained. This has a parallel in the findings of Parkes and Thrift (1980) which showed that particular commercial areas may convey a better image at night time than during the day.

Another support for this key finding is *the significant change of place identity from day time to night time as perceived by the users*. The result shows that in general, the street vendors become the identity of the place at night time, replacing the main buildings that form the identity of place during day time. This finding indicates the need to pay more attention to the presence of street vendors at night time, both in theory and in practice. It also suggests the importance of the issues of day time and night time when studying the public experience of the city.

c) Street vendors in the urban scene

Although street vendors are perceived as temporary elements, their presence is very important in the users' general evaluation of an urban scene as a whole. The data shows that the users perceive the street vendors to be temporary elements in the scene. Yet they have the potential to change the identity of urban places. This change of identity is related to the way they are perceived as dominant elements.

The results suggest that *the users' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' objects is related to the general preference of the whole scene*. The more street vendors are perceived as 'out of place' objects, the more the respondents dislike the scene. The relationship with the respondents' liking is also significant for all four indicators of 'out of place'. The more street vendors are perceived as ordered, better maintained, fit and appropriate to its surrounding, the more the respondents like the scene. In particular, the orderliness and maintenance of street vendors seems to be very important for the general preference of the whole scene.

Another finding of the research shows that *the users' evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' objects is related to the evaluation of scene complexity*. In particular the 'orderliness' of street vendors is strongly related to complexity. However, further examination of the relationship between liking and complexity in this study did not reflect any pattern of curvilinear relationship as found in previous studies (Imamoglu, 2000; Vitz, 1966; Day, 1967; Wohlwill, 1968). This is probably due to the use of real setting photographs with a limited control of variables, and the limited range of stimulus used in this research.

The evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' was found to be significantly related to the evaluation of place safety. In general the more the street vendors were perceived as 'out of place' the less safe the place was perceived by respondents. This result suggests the contribution of the presence of street vendors to the feeling of safety in a particular place.

The evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' is related to the evaluation of scene disorderliness and the general maintenance of the scene. Further examination reveals that the disorderliness of a scene is more related to the disorderliness of the street vendors rather than to the disorderliness of the main buildings. Similarly, the general maintenance of the scene is more related to the maintenance of the street vendors rather than to the maintenance of the main buildings. However, for day time scenes the maintenance of the main building play more important role than the street vendors in the perception of scene maintenance, suggesting that the maintenance condition of street vendors is not the only one that may create the aesthetic problem.

These findings emphasise the role of street vendors as temporary elements in the visual preference of the urban scenes. It suggests the need to pay more attention to the semi fixed elements. While most design and planning process tend to put more weight on the buildings as fixed elements (Rapoport, 1982), this study indicates that semi fixed elements can contribute significantly to the public evaluation of the whole scenes as shown in Figure 10-1. It supports Nasar (1998) who suggested that the semi fixed elements are easy to alter, yet they may have great potential to communicate the identity and meaning of the built environment.

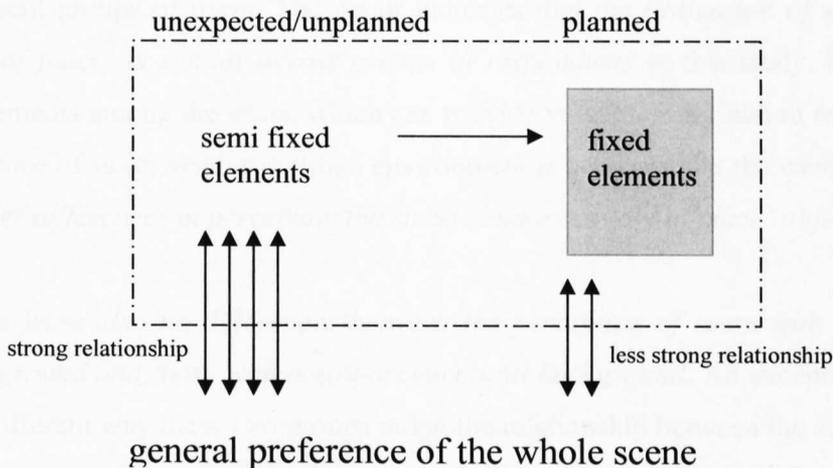


Figure 10-1 The role of semi-fixed elements in the general preference of the urban scenes

The findings also indicate that *generally the relationship between the evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' and the general evaluation of the scene is stronger at night time* than at day time. This confirms the second key finding regarding the important role of street vendors in the night time experience of urban environments.

d) Street vendors as temporary and 'out of place' elements

Users perceive various degrees of temporariness of the street vendors. Although the existence of street vendors in urban places is generally classified as that of temporary or semifixed-feature elements, the findings of this study show that they can be perceived to have some degree of permanence.

The presence of street vendors as temporary elements added to urban places is not necessarily associated with their presence as 'out of place' elements. The street vendors' contribution to the problem of accessibility of the main building cannot be confirmed. Regarding the number of street vendors, the study suggests that the presence of street vendors in large numbers does not necessarily mean that they are 'out of place'. These findings pointed out that some judgements regarding the street vendors as temporary elements that should be rejected (as highlighted in Chapter 2) cannot be confirmed from the point of view of the users.

e) Differences across gender and educational background

The final key finding is related to the different evaluation of the street vendors made by different groups of users. The result indicates that *the evaluation of street vendors as 'out of place' is similar across groups of respondents* in this study. It suggests some agreements among the users, which can provide valuable information regarding how the presence of street vendor in urban environment is perceived by the users. *There were no gender differences in perceiving the street vendors as 'out of place' objects.*

There were also no differences between the perception of users with an architectural background and those with a non-architectural background. An exception was found in the different way these two groups judge the relationship between the street vendors and their surroundings during the day time. *The respondents with an architectural background slightly tended to judge the street vendors as more 'misfit' and*

'inappropriate' to their surrounding than those without an architectural background. In contrast, these two groups shared similar view towards the internal condition of street vendors, i.e., the orderliness and the maintenance of street vendors.

10.3 Implications

10.3.1 Implications for theory

The concept of the ideal city is incompatible with temporariness and accidental elements in the city. This is not a matter only for academic theory. The rejection by local government as portrayed in the media implies that the concept of ideal city exist in practice. By contrast, the findings of this research support the previous arguments of Jacobs (1961) who emphasised the importance of diversity in the real urban life. It also reflects the argument against the “purified city” which according to Sennet (1970, p.85) has destroyed the life of real people. The existence of street vendors can also be considered parallel to the presence of “honky-tonk elements” (Venturi, 1977, p. 42) which is inevitable as a part of urban architecture.

The findings of this study have shown that the presence of street vendors as temporary elements in the city plays a significant role in the public visual preference of urban scenes. This suggests that the concept of the ideal city that is often applied to modern cities needs to incorporate the dynamic aspects, and take into account the existence of temporary elements which occur whether or not they are consciously subscribed to those who control the urban environment.

In particular, this study highlights the capabilities of temporary elements to change the identity of urban places. This result confirms the importance of paying more attention to the semi-fixed feature elements of the city, which have often been neglected by designers (Rapoport, 1982). It also supports Maharika (2001) in that the lack of attention to the “ephemerality of the spaces” need to be addressed by considering the presence of temporary elements in the design and planning process of cities.

The findings of this study highlight some significant changes in the way the users perceive urban scenes. This finding contributes to the existing knowledge in the study of preference at different times of the day. Nasar (1989) has pointed out the lack of

research concerning the evening experience of the places, and this present study offers some evidence that can help to fill this knowledge gap. In particular, this study has shown that the 'out of place' values of the street vendors as perceived by the users significantly changes from day time to night time. The fact that street vendors are perceived as less 'out of place' indicates their potential to make a positive contribution to the evening urban experience.

The media portrayal of street vendors as the disruptors of the aesthetic of the city does not accord with the public perception; users' judgment of street vendors as 'out of place' objects changes in different contexts. This demonstrates the need to consider various aspects and contexts of street vendors (Bromley, 2000). In addition, the finding supports the belief that it is necessary to obtain the publics' evaluative image of the city (Nasar, 1998) as a way to reveal the consensus as well the disagreement between different parties in urban environment, i.e., users, street vendors, planners and government.

This research has attempted to understand the process of rejecting street vendors as temporary elements in urban places based on the theories of the 'out of place' (Douglas, 1966; Cresswell, 1996) as well as some related theories (Cousins, 1994, 1995a, 1995b; Lofland, 1973; Alexander, 1964). These theories have suggested that the perception of something as 'out of place' or 'in place' is not absolute. This study has shown that this relative nature of 'out of place' can be found in the case of street vendors as temporary elements in urban places.

In this study, the theories of 'out of place' have also become an important basis in revealing the users' evaluation of street vendors as temporary elements. The research has attempted to incorporate some concepts from these theories into the research instrument. It explores the aspect of 'out of place' elements regarding the internal condition of the object and its relationship with its surroundings. The study has shown that a possibility exists to expand the 'out of place' theories in order to assess the presence of rejected elements in the city.

The study also offers a way of looking at the temporary elements in the city. It attempts to go beyond the judgment solely based on the need for perfection and the total control of design as practiced in the ideal city. In this way, the study emphasises the need for a respect towards the temporariness in the city.

This also has an implication for architectural education. As shown in the findings, the respondents with an architectural education a background were more likely to judge the street vendors as more 'misfit' and 'inappropriate' than those without architectural background. This demonstrates that it is necessary for architectural education to encourage awareness towards the temporary and unexpected elements in the built environment. At the same time it is also necessary to raise the awareness towards the different ways in which laymen read the city.

10.3.2 Implications for policy and practice

There are implications for the policy and practice of urban planning and design. The findings of this thesis emphasise the need to consider the contexts when assessing the presence of street vendors, instead of making generalisation and perceiving street vendors as negative elements. In fact, as the results show, the street vendors can be perceived positively in particular cases.

The problems of street vendors in the city cannot be solved by generic solutions. For each particular context, before making any decision to retain or to remove the street vendors, it is necessary to understand the relationship of street vendors with the surroundings as well as consulting the public in order to understand their evaluations in that context. For example, as indicated in this study, the street vendors are more likely to be accepted at night time and in a situation where the main buildings have no sign of activities. In contrast, the street vendors tend to be rejected in a situation where they appeared to be in conflict with the activity of existing buildings. The findings in this thesis suggest the need to concentrate on the effort to make the presence of street vendors as 'in place' and the importance of 'time and place'.

This research also suggests the importance of considering the dynamic of 'out of place' evaluation in making the decision about elements in the city. This approach supports the need to consider seriously the temporal aspects of time planning (Worpole, 1998). It seems that to accommodate the dynamic nature of 'out of place' elements, there is a need for the plans that are 'accommodating' rather than those that are 'fixed'.

In particular for the case of street vendors, providing spaces for street vendors does not necessarily mean providing the fixed zoning for their trading activity. In fact this is

impossible as there will never be enough spaces for all existing street vendors (as shown in Chapter 2). The findings of this research indicate some possibilities to accommodate various alternatives to the presence of the street vendors. For example, the plan could accommodate day-night layering of the spaces.

In practice, the presence of street vendors at night time in Jakarta has not been incorporated seriously in urban planning. The results of this study provide some strong evidence to suggest that the presence of street vendors will be more acceptable at night time. This finding can direct the policy of legalising their presence at night time particularly in the locations that are under utilised at night, such as parking lots, waste lands and certain streets. This attempt may even increase the publics' perception of safety in such places.

Temporary elements can enhance the identity of urban places. In particular locations, street vendors can have the potential to change the image of places that are perceived negatively to become more positive. This can be achieved by understanding the characteristics of street vendors that have a positive contribution to the general preference of the scenes. The publics' general preference of the urban scene is strongly related to the orderliness and maintenance of street vendors, as well as the fitness and appropriateness of the street vendors in their surroundings. It becomes necessary to pay attention to the characteristics of street vendors that may enhance the visual image of the city.

The use of the 'out of place' concept as the basis of the research instrument in this thesis can also help the process of evaluating the presence of temporary elements in the city. In particular it can be used to assess the elements with a similar nature to street vendors as unwanted or 'out of place' objects; for example, parking lots, temporary signage, graffiti, dustbins or scaffolding in construction site. These are all the urban elements that often appear unexpectedly beyond the originally intended planning. It might also be used for assessing the presence of teenagers' skateboarding activities in certain places in the city, which often creates similar conflicts. The use of the 'out of place' concept in this evaluation can further help with the decision either to retain or to remove such elements.

10.4 Limitations and further research

The scope of investigation is necessarily limited. The stimulus materials were limited to 16 photographs of urban scenes with street vendors, although attempts were made to include materials containing a range of street vendors, from a small number to a great number. The types of street vendors included in the materials were also limited to those located on the streets of commercial areas. This had the advantage of focusing on street vendors with a similar spatial setting. It would be possible to conduct further research by expanding the types of street vendors in other various settings. For example, a similar method can be used to assess the impact of street vendors in residential areas, in other types of commercial areas, in public spaces, or in wasteland and abandoned spaces.

The research was based on coloured photographs representing the real setting of the urban places. The problem with real-place photographs lies on the difficulty in controlling the variables, which can only be done by using synthetic or simulated materials. This research focuses on controlling the variable of day-night. Further research can be conducted by controlling other variables, particularly those related to the four indicators of the 'out of place'. For example, a study could control the degree of orderliness or maintenance of the street vendors. This is particularly important to give a more detailed picture of the desired characteristics of street vendors, as an attempt to enhance their positive contribution to the image of the city. Nevertheless, studies with real-place photograph are of parallel importance as a way to elicit the users' real experience of the city.

The research was mainly based on quantitative statistical analysis. While this approach has been very useful to reveal certain relationship between variables, it could not uncover the qualitative dimensions in the users' view towards street vendors in urban places. There is a potential for further research to explore this research theme by using more qualitative approach such as ethnography and participant observation. Such approach would be valuable to obtain some narratives that surround the issue of street vendors in urban public places from the point of view of everyday users.

The study was conducted among the respondents in Jakarta who are familiar and have been using the services of street vendors in their everyday life. Further studies could explore the perception of street vendors by other groups. In particular, it is necessary to look into different perception across the groups of subjects with different degrees of

familiarity with the phenomenon of street vendors, such as between local people and foreigners or tourists. This is particularly important because the concept of perfection in 'ideal city' is often related to the aesthetic appearance of the cities in the eye of visitors (Barnett, 1979). Those not familiar with street vendors may have different evaluations from the everyday users of street vendors. Another possibility for further study would be to use a similar research instrument to examine the presence of street vendors in other countries which have similar problems. It could also be used to assess other 'out of place' objects in the cities of these countries.

There is an aspect of conflict in this study that may also warrant further examination. The study showed that many people regularly use the street vendors but at the same time also disliked their presence in their city. This fact calls for further research to address the discrepancy between how people perceive the temporary elements and their actual relationship with those elements in everyday life. For example, studies may examine whether the more regular users will perceive the street vendors more positively than the occasional users. This could be a step forward towards relating the visual preference and the everyday activities of the users in the cities.

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Appendix A.1
Stimulus materials for sorting task



1A



1B



2A



2B



3A



3B



4A



4B



5A



5B



6A



6B



7A



7B



8A



8B



9A



9B



10A



10A



11A



11B



12A



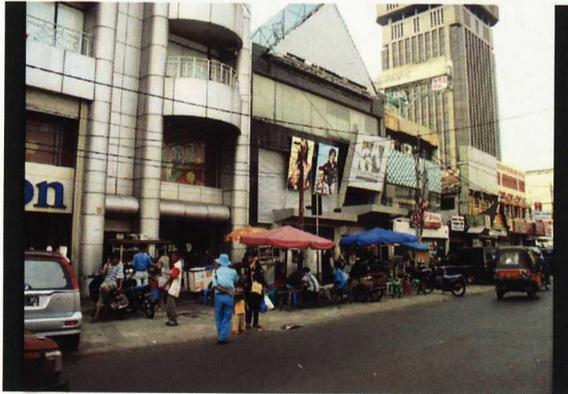
12B



13A



13B



14A



14B



15A



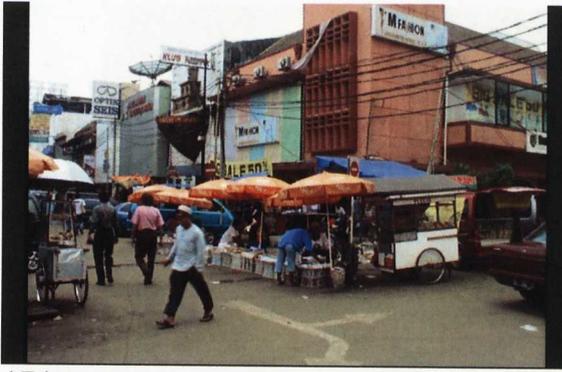
15B



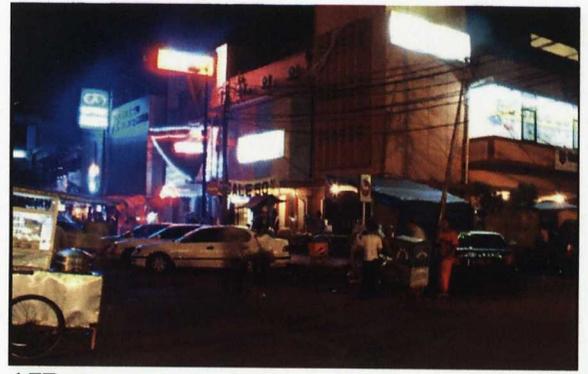
16A



16B



17A



17B



18A



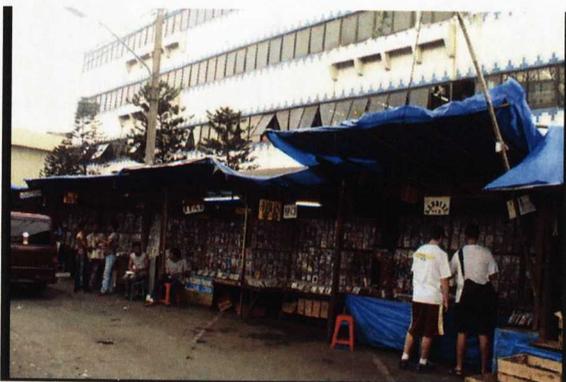
18B



19A



19B



20A



20B



21A



21B



22A



22B



23A



23B



24A



24B

Appendix A.2
Results of Sorting Task

SORTING TASK A (DAY TIME SCENES)

Judge	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	t	T
M	7	21	10	13	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	8	12	3.5	3.5	14	18	9	24	17	15	16	20	11	23	19	22	6	17.5
B	7	14	8	13	2.5	2.5	2.5	6	5	10	2.5	11	9	16	17	22	18	19	15	20	12	21	24	23	4	5
A	6	18	9	10	2.5	2.5	2.5	5	7	12	2.5	8	16	15	11	24	17	20	14	19	13	21	23	22	4	5
BD	9	16	12	14	2	7	2	8	10	5	2	4	11	15	19	22	18	17	13	20	6	24	23	21	3	2
IBD	7	15	11	14	2.5	5	2.5	2.5	6	9	2.5	10	8	18	19	23	17	24	12	13	16	20	22	21	4	5
AN	4	19	8	14	2	2	5	6	7	9	2	12	11	16	10	22	17	20	13	18	15	21	23	24	3	2
TS	9	22	11	14	1.5	4	4	4	8	7	1.5	6	10	17	12	23	16	19	13	18	15	20	24	21	2	2.5
ET	4	24	7	18	2	2	6	5	9	15	2	21	8	16	19	20	11	17	10	14	12	23	13	22	3	2
PN	6	19	8	14	3	3	3	3	7	10	3	9	11	16	12	23	15	20	17	18	13	22	24	21	5	10

N 24
k 9

Ri 59 168 84 124 21.5 31.5 31 43 67 89 21.5 84.5 98 147 128 203 146 171 123 160 113 195 195 197
 $Ri - (\sum Ri/N)$ -53.5 55.5 -29 11.5 -91 -81 -82 -70 -46 -24 -91 -28 -15 34.5 15.5 90.5 33.5 58.5 10.5 47.5 0.5 82.5 82.5 84.5
 $(Ri - (\sum Ri/N))^2$ 2862.25 3080 812 132 8281 6561 6642 4830 2070 552 8281 784 210 1190 240 8190 1122 3422 110 2256 0.25 6806 6806 7140

True rank 6 18 8 14 1.5 4 3 5 7 10 1.5 9 11 16 15 24 16 19 13 17 12 20.5 20.5 23

S 82384
W 0.8888
X² 183.982
df 23

Critical value of X²
41.6 (p<0.01)
35.2 (p<0.05)

SORTING TASK B (NIGHT TIME SCENES)

Judge	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
M	1	19	17	11	18	8	10	5	6	13	2	9	3	14	20	15	7	12	16	21	4	22	24	23
B	4	20	14	9	22	13	12	7	6	17	3	10	1	16	21	11	8	5	15	18	2	24	19	23
A	2	20	12	10	14	6	9	5	7	13	3	8	4	16	19	18	11	17	15	21	1	24	22	23
BD	2	20	11	13	15	7	5	9	14	16	6	8	1	22	24	12	10	3	18	17	4	23	19	21
IBD	6	17	4	16	7	3	9	5	11	14	1	15	2	18	13	24	22	23	10	20	8	12	19	21
AN	2	12	16	6	14	11	4	7	10	15	3	18	8	19	23	9	17	5	13	20	1	24	21	22
TS	3	23	13	11	15	6	7	4	12	14	8	5	2	17	24	19	9	18	10	16	1	22	20	21
ET	1	20	17	16	15	4	6	5	11	14	12	10	3	18	21	8	13	7	9	19	2	24	23	22
PN	2	22	14	10	13	5	9	3	12	11	4	15	6	19	21	16	8	7	17	18	1	24	20	23

N 24
k 9

Ri 23 173 118 102 133 63 71 50 89 127 42 98 30 159 186 132 105 97 123 170 24 199 187 199
 $Ri - (\sum Ri/N)$ -89.5 60.5 5.5 -11 20.5 -50 -42 -63 -24 14.5 -71 -15 -83 46.5 73.5 19.5 -7.5 -16 10.5 57.5 -89 86.5 74.5 86.5
 $(Ri - (\sum Ri/N))^2$ 8010.25 3660 30.3 110 420 2450 1722 3906 552 210 4970 210 6806 2162 5402 380 56.3 240 110 3306 7832 7482 5550 7482

True rank 1 20 13 11 17 6 7 5 8 15 4 10 3 18 21 16 12 9 14 19 2 23.5 22 23.5

s 73064
W 0.784369
X² 162.3644
df 23

Critical value of X²
41.6 (p<0.01)
35.2 (p<0.05)

Appendix A.3
Stimulus materials for Stage 1



Buffer slide



Scene B-day



Scene B-night



Scene C-day



Scene C-night



Scene D-day (no street vendors)



Scene D-night



Scene E-day (no street vendors)



Scene E-night



Scene F-day



Scene F-night



Scene G-day



Scene G-night



Scene H-day



Scene H-night



Scene I-day



Scene I-night

Slide 10 (Daytime)

Slide 11 (Daytime)

Slide 12 (Daytime)

Slide 13 (Daytime)

Slide 14 (Daytime)

Slide 15 (Daytime)

Slide arrangement for Scene 1, Presentation 1

Slide 16 (Daytime)

Slide 17 (Daytime)

Slide 18 (Daytime)

Slide 19 (Daytime)

Slide 20 (Daytime)

Slide 21 (Daytime)

Slide 22 (Daytime)

Slide 23 (Daytime)

Slide 24 (Daytime)

Slides arrangement for Stage 1, Presentation 1



Slide 1: Buffer 1



Slide 2: B-night



Slide 3: C-day



Slide 4: D-night



Slide 5: E-day (buffer 2)



Slide 6: F-day



Slide 7: G-night



Slide 8: H-night



Slide 8: I-day

Slides arrangement for Stage 1, Presentation 2



Slide 1: Buffer 1



Slide 2: B-day



Slide 3: C-night



Slide 4: D-day (buffer 2)



Slide 5: E-night



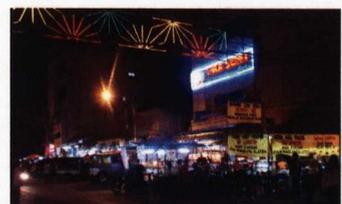
Slide 6: F-night



Slide 7: G-day



Slide 8: H-day



Slide 9: I-night

Appendix A.4

Questionnaire for Stage 1 (Indonesian version)

Instruksi:

Pada kesempatan ini kami meminta anda untuk memberi penilaian terhadap lingkungan sekitar kita. Kami akan menampilkan 9 buah gambar di hadapan anda dan anda diminta untuk mengisi jawaban sesuai dengan gambar yang ditampilkan.

Untuk setiap gambar anda akan memiliki waktu sekitar 5 menit. Anda tidak perlu berlama-lama dalam menjawab setiap pertanyaan. Yang kami inginkan adalah jawaban spontan yang terlintas di kepala anda saat melihat gambar tersebut.

Kita akan mulai dengan Gambar no. 1. Silakan membuka halaman pertama. Jawablah pertanyaan yang ada di sebelah kiri dengan menuliskan jawaban di sebelah kanan. Anda memiliki waktu 5 menit.

Sebelum kita melanjutkan ke gambar berikutnya, apakah ada pertanyaan?
Berikutnya adalah Gambar no. 2 untuk halaman 2.
(dan seterusnya hingga Gambar no. 9)

Selanjutnya silakan melengkapi halaman terakhir (halaman 10) tentang diri anda. Mohon diperiksa apakah anda telah mengisi semua pertanyaan di halaman 10. Untuk pertanyaan no. 5 bila anda menjawab B atau C jangan lupa menyebutkan berapa sering.

Terima kasih banyak atas kerjasama anda.

GAMBAR NO:

1. Menurut anda tempat apa yang ditunjukkan oleh gambar ini?

2. Bagian mana dari gambar ini yang membuat anda beranggapan demikian?

a _____

b _____

Untuk pertanyaan-pertanyaan berikut, jawablah dengan membayangkan bahwa anda benar-benar berada di tempat ini

3. Apakah yang akan anda lakukan di tempat ini?

4. Sebutkan 2 kata yang menggambarkan kesan anda terhadap tempat ini

a _____

b _____

5. Sebutkan 5 hal atau bagian dari tempat ini yang menurut anda terlihat jelas atau dominan; urutkan mulai dari yang sangat dominan hingga yang tidak terlalu dominan.

a _____

b _____

c _____

d _____

e _____

6. Sebutkan bagian yang anda sukai dari tempat ini.

a _____

b _____

7. Apabila anda berkesempatan mengubah tempat ini, bagian mana yang ingin anda hilangkan?

a _____

b _____

TENTANG DIRI ANDA

1. Umur: _____ tahun
2. Jenis kelamin: (lingkari salah satu) laki-laki / perempuan
3. Pekerjaan: _____

Untuk pertanyaan dibawah ini lingkari salah satu jawaban

4. Pernahkah anda makan/berbelanja di penjaja pinggir jalan?
 - a. ya (lanjutkan ke pertanyaan no: 5)
 - b. tidak (lanjutkan ke pertanyaan no: 8)

5. Seberapa sering anda makan/ berbelanja di penjaja pinggir jalan?
 - a. setiap hari
 - b. beberapa kali dalam seminggu
(sebutkan: _____kali)
 - c. beberapa kali dalam sebulan
(sebutkan: _____kali)
 - d. jarang sekali

6. Kapan anda biasanya makan/ berbelanja di penjaja pinggir jalan? (jawaban boleh lebih dari satu)
 - a. pagi hari
 - b. siang hari
 - c. sore hari
 - d. malam hari

7. Mengapa anda makan/berbelanja di penjaja pinggir jalan?

8. Menurut anda keberadaan penjaja pinggir jalan:
 - a. legal
 - b. ilegal
 - c. tidak tahu

Appendix A.5

Questionnaire for Stage 1 (English version)

The instruction:

In this session we would like to ask you to give your assessment on your everyday environments. We will show nine pictures in front of you and you will have to answer the questions on the sheets that we provided based on those pictures.

For each picture you will have approximately 5 minutes. You don't need to spend too much time for each picture. What we want is your spontaneous answer that you have in your mind when you see the picture.

We will begin with Slide no. 1. You may open the first page. Please answer the questions on the left side of the page by writing your answers on the right side. You have 5 minutes.

Before we continue to the next picture, are there any questions?

Next is Slide no. 2 for page 2
(and so on until Slide no. 9)

Now, please complete the last sheet (page 10) about your self.

Please check if you have completed the last page, for the question number 5 if your answer is B or C do not forget to write down how many times it is.

We thank you for your assistance.

SLIDE NO:

1. What place do you think is represented in this photograph? _____

2. Which parts of the photograph make you think so? a _____
b _____

For the following questions, please answer the question provided by imagining that **you are really in this place**

3. What are you going to do in this place? _____

4. Please mention 2 words that describe your impression about this place. a _____
b _____

5. Please mention 5 elements in this place that you think look dominant, starting from the most dominant to the least dominant. a _____
b _____
c _____
d _____
e _____

6. Which elements do you like in this place? a _____
b _____

7. If you have an opportunity to change this place, which elements do you want to remove? a _____
b _____

ABOUT YOURSELF

1. Age: _____ years old
2. Gender: (circle one) male / female
3. Occupation: _____

For the following questions please circle one answer

4. Have you ever eaten or bought from street vendors?
a. yes (continue to question no: 5)
b. no (continue to question no: 8)
5. How often do you eat or buy from street vendors?
a. everyday
b. several times a week
(mention: _____times)
c. several times a month
(mention: _____times)
d. seldom
6. When do you usually eat or buy from street vendors? (you can give more than one answer)
a. morning
b. afternoon
c. late afternoon
d. evening
7. Why do you eat or buy from street vendors?

8. In your opinion, the presence of street vendors is:
a. legal
b. illegal
c. don't know

Appendix B.1
Stimulus materials for Stage 2



Buffer slide



Scene B-day



Scene B-night



Scene C-day



Scene C-night



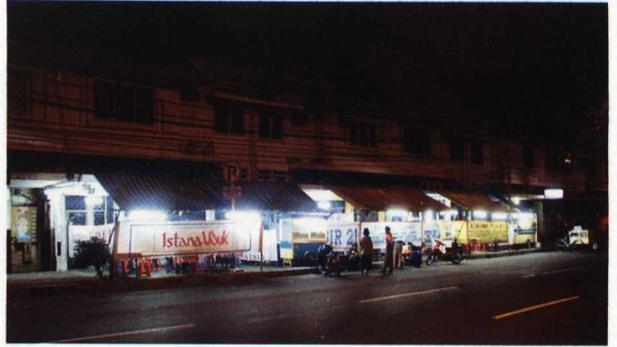
Scene D-day



Scene D-night



Scene E-day (no street vendors)



Scene E-night



Scene F-day



Scene F-night



Scene G-day



Scene G-night



Scene H-day



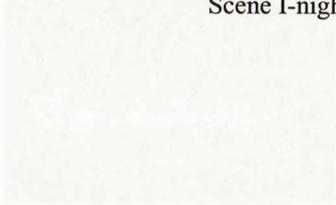
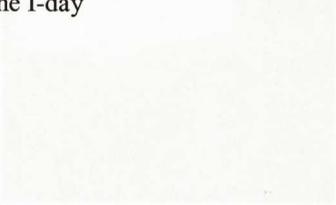
Scene H-night



Scene I-day



Scene I-night



Slides arrangement for Stage 2



Slide 1: Test slide



Slide 2: B-day



Slide 3: C-night



Slide 4: D-day



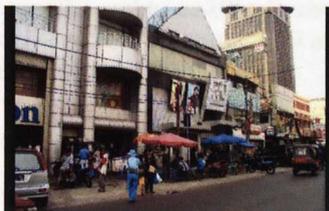
Slide 5: E-night



Slide 6: F-night



Slide 7: G-day



Slide 8: H-day



Slide 9: I-night



Slide 10: B-night



Slide 11: C-day



Slide 12: D-night



Slide 13: E-day



Slide 14: F-day



Slide 15: G-night



Slide 16: H-night



Slide 17: I-day

Appendix B.2 Questionnaire for Stage 2 (Indonesian version)

Pada kesempatan ini kami meminta anda untuk memberi penilaian terhadap lingkungan sekitar kita. Kami akan menampilkan 17 gambar di hadapan anda dan anda diminta untuk mengisi jawaban sesuai dengan gambar yang ditampilkan

Sebagai contoh:

- bagaimana pendapat anda tentang keadaan pedestrian kampus UI Depok?

	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	
baik	√							buruk

Beri tanda "√" di bawah nomor "3" disebelah kiri jika jawaban anda "sangat baik"

Beri tanda "√" di bawah nomor "0" jika jawaban anda netral, bukan "baik" ataupun "buruk" atau

Beri tanda "√" di bawah nomor "3" disebelah kanan jika jawaban anda "sangat buruk"

Untuk setiap gambar anda akan memiliki waktu sekitar 2 sampai 3 menit. Anda tidak perlu berlama-lama dalam menjawab setiap pertanyaan. Yang kami inginkan adalah jawaban spontan yang terlintas di kepala anda saat melihat gambar tersebut.

Tidak ada jawaban yang benar ataupun salah, untuk itu kami mohon anda untuk menjawab semua pertanyaan.

Terimakasih atas kerjasama anda

A tempat

- 1 seberapa anda menyukai tempat pada gambar ini?
- 2 bagaimana penilaian anda terhadap keadaan keamanan di tempat ini?
- 3 apa pendapat anda terhadap 'keteraturan' di tempat ini?
- 4 bagaimana pendapat anda terhadap perawatan tempat ini?
- 5 menurut anda seberapa rumitkah tempat ini? (berapa banyak hal yang terlihat di tempat ini?)

3 2 1 0 1 2 3

suka	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	tidak suka
berbahaya	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	aman
teratur	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	berantakan
terawat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	tidak terawat
rumit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	seederhana

B bangunan utama

- 1 apa pendapat anda terhadap 'keteraturan' pada bangunan utama?
- 2 seberapa dominan bangunan utama terlihat di tempat ini?
- 3 seberapa mudah anda menemukan arah menuju pintu masuk bangunan utama?
- 4 bagaimana pendapat anda terhadap perawatan bangunan utama di tempat ini?

teratur	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	berantakan
dominan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	tersembunyi
sulit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	mudah
terawat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	tidak terawat

C kaki lima

- 1 apa pendapat anda terhadap 'keteraturan' dari kaki lima pada tempat ini?
- 2 bagaimana pendapat anda terhadap kehadiran kaki lima di tempat ini? (apakah kaki lima sudah berada pada tempat yang tepat?)
- 3 sejauh mana kaki lima bersesuaian dengan sekelilingnya? (apakah kaki lima tampak menyatu dengan sekelilingnya?)
- 4 seberapa jelas/tersembunyi kaki lima tampak pada tempat ini? (seberapa dominan kaki lima terlihat di tempat ini?)
- 5 bagaimana pendapat anda terhadap perawatan kaki lima di tempat ini?
- 6 menurut anda seberapa permanenkah keberadaan kaki lima di tempat ini? (seberapa mudah kaki lima tersebut berpindah tempat?)

teratur	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	berantakan
tidak tepat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	tepat
sesuai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	tidak sesuai
jelas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	tersembunyi
terawat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	tidak terawat
temporer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	permanen

Tentang diri anda

1. Umur :.....

2. Jenis kelamin : L / P

3. Departemen :.....

4. Pernahkah anda mengunjungi/berbelanja di pedagang kaki lima : ya / tidak

Appendix B.3 Questionnaire for Stage 2 (English version)

In this session we would like to ask you to give assessment on everyday environments. We will show 17 slides in front of you and you will have to answer the questions on the sheets that we provided based on the slides. Please tick below the number that represents your response to each question.

For example:

- what do you feel about walking on the pedestrian in your campus?

3	2	1	0	1	2	3	
good	√						bad

Tick "√" below number "3" on the left if you think it is "very good"

Tick "√" below number "0" if your opinion is neutral, neither bad nor good

Tick "√" below number "3" on the right if you think it is "very bad"

For each slide you will have approximately 2-3 minutes. You do not need to spend too much time to find the answer; what we want is your spontaneous answer that you have in your mind when you see the slide.

Remember there are no right or wrong answers and please make sure that you answer every question.

Thank you for your cooperation

A scene in general

3 2 1 0 1 2 3

- 1 how much do you like this scene?

like										dislike
------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	---------
- 2 what is your opinion about the safety in this scene?

dangerous										safe
-----------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	------
- 3 what do you think about the orderliness of this scene?

orderly										disorderly
---------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	------------
- 4 what do you think about the maintenance of the place in general at this scene?

well-maintained										badly-maintained
-----------------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	------------------
- 5 how much is going on in this scene? how much does this scene contain elements of different kinds?

complex										simple
---------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--------

B main building

- 1 what do you think about the orderliness of the main building?

orderly										disorderly
---------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	------------
- 2 how obvious is the appearance of the main building?

obvious										hidden
---------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--------
- 3 how easy is it to find the way to get into the main building?

difficult										easy
-----------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	------
- 4 what do you think about the maintenance of the main building in this scene?

well-maintained										badly-maintained
-----------------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	------------------

C vendor stall

- 1 what do you think about the orderliness of the stall?

orderly										disorderly
---------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	------------
- 2 what do you think about the presence of the stall in this place ? Are they present in the right place?

inappropriate										appropriate
---------------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-------------
- 3 how well does the stall adjust to its surrounding? does it fit well with its surrounding?

fit										misfit
-----	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--------
- 4 how obvious is the appearance of the stall in this scene? how dominant does it look in this scene?

obvious										hidden
---------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--------
- 5 what do you think about the maintenance of the stall in this scene?

well-maintained										badly-maintained
-----------------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	------------------
- 6 how much is the degree of temporality of the stall in this scene? (how easy do the street vendors move from place to place?)

temporary										permanent
-----------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-----------

About yourself

1. Age :.....

2. Gender : M / F

3. Department :.....

4. Have you ever visited street vendors : yes / no