Spatial negotiation: understanding the inside and outside of temporary space

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Abstract. The meaning of interior space has expanded beyond the architectural borders. Once existing within the domestic boundaries, interior space can now be experienced in the urban context through temporary space as it repurposes unused land. A common phenomenon of temporary space within the urban context is a street vendor selling foods. In this era, some street vendors' presence correlates with the internet and social media to elevate their products. This action makes human's activity more effective and efficient. However, how about the realization in the urban context? In this case, we will focus on one kind of street vendors in Indonesia. Angkringan Mbah Ino in Depok, West Java, is an example of a temporary space that exists and operates in the city. The presence of the angkringan creates a new interior space that is adaptable and changeable, adjusting to its site, activities, and time. This paper will explore spatial negotiation between inside and outside that occurs in food vendors. An adjustment will be negotiated with the environment and the people around it. The analysis started with field observation and an in-depth interview with the seller and then was continued to map the ever-changing spatial programming of angkringan to the sidewalk. By observing and comparing government's regulations on street vendors, this paper investigates how affordances work to support the socio-economic needs and transform the intended use of public space. This paper serves as a trigger for a new law beneficial to street vendors and pedestrians in the future, especially for Depok City.

1. Introduction

1.1. Between Body and Temporary Space in Urban Context

Humans experience interior spaces by their sense and body perception [1]. The body can be used to differentiate inside and outside by interacting with objects around them. Motions and gestures from responding to the environment increase senses and spatial perception [2]. An immediate sense and experience create an interior presence. In general, interior means inside or related to the within a room or building. In a way, the interior definition cannot be separated from being an enclosed space inside a building [3]. However, in the recent discussion, the interior is defined as the surrounding space that separates people from another condition [3]. Interior, therefore, is not about the intimate space of a room but also about a complex spatial experience felt through tangible and intangible elements around us. Other elements beyond our immediate sensory reach are classified as exterior and, therefore, unperceived. From the development in the interior discourse, the interior is available in the urban context [4], because urban and interior both focus on the relationship between humans and their environment as we are inhabiting the urban space [5]. Interior and urban connect the relationship between human experience and surrounding/context (exterior) by seeing both as a whole, not separated [6]. The way
humans inhabiting their space is also unique. Temporary space is an interesting example of how the interior works in the urban landscape.

The presence of temporary space is known from perceiving the environment around us [4] and, to an extent, to affordances provided in the urban context [6]. Affordances and temporary space describe how the existing space is repurposed by people who see its potential to support other activities and take action. Temporary space utilizes available or unused space, either in an open space or attached to a building [7]. However, following its name, temporary space will not exist forever; it will be gone, later, adjusting to the needs and activities within its space [7]. Therefore, the presence of temporary space is related to time and activities [7]. The nature of temporary space encourages people who occupy their space to be aware of its short-term characteristics and any possibility to share it with other users or activities. A spatial negotiation must share the same space with different actors and needs: it requires a collaborative program – interchangeable, even – depending on a specific time [7].

In the city, temporary space changes the interior's existence to be ‘out’ and related to the exterior [4]. Usually, temporary space in the city occurs in places where that area is accessible [8] to everyone, such as stations, highways, schools, or other public places. Discussion on temporary space in the city focuses on examples from the Western countries where temporary space is regulated. Publications by Hill (2016) represent the current conversation on temporary space. In this current era, everything is connected to technology. For example, street vendors in Singapore that are regulated by the government using the website to make them significant, efficient, and structured. They have several steps in setting up the tenants. This regulation also occurs in Indonesia for small businesses supported by the government. With the help of technology, some street vendors connected to the application can increase their income and customers [9]. However, in reality, street vendors are still occupying the streets.

This paper will focus on the spatial occupation of food vendors in the urban context and how its temporality contributes to the overall spatial quality, focusing on angkringan, a type of street vendor commonly found in Java Island. This type of vendor sells food and beverages by occupying available space in the city, whether it is leftover or pedestrian sidewalks that provide affordances [10]. Angkringan’s temporality nature is made possible by using a cart as a place to display and sell their foods (see Figure 1). This paper will explore this matter according to the government’s regulation and the realization of how angkringan manages to create its interior within the urban landscape and negotiates its space with other occupants in the city, especially with pedestrians.

![Figure 1. Cart as a display for food and beverages](source: authors, 2020)

2. Method
This research uses a qualitative approach consisting of literature reviews, field observation, and an in-depth interview. The early stage of this research is reviewing publications related to temporary space, interior, and the discourse on spatial negotiation between inside and outside and the regulation of street/food vendors in Indonesia. A paper by Franck and Lepori (2000) and an article by Atmodiwirjo et al. (2015) are relevant to construct a theoretical background for this manuscript. Additional reading
on the theory of affordances by Gibson (1986) and how everyday objects influence people’s actions by Norman (2013) further constructs the understanding of the relationship between humans and their surrounding environment.

This paper also used a comparative study, analyzing street vendors’ regulations in Singapore and Indonesia, especially in Jakarta and West Java. Following the comparison between two government regulations, the discussion continues to the case study and analyzes it based on the regulations' findings. Field observation and an in-depth interview with sellers will support arguments in the discussion, investigating street vendors' rules and reality. This paper used Angkringan Mbah Ino as its case study to see how it negotiates space in the urban context and creates its interior. Interviews with the owner and seller of the angkringan to understand the logic behind the angkringan’s transformation. The data collected from both field survey and interviews were used to analyze the temporality and how the interior space changes to accommodate different activities. The analysis investigated how the interior works within the angkringan and how it expands further to the outside. In the end, this paper showed how space is negotiated between street vendors and other occupants in the city. A possible suggestion for a new regulation for the government based on spatial activities and productions is the goal of this discussion.

3. Street Vendor Realization: The Blurs between Inside and Outside in Urban Context

3.1 Street Vendors: Between Singapore and Indonesia

Singapore has strict guidelines for hawkers: from applying to be hawkers to documents needed to be classified as hawkers. The information is available online and accessible to the public. The first step of selling foods is complying with the basic food hygiene course, bidding for the stall, and hawkers can visit the referral website to see the bids in the past. Then, the applicant will survey the location. When the bid is successful, the applicant will have up to 3 months in preparation before beginning their first sale [9]. Singapore has an online system that can monitor new and current hawkers, ensuring that they will follow government’s regulations. Besides accommodating the application procedure, the government also provides spaces designated street vendors, arranging all sellers neatly in specific places. The idea of creating predetermined spaces for hawkers is to take control of food quality and to create less spatial infringement in the urban context.

Meanwhile, in Indonesia, some local streets integrate businesses with social media applications, such as Zomato and Gojek, to elevate customers’ awareness of the tenants and increase effectiveness and efficiency. The Indonesian government also provides some spaces in public spaces where street vendors can sell their foods. In other cases, several temporary events provide similar spaces for the food, such as GoFood Festival. This festival focuses on providing tenants and rent spaces for people to promote their food. However, the event is not permanent, and the time and place will be changed every time.

Unfortunately, the development of technology and the internet are not spread evenly to all small businesses in Indonesia. Some vendors are unreachable by the advancing technology, and therefore, forced to do business in the old ways: by selling their goods on the street. According to the government of Depok, people are not allowed to sell anything in public space such as sidewalks, side roads, parks, and any public space except being allowed and provided by the government [11]. The regulation is in line with the National Regulation number 20, 2008 on small businesses, that is dedicated to public space [12]. In Jakarta, street vendors' business spaces are controlled under strict regulations in 2009 and 2010 [13][14]. However, until this manuscript is published, there has not been any rules on a specific location for street vendors released by Depok government. Without explicit instruction and spaces, many local vendors in Depok sell their products at restricted public spaces and are settled for a specific time. Therefore, it is interesting to see how these vendors occupy and negotiate their needs within public spaces. At the same time, they are instigating changes in uses and activities from other users.

This paper will further investigate a case study, Angkringan Mbah Ino, which is located in the southern part of Margonda Raya Street, Depok, to see the changes and adjustments, as well as their implication to public activities (see Figure 2). Located next to the main road that uses the unused land, the vendor opens every night from 7.00 p.m. to 1.00 a.m. and sells affordable foods and beverages. Since
2017, the angkringan has used the same building and space with a ticket bus agent. Both parts have known the spatial occupation and they have agreed on different time openings: the first negotiation was conducted by Angkringan Mbah Ino. Besides negotiating the time, Angkringan Mbah Ino and the ticket bus agent also negotiated which objects were allowed to be used together. The ticket bus agent will use the object in the morning until afternoon, and then later at night, Angkringan Mbah Ino utilizes the same objects. However, these objects were later rearranged to support the angkringan’s program and give more room for other objects added by its owners.

Angkringan Mbah Ino uses mostly portable and lightweight objects so that the seller can set and pack quickly. A long table and a couple of benches are objects being repurposed by Angkringan Mbah Ino from the ticket bus agent. Angkringan Mbah Ino puts benches near the table as a dining table. Besides sitting and eating on a table, Angkringan Mbah Ino also provides a sitting mat for those who prefer to eat by a lesehan method (sitting on the floor). Even its cart is also manageable to become another eating area. By negotiating their personal and shared objects, Angkringan Mbak Ino has managed to give its customers three dining options (see Figure 3). Later, these two negotiations – times and objects – will be discussed to change the interior of Angkringan Mbah Ino and connection to the surrounding.

3.2. Space Negotiation between Angkringan and the Previous Program
Each object has a different function depending on the affordances and will affect its position and placement [15]. A similar phenomenon occurs in the Angkringan Mbah Ino as each object changes the location and layout to support activities in both the angkringan and ticket bus. Due to its complex activities, the spatial program of Angkringan Mbah Ino changes the most. Thus, even though each
program’s arrangement and layout can be changed as needed, the affordances quality of an object will not be lost [15] (see Figure 4).

Angkringan Mbah Ino has also negotiated the outside by integrating with their interior. This action is needed to support various activities in the angkringan. Based on the layout, there are some changes in the position of objects and portable objects from the previous program. Space within the built environment is used to provide comfortable space for dine-in customers, while the area facing the street is used as a display area and for eating. The extending interior is utilized by P as an area to cook food and prepare drinks.

![Diagram](source: authors, 2020)

**Figure 4.** Left (Layout of the ticket bus agent, note: a. Waiting area, b. Transaction area), and right (Layout of Angkringan Mbah Ino, note: a. Dining area, b. Cart area, and c. Drink serving area)

The cart in angkringan is an interesting object because it provides various activities at the same time. In the case of Angkringan Mbah Ino, people order, eat, and wait at the cart. The cart acts as the main attraction and the identity that draw people into the angkringan’s interior. Visitors can see what kind of foods and drinks are offered, and for the seller himself, it is easier to display his goods. Processing their order is also another attraction and an identity for a typical food vendor in Indonesia. Buyers who are waiting around the cart will interact with the seller and often with other customers, transforming the cart into a social hub.

The cart’s presence will be related to the plastic chair that is arranged in front of the cart, which is used for buyers who want to eat at the cart. Nevertheless, here, the position of the plastic chair takes up more spaces on the sidewalk. Besides providing extra spaces for chairs, the pedestrian path also acts as a waiting room for customers who are waiting to be served or for their foods. This type of customer is often found standing closer to the cart. When the angkringan does not occur, people can use the sidewalk as a walking area. However, when angkringan occurs, the layout with the plastic chairs will add other functions for the sidewalk from walking to waiting and eating the food. The appropriation of eating and waiting on the sidewalk causes non-buyers who want to pass this area to shift and maneuver themselves to the road (see Figure 5).
3.3. Spatial Negotiation in Angkringan: between inside and outside.

Physically, the interior that occurs in this temporary space is located behind the cart (specifically at the dining area, indicated by the table), which is enclosed [3]. Limits can be separated and become a component to create space [1]. The dining room uses a long table to accommodate the dining-in customers, providing a gathering space where people eat together without boundaries. They use their bodies to create a spatial boundary between themselves and the surrounding area beyond the table, creating their interior space [1].

As a result of the limited space, the interior extends to the outside. Thus, the interior created outside is an extension of human activities carried out in this temporary space. Outside interior occurs by crossing existing boundaries so that new interiors arise in different conditions [4]. Outside interior, in this case, will be negotiated by the inside and outside conditions [4]. In Angkringan Mbah Ino, several spatial negotiations have happened: on the side as a place to serve drinks and food, the front of the cart, and the lesehan area.

A new interior emerges when the predetermined space no longer accommodates activities. As a complex set of activities, the dining area fills with tables and benches. There is no more space for services and cooking. Therefore, the interior cannot accommodate other programs and requires expansion. The interior is extended to an unused land that is available on the right side of the angkringan. With a spacious empty area, the ground affords for adjustment and modification to support the angkringan's activities. To separate this area to the dining area, the stove and cooking table are arranged linearly, creating a barrier to the dine-in area. The seller adds tarpaulin to protect the seller and their equipment from rains or winds. The tarpaulin ensures that the activity may sustain in any weather for an extended period. It also becomes a threshold separator and creates the spatial quality of being surrounded in this space [1]. Thus, the quality of this interior extension will increase due to temporary elements (see Figure 6). When the program is not required, this area (stove, tarpaulin, and other cooking equipment) is gone and will be stored.
Figure 6. Extending interior space for the drinking area
(source: authors, 2020)

The cart creates another outside interior. The cart itself affords the possibility with two longboards on both inside and outside, so people can use it as a surface for eating. The connection between this board and its users indicates that objects and events have inherent meanings [16]. People can use the board with a different function. For the seller, the board is used to serve food, while the board surface is appropriated as a table for the customer. Space for buyers to eat on the cart is located on the outside, adding another dining area to the angkringan with additional plastic chairs – light, easy to stack, and moveable.

Outside interior appears in this area based on the cultural habit of angkringan, where eating at the cart is common and not related to limited space. At the front of the cart sometimes an advertisement banner about the angkringan is installed, creating an enclosed and surrounded space for the customers [3]. Thus, this creates an inside condition, even though the area is outside [3]. Because the cart position is next to the sidewalk, the angkringan further negotiates its space with pedestrians of Margonda Raya. The pedestrian will have half part of the sidewalks because of being occupied by this area of angkringan.

According to the Regional Government Regulation no. 16 of the year 2012, the pedestrians have to walk on the sidewalk if there is a sidewalk [11]. In realization, pedestrians can walk through, but their path is partially blocked by the cart and banner from Angkringan Mbah Ino. New activities produced by the angkringan require a spatial negotiation from both participants – those related to the angkringan and those who are not. However, in the case of Angkringan Mbah Ino, pedestrians are forced to comply with the additional activity. Pedestrians have been found avoiding the angkringan and its clustering customers. Based on field observation, pedestrians opted for a curve-like path or turn their bodies to avoid collision (see Figure 7). The phenomenon suggests that the extended interior creates more spaces for angkringan and its related users, but this implies a particular disturbance for non-users. Although the existence of angkringan on this street seems to be ignoring sidewalks as the pedestrian’s rights [17], leaving a small space (enough for one person to pass by) indicates that they try to negotiate with pedestrians.
Angkringan Mbah Ino also provides *lesehan* for its customers. *Lesehan* becomes an option when the dining area is full or willingly used in the area given. *Lesehan*, therefore, can be categorized as outside interior because it occurs to overcome the limited space and away from the predesigned interior [4]. The *lesehan* area is located on the cart's front, right on the pedestrian walk (see Figure 10). The area has been chosen because the sidewalk has a relatively flat surface and covered ground [10]. As a flat surface with quality tiled floor, the sidewalk provides affordances for laying out a mat compared to the land next to it, which is soil and grass. Affordances also come from the physical attribute [18], and in the case of Angkringan Mbah Ino, they utilize the width of the sidewalk to benefit their causes.

The parking lot next to the cooking area is, indeed, available but undesirable because it has no ground covering; people will be sitting on dirt. The mat becomes the boundary in the *lesehan* area. When visitors who use this area cannot be fully accommodated with one mat, another mat will be merged to create a bigger space. This *lesehan* method is temporary and takes place irregularly. When a visitor is finished, and no one uses the mat, this area will be gone. The negotiations are carried out by the buyers for eating, waiting, or parking with non-buyer pedestrians on the sidewalk by using the pedestrian walk. The non-customers will shift and slightly change their path due to this interior expansion.

The presence of plastic chairs, waiting, or even mats for *lesehan* are not the only negotiation created by Angkringan Mbah Ino to Margonda Raya Street. The overall situation creates a new spatial need that occupies the side road. For example, are parking spaces for the angkringan's customers with private vehicles – mostly motorcycles – parked right in front of Angkringan Mbah Ino. Without proper parking spaces, they are forced to use the roadside, blocking and interfering with other vehicles (see Figure 8).

Appropriating the sidewalk will create new possibilities – affordances – from the original space [18]; using the sidewalk as a place to eat is for example. The action, however, reduces available spaces for pedestrians within a certain time. When the number of customers can be accommodated inside the sale area or bad weather, the cart's interior remains. It will not be extended to the sidewalk, and pedestrians can walk on the sidewalk as usual. Thus, this phenomenon implies that a temporary space's interior is constantly changing, depending on time, conditions, and users’ activities. It may perceive and utilize affordances within its surrounding environments – the sidewalk, for example – to accommodate their needs.
4. Conclusion
The phenomenon of street vendors in the urban context is a common situation people encounter every day in major cities in Indonesia. Despite knowing the regulation of prohibiting public spaces from being used as a commercial purpose, these vendors are forced to adapt and change quickly to fulfill their needs. Negotiating their spaces becomes one of their solutions to survive. Based on a case study of Angkringan Mbah Ino on Margonda Raya Street, the interior space will adjust following affordances offered by its surrounding environment and its needs. Like a breathing organism, the angkringan will expand or deflate to suit users’ needs. The extending interior will see affordances to accommodate sidewalks, roadsides, and empty lots around them. The issue creates an inside-outside relationship as a whole and inseparable condition. The action will make an impact on the surrounding environment and activities. The predetermined function of public spaces in the urban context will be altered and modified, such as the sidewalk for walking to eating. The case shows that the expanding interior will be negotiated by users who pass this place or non-buyers with the buyers who inhabit the space. These findings of spatial occupation by street vendors are the result of the unregulated public spaces by the government of Depok for small businesses. This study contributes as a trigger for those needing legal spaces to accommodate vendors. Public spaces will return to their intended roles with designated commercial spaces such as in Singapore or GoFood Festival and no friction between two conflicting activities.

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