

Informal Space Utilization Shifting post-Urban Revitalization in the Semarang Old City

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Abstract The Semarang Old City revitalization has changed its physical appearance significantly, from a slum and crowded area to a more organized, pleasant, and attractive one. The revitalization is one of the Mayor's missions after being reelected in 2015 to enhance the Old City's image as a prominent historical tourist destination. The government established a regulation prohibiting informal activities in the Old City. Informality is considered an interference in urban areas, including spaces that accommodate informal activities through illegal acquisition. However, informal activities persist in the Old City, shifting the physical setting and transforming the spatial utilization. Therefore, this study aimed to examine the transformation of informal spaces in the Old City after revitalization. Quantitative methods were used by distributing questionnaires to informal activity workers and interviews with the Old City manager. The results showed spatial utilization and relation transformations, a close relationship between informal and formal activities, and no conflict regarding spatial utilization. However, the relationship between formal and informal spaces changed after the revitalization. Formal activities prefer clear spatial boundaries, making informal space utilization and pattern more dynamic.

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1. Introduction

Urban revitalization is a strategy to restore the vitality of an area that previously declined to be more sustainable and resilient (Taherkhani, Hashempour, & Lotfi, 2021). Likewise, revitalization creates a better physical environment, economic growth, and preserves the local values. Urban revitalization intends to enhance the vitality of an urban area (The Hong Kong Institute of Architect, 2012) and solve social, economic, and environmental issues (Said et al., 2013). In addition, urban revitalization overcomes several problems such as slums, regional aesthetics, congestion, criminal acts, and informal activities toward efficient space utilization and growing the regional economy (Farinmade, Soyinka, & Siu, 2018; Mehanna & Mehanna, 2019; Yıldız, Kıvrak, Gültekin, & Arslan, 2020).

However, there are always two faces contradicting in real urban life. Something well planned and orderly represents formality, whereas the other things that are more spontaneous and unpredictable portray informality. The formal and informal spaces in an urban setting are inevitability and relate to each other, creating different meanings towards space utilization and community lives (Lutzoni, 2016). Nevertheless, informality in the spatial planning context denotes a problem because it is not under the spatial plan. The emergence of informal spaces indicates that urban revitalization cannot relieve it and fail to drive it into a formal space. Informal space in urban settings accommodates informal activities, which are contravened (Alpopi & Manole, 2013; Chiodelli et al., 2020; Kesteltoot & Meert, 1999; Roy, 2005). The formation of informal spaces depicts a spontaneous occupation of a particular urban area

with no ownership rights or illegal inhabits and temporary space utilization (AlSayyad, 2004; Lutzoni, 2016; Roy, 2005). Primarily, it is necessary to comprehend that informality is a socio-economic phenomenon (Lutzoni, 2016). Therefore, the discussion about informal space is necessary to recognize the characteristics of the socio-economic activities. Informal activities provide opportunities for the marginalized and leverage economic development (Aguilar & Guerrero, 2020; Jensen et al., 2019; Martínez et al., 2017; Sekhani et al., 2019). For most urban dwellers, informality is a survival strategy when they cannot access formal employment with no high capital requirements and specific skills (Akuoko et al., 2021; Kesteltoot & Meert, 1999; Sekhani et al., 2019). Informal activities intervene and take over public spaces with various spatial strategies (Ojeda & Pino, 2019). The International Labor Organization-ILO (2002) defined informal activities as illegal economic undertakings or outward formal milieu without state protection and control. Moreover, Musango et al. (2020) mentioned several activities that refer to informality, such as illegal housing, slum settlements, informal economy, street vendors, and urban informality. These activities are classified as informal because economic workers are unincorporated, unregistered, do not pay taxes, lack social protection, and violate regulations (Rigon, Walker, & Koroma, 2020).

The informal space utilization is uncontrolled, disorganized, and inefficient (Boonjubun, 2017). It accommodates activities that often miss the government arrangement and lack a specific and adequate space allocation. Informality implies the other city that seldom receives

government attention (Akuoko et al., 2021; Kesteltoot & Meert, 1999; Koster & Nuijten, 2016). Urban planning threatens these activities vulnerable to eviction and urban space management. The informal space utilization provides a place for informal economic activities and becomes a wild ball that needs supervision to avert physical disruption. Previous studies emphasized the positive impacts of revitalization, such as improved environment and community economic quality (Alpopi & Manole, 2013; Cirulis et al., 2015; Danisworo & Martokusumo, 2002; Ibrahim & Abdul Ghani, 2018; Ramlee et al., 2015; Temelová & Dvořáková, 2012; The Hong Kong Institute of Architect, 2012; Vilenišké & Urbonas, 2011; Wongso, 2002). Furthermore, Lefebvre (1991) focused more on informal space production (Herndl, 1991; Ramlee, Omar, Yunus, & Samadi, 2015). Therefore, this study aimed to reveal informal space utilization based on the characteristics of its activities and how it is impacted by urban revitalization.

Several of Indonesia's local governments take revitalization as a spatial planning concept stated in the regulations and policies, including Semarang City. Urban revitalization is a strategy to revive ancient areas by structuring buildings and the environment and strengthening economic, social, cultural, and tourism activities. The legal foundation and guidelines of urban revitalization in Semarang are stated in the Local Government Regulation No. 8 of 2020 amendment to Local Government Regulation No. 3 of 2003 with the Building and Development Planning (RTBL) and the Grand Design Document of the Old City of 2011.

Overview of Semarang Old City

The Old City has a historical tourism center in Semarang registered as a national cultural heritage area (The Minister of Education and Culture Decree Number 682/P/2020 about National Cultural Conservation Areas), and a historical site

proposed to the UNESCO World Heritage List. Before 2016, this area had become a historical tourist site but was not equipped with proper tourism-supporting facilities, making it less attractive. It included an abandoned area prone to floods, slums settlements, and poor vacant ancient buildings left by owners to be inhabited by settlers for years illegally. A two-floor building was resided by 4-5 families or almost 20 persons. The local street became a center of many informal activities, such as cockfighting, gambling, and street vendors. Many hoodlums roamed along the street, and less light made this area have a high crime rate. Additionally, many ancient building components were lost because of theft, such as old window panes, wood, and other objects.

The Old City has a predominant role for Semarang as the first city development that functioned as an economic and government center. The 245 ancient buildings are considered potential objects for further development (Steinberg, 2005). For this reason, the Semarang City government planned to revitalize the Old City, as stated in the Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMD) document 2016-2021 and the Building and Development Planning document. Revitalization was composed of the first phase from 2017 to 2019, emphasizing the core zone of 25.277 hectares. The second phase was carried out in 2020 for two years and focused on the buffer zone (see Figure 1 to find out the zone division). Revitalization dealt with the flood, slum upgrading, and street improvement. Ancient building revitalization relied on the community as the owner, where 177 ancient buildings are individual property. Furthermore, 68 ancient buildings belong to the private sectors and institutions, including the Oudetrap building as the only property of the Semarang City government. The government has motivated and facilitated the owners to renovate their buildings by reducing the building tax by 50%.

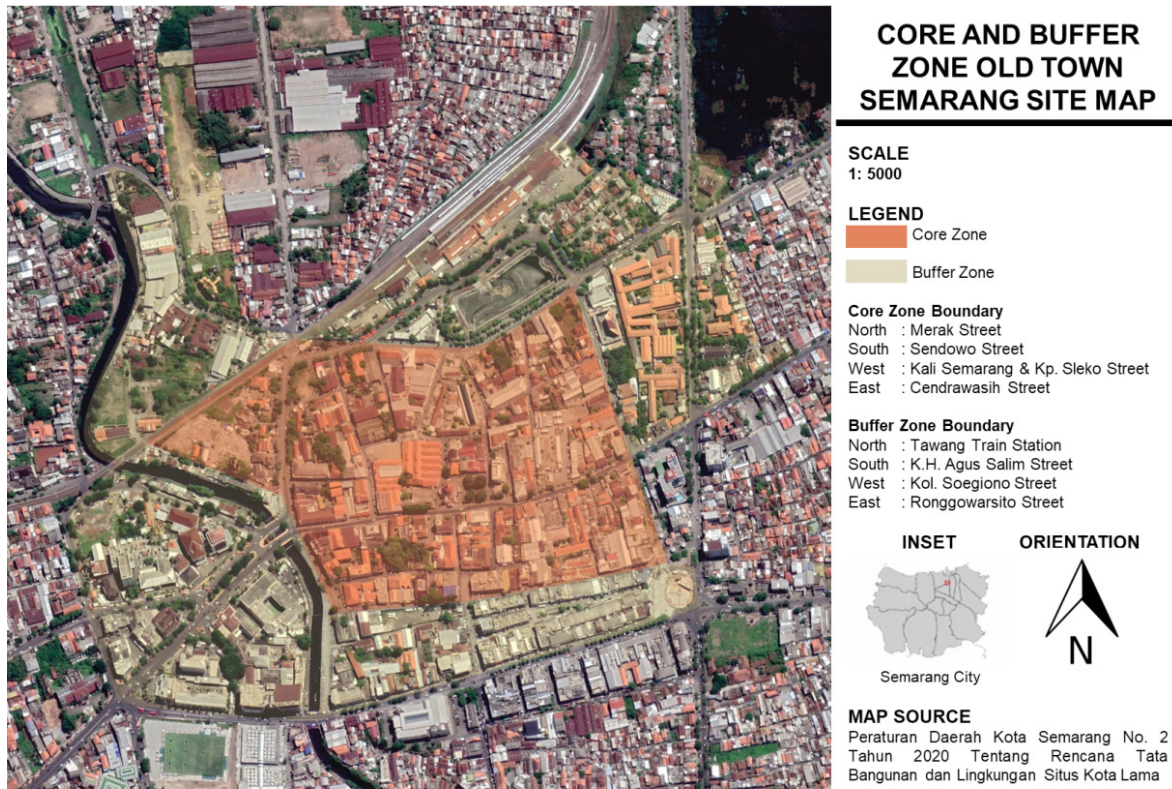


Figure 1. Semarang Old City Map

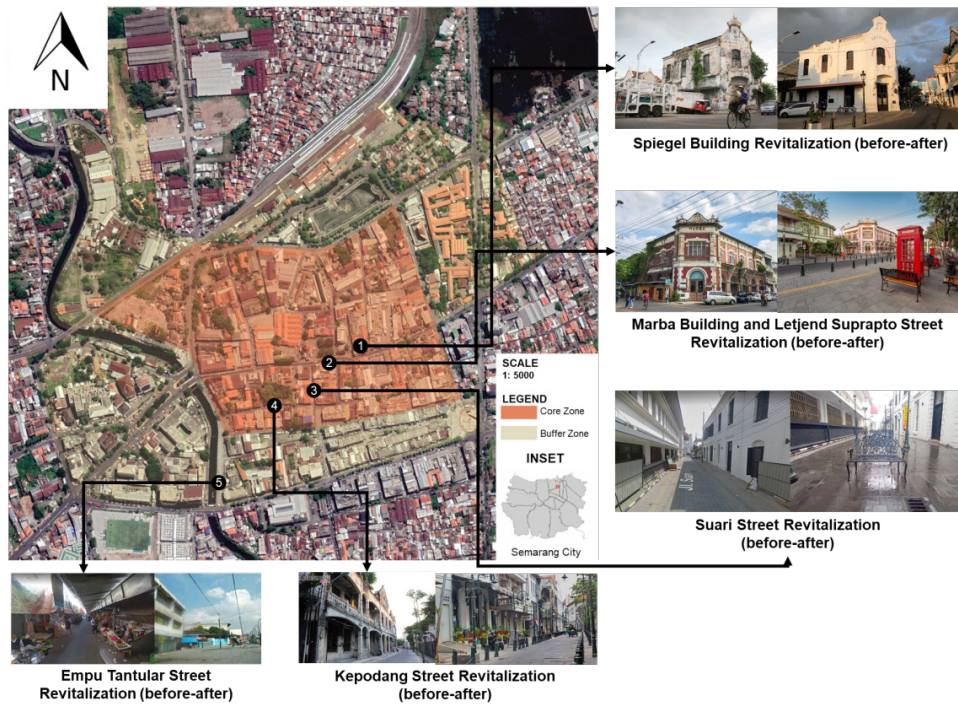


Figure 2. Revitalization of Semarang Old City
 (the left figure represents situation before 2016, whereas the right figure refers condition after first stage of revitalization finished at the end 2019)

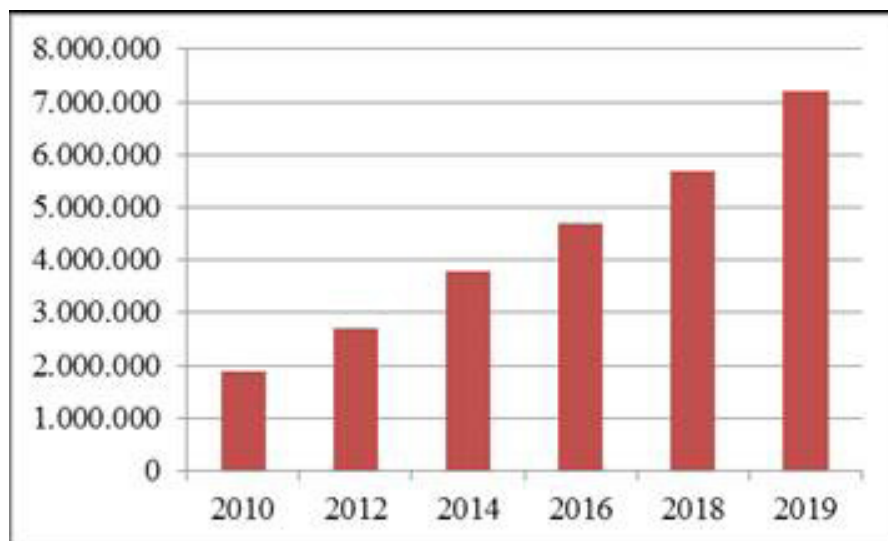


Figure 3. Visitors' Number of Semarang City
 (Source: satudata.semarang.go.id)

(Source: RTBL Semarang City) Revitalization dramatically transformed the Old City's appearance, making it a demand for investors (see Figure 2). It generated tourism activities and attracted local tourists (see Figure 3), making Semarang one of the ten most searched city tourist destinations on Google in 2018. The ancient buildings with no economic value became auspicious properties with high rental values. Most ancient buildings were vacant, but their rental price became IDR300,000/m²/year, and the selling value reached IDR35,000,000/m² after revitalization. Also, the economy grows significantly due to the increasing tourism and its supporting activities. Tourism development creates new jobs and business opportunities, including informal economic activities such as street vending. Improvement of an area leads to transform the socio-economic characteristic of the community

and increasing the environment quality. In addition, the increasing economic value is influenced by the function of the area; the tourism site will be more attractive and demanding for the investors and community to open a business (Batara Surya, 2021)

Based on RTBL of the Old City, street vendors were prohibited despite managing the Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (UMKM) space allocation as the most dominant economic activity. The absence of specific locations for the street vendors caused them to reside in the most advantageous core zone. It was typical where the government regulation determined the area was out of use by street vendors without definite directions on the correct location (Ojeda & Pino, 2019). The government evicted informal sector activities to other places outside the Old City. However, the informal activities

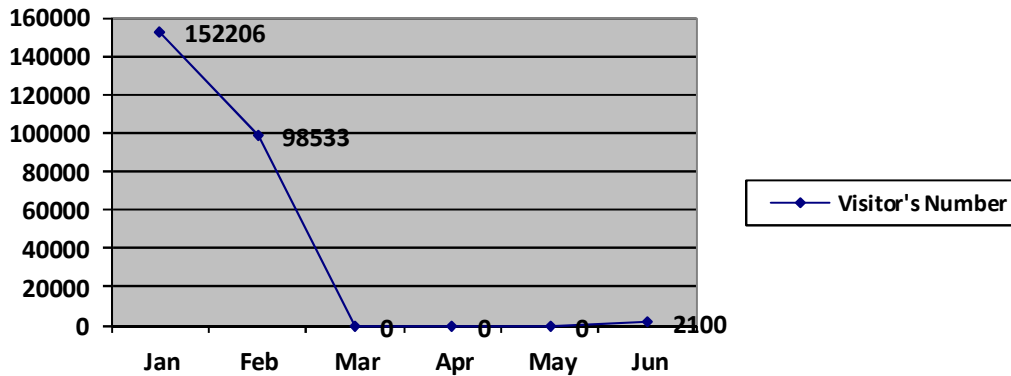


Figure 4 Number of Tourists in Semarang of 2020
Sourc : Central Java Statistics in Numbers, 2020

return and insist on remaining in the core zone, such as around the Blenduk Church (GPIB Immanuel) and Srigunting Park. Their existence supports the development of tourism activities despite hiding from police control (Martínez et al., 2017).

Informal activities management became a part of the revitalization agendas, such as the street vendors' arrangement in the Tawang Polder area and the Semarang River. However, this arrangement could not accommodate all traders whose number was uncertain. As a result, informal space utilization was spread over and potentially triggered conflict among the workers. Informal space management is necessary to enhance vitality and avoid irregularity. Furthermore, many work terminations during the COVID-19 pandemic increased the number of street vendors. Instability and the economic crisis have led to layoffs that made many workers switch to the informal sector (Jensen et al., 2019; Rigon et al., 2020; and Sekhani et al., 2019).

2. Methods

This study used quantitative methods to examine the relationship between revitalization and space utilization. Data were collected by distributing questionnaires to informal workers in December 2020 for two weeks before the Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB) policy. The Covid-19 pandemic has caused the number of Old City visitors and office activities to decrease significantly (see Figure 4). This decrease was due to the implementation of work from home, online education or study from home, and an industry that uses a rotating system for its workers. Decreasing activity intensity affects informal activities (Times Indonesia, 27 March 2020). Therefore, the respondents comprised 42 informal workers who met accidentally in the Old City core area. They consisted of informal workers with less than one year of experience working in the Old City and those that resided for the last three years and considered comprehending the revitalization process and current condition.

Questionnaire data were verified using interviews with the Old City Area Management Agency (BPK2L), the Semarang City government representative informing and advising the Mayor regarding the Old City development. BPK2L is a mediator and spokesperson for the community, traders, and entrepreneurs in the Old City. Furthermore, this agency dealt directly with street vendors and other informal sector workers during the revitalization process. The data verification was conducted on-site through observation with BPK2L for two days. During the direct observation, BPK2L

explained the revitalization process, informal activities, and space utilization. Direct field observation continued for one week to notice the informal space utilization. However, this observation could not be optimal because of the government's restriction on community activities and was proceeded online through Google maps or Google street view. Statistical data and government regulations were cited from the websites of government agencies. These included the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) of Semarang City, the Regional Development Planning Agency (Bappeda) of Semarang City, and the Semarang City Tourism Office.

A descriptive statistical analysis was used to describe data through various images, diagrams, or tables to reveal the characteristics of informal workers. The data analyzed statistically related to the informal workers' characteristics such as age, type of trade, reasons for pursuing a job, length of work, and income. The space utilization analysis used the spatial method through Geographic Information Systems to explain space distribution and its utilization pattern.

3. Result and Discussion

Characteristics of Informal Activities

Informal sectors primarily accommodate many workers in Indonesia, especially the productive age group of 15-65 years. The Central Statistics Agency data (2019) shows that 56% or 70.49 million of 126.51 million people of the productive age are informal workers (see Figure 5). Although these activities lack guaranteed protection, they are essential in improving the economic conditions of most people in urban areas. The informal workers started working at an early age, following their parents that spent almost their whole lives working on the streets. They had a solid connection and a sense of belonging to the street (Ojeda & Pino, 2019). These jobs provided them with financial stability sufficient to meet their daily needs to survive in urban areas. Furthermore, 54% of respondents over 40 stated that they worked in the informal sector for fewer skills and capital reasons and could no longer return to the formal sector at their age. About 49% of the younger informal sector workers below 40 pursued their current job to earn income from tourism activities in the Old City, while 7% stated that it is a hereditary business from their parents.

Most informal workers in the Old City are street vendors serving the tourist needs, such as food, non-food, and services (see Figure 6). Several street vendors serve non-tourism consumers, including office employees, the local community, and passers-by. Additionally, they sell ready-to-eat food such as

heavy meals, snacks, drinks, and non-food products, including souvenirs, antiques, balloons, and children’s toys. The street vendors selling ready-to-eat food and serving non-tourist consumers are workers aged over 40 years. They mostly settle in a particular place and use permanent or semi-permanent business facilities (see Figure 7) to run their business, such as vacant buildings or stalls made of wood or bamboo in a vacant space. Occupied permanent or semi-permanent business facilities allow the street vendors to display goods such as foods and drinks. The vendors selling ready-to-eat food to tourists are workers under 40 years, using tricycle motors, carts, or shoulder poles to reach consumers. These street vendors offer various goods and services because they have a wide range of mobility. For instance, they offer services such as a photo booth using several properties, including specific costumes, tricycle rental services or ornamental bicycles, photo services, parking, and other tourism-supporting services.

three years, earning an average of 2,800,000 – 5,000,000 rupiahs per month. Workers with the highest income are souvenirs sellers, while low-income earners are snacks or drink sellers.

The situation changed dramatically during the Covid-19 pandemic. The decline in the visitors’ number made the formal and informal activities unsteady. Their income dropped more than 50% or under the Semarang City Minimum Wage Standard (IDR2,810,025), and their livelihood cannot fulfill all basic needs. Furthermore, job vacancies were limited for 45% of workers above 40 years old than occupation alternatives for the young workers, making the informal economy the best occupation.

The Informal Space Utilization

Urban physical space comprises planned elements that follow the regulation and unplanned or informal elements growing spontaneously. The unplanned elements represent a space allocation not under the designation or known as out of place (Yatmo, 2008). In this case, out of place describes informal activities occupying urban spaces illegally, negatively impacting the visual quality and disrupting the environmental arrangement. Informality in space utilization means the space is irregular, uncontrolled, untidy, and inefficient (Lutzoni, 2016). Therefore, the space accommodates informal activities acquired illegally or without a permit.

Informal space in the Old City has a vacant buildings inhabited illegally, courtyards or terraces of ancient buildings used to sell products, road borders, pedestrians, and other public forms used for informal activities. The space utilization describes the existing spatial pattern and the relationship between these spaces.

The spatial pattern is influenced by flexible, informal activities with high mobility to easily take over various public spaces. They reside in a most-visited space or along main streets, such as the roadside, parking lots, crossroads, pedestrians, city parks, vacant buildings, or moving around these spaces (Ojeda & Pino, 2019; Sekhani et al., 2019). Additionally, the selection of informal space follows the formal activities, especially concerning the activity intensity. For instance, the highest intensity of informal space utilization around the offices and services in Sendowo Street is in the morning and the afternoon, the peak time for workers’ mobility. The most common informal activities are food and beverage peddling in a semi-permanent place in an ancient building and illegal parking around the offices and warehouse. The intensity of informal space utilization around tourist sites such as the Blenduk Church, Srigunting Park, Semarang Creative Gallery (GKIS), Semarang Contemporary Art Gallery, Marba Building, and Old City 3D Trick Art Museum is high all day.

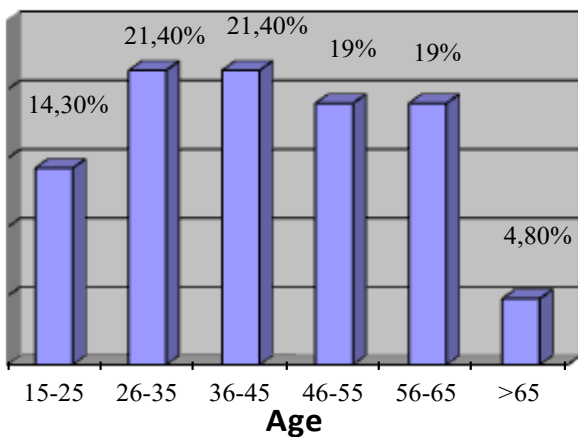


Figure 5. Number of Informal Workers by Age

The government organized the informal activities by providing a place in the Creative Industry Building. This building is occupied by Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs), with different characteristics from street vendors. In comparison, street vendors prefer a legal or illegal location close to the buyers and ignore the space status, while the MSMEs use legal stalls under government supervision.

MSMEs and informal spaces are free of charge, though rental fees are a principal factor for informal workers because paying would diminish their income. Informal workers are mostly less educated and less skilled and enhance their experiences throughout the working period (Cano-Urbina, 2015). They graduated from elementary school or did not comply with the 12 years’ basic education standard. Additionally, they have worked in the informal sector for over

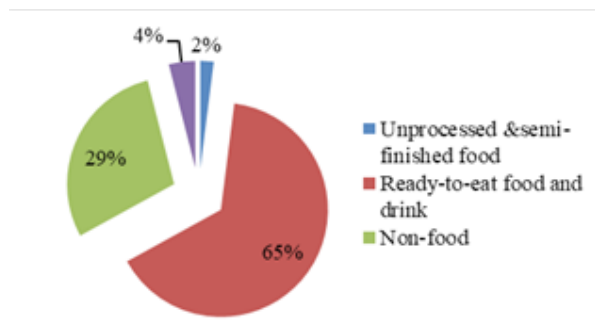


Figure 6. Informal Workers by Their Merchandise

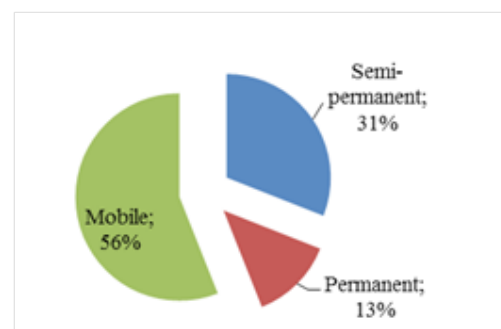


Figure 7. Informal Activities by Type of trading facilities

The peak time of informal space intensity is on weekends and national holidays.

An understanding of informality requires comprehending the production and organization of spaces. With a good understanding of the production space, the informal spatial planning strategy could be more targeted because it focuses on physical location and social and economic aspects. In *The Production of Space* (1991), Lefebvre stated that the informal space is formed by the perceived, conceived, and lived space (Jabareen, 2014). Perceived space shows how informal activities choose a location based on their shared perception of daily life, such as the road often used, the distance from their house, and proximity to other informal activities. The workers prioritize the location with a potentially high buyer level with no rental fees. They prefer to occupy informal spaces around the tourism sites or core zone, though this is the most prioritized area of the civil service police Unit (Satpol PP) control to prevent informal activities. Consequently, the informal workers replace their trading facilities with a more flexible and mobile ones to avoid police control.

The conceived space denotes how informal workers occupy a place and plan until they build their stall. The regulation is more abstract and inappropriate, helping workers realize that informal space utilization is temporary. This awareness implies the space meaning to the worker as a non-permanent place that could be taken over from them any time. As a result, the workers interpret the space as a transient point pick a practical trading facility when they must move from one space to another.

The lived space emphasizes how the informal workers' life or environmental experience influences the space preference. Informal space is formed from people's perceptions about their daily lives, such as a common space, making them close to their homes. Although informal space utilization is spontaneous and illegal, there informal workers had no conflict regarding space allocation. It is because of an awareness that informal space is a common property free of a rental fee in its planning and development. Moreover, they have a sense of sharing the same fate and form strong solidarity. The workers originally come from different areas but have a similar consciousness about their status and right against space allocation. They have good communication and discussion-related space division and are willing to share the informal space. Furthermore, the workers select a location they recognize and are familiar with the circumstances. According to several workers, the distance from their stall to their home is less than three kilometers, or less than ten minutes of travel using a motorized vehicle.

Some conflicts arose regarding informal space utilization that occupied most public spaces, disturbing communities' activities and hindering accessibility. Conflicts have emerged between investors or business people occupying a formal space and informal workers. The cause was the space division or the

exact boundaries of formal and informal spaces. Investors should clarify the boundaries because informal activities adjacent to their coffee shops or restaurants reduce the aesthetic of their surroundings.

The space utilization and pattern have changed after revitalization (see Table 1). Previously, the space utilization of Old City involved allocation for tourism, cultural heritage, education, settlement, trade, and services, including offices. After revitalization, space utilization comprises five zones for the modern economy, education and service, traditional trade and commerce, culture, office and retail, and recreation. The modern economy, education, and service zone covering 5.97 ha is in the southern and eastern parts of the Old City. The zone functions as a modern business and education area and services such as offices and banks. The traditional trade and commerce zone area covering 4.75 Ha is in the southern part of the Old City, including Johar Market, the largest and most modern market in Southeast Asia in the 1930s. The cultural zone area covering 11.8 ha is in the middle of the Old City or along Letjend Suprpto Street, including historic buildings such as the Blenduk Church, Monod Huis, Soesman Kantoor, Marba, and Spiegel. The office and retail zone covering 6.96 Ha is in the northwest part, consisting of an office area, shops, factories, warehouses, and several ancient buildings such as the Mandiri Bank Office and the Prao Lajar Cigarette Factory. The recreation zone covering 5.85ha is in the northern part, including tourism supporting facilities and infrastructure such as hotels, Tawang Polder, and Tawang Station.

The changes in the function of the formal spaces affect space utilization shifting according to the RTBL (see Figure 8). For instance, a vacant and unclear ownership status building has shifted into a communal parking space in the northern part of the Old City 3D Trick Art Museum on Garuda Street. Similarly, vacant land on Letjend Suprpto Street had changed into a communal parking space, especially for Garuda Park visitors.

Changes in spatial utilization post revitalization also influence formal and informal activities. Heritage tourism is the primary activity and the core zone of the Old City, though other activities such as industry, warehouse, and settlement also need supporting facilities. For instance, the warehouses and industries require sufficient space for unloading activities and adequate road access. The revitalization highlighted further tourism activities by widening the pedestrians and reducing the road width, adding signage and street furniture. Consequently, it hampered unloading activities because large vehicles could not pass on several streets, making some warehouse owners and entrepreneurs consider selling their buildings. The substitution of formal non-tourism activity also influences informal space utilization and intensity. Informal space in non-tourism activities follows the formal activities, adjacent, and with no conflict.

Table 1. Changes of Space Utilization

Space utilization before revitalization	Space utilization after revitalization
Commercial, education, industry, settlement, open space	→ Modern economy, education, and services zone
Warehouse, commercial, settlement	→ Traditional trade and commerce zone
Tourism, warehouse, offices, settlement, open space	→ Culture zone
Settlement, offices, warehouse, open space	→ Office and retail zone
Recreation, settlement	→ Recreation zone

Source: analyzed from RTBL

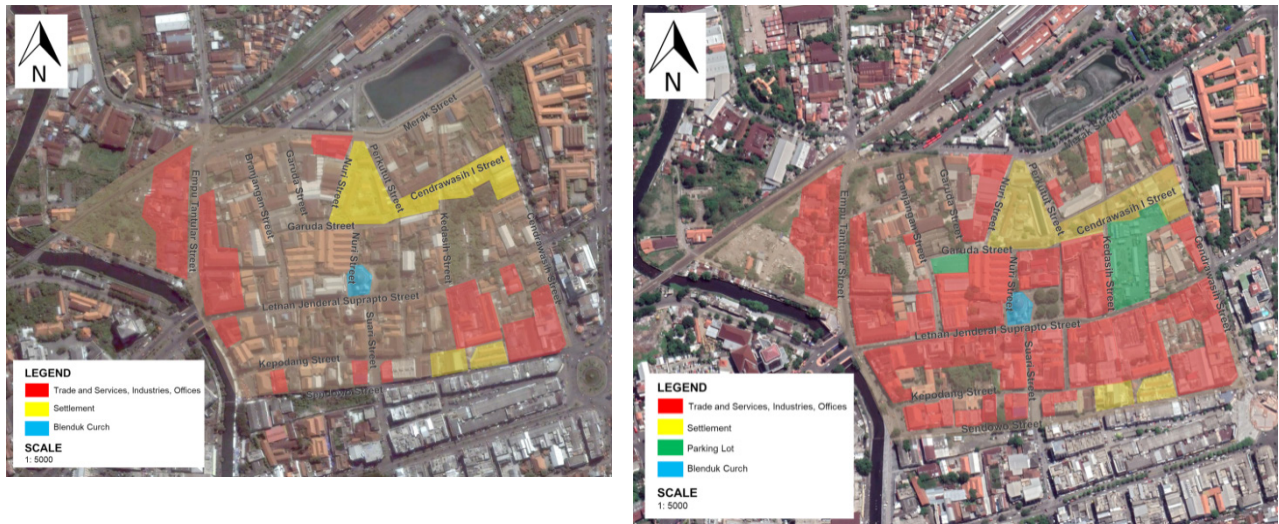


Figure 8. Space Utilization Before (left) and After (right) Revitalization

Correlation between Urban Revitalization and Informal Space Utilization

Revitalization develops a dis-invested area through stages, such as re-utilizing important buildings by incorporating new high-selling value activities, structuring public spaces, reviewing existing activities, and adjusting them with the current developments (Xie, Liu, & Zhuang, 2021). This process has negative impacts as it revitalized historic areas in Prague whose preservation efforts were dominated and defeated by massive tourism and commercialization. Therefore, urban revitalization has not been commonly used recently and shifted by the urban regeneration term (Grazuleviciute-Vileniske & Urbonas, 2014). Principally, these two terms have a similar meaning and are interchangeable, similar to urban renewal, redevelopment, and rehabilitation (Grazuleviciute-Vileniske & Urbonas, 2014).

Urban regeneration initially emphasized the development of an area by transforming the community's physical, social, and economic aspects (Korkmaz & Balaban, 2020; Xie et al., 2021). However, several negative impacts from the initial strategy emerged, such as gentrification and lack of community participation. This contributed to the awareness to accommodate socio-economic and environmental aspects toward sustainable development realization, including social inclusion (Korkmaz & Balaban, 2020; Xie et al., 2021). Therefore, urban regeneration is a strategy for developing historical areas and urban planning and design, including residential areas, transportation, and the economy (Korkmaz & Balaban, 2020).

Urban regeneration is uncommon in Indonesia, while revitalization is more well-known and widely used. Law No. 11 of 2010 about Cultural Conservation (Indonesia, 2010) mentions revitalization as developing an area to enhance the essential values and adjust to the recent spatial functions without contradicting the community's cultural values. Furthermore, the Minister of Public Works Regulation No. 18 of 2010 on Revitalization Guidelines states that revitalization is the redevelopment of an area to increase the values from previous functions (PUPR, 2019). These definitions imply that revitalization emphasizes the physical arrangement toward better quality and economic values. Similarly, the Semarang City government has used the revitalization concept to develop the Old City.

In contrast with the urban revitalization in Prague, the Old City improvement significantly impacted the development of historical tourism, regional economic growth, and heritage preservation. Ancient buildings' owners renovated and rented them as restaurants, coffee shops, art galleries, and other new economic activities. These new functions transformed the area without changing the physical building structures. However, gentrification emerged along with increasing land prices and building rents, displacement of people that previously inhabited the ancient buildings, and newcomers taking new job vacancies.

Revitalization through physical arrangement influenced spatial utilization and the relationship between formal and informal spaces. Previously, the boundary between formal and informal space utilization was unclear because informal activities occupied the formal spaces illegally. For instance, the vacant ancient buildings became illegal residences and a place of business. The informal space's utilization followed formal activities that considered its workers potential consumers for the informal sectors. Examples were street vendors selling on pedestrians in front of the Metropolitan Police Station and others around Mandiri Bank offices. Therefore, informal activities dominated the space utilization that relied on tourism activities and settlement, offices, commercials, and services. There was no prominent border among activities and no conflict regarding the spatial distribution. The formal space utilization was localized, and the building rents were affordable and determined from the building's physical condition and function, while the location was not significantly affected.

The previous spatial utilization pattern changed after the revitalization because of the apparent boundaries between formal and informal spaces. The formal building owners and renters were distant from informal activities, demanding them to move from their land or buildings. The irregular, informal activities influenced the aesthetics and environmental degradation and decreased the space value, such as dropping off the building rents. Nevertheless, there were no space utilization conflicts because the informal workers realized their informality and lack of rights on space occupancy. This made informal space dispersed randomly, uncertain, and temporally occupied adjacent to the formal space. The selection of new locations considers several factors, including less supervision from the Satpol PP, no payment of rents or retributions, and

proximity to the potential buyers. The less supervised location in the buffer zone functioned as residential and educational areas, with relatively few potential consumers compared to the tourism function. Therefore, many informal activities reside in the primary or tourism zone but use flexible and moveable trading facilities such as carts, modified motorcycles, or shoulder poles.

The prohibition on informal activities had existed before revitalization but with regular supervision. Control and supervision of the spatial utilization of the Old City became a frequent agenda to ensure that this area was well-organized. The aim was to make it a part of the National Cultural Conservation Areas and proposed as UNESCO World Heritage List. Several control activities of Satpol PP created conflicts or physical resistance from informal workers that insisted on vending in restricted areas (see Figure 9).

The government accommodates the informal workers, mainly antique sellers in GKIS, while food, non-food, and services traders were not allocated a particular place. Therefore, these traders often conflict and are evicted by

Satpol PP, prompting BPK2L to cooperate with several NGOs to empower the informal sector. Examples are tourist guide training for local communities affected by the revitalization and assistance for rickshaws drivers to work in the Old City.

Assisting the community and economic actors is a BPK2L task as an institution that assists the Semarang City government in managing, developing, and optimizing the potential of the Old City Area. This is realized by implementing Conservation, Revitalization, Supervision, and Control of the Area based on the Mayor Regulation no 12 of 2007 concerning the Establishment of Organizational Structure and Work Procedure of the Old City Area Management Agency. Previously, BPK2L was directly responsible to the Mayor of Semarang, but the Old City management was under the Department of Culture and Tourism from 2000. Therefore, BPK2L assists in managing the Old City by coordinating with the Department of Culture and Tourism. They facilitate the provision of open space, accessibility, infrastructure, and bridging government communication with other parties.



Figure 9. Satpol PP Control to Informal Activities That Reside in The Main Zone

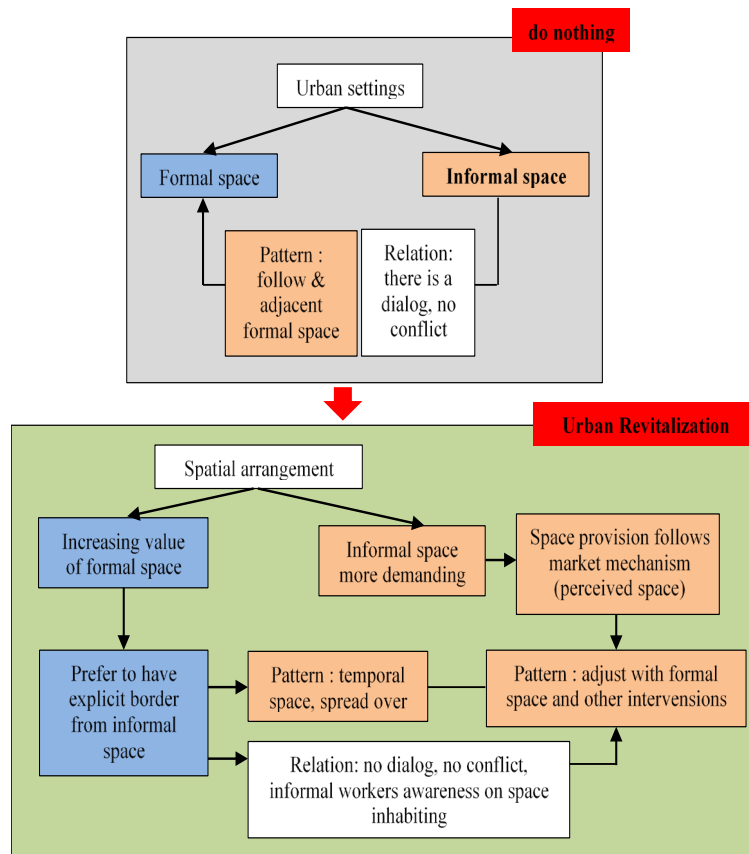


Figure 10. Spatial Utilization in Urban Revitalization Context

4. Conclusion

Urban revitalization intends to enhance the environmental quality of the community's physical and socio-economic resilience and sustainability. It requires harmonization in formal and informal spatial planning. However, spatial planning policies and documents emphasize only formal space, neglecting informal space. There are efforts to formalize economic activity by providing a legal place of business to ensure that the informal space does not interfere with aesthetics and environmental quality. However, the new formal space is far from consumers, making it less desirable. This condition is the same before and after the revitalization, where the informal space is not part of the spatial arrangement. Furthermore, this shows that the arrangement of informal activities needs to consider its socio-economic characteristics.

Formal and informal spaces are interrelated, where formal space revitalization has implications for informal space's distribution pattern and form. Tourism development as the main activity increases the informal space demand, making proposing a license and rental fee unnecessary. Moreover, the provision of informal space through market mechanisms is determined by the communication, awareness, and relation among workers and the formal activities actors. This space is not accommodated in government regulations such as urban revitalization and spatial planning.

The informal space utilization was dynamic, as seen from the quick-shifting of the inhabitants. Revitalization bordered the spatial utilization and spread the informal space. Furthermore, the dynamics of informal space utilization increased with increasing informal activities during the Covid-19 pandemic. This limited the informal space accessibility and increased the uncertainty of the place of business. As a primary activity center, the core zone became the most demanding section for informal space. However, it is narrow, forcing the workers to adjust using flexible trade facilities.

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