

The Economy of Contentment

Exploring the entrepreneurial perception of economic growth in a multi-scalar spectrum

An ethnographic portrait of the Tambal Ban in Surabaya, Indonesia



Master Thesis

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The Economy of Contentment

Exploring the entrepreneurial perception of economic growth in a multi-scalar spectrum

An ethnographic portrait of the Tambal Ban in Surabaya, Indonesia

Master Thesis

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Stan Crienem

Born in Nijmegen

“More than equality, we need transcendence and compassion, discipline and possibly faith in something larger than the self and its ambitions. I have always liked this quote from the King of Bhutan: ‘Gross national happiness is more important than gross national product.’”

Ryan Lobo (2014)

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Foreword

'Make everything as simple as possible. But not simpler.'

Einstein

Stan Crienen has written this thesis as a completion to the Master of Economic Geography at the Radboud University of Nijmegen. By means of stories about the Tambal Ban (Bahasa Indonesia for tire-fixers) he unravels an economical understanding of the reality of local entrepreneurship and their perception of economic growth.

Using economics as a narrative instrument Stan Crienen makes the reality of the Tambal Ban entrepreneur as simple as possible. Not using the science by means of numbers in a mathematical and technological realm, rather the author carefully exposes the practices of local entrepreneurship in the street of Dharma Husada - Surabaya that enables the reader to rethink the notion of economic growth. With a detailed description of the everyday lives of three Tambal Ban entrepreneurs an anthropological perspective reveals. This thesis unfolds the intellectually challenging and theoretical ambitious subject of anthropology that achieves an understanding of culture, society, and humanity. It is a detailed study of local life of the Tambal Ban that is supplemented by comparison with global economic scale level.

As it is essential to ethnography to maintain the status of a 'stranger' while simultaneously becoming involved, Stan Crienen engaged within the everyday lives of the Tambal Ban. His ethnographic and analytical path is constructed due to the evocation of experiences of his informants. Stan Crienen clearly did not transcend these experiences. His voice rather re-envisages, bringing the fragments of fieldwork time, context, and mood together in a colloquy, while reflecting, witnessing, wondering, and accepting all at once. This thesis offers room for thought on own understanding of economic growth and one's desire to expand these in terms of performance, consumption and wealth. It raises the question if it is worth striving for 'the golden ceiling'. After reading this detailed study on the perception of economic growth I think Stan and I have a good starting point to fulfil our dream together, that is being global nomads and travel all around the world seeking for happiness in a non-materialistic or consuming way. Teaching ourselves how to live as simple as possible, but not simpler. As explained in this thesis: 'Economic growth should not be a goal or final destination.'

At this point, I think that *The Economy of Contentment* is well worth a close read. It speaks in a strong language that transcends multiple disciplines and will appeal to a variety of audiences. Social scientists will no doubt appreciate the narrative representation that treats intertwining power dynamics within the contemporary globalizing and material world of production and things seriously. A detailed theoretical analysis appears in the pages that follow. Thereafter a number of examination and determination is provided worthy of serious and independent follow-up. It is written in a tale of real people in real places doing real things. It makes the understanding of economic growth as simple as possible. But not simpler.

Ellen Vloothuis, July 2014

M.Sc. in Cultural Anthropology and Development Studies

Acknowledgements

As former visits to Indonesia framed my perception of the local reality, I endeavour to go beyond this assumption and increase understanding of everyday life in Surabaya. It thus starts with understanding. But how can someone with a different background truly understand a world that is built on different values, a different history and a different language that all together form their culture? My strategy is to move away from Western values and Western reasoning in approaching people of Surabaya. This implies that I certainly do not want to place my Western perception on their ways of working. While talking with the local entrepreneurs about their position within the economy, they inevitably will become aware of their positions. Based on that new knowledge they can decide for themselves which actions to undertake that sustain or improve their position. But not only do I intend to make the entrepreneurs aware of their current economic position, I also attempt to make policy makers aware of the positions of the local entrepreneur that should be taken into account within their policy. These goals together put emphasis on the local entrepreneur in a developing economic system in Surabaya. Local entrepreneurs work on the streets and belong to the streets. For me it is important that those local entrepreneurs are ready for possible changes in the current economic system. Meaning that when changes occur, they adapt accordingly. A more sustainable position of the large local workforce in Surabaya will prove to positively influence the overall economic status of Surabaya as a whole. Spreading the encouraging effect on national levels and perhaps even on the global scale.

This study could not have been successful without the generous support by many people in both Indonesia and the Netherlands. In Surabaya, the ITS University provided (again) a warm welcome and excellent place to work from. Special thanks for my colleagues within the department of Architecture and the department of Spatial Planning: Bu Retna, Bu Yayas, Bu Reeta, By Joyce and Bu Lisa. In particular my gratitude goes to Professor Happy Santosa and Professor Johan Silas for arranging my stay and supporting me during fieldwork. Retna Ayu Puspatarini, your help was super. Not only did you guide me through the city of Surabaya for means of research. Also your knowhow on good food stalls and special places in Surabaya made this trip one to never forget. Thanks for all your effort and kindness. During my study in Indonesia I stayed with Sofia and Thomas, with their kids Marco and Maxi. Special thanks to your everlasting kindness, support and friendship. Ever since we met I appreciated this. This family is forever in my heart.

In Nijmegen, I greatly appreciate the guidance, support and in intellectual consultations from my supervisor dr. Lothar Smith. I enjoyed all our discussions regarding the research on-topic, as well as off-topic academic matters. Before attending the Radboud University in Nijmegen I fulfilled the requirements for the degree of engineer (ing.) with the Saxion University of Applied Sciences. During these four year of study I specialized myself in the field of spatial planning and environmental science. After graduation I started the pre-master phase in Nijmegen and met some other students that recently graduated from other institutes. We teamed up and proved ourselves to be worthy students on the master level. Hereby I want to thank these guys: Peter, Pieter Jan, Josse and Sander for their support and motivation during study activities and their comradeship in our spare time. Together we made our academic experience truly exciting. Thanks guys.

Ellen Vloothuis deserves all the credits for her support during thesis writing. Being always at my side, direct and indirect, she proved to be a vital factor for my achievements. Our academic development created a situation of shared interests as well as clashing opinions. She is an anthropologist, so imagine our diner discussions. It is a

true honour to further explore the world in her companionship. From October 2014 Ellen and I will travel the world, seeking for a place to be of meaning. She calls it the experience of a *global nomad*. Ellen, thanks for all. Last I would like to thank my family for their abiding care and encouragement; Simone, Vera, Wilmie, Jan and Vincent. I consider Vincent to be family ever since we shared adventures all over the world. May many adventures follow.

For now I wish to you all the excitement in reading this thesis.

Nijmegen, August 2014



(Indonesia Yacht Charter, 2014)

1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This study deals with the position of the individual, urban and informal entrepreneur in contemporary Indonesian economic systems. These are linked to multi-scalar economic developments. Ever since the global financial crisis in 2008, the world is again reminded that their economic systems can fail. The terms ‘economic’, followed by ‘crises’, became trending topics in the mass media on various scale levels. Despite the multiplicity of interpretation of these two terms it reached almost everybody who had access to some form of media. To use the words of John O’Sullivan (2004, p. 69): “No one, I imagine, will dispute we are living in a time of global crisis”. He argues that regardless of any form of understanding, people are attentive to the mass media when a global economic crisis is signalized. Notice here, he does not dictate that people in the global community are directly affected or personally involved when the news of the phenomenon global crisis enters their minds, rather they become aware of its existence and try to place it in context. Thereby basically suggesting that people try to make sense of it in their own cognitive world of reference. Here, sense making is nothing more than an interpretation of an individual. This idea of understanding is a leading and fundamental concept throughout this thesis; one’s personal perception of the economy.

According to Harvey (2011, p. 11) a crisis has a function. It leads to a reconfiguration of existing models and structures that normally stimulate, or at least control, development. Following this reasoning the existing economic systems are bound to change. Or, perhaps, are already changing. Whether such transformations can be established depends for a great deal on the rising mass population that speaks up, “enough is enough, let’s change the system” (Harvey, 2011, p. 12). This could affect a country’s economic status and position in a global constellation that is dominated by power relations. The individual, in society, can make a difference. In this study the context of the economic status is explored from the perspective of the individual. Moreover, it endeavours to move away from top down policy making by searching for significance of individual informal entrepreneurs for contemporary multi-scalar economic systems, specifically in Indonesia. This representation raises questions about the fundamentals of *why*, *by whom*, *to whom*, and *how* the economy is changing. Let me now focus on *where* it is changing, which is more interesting in the field of geography.

The ‘eye of the storm’ in the economic crisis lies in Western territories. Mainly the United States and Europe. It affects, however, not only the Western civilisation but also areas that are often depicted as the developing countries. Indonesia is, among others, considered as such (Cox, 2013). With a population of over 250 million inhabitants (World-Bank, 2012; World-Population-Review, 2013), Indonesia cannot go unnoticed as a large economy. Questions can be raised how Indonesia could be positioned in the global economic assemblage of intertwining power relations. What is, and could be, their national economic status? Is the Indonesian workforce capable of influencing the economic (global) transformation? How do they interpret economic growth and do they even care? Such questions demand a detailed focus on the local businesses in Indonesia and their perception on economic growth. Among many, these questions specifically stimulate the motivation to conduct research in understanding the position of Indonesian entrepreneurs and their perception of economic growth. The economy

of Indonesia exists for 68 percent of informal businesses, often described as low pay, hazardous working conditions and no social security (ILO, 2009). Since this group represents the vast majority of the Indonesian economy it is interesting to reveal their economic expectations by their everyday working patterns.

In putting Indonesia central, it is fascinating to set the focus of study on the city Surabaya to move beyond the centrality of Jakarta as a global metropolis. Surabaya is orientating more on the periphery of attention. Not suggesting less important, just more unknown. Moreover, Surabaya is Indonesia's second largest city that develops in a rapid pace. Entering the 21st century, Surabaya has the ambition to become an integral metropolis in the borderless global system (Silas, Setyawan, Ernawati, & Okitasari, 2012). Research results obtained in Surabaya will give more profound understanding on the current (economic) position of Indonesia as a whole. Furthermore, my previous experience in Surabaya covers some practical actions. When orientating and going into the field, Surabaya is more familiar to me when it comes to cultural habits, business locations and the comfort of support by the ITS University. In essence, this study approaches the interpretation of the economic status in an ethnographic perspective, utilising the informal entrepreneur in Surabaya as the focus group.

1.2 Indonesia's economic status: from global to local

Indonesia, appointed as Southeast Asia's biggest economy in terms of quantifying the gross domestic product (GDP), is still growing. GDP, as a concept originally constructed in the United States, is often the primary indicator to gauge the health of a country's economy (The Heritage Foundation, 2013). Indonesia's economic position is discussed extensively on various scale levels; from international orientated forms of media to Dutch national newspapers. In geographical terms, reviews are concerned with insights on different scale levels. In a global setting it involves mainly economic forecasting that concentrates on comparing nation states that results in labelling them with a certain economic status – i.e. the notion of BRIC that includes Brazil, Russia, India, China...and, now, Indonesia. These countries are considered as rapidly growing economies and are called the "Big Five" (Cox, 2013). What then, is to be expected of such a label?

Aside from the global level there is a vast variety of publications from a national scale level. These reviews include, among others, geopolitical issues regarding the role of foreign investors against the elusive behaviour of the Indonesian government (Maas, 2013). Take for example the economical and political consequences of the increased fuel price (The-Economist, 2013). This is considered a legislative intervention that impinges the contemporary discussion on how the Indonesian government perceives economic growth. Illustrating some contemporary developments that picture Indonesia's economic status on different scale levels. Although these examples are approached by different angles, the overall consensus in the media is that Indonesia has the potential of establishing intensive economic growth. Additionally, I annotate the relation between the Indonesian government and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which, in the context of strategic financial transactions, is elucidative for Indonesia's intension in the global economic constellation. Indonesia was a recipient of IMF loans in the aftermath of the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997-1998, which they fully repaid in 2006. In July 2012 the former Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono confirmed a \$US 1 billion (\$982 million) contribution to the International Monetary Fund's European bailout reserves. Helping the IMF rescue the Western Europeans is not so popular in Indonesia, since the IMF's "rescue" turned the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997-1998 into a disaster (Lane, 2001). Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono stated in his argumentation on this financial donation that times have changed: "Now, we are brave with the IMF. (Our) debt

has been paid. We are autonomous. We don't need to beg" (Alford, 2012). Especially the notion of 'autonomous' is illustrative for Indonesia's attitude in the contemporary economic spectrum. Particularly because one month earlier the incumbent minister of finance Agus Martowardojo said that "this move is to show our commitment as part of the global community to strengthen world financial institutions, such as the IMF" (Yulisman, 2012). Referring, here, that Indonesia sees a certain advantage in participating in a global economic system – moving away from a purely independent ambition. Based on these demonstrable consequences of fluctuating standpoints on their autonomy it is plausible to assume that Indonesia is searching for a way to position itself globally.

Not only the media is concerned with the economic future of Indonesia. Also in academic circles the economic status of nation states in a global constellation is deliberately examined. According to the British economist Kaletsky (2011) the world will face (a) new form(s) of capitalism to stimulate economic growth. Likewise, David Harvey is also concerned with fundamental changes in the global economic systems, in where he specifically questions the end of free market neo-liberalism against the influence of state intervention and the effects on policy. Harvey (2011, p. 11) mentions that "current policies propose to exit this crises with a further consolidation and centralisation of capitalist class power". He refers to the function and the following outcome of a crisis. It serves to rationalise the irrationalities of capitalism – leading to new models of development and reconfigurations of investments. Following this line of argumentation one might notice a current shift in approaching economic growth. Perhaps call it even rational economic growth, for it may concern a similar shift from a former irrational version.

Two recent publications present specific insights in the role of Indonesia against the backdrop of the global financial crisis – specifically discussing the stability of the Indonesian economy. One is the book *Global Shift* by Peter Dicken that further clarifies the influence of global policy (IMF, G20 and World Bank) for Indonesia as an upcoming economy and member of the G20 and APEC [Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation]. He states that the role of Indonesia in the global economy is becoming more and more prominent (Peter Dicken, 2011). Secondly, the book *The Indonesian Economy* by Ananta, Soekarni, & Arifin, (2011) describes that Indonesia, in the process of recovering from the global financial crisis, has proved to be more resilient than other, more developed, economies. Both publications point out that the Indonesian economy has the potential of establishing intensive economic growth.

A noteworthy contrast unfolds when scaling down towards developments on a more local level. For example, farmers on Sumatra repeatedly burned down immense fields of rain forest to stimulate fertility of their agricultural land – resulting in dense smog over parts of Singapore and Malaysia. These affected counties demand solutions and propose, willingly, their help and support. The outstanding passive attitude from the Indonesian side, according to the media in June 2013 (De Volkskrant, 2013), resulted in political tension. The lack of cross-border and cross-scalar communication and interaction could suggest a (knowledge) gap between the local and the global. The farmer that aspires his land to be fertile perceives economic growth perhaps differently than a policy maker that is concerned with international succession of trading agricultural products. Even when they both participate in the same value chain it shows that their perception of economical growth can differ. This is in line with my personal interpretation throughout fieldwork in previous studies.

During an earlier stay in 2010 in Surabaya, I observed a vast amount of economic activity. Especially individual entrepreneurs in the informal sector became noticeable. They positioned their business mainly on and around main roads. Little shops and services such as paper sellers, mechanical services for cars and motorcycles, parking help, traffic controllers and personal transport (becak), is everyday business for many Indonesians in the

city. Also in Surabaya, the vast majority is considered to be informal. At that time, it looked quite unorganised and I wondered if they were willing to ‘improve’ economically. It became apparent that the majority of entrepreneurs at the side of the road were just sitting, chatting and relaxing when they had no customers for that moment. Whereas they could use that time for other business practices such as cleaning, maintenance and advertising. In this study an informal entrepreneur is qualified by the following characteristics:

1. Operating their business individually
2. Flexible working conditions
3. Uncertain business conditions
4. Local urban business orientation
5. Frequently unlicensed by the Government
6. In some way involved in a cluster with other businesses

Limited research has been undertaken on the local entrepreneurial perception of economic growth. Mainstream literature is generally concerned with economic models and processes to increase economic growth (Cox, 2013; Peter Dicken, 2011; Jones & Manuelli, 2005; Kaletsky, 2011; Sedlacek, 2011). Is increasing growth crucial for a stable society and how is this perceived locally? This understanding is vital for policy makers in defining an economical route towards success and fulfilling the Indonesian ambition. In policy making, according to Scott (1998), practical knowledge is as important as formal, epistemic knowledge. He advocates a tension between scientific knowledge that is based on practical findings and the presupposed authoritarian policy makers who tend to ignore and often suppress this practical influence when this is getting to complex. For that reason it is important to conceptualize the practicalities in this thesis while generating a clear and tangible picture of the situation.

This study focuses on the multi-scaled economic relevance of informal entrepreneurs in Surabaya. Reviewing, in essence, the possible tension between what the local entrepreneurs want -as their perception of economic growth- and what (multi-layered) governments think is best for them in order to boost economical growth. In elaborating on this the present study touches the question whether Indonesia is ready for economical progression within a new capitalistic and globalizing systems. It raises issues like: What happens if economic policy decentralizes? Should Indonesia conform to Western policy and thus Western capitalistic systems or are other (capitalistic) systems desirable or, possibly, no (Western) systems whatsoever? Could it be that local entrepreneurs have no interest in economical growth as formulated by contemporary capitalist discourse? How important is money? What is the influence of religion? Especially in relation to other beneficial assets in the informal economy, such as being undocumented, untaxed, not subjected to formal labour or work place conditions and perhaps in some cases experiencing a higher appreciation of liberalism, it is important to explore how informality is related to economic growth. Here, liberalism is depicted as the feeling of individual freedom and rights. De Soto (2000) for instance, argues that entrepreneurs voluntarily participate in the informal sector to avoid costs, time and effort for formal registration. However, how the informal entrepreneur perceives economic growth and how they are positioned in a broad economic spectrum has been neglected in the existing literature. This study seeks to overcome this gap in the existing literature. To reveal the perception of economic growth it is necessary to explore the individual motives and stories of the informal entrepreneurs in their everyday lives.

1.3 Main objectives

The objective of this study is to explain Surabaya's local economic ethnology parallel to global economic intentions in framing the perception of economic growth by urban individual entrepreneurs in the informal sector in Surabaya. By the term ethnology I endeavour to merge the narrating character of this study with the ethnographic approach as the central methodology. This means I want to describe a specific cultural group (ethnography) by digging deep in the local reality that I experience and present as a storyline (narrative). This goal is placed within the dualistic framework between on the one hand open market economic systems from global pressure, and on the other hand nationalistic thoughts towards an independent economic model that Indonesia could be striving for. The formulation of 'global economic intention' in the objective of this study intends to combine global policy that affects Indonesia with the different scale levels of policy making by the Indonesian government. Important is the notion that the focus is not on describing the content of policy precisely, but on exploring how the local entrepreneur experiences these policy implications.

With evidence from empirical fieldwork in Surabaya, I want to make a contribution to the literature that deals with economic growth from different perspectives. Here, it concerns specifically a local perspective on economic growth from entrepreneurs and their position in a developing city. In understanding economic growth and the perception of it I distinguish three themes that, on the one hand discuss the entrepreneur and economic growth, and on the other hand enter debates in contemporary economic geography. The first theme regards the influence of entrepreneurs in the local-global nexus. It elaborates on the position of the local entrepreneur in Surabaya and seeks understanding how this position relates to economic processes on higher scale levels.

The second theme displays entrepreneurial clustering as a critical dependent of economic success. Various theoretical approaches on clustering assume that spatial proximity of entrepreneurs into dense networks of interaction provide essential conditions for economic success. This assumption is further explored in this study and reflects on the position of the informal entrepreneurs in this theoretical context.

The third theme concerns the dualistic presence of the formal and informal sector as a prerequisite for economic growth. Theory on this matter is mainly concerned with the characteristics and interrelation of, and implications for, the formal and informal sector in a developing city. This study seeks understanding in how the informal sector relates to economic growth by discussing the relevance of this group of entrepreneurs for the local economy of Surabaya.

The theoretical focus is on entrepreneurs and their position in the informal economy, in a cluster, and in a cross-scalar constellation. This is further explained in Chapter 2. Not only do I intend to make a contribution to the literature. I also want to make clear that the academic and practical knowledge that is derived from the empirical data is conceptualized and streamlined. This could guide policy makers in their decisions to make. Here, ethnographic research is applied locally and results in a cultural portrait of Indonesian entrepreneurs that addresses more closely to actual economic activities in their daily livelihood.

1.4 Setting of the study

1.4.1 The geographical and demographical setting

Indonesia is an equatorial archipelago of more than 13,000 islands, including five major islands of Sumatra, Kalimantan, Java, Sulawesi and Irian Jaya. Among the 250 million inhabitants of Indonesia about 60 percent

lives on Java. This island has an average density of over 800 people per square kilometre. The urban population on Java is about 35 percent of the total Indonesian population, which is approximately 70 million (World-Population-Review, 2013). Indonesia is indicated as the setting for the study because earlier research (see Crienen, 2012; Crienen, 2010) got me acquainted with the Indonesian lifestyle and provided some familiarity with the country, and in particular with Surabaya, which is the main area of research for this study. See Figure 1.1 for a geographical orientation. Its developing prospects make this city an interesting case for economic assessment. Surabaya, as second largest city of Indonesia with an estimated population of 3 million that is growing around 1.4 percent a year, is developing rapidly and is profiling itself as a worthy member in the globalizing world (Silas et al., 2012). The city is divided into five administrative areas (each with an administrative mayor), 28 districts and 163 sub districts. For foreign tourists, Surabaya is still a staging point and route to or from Bali or the spectacular volcanoes of Java's interior. Efforts to promote the city as a tourist attraction have been half-hearted and almost embarrassing (Dick, 2002). The perspective of the foreign tourist has no intrinsic merit. Most people who visit Surabaya do so not as tourists but for business. Compared with Jakarta, the old and well-known city, Surabaya is a young city that never rests and where the song of labour dominates. Surabaya is about business and pleasure in a vigorous, practical way (Dick, 2002).

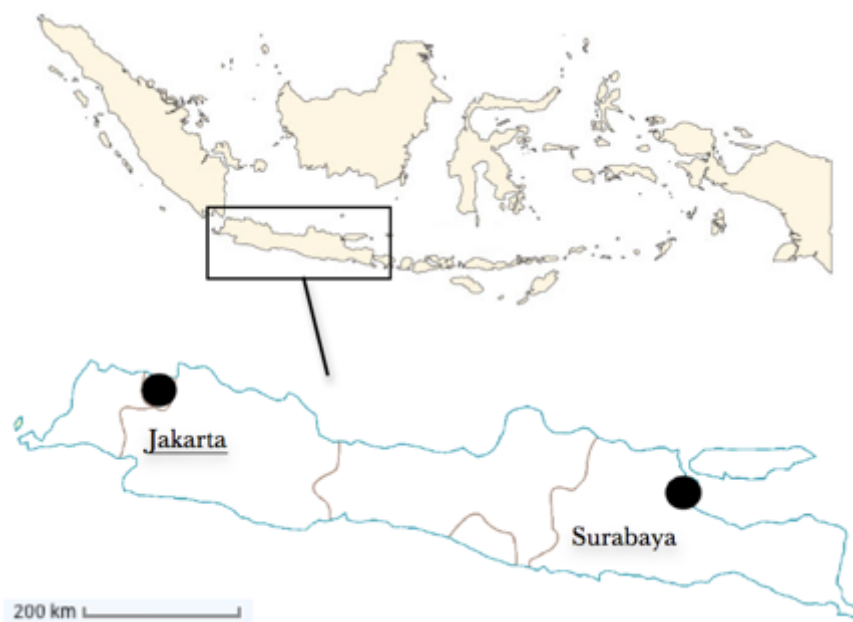


Figure 1.1

Position of Surabaya in Java, Indonesia

(Source: author)

The city centre with its agglomeration is the main location for the majority of informal entrepreneurs to settle. However, large parts of the city centre were 'swept' from informal businesses. Meaning that the government removed them from locations where they do not 'fit'. This 'sweeping' will be discussed further Chapter 6. Remaining are the highly dens informal clusters in the city centre's agglomeration that deliberately focus the scope of research.

1.4.2 Choice of sector

While moving through the city of Surabaya it is striking to notice that entrepreneurial activities are everywhere. Within this multi-sector and widespread network of small-scale businesses, a certain group reveals itself as particularly interesting by its informal appearance and basic organisation at the dusty and dangerous side of the street. At the same time, they provide a crucial asset to the everyday needs of the traveling Indonesian. This 'branch' of entrepreneurs is called the Tambal Ban, or translated in English, tire repair service. The Tambal Ban industry operates at a local level wherein work is performed individually. A Tambal Ban business provides the basic service of fixing tires and refill air in tires. In some cases they also provide the possibility of buying gasoline and technical spare parts. Typically, this group of individual entrepreneurs is extensively represented in the city and is located in or near streets outside residential areas within the city. Their position is fixed and often situated nearby other entrepreneurs that provide food and everyday products, such as cigarettes, soft drinks and magazines.

In Surabaya, the Tambal Ban industry serves as a good case for studying the perception of economic growth due to its informal character, urban orientation and individual business operation. It is a group that has been together for an extended period of time, has a shared geographical positioning, and shares language, beliefs and patterns of behaviour. These features strengthen the Tambal Ban as a suitable research object in this study (Creswell, 2007). A second reason for selecting the Tambal Ban is their supposed connection to other entrepreneurs in that street. They are one node in a larger entrepreneurial framework. A Tambal Ban entrepreneur can be recognized by a machine that is fundamental in performing his service, which is placed at the side of the street as advertisement (see Figure 1.2). Aside this machine, which is used to refill air into tires of every vehicle that so requires, the business can also be distinguished by a sign that states 'Tambal Ban'.



Figure 1.2 Tambal Ban service typically situated at the side of the street

(Photo: author)

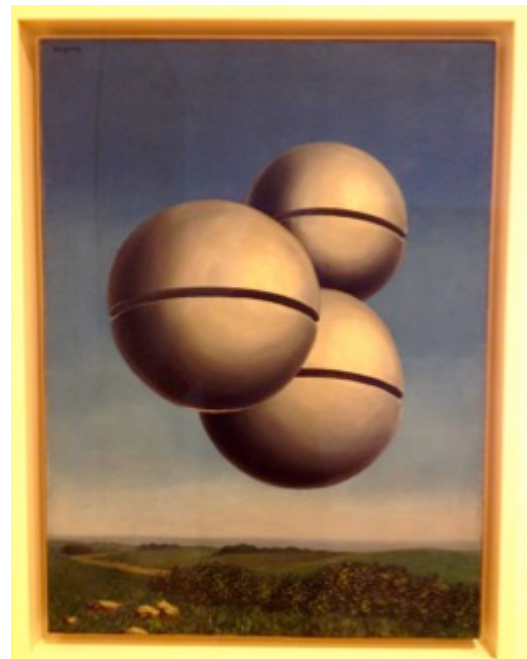
In a city as Surabaya, motorized vehicles dominate the traffic and are increasing in a rapid paste. In combination with the questionable state of the streets, characterized by potholes and stones with the size of golf ball, broken tires are everyday business and thus legitimate the practice of fixing them. The Tambal Ban supposedly has a strong economic function since their existence serves the traffic and thus keeps the inhabitants of Surabaya mobile. Also, this group has not been studied yet in the context of economic growth. Approaching them inquired an extra difficulty since their main language is a mix of different dialects. In spite of their understanding of the national language of Indonesia, often called Bahasa, they speak mainly the Javanese dialect with sometimes a bit of the Madurese dialect.

1.5 Why is this study important?

1.5.1 Societal relevance

This research ought to reveal whether, and how, global policy measures or expressions do not always serve the wellbeing and welfare of the local economy. Policy implications can be explained geographically by up-scaling its impact on the local economy. Let me first demonstrate how geographical scaling can be understood from local to global. Using these images helps to understand the dynamics of scaling. Both paintings in Figure 1.3 on page 23 are from the (Peggy) Guggenheim museum in Venice from the 13th International Architecture Exhibition 2012 entitled *Spontaneous Interventions: Design Actions for the Common Good*. The painting on the left by Jacques Villon shows

a large yellow ground structure that contains two towers of squares that are rising up. The ground structure exemplifies the local level on which we perceive our daily reality. Each square that we climb higher illustrates one higher scale level. The higher we move, the more we can see on the local level. We observe fewer details and examine our daily structures from a bird eyes view. In this study the top of the tower is the global scale level. It oversees everything but cannot distinguish details in the local reality. The second painting on right by René Magritte tells the same story, but from a different perspective. The bottom of the painting obviously illustrates a landscape. Imagine yourself standing in that landscape. On that moment your orientation is local. By imagining yourself in a floating ball in the sky you advance to a new scale level. While you see yourself standing on the ground on local scale you automatically adapt to the new situation in your ball. Other balls around you are floating on the same level and therefore can connect with you. This connection can only be established on that specific scale level, meaning that you found integration on that scale level and start perceiving other scale levels from that point. This illustrates that by moving into other scale levels we automatically adapt and change our perspective. This study distinguishes local, regional, national and global scale levels.



Jacques Villon (1875-1963)

Spaces

1920

René Magritte (1898-1967)

Voice of Space

1931

Figure 1.3 Visual understanding of spatial scaling using art

(Photo: author)

Most people will understand that local entrepreneurs are in direct relation with local policy. It gets more difficult when imagining how national or regional policy is directly influencing local entrepreneurs and indirectly through local policy making. As the top scale level there is global policy, by institutions such as the IMF and World Bank, which is generally dealing with influencing all forms of (mainly) economic policy making on lower scale levels. A

well-known critique is that global policy makers lose grip on the local reality and thus fail to formulate measures that serve the local environment. With the results of this thesis it is intended to find out whether ‘large scale’ policy makers should involve local interests to sustain or increase sustainable nationwide wellbeing and welfare. The first sections in this chapter presented a variety of observation and opinions towards Indonesia’s economic status. Critiques move from too nationalistic towards too liberal on foreign investors. The Indonesian government and its policy makers are under global pressure to define clear future actions on how they will shape their economy. This study will guide them in this process by answering questions on how entrepreneurs in the informal sector affect the Indonesian economy as a whole. Simultaneously, this study is deliberately focusing on the position of the individual, urban and informal entrepreneur. The economic position of the entrepreneur and its relevance to society are discussed extensively, which is appealing for scientific inquiry. My current perception of the local economic situation in Surabaya is predominantly positive. Local entrepreneurs work on the streets and belong to the streets. It is difficult to imagine a large street in Surabaya without economic activities. Just by a short observation I would describe their attitude as relaxed and satisfied. This research goes beyond that first observation and tries to explore deep personal feelings and motives that those entrepreneurs on the street share and develop. This is particularly striking because Surabaya is growing in rapid pace. They have the ambition to develop as a global metropolis or megacity. How are the local entrepreneurs affected by this development and how do they react? Is their attitude still showing emotions that confirm being relaxed and satisfied? Understanding the local working class is not just an academic exercise – this practice carries real-world implications.

1.5.2 Scientific relevance

This research seeks to enrich scientific theory relating local entrepreneurship to the local-global nexus in developing economies (such as Indonesia) to review new insights on policy measures when dealing with economic progression in a globalising world. When discussing clustering, the literature reveals mainly insights in the advantages of spatial, sectoral or other forms of clustering. It mainly tells me the story on how people or situations are related and what that relation means for the environment, both in practice and theory. Similarities are detected while reading about the dualistic presence of the formal and informal economy. Much emphasis is put on revealing their differences and possible overlapping characteristics in a local orientation. In both cases it is interesting to scrutinize how these phenomena play a role in the existing variation of multiple scale levels. Essentially moving from a mainly local orientation towards a more complex understanding of the local-global nexus on higher scale levels. This perspective can add some new insights on the existing approaches of entrepreneurial clustering and positioning the relevance and its actual existence of the formal and informal sector in the daily livelihoods in large Indonesian cities. The ultimate goal is that this study extends the literature and signals a call for action.

1.6 Scope and outline of the study

In Chapter 2 I give the theoretical introduction of the present study. The different theoretical approaches that support understanding and clarification of economic growth will be discussed. In Chapter 3, the research question and the research methodology is explained. The first three chapters are considered as introductory.

The subsequent Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 have different characteristics. Here, I present the empirical results. Chapter 4 introduces the group of Tambal Ban entrepreneurs. Their daily lives are illustrated with a specific focus on business activities and position in the city. Chapter 5 concentrates on how the Tambal Ban perceives economic growth from an economic point of view. Additionally, I expose their stance on an economic crisis. Chapter 6 analyses the position of the Tambal Ban in the formal-informal nexus and discusses how religion plays a role in their business practice. In Chapter 7, I explained local domain of the Tambal Ban and explored how this affects processes at higher scale levels. In this processes I derived valuable information about their economic behaviour, surveyed by the notion of clustering, spatial planning and the position of the Tambal Ban in the local-global nexus. In the final chapter, I present the conclusion of this study.

Although the central theme of this thesis is the local perception of economic growth in Surabaya, the Chapters 5, 6 and 7 can be read as separate, individual essays.

2 Elucidating economic growth: theories

2.1 Introduction

This stage of inquiry provides the analysis of literature on economic growth from specific perspectives. In the economic geographical tradition entrepreneurs are widely recognized and demonstrably important in the process of economic growth (Beerepoot, 2005; M. Ndoen, Gorter, Nijkamp, & Rietveld, 2002; Renooy, 1990; Turner, 2003; Van Praag, 2005). This chapter elaborates on the theoretical foundation of entrepreneurs with regard to economic growth that covers contemporary discussions in geography. The notion of economic growth is discussed widely in the fields of economics and geography. Generally, the discussion starts with questions about what causes growth, why do some countries grow faster than others, and why is income per capita so much higher than 200 years ago (Jones & Manuelli, 2005; Netherlands-economic-institute, 2000)? It pins down economic growth as something obvious and evident – asking only *what* is economic growth, instead of *why* is economic growth. This study grasps the more fundamental why and how-questions by moving away from pre-constructed Western assumptions about growth. It focuses more on local insights on the matter.

The starting point in the analysis of literature in this chapter is the different perspectives on the position of the entrepreneur and their perception of economic growth. Here, the function of theory is to understand economic growth in relation to entrepreneurship in present economic systems. To support the process of understanding I use three themes that are each broadly examined in contemporary geography. Moreover, all themes are strongly -or almost inseparably, according to some in the field of geography- connected to the concepts of entrepreneurship and economic growth. The first theme regards the influence of entrepreneurs in the local-global nexus. It elaborates on the position of the local entrepreneur in Surabaya. Here, I seek to understand how this position relates to economic processes on higher scale levels. The second theme displays entrepreneurial clustering as critical dependent of economic success. Various theoretical approaches on clustering assume that spatial proximity of entrepreneurs into dense networks of interaction provides essential conditions for economic success. This assumption is further explored in this study and reflects on the position of informal entrepreneurs. The third theme concerns the dualistic presence of the formal and informal sector as a prerequisite for economic growth. Theory on this matter is mainly concerned with the characteristics and interrelation of, and implications for, the formal and informal sector in a developing city. This study seeks understanding in how the informal sector relates to economic growth in discussing the relevance of this group of entrepreneurs. Here, the theoretical focus is put on entrepreneurs and their position in the informal economy, in a cluster, and in a cross-scalar economic constellation. Before discussing the three themes, let me move into the relation between the entrepreneur and economic growth. Followed by a more extensive explanation of the three theoretical themes.

“In Asia, the success of the East Asian Tiger economies was attributed to government policies to encourage private initiative in the economy” (Ndoen, 2000, p. 31). Here, economic growth was expanded by a joint commitment of the government and private sectors, specifically, the entrepreneurs. The direct relation between entrepreneurs and their influences on the economic environment is not discovered just recently. Back in

1803 it was a well-known French political economist by the name of Jean-Baptiste Say who gave much attention to the role of entrepreneurs in economic activities, which inspired those engaged in this field. He discusses the process of production in framing the assets of capital and labour while moving constantly from philosophical reasoning to some very pragmatic influences of entrepreneurs in the economy (Say, 1845). This practicality unfolds mainly in discovering a certain chain of interlinked facts that attempt to make sense of reality. And by constantly comparing the consequences of those facts from observation, he tries to establish the existence of the two links at their point of connection (Say, 1845, p. xvii). This suggests that entrepreneurs are in some way connected to each other and that they influence the economy by their connection.

Nowadays this reasoning is strongly linked to the formation of value chains in global productions networks. Now, the question rises how entrepreneurs fit in, react on, and adapt this system. Beerepoort (2005) states, in his book 'Collective learning in small enterprise clusters', that for entrepreneurs in general, clustering and cooperation can be major facilitating factors for a degree of flexibility and efficiency that would be more difficult for individual entrepreneurs. Geographical concentration has the effect of creating positive externalities. The spatial proximity of entrepreneurs into dense networks of interaction provides essential conditions for exchanges of information, out of which new understandings about processes and product possibilities are constantly generated. Here, economic success is critically dependent on the dynamic relationships between the application and the generation of knowledge, processes of cooperation in a network and the presence of mediating social and economical institutions (Raco in Beerepoort, 2005). One might notice the practical resemblance with Silicon Valley in California – a contemporary success story of the advantages of clustering.

Then, as the second theoretical theme, there is the broadly discussed dichotomy of the formal and informal economy. De Soto (2000, pp. 70–71) observed “one huge, worldwide industrial revolution: a gigantic movement away from life organized on a small scale to life organized on a large one”. This effort to flee the isolated society towards a living environment happened especially in the world largest cities. Here, people sought for standards to become independent in much larger markets. Jakarta, for example, grew in only four decades to a population of more than 10 million – overwhelming their political and legal institutions. In order to keep pace with this immense economic upheaval, the working class was forced to invent extralegal substitutes for established law. In contrast with advanced -often large and international oriented- businesses, these informal business arrangements do not work very well (De Soto, 2000, p. 71). Regardless of De Soto's opinion about the informal sector, it is obvious that it influences the workings of the economic system. This reveals the relevance of entrepreneurs, both in the formal and informal sector, when searching for local insights on the perception of economic growth.

Another mode of thinking, that overlaps the two just-mentioned phenomena and links the entrepreneur to its judgement of economic growth, is the global-local nexus. In raising the issue of the farmers on Sumatra, who quite likely differ in perspective on economic ambitions in comparison with the Indonesian national government, a certain scale-oriented discrepancy is made visible. For policy makers this is important to be aware of to avoid unplanned economic activities among the Indonesian workforces – regardless of their function or position. This notion is basically derived from statements in the economic and political apparatus as a reaction on the recent financial crisis. Kaletsky (2011) remarks in his response to this global phenomenon that changed the world economically: “the new capitalist system needs an intensified collaboration with governmental institutions”. Central here is the aspiration for an intensified and efficient work relation between the public and the private sector.

Before moving deeper in the detailed context of the three themes it needs to be explained how, in essence, theory is used and approached in this study. The next section (2.2) elaborates on this by presenting epistemology and ontology as philosophical assumptions that expose the usefulness of approaching theory in such ways that it connects with the practice of understanding social reality. Section 2.3 entails an intensive discussion of the three themes and how they relate to this study. Thereby, Section 2.3.2 concentrates on entrepreneurial clustering as critical dependent of economic success. Section 2.3.3 scrutinizes the dualistic presence of the formal and informal sector as a prerequisite for economic growth. Influence of entrepreneurs in the local-global nexus will be analysed in Section 2.3.4. This is followed by a conclusive section (2.4) that ultimately presents a conceptual visualisation of this study.

2.2 Epistemological and ontological approaches

When discussing theory it is difficult to just start from scratch. It needs a certain starting point to reveal how I see and use science in understanding reality. Both theory and a certain content of a problem have influence on each other and navigate an academic research in an iterative process towards a grounded and verifiable thesis. In iterative terms: a first, rough problem sends the choice of theory, then the theory inspires refinement of the problem, and refinement then adjusts the integrated totality of theory (Leroy, Horlings, & Arts, 2009).

In approaching a theory it is placed in a certain context that consists of some philosophical assumptions that reveal my set of beliefs, or paradigms, to this research project. In contrast to positivism, the theory in this thesis is built on features in the field of interpretative epistemology. Epistemology, in this sense, is about what a human being can know about the social reality that based on scientific research (Crotty in Leroy et al., 2009, p. 3). Here, I attempt to lessen the distance between myself and that what is being researched. In positivism the focus is on single objective and knowable reality: the essence. Positivism is based on realism and essentialism, where on the other hand interpretative epistemology makes room for multiple realities, and thus, for multiple interpretations. Interpretative epistemology is based on constructivism and relativism.

Especially multiple realities are at stake when working with different societies with different people within the theoretical composition as a whole. The interpretative approach assumes that we know reality by our interpretations and constructions. Science does not explain "reality", it rather constructs a reality and confirms this through empirical research. Research does not represent reality, it (re)construct reality. Unlike essentialism, which assumes a knowable reality, it gives interpretations and therefore human inability to know that reality. In any case, reality is multilayered and unpredictable, with more exceptions than rules. Interpretive research is therefore based on in depth investigation into specific cases, showing the peculiarity of a reality (Leroy et al., 2009). On the notion that reality is subjective and multiple, I move towards an ontological reflection. The ontological issue relates to the nature of reality. Every individual is embracing different realities. When studying individuals, one aspires to conduct a study with the intent of reporting (the nature of) these multiple realities. By incorporating the philosophical assumptions of epistemology and ontology, the theory parallels the methodology – as elaborated upon later in Chapter 3.

Theory appears mainly as a conceptual framework, a loose association of some central concepts and their interrelationships. This produces not more than one perspective on social reality. Empirical research intents to refine this framework. Note that theory in this study does not function to fill existing gaps in the literature. It

presumably endeavours to use theoretical thoughts and patterns to set up an empirical assessment and to verify results that this research generates.

2.3 Entrepreneurial position within three themes

2.3.1 How the three themes interlink

The theoretical framework of this thesis consists of three leading themes that reveal some fundamental aspects of economic growth in relation to entrepreneurship in present economic systems. The first theme regards the influence of entrepreneurs in the local-global nexus. The second theme displays entrepreneurial clustering as critical dependent of economic success. And the third theme concerns the dualistic presence of the formal and informal sector as a prerequisite for economic growth. In Figure 2.1 it is made visible how they relate schematically.

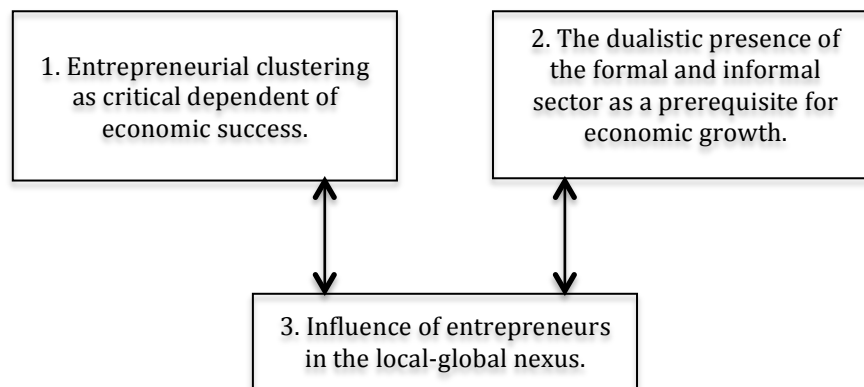


Figure 2.1

Overview interrelation theoretical themes

(source: author)

Theme 3 is considered as overlapping theme 1 and 2. The local-global nexus approaches the position of the local entrepreneur more generally. Where the notions of clustering and formal and informal economies addresses more closely to actual economic activities of the entrepreneurs in their daily livelihood. Furthermore, the phenomena clustering and the formal and informal economy play significant roles at multiple scale levels, thus play part in explaining the influence of entrepreneurs in the local-global nexus. Here, it is not intended to appoint a certain hierarchy, but, rather, put emphasis on the process in dealing with these phenomena. By first discussing the themes 1 and 2 it moves more natural to a pragmatic understanding of the complex geographical context that constitutes theme 3. The next few paragraphs will elaborate further on these subjects, their relation and on how they fit in this research.

These three phenomena each have their part in explaining the theoretical field of economic growth – mainly focussing on the entrepreneurial perception within this context. The theoretical bases is linked to empirical data obtained in certain regions within the city of Surabaya in Indonesia. In order to proceed with this research it is necessary to describe the fundamental and contemporary ideas and implications of these three

themes. Eventually this will form the theoretical framework of the thesis that, naturally, is regarded as the foundation in constructing the perception of economic growth.

2.3.2 Entrepreneurial clustering as critical dependent of economic success

Introduction

The first theme in this section elaborates upon various perspectives on how geographical concentration has the effect of creating positive externalities within the context of economic activities. International success of spatially clustered businesses in some developing countries moved towards a notion that clusters can form a network for business upgrading. The concept of spatial clustering is a core principle of what research in economic geography is all about (Malmberg & Maskell and Phelps & Ozawa in Beerepoot, 2005, p. 9). In economic co-ordination and governmental policies all over the world, clusters have become a key mode in analysing the varying incorporating network of businesses. In putting clustering central I attempt to explore the (dynamic) position of entrepreneurs in a network and how this can be influenced. In order to gain a more profound understanding of clustering in relation to entrepreneurs and economic growth I introduce the concepts of global production networks, relational economic geography and geographical power relations. In approaching clustering in the context of this study, these concepts are highly relevant due to their geographical nature and multi-perspective coverage.

Clustering and economic growth

Beerepoot (2005) states that for entrepreneurs in general, clustering and cooperation can be major facilitating factors for a degree of flexibility and efficiency that would be more difficult for entrepreneurs 'out' of the cluster. The spatial proximity of entrepreneurs into dense networks of interaction provides the essential conditions for exchanges of information, out of which new understandings about processes and product possibilities are constantly generated. Economic success, here, is critically dependent on the dynamic relationships between the utilisation and the production of information, processes of networked co-operation and the presence of facilitating social and economical institutions (Raco in Beerepoot, 2005). Derived from definitions by Porter (1998), Schmitz and Beerepoot (in Beerepoot, 2005) this study uses the concept of clustering as the phenomenon of spatial and sectoral orientations of interrelated businesses. Although clustering is not synonymous with economic growth, it does generate a number of benefits for the involved participants. Beerepoot (2005, p. 11) mentions roughly five benefits of clustering:

1. Efficiency by sharing a common labour supply, infrastructure and business service.
2. Lower transaction costs.
3. Reciprocal exchange of information.
4. Coordination for successful innovation.
5. Reflecting the impact of past choices and the subsequent development of reinforcing institutions.

These five benefits of spatial proximity reflect not only on some essential conditions for economic growth, they also provide a framework for measuring. Using these five elements as a starting point in the entrepreneurial analysis in Surabaya generated immediate insights on the concept of clustering as something beneficial. This

representation of benefits is derived from Alfred Marshall's work *The principles of economics* (1920) and holds more than just a depiction of economic advantages by clustering. First I will explain the intention of table 2.1 by Newlands (2003), in which he modifies Marshall's theoretical approaches to contemporary developments. Then, the beneficial role of the cluster will be elaborated using interrelations between the three other assets that determine the appearance and development of a certain cluster. These other assets are a degree of localness, competition and cooperation.

Table 2.1 A schematic representation of the principle theories of clusters

Theoretical Approach	Sources of advantage	Degree of 'localness'	Competition and cooperation
Standard agglomeration theory, from Marshall onwards	Firms share a 'commons' of labour supply, infrastructure, and business services	External economies most likely where common services are concentrated locally—but not confined to these circumstances	Advantages to firms in clusters derive from cooperation but firms continue to compete
Transaction costs: the 'Californian school'	Transaction costs are lower for firms in clusters, a cost advantage which is assumed to outweigh any increase in production costs	Certain transaction costs reflect the maintenance of personal contact; these will usually vary with distance	Some transaction costs can be reduced by cooperation but, in general, this is not important
Flexible specialization, trust and untraded interdependencies	Firms within networks of trust benefit from the reciprocal exchange of information	Trust is more likely to be sustained in geographically concentrated networks	Firms within clusters compete with each other, often on quality rather than price, but there are strong cooperative relationships
Innovative milieux: the GREMI group	Milieux provide the frameworks and necessary coordination for successful innovation	Institutions and practices conducive to innovation depend partly on personal contact; thus more common within localities	Balance between competitive and cooperative firm relationships not well specified but presumption that the latter are important
Institutional and evolutionary economics	Clusters reflect the impact of past choices and the subsequent development of reinforcing institutions	Particular trajectories can develop at a number of spatial scales	Technological change, along particular paths, is a driver of competitive processes

Source: Newlands, 2003, p. 526

Inspired by the work of Marshall, various theoretical approaches have dealt with the question of clustering (see table 2.1). Each theoretical approach puts different emphasis on ways to perceive and analyse the nature of the static and dynamic advantages that clustering generates. In this study the use of such a representation of principle theories is helpful to pin-down the benefits of clustering for the Tambal Ban entrepreneurs. Then, to refine the empirical extractions and to look further than just the benefits of clustering, the position of a Tambal Ban entrepreneur can be explained by exploring its degree of localness, its competition and its cooperation. By using

these assets to position the Tambal Ban entrepreneur in a cluster and filter the benefits for and by the entrepreneur it will generate insights on how to deal with the concept of economic growth. And for that matter the economic position of Tambal Ban entrepreneurs in a developing city and globalising world. The following sections approach the concept of clustering from different perspectives.

Global production networks and relational economic geography

Closely related to the concept of clustering there is the notion of the global production network. From a relational perspective it explains the relevance of involvement when debating economic success. This section explains the essence of a global production network and the relation with a Tambal Ban entrepreneur. The core of a global production network is the interconnectedness of production, distribution and consuming a specific commodity, good or service. This circuit (not a chain) of reasoning is “primarily the action of, and the interaction between, the five actor-centred networks [see Figure 2.2] that shape the changing geographical configuration of the global economy” in crossing regional and national boundaries (Peter Dicken, 2011). From the perspective of an individual production circuits in a broader production network, it is important to understand that involved firms, with different backgrounds, orientations and goals, do participate and interrelate in this network as a whole (Peter Dicken, 2011). Insofar, the global production network, from a firm perspective, elaborates on the interconnection with other business organizations in their own region and with business organizations in other regions - operating cross-sectoral and cross-regional.

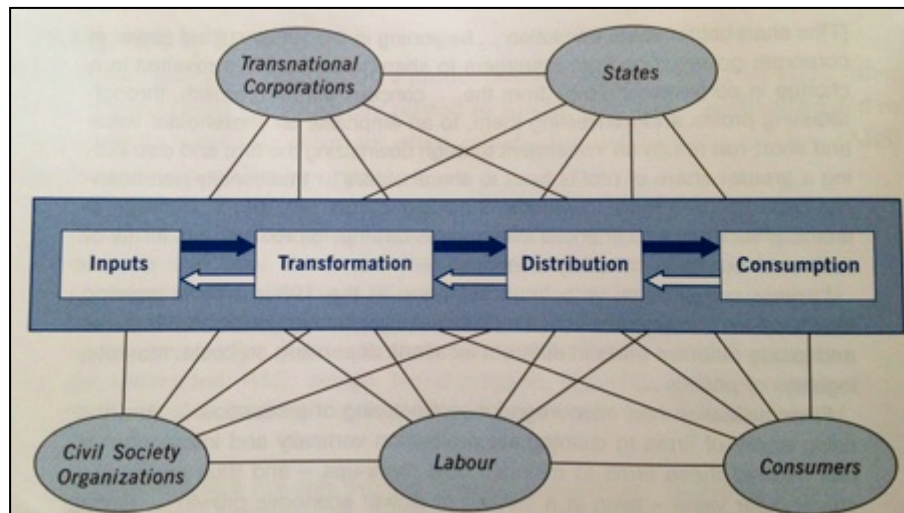


Figure 2.2 Major actor-centred networks in the global economy

Source: Dicken (2011)

In moving deeper into the complex notion of clustering, while still trying to increase understanding, I connect the concept of global production networks with the theory of relational economic growth. Global production networks are concerned with some fundamental relational aspects from the relational economic geography. Bathelt & Gluckler (2003) describe relational economic geography not as a theory but rather as a way of seeing. They state that it is a framework that presents an interdisciplinary and multidimensional relational view, which rests on the assumptions of contextuality, historical dependence and unpredictable economic actions. In moving away from a general understanding it is Sunley (2008) who argues that it is not a carefully defined analytical framework, but rather a suggestive and loose assembly of theories and ideas about a wide range of issues and

phenomena. In attempting to formulate a more universal approach of relational economic geography, based on previous given definitions, it focuses on the complex nexus of relations among actors in appointing causal powers to these relations that result in dynamic changes in the spatial organizations of economic activities. At a wide-ranging level the relational economic geography deals with the intertwined socio-spatial relations of actors with the broader structures and processes of economic change at various geographical scales. Or in other words: an actor's relational position in a network. Yeung (2005) visualized this relationality through the conceptual connections between, or among, actors and structures, different scales, and types (or rather perspectives) of approaches in Figure 2.3. In visualizing this, Yeung is focusing on important elements of interconnection to reimagine binary thinking derived from Massey & Collective's (in Yeung, 2005) point of view. Again showing an apparent framework of interconnectedness between respectively different entities, on different scales and different natures of relationality.

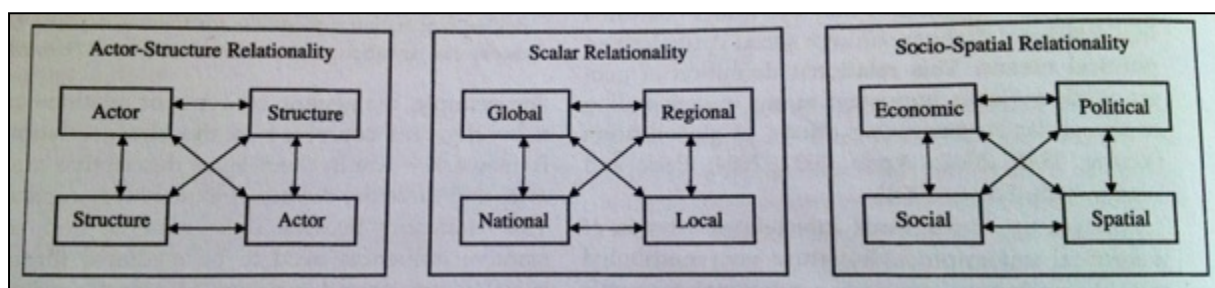


Figure 2.3 The nature of relationality in relational economic geography

Source: Yeung (2005)

In reviewing the position of the Tambal Ban entrepreneur it is assumable that the entrepreneur itself has none or little influence on, and affinity with, higher scaled economic developments. But approached within a clustered network its influence and affinity can be traced and visualised. Following this reasoning it is valuable to position the Tambal Ban entrepreneur in a relational perspective by using Yeung's framework of relationality (see Figure 2.3). Placing the Tambal in such a conceptual network opens doors in assessing the benefits of clustering in relation to economic growth.

The dichotomy of advanced- and weak regions (geographical power relations)

Moving further on Yeung's ambition to reimagine binary thinking that can occur between certain elements of interconnection. In binary thinking that is explained by Massey & Collective (in Yeung, 2005), and based on negative relations of exclusion, it could be valuable to reimagine the dichotomy of advanced- and weak regions. Reimagining in this sense, regards the search for meaning of this dualism and the effects it has on the network, rather than the genesis and construction of it. To elaborate further on this notion it is Dicken (2011) who explains the unevenness of power relations of firms that orientate cross-sectoral and cross-regional. Power is determined by two variables: first, control over key assets (such as capital, technology, knowledge, labour skills, natural resources, consumer markets) and, second, the firm's spatial and territorial range and flexibility. Both these power relations can give a firm a significant advantage over another firm in the same or other region. Assuming that power relations give firms certain benefits over other firms is one thing. It gets striking, however, when they are put in a relational framework. Starting with the notion that firms are involved in both collaboration and competition with other organizations, including firms. In a broader perspective, involving more firms, it leads to

an ever-changing simultaneous mixture of both competition and collaboration between firms, even if they are from the same industry. When applying the geographical notion of the region, the 'battlefield' of the firms, the true unevenness unfolds.

In approaching the region as a 'container' of sets of physical, social, cultural, political and economic attributes, it reveals the many features that can create value for a firm in a region (P. Dicken & Malmberg, 2001). Storper (1997) states that relational assets in a region determine the firm's level of competence. In this sense the value of relational features can make a region an advanced one. At the same time making regions without these (or lesser) relational features weak regions. From a comparative perspective the terms advanced and weak appear as dualisms, or, formulated more extreme, as contrapositions. Here, the literal notion of Massey & Collective (in Yeung, 2002) about binary thinking -that the only relations are the negative ones of exclusion- could refer to the weak region as the excluded one. As opposed to the advanced, in a certain relational framework. Influencing, to a certain extent, the (de)construction and functioning of a cluster. Despite this assumption that represents advanced- and weak regions as contrapositions, it is impossible to position them as equivalent.

The prominent conclusion is not that regions can differ in terms of advanced and weak, rather it suggests that when it comes to policy effects, certain areas benefit more than other areas. Within this framework the concept of clustering, approached by different authors, is positioned in a strong relation with economic success. Here, questions are raising whether, why, how, where, and when these theoretical assumptions cope with entrepreneurial standards of economic behaviour in Surabaya? My prospects in focusing on some local individual entrepreneurs in this city move towards a notion of unexpected clustering. Especially entrepreneurs that operate far from governmental policy are, perhaps unintentionally, involved in clustering processes that function cross-sectoral and cross-regional. With the theory as background, the empirical exploration starts with the actor's relational position in a network.

How theory brings us further

The basic question here is whether the four discussed phenomena are visible in the working conditions of the Tambal Ban entrepreneur in a certain clustering orientation. I approach roughly (1) the benefits of clustering by Beerepoot (2005), (2) the entrepreneurial position in a global production network by Dicken (Dicken & Malmberg, 2001; Dicken, 2011), (3) the entrepreneurial position in a network of intertwined socio-spatial relations by predominantly Sunley, Massey and Yeung (Sunley, 2008; Yeung, 2002, 2005), and (4) whether the geographical dichotomy of advanced- and weak regions can be distinguished in Surabaya by Massey, Yeung, Dicken and Storper (Dicken & Malmberg, 2001; Dicken, 2011; Storper, 1997; Yeung, 2002, 2005). Empirical findings are collected to add relevant information to the current theoretical debates that are concerned with these four geographical phenomena. In general, these theoretical approaches are not set for a specific location, region or geographical depiction in that sense. Still, much research is done in Western territories. When it comes to clustering it is interesting to focus on rapidly developing countries, such as Indonesia, and peripheral megacities, such as Surabaya, because of their quickly developing economies in different cultural, political, social and geographical stages. Empirical insights from local entrepreneurial activities in Surabaya add relevant information on contemporary theories on clustering. Relevance, here, is denoted as still undiscovered and additionally valuable for Surabaya as a growing city and other cities in a comparable state of progression.

2.3.3 The dualistic presence of the formal and informal sector

Introduction

The second theme concerns the dualistic presence of the formal and informal sector as a prerequisite for economic growth. Theory on this matter is mainly concerned with the characteristics, interrelation of, and implications for, the formal and informal sector in a developing city. This study seeks understanding how the informal sector relates to economic growth in discussing the relevance of entrepreneurs, specifically the Tambal Ban.

In general, the objects of focus in this study are the individual entrepreneurs. In 1997 the Jakarta Post reported, by data from the Central Bureau of Statistics, that “99.8 percent or 33.4 million of the 33.5 million businesses in Indonesia were small enterprises” (Turner, 2003, p. 61). The bulk of these (97.6 percent) were considered “tiny with turnover less than 50 million Rupia each”, which is relatively low. These tiny enterprises were involved in agriculture (63 percent), trade (17 percent), industry (7 percent), services (5 percent) and transportation (4 percent). Small enterprises had, and still have, a significant role in providing a livelihood for the majority of the Indonesian population. In this study the group of small enterprises, specified to individual entrepreneurs, is ‘divided’ into two sectors: the formal and the informal. Especially the group of informal workers is still growing due to de-industrialization and labour outsourcing practices for the last ten years in Indonesia (Tjandraningsih, 2011, p. 252). Let me first discuss the concepts of formal and informal in a broad sense. Then I work gradually towards the local situation in Surabaya and the position of the Tambal Ban entrepreneur within this city.

Formal versus Informal

The concepts of formal and informal business activities are widely discussed in contemporary geographical debates. Despite an obvious geographical concern, it also intertwines with politics, sociology and economics. There are a few general perspectives to approach this matter. These are three well-known schools of thought regarding the relations between the formal and the informal sectors: the dualist, the structuralist and the legalist. According to the dualist approach, the informal and formal sectors are dichotomous and both have their own characteristics. In the formal sector employment is organized, registered, and protected. On the contrary, the employment of the informal sector takes place in the public domain on the streets. Here, the informal sector is pinned down as a separate marginal sector that provides income or a safety net for the poor that is not directly linked to the formal sector (Carr & Chen, 2001). Within the dualist approach often a distinction is made between traditional (informal) and modern (formal) sectors and derives this dichotomy from the bureaucratic model of development. Working in the informal sector is seen as a transitional stage in the process of modernization (Bromley 1979, Kus 2010). An additional perspective is brought by Mazumdar, Moser and Lubell (in Turner, 2003, p. 13), working at the World Bank. They perceive the formal sector as protected by unions, governments or both acting together, whereas by comparison, the informal sector is unprotected by company policy, governmental regulations or trade union action, and to which entry is relatively easy. Despite many more different observations and ideas about the formal and informal economy, it is difficult to depict a one-sided approach that reveals a total insight in this dichotomy.

Although this dualistic approach is criticized in the field of geography it could be valuable to classify the formal and informal sector by their characteristics - if only for a general explanatory overview (table 2.2). It is intended to approach this overview without adding values. Meaning that on each point the formal sector is not 'better' than the informal sector, and vice versa. This competitiveness between both sectors is one the major criticisms that arose after the concept of the informal sector appeared, which created this artificial dichotomy (Turner, 2003, p. 13).

Table 2.2 The informal and formal sectors as classified by the ILO Source: Turner (2003, p. 13)

Formal sector	Informal sector
Difficult entry	Ease of entry
Frequent reliance on global resources	Reliance upon local resources
Corporate ownership	Family ownership
Large scale of operation	Small scale of operation
Capital intensive and often imported technology	Labour intensive and adapted technology
Formally acquired skills, often expatriate	Skills acquired outside the formal school system
Protected markets (through tariffs, quotas and trade licenses)	Unregulated and competitive markets
Taxed and documented	Untaxed and Undocumented

Could it be called the informal economy because of the 'good' depiction of the formal economy? The practice of separating followed out of modernist thinking that created a negative understanding: underemployment, unproductive, backward, and traditional. This could explain why the International Labour Organization (ILO) created, perhaps unintended, the term 'working poor' to label the informal sector. Despite their dichotomous separation it is intriguing to search for links and perhaps preconditions for each other to exist and play a role in the economic spectrum.

By knowing the basic fundamentals of the dualist approach I now move towards some understanding of the interdependency between the formal and informal economy by exploring reviews of Castells (reasoning from the structuralist school) and De Soto (from the legalist school). According to the structuralist school, the informal and formal sectors are interconnected and interdependent. In hierarchical terms: the informal economy as being subordinate to the formal economy. Compared to the dualist approach the linkage between the formal and informal sectors is taken into account. The informal sector exists because of the exploitative nature of capitalism, but, at the same time, the formal sector is also partly depending on the informal sector (Castells, 2000). Street vendors in Surabaya, for example, are generally considered informal and practice their business wandering the streets. Someone from the structuralist school could argue that their position is on the streets because they lack certain knowledge and skills to set up their business in a designated building with employees to move gradually towards the concept of a (formal) supermarket. Yet those supermarkets rely on those street vendors to sustain an attractive economic appearance created the negative subordinate depiction of the informal economy in the area. In this way the informal economy helps the formal economy to sustain a good market position.

The legalist school has yet another view on the informal sector. De Soto (2000) argues that entrepreneurs voluntary participate in the informal sector to avoid costs, time and effort for formal registration. Within the informal economy formal rules and regulations are ignored because the rules are unreasonable and

regulations are restricting private enterprise. It is seen as a rational response to over-regulation by government bureaucracies. By 'going informal' entrepreneurs reduce their own costs and increase their own wealth (Carr & Chen, 2001). All those different approaches reveal clearly the multi-interpretable character on the formal-informal nexus. Let me now orientate more locally and connect the formal-informal nexus to the Tambal Ban entrepreneurs in Surabaya.

Informality in Surabaya

Hart (2005) continues on the notion that the informal economy has had a brilliant success over more than three decades. It succeeded by representing a category outside the negative imagination of the bureaucracy (Davies in Hart, 2005). In terms of interdependence, the formal-informal tension is intrinsic to both the bureaucracy and the informal economy, as well as between them. "We need to know how formal bureaucracy works in practice and, even more important, what social forms have emerged to organize the informal economy" - according to Hart (2005, p. 16). It reveals the different roles formal and informal entrepreneurs can have in their daily work and how, in context, it uncovers their influence in economic development. In Indonesia, the size of the informal economy has been increasing since the financial crisis in 1998. For now it is important to know and understand the local driving factors behind the trends and patterns of the informal economy in Surabaya. Then I shall survey whether it is a transitory or a permanent phenomenon to formulate policy that stimulate or affect (the) contemporary economic system(s) in Surabaya.

In Surabaya it is interesting to survey the motives of the position –formal or informal- of individual entrepreneurs. Is this position taken or opposed? And who is responsible? I imagine answers lay in a grey area. Meaning that entrepreneurs can be formal when they want to be formal and informal the rest of the time. This fits to a large extent in the legalist school. Whether they can be placed in the dualist, legalist or structuralist school, or somewhere in between, depends on empirical findings. Nevertheless I expect a certain interlinked effect and perhaps preconditions for each other, to exist and play a role in the economic spectrum. Moreover, I presume that the entrepreneurial position in the formal-informal nexus gives further insights in why and how this position taken or imposed and to what extent it gives clarification on how the entrepreneur perceives economic growth. So far, elaborating on economic growth within the context of the formal-informal nexus has not been discussed intensively in contemporary literature. Most definitely not when it comes to Surabaya as a peripheral megacity, which distinct itself from other regular cases that often have a rural or global metropolitan orientation. It leaves me with the crucial question how the position of the Tambal Ban entrepreneur in the formal-informal nexus affects the entrepreneur itself and its environment when understanding the notion of economic growth in Surabaya.

How theory brings us further

As mentioned before, the goal of this study concerns the description of Surabaya's local economic ethnology parallel to global economic intensions. This is attempted by framing the perception of economic growth by urban individual entrepreneurs in the informal sector in Surabaya. In order to achieve this it is crucial to add the notion of power. When assessing the position of the entrepreneur in the formal-informal nexus it is necessary to distinguish different power relationships within the three schools of thought. In the dualist school they approach formal and informal separately. There are few (if any) power relationships. The structuralist school subscribes to

the notion that the informal sector is dominated in their power relationship by the formal sector in interest of the latter. The legalist school tells me that informal entrepreneurs exercise their own power –or choice- to operate informally as a response to unreasonable bureaucratic controls (Carr & Chen, 2001). This framework of different approaches on the formal-informal nexus, with its notions of involved power relations, creates an empirical opportunity to unravel the position, or multiple positions, of Tambal Ban entrepreneurs in Surabaya. It is not only about the Tambal Ban entrepreneurs themselves, but also how they act, react and interplay with their (economic) environment. Here, the relevance of the entrepreneur is at stake and thus its relation with economic growth. By assessing the relevance for the entrepreneur itself, and for its environment, this study provides insights in how Tambal Ban entrepreneurs play a role in the growing economy of Surabaya as a whole.

2.3.4 Influence of entrepreneurs in the local-global nexus

Introduction

The third and overlapping theme regards the influence of entrepreneurs in the local-global nexus. It elaborates on the position of the local entrepreneur in Surabaya and seeks understanding how this position relates to economic processes on higher scale levels. This phenomenon is expected to influence the local Tambal Ban entrepreneurs and affect their daily livelihoods. Simultaneously, as the discussion on clustering reveals, the local entrepreneur has its share in influencing processes on higher scale levels. It thus goes both ways. The main focus in this paragraph is the relation between governmental intentions, constructed from local to more centralized levels [i.e. regional, national and global], and the daily working situation of an individual entrepreneur. Governmental intentions here, not only imply policy in a strict sense, rather it holds a combination of discussions in the media, expressive political burst outs and contemporary policy. Again reflecting mainly on sources that introduced this study in Chapter 1. For example the geopolitical issues regarding the role of foreign investors against the elusive behaviour of the Indonesian government. This results in striking standpoints from both the Indonesian side and parties that are involved with global economic development. This creates a broader perspective on how the ‘world’ perceives a growing global economy and what the role of Indonesia is in achieving this ambition. As elaborated on so far, there is a tension between the entrepreneur on a local scale and policy making on ‘higher’ scale levels. Meaning that on the basis of this scale-oriented discrepancy, economic growth is discussed within the fluctuating interrelation in the local-global nexus on respectively economic activities and governmental intentions. This study ought to explain in this scale-oriented spectrum of intertwined economic, geographical, political and social values and explores the position of Tambal Ban entrepreneurs in relation to this spectrum. Searching, in essence, how the concept of economic growth can be explained within this context and how it brings me closer to a description of Surabaya’s local economic ethnology parallel to global economic intentions.

This topic creates research possibilities that, unfortunately, would never fit the scope of this study. Therefore it will be narrowed down to a more tangible theoretical framework, using Dependency Theory as a theme to explore certain tensions between the local and the global scale level. Here I approach the entrepreneurs purely geographical. Meaning they are collectively framed within one region of economic activity. From this starting point it is possible to compare their region with other regions on different scale levels to discover their (in)dependence and matching ‘label’: wealthy or poor.

Then, due to its overarching position as linking theme (see Figure 2.1), this section reflects on both previous theoretical sections that elaborated on clustering (Section 2.3.2) and informality (Section 2.3.3). By exploring this interrelation between these themes this study indicates that different components in a theoretical framework are capable to operate complementary. It moves away from the conception that theory appears mainly as a conceptual framework, a loose association of some central concepts and their interrelationships. Let me first move deeper into the leading theory of this section, Dependency Theory.

Dependency Theory

Dependency theory, which gradually emerged and set out to challenge the modernization in the 1960s, drew on some Marxist principles in that it attacked the capitalist system. Here, Marxism appointed that merely 'advanced' countries necessarily provided the economic and technical components. Underdeveloped nations would remain 'stagnant' because their accumulated capital served to support further growth of advanced capitalist countries (Deane-Drummond, 1997; C. V. Scott, 1995; Wallerstein, 1974). This was troubling because economic growth in the advanced industrialized countries did not necessarily lead to growth in the poorer countries. Moreover, economic activity in the richer countries often led to serious economic problems in the poorer countries. It showed that economic growth was not beneficial for all, as neoclassical theory predicted in the 1960s and 1970s (Ferraro, 2008). The central argument of this theory is that the world economic system is highly unequal in its distribution of power and resources and places most nations in a dependent position in relation to the industrial powers. A more geographical perspective reviews that resources flow from a "periphery" of poor and underdeveloped regions to a "core" of wealthy regions, enriching the latter at the expense of the former. This in contrast with Adam Smith's assumption, in his classic book *Inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations* from 1776, that growth was to be found in creating a stable legal framework of open trading that would allow poorer countries to catch up with richer ones (Netherlands-economic-institute, 2000; Smith, 1991).

In development studies dependency speaks of a situation in which a particular country or region relies on another for support, "survival" and growth. In general, the theory of dependency holds that both political and economic dependency is inversely and significantly related to economic prosperity. That is, the more dependent countries are, the less prosperous. Dependency theory states that poverty in the periphery is not because that region is not integrated into the world system -or not 'fully' integrated as is often argued by free market economists-, rather because of how they are integrated into the system. This introduces a paradoxical effect, meaning that although both the first and third-world countries are benefitting, the poorer side is being locked into a disadvantageous economic position. They rely on the rich for the little work that is available to them. Yet this dependency is causing the barrier to grow larger. For example a case on Taiwan (Barrett & Whyte, 1982) that predicted two outcomes from dependency theory: that foreign economic penetration leads to slow economic growth and that it heightened inequality. Taiwan of course depicted as a dependent nation.

Inspired by both Allen Sens (2012) and Catherine V. Scott (1995) a practical visualisation is constructed that clearly sets out the main thoughts and fundamental concepts of Dependency Theory. Sens (2012) is discussing the topic in one of his video series as scholar material for the University of British Colombia. Where Scott (1995) mainly rethinks modernization and Dependency Theory as the author of the book *Gender and Development*. Both views on Dependency Theory reveal a comparative perspective that "the interstate system created an illusion of equality between nations when in fact those relations were governed by domination and

exploitation” (C. V. Scott, 1995, p. 88). Let me describe this in an explanatory visualisation (Figure 2.4) that integrates the work of Sens and Scott in order to construct a more profound approach of Dependency Theory. In essence, Dependency Theory developed as a movement that was asking a lot of questions about international relations. One of those questions was “why are so many countries in the world not developing?” A traditional answer could be that “those countries are not pursuing the right economic policies” or “their governments are authoritarian and corrupt”. But is this all there was to it? Dependency theorists build on this notion in arguing that some countries were not developing around the world because the international system was preventing them from doing so. Moreover, they stated that the international system is exploitative and stimulates dominance from one country over another. When focussing on Figure 2.4 a set of three arguments is presented that illustrates the complex assemblage of development in a system of dominant power relations.

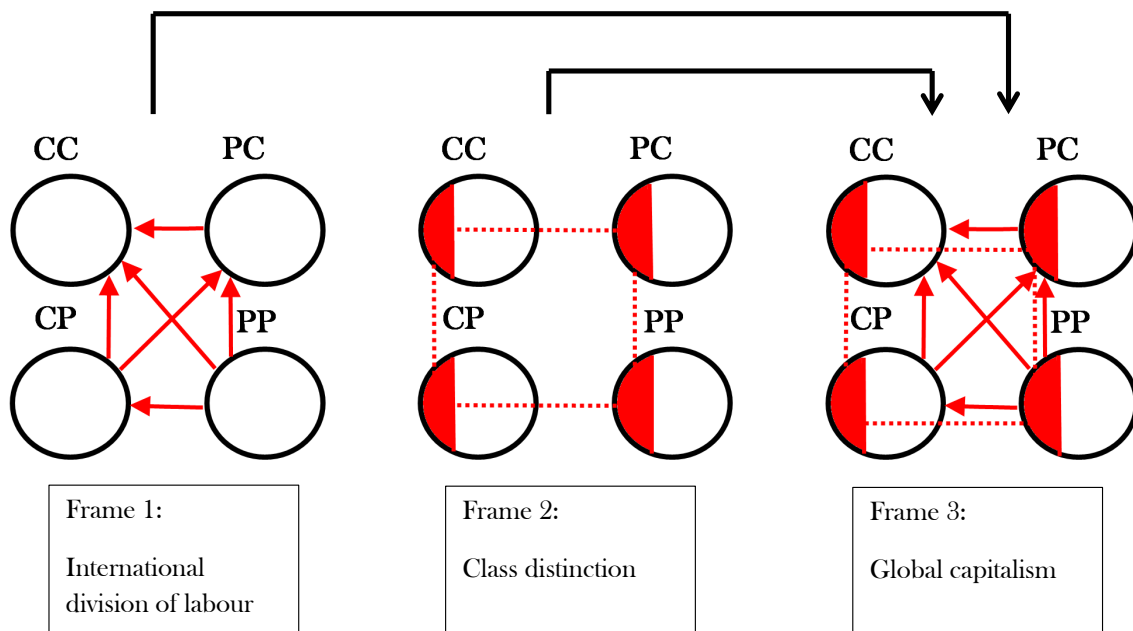


Figure 2.4 Three arguments of Dependency Theory Source: modified from Sens (2012); Scott (1995)

First, dependency theorists argue that there are, in general, four kinds of states in the world that each performs different functions. To start with the countries that are at the centre of the centre (CC). These are the richest and most powerful countries: The United States, France, Germany and The United Kingdom, for example. Then there are countries that are on the periphery of the centre (PC), depicted as modernized, wealthy and industrial countries such as Canada, the Netherlands and Japan. In comparison with the first group they have less global power, but are nevertheless still quite rich. Thirdly, there are countries that are on the centre of the periphery (CP). These are countries that are still developing but do have a fare amount of wealth. In this group you find countries such as South Africa, India and Brazil. And last there are countries that are on the periphery of the periphery (PP). And these are the poorest countries, which could for example be Cambodia and Zambia.

Now, depicted in the first frame of Figure 2.4, the argument is presented that elaborates on the international division of labour between all countries. Here, dependency theorists state that the CC-countries dominate in terms of industry and technology. The other groups, especially in the periphery, are characterized by resource extraction, agricultural production and providing cheap labour. As a result the structure of the world economy is that the 'peripheral' groups (PC, CP and PP) are serving the economic interests of the core countries (CC). Moreover, the CP countries are not only serving the interests of the CC countries, but also of the PC countries. And naturally, the PP countries serve the economic interests of everybody else. Here, you notice a strong hierarchical construction that is certainly least beneficial for the PP countries. The periphery countries all serve the interests of the more wealthy countries.

The second argument, which is visualised in frame 2 in Figure 2.4, holds the notion of class distinction. This means that in each group of countries there is a clean divide between the rich (coloured red) and the poor, the working class or the mass (rest). In each group this amount is fairly similar, according to dependency theorists. The argumentation continues in declaring that all those 'rich' groups of political and economic elites cooperate with one another to ensure they stay in power and increase their own wealth. This collaboration is needed to maintain this system of dominant power relations.

The last argument discusses the influence of global capitalism, illustrated in frame 3 in Figure 2.4. Here I follow the argumentation that both previous discussed systems, the international division of labour and the class distinction, exist within a wider global system. In this system it is liberal economic theory that dominates. It is based on theories of trade and finance. Which again serve the economic interests of the CC countries. In this system the multinational corporations and banks are instruments of the rich in the CC countries to influence global structures. In addition, international institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund function to serve the richest countries and the richest people of the world, according to dependency theorists. Even the global media, for that matter, is depicted as a structure that serves the most powerful countries and the richest people. So as a result the entire system, assembled by three leading arguments, is constructed to serve the economic interests of the wealthy. Moreover, following Dependency Theory, the system does not serve developing countries and poor people. The system does not promote development or equal opportunities for peripheral countries and the poor. Instead, it promotes dominance and exploitation. From a dependency perspective it seems that PP countries have no chance to develop, or at least less chance than wealthier countries. There is a hierarchical relation that shows the more peripheral a country is orientated in this system the less chance it has to develop economically. The system is actually designed to prevent the peripheral countries from developing. This is what dependency theorists call underdevelopment.

Countries, as described in this approach, could also be interpreted as regions on different scale levels. Meaning that the local entrepreneurs in Surabaya can be seen as peripheral countries as opposed to the government in Surabaya that can be characterized as powerful and wealthy. A critique worth mentioning is the generalizing character of Dependency Theory. Positive assumptions of rich, powerful and wealthy in contrast with negative assumptions of underdeveloped, poor, peripheral and dependent put a strong label on a country's economic status. For example, where would one place Indonesia in the system that distinguishes four types of countries? Their BRIC-status reveals they might fit in the CP group of countries. However, the BRIC-status is in essence not more than a label, or instrument for that matter, to position a nation with their resources in global processes that will benefit the strong Western economies, following Dependency Theory. This labelling is a process that (unconsciously) happens quickly and is often based on subjective assumptions that, by doing so, fail

in describing the reality. It easily passes cultural, political, ethical, and social components that interplay in a local network, which are in this study necessary in assessing the situation more objectively. For that reason I use Dependency Theory not as an objective and acceptable truth, rather as a way of seeing and approaching these matters of economic development. Hence, local insights are crucial in determining an individual or regional economic position in relation with surrounding influential factors that affect economic growth.

Although still a popular theory in history and sociology, dependency theory has disappeared from the mainstream of economic and geographical theory since the early 1990s. Nevertheless, the basic fundamentals of this theory are functional in discovering whether local entrepreneurs in Surabaya fit in either a wealthy region or a poor region, or somewhere in between. Simultaneously, it unfolds whether they are economically independent and what that means for prosperity. Again, the focus is geographical and places the region of economic activities central as a collective place for business, rather than focusing merely on the individual entrepreneur that operate within that region. This position gives us insight in economical, political, geographical and social tensions between the place of entrepreneurs and their environment. Accordingly, it is interesting to explore how certain contemporary power relations mediate and affect 'poorer' groups of the Indonesian local entrepreneurial workforce today. In the context of the local-global nexus these insights reveal an understanding on the dynamics of economic growth, or at least the perception of it.

Dependency practice

Until this point, Dependency Theory is pinned down as an abstract approach in understanding development, or un(der)development, of countries around the world. Let me now think as a dependency theorist and apply their reasoning into the local economic environment of Tambal Ban entrepreneurs in Surabaya. On this scale level it is interesting to explore whether individual entrepreneurs in the informal sector feel dependent or less prosperous in relation to their environment. And how that feeling fits the notion of economic prosperity? What do they consider rich and do they, then, rely on the rich? Does policy affect local economic growth or equality in Surabaya? How does the position of entrepreneurs affect the attitude of the Indonesian government in its relation to the global economy? Lots of questions arise that influence the empirical data collection and interpretation. Based on personal observations during a study in 2010 I expect the individual entrepreneur in Surabaya to be more independent than the dependency theory suggests. They might consider economic prosperity different than just making more money, expand business activities, hire staff, etc. Still, it is essential to determine how they are integrated into 'the system'. This system may contain powerful components that hinder entrepreneurial development. The (in)dependent position of the Tambal Ban entrepreneur is an important factor in exploring the concept of economic growth and how it brings me closer to a description of Surabaya's local economic ethnology parallel to global economic intensions. Figure 2.5 shows how the notion of dependency is used and how it relates to economic growth and the scale-oriented context of this study.

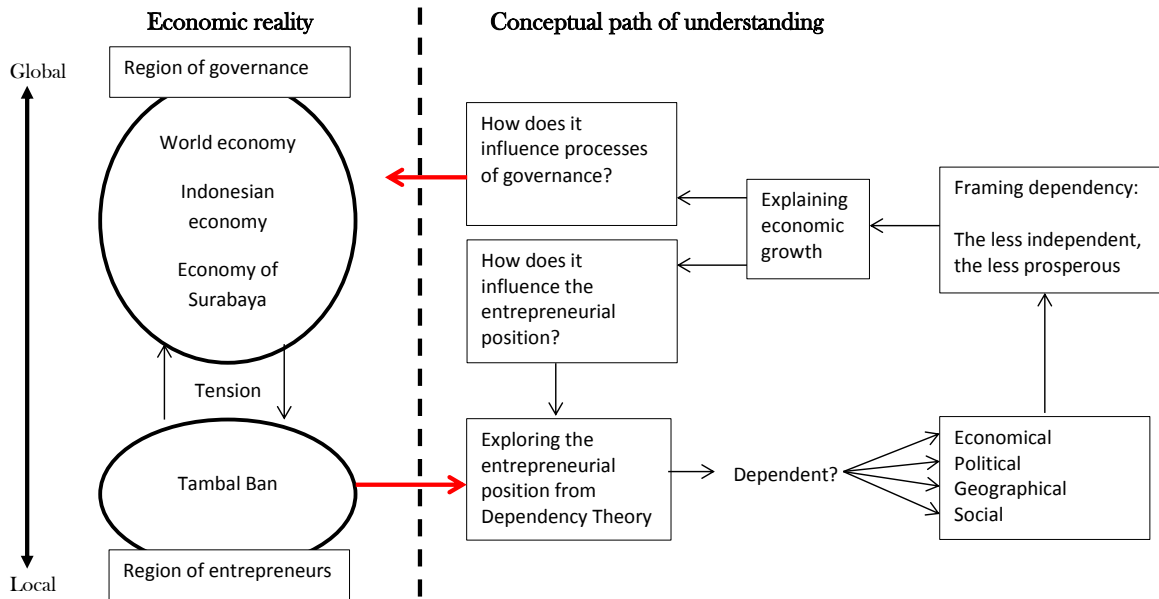


Figure 2.5 Conceptual understanding of economic growth using Dependency Theory (Source: author)

The context of this study is primarily focused on Tambal Ban entrepreneurs in their everyday business activities and personal livelihood. This group of entrepreneurs is the starting point in explaining economic growth by dependency. Figure 2.5 distinguishes the reality of this study, called economic reality, and a conceptual path that follows theoretical reasoning. In this reality there is a tension created by power relations between the local Tambal Ban and higher scale forms of governance. From local to global I classify the economy of Surabaya, the Indonesian economy and the world economy. Within this relation the position of the Tambal Ban is crucial to explore how dependent they are to the so-called ‘higher’ regions of governance. Then how to approach and define dependency? Dependency speaks of a situation in which the Tambal Ban entrepreneur relies on another for support, “survival” and growth. The dependent position of Tambal Ban entrepreneurs in relation to higher scale powers is framed by using four different perspectives: economical, political, geographical and social. These perspectives are used several times in this study as values to approach the economic position of the Tambal Ban entrepreneur. For systematic continuation these terms are therefore helpful to review dependency from various angles, while at the same time remain in the context of this study. Then, economic growth is explored by extracting the ‘level’ of independence. It follows the notion by Ferraro (2008) that the less independence, the less prosperous. The description of economic growth, as a variable, is further used in positioning the entrepreneur and framing this in the wider economic reality. From here it is interesting to discover how the dynamic content of growth, based on entrepreneurial viewpoints, influences processes of governance in the economic reality and impacts the position of the entrepreneur itself. Examining, in essence, how the concept of economic growth can be explained within this economic reality and how it brings me closer to a description of Surabaya’s local economic ethnology parallel to global economic intensions.

Clustering in a local-global context

The three theoretical themes share various overlapping notions. In presenting the local-global nexus as an overarching theoretical approach there are a few convenient interrelations with the notion of clustering, which is presented in Section 2.3.2. Here, it could be valuable to reimagine the dichotomy of advanced- and weak regions that is discussed in relational economic geography. It argues how certain areas are more beneficial than other areas. This is a traditional economic perspective that purely assesses the level of competence between two or more regions. When looking at Dependency Theory there is a strong relation in character. Regions rely on other regions for support, survival and growth. This relying of one region implies something beneficial for the other, in comparative terms.

When discussing clustering on multiple scale levels through the systematic notion of Global Production Networks you get easily caught up in the process of globalisation. Globalisation is the process of “growing integration of various parts of the world into a global economy and global financial system” (Turner, 2003, p. 19). Just as Dependency Theory, it focuses on a certain context while moving between different interstate and transnational processes that interrelate in this world. Also both concepts aspire to understand and explain contemporary power relations that are at stake. In a world that continues to globalise in rapid pace, these power relations will certainly co-develop and influence how power is divided in the world. How I perceive and pin down dependency is closely related with power relations that move and shift more easily from various parts of the world into a global world system.

The local-global nexus in the context of informality

The dualistic presence of the formal and informal sector, which is presented in Section 2.3.3, shows the relations with the local-global nexus as an overarching theoretical approach. When purely focussing on dichotomies I found that in the discussion about the formal and informal economy the same remarks pop up as in Dependency Theory. Here I follow an explanation of dependency theorists who suggests that the center creates the periphery as its complementary opposite. Center and periphery are classified as dichotomies. Just as dichotomies as nature/culture, reason/emotion, order/anarchy and subject/object. Gregory (in Scott, 1995, p. 89) called this phenomenon the “ structuring of paired opposites”, which effectively displaces the “subordinate term beyond the boundary of what is significant and desirable”. It shaped the construction of the binary logic of center/periphery. Here, the term periphery is framed as subordinate and complementary. In discussing the position of the entrepreneur on the economic scale of formal and informal, this value-laden approach helps to review whether informality is subordinate and complementary to the formal economy. Overall, dependence shows dominance from one over another.

2.4 To conclude visually – conceptual framework

The chapter started with an introduction that described the relation between the entrepreneur and economic growth. Followed by an extensive description of three supportive theoretical themes that contribute in the process of understanding economic growth in relation to entrepreneurship in present economic systems. The theoretical focus in this study is on entrepreneurs and their position in the informal economy, in a cluster, and in a cross-scalar economic constellation.

For a tangible overview –i.e. to get more grip on the matter- a visualisation is presented in Figure 2.6. It shows conceptual intension and (inter-)linkages of this study. Central is the position of the entrepreneur in relation to the three themes that cover the theoretical foundation. A description of this framework contributes to a research report in at least two ways: (1) it identifies research variables, and (2) it clarifies relationships among the variables. Linked to the problem statement, the conceptual framework “sets the stage” for presenting the specific research question that drives this study towards a thesis.

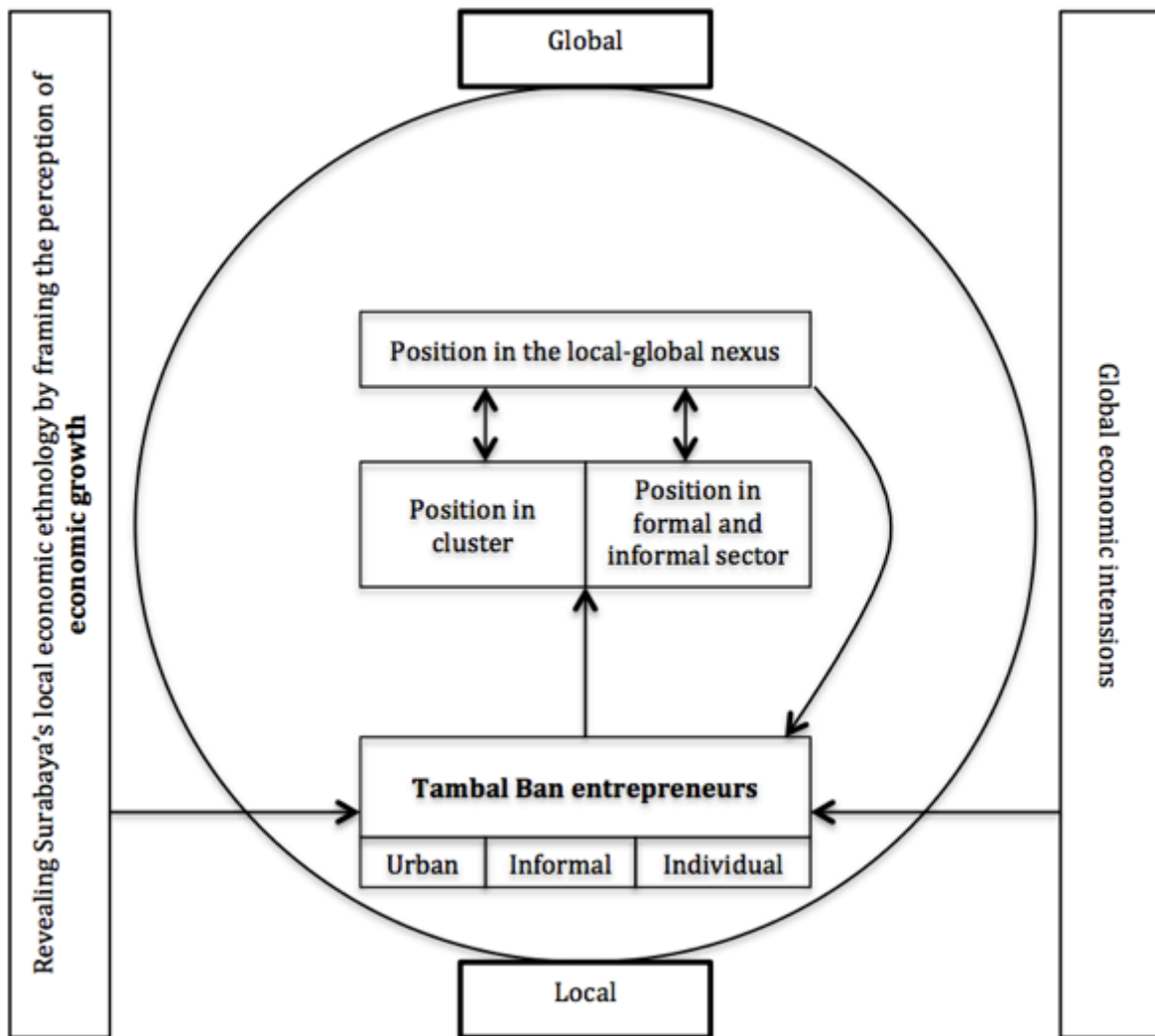


Figure 2.6

Conceptual visualisation of study

Source: Author

Setting the entrepreneurs central on a local orientation grasps the fundamental intention in this study: to describe economic growth from a local entrepreneurial perspective. Although oriented locally, the entrepreneurs are involved in a geographic field where different theoretical assumptions are interlinked: the global-local nexus. The scope of research is visualised as parallels at both sides of the circle. Their direct link to the entrepreneurs illustrates the essential relation in answering the research question. In choosing the formulation of ‘global economic intension on Indonesia’ I intend to combine global policy that affects Indonesia with the different scale

levels of policy making by the Indonesian government. Note here that the focus is not on precisely defining the content of that policy, rather, survey how the local entrepreneur experiences these policy implications.

Although different approaches generally provide insights on how to understand and make sense of economic growth in the contemporary world, the entrepreneurial perception of this notion has not been subject to extensive research yet. This theoretical analysis sets the stage for comprehensive empirical data collection. From Chapter 4 onwards the entrepreneurial position in, and viewpoints on, their economic situation in Surabaya are explained and used to provide more understanding of Surabaya's economic ethnology. Let me first move into the methodological section in Chapter 3 to explain how this research is actually conducted.

3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the research framework for the present study. As stated in Chapter 1, the analysis of this study contributes a heuristic framework necessary to understand the role and the position of an individual, urban and informal entrepreneur in a cross-scalar constellation. Using the theoretical exposition from Chapter 2, this chapter introduces the research question that is derived from the central topic of research (Section 3.2). Subsequently, this chapter presents multi-sited ethnography as the central strategy for this study (Section 3.3 and 3.4). Finally, the approach of fieldwork supporting this study will be discussed (Section 3.5). This chapter comes to a close by providing a detailed clarification on the process of data analysis (Section 3.6). By a four-step inquiry the dataset is explored and presented as a group of core codes. Figure 3.2 illustrates the interrelation and purpose of the different codes, leading to a joint representation of the Tambal Ban culture in the research area. It sets the stage for the following Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7. I finalize this chapter with a conclusive note (Section 3.7).

3.2 Research question

Economic growth, as a multi-interpretable term that is used intensively in this study, requires further clarification before moving on. Moreover, it is necessary to determine how to measure or approach economic growth. One can use for example the instrument GDP, the number of microcredits, the amount of vacancy, the sum of private investments and even car ownership of a certain group in society (Ali & Dadush, 2012). Another way to measure is following the flow of capital (circulation of money and goods). However, my personal anxiety in selecting a way to measure economic progression is that it is based on a Western perspective. This means that what drives my natural argumentation, is formed by mainly Western education. John Pickles (2005, pp. 357–358) states that scholars are producing rich geographical imaginaries of postcolonial European spaces. By this he means that research, which is conducted in Europe, by European standards, and conforms to European literature, is shaping spatial imaginaries and cultural politics from Europe's very own point of view, as a hearth and stable entity. I rather use the perspective of an independent researcher moving beyond the binaries of colonial thought (here and there, inside and outside, European and non-European). This way of perceiving critically in striving for objectivity is called *contrapuntal reading* and comes from Edwards Said's Orientalism on (post)colonial discourse (Said, in Gregory, 2000). Orientalism in general is a term used for the imitation or depiction of aspects of Eastern cultures in the West. Orientalism refers to the Orient or East, in contrast to the Occident or West (Said, in Gregory, Johnston, Pratt, Watts, & Whatmore, 2009, p. 513). It highlights the importance of representing people and places in different cultures, traditions and contexts and recognizing their difficulties (Blunt & Wills, 2000, p. 168). The practice of contrapuntal reading deals with the interpretation of a situation or object in a certain context. Said explains as follows:

As we look back at the cultural archive, we begin to reread it not univocally but contrapuntally, with a simultaneous awareness both of the metropolitan history that is narrated and of those other histories against which (and together with which), the dominating discourse acts. (Said, in Gregory, 2000, p. 328)

In preventing the formulation of a definition of economic progression merely on Western perspectives I try to read and observe contrapuntally. In practice this will be performed during fieldwork in Surabaya. In formulating a tangible view of economic progression I need both personal thoughts and secondary sources from an Indonesian point of view. In this study economic growth is understood as a dynamic term that is empirically constructed by personal input during fieldwork. From a humanistic perspective, where the individual plays a central role in analysis, the focus is on the individual entrepreneur as a starting point for empirical evidence. Questions that come to mind are: What is their personal perception of ‘economical growth’? How do they define a (economic) growing Indonesia? What are personal goals within their economic behaviour and which incentives apply? Who has influence? In order to answer these questions within the broader scope of this study I endeavour to explore three leading domains: (1) how economic growth is perceived, (2) how to describe the position of the entrepreneur and (3) how this position relates to a broader economic system. These exploratory, descriptive and explanatory domains come together in the central research question of this study:

How do Tambal Ban entrepreneurs perceive economic growth in Surabaya, Indonesia, in relation to their local position in a multi-scalar economic system?

Note here that this study will not focus on strictly measuring economic growth. The following sections in this chapter elaborate on how to approach such a research case and what choices I made in developing a suitable methodology.

3.3 What suits best?

The empirical section of this study is predominantly shaped and presented by ethnography as a qualitative research technique. Methodological insights are primarily based on books by method specialists Creswell (2007) and Verschuren & Doorewaard (2010). Before elaborating on the procedures and outcomes of ethnography I will explain the choice of this strategy.

Ethnographic research starts in a certain spatial orientation in where a group of people are frequently interacting (Creswell, 2007). Through this interaction they develop shared patterns of behaviour, beliefs, and language. In an ethnographic study the focus is on an entire cultural group. Which in this thesis are exclusively Tambal Ban entrepreneurs. Here, ethnography is a suitable design since it is fundamental to describe how this cultural group works by exploring their beliefs, language and behaviours. The ethnographic approach touches various values in the everyday reality of the focus group. These different values, such as emotional, rational, economical, religious and political, each reflect on the focus group from a different perspective. Providing a clear understanding in the motivation they have, and choices they make, during a day’s work. In getting the necessary information I need to touch the emotions and feelings of people in order to pull the deep and perhaps suppressed ways of thinking. Moreover, in conducting purely qualitative research, I am searching for patterns of certain motives between individuals. This is precisely that what frames the subjective notion of perception (of economic

growth). Here, the ontological approach dictates to envision multiple realities as evidence, to confirm individual motives based on actual words and presenting different perspectives from individuals. Moreover, the epistemological approach prescribes qualitative researchers to conduct their studies in the field, where participants live and work. These are important contexts for understanding what the participants are saying. The more intensive the researcher is in the field or is able to get to know the participants, the more they 'know what they know' from firsthand information. For that matter I operated locally and connected socially by cycling around Surabaya, eating with many people on the streets and engage in some of their hobbies. These interests are remarkably similar for many and include essentially smoking kretek cigarettes (I am a non-smoker), talking about religion and, again, eating. This open and participatory attitude is a fundamental necessity in creating a valuable experience in doing research.

Ethnography is both a process and an outcome. As an outcome, ethnography is the final, written product of research. As a process, it involves extended observations and interviews, as general types of data collection, in which immersion will take place in the day-to-day lives of the participants. During immersion, the focus is on the meaning of behaviour, the language, and the interaction among members in the group. During and after the immersion the retrieved data will be analysed by a thorough description of the group using different themes that structure and represent the data accurately. Resulting in a cultural portrait of the group that incorporates the participants view (emic) as well as the researchers view (etic).

In order to understand ethnography as a suitable strategy to this study, some further explanation is needed to clarify its capacities. Creswell (2007) depicts two forms of ethnography as most popular in contemporary research. The first is the realist ethnography, which is characterized by its objective account of the situation. It is typically written in the third person point of view and reporting is purely based on objective information, or "facts", learned from participants on the spot. Data from the field remains uncontaminated from the researchers personal thoughts, goals and judgement. The second major form is critical ethnographic research. In this approach the researcher basically advocates for the emancipation of marginalized groups. It is based merely on moral beliefs that expose the researchers position against inequality and domination. In essence it is a value-laden research in which a personal goal is set before actual immersion. Although both forms surely generate valuable outcomes, they essentially do not cope with the main research problem and therefore do not fit this research as intended. The purely objective attitude in the realist ethnography would especially suffice during the early stages of research. Building on only facts surely conforms better to the representation of the external reality. Later, when the researcher gains more knowledge, it is valuable to formulate delicate responses. Not only to nurture the natural flow of the conversation, but also to enrich the perspectives of both the researcher and the participant. Now, the conversation can go 'deeper' and perhaps establish a more grounded view on the meaning of behaviour, language and interaction. Taking into consideration, of course, the notion that the values and beliefs of the participant cannot be influenced by the researchers' (pre-given Western) perspective. This conception of value brings us to the critical ethnography, which profoundly strives for equality in society. The goal of this research is not to expose marginalisation in any form, if even there is such a depiction at stake on the Indonesian informal entrepreneurs. What is useful, however, is the expressive characteristic in this approach. It brings a certain emotion to the table that could turn out to be appreciated when data is being analysed and interpreted. To describe the form of ethnography in this study the term 'objective expressive ethnography' by Creswell (2007) might provide foundations in understanding the chosen path and clarify choices to be made further on. It simply combines the most essential characteristics of both forms and filters those that do not fit.

Through various elements in this study, the search for the perception of economic growth brings in the notion of subjectivity. Development, as such, is a highly contested concept. It has become an exercise in judging norms and values. Some guidelines presented by Dietz (2012), influenced by Karl Popper, give valuable insights on how to classify and deal with this subjectivity. He specifically moves away from positivist assumptions that research cannot claim something to be ‘true’ or ‘false’. “Judging what is true or false, good or bad, useful or useless, beautiful or ugly, is a cultural process, bound by but full of specific pathways through time and space” (Dietz, 2012, pp. 232–233). Meaning that approaching the concept of economic growth is an exercise of in judging norms and values. It needs to take place locally and in consideration of the cultural reality that shapes the economic environment of the Tambal Ban entrepreneur.

3.4 Multi-sited Ethnographic inquiry: What, why and how?

To specify ‘objective expressive ethnography’ further I introduce a multi-sited component. Let me first elaborate on the main characteristics, its intended use and the practical application(s) of multi-sited ethnography. Followed by a clarification on how Time Geography fits this study. Eventually wrapping it together in a research model that visualises the overall methodological approach of this study.

An anthropologist, Antonius C.G.M Robben, describes some fundamental features of multi-sited fieldwork in a publication in *Ethnographic Fieldwork*, where he starts with the notion that “multi-sited fieldwork is not the same as fieldwork at multiple sites” (2007, p. 331). This conception will gain more understanding in further defining the broader context of the multi-sited approach. Rather than focusing on multiple sites the approach intends to put emphasis on multiple connections, between those sites. Overall, Robben argues that people participate in assemblages of multiple grids that intersect at unexpected locations, with unexpected persons, and in unanticipated power fields. It is about putting adequate emphasis on interconnections between bounded sites of research - varying from local to global scales. Here, “multi-sited ethnography is presented as the answer” – in his response to the unseen (inter)connections as a failing characteristic in single-sited fieldwork (Robben, 2007, p. 332). It stipulates a certain perspective that not the different localities themselves matter the most, rather their interconnections. According to Ulf Hannerz (2007, p. 362) multi-sited research can therefore better be labelled as translocal research:

“The sites are connected with one another in such ways that the relationships between them are as important for this formulation as the relationships within them; the fields are not some mere collection of local units. One must establish the translocal linkages, and the interconnections between those and whatever local bundles of relationships which are also part of the study.” (Hannerz, 2007, p. 362)

In broad terms multi-sited research implies a focus on relations between places. Relations that are both between, as within, a certain place. In this it is essential to select usable sites and set a framework of parameters that will grasp the fundamental characteristics to explore the relations in the process of comparing these sites (Hannerz, 2007, pp. 362 – 363). Moreover, the method of multi-sited research cross-cuts, and in essence moves away from, dichotomies such as the ‘local’ and the ‘global’. Where it investigates and constructs aspects of the local world in variously situated subjects, it also constructs aspects of the global world itself through associations and connections it reveals among sites (Marcus, 1995).

Moving from a basic theoretical foundation towards a more practical implication and employability of multi-sited research. In applying the theory of multi-sited research many authors, like Appadurai, Zabusky, Edwards, Hannerz, Marcus, Gupta and Ferguson (Hannerz, 2007; Marcus, 1995; Robben, 2007) have quite different perspectives in framing the practice – the way of doing – in performing multi-sited ethnographic research. In the readings so far it is George Marcus who presents the most tangible approach in constructing a practical study. Ulf Hannerz (2007, p. 360) even depicts Marcus’s conception of multi-sited research as propagated most consistently. In focusing on the connections, Marcus (1995) states, it is important to grasp empirical transformations in the world. Therefore, to give a certain meaning or value to a connection you follow an essential process –an entrepreneurial economic activity- that transforms in time and space and goes through multiple sites. A transformation, in this sense, can both be physical (material) and mental (cognitive) and implies a process of change from a certain situation to a new situation, in which you compare both to understand the transformation. Here Marcus adds that “ ...comparison emerges from putting questions to an emergent object of study whose contours, sites, and relationships are not known beforehand but are themselves a contribution of making an account that has different, complexly connected real-world sites of investigation.” Multi-sited fieldwork, in addition, is always conducted with a profound awareness of being at a certain location. And if the location, or elements within that location, change the interrelation between other locations, the researcher should notice this and renegotiate this transformation. In the context of following this emergent object of study, Marcus (1995, p. 105) provides a more tangible method, where he lays out different modes or techniques to define those objects of study. These techniques are used as practices of construction to trace movements of complex phenomena in, and between, multiple sites. He states: “multi-sited is designed around chains, paths, threats, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of association or connections among sites that in fact defines the argument of the ethnography.” In this he defines seven modes or practices of constructing multi-sited ethnographies by the following:

1. Paths and movements of people (e.g., journalists hopping from story to story)
2. Things (e.g., commodity chain)
3. Metaphors (e.g., the proliferation of discourse about the immune system from medicine to other domains)
4. Narratives (e.g., spreading of stories and myths)
5. Biographies (e.g., human life-paths through social and spatial context)
6. Conflicts (e.g., wandering war refugees)
7. The emerging world – as based on a strategically situated (single-site) research object (e.g., the on-going conversations about factory work among working-class children at school)

These techniques are pinned-down as individual ways in approaching the notion of ‘following’ that is central and crucial in exploring the connections in, and between, multiple sites within the broader ideology of multi-sited research. Ethnography focuses on an entire cultural group. In this study this group consists of Tambal Ban entrepreneurs that participate in a certain cluster. Ethnography in this study is practiced by both conducting interviews and participant observations. Here, I focus on the meaning of behaviour, the language, and the interaction among the participants. I followed participants in their day to day lives and described their choices

and behaviour by the techniques of Marcus (1995). In using the method of multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork, the interrelations between different clusters and the agents within becomes visible. It focuses on the objective situation, typically reporting objectively on the information that participants share (Creswell, 2007, p. 69). A few steps, given by Creswell (2007), display the pattern of research:

1. Identify and locate a culture-sharing group to study. Shared characteristics are: language, patterns of behaviour, and attitudes.
2. Select the theme to study. In this research it is mainly about cognition: their own patterns of thinking and perceiving their environment in which they make choices.
3. Gather information where the participants work and live – called fieldwork.
4. Compile a detailed description of the group of participants. Focus on a single event, on several activities, or on the participants over a prolonged period of time. Describe how participants work and live.
5. Construct a working set of rules or patterns as the final product of analysis - a cultural portrait.

The following quote links multi-sited ethnography to the concept of time, which brings us to an additional instrument that construct the content of the ethnographic cultural portrait: time geography.

“...ethnography is an art of the possible, and it may be better to have some of it than none at all. And so we do it now and then, fitting in into our lives when we have a chance. Often, no doubt, this will be a matter of being there – and again! and again! – returning to a known although probably changing scene. Multi-sited ethnography, however, may fit particularly well into that more drawn-out, off-and-on kind of scheduling, as the latter does not only allow us to think during times in between about the materials we have, but also about where to go next. It could just be rather impractical to move hurriedly directly from one field site to the next, according to a plan allowing for a little alteration along the way. (Hannerz, 2007, pp. 366 – 367)

Time geography in this study is an essential part of the data collection. To underpin and gauge the choices that participants make it is relevant to perform time geographies. This is a geographical mapping in consideration of time and space. According to Hagerstrand (1970) the short-term paths regarding days can be sampled by observations or by some diary method. In doing this the time-space mechanics of constraints need to be defined, which determine how the paths are channelled or dammed up. The life paths of the Tambal Ban, within a prism defined by Hagerstrand, consist of a geographical notion (pin drop) every hour. Wherever their location and duration of stops inside the daily prism, their path will always form an unbroken line within the prism. This line cannot pass a certain point in time-space more than once and always has to be at some point. Life paths become captured within a net of constraints, some of which are imposed by physiological and physical necessities and some imposed by private and common decisions. Constraints can become imposed by society and interact against the will of the individual. An individual can never free himself from such constraints, according to Hagerstrand. In this sense there is a limited ability to change these constraints. In society, all activities have their (right) places. Thus, coupling constraints are a major element in the spatio-temporal structuration of social life. In a certain sense you are definitely a prisoner of your personal time-space path. A life path adds information about behaviour and choices of the Tambal Ban that, after assessing, contribute to the perception of economic growth.

Aside this, time geographies give a clear overview on how someone spends his or her day. Meaning that extracted information is also used to portrait the Tambal Ban in describing their everyday life.

All comes together in the research model (Figure 3.1), which functions to provide a clear overview of the study from begin to end. The most logical way to read the research model is from the left to the right. Starting with the research material, distinguishing the three theoretical themes with the Time Geography, interviews and observations. The research material frames the essential input for the data analysis using the research strategy desk research (specifically for theory) and ethnography (for the Time Geography, interviews and observations). From that point the interpretation of the data analysis follows and provides results. Here, the perception of economic growth by local entrepreneurs is the norm for measuring, as derived from the theoretical framework. These outcomes relate closely the empirical phenomenon to study, that is, the position of the Tambal Ban entrepreneur on different geographical scale levels. The last step is to formulate the conclusions, based on the previous path that is been followed.

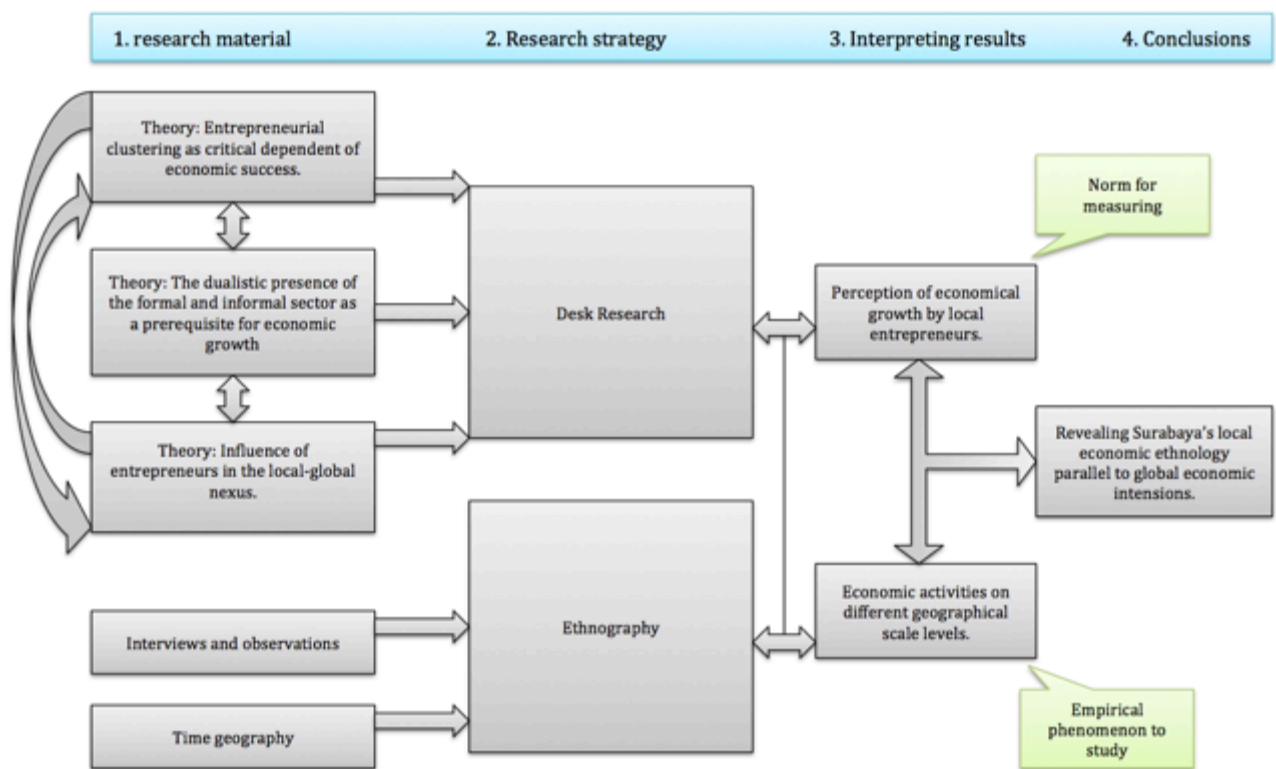


Figure 3.1 Research model

(source: author)

3.5 In the field

The data collection was carried out during one fieldwork period of three months, consisting of four different immersions that each had their own function in collecting data. The complete fieldwork took place from September 2013 to November 2013. The database is built on interviews, observations, Time Geographies and additional documents such as photos and maps. Containing a total of 32 interviews, nine observations, three time geographies and more than 500 additional documents. These numbers are listed in appendix A.

Four immersions in the field

(1) The first immersion, from 1 till 10 September, purely entailed detailed sampling – choosing the location and the type of entrepreneur. In this stage I cycled around the city of Surabaya to find a suitable site for study. During this trip, the research areas and a specific sector were selected. The focus group in this thesis is the entrepreneurs that own a little vehicle repair shop. This group of entrepreneurs was chosen as follows. The actual characterisation of a group comprises that certain bonding over time should take place in an environment that is clear to the whole group. Not stating, however, that this environment is static within fixed geographical boundaries. Whether such characteristics are visible in a group can be obtained just by performing observations and small talk. This is faster than exploring their language, beliefs and behaviour, which are more time consuming due to required details in in-depth interviews. Before actual immersion the fieldwork starts with a solid orientation in Surabaya to pre-examine the variety of locations. An extended and profound selection is made with insights from various colleagues at the ITS University that are experts on entrepreneurship in Surabaya. A total of nine locations in Surabaya were assessed that conform to three pre-given criteria: Informal, located on the side of the road, and surrounded by small informal businesses in different sectors. The observation was spread over three full days: (1) Wednesday 4 September, (2) Thursday 5 September and (3) Saturday 7 September. Surveying on two weekdays and one weekend day provided a sufficient view on their geographical position, since every business consistently appeared on the same spot. Furthermore, these three intensive days confirmed that little repair shops are mainly present in combination with other businesses from other sectors. This explorative immersion resulted in a focus group in a specific area. The place of research in this study is framed as one street, called *Jalan Dharma Husada*, which connects the city centre to surrounding residential areas. In this street I find thirteen Tambal Ban entrepreneurs performing their business at the side of the street. In Chapter 4 a detailed map is presented that illustrates the different positions of the Tambal Ban.

(2) The second immersion, from 11 till 17 September, started with interviewing and observing all eleven Tambal Ban entrepreneurs, in order to get a general impression of the characteristics of the sector and the environment. In this stage the first connection with the Tambal Ban entrepreneurs was established. The goal of the first interview and observation was to grasp the basic characteristics of the entrepreneurs, the basic features of their business and their motivation for their location. The intention was to discover if they were open for being research participants. Regardless to mention, all were enthusiastic. Additionally, this valuable first impression framed certain practicalities, such as their working hours, their working history and their personal situation outside work. Based on results from this immersion three specific entrepreneurs were selected that underwent in-depth interviews with photo confrontation and a personal Time Geography. The two criteria of selection were spatial orientation and willingness to participate. The location is important because it is critical to assess their relation with surrounding entrepreneurs. To cover a maximal range of interaction it is necessary to select the three Tambal Ban who are spread over the street. Secondly, a few Tambal Ban did not want to participate intensively.

(3) The third immersion, from 18 September till 6 November, was by far the longest and consisted of further collection of qualitative data during later stages of fieldwork, specifically aimed at the three selected entrepreneurs. In this stage also government officials and relevant institutions were interviewed. In focussing on three specific entrepreneurs among the total of eleven I endeavoured to engage in their lives and extract their (shared patterns of) personal beliefs, language and behaviour. Here, ethnography served as a tangible strategy to

dig deep into the various values in the everyday reality of the focus group. A total of three in-depth interviews, three extensive observations and a Time geography (spatial mapping) portrayed the positions of the entrepreneur in relation to their environment. Specific questions on economic growth and the three theoretical themes (Chapter 2) enriched this perspective. Additionally I asked them if they were familiar with the term *economic crisis* and how it might affect them. Apart from the theoretical assumptions that reflect on the concept of economic growth, new insights revealed that religion, spatial planning and a so-called critique on growth, play a fundamental role in explaining the role and the position of a Tambal Ban entrepreneur in a cross-scalar constellation. After this, I interviewed two officials from the government and one corporation. From both the Department of Small and Medium Enterprises and the Department of Urban Planning I got to speak with the head of that governmental division. Furthermore, an in-depth interview with the corporation *Jaya Abadi* reflected closely on the power relations that are at stake when discussing economic development in Surabaya. *Jaya Abadi* is a mediating corporation between the government and the entrepreneurs. Not only governmental officials or entrepreneurs added data to this study. Lots of short interviews and unrecorded talks with people, who I met at the University or randomly on the streets or in malls, enriched the total qualitative framework of data. Besides the standard questionnaires (in Appendix B) asked the participants a number of open questions depending on the amount of time available and the admissibility of the context.

(4) The forth immersion, from 7 November till 19 November, took place after a short analytic break that provided some interim results. Based on these insights, from predominantly the government and related institutions, I checked with all eleven entrepreneurs whether their feelings or mind-set changed after retrieving new information. To this end, I conducted interviews with all Tambal Ban entrepreneurs in the street. Also, it was a useful moment to fill the gaps of missing information. Between all immersions there was enough time to reflect iteratively on the process and adjust where needed.

Qualitative research by means of different interview strategies was needed to understand the choices and decisions that form the basis for knowledge acquisition by individuals. I prefer an open (or semi-structured) interview because the respondent can replay freely and can construct his or her answer in a way he or she prefers (Chambers, 2007). Asking the right questions on the right moment is crucial in order to keep the interview as if it is a normal conversation. The respondent needs to feel at ease, comfortable and respected during the interview to give sincere and true answers. The strategy of interviewing is focused on exploring the world of thought of the respondent about a predetermined topic or theme within the time available (Van Der Molen, Kluytmans, & Kramer, 1995). Questions that have been asked during the interviews are mainly descriptive and explanatory. The answer on a descriptive question describes a certain situation, an event or a development. The answer on an explanatory question is an affirmation for an event or development. Answers to simple descriptive questions give rise to richer descriptive questions, and answers to these descriptive questions become the starting point for explanatory ones (Ultee, 1991, p. 35). In the interviews this technique of certain chronological questions is used to elaborate on a topic within the respondents world of thought and thus get a complete and personal view on a (sometimes difficult) 'why' question. All interviews were audiotaped and transcribed. Additionally I wrote down relevant information during unplanned conversations. Besides in depth interviews, I also used the opportunity to do observations on the Tambal Ban environment and its activities. Listening to and observing daily conversations turned out to be important components. Much is learned about people's views by noting and analysing the way they express themselves outside an interview situation. Field notes were gathered by conducting an observation as an observer, not as a participant.

Before each interview the researcher also explains the role as a researcher conducting research. This is done to support the transparency aspect of research. The purpose of the study was presented vocally to the respondent before each interview. In the end, the preliminary results were presented to the respondents.

During fieldwork, literature was collected from the university library *Institut Teknologi Sepuluh Nopember (ITS)* in Surabaya and Internet sources. Moreover, from various students and lecturers I received useful papers and articles that framed my perception on the matter according to Indonesian standards. Also from the field there was input in the form of documents. Most of the times I examined and took photos of those documents. During the entire research, information was collected from the Internet editions of Indonesian newspapers such as Jakarta Post and The Jakarta Globe. Together with hardcopy newspaper editions for the Surabaya region, such as Jawa Pos, Surya and Panjinasional, information was provided on political and economic developments on multiple scale levels.

Protocols

To record information during the data collection I used a protocol and put notes in a personal journal. For each type of data collection I designed a different form to take notes during the interview, observation or Time geography about the responses or behaviour of the respondent. Also, it helped me to organise my thoughts during and after data collection. All different research protocols are presented in appendix B. Besides valuable descriptive notes I also organised a section for reflective notes. This implies notes about the process, reflections on activities, and summary conclusions about activities that later formed the themes in this study.

Field issues

During fieldwork a few eye-openers and issues arose that need to be addressed in order to understand several choices and interpretations. In this study a variety of issues are anticipated to when gathering data. First addressing my Dutch background. Followed by the notion of religion and confidentiality towards the participants. Thirdly I address the use of language and the difficulties of keeping up with fast conversation and different dialects. And last the bureaucratic access to governmental executives in different departments.

Starting with my background. Being Dutch in Indonesia has its consequences. The Dutch reputation is historically determined and regardless of the many smiling faces it would be naïve to expect only positive associations by the Indonesians. Despite my attempt to approach each participant on an equal level and in his or her own language -which surely showed signs of approval and respect- it is impossible to remain unnoticed when entering a certain territory. In a city that has little experience with tourists, one quickly notices a tall white male who obviously has his difficulties in the steamy weather. How this could affect certain answers or behaviour of the participants is difficult to pin down. In my experience Indonesian people are truly honest in their answers, but rather superficial and sometimes overly attached in quick social encounters.

The same applies for religion. In various interviews the participant emphasised his or her religious background and asked for my preference. At first I only mentioned not being a Muslim. Later, when developing our social relationship, I left hints that in Europe it is possible that people do not believe in a God. Not stating, of course, that I lack a certain faith, norms or values. For my perspective I tried to make clear that without believing in God it is still possible to be spiritual and measure your 'higher' self by values that overlap characteristics of a religion. I would say they understood. This brings me to the notion of confidentiality towards the participants. Trust needs to be earned and therefore it is crucial to approach any participant with respect, understanding of

their cultural habits and in their own language. Most of the time in Bahasa (standard Indonesian language), but sometimes in Javanese or other dialects. Retno (PhD student) supported me greatly in this specific phase. She is a close friend from the ITS University and helped me during fieldwork and transcribing the interviews. Her presence during most of the interviews showed visible increasing confidence of the participants towards me as a researcher.

Thirdly I increased my knowledge of the basic language Bahasa and the most common dialects that are spoken in Surabaya. Despite my effort it was still sometimes difficult to interact at a high level of conversation. During those moments I could count on Retno's academic and social abilities to keep the conversation going and subtract valuable information.

Also she, and our colleagues from the ITS University, assisted me to get access in different governmental departments. With supportive guidance I managed to conduct two in-depth interviews with the head of the department of Small and Medium Enterprises and the head of the department of Urban Planning. This is an intensive formal procedure that could have delayed my fieldwork for weeks without certain contacts to assist me.

3.6 Approached from local orientation: exploring the data set

Before moving deeper to the descriptive setting in the next chapters a solid analytical justification is needed to clarify certain choices in research that frame my perspective towards the Tambal Ban. The findings in this study are predominately build on empirical data that is retrieved in and around the research area. This data consists of extensive detailed information about individual Tambal Ban entrepreneurs in this study. Strategies of data analysis that are presented in this chapter frame in general also the basis of empirical representation in the following Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7. Here, it is not intended to generalize the information, rather to elucidate the particular, the specific. Following this, the present research is focused on a group of eleven Tambal Ban entrepreneurs in a street in Surabaya. This group is seen as the whole cultural-sharing group that developed shared values, beliefs and assumptions (Creswell, 2007). In order to provide feasible outcomes three carefully selected Tambal Ban entrepreneurs in this group are explored more intensively. By zooming in on their daily habits throughout the whole day it was possible to sketch a personal narrative (Chapter 4) of their everyday lives. These findings are based on a Time Geography and multiple interviews and observations. This ethnographic approach provides some perspective on chronological choices in the social and professional lives in the group and specifies context on different forms of behaviour. Both are fundamental in describing their view on economic growth in the background of their socially, politically, geographically, religiously and economically constructed environment.

Before discussing my personal reflection on different paradigms that represent claims about knowledge in this study I mention the epistemological and ontological aspects. This increases a better understanding of my stance in the research. In Chapter 2 two leading philosophical assumptions constructed the fundamental basis of research. First, interpretative epistemology emphasized that our reality is understood by our interpretations and constructions. Our knowledge about reality is dynamic and relates multiple perspectives, and thus multiple interpretations, in the process of understanding. Here I move away from a single objective and knowable reality. In other words, the research process of this study (re)constructs reality instead of explaining it. The second philosophical assumption is an ontological reflection, based on the notion that reality is subjective and multiple.

Every individual is embracing different realities. In constructing knowledge it is therefore crucial to focus on the nature of these multiple realities for each participant.

This thesis is built on certain knowledge claims that are shaped by paradigms (Creswell, 2007). It brings a set of beliefs that shows my preference in how to frame the practice of this research. Let me briefly discuss the paradigms *social constructivism* and *postmodernism* to reveal my personal and academic point of view during this research. *Social Constructionism* brings one important element that relates with the local orientation in this study and the agency of the participants. This element holds that individuals seek understanding and construct the significance of a situation by developing subjective meanings of their experiences. In practice, research relies as much as possible on the participants' view of the situation. Subjective meanings are formed through interaction with others (hence social constructivism) and through cultural and historical norms that characterize the individual' lives. During fieldwork I focussed specifically on open-ended questioning so that the participants can construct the meaning of a situation. Both their answers and their (cultural and historical) environment determine the context in which people live and work. It fits this ethnographic research because it intends to make sense (or interpret) the meanings other have about the world.

The second paradigm is *postmodernism*, which can be seen as a more radical approach. It rather focuses on changing the ways of thinking than on calling for action based on these changes (Thomas in Creswell, 2007, p. 25). The basic concept is that knowledge claims must be set within the conditions of the world today and in multiple perspectives of class, race, gender, religion and income. These conditions show the presence of hierarchy and power relations between individuals.

In this study it is specifically relevant to be aware of the presence of meta-narratives that are considered 'true' regardless of the social conditions. It typifies in general the relation between economic processes (as meta-narratives) that are designed and supported by wealthy countries and the effects on the developing countries in this world. In March 2014 the Indonesian government intended to end all international treaties of trade to prevent multinationals from increasing their dominant position over developing countries (Frederik, 2014). This statement stipulates, again, the fluctuating role of Indonesia in the global economic spectrum. At the same time it provides new possibilities of reflection against Dependency Theory that positions Indonesia as a dependent country, which is prevented to grow because of the dominance of the wealthy counties. Perhaps I should reconsider the position of the Indonesian economy. Or maybe re-examine the dominant status of the wealthy. It is important to remember that postmodernism includes the need to notice and examine concealed hierarchies as well as dominations, oppositions, inconsistencies and contradictions. This study follows this path and moves away from creating such hierarchies.

In creating a narrative that meets the academic requirements and at the same time is easy to read this study follows a systematic approach to analysis. Inspired by Creswell (2007) I constructed a fixed procedure of data analysis. It is a chronological step-by-step method with an iterative character. Meaning that I follow a strict path of four different steps while constantly looking back to previous steps and evaluate my progress. These steps follow the complete procedure from data managing to presenting the data.

1. Data managing

During and after fieldwork all data is stored, organised and backed-up. In this study I used interviews, observations and Time Geographies as forms of data collection. The interviews are all recorded and transcribed in high detail. Some quick or unplanned conversations were not recorded, although they helped

in constructing the data as a whole. Taking notes and drawing a summary prevented me from losing any relevant information. During all observations I used a protocol that divided two columns for descriptive notes and reflective notes. The section with a box around it in the “descriptive notes” column indicates my attempt to summarize, in chronological fashion, the flow of activities at a certain location. The section for “reflective notes” is intended for notes about the process, reflections on activities, and summary conclusions about activities for later theme development. The research protocol for Time Geography contained a time schedule and a map. After every hour I noted the most relevant activity of the Tambal Ban entrepreneur and marked its location on the map. All protocols for data collection, transcriptions and additional notes are available upon request. The complete set of data is digital or digitalized.

2. Reading and memoing

It starts with reading all transcripts and additional documents in their entirety several times. Here I immersed myself in the details, making sense of the data as a whole before breaking it into parts. In this process I use memos to reflect on the content while reading. These memos are short phrases, ideas, or key concepts that occur to me. In doing this I also reflect on larger thoughts presented in the data and immediately form initial categories. In this stage I develop a short list of tentative codes that match text segments. Codes are words or (parts of) short sentences and function to classify the data. The specific strategy that is used is the ‘open coding’ method by Glaser and Strauss (Glaser, 2001). By this they mean that every sentence should be read line-by-line and coded ad hoc (Kelle, in Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p. 197). During open coding one sentence can generate multiple codes consisting of words or phrases (defined as codes) that are deemed relevant. The second step is axial coding. It concerns how various concepts (codes) relate to each other. These ‘axial’ codes are relevant because they are conceptualizing the data. The codes have a substantial and meaningful role in the text. Also, some codes are bundled together or reformulated into overarching codes to specify the theme of the selected text. The next step is to define relationships between codes, regarded as selective coding, and results in different themes.

3. Classifying, interpreting and describing

This stage is about describing the social setting and actors in that environment. Initial codes are further categorized by reviewing and re-reviewing the database. The complete set of data unfolds into a few storylines that interlink within the larger narrative of this study. These storylines are a representation of the everyday lives of three Tambal Ban entrepreneurs. The following sections in this chapter describe how the Tambal Ban entrepreneur works, lives and experiences his environment in a street that connects the city centre with its surrounding areas. This description is built on categorized codes. By bundling these codes a specific theme is constructed that shows a part of the whole story about the Tambal Ban as a culture-sharing group. A critical element in describing the data is interpretation, the practice of making sense. In the process of interpretation I take a step back from the larger meanings of what is going on in the situation. From the perspective of postmodernism and social constructivism interpretations are seen as tentative, inconclusive and questioning. Such approaches demand a critical attitude towards the data in forming a thorough cultural portrait of the Tambal Ban. In this study I do not count codes because counting conveys a quantitative orientation of magnitude that does not cope with the intention of this study to value the individuals’ beliefs, norms and behaviour.

4. Representing and visualizing

Managing, reading, memoing, coding, classifying, interpreting and describing contributes as a whole to the presentation of the data. Figure 3.2 illustrates a visual image of the information. It identifies a network of codes, themes that depicts how the data is structured throughout this study. This visualisation shows inductive analysis that begins with the raw data consisting of multiple sources of information and then broadens to several codes (in the green square) that are organized and re-formulated to fit in a group. These groups of codes are the leading assemblages that frame the overarching themes: (1) Economical, (2) Socio-Cultural and (3) Geographical. These are leading concepts in respectively Chapters 5, 6 and 7. On to the more general collection of required elements that plots the story of the Tambal Ban entrepreneur. This cultural portrait is the central function of this thesis and matches the central research question (Chapter 3) and the objective of this study (Chapter 1). The first element is the *theoretical lens*, which is clearly not in direct contact with the empirical data. The theoretical assumptions and argumentations from Chapter 2 are reflected upon when discussing the position of the Tambal in Chapter 5, 6 and 7. The second element holds the *description of the culture* in the Tambal Ban group. In the process of coding three conceptualized codes are the product of bundling and reformulation. These 'core' codes are activities, place and everyday life. It frames a more general view on the data, without losing grip on the details. The following sections of this chapter expose the descriptive narrative of the Tambal Ban culture. The third element is the *analysis of themes* that divides the leading themes, which each are separately reviewed in the next three chapters. These three leading themes are organized by different 'core' codes that fit each theme. Again these codes are the result of bundling and reformulation in the process of coding. The fourth element is *field issues*. Mentioning this gives clear insights on the research process and reveals how certain obstacles are overcome or simply are taken into account. Since field issues emerge out of fieldwork, this element is described in this chapter, specifically Section 3.5.

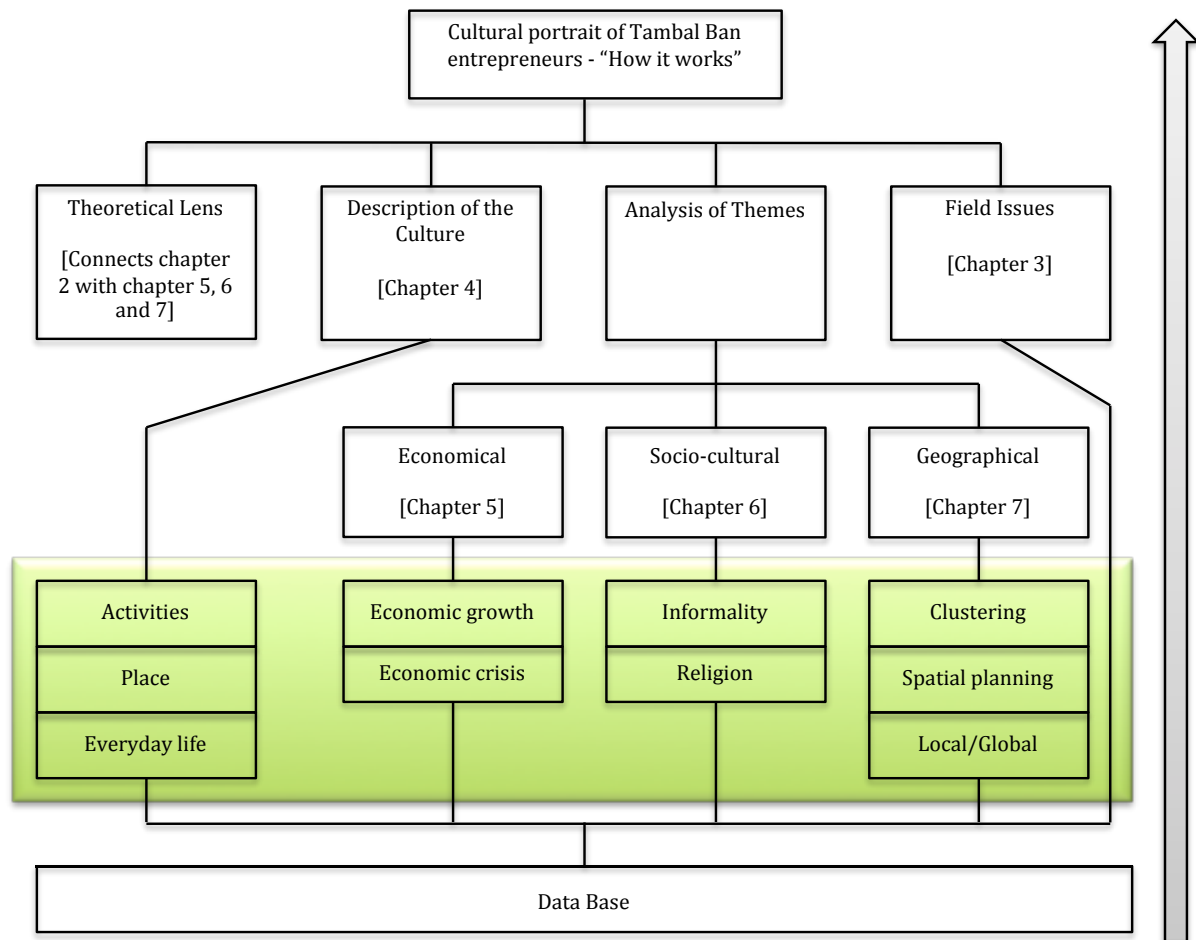


Figure 3.2 Layers of analysis (source: author)

The workings of the Tambal Ban are presented by developing a story. Each theme is accompanied by a few ‘core’ codes that plot the narrative. Every core code relates to a Tambal Ban entrepreneur to some extent. How this relation references and possibly overlaps other code codes is explained in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. By following characters and showing different perspectives between them I search for patterns in their interaction. In doing so I interpret the course of actions and draw connections between the Tambal Ban and the larger theoretical framework. The presented narrative in the following chapters is augmented by photos, (paraphrased) quotes and statements, observed behaviour and phenomena, as well as a diagram of time space analysis.

3.7 Concluding remarks

This chapter presented the research question by which this study is structured around. Furthermore, this chapter introduced the research setting and outlined the research methodology. The analysis of this study contributes to a heuristic framework necessary to understand the role and the position of an individual, urban and informal entrepreneur in a cross-scalar constellation. With the concluding remarks in in this chapter, the introductory part of this thesis is completed. The research question as presented in this chapter will be elaborated upon in subsequent chapters that are constructed by the personal portraits of the Tambal Ban entrepreneurs, in which

each chapter is written from a different perspective. Each chapter is characterized by a leading theme that generally frames the essence of the collected data: (1) economical, (2) socio-cultural and (3) geographical. The concluding chapter summarises the research findings and gives a synthesis on the theory and literature.

4. Portraying the Tambal Ban: small-scale tire fixing industry

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an in-depth descriptive analysis of the Tambal Ban entrepreneurs in a specified research area in Surabaya. As stated in Chapter 1, this study contributes a heuristic framework necessary to understand the role and the position of an individual, urban and informal entrepreneur in a cross-scalar constellation. The first three chapters in this thesis provided the introductory part of this study. Now I am at the start of exploring the reality in which the Tambal Ban entrepreneur presents his everyday behaviour, beliefs and language. Without exploring possible gender issues I refer to the Tambal ban as *his* profession, since they are all male. The aim of this chapter is to create an image, as well as an understanding, of the Tambal Ban entrepreneurs and their direct environment. It sets the stage for the following chapters that move closely into the specific role and position of this group. In the following empirical Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 I used some additional literature, which is not part of the theoretical framework in Chapter 2, in order to generate a better understanding of the findings during fieldwork. Section 4.2 of this chapter describes the Tambal Ban culture. Here, culture is seen as their reality, their world. More specifically, it entails the complex whole that includes knowledge, beliefs, morals, customs, and other capabilities and habits acquired by members of that society. By focusing on the research area it entails a portrait of their business activities (Section 4.2), their geographical orientation (Section 4.3) and a detailed view on the everyday lives of three specific Tambal Ban entrepreneurs (Section 4.4). Any reference to the data is indicated with a footnote that contains the form of data collection, the name, the organisation, the location, the date and the time.

4.2 Fixing tires, and that is it?

Among the large variety of micro-entrepreneurs in Surabaya there is a vast amount of Tambal Ban entrepreneurs, or, 'tire fixers' (Figure 4.1). Operating throughout the whole day, including the night, they make sure passing vehicles can continue their journey when a tire flattens or needs some extra air. Described more specifically in the research area (Section 4.4) there are eleven Tambal Ban entrepreneurs operating their business on a daily basis. All are men between the age of 45 and 59. For most of them it is their profession for some years now, ranging from 20 till 30 years. In two cases the fathers get help from their sons, who are in their mid twenties. Being a Tambal Ban entrepreneur is not merely about fixing tires and filling them with air. It also entails small mechanical interventions and selling gasoline.



Figure 4.1 Tambal Ban entrepreneur fixing a tire near main road

(source: author)

There is an obvious and direct link between the seller and the consumer. The density of the traffic in and around the city centre of Surabaya is intense and gradually increasing each year. Cars, motorbikes, busses, heavy trucks, bicycles and other sorts of vehicles (with tires) all use the same street to move around the city. Without an underground transportations system or monorail, traffic and public transport is bound to the street infrastructure. Figure 4.1 and 4.2 display the general scenery in the research area. Different types of traffic are crisscrossing a two-lane street that is scattered with little rocks from the side of the street. Even worse perhaps are the occasional series of potholes that still seem to surprise many. In the constant heat of approximately 38 degree Celsius these external effects have their share in fracturing the condition of rubber that eventually results in a flat tire. The position of the shirtless men in the photo illustrates also the regular location of a Tambal Ban entrepreneur. Usually the Tambal Ban are situated directly at the side of the street. It visualizes that when a vehicle needs a form of reparation a Tambal Ban is within clear sight and as close as possible to the person in need.



Figure 4.2 Condition of a main road (research area) in Surabaya (source: author)

In their choice to work as a Tambal Ban I distinguish a clear pattern. Arguments come down to income and freedom. Let me first explain why income is a leading motivation. They share an intensive and diverse working history with one basic resemblance: their income in former jobs was never higher than the income in the Tambal Ban business. One exemplifies in stating: “When I had that profession [selling technical materials] the salary was too low. Being Tambal Ban is much better. It is a very flexible business...very practical”¹. In pursuing a relaxing and seemingly careless lifestyle, some have monthly expenses that cumulate into amounts that not always cope with their income. Listed as the top three it includes: (1) education for their children, (2) religious expenses and (3) costs for unpredictable events that require medical fees. Every day a part of their income is saved to cover those expenses. Their budget is fully dependent on daily earnings in the Tambal Ban sector. Chapter 5 elaborates further on their financial status when discussing the impact of external events (i.e. economic crisis and policy implications) on their daily working routine. But they are not only in it for the money.

A more emphasized argument is freedom. During the interviews I noticed a smile on their faces and increased attention when I asked to explain this feeling of freedom a little further. I sensed a proud feeling among them and I wondered what element caused their joyful reaction. Freedom, for most, is being an entrepreneur. Self-employed and independent are keywords that represent their position in the professional domain. Having no boss is an important reason for their entrepreneurial activities at the moment, in contrast with their working past. They turned to the Tambal Ban industry due to rather unsatisfying jobs that were supervised by a boss. “Tambal Ban is a good way to be an entrepreneur. You are really able to determine your own working hours. I appreciate

¹ Interview: Tambal Ban (father) – research area location H – 09-10-2013 15:49

the freedom it brings”². Besides the argumentation that freedom in work is created by not having a boss there is also the notion of time. Determining your own working hours shows the flexible character of the business. They do not work with appointments or a fixed schedule. And when a tire flattens next to a Tambal Ban that is closed it is easy to go to the next one. This flexibility is described as freedom, which is specifically valued by a majority of the Tambal Ban. Despite their own choice in working hours they follow a regular pattern in their everyday life. This is explained in detail in Section 4.5 where I follow three entrepreneurs closely. When examining the motivation for this job there is one leading concept that symbolizes the character of a Tambal Ban entrepreneur that partly overlaps previous reasoning: relaxing. In-between customers there is enough time to lie down, smoke a cigarette, chat with your neighbour or go praying. These possibilities are understood as modes of relaxing and considered a surplus in their everyday lives. This observation relates closely with how the Tambal Ban claim to appreciate their relax-modus during the interviews. During our first encounter I interpreted this behaviour as lazy. A one-sided assumption, as it turned out. Quickly I realized it is a way of living, approached from a more philosophical and spiritual drive to enjoy every moment. This thought sets a fundamental point of view throughout this study. This finding is discussed further in Chapter 6.

In general there is a positive judgement on being a Tambal Ban as a flexible and independent business that provides an appropriate income. At the same time some explain that it is a suitable job because it does not require higher education, which none of them completed. It signals a higher level of necessity for the job: “...there is no other job. I did not have any education”³. These findings not only reveal their choice of sector - being self-employed, independent and financially balanced- but also reflect on their position in the economic system of Surabaya. This is discussed intensively in Chapter 5.

4.3 Position in the city

As I gained more understanding of *why* and *how* the Tambal ban entrepreneurs are doing business the matter of *where* requires further clarification in order pin down a geographical focus in this study. From a scale oriented perspective it is strongly noticeable that on city level the Tambal Ban are positioned in large numbers on and around the main roads that connect the city centre with surrounding areas. In lesser numbers the Tambal Ban are present around main roads in and between residential areas. The city centre is essentially free from informal economic activities at the side of the road⁴. In 2010 the government ‘swept’ informal entrepreneurs from the city centre. One of Surabaya’s main roads that connect the city centre with the surrounding areas is Jalan Dharma Husada (Figure 4.3). Hereafter referred to as Dharma Husada street. During daytime this street is filled with traffic in both ways. Since it is surrounded by residential areas it functions as key passage to the city centre.

² Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location D – 07-10-2013 13:02

³ Interview: Tambal Ban (father) – research area location G – 08-10-2013 10:32

⁴ Interview: Head of department Small and Medium Enterprises (Municipality Surabaya) – Personal office – 29-10-2013 07:30

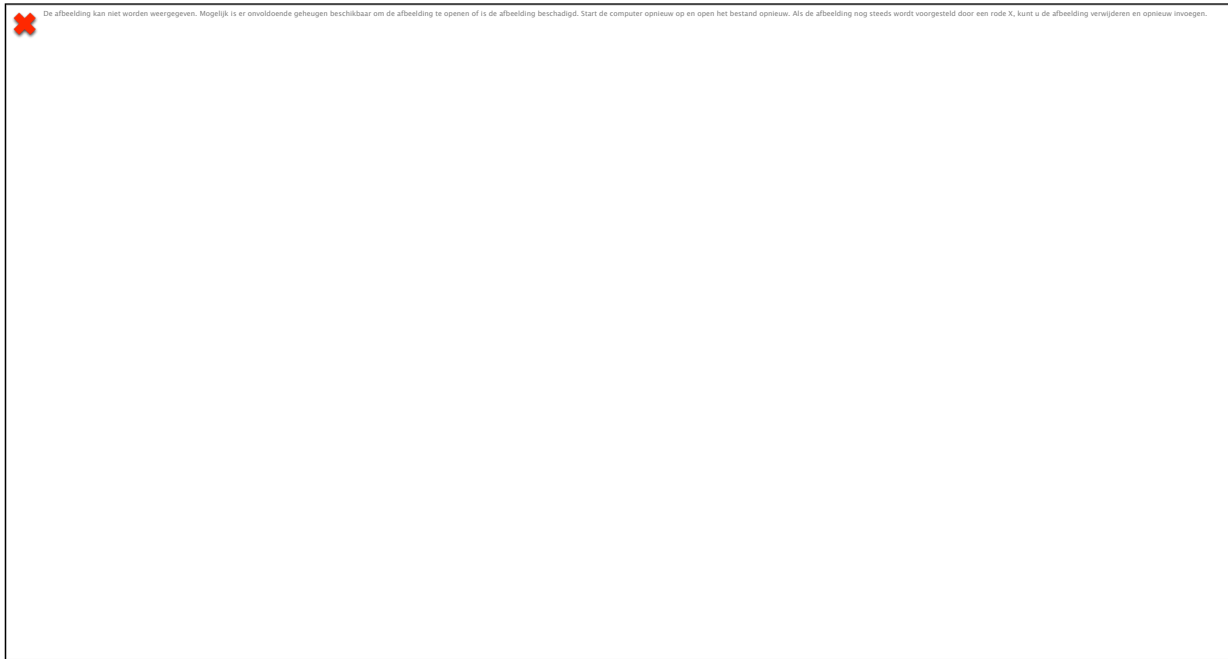


Figure 4.3

Research area in Surabaya: Dharma Husada street

(source: author)

Dharma Husada is a dynamic street where many different forms of economic activity are visible. It creates an environment where various street vendors, typical warung restaurants and Tambal Ban entrepreneurs situate their businesses very close to the street. To me this is a classic representation of the Indonesian lifestyle on the street. It is reasonable to assume that the function of the street, which is primarily the accessibility of the city centre, results in increasing traffic flows. More traffic means more flat tires and hence a market for the Tambal Ban. Moreover, a high school and various restaurants attract a flow of people who are not just passing by, but have a specific intention on the street. Altogether it is safe to conclude that there are multiple reasons to visit this area, which legitimize the dense state of traffic on the street. The relation between these factors that determine the amount of traffic in the street and diverse group of people who provide the economic activity suggest a form of economic clustering. In Chapter 7 this is discussed further. For now it is relevant to grasp the essence and diversity of economic activities in the street. Figure 4.4 illustrates the multiplicity of economic activity and their position. A large variety of small-scale enterprises, or rather entrepreneurs, are well divided in the area. The eleven Tambal Ban are situated at both sides of the street and intermingle with other entrepreneurs. Furthermore, it shows the presence of both the ‘formal’ businesses that are settled in owned or rented buildings and the ‘informal’ group located near the street or on the pavement. In order to boost this environmental understanding I created photo guidance through the Tambal Ban world. It entails a map of the research area that visualises the local situation using a variety of photos⁵.

⁵ Photo guidance online. Link: <http://stancrienen.wordpress.com/photo-guidance-through-tambal-ban-world/>



Figure 4.4

Economic activity in Dharma Husada street

(source: author)

As Figure 4.4 reveals the static locations of all the Tambal Ban in the area it is interesting to continue on the matter how the Tambal Ban entrepreneur experiences its surrounding situation and gives meaning to it. A vast majority describes their location in the street as a strategic one. The constant flow of traffic is appointed as the main advantage. Or as some even call it a necessity, following a few who argue that the Tambal Ban business needs to be at the side of the street where there is much traffic. Some place their business close to the high school or near access roads from and to residential areas. “It means that I have more customers than only from this big street”⁶, as stated by a Tambal Ban who is stationed there around 22 years.

One Tambal Ban argued that when he moves his business away from the street it overlaps private property of a house owner. My first reaction was to expect some kind of difficulty. The Tambal Ban business overlaps private property of the house owner. However, this is actually not considered as a problem. The Tambal Ban entrepreneur has a deal with the owner of the property. As long as the Tambal Ban is present in front of the house and functions as a lookout he is ‘permitted’ to set up his business there. Plus he is allowed to store his materials in the landowner’s house. A lucky benefit or cultural solidarity?

Another perspective on legitimacy comes forth in the following case. However illegal, one of the Tambal Ban sleeps in his tent at the side of the road. “We have a shift in working hours. We are open 24 hours a day. ... He sleeps often in this place”⁷. To me he does not seem to worry much about possible accidents or law enforcers, rather he focuses on the economic advantages. This feeling is different with other Tambal Ban in the area. Despite these (locational) advantages that boost their business in most situations they appoint also a few negative characteristics. Some feel uncomfortable and not safe on their current spot. Everyone knows the government is ‘cleaning’ informal businesses from the streets. It is daily gossip. Someday this street will be the next area of attention. Having a business on the pavement is a tricky location because “the government can sweep this area... It is not stable”⁸. An economic motivation is paired with a well-known treat that will affect the entrepreneurs at some point. Overall you can distinguish a raw division between economic surplus on the one side and a rather uncomfortable emotion that reflects uncertainty and anxiety on the other. This first insight on the position of the Tambal Ban entrepreneur brings me a step further in the analysis. Before the thematic discussions in Chapters 5,

⁶ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location E – 07-10-2013 13:43

⁷ Interview: Tambal Ban (father and son) – research area location H – 07-10-2013 14:49

⁸ Interview: Tambal Ban (son) – research area location G – 07-10-2013 14:09

6 and 7 a narrowing focus is applied that zooms in on three specific Tambal Ban entrepreneurs in Dharma Husada street.

4.4 Following three entrepreneurs closely

In understanding the essence of a Tambal Ban entrepreneur and Figure out how they work this study presents a detailed description of their everyday lives. Focusing on both their personal and professional lives generated a stable and authentic profile of three Tambal Ban entrepreneurs. It describes the daily lives of Pak Appu, Pak Fundi and Pak Irah. Here, *pak* is the Indonesian definition of *sir* and is used as a form of respect. Criteria for their selection are a geographical spread between the three entrepreneurs, a differentiation in their position (see Section 4.4) and sincere willingness to participate in this study. These individuals are the leading characters in the narrative that lies ahead. The thematic Chapters 5, 6 and 7 are constructed around the perception of the Tambal Ban on economic growth and the overlapping search for Surabaya's local economic ethnology parallel to global economic intentions. This is set in the background of their socially, politically, geographically, religiously and economically constructed environment. The description of the content is derived from findings in the data, specifically the Time Geography and multiple interviews and observations. To protect the anonymity of the respondents I assigned aliases to the individuals.

4.4.1 Pak Appu, profession: Tambal Ban

“Nobody tells me to work harder. My physical wellbeing is kept stable this way ... So much more relaxing for me”⁹. Pak Appu enjoys the Tambal Ban business for the relaxing atmosphere (Figure 4.5). In the morning he wakes up around 04:00 o'clock and starts his day with the traditional morning prayer¹⁰. His religion is Islam. Everyday he tries to exercise before the heat of the sun hits him. Today it is jogging. Together with his wife and two children he lives in a Kampung settlement within a five-minute drive from his work location. It is a triplex structure with two bedrooms, a kitchen and a toilet. Kampung, sometimes centuries-old Javanese and Madurese residential communities, are relative small settlements in a city or at the urban fringe. After his wife has made him breakfast he leaves for work at 07:00 o'clock. For six full hours he is bound to his work place. How much money he makes depends on the amount of customers in his area. His activities as a Tambal Ban are fixing tires, refill tires with air and selling gasoline. The average income per hour is 20.000 Rupiah (around 1,3 Euro), measured on one day. Basically he works everyday, from Monday till Sunday. Only when it is a holiday or he just needs an extra day vacation he closes his business.

⁹ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location A – 12-09-2013 10:55

¹⁰ Time geography: Tambal Ban – research area location A – 01-10-2013, timespan 04:00-23:00



Figure 4.5 Pak Appu during his daytime work shift.

(source: author)

His facial expression is predominantly neutral during his working hours. Pak Appu's daily motivation can be described by two words: relaxing and God. "Relaxing is a good way to avoid stress, which is a terrible condition. Therefore I try to fear nothing. ... If I am dead tomorrow, that is fine with me"¹¹. The other leading concept that motivates is god. "If I do my work well I believe god will give me more income and fortune"¹². Around 14:00 o'clock, when the heat peaks, he closes down and rides home. His wife provides lunch and until 18:00 o'clock his activities are limited to relaxing and praying. During this time he enjoys being together with his children. His evening shift sets in around 18:00 o'clock. In those three remaining working hours it is mainly a social gathering with the surrounding entrepreneurs. Working without the natural light of the sun is not optimal anyway, as he arguments humorously. As long as he is able to perform this kind of labour he will be a Tambal Ban. "At some point I cannot continue being a Tambal Ban. It is a physical constrain"¹³. Drowsy after a days' work he stores his materials, locks the place and returns home. He thinks about moving back to his home village one day. Away from the restless city, a quiet place. 23:00 o'clock is bedtime.

4.4.2 Pak Fundi, profession: Tambal Ban

"Tambal Ban is my only skill when it comes to a business"¹⁴, despite he does not see himself as an entrepreneur or a businessmen. Since he was fifteen Pak Fundi (Figure 4.6) is involved in the Tambal Ban life. "This is just my

¹¹ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location A – 30-10-2013 10:17

¹² Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location A – 01-10-2013 10:30

¹³ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location A – 30-10-2013 10:17

¹⁴ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location F – 12-09-2013 13:30

profession. For me this is good. It is just a simple life. But it is enough. I am happy”¹⁵. His day starts at 05:00 o’clock with the morning prayer and a light breakfast¹⁶. Around 07:00 o’clock he gets on his motorbike for a one-hour drive to his spot. He lives in Gresik, which is a town in the northern agglomeration of Surabaya. Together with his wife and two children they share place to live. Their house contains two bedrooms, a kitchen and a toilet and is located in Kampung Ngambar, an area just outside the noisy city life. When arriving in Dharma Husada street it is time to work. Pak Fundi stores his machine and materials in the house of his friend that lives right next to his fixed spot. He always sets up his tent next to a warung restaurant where he smokes cigarettes and socializes throughout the day. ‘Easy fit’ clothes and a dusty hat form his outfit. No shoes.



Figure 4.6 Left, kneeling: Pak Fundi helping a customer. Right: the warung restaurant (source: author)

He works eleven hours a day with only one short break. When there are no customers present, which is roughly fifty percent of the time, you can find him in the neighbour warung for a cup of coffee and a cigarette. A warung is usually a family owned restaurant at the side of the street. Life as a Tambal Ban “is not so stressful. It is nice and relaxing”¹⁷. He offers me a cigarette. I accept. Pak Fundi gives me the feeling I belong to their group. Accepting the cigarette hopefully created the feeling that we share something. I got more acquainted. He introduces me to other people that are present. To me, he is the ‘captain’ of the social dynamic. Although he

¹⁵ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location F – 30-10-2013 11:43

¹⁶ Time geography: Tambal Ban – research area location F – 02-10-2013, timespan 05:00-22:00

¹⁷ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location F – 12-09-2013 13:30

does not talk much, Pak Fundi wants the group to be together and is visibly worried when the chef cook of the warung has not returned from the market yet. The warung closed at 16:30 o'clock. Still some people remain present. At 21:00 o'clock he stops working and stores his stuff in the designated area. His average income per hour is 12.000 Rupiah (around 0,80 Euro). A few years ago his spot was in the city centre. But due to a 'cleaning' from the government Pak Fundi had to change his business to another location. He told me that the position on his current location is a strategic spot. Just outside the city centre and lots of traffic. Recent development may cause new problems for him. "I fear a clean up from the government. I do not want to leave this area"¹⁸. Pak Fundi wants to continue working until he gets too old. Maybe he will move back to his village some day. It is a quiet and calming place. When the government decides to relocate him, he states he certainly shall cooperate and find another way to do business. Not sure if he will work as a Tambal Ban again.

4.4.3 Pak Irah, profession: Tambal Ban

"All aspects of the Pancasila have a relation to my religion. It symbolizes we have to work hard. Just like my religion. We also have to work hard. ... Tightening the gap between the rich and the poor"¹⁹. President Sukarno introduced the Pancasila after the independence in 1945 as a philosophy that should unite the people of Indonesia²⁰. The Pancasila is further explained in Chapter 5. Pak Irah positions himself as a proud man, valuing his religion and spirituality. He is one of the oldest Tambal Ban in the street and used to be a businessman. He sold bicycles and textile and worked for many different employers. Since five years he is involved in the Tambal Ban business. Because his wife works for the government, which means she has health insurance and a good income, he does not have to work a full week. "Money is not a problem. I do not work on Friday and Sunday. It is relaxing time then. ... Also every Friday I am going to the mosque for the Friday prayer, just for men"²¹. By waking up before 03:00 o'clock he assures he does not miss the first prayer of the day²². The mosque is only five minutes from his home. Work starts at 05:00 o'clock. It is a very energetic guy. He moves a lot with his hands and keeps smiling during conversations. It gives me a feeling of appreciation. This Tambal Ban does not have a tent or a fixed structure. He has a vehicle on which a few machines are operational and where he can store all his materials (Figure 4.7). He built it himself. Notice the Croc sandals in front of him. It could represent, in a metaphorical situation, the comfortable character of the Tambal Ban business.

¹⁸ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location F – 30-10-2013 11:43

¹⁹ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 25-09-2013 11:00

²⁰ Interview: Retna Ayu Puspatarini – ITS University– 20-09-2013

²¹ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 18-09-2013 10:29

²² Time geography: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 25-09-2013, timespan 03:00-23:00



Figure 4.7 Pak Irah during his daytime work shift.

(source: author)

While sitting, smoking, relaxing and talking to his neighbour buddy's that pass by occasionally he is enjoying his business like it is a social get-together. With a few praying breaks in-between he works until 15:00 o'clock. He stores his self-constructed van in a guarded storage area and drives home on his motorbike. The rest of the day Pak Irah spends time in his home with his wife, his daughter and his son in law. They all live in the Jojoran region, a quite luxurious Kampung area. Their house is a two-levelled brick construction with three bedrooms, two bathrooms, a kitchen, a large living room and a garage. He parks his car on the driveway of a nearby house that he bought for his other daughter. I feel wealthy "in every way possible"²³. His everyday earnings vary greatly. "That is the thing I like about entrepreneurship, sometimes it is better than other times. The most important thing is that you enjoy the work you are doing"²⁴. "There is nothing to be afraid of. In doing business there is a constant risk. Sometimes there are benefits, sometimes there are negative sides. I do not want stress. God helps me in that"²⁵. After the last prayer he goes to bed. It is 23:00 o'clock.

4.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter present the lifestyle of the Tambal in Jalan Dharma Husada. By elaborating on their business activities and geographical orientation a first descriptive image of the Tambal Ban is created (respectively Section

²³ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 30-10-2013 17:08

²⁴ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 18-09-2013 10:29

²⁵ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 30-10-2013 17:08

4.2 and 4.3). Followed by a detailed view on the everyday lives of three specific Tambal Ban entrepreneurs (Section 4.4). What emerged out of these participants is a clear view on their spatial preference and interwoven professional and personal ideology. The Tambal Ban operate their business at the side of the street in order to be as close as possible to a potential customer. However considered illegal by government officials the Tambal Ban last over 22 years in the busy Dharma Husada street. Their location is discussed further in Chapter 7. Their motivation in performing the Tambal Ban profession is mainly the income and freedom in choices. For them, income is not only money. This is a main finding when discussing their perception of economic growth in Chapter 5. Their appreciated freedom of choices further elaborates on the economic position of the Tambal Ban. This is a central concept in the discussion on informality and religion as components in describing their everyday life (Chapter 6). Another function of this chapter is to get acquainted with the Tambal Ban entrepreneurs. By following an emphasizing their choices and behaviour in their everyday life I endeavour to let the entrepreneurs 'live' on paper. By doing this it becomes easier to understand the local reality. It is important to acknowledge the Tambal Ban as a real group of people that is susceptible for unexpected changes. Not just as a scientific focus group of participants who are merely useful for academic examination. This study aspires to have real-life implications on societies.

This chapter sets the stage for the following three chapters that move closely into the specific role and position of this group. Each chapter is characterized by a leading theme that generally frames Surabaya's local economic ethnology parallel to global economic intentions: (1) economical, (2) socio-cultural and (3) geographical. In all three chapters the central research question provides guidance in approaching the perception of economic growth by the Tambal Ban entrepreneurs.

5. The Tambal Ban in an economic constellation

5.1 Growth & crisis from a Tambal Ban perspective

The position of Indonesia in the contemporary economic constellation is a hot topic in geo-economical and geopolitical discussions. Policy makers all over the world try to grasp the changing power relations that transform economic processes as they develop. The role of Indonesia in the global economy is becoming more and more prominent (Ananta et al., 2011; Peter Dicken, 2011). Their economy has the potential of establishing intensive economic growth. But what is economic growth and how does such a dynamic and multi-interpretable term develop? Against the backdrop of the global financial crisis one might notice a current shift in approaching those economic processes and economic growth. Some refer to the function and the following outcome of a crisis, serving to rationalise the irrationalities of capitalism – leading to new models of development and reconfigurations of investments (Harvey, 2011; Kaletsky, 2011). How this affects the economic position of Indonesia depends on expectations that predict how, in general, an economy grows. Therefore it is required to understand the perception of economic growth.

Since the majority of the Indonesian economy exist of informal entrepreneurs (ILO, 2009), it is interesting to focus on this group and reveal their economic expectations by their everyday working patterns. Surabaya, as the second largest city of Indonesia, has the ambition to become an integral metropolis in the borderless global system (Silas et al., 2012). Beyond the centrality of Jakarta this city exposes an obvious drive for economic progression. In Surabaya I followed a group of Tambal Ban entrepreneurs who fix tires at the side of the road to provide an income. In essence, this study approaches the interpretation of the economic status in an ethnographic perspective, utilising the Tambal Ban entrepreneur in Surabaya as the focus group. This study generates understanding by describing Surabaya's local economic ethnology. Framing the perception of economic growth by those Tambal Ban entrepreneurs is a leading element in achieving such understanding. It sets the main research question of this study: How do Tambal Ban entrepreneurs perceive economic growth in Surabaya, Indonesia, in relation to their local position in a multi-scalar economic system?

This chapter focuses on the economical theme. Meaning that the position of the Tambal Ban and its perception of economic growth are examined from an economical perspective. I start by moving through a detailed description of empirical results. The findings are discussed in two stages: economic growth (Section 5.2) and economic crisis (Section 5.3). These are derived from the research analysis as core codes. Theoretical insights are applied to relate the academic paradigms from Chapter 2 with the empirical reality. After each objectively described stage I will reflect on the findings by personal interpretations and discovered patterns in the data. An overall discussion displays the most important findings that lay the foundation in presenting the perception of economic growth by the Tambal Ban and their position in the economic spectrum (Section 5.4). This chapter concludes with summarizing remarks and core findings (Section 5.5). Any reference to the data is indicated with a footnote that contains the form of data collection, the name, the organisation, the location, the date and the time.

5.2 Economic growth

Probably the most multi-interpretable term in this study is economic growth. And that is a good thing. I am not searching for a universal definition, rather I am examining a collection of different perspectives coming from different people. This study moves away from conventional methods to measure or approach economic growth, such as GDP or the sum of private investments, which are leading concepts in Western economic thinking. It basically compares wealth and capital, resulting by a competition to determine who is best. In preventing to express a meaning of economic progression merely on Western perspectives I try to read and observe contrapuntally. In this study economic growth is understood as a dynamic term that is empirically constructed by personal input from eleven Tambal Ban entrepreneurs. There are a few specifically striking questions that reflect on the meaning of research: What is their personal perception of economical growth? How do they define a (economic) growing Indonesia? What are personal goals within their economic behaviour and which incentives apply? In order to answer these questions within the broader scope of this study I endeavour to structure this section by two leading domains: (1) how economic growth is perceived and (2) how to describe the ambition of the entrepreneur in both his personal and professional life.

Allow me to describe the local situation. It is a hot day in Surabaya and traffic flows in high numbers through the street, as always. Pak Fundi is smoking a cigarette after helping a few people whose tire got flattened. His posture is undisturbed and without any visible exertion he starts talking about his view on the matter. Economic growth “is about working. I would like to have more success in business. ... I want to achieve this by doing the best I can and praying”²⁶. His orientation is purely local. He told me that what is happening on national level is not compelling to him. He is aware of the coming presidential elections, but does not bother himself with politics or economic stories that extend the boundaries of Surabaya. Pak Fundi states that money is necessary to live. He is a very pragmatic guy who values money to a large extent. Also he wants to expand his business when he has enough money. Expansion is his main ambition in business and is formulated as the need for more spare parts as a service for his customers. Working is not the most important thing in life, according to Pak Fundi. Being rich or wealthy is not about money. His life succeeds when he is healthy and happy. Pak Fundi’s eyes reveal noting else but satisfaction. “It is a simple life. But it is enough. I am happy”²⁷. From a social constructivist perspective this characterises subjective meaning by the cultural norms in his everyday live. He clearly has a specific position in the group of people that meet him on a regular basis. Following his behaviour throughout the day confirmed his central position in a network of interaction. Talking to his neighbour, introducing a friend to the nearby welder, telling stories to groups of children and spreading gossip among regular customers are just examples of his activities at times the workload was down to a minimum. As the ‘captain’ of the social dynamic, Pak Fundi cares a great deal on how people make each other happy. It confirms the Tambal Ban workday as a social gathering. Economic prosperity is rarely a topic of discussion when talking to friend or other entrepreneurs. His drive, both personal and professional, is not about growing his business in size or making more money to show off. Rather he continues living and working in the current setting. For him, that is economic growth.

²⁶ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location F – 02-10-2013 12:00

²⁷ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location F – 30-10-2013 11:43

With his futuristic vehicle, Pak Irah certainly is an eye catcher in the street. When discussing his business he presents himself in full confidence. Since money is not a problem to him he states it is not necessary to expand his business. “I hope for many customers. And give a good service for those customers. I am doing my best in providing the best service”²⁸. Pak Irah is confident that having lots of things does not make life more pleasant. He continues by saying that growing economically means you have to work harder, although this is not always for the better. Back in the days “I used to have five assistants, right. You could say my business now has declined. I do not see it that way. Maybe it is. But whatever happens, I am always grateful”²⁹. The downside of working harder could be more stressful, according to Pak Irah. While observing him I noticed he did not have any customer for the past one and a half hour. He tells me he is not worried about it and lights another cigarette. It is getting clearer that smoking is a social undertaking among the entrepreneurs and between the entrepreneurs and their customers. They give each other cigarettes and pass through their lighters while smiling approvingly³⁰.

He clarifies that working harder is not always for the best. Here, he distinguishes an important difference between rich and wealthy. “Being rich involves that you have lots of things, especially materials such as a car, a house, a motorbike and a nice watch. Wealth also implies you have lots of things, but with peace in our hearts. It is non-materialistic. Being happy and wealthy implies sincerity to the heart and not having any anger to other persons”³¹. At the moment he feels wealthy “in every way possible”³². His spiritual and religious characteristics are clearly visible in such statements. Does this suggest no ambition whatsoever? “Of course I have a desire. In order to get near my ambition I need to maximize my efforts and pray to God. If my ambition is hard I ask God for guidance. ... I am happy now. But my ambition is to stay happy”³³. He explains that maximizing efforts start with spiritual surrender and express themselves in physical action. “When I was younger this meant working harder and indeed boost my personal economic growth. Now it implies a path towards happiness for my environment and me. By living such a life I do not need economic progression in that sense”³⁴. From his perspective age and experience make someone less materialistic. Moreover, these developments of temporality and maturity move away from economic growth as something that progresses. Rather it intensifies the need to stabilize personal satisfaction by continuing a habituated lifestyle.

²⁸ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 25-09-2013 11:00

²⁹ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 25-09-2013 11:00

³⁰ Observation: Tambal Ban – research location I – 18-09-2013 11:15

³¹ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 25-09-2013 11:00

³² Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 30-10-2013 17:08

³³ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 25-09-2013 11:00

³⁴ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 30-10-2013 17:08



Figure 5.1 Pancasila: national symbol that comprises five principles in representing Indonesian unity. (Auvijanfamily, 2012)

His argumentation shows overlapping aspects with the symbolism of the Pancasila (Figure 5.1). “With the Pancasila we can live a social life. The Pancasila is the product of the first president Soekarno. Soekarno is a genius man. Garuda is the symbol of a strong bird that can fly high. So we have to be strong in everything and set our goals high. Always look further than our own capacities”³⁵. Figure 5.1 illustrates five images on the shield that each represent a principle to guide the Indonesian people towards a visible and strong identity. Symbolism also presents itself in more detail. 17 wing feathers, 8 tail feathers and 45 neck feathers form a date: 17-08-1945. It is the date of independence. “Also the bird looks to the right, which represents good things. Furthermore, the banner that the bird is holding states ‘bhinneka tunggal ika’, which means ‘unity in diversity’”³⁶. The five principles are (1) belief in the divinity of God, (2) justice and civilized humanity, (3) unity, (4) democracy and (5) social justice. “Actually all these symbols apply in my religion. It serves the identity of Indonesia. Every Indonesian should live by these aspects”³⁷. Pak Irah mentions a desired social life and a strong link to religion in his explanation. When discussing economic growth I frame this social life as something visible in the local Tambal Ban community. It contains a strong sense of social norms and values that perhaps requires maturity in

³⁵ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 25-09-2013 11:00

³⁶ Interview: Retna Ayu Puspitarini – ITS University– 20-09-2013

³⁷ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 25-09-2013 11:00

the temporal sense, but provides a different perspective in approaching economic growth. To me it moves away from individualism and embraces a local culture or society as something that feels united. Same as Pak Fundi, his orientation is purely local. He explained that anything that happened outside Surabaya has little influence on him. This notion is explained in further detail in Chapter 7.

‘Stress is a terrible condition’. This statement typifies Pak Appu as an entrepreneur who enjoys the Tambal Ban business for the relaxing atmosphere. Economic growth “is the welfare of the people. Whether the economy is going good or not. The growth of the economy is if it works or not”³⁸. He claims this is the same all over the world. He associates economic growth with ambition, to which he has a critical opinion: “I do not really have an ambition. If I do my work well I believe God will give me more income and fortune. But ambition is not always good. Do not be snobby about it. Care for the people around you. Sometimes ambition will make you want more and more. If you are too ambitious, you get old fast. More ambitious, more greyer”³⁹. Here, I distinguish three elements that form further understanding of economic growth. First he mentions not having an ambition in business. In stating this he reveals a certain negative stance against economic growth and possible consequences of growth. To me he positions economic growth as something that advances individualism and greed. It overlaps to a certain extend the statements of Pak Irah on this matter. The second element concerns the welfare of the people as economic growth. For him being wealthy is having enough and being grateful about the things a person owns. He considers himself a wealthy person, “yes, very!”⁴⁰. It reveals a certain satisfaction of his current (economic) situation, which shows a clear resemblance with Pak Irah’s perception of economic growth. The third element contains a notion of collective caring. Let me explain this by describing an observation. Also children cycle through the street. When they flatten their tires Pak Appu helps them totally free of charge. He calls it charity. He explains it is some kind of karma in Islam. From good deeds come good things. By this he wants to show that not everything is based on money. He appoints a capitalistic drive in society that should be overcome by giving extra care for the less fortunate or fragile individuals to balance the unequal divide between the rich and the poor. Whether this motivation is driven by fear of God, spirituality or something else is discussed in Chapter 6.

In essence, all three Tambal Ban frame economic growth not as something that intensifies material expansion and moves on progressively, rather it implies the continuation and stabilization of happiness in an existing social environment. While not having the ambition to acquire ‘more’, it reveals also the anxiety of social and economic regression. How then, can you position a phenomenon as economic regression?

5.3 Economic crisis

The ‘eye of the storm’ in the economic crisis lies in Western territories. Mainly the United States and Europe. It affects, however, not only the Western civilisation but also areas that are often depicted as the developing countries. Indonesia is, among others, considered as such (Cox, 2013). Do the Tambal Ban entrepreneurs recognize an economic crisis and, if so, how are they experiencing and interpreting such a phenomenon? In illustrating entrepreneurial understanding of a crisis I approach the matter from an ethnographic perspective that

³⁸ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location A – 01-10-2013 10:30

³⁹ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location A – 01-10-2013 10:30

⁴⁰ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location A – 30-10-2013 10:17

is built on individual expressions and their range of interest when considering higher scale levels. This study starts with an open perspective on the two terms *economic* and *crisis*. I leave it to the Tambal Ban whether they consider it as a financial, economical or social problem, or, perhaps as something completely different. When I discussed the economic crisis with the Tambal Ban entrepreneurs the setting that day can certainly be depicted as non-crisis: pleasant temperature, low humidity and lots of traffic.

All the eleven Tambal Ban acknowledge their current position as being in an economic crisis. Reasons do vary. Some state their income is decreasing while at the same time prices of materials are increasing, basically putting emphasis on changing factors in their everyday financial pattern. Others refer to it as a process of increasing traffic, suggesting a crisis in former times of low vehicle circulation – “it is getting busier”⁴¹. One Tambal Ban states that the influence of the economic crises is visible all around in Surabaya and claims a crisis will resolve itself over time: “Just let it flow. It will be all right. Economical prosperity is a gift of god. The crisis will not let my business fail. If I work hard income will come. It is gods work, not the crisis. In Islam, the income that we get is from god. We have to be grateful for that”⁴². Here, a remarkable parallel is the locality of their clarifications from a pure geographical angle. Crisis, as a term that is predominantly negative and implies mainly a decreasing situation, happens for the Tambal Ban purely in their direct environment. Their argumentation is based on what they see and hear around them. The impact of the crisis hits them in practical discomforts and no one seems to care about the origin of this phenomena.

The crisis is not hitting Pak Appu. It does, however, affect businesses in general. “It only hits the businesses that are big ... just the large scale oriented businesses. I am not big. So it does not affect me”⁴³. By reflecting on his own position he makes a distinction of company size in setting the level of vulnerability against the crisis. He clearly frames an economic crisis as something abstract and far away. Increasing gas prices, for example, is a big problem for large businesses. Not so much for Pak Appu. It does not bother him. In Pak Appu’s world, having a small local business is an advantage. Again, growing in size does not fit the business plan when reviewing economic growth. Rather he desires a stable and safe environment with an independent position against negative external influences, such as increasing gas prices, which he signals as crisis elements on higher scale levels.

Pak Fundi thinks more locally. To him an economic crisis is a negative influence with visible impact on his business. When the flow of traffic decreases it results in less money and thus a more difficult life. He appoints his location as a crucial aspect for success since traffic is a stable factor. For a Tambal Ban entrepreneur this is of major importance. In the near future this could change for him and other entrepreneurs when the government decides to sweep the ‘illegal’ businesses in the street. This phenomenon already took place in the city centre and announcements in the newspapers reveal similar plans for the rest of Surabaya. For the entrepreneurs it is uncertain when this might happen and what the consequences are for their businesses. Pak Fundi’s main concern, or personal economic crisis, is relocation of his business. “I fear a clean up from the government. I don’t want to leave this area”⁴⁴. His anxiety towards this geographical burden tells me he is aware of the importance of a good location for success in the Tambal Bam sector – more traffic is more money. Chapter 7 provides an intensified discussion on this matter.

⁴¹ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location E – 07-10-2013 13:43

⁴² Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location D – 07-10-2013 13:02

⁴³ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location A – 01-10-2013 10:30

⁴⁴ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location F – 30-10-2013 11:43

Crisis? “That is just a social construction that helps us to learn from our mistakes”⁴⁵. Pak Irah frames an economic crisis as a natural phenomenon that occurs in various forms. Phases of decreasing customers are a common yet temporary manifestation in the exiting world of entrepreneurship, but “there is nothing to be afraid of. In doing business there is a constant risk. Sometimes there are benefits, sometimes there are negative sides. I do not want stress. God helps me in that”⁴⁶. Notice again a local understanding of the term economic crisis and a reference to religion, which will be explored further in respectively Chapter 6 and 7. In essence Pak Irah embraces a crisis as something functional because it is temporary. Being a good entrepreneur requires a positive attitude in times of economic regression. Pak Irah explains that his current position is valuable because of traffic in high quantities, but dictates to cherish those moments of economic prosperity due to the possibility of altering conditions such as time and place. His argumentation clearly expresses the temporal aspect in economic growth. An entrepreneur should be ready for ups and downs in business. His statement not only sheds light on good entrepreneurial characteristics, in which he appoints variability and adaptivity as key assets, but also explains that economic growth is not constant and unconditionally. Pak Irah helps me to focus on conditions of the world today, rather than universal economic processes that try to explain the world from a global perspective. The Tambal Ban clearly frame their everyday life and developments by what happens on a local level. From a postmodern perspective this addresses the madness of comparing individuals or groups based on their economic status, since it stipulates a hierarchy, or even dominance, from one over another. Reflecting on economic growth as something that is universally desired and used to win the battle of development in the everlasting race of being the best. China is ‘better’ than Indonesia in terms of gross domestic product.

Yes, we are living in times of crisis, according to the Tambal Ban. But what is crisis for one is not a crisis for another. The crisis hits them in a mix of practical discomforts that origin from financial, economical, cultural and religious backgrounds. Overall they position a crisis as something that happens on larger scale levels and drips down to their territory with low magnitude. The impact is not the least worrisome and it will all be over soon. As a Tambal Ban you witness ups and downs, an obvious consequence of being an entrepreneur. Nevertheless they consider the marginal impact of the crisis as economic decline. This is noteworthy since economic growth is explained as stable and continues. Not the expected dichotomy of decline as something collapsing in contrast of growth as something expanding or advancing. It reveals that when it comes to economic growth their ambition is generally to sustain the current state of life and keep on track in a continues form, while at the same time fearing any decline in their personal and professional situation.

5.4 Sympathy or profit: finding the meaning of economic growth

Economics criss-crosses almost every academic field, especially the domains of philosophy, arts, mathematics and geography (Hagen & Wiering, 2013; Sedlacek, 2011). One basic concept that can be found in all is the power of stories. Since the existence of man it is important to understand the world. To this end mankind was helped by stories that made sense of their reality. A while ago, around 400 BC, Xenophon wrote that “even if a man happens to have no wealth, there is such a thing as a science of economics (Xenophon in Sedlacek, 2011, p. 3)”. Moving gradually towards this moment it might feel that economics lost its stories, and with it its ethics and values. That it is becoming a science of numbers in the mathematical and technological realm, such as Gross

⁴⁵ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 30-10-2013 17:08

⁴⁶ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 30-10-2013 17:08

Domestic Product (GDP) and other concepts that have no meaning without context. This section brings back the narrating function of economics and discusses the perception of economic growth by the Tambal Ban.

Economics is a cultural phenomenon, a product of civilization. Of course it is true that economic inquiry did not start with the scientific age. At first, myths and religions explained the world to the people. Asking similar questions as people do today. Now, in the modern world, science plays that role. There is a huge area in a human brain, and in research, between philosophy and economics, and between art and economics. Most of the time it is about the same thing. Only the economists use mathematics and the philosophers and artists use stories. Economics is nothing more, and nothing less, than fairy tales for adults. And some fairy tales are with a lot of numbers. But that does not make them more believable or more factual. In fact, the main fights do not take place in the mathematical fringe, but more in the mythological or ideological space (Hagen & Wiering, 2013). Sedlacek (2011) claims that modern science considers the power of history, mythology, religion and fables extremely important for economic arguments. I agree to a certain extent that in order to create an understanding of our world and its workings it is vital to look beyond the massive bulk of information and ask ourselves how this fits the cultural complexity that connects all people. Moreover, people need to observe, follow and understand the story behind that they find interesting and draw conclusions accordingly. The story of the Tambal Ban tells me more about how I can approach economic growth. Let me start with GDP and how this contradicts the vision of the Tambal Ban.

When watching enough television or read the Wall Street Journal it is possible to come to the mistaken impression that ‘the economy’ is just a bunch of dull statistics with names such as GDP. “GDP measures the total cost of producing everything in the economy in one year – for instance, one extra cup of coffee would add 2,10 euros to GDP, or a little less if some of the ingredients were imported (Harford, 2006, p. 109)”. One major critique against GDP is the range of its content, or the specific and limited context that ought to tell the story. GDP measures a lot of things that are harmful (sales of weapons, shoddy building work with subsequent expensive repairs, expenditures on commuting) and misses lots of things that are important, such as looking after your children or enjoying a day in nature (Harford, 2006). Most economics should not bother with GDP. It is about who gets what and why. The Tambal Ban are concerned with their own daily lives and know that their unregistered income is not taken into account in the national GDP of Indonesia.

The so-called father of economics, Adam Smith, wrote two books. One is the *Wealth of Nations*, which basically argues that the glue that holds society together is self-love, or profit (Smith, 1991). He also wrote another book, called *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (Smith, 2007). Here, he actually claims that in no way this is enough (Hagen & Wiering, 2013). You need something in addition to glue the society: sympathy. That in a way I care for you and do not like you to suffer. And if I can prevent your suffering I will try. People in society are glued together in this way. Adam Smith, for the sake of the argument, never used a single number (Hagen & Wiering, 2013). His argumentation is again ideological, philosophical, political and religious in many aspects. It is the same sympathy that characterises the Tambal Ban. Pak Irah and Pak Fundi feel united by fully embracing their local culture and disapproving individualism^{47 48}. It shows they care for the people around them and perceive welfare also as something collective. It is clear this attitude affects to a large extent how they perceive economic growth. Even taking a firm stance that positions economic growth as something that advances

⁴⁷ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 25-09-2013 11:00

⁴⁸ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location F – 30-10-2013 11:43

individualism and greed, in following Pak Appu⁴⁹. Presumably, the Tambal Ban would adore Adam Smits's book *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, which emphasized sympathy over profit. To me sympathy results in harmony, whereas profit is the result of a fight between a winner (profit) and a loser (no profit, or worse). Pak Irah adds perspective by stating that such thinking creates hierarchies in the social constellation and could bring dominance from one over another⁵⁰. That economic growth is universally desired and used to win the battle of expansion in the endless race of being the greatest. Here I sense a strong resemblance with Dependency Theory. This mode of thinking expresses that the more dependent, the less prosperous. How this fits the Tambal is examined extensively and more detailed in Chapter 7.

Moving further in the discussion of economic growth. Within capitalism, there are currently developing new ways in dealing with it. In Chapter 1 I introduced the British economist Kaletsky (2011), who predicted that the world will face (a) new form(s) of capitalism to stimulate economic growth. People need to get rid of the most important economical addiction: economic growth. A real crisis of capitalism would look different. This is a crisis of growth (Hagen & Wiering, 2013). Take Japan, for example. Japan can probably not grow economically for many decades. One theory is that the Japanese have hit the golden ceiling (Hagen & Wiering, 2013). Everybody already has two iPhone's, more than one car, a comfortable house, and so on. These are very clever people who study hard and work hard. They have it all. They cannot grow. Why is this considered as bad news? Is it possible to finally relax? No. This is a crisis and thus a problem and therefore it must be addressed. Now back to Surabaya. What interests me is that the Tambal Ban are not like the Japanese. They still can have more and they are fully aware they can. Still, they prefer to continue both their personal as well as their professional lives as usual. The Tambal Ban expresses their preference for a stable working condition and continuation of their current lifestyle rather than expanding their business in volume^{51 52 53}.

Does all this imply that economic growth is essentially a bad thing and should be avoided when possible? No, it just should not be desired and positioned as the ultimate goal and prioritized above all the rest. Sedlacek (in Hagen & Wiering, 2013) backs me up in arguing that growth is actually a very pleasant phenomenon if it happens naturally and does not create some mental fetishes. Economic growth is dynamic and cannot be predicted since it is context dependable and subjected to a large variety of external influences. To simplify it: Sometimes economic growth happens. Sometimes it does not. People should be grateful when it happens. But when it does not happen, everybody should be fine. Here, Sedlacek speaks mainly in European discourse with sidesteps to economic processes in the USA and China. In Surabaya his dream already has come true. The Tambal Ban expresses themselves in highly similar ways. Whatever happens, be grateful. Wealth entails that people are happy with themselves regardless of what they possess in materials^{54 55}. It is by all means non-materialistic. Furthermore, wealth can be placed in one line with economic growth when it comes to stabilisation and continuation. The lives of the Tambal Ban are not structured around the constant desire of improving, growing and maximizing. In classical economics they do not fit the profile of *homo economicus*,

⁴⁹ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location A – 01-10-2013 10:30

⁵⁰ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 30-10-2013 17:08

⁵¹ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location A – 01-10-2013 10:30

⁵² Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 25-09-2013 11:00

⁵³ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location F – 30-10-2013 11:43

⁵⁴ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location A – 30-10-2013 10:17

⁵⁵ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 25-09-2013 11:00

which is a traditional depiction in economics of a rational individual, who, led by narrowly egotistical motives, sets out to maximize his benefit (Sedlacek, 2011). Nevertheless, the Tambal Ban are pleased with their current situation and are willing to work for it in order to stay fulfilled, having peace in their hearts. “Maximizing returns starts with spiritual surrender and follows a path towards happiness for my environment and myself”⁵⁶. By moving away from a self-centred motivation it addresses a more collective economic state of mind that shows me a more complete story of the reality in the world of the Tambal Ban. Here, it is essential that I go beyond economics in a narrowed sense and study what beliefs are ‘behind the scenes’, ideas that have often become the dominant yet unspoken assumptions in theories. Insights from the Tambal Ban reality reflect on how I can perceive an economy and how I can value my existence within that economy. When discussing economic growth I now follow the concept of stabilizing economic desire instead of maximizing performance and maximizing consumption. Lets make a quick reference, or critique if you will, on the historical development of the Western world. The reason the Western economy has grown so much (in GDP) in the recent past is that it was wanted very, very much (Sedlacek, 2011, p. 239). Western GDP is so high because it is necessary to be high, and be higher over time. It is an on-going process that goes hand in hand with competitiveness. But over what is the competition, following the desire for a higher GDP as the ultimate goal?

The United States is more productive, expressed annually (in a year an average American produces more than an average Frenchman), but expressed hourly the Frenchman produces more in that one hour (in which the Frenchman actually works). The difference is given especially in the number of vacation days and days off. And here is the U.S.-European trade-off: Do we, as Europeans, want higher GDP? Then cross out half of our days of, work during them, and the problem is resolved. But the question is whether the additional growth in GDP is worth it. (Sedlacek, 2011, pp. 245–246)

Sedlacek’s example addresses two important arguments. The first is that perspective matters. GDP is nothing without a detailed clarification of the context, which is almost never showed in the media. The economic activity of the Tambal Ban -for the better or the worst- is not (yet) taken into account in the national GDP of Indonesia. Again, framing GDP as an incomplete and inconsistent form of measurement that is valued too much in discussions that truly matter. The second argument reflects on growth as a continuing concept without a pre-formulated goal. Why not take a step back? What is the harm? Until now, the Western world has not dared to take even the first necessary step to become free of the artificial stimulation of growth. Regardless of culture, people are caught between the tendency to change the reality around them and to be satisfied with what it is. Take some time to rest, contemplate and enjoy the world around you. Instead of *maximizing* economic wealth, people should aim for *reasonable* economic wealth.

Slowing down the economic drive and look for suitable and realistic levels of economic growth fits the central argument of this section. The economic reality of the Tambal Ban provides understanding how economic growth can be understood and how its workings create additional perspectives in similar discussions on higher scale levels. Economic growth should be embraced when it comes natural and is based on reasonable motives. Not maximizing personal desires in terms of performance and consumption, rather embrace the ambition to increase personal and collective satisfaction by stabilising and continuing a habituated lifestyle. “If maximum

⁵⁶ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 25-09-2013 11:00

growth is the imperative of our time, at any cost, then true rest and satisfaction are not possible” (Sedlacek, 2011, p. 242).

5.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter opened up a holistic approach of economic growth. Starting with a narrating reflection by the Tambal Ban on the matter. Economic growth is understood as something that considers money, wealth and sympathy. The Tambal Ban entrepreneurs are satisfied with their current personal and professional lives and intent to continue and stabilize their situation without extensive physical expansions of their business and no increasing sense of materialism. Their argumentation is easy to follow, yet quite spiritual. Moral values and religious references construct their stories into a framework that sheds light over the dynamic and multi-interpretable concept of economic growth. It is striking that the Tambal Ban do not aspire to increase their economic condition as described, but certainly fear a decreasing situation. So far the Tambal Ban provided valuable insights in framing economic growth and guided me to an understanding of their position in a multi-scalar economic system. Now I move to the next chapters and let the Tambal Ban help me towards a more comprehensive understanding, involving different perspectives.

6. The Tambal Ban in a socio-cultural constellation

6.1 Informality & religion from a Tambal Ban perspective

In understanding a local perspective of economic growth seems rather evident to use an economic point of view (Chapter 5). Surely it sets the fundamental basis of understanding as understood by the Tambal Ban. However, an economic lens is not all there is to it in grasping the personal and professional motives of the tire-fixing entrepreneurs in Jalan Dharma Husada. This chapter shows there is more than just economic argumentation to reveal their stance on economic growth and their position in an economic network within a developing city as Surabaya. The socio-cultural context is based on two core codes in the data that reflect on the answers of the Tambal Ban when discussing their economic status: informality and religion. Moreover, as also positioned in the theoretical discussion (Chapter 2), the dualistic presence of the formal and informal sector creates new insights in how I can understand such a dichotomy in Surabaya and how the Tambal Ban fit the profile on either side, or none. I start by moving through a detailed description of empirical results. The findings are discussed in two stages: informality (Section 6.2) and religion (Section 6.3). Theoretical insights are applied to relate the academic paradigms from Chapter 2 with the empirical reality. After each objectively described stage I will reflect on the findings by personal interpretations and discovered patterns in the data. An overall discussion displays the most important findings that lay the foundation in presenting the perception of economic growth by the Tambal Ban and their position in the socio-cultural spectrum (Section 6.4). This chapter concludes with summarizing remarks and core findings (Section 6.5). Any reference to the data is indicated with a footnote that contains the form of data collection, the name, the organisation, the location, the date and the time.

6.2 Informality

The formal and informal sectors are widely discussed in contemporary geographical debates. In developing cities this dualistic distinction is often made. Individual entrepreneurs that operate a small-scale business in Indonesia are quickly labelled as informal, since they are unregistered and unplanned^{57 58 59}. Simultaneously, this is not considered as a bad influence for the city. On the contrary, the informal businesses are a logic response to the high unemployment rate, essentially boosting the city's development. In order to understand the position of the Tambal Ban in the formal-informal discussion I need to explore how the Tambal Ban defines its own character and how governmental institutions assess the situation. From the theoretical background I understand there are some characteristics that classify a business as either formal or informal. Basically positioning the formal as the developed sector that is protected by Unions and governments, pays taxes, is registered, and exchanges resources within protected markets. Against the informal as the underdeveloped sector that is unprotected, untaxed,

⁵⁷ Interview: Professor Johan Silas – Professor ITS University Surabaya – 30-08-2013

⁵⁸ Interview: Bagus Widyanto – Local travel operator – 25-08-2013

⁵⁹ Interview: Rita – PhD candidate ITS University Surabaya – 26-08-2013

unregistered, and exchanges resources within unregulated and competitive markets. It resembles clearly the well-known dichotomy between the both. I will now explore how this fits the reality of the Tambal Ban entrepreneur in Surabaya to better understand the dynamics of economic growth.

Before discussing the economic status of the Tambal Ban in detail there is one insight that must not be overlooked. So far I have explained the Tambal Ban as entrepreneurs. This study qualifies informal entrepreneurs as owners of a small business who have flexible and uncertain working conditions, remain locally orientated, are unlicensed and unregistered, and happen to be involved in a business cluster. But do the Tambal Ban consider themselves entrepreneurs? Are they, for that matter, part of a group that is widely recognised as entrepreneurs? “Who do you mean?”⁶⁰, is Pak Fundi’s response when referring to him as an entrepreneur. He does not see himself as an entrepreneur or businessman. As I already know his business ambition is essentially to stabilise his current state of wealth. Moving away from growth that merely results in becoming rich - in terms of gaining more money or materials than is considered necessary in their current lives. So then, what makes an entrepreneur and how does entrepreneurship relate to economic growth? This notion is taken in consideration when searching for the position of the Tambal Ban in the formal-informal realm.

Pak Fundi is not concerned whether his business is legal or illegal, registered or unregistered, and protected or unprotected by unions or governmental institutions. According to him he does not pay taxes and is not covered with health insurance. “This is just my profession. For me this is good. Not illegitimate.”⁶¹ As far as the theory characterises he fits the profile of participating in the informal economy as classified by the ILO (Turner, 2003). The same applies for Pak Irah and Pak Appu. Except for health insurance, which Pak Irah receives (when needed) because his wife works with the government, the three Tambal Ban move closer to informal sector. From first hand information and swift analysis it seems rather obvious that the Tambal Ban operates in the informal sector. This is not a surprising finding since in most developing cities around the world such enterprises are easily labelled as informal. I observed the same effect when visiting Malaysia and the Philippines. Indeed the majority works unregistered, does not pay taxes and is uncontrolled by the government. From the government of Surabaya, specifically the department of Small and Medium Enterprises, there is a judgement on the informal economy:

There are two categories in doing business: formal and informal. Formal is the group that has legal status through permits. Also they have a fixed location for doing their business. The informal sector is that which is not formal. This group, however, really helps the government and is an important factor in our economy. Especially in helping the government keeping the unemployment rate low. It generates job opportunities. ... Despite the fact we see the informal economy as a valuable sector, we still need to educate and inform them. They also create problems. They often choose locations for their businesses that in fact are not suitable or designated for that.⁶²

Notice the acceptance and appreciation of both groups while simultaneously addressing the location of the Tambal Ban as a critical problem. It is unsafe to operate a business close to the street and by doing so they

⁶⁰ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location F – 02-10-2013 12:00

⁶¹ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location F – 30-10-2013 11:43

⁶² Interview: Head of the department drs. Hadi Mulyono M.M. – Government Surabaya, department of Small and Medium Enterprises (Indonesian: Dinas Koperasi dan Usaha Mikro, Kecil dan Menengah) – 29-10-2013 07:30

sometimes block the pavements for pedestrians. Also, it is clear that the government acknowledges both sectors as part of the city's economy with a slight, yet obvious preference for formal businesses. It gets interesting, however, when searching a little deeper and get acquainted with the presence of a mediating organisation in-between the government and the Tambal Ban. This organisation is called the Jaya Abadi. In understanding the position of the Tambal Ban this study seeks answers beyond the pure dualistic features of the formal and informal sectors by explaining a transitional stage involving the Jaya Abadi.

The Tambal Ban are aware of the illegal status of their current location since they fear the well-known sweepings by the government. It clearly developed a certain negative stance against governmental institutions that have authority to clear all informal businesses at the side of the street. In 2000 there was such a sweeping by the government. The city centre was cleared from all forms of informal businesses. It created a wave of disapproval from the side of the entrepreneurs. As a response the Jaya Abadi was founded with collaboration of different entrepreneurs in Jalan Dharma Husada. The main function of the new organisation was to improve the communication between the government and the entrepreneurs. The head of the department of Small and Medium Enterprises, Hadi Mulyono, explains that shortly after initiating Jalan Dharma Husada was "a mess, all unorganized. Therefore we arranged the entrepreneurs in order to make the street attractive for the passing crowd every day. Today we control over 150 entrepreneurs in this street. We do not miss a single one."⁶³ The organisation has a front office and a back office. What is important happens at the front. Mister Supriyono is in charge of front office and functions as the main communication gateway between the government and the entrepreneurs. For the entrepreneurs the Jaya Abadi has four functions: (1) cleaning the street before 05:00 in the morning, (2) providing security, (3) informing the entrepreneurs of governmental intentions (for example the feared sweepings) and (4) organising the street. The last one is considered as a form of spatial planning and thus will be addressed in Chapter 7. Every entrepreneur has to be a member and pays a monthly fee to benefit from the Jaya Abadi. The fee is 2.000 or 3.000 Rupiah (both approximately 15 euro cents) per month and is collected by a guy on a motorbike that works for the Jaya Abadi. He registers all entrepreneurs (Figure 6.1) and organizes their payments (Figure 6.2). Whether entrepreneurs have to pay 2.000 or 3.000 Rupiah depends on the size of their business. Usually a Tambal Ban business is considered large – paying 3.000 Rupiah.

⁶³ Interview: Head of the Jaya Abadi H. Supriyono – Organisation Jaya Abadi – 29-10-2013 11:03

DATA PAGUYUBAN PEDAGANG KAKI LIMA " JAYA ABADI"
Jl. Prof. Dr. Moestopo – SURABAYA
 Tahun 2013

FILE RW. IV Kelurahan MOJO, Kecamatan Gubeng – SURABAYA 60285

No.	NAMA	Juran/Hr	No.	NAMA	Juran/Hr	No.	NAMA	Juran/Hr	No.	NAMA	Juran/Hr
81.	Sujoko	Rp. 3.000	22.	Sudi (warganis)	Rp. 3.000	43.	Mahin (warkop)	Rp. 4.000	64.	Suhajak (Koran)	Rp. 3.000
82.	Purnomo	Rp. 2.000	23.	Siti Jelajah	Rp. 3.000	44.	Konita (waras)	Rp. 2.000	65.	Darwati (rambah ban)	Rp. 2.000
83.	Merkatan	Rp. 2.000	24.	Hari Purnomo	Rp. 3.000	45.	Konin (warganis)	Rp. 2.000	66.	Bu Yani (warkop)	Rp. 2.000
84.	Hajin	Rp. 2.000	25.	Eko Priyanto	Rp. 3.000	46.	Sulatri (waras)	Rp. 3.000	67.	Ho Bong G (warganis)	Rp. 3.000
85.	Sugianto	Rp. 2.000	26.	Slamet (rokok)	Rp. 2.000	47.	Sukarno (rokok)	Rp. 3.000	68.	Utia (buku ayam)	Rp. 4.000
86.	Yuhianto	Rp. 2.000	27.	Muhammad (rokok)	Rp. 2.000	48.	Muhammad (STMJ)	Rp. 2.000	69.	Sukartatik (waras)	Rp. 3.000
87.	Tatik Muryam	Rp. 2.000	28.	Nur Hayyin	Rp. 2.000	49.	Ratni (waras)	Rp. 3.000	70.	Karna	Rp. 2.000
88.	Yaf (roti goreng)	Rp. 2.000	29.	Kanto	Rp. 2.000	50.	Sutaji (warkop)	Rp. 2.000	71.	Rosoni (rambah ban)	Rp. 3.000
89.	Sujarno	Rp. 2.000	30.	Mustain	Rp. 2.000	51.	Suparno (jams)	Rp. 2.000	72.	Mahajren (foto aj)	Rp. 3.000
90.	Andriyan Pupa	Rp. 6.000	31.	H. Supriyanto	Rp. 3.000	52.	Mariyah (bekak)	Rp. 2.000	73.	Sani (peel modian)	Rp. 4.000
91.	Kambali	Rp. 2.000	32.	H. Masolan	Rp. 3.000	53.	Bahwa (pari les)	Rp. 3.000	74.	Pak No (rambah ban)	Rp. 2.000
92.	Sujarno	Rp. 2.000	33.	Siti Marlin (jams)	Rp. 4.000	54.	Ashari (Koran)	Rp. 3.000	75.	Lemon (es batu)	Rp. 2.000
93.	Amin	Rp. 3.000	34.	Falimah	Rp. 3.000	55.	Heri (paungit)	Rp. 3.000	76.	Wili (paungit)	Rp. 4.000
94.	Abdul Kamit	Rp. 3.000	35.	Siti Alfiah	Rp. 3.000	56.	Sugan (warkop)	Rp. 2.000	77.	Hendro (lari)	Rp. 3.000
95.	Tatang	Rp. 3.000	36.	Darmanto	Rp. 3.000	57.	Nadiyah (warkop)	Rp. 2.000	78.	Hanning (paungit)	Rp. 2.000
96.	Sanali (roti goreng)	Rp. 2.000	37.	Hardiono	Rp. 3.000	58.	Suwati (letter)	Rp. 2.000	79.	Nerdin (warkop)	Rp. 3.000
97.	Abdul Sukur	Rp. 2.000	38.	Saffi (warganis)	Rp. 3.000	59.	Suyadi (kunci)	Rp. 2.000	80.	Irfan (rambah ban)	Rp. 2.000
98.	Khasnah Huda	Rp. 6.000	39.	Samin (waras)	Rp. 3.000	60.	Rukin (warkop)	Rp. 3.000	81.	Ponidi	Rp. 3.000
99.	Inarti Ningih	Rp. 2.000	40.	Beradi	Rp. 3.000	61.	Santia (roti goreng)	Rp. 3.000	82.	Sri Mulyani	Rp. 3.000
100.	Santia Masayur	Rp. 3.000	41.	Rudi Hartono	Rp. 3.000	62.	Solek (waras)	Rp. 3.000	83.	Mamek (paungit)	Rp. 4.000
101.	Martabak	Rp. 3.000	42.	Siti Iskandar (SP)	Rp. 3.000	63.	Sani (roti goreng)	Rp. 3.000	84.	Siti (paungit)	Rp. 3.000

Mengunjungi
 KETUA RW. IV Kel. MOJO
 (MUDJIANTORO)

HORMAT KAMI
 KETUA
 PKL "JAYA ABADI"
 (H. SUPRIYONO)

BENDAHARA
 PKL "JAYA ABADI"

Figure 6.1 List of some entrepreneurs and their required monthly fee (source: author)

PAGUYUBAN PEDAGANG KAKI LIMA " JAYA ABADI"
Jl. Prof. Dr. Moestopo – SURABAYA
 Tahun 2013

Nama [Redacted]
 Alamat PKL : Jl. Prof. Dr. Moestopo – SURABAYA
 Besarnya RESTRIBUSI : Rp. 2.000 / Hari

File RW. IV Kel. MOJO, Kec. GUBENG, Kota – SURABAYA 60285

BULAN	TANGGAL / PARAF																															JUMLAH	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31		
Januari																																	Rp. 60.000
Februari																																	Rp. 60.000
Maret																																	Rp. 60.000
April																																	Rp.
Mei																																	Rp.
Juni																																	Rp.
Juli																																	Rp.
Agustus																																	Rp.
September																																	Rp.
Oktober																																	Rp.
November																																	Rp.
Desember																																	Rp.
JMLAH																																	Rp.

Mengunjungi
 KETUA RW. IV Kel. MOJO
 (MUDJIANTORO)

HORMAT KAMI
 KETUA
 PKL "JAYA ABADI"
 (H. SUPRIYONO)

BENDAHARA
 PKL "JAYA ABADI"
 (M. HARNO)

Figure 6.2 Checklist of payments per month for one entrepreneur (source: author)

Not only the entrepreneurs are benefitting from the Jaya Abadi, but also the municipality. For the government of Surabaya the Jaya Abadi has four functions: (1) knowledge about their existence and position by registration of the entrepreneurs, (2) a clear platform of communication, (3) organising the street as a spatial planner, and (4) insights in the status and developments of the entrepreneurs. “For the moment new entrepreneurs are not allowed in the street. It would be even better if there were less. This is really the maximum amount of entrepreneurs. No more.”⁶⁴ The head of the organisation Pak Supriyono even wants to educate the entrepreneurs by explaining that “if the person does not want to pay we delete him from membership. Of course if a person pays a little late it is fine. As long as they pay. It is also part of their education. Paying on time shows responsibility”. Overall, the Jaya Abadi sharpens the relationship between the government of Surabaya and the entrepreneurs in Jalan Dharma Husada. The government is gaining more control by formal registration and structural communication. Here I see a shift towards a more formalized entrepreneurial sector. Lets bring in some Tambal Ban perspective.

“We do not have to pay taxes. Only the fee is to the Jaya Abadi. In return they clean the area and inform me when the government has new plans for this location.”⁶⁵ Here, Pak Fundi shows his approval of the Jaya Abadi and remarks that the costs certainly cover the benefits. Pak Appu agrees, and adds; “I only have to pay if I really work. When I do not work, I do not pay.”⁶⁶ His rebel attitude increases even further when confronting him with the possible scenario of governmental ‘sweeping’ the Dharma Husada street.

Pak Appu: “This is Indonesia, this [Tambal Ban] is not illegal. Maybe in another country it is. I would not define this business as something illegal.”

Stan Crien: “How does it feel that the government has the authority to remove you from this location?”

Pak Appu: “No problem. I will just move my business [Laughing]”

Stan Crien: “What are you going to do when the government will clean this area next week?”

Pak Appu: I will go. Maybe to another place. Maybe home, to my village. I do not know yet. ... If I cannot do my business I will go. Tambal Ban must be on the road. If not, it is not Tambal Ban. This business has some requirements. Being on the road is by far the most important one”⁶⁷

The dialogue illustrates three important findings. The first is that Pak Appu is well aware of the possible illegitimate status of his business, as he appoints the probability of being illegitimate somewhere else. Illegitimacy is seen as something that the government disapproves in their understanding. It shows that it is not universally accepted and that maybe (even) in Indonesia all Tambal Ban have to relocate some day - or worse. The second “just moving my business”, followed by a cynical laughter and his tentative retreat to his village exposes uncertainty of the situation, lacking a plan or a long-term ambition. To me it reflects to a certain extent on their entrepreneurial behaviour. It exposes the question ‘what makes an entrepreneur?’ Does he perhaps lack progressive vision, or does he, in his defence, possesses enough vision that fits his physical and mental wellbeing – reaching for stability as economic drive? The third depicts his geographical fixation: the Tambal Ban need to be

⁶⁴ Interview: Head of the Jaya Abadi H. Supriyono – Organisation Jaya Abadi – 29-10-2013 11:03

⁶⁵ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location F – 02-10-2013 12:00

⁶⁶ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location A – 01-10-2013 10:30

⁶⁷ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location A – 30-10-2013 10:17

at the side of the road. Otherwise it does not work. This statement sheds light on a new development in Surabaya that concerns the relocation of informal entrepreneurs. The project, called Dharmawangsa, is initiated with help from the Jaya Abadi. It entails a transfer of all informal businesses on the street into spacious settlements where various types of businesses are clustered (Figure 6.3). However, not all business types are involved. According to the project manager such a place is not suitable for Tambal Ban. “Passing traffic will not know there is a Tambal Ban here. ... It is just not good to include the Tambal Ban. Not good for the aesthetics. This building is only for food. Tambal Ban is dirty.”⁶⁸ Meaning that if the Tambal Ban is relocated it is certainly not easy to find a suitable location that meets the interests of all concerning stakeholders.



Figure 6.3 Indoor clustering of various entrepreneurs

(source: author)

Pak Irah pays the Jaya Abadi every month. He states “it is the only way to have access to this location.”⁶⁹ “When you apply for a location in the street it is required to have approval of the Jaya Abadi. You can choose whether you want a contract during day-time or during night-time.”⁷⁰ Such a contract (Figure 6.4) is signed by three government officials, of which one is Pak Supriyono of the Jaya Abadi, and the entrepreneur him- or herself. In this contract the entrepreneur agrees to stick to a specific location, pays the monthly fee and conforms to the social rules. In return the location of his business is cleaned every morning, the location is exclusively accessible for the entrepreneur and relevant information by the government is passed through on time.

⁶⁸ Interview: Pak Jarwanto– Head of Sentra PKL Dharmawangsa – 30-10-2013

⁶⁹ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 25-09-2013 11:00

⁷⁰ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 18-09-2013 10:29



Figure 6.4 Contract Jaya Abadi for authorization in Jalan Dharma Husada (source: author)

It is clear that the Tambal Ban is willing to pay for the benefits the Jaya Abadi is offering, while simultaneously accepting (unconsciously) their valuable mechanism of formal registration. By cataloguing the income, the type of business and position of the Tambal Ban creates the possibility of making a profile. In this way the Jaya Abadi, and thus the government, has key statistics of a group of entrepreneurs that gradually is becoming less informal.

Although these findings reveal a certain stance on informality, from both the position of the Tambal Ban as well as theoretical insights, this study is not assessing all characteristics that classify formal or informal. Instead, I am searching in de grey area that lies between both sectors. Exploring new components that redefine the dichotomy as such. What seems most compelling is the influence of the Jaya Abadi, which essentially is formalizing the ways of the Tambal Ban. Here, the consequences of this transitional process are truly

questionable. Who is benefitting (the most) and what are disadvantages for the Tambal Ban and the economy of Surabaya as a whole? This study focuses on the role and its effect of the Jaya Abadi on the Tambal Ban. Section 6.4 brings the debate to a next level, after reviewing the religious component that dominates most Tambal Ban reasoning (Section 6.3).

6.3 Religion

The Indonesian Constitution guarantees freedom of religion. However, the national government only recognizes six official religions (Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism). Indonesian law requires that every Indonesian citizen hold an identity card that identifies that person with one of these six religions, although citizens may be able to leave that section blank. Indonesia does not recognize agnosticism or atheism, and blasphemy is illegal. In the Pancasila, as Indonesia's philosophical foundation, the first principle is 'believe in the one and only god'.

Different religions are practiced in Indonesia. Especially on local level the effect of religion becomes notable. With a maximum of five official prayers a day it is certainly an important element in the daily planning of a Muslim. Also in greeting, saying goodbye and congratulating it is noticeable that two Muslims use different words than in a similar conversation between people with a different religion. The Islam dominates Indonesia by 98 percent. All the Tambal Ban entrepreneurs in this study follow this religion too.

During fieldwork it became apparent that religion is something to be proud of, is definitely not hidden, and forms a persons identity. When discussing the subject of economic status with the Tambal Ban I was constantly reminded of their religious values, whether they told me a story, prepared a meal, or offered me a cigarette. They knew, for example, that smoking could kill you. But God would approve it as long as it kept you relaxed and reduced some stress. Stress, for that matter, also is bad for your health. As fieldwork progressed I gained more information of their lifestyle. The link between religion and economic growth became more prominent. I was asking questions about this relation and wondered how their perception of economic growth is structured by religion. This section describes the indicated relation by Tambal Ban perspective and moves towards an enhanced and more complete understanding of economic growth in a socio-cultural setting.

It was a regular Wednesday afternoon in September (2013) when I was on my way to Pak Irah for a scheduled observation during the second immersion in fieldwork. When I told Pak Irah I just had lunch at Bu Rudy, which is a rather popular restaurant across the street, he reacted with visible disapproval. Apparently it was not a good place to eat. But there was more to it than just the food. What followed was an angry story with spiritual argumentations. He once felt the presence of two black spirits when approaching Bu Rudy. These black spirits were summoned by the owner of Bu Rudy to attract more costumers and make more money. "God would not approve of this"⁷¹, was his final statement while he spat on the ground. He looked angry. He warned me to be careful. The black spirits are in our presence. It took me a while to analyse the situation. He impressed and surprised me, to be honest. Whether this is a well-executed performance or a real connection with higher forces is still unclear, and even does not really matter. What is striking is his aversion of commercial and capitalistic activities. It tends to look as jealousy or blackmailing the competition. Clearly it involves something that bothers him and therefore needs to be addressed. This is of course one of the most striking examples, but still one among

⁷¹ Observation: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 25-09-2013 13:30

many references to religion and spirituality when it comes to economic status, also coming from the other Tambal Ban entrepreneurs. Where Pak Irah remains rather vague and presents his ideas mainly by aggressive storytelling using spiritual horror, it is Pak Appu who is spot on and confirms my interpretation. He states that society is in a transitional stage where money is an increasing dominant factor that controls people and affects their behaviour in a negative way⁷². He addresses a more socially oriented society with less individualism and less commercialism. Remember his opinion in Chapter 5 about charity: By caring for the less fortunate a more sustainable and happier environment is created that should balance the unequal divide between the rich and the poor⁷³. Pak Appu has this vision for himself and his fellow citizens. He explains this perspective is build upon religious norms, but effectuated by personal values. Meaning that God only supports the people when they are in need for guidance. It is certainly not fear. It is more spiritual. Pak Appu believes karma gives back what he invests, for better or worse.

When it comes to business there is always a religious component involved. “If I work hard, income will come. It is Gods work, not the crisis. In Islam, the income that we get is from God”⁷⁴. Another Tambal Ban contiguous to favour the unpredictable in saying: “If a tire flattens nearby me it is my fortune. You will never know when fortune will come to you”⁷⁵. There is no distinction between what happens at the moment and what could happen later. Still, in five years there is not much you can do on economic prosperity, “just let it flow ... It depends on God, I do not have any influence on this”⁷⁶. Besides a slight advantage from working hard and do your best in praying there is absolutely nothing that guarantees economic prosperity. Trust on yourself and trust in God, then prosperity is an option and must be celebrated when it occurs – be grateful^{77 78 79}.

6.4 Religious values and informal revision: finding the meaning of economic growth

In exploring the economic reality of the Tambal Ban entrepreneur I strongly follow the paradigm of social constructivism. Participant understanding and personal significance of a situation give meaning to an experience. Herein, I endeavour to embed a certain feeling of agency of the entrepreneurs. This approach combines multiple perspectives and reveals, to some extent, the social conditions that drive a local economic reality. I found that informality and religion are substantial concepts in understanding the Tambal Ban’s economic position and behaviour in Surabaya. Hence the socio-cultural scope of this chapter, which more than the so-called economic chapter (5) emphasises on cultural and social norms. This socio-cultural point of view sets the stage for both a religious component as well as a component of governance to explain the economic situation of the focus group. I will now explore how this fits the reality of the Tambal Ban entrepreneur in Surabaya to better understand the dynamics of economic growth.

⁷² Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location A – 01-10-2013 10:30

⁷³ Observation: Tambal Ban – research area location A – 12-09-2013 11:20

⁷⁴ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location D – 07-10-2013 13:02

⁷⁵ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location B – 07-10-2013 12:07

⁷⁶ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location K – 07-10-2013 15:48

⁷⁷ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location A – 01-10-2013 10:30

⁷⁸ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location F – 02-10-2013 12:00

⁷⁹ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 25-09-2013 11:00

Religion plays a striking role in business for the Tambal Ban. I have seen that prosperity is something God delivers. Not as a gift, but a return to hard work and praying. Income, for that matter, is defined as economic prosperity although it not just means more money. Their aversion against commercial and capitalistic activities is in line with the perception of economic growth as a stabilizing and continuing factor of overall satisfaction. To grasp the relation between religion and economic growth I use insights from economic researchers (with a cultural twist) Geert Hofstede and Robert J. Barro. They built their arguments on Max Weber's (1930) statement that religious practices and beliefs have major consequences for economic development. Religion affects economic outcomes mainly by fostering religious beliefs that influence individual traits such as thrift, work ethic, honesty, and openness to strangers (Barro & McCleary, 2013, p. 23). Basically saying that religious beliefs stimulate growth because they help to sustain aspects of moral individual behaviour that enhance productivity. These traits, positioned as something decent and appropriate in social relations, are understood as better embedded in religious circles because they determine whether someone gets a rewards or punishment in life. For example believing in respectively heaven and hell.

'Doing 'good' will lead to a reward'. Here I notice again Pak Appu's reference to karma. By helping a little girl for free he might expect a reward in the form of economic prosperity. Hofstede (in Hofstede & Bond, 1988) puts it slightly different. He talks about specifically East Asian entrepreneurship. Among those entrepreneurs he signals the same values as within entire societies, among entrepreneurs, among their employee's and their families, and among members of the society as a whole. All are known to value thrift and perseverance. Cultural embedded norms and values matter because they give something back. Here, Hofstede assumes the values to be at least part of the cause, and economic growth to be the effect.

This study certainly does not prove that religion correlates positively with economic growth. This is one of the major critiques against Weber, Hofstede and Barro (Durlauf, Kourtellos, & Tan, 2012). It does, however, show that social behaviour that is embedded in a culture influences economic growth in a constructive way. Religious norms and values equal social norms and values in the Tambal Ban world. These individual traits such as thrift, work ethic, honesty, and openness to strangers play a large role in stabilising and continuing satisfaction, which is, of course, their perception of economic growth. This line of argumentation tells me that widely accepted moral values in society have effect on economic prosperity. Religion, with its rewarding and punishing system, ought to bring out the best in people. Resulting in even more positive effects when this is accepted in society. But do not push it, say the Tambal Ban entrepreneurs. There is little you can do to increase economic prosperity. Economic growth should not be a goal or a final destination. Just do your best and wait for it to come. It strongly resembles Sedlacek's view on an economy:

And economics is important. But it should never be at the steering wheel. It should be somewhere down in the basement, working on the overall welfare. The economy has become the unorchestrated orchestrator. It cannot be orchestrated, it orchestrates you. So you cannot express your ethical concerns, it will teach you its ethics and force its ethical norms upon yourself. (Sedlacek in Hagen & Wiering, 2013)

Then, how is this any relevant on the discussion regarding economic growth in the world of the Tambal Ban? I followed the Tambal Ban in their stories and discovered that economic growth is more a personal satisfaction than a tool for finding out who is best, such as GDP. The function of religion in this study is that it tries to create

a society as a whole. Where the same norms and values apply that, if followed accordingly, God rewards you with economic prosperity. An important element is that growth is a natural phenomenon and not something that needs to be forced upon someone. Here, an economy is built on fundamental values that people appreciate and that are collectively embedded in their culture. Can it be kept this way?

Let me view economic growth from the informal position of the Tambal Ban. The theoretical scope in Chapter 2 questions whether it is called the informal economy because of the 'good' depiction of the formal economy. Clearly dividing and opposing the two sectors. That the International Labour Organisation created the term 'working poor' to describe the informal economy is in high contrast with the situation of the Tambal Ban in Jalan Dharma Husada. They have a moderate income. It should say enough that their budget allows them to just take a few days off. The most important characteristic in this study that defines informality is registration, or rather, being unregistered. Not simply waving the other features away, just not emphasising them. It brings back the question whether their informal position is taken or opposed.

Knowing that governmental institutions are grateful for informal initiatives to prevent unemployment gives a signal of acceptance. Simultaneously, the government has no control. Having hardly any information makes it difficult to make constructive policy that is intended to further develop Surabaya. Using the Jaya Abadi, the government gains valuable information about the types of business, income, geographical position, and thus their economic relevance. In theoretical terms, the Tambal Ban are getting more formal, without being aware of it. There is a possibility of being relocated in the next stage of formalizing. The government is geographically planning the entrepreneurs. Accordingly, the Tambal Ban are satisfied with their assigned location. Now, the government has the power. Despite the monthly payments by the entrepreneurs it is still possible that the government decides to clear the area of all 'informal' business activities. A noteworthy parallel unfolds when discussing the relevance of the tire-fixing sector. Without their skills it is imaginable that traffic collapses when vehicles are breaking down. Without any closeby (formal) facility for reparation the flow of traffic will decrease. Both parties need each other in the economic dynamic of the city. Their entrepreneurial relevance is an essential asset in understanding the economy of Surabaya.

In further discussing the relevance of the Tambal Ban in a developing Surabaya, it is interesting to review their entrepreneurial status as a transitional stage from informal to a more formal context. From a government perspective there is more control over the group of Tambal Ban due to registration methods. But what does it mean for the Tambal Ban? And on a higher scale level: how is the economy of Surabaya benefitting? This matter is further elaborated upon by using a geographical angle. Currently the Tambal Ban are positioned on a location which is undesirable for the government and therefore illegal. Still, the Jaya Abadi approves the temporary location as long as the government does not have any alternatives. Simply clustering the Tambal Ban, such as other entrepreneurs in the example of Dharmawangsa, is also not an option because a tire-fixing business needs to be at the side of the road, according to the respondents. Moreover, the whole network of informal businesses brings a certain dynamic in the street that is not just economically functional, but, more importantly, contributes to the social character of the local culture. This is what Hart (2005) intends to express in his argumentation that an intermingled setting of various entrepreneurs, mixing formal and informal, in the same social situation is crucial for economic development. This overlaps the dualist approach that connects the both in order to succeed and goes straight against the more classic analogy by Evers (Evers & Effendi, 1992; Evers, 1993). He argues that economic prosperity causes a decrease of informal activities, while the activities increase in economic decline. Regarding the Tambal Ban it does not matter whether the economy is increasing or

decreasing. They will stick with their profession even when it is getting more formal. The only thing the Tambal Ban truly dislike in this context is to be relocated. So how do you make policy on a group that is highly relevant for the local economy but whose position is considered illegal and relocation dangers their continuation?

The answer can be found in entrepreneurial thinking of the Tambal ban entrepreneur. Their easy-going lifestyle brings back the discussion if a Tambal Ban entrepreneur is really an entrepreneur. When you introduce more ambitious entrepreneurial features such as innovation, creativity and adaptability it does not take much to discover that the Tambal Ban are lacking these. Their anxiety of being relocated is a strong indication that they find it difficult to imagine their business elsewhere. Which is not strange. Most of the Tambal Ban are located in Jalan Dharma Husada for over 30 years. I wonder if they are challenged enough. Relocating them opens a psychological door of adaptation in a new environment. A true entrepreneur should be capable of that step.

Overall I found out that a Tambal Ban entrepreneur no longer can be classified as purely informal. Governmental profiling and indirect registration pushed the group towards the formal domain. Despite formal registration that involves temporary approval of their location the government still appoints their business spot as illegal. This contraposition frightens the Tambal ban, but simultaneously reveals their lack of adaptive, creative and innovative behaviour that one might expect from an entrepreneur. From a socio-cultural perspective their current behaviour is in line with their perception of economic growth. Not having the ambition to progress and maximize profits mirrors these 'true' entrepreneurial features. From a behavioural observation I can say that economic growth is merely stabilization and continuation of satisfaction. Additionally, there is one remarkable result from examining the informal position of the Tambal Ban. The total entrepreneurial network of the Dharma Husada street is constructed by social relations that represent the area more as a social gathering than a place of work. It stipulates a grey area between work and leisure. Again this social gathering is an important asset in their daily lives and influences pattern of work.

So what do I make of this? First it is essential that the Tambal Ban are recognized as a valuable asset for the local economy and integrated in contemporary policy making on city level. In a developing context their current location is unsafe and block the pavements, which is simply unpractical. Relocation to a suitable location near the side of the street (with a comparable traffic flow) must be optional. Secondly, it is crucial to acknowledge that the function of the Tambal Ban is not only mechanical support but also supports social cohesion.

6.5 Concluding remarks

There is more than just economic argumentation to reveal the perception on economic growth and the position of the Tambal Ban in an economic network within a developing city as Surabaya. This chapter illustrated that religion and informality are keywords in widening the scope of thought towards a more fundamental understanding of the local reality of the Tambal Ban entrepreneur.

In Section 6.2 I discussed how the Tambal Ban fits in the formal-informal nexus and how that matches the physical reality and economic status. I have seen that the Tambal Ban tend to move towards a more formal status by registration measures of the Jaya Abadi. The informal attitude of the Tambal Ban is not a problem for the government. Their (illegal) location, however, does not fit the spatial ideas of the local authority. Additionally, I posed the question if the Tambal Ban can be labelled as entrepreneurs and what it such a questions means for their vision on economic growth.

Section 6.3 elaborated on the influence of religion on the economic position of the Tambal Ban. It became apparent that their behaviour, guided by religious beliefs, related strongly to their perception of economic prosperity. The function of religion for the Tambal Ban is perceived as something that creates a society as a whole. Cultural embedded norms and values matter because, if followed accordingly, God rewards them with economic prosperity. An important element is that growth is a natural phenomenon and not something that needs to be forced upon someone. Here, an economy is built on fundamental values that people appreciate and that are collectively embedded in their culture. Widely accepted moral values in society have effect on economic prosperity.

A pure informal Tambal Ban does not exist. By profiling and registration this group is becoming more formal. Still, their presence is considered illegal since the government does not approve their current location.

Their fear to be relocated reveals they lack a certain adaptive attitude that resembles their unadventurous perception of economic growth. Apart from economical relevance they also have shown social relevance, which adds value to the cultural dynamic in their environment. I have to acknowledge that the function of the Tambal Ban is not only mechanical support, but also supports social cohesion. In a developing and modernizing city as Surabaya their current location is unsafe and blocks the pavements, which is simply unpractical. Relocation to a suitable location near the side of the street elsewhere in Surabaya (with a comparable traffic flow) must be optional.

The next chapter start the discussion on the perception of economic growth from a geographical perspective. Here, I introduce the concept of clustering and involve local-global nexus to broaden my understanding about economic growth by following the Tambal Ban. Furthermore, I built on spatial planning practices by governmental institutions that provide more insight consequences of relocating the Tambal Ban.

7. The Tambal Ban in a geographical constellation

7.1 Clustering, spatial planning & the local-global nexus from a Tambal Ban perspective

In economic geography the discipline's goal has long been to offer multifaceted clarifications for economic processes –growth and prosperity as well as crisis and decline- manifested through spaces at various scales: local, national and global. This chapter holds the final theme in set of three that discusses the concept of economic growth. From a geographical perspective I ought to understand the local domain of the Tambal Ban and explore further how this relates with processes at higher scale levels. This theme builds on findings that are derived from the economical theme (Chapter 5) and the socio-cultural theme (Chapter 6). During fieldwork it became apparent that a geographical lens exposed valuable information about their economic behaviour. The geographical context is based on three core codes in the data that reflect on the answers of the Tambal Ban when discussing their economic status: clustering, spatial planning and their position in the local-global nexus.

I start by moving through a detailed description of empirical results. The findings are discussed in three stages: clustering (Section 7.2), spatial planning (Section 7.3) and the local-global nexus (Section 7.4). Theoretical insights are applied to relate the academic paradigms from Chapter 2 with the empirical reality. After each objectively described stage I will reflect on the findings by personal interpretations and discovered patterns in the data. An overall discussion displays the most important findings that lay the foundation in presenting the perception of economic growth by the Tambal Ban and their position in the geographical spectrum (Section 7.5). This chapter concludes with summarizing remarks and core findings on this topic (Section 7.6). Any reference to the data is indicated with a footnote that contains the form of data collection, the name, the organisation, the location, the date and the time.

7.2 Clustering

In contemporary geographical debates the notion of clustering has a broad scope in addressing geo-economical issues (Beerepoot, 2005; Dicken, 2011; Porter, 1998). Therefore this study has narrowed down this scope to address specifically the research question. This section displays the empirical findings in connecting economic growth to the concept of clustering in the reality of the Tambal Ban. As derived from the theoretical framework (Chapter 2) I understand clustering as a phenomenon of spatial and sectoral orientated entrepreneurs that, in the right circumstances, achieve economic progression. These circumstances are a balanced interrelation and alignment of a degree of localness, competition and cooperation. This section examines these conditions in the world of the Tambal Ban.

All the Tambal Ban share the same opinion about their location. The Dharma Husada street is full of traffic and other business activities, resulting in a good and stable income. The amount of traffic is the main

reason for settling down. Being one of the most important roads that connects the city centre with Surabaya's residential areas explains the presence of businesses. The area is spatially accessible for business activities and attracts all attention since the surrounding roads are less crowded. "This is a strategic place. Lots of cars, motorbikes are passing through. As also many forms of public transport such as Bemo [little vans] and Becak [traditional bicycle transport]."⁸⁰ Figure 7.1 shows the spatial orientation of the street and the location of all the eleven Tambal Ban entrepreneurs within it.

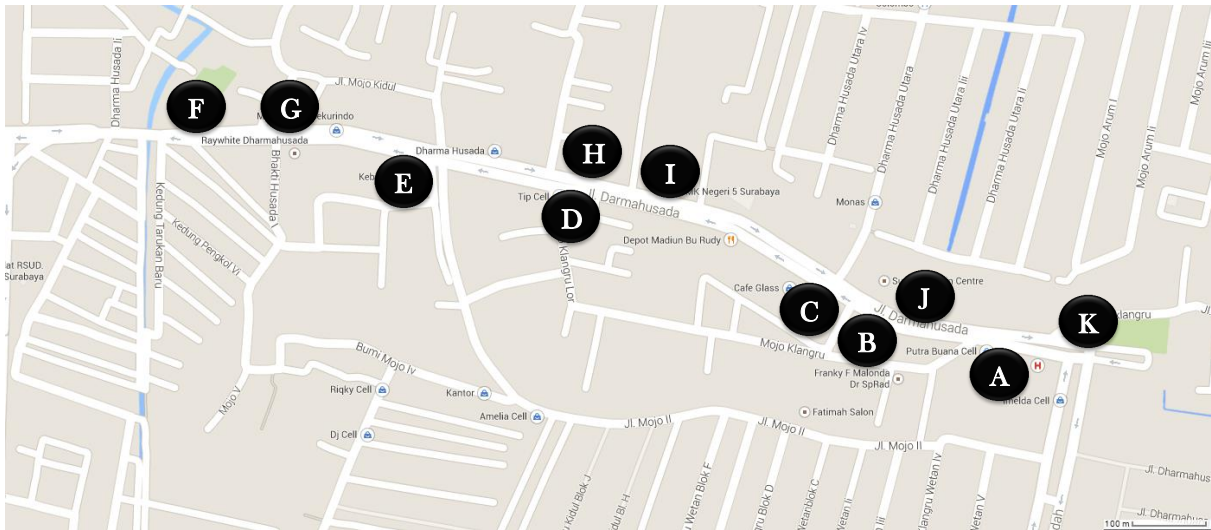


Figure 7.1 Spatial orientation Tambal Ban in Jalan Dharma Husada

(source: author)

Within the street all Tambal Ban have a steady location. Some stationary for over 30 years. Despite their choice for a location is set and they acknowledge its advantage it is still difficult to explain why that particular location is better than elsewhere in the street. Within the interpretative body of ethnography the Tambal Ban reveal limited knowledge of locational advantages. They told me, for example, it is good to be close to a warung restaurant, which is also at the side of the street. However, not for possible economical advantages, but to chat with and simply add value to the social dynamic. Other Tambal Ban in the street are not considered as competition. They all share this conception and a few again refer to God in defending their stance. "Everyone has their own income. The Almighty already arranged the amount of income for us."⁸¹ Essentially stating that if the income is already divided there is no need for competitive behaviour. This finding relates closely to the 'karma function' of religion and their unprogressive entrepreneurial attitude (both Chapter 6). Still one remarkable asset comes forth. There is a certain sense of sharing knowledge that stimulates innovation between the Tambal Ban. "I do not consider the other Tambal Ban as my competitors. My vision is: if we have the knowledge, we have to share this knowledge"⁸². Being close together makes it easier to learn from each other and observe other business practices. Not only among Tambal Ban. Rather they expand their horizon and check intersectoral. Pak Appu saw a warung restaurant marking a parking area next to his tent. Now, he also has a delimited area where his customers can park. Additionally, Pak Appu signals that a mix of different types of business has a positive effect

⁸⁰ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location C – 07-10-2013 12:43

⁸¹ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location H – 09-10-2013 15:49

⁸² Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location D – 07-10-2013 13:02

on the collective economic dynamic. An illustration: “If the whole street is just warung businesses, who will buy the food? ... Here, variety is a surplus. If there are only warung or Tambal Ban in the area there will be too much competition.”⁸³ Also Pak Irah recognises the benefits of a sectoral spread over the street: “We are not placed together in one area. So my neighbours are not a Tambal Ban, but a welder, a street vendor and a warung.”⁸⁴ Here, I already can distinguish an element of spatial planning, which will be addressed in the next section. Despite Pak Appu does not see his fellow Tambal Ban as competition, he also refuses to collaborate with them. “It is impossible to collaborate with others. Everybody is having their own business.”⁸⁵ Pak Irah and Pak Fundi share this opinion. They prefer to work individually.^{86 87 88}

Another shared characteristic is their fixed local orientation. In order to do business it is not necessary to leave their location. The time-geographies and observations confirm this. Food and water are available throughout the whole day in nearby warung and food stalls. Materials for tire-fixing practices are distributed by a salesman with a pickup truck. Their joint business orientation, or degree of localness, is limited within the street. Sometimes the Tambal Ban entrepreneurs share a moment to talk to each other. The price and availability of materials is coordinated on a weekly base. Work related issues are not the central goal of conversation. Just chitchatting about soccer, the weather and their families dominates their encounter. Again this confirms the importance of social harmony in their (local) environment. Still a notion of clustering is distilled, corresponding with the benefits of clustering as mentioned in Chapter 2. The degree of localness reveals two benefits of clustering. First, the Tambal Ban manage to establish lower transaction costs of materials due to the mobile supplier. And secondly, they share the local infrastructure for efficient labour supply and business service. While their cooperative behaviour is denied to some extent, I still recognise their intention to share knowledge. Exchanging information between the Tambal Ban entrepreneurs generates slight improvements on their business and gives insight the latest news facts and gossip. For example when the government is planning the next sweeping of informal entrepreneurs. On the long run this exchange of knowledge could perhaps lead to innovation. To me it is not sufficient to label a copied idea of marking parking spots as innovative improvement.

In Jalan Dharma Husada clear signs of entrepreneurial clustering are detected. In examining the degree of localness, competition and cooperation I project clustering as a tool for measuring the local economic status. By using the data and verifying the theoretical benefits of clustering I conclude that clustering gradually generates economic growth among the Tambal Ban. I will continue the discussion on economic progression by zooming in on spatial planning aspects in the street and its environmental implications.

7.3 Spatial planning

This section discusses the position of the Tambal Ban in relation to the spatial planning practices of the Jaya Abadi. As denoted before, the Jaya Abadi is an organisation that works on behalf of the municipality of Surabaya. Their function is mainly to register the entrepreneurs in Jalan Dharma Husada and operate as a

⁸³ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location A – 01-10-2013 10:30

⁸⁴ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 25-09-2013 11:00

⁸⁵ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location A – 01-10-2013 10:30

⁸⁶ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 18-09-2013 10:29

⁸⁷ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location F – 12-09-2013 13:30

⁸⁸ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location A – 12-09-2013 10:55

communication panel between the government and the entrepreneurs. The governmental subdivisions that are specifically concerned with the work of the Jaya Abadi are the department of Small and Medium enterprises and the department of Urban Planning. This section displays the role of the Jaya Abadi and their activities of spatial planning.

Pak Irah noticed first that the entrepreneurs in the street are not just a loose assembly of different types of business: “We are not placed together in one area. So my neighbours are not a Tambal Ban, but a welder, a street vendor and a warung.”⁸⁹ To someone without this knowledge it indeed looks like a random and unorchestrated mess. The pavement, if there is any, is almost completely covered with tents, motorbikes and chairs. An image that is similar in almost every urban environment in Indonesia. Still this leads to immense dissatisfaction among the population of Surabaya and is repeatedly discussed in various newspapers. Insofar, the pavements in the city centre are no longer occupied by the entrepreneurs due to governmental intervention. As expected the surrounding areas are next. Meaning that all entrepreneurs who are near the road or blocking the pavement are relocated. If necessary, relocation can be violent.^{90 91} To this extent, the Tambal Ban are fully aware: “the location does not belong to us. It belongs to the government. They are in charge.”⁹² What does it mean for the Tambal Ban and how is the Jaya Abadi involved?

In an ideal situation it is not even necessary to relocate the entrepreneurs. The head of the Jaya Abadi, Pak Supriyono, has concrete plans for Jalan Dharma Husada. From an aesthetic point of view it would be good if all the tents in the street were uniform. It will instantly look more professional.⁹³ Ery Cahyadi, head of the department of Urban Planning, agrees.⁹⁴ Most notable, here, is the controlling attitude of Pak Supriyono. His position between the governmental layer and the entrepreneurial layer can be valuable. He is well acquainted with both sides and has an accepted reputation as locational organiser. Regarding the location of the entrepreneurs the government has a clear set of requirements. They must be registered. It can be done by formal registration or indirectly via the Jaya Abadi. Physically they cannot be on the pavements and they must not hinder the traffic in doing their business. He continues by saying: “If the entrepreneurs are disturbing, we clean them. If they are not disturbing we tolerate them. This is like in Jalan Dharma Husada: For now they are not disturbing, so they should not fear cleaning. If we are too rigid, they are gone. There won’t be any entrepreneur left”⁹⁵ Violence is not the answer. It is better to be diplomatic.

Not only the government has demands, also the Tambal Ban. They are satisfied on their current spot and object to physical relocation. So why not stay? Pak Supriyono of the Jaya Abadi is in the position to extent his spatial planning task towards the practice of spatial upgrading. It meets the demands of all involved parties that are reviewed here. By the authority of the mediating Jaya Abadi it is possible to convert the existing situation

⁸⁹ Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 25-09-2013 11:00

⁹⁰ Interview: Head of the department drs. Hadi Mulyono M.M. – Government Surabaya, department of Small and Medium Enterprises (Indonesian: Dinas Koperasi dan Usaha Mikro, Kecil dan Menengah) – 29-10-2013 07:30

⁹¹ Interview: Head of the department Ery Cahyadi, S.T. M.M.T. – Government Surabaya, department of Urban Planning (Indonesian: Dinas Cipta Karya dan Tata Ruang) – 28-10-2013 10:49

⁹² Interview: Tambal Ban – research area location I – 30-10-2013 17:08

⁹³ Interview: Head of the Jaya Abadi H. Supriyono – Organisation Jaya Abadi – 29-10-2013 11:03

⁹⁴ Interview: Head of the department Ery Cahyadi, S.T. M.M.T. – Government Surabaya, department of Urban Planning (Indonesian: Dinas Cipta Karya dan Tata Ruang) – 28-10-2013 10:49

⁹⁵ Interview: Head of the department drs. Hadi Mulyono M.M. – Government Surabaya, department of Small and Medium Enterprises (Indonesian: Dinas Koperasi dan Usaha Mikro, Kecil dan Menengah) – 29-10-2013 07:30

in one that is safe, clean and uniform. Such measurement places rigorous and often difficult relocation matters in perspective.

7.4 Local-global nexus

From the local orientation of the previous sections (7.2 and 7.3) I now broaden my scope towards higher scale levels. This section elaborates on the position of the local entrepreneur in Surabaya and seeks understanding how this position relates to economic processes on national and global levels. Searching, in essence, how the concept of economic growth can be explained within this scale-oriented spectrum by exploring intertwined economic, geographical, political and social values. By the end of this chapter I am a step closer to a description of Surabaya's local economic ethnology that is parallel to global economic intentions. Insights derived from Dependency Theory will guide me through certain tensions between events on the local and the global scale level. In doing this I approach the Tambal Ban purely geographical. From this starting point it is possible to discover the (in)dependence and 'label' them accordingly.

The central argument of Dependency Theory (Section 2.3.4) is that the world's economic system is highly unequal in its distribution of power and resources. From a geographical angle it reviews that recourse flow from a 'periphery' of poor and underdeveloped regions to a 'core' of wealthy regions, enriching the latter at the expense of the former. That is, the more dependent, the less prosperous. The basic fundamentals of this theory are functional in discovering whether the Tambal Ban fit in either a wealthy or a poor region, or somewhere in between. By exploring the economical, geographical, political and social dependency I reveal how certain contemporary power relations mediate and affect the Tambal Ban. In doing this I follow the conceptual path of understanding that is illustrated in Figure 2.4 (Chapter 2). I kick off by examining dependency in an economic context.

In exploring clustering, in Section 7.2, I found that the Tambal Ban does not need to travel when they need materials. There is one supplier for all technical goods. From an economical point of view it makes the Tambal Ban quite dependent since the supplier can set the price by having a bargaining advantage in its monopolising position. Moreover, from a more geographical angle the Tambal Ban do not have much choice. It is plausible that it is cheaper to buy from the supplier than drive off to the market and pay for gasoline while losing valuable business time. The entrepreneur is economically, as well as geographically, constrained in its choices. He relies on others for support and thus, in dependency terms, for growth. To make it even worse, the national government increased fuel prices all over Indonesia. Such political legislative impact adds to the notion of being dependent, since transportation among the Tambal Ban is mainly by motorbike. And in an immensely large and hot city as Surabaya one must be either desperate or exceedingly brave to cycle around whole day. Trust me, I know.

Another insight comes forth from the idea of spatial planning. Formalizing methods of registration and spatial profiling give power to the government. The government is now capable of following the Tambal Ban's behaviour and whereabouts, while the Tambal Ban have practically no idea of government intentions. Is the government cleaning the area from entrepreneurs or conform to spatial upgrading? This uncertainty places the government in a dominant position over the Tambal Ban. So it might appear that the Tambal Ban cherish the supposed informal liberty, whereas in reality they are controlled by formalising processes that hinder prospects of economic progression. But is it?

Whether domination has actual impact and is considered as something negative depends for a great deal on the meaning of economic growth. Approaching the situation by the dichotomy of dominance and submission resembles the fight between a winner and a loser. Here, a winner equals profit, where the loser gains nothing and glides off even further. Sure, when economic growth is defined as universally desired and used to win the battle of expansion in the endless race of being the greatest, there are lots of winners. And simultaneously, lots of losers. But when I follow the definition of the Tambal Ban it changes the players, and thus the playing field. Economic growth is not about forced expansion. Rather it strives for local stabilisation and continuation of personal satisfaction, which comes in a natural way. Here, the central concept is sympathy, not profit. The Tambal Ban argumentation parallels Adam Smith's (2007) vision in where he claims that you need sympathy to glue society together. Collective sympathy is positioned as a fundamental asset in approaching economic growth. Following these thoughts, I move away of emphasising dominant factors. The consistent approach of economic growth by the Tambal Ban moves them towards steady forms of independence. Freeing themselves from dominant governance that try to constrain the entrepreneurs in encompassing economic processes. Is this reality?

From a traditional point of view, regarding economic growth as universally desired expansion, the Tambal Ban are dependent when related to various layers of governance and economic conditions. In continuing their business they rely on others for support. From a theoretical perspective, I can place them in the category of peripheral or poor. Contrarily, this is not how the Tambal Ban feel. Their economic mind-set is not concerned about their possible un(der)developed situation. Still, dominant powers are in fact real and thus will affect the businesses of many entrepreneurs in Surabaya. Nevertheless, as long as prosperity is not determined by governmental intervention the Tambal Ban are fine. Prosperity comes from God and is rewarded only if you work hard and conform to societal traits. Approached less religiously: economic growth should come natural, never at the steering wheel. The economy cannot be orchestrated, it orchestrates you. By this reasoning it is interesting to reflect on Indonesia's position in the global economic spectrum. This discussion is embedded in the next section, which also brings me to a close on economic growth in a geographical constellation.

7.5 Beneficial clustering, spatial upgrading and reflective dominance: finding the meaning of economic growth

I have seen that the position of the Tambal Ban relates to various processes on local and higher scale levels. By reviewing and discussing their statements, their behaviour and their beliefs I gradually form an essential and more fundamental understanding of their reality. This local reality sets the stage for a deeper vision - a discussion that moves beyond solitary themes while entwine multiple scale levels. This section presents not only a multi-perspective reflection on the ways of the Tambal Ban the geo-economic realm. Also, I move my thoughts along the dynamics of economic processes that concern Indonesia as a nation. Essentially discovering how Indonesia can be positioned in the global economic assemblage of intertwining power relations that could influence their economic status. I start local and finish global.

The first order of business is moving deeper in the context of clustering. The idea of clustering, alongside the benefits of it, is explained by a degree of localness, competition and cooperation. The latter two are specifically striking since they change how I can perceive certain power relations. Other Tambal Ban are not considered as competition. Rather they prefer to share knowledge and copy ideas to implement in their own business. Still, this is not acknowledged as a form of collaboration among the Tambal Ban in the street. Apart

from their denial it is obvious they in fact are applying an indirect form of collaboration among each other - enhancing their business from what they see others doing and apply to themselves. What I notice here is a simultaneous mixture of both competition and collaboration amid the Tambal Ban. Following the theoretical framework of relationality by Yeung (2005) in Chapter 2, I am able to unfold how power relations matter and apply to the notion of clustering. Leading to a reimagination of the dichotomy that opposes advanced and weak entrepreneurs. Power, here, is determined by two variables. First, control over key assets (such as knowledge, labour skills, consumer markets). And second, the entrepreneur's spatial range and flexibility. Both these power relations can give an entrepreneur a significant advantage over another entrepreneur in the same region. Relational advantages in the street determine the Tambal Ban's level of competence. Meaning that a Tambal Ban who controls the advantages is labelled as advanced. In contraposition to the Tambal Ban entrepreneur that does not possess those key assets and thus is determined as weak. It tells me that clustering has a strong function in the process of learning among the Tambal Ban in the street. Knowledge flows from an 'advanced' entrepreneur to a 'weak' entrepreneur. Not judging the latter in this sense. Their location and interrelated social and economical bond with other Tambal Ban lead to unintentional clustering. It confirms, and also expands, my understanding of clustering as something that stimulates economic growth. The right location and alignment between those locations is of crucial importance in generating the exchange of knowledge. Such clustering benefits are only possible when the location of a Tambal Ban entrepreneur is assigned properly. The important aspect of spatial planning is denoted again. When the Jaya Abadi conforms to spatial upgrading by increasing aesthetics, functionality and safety it will not be necessary to relocate the Tambal Ban. So how can I take a stand on the concept of economic growth?

From a theoretical point of view I found out that the Tambal Ban have the potential of progressing economically due to practices of clustering. Spatial planning is seen as a valuable instrument to support this economic upheaval when applied correctly within the terms of agreement. Yes, Dependency Theory shows that the Tambal Ban are economically and geographically labelled as dependent. Making them undeveloped with little or no prospect of catching up with the rich. That is, however, when defining economic growth as universally desired expansion that keeps going on and on. It is what Sedlacek means by reaching the golden ceiling (Sedlacek in Hagen & Wiering, 2013). Having it all is considered as bad news. And yes, people want more. Expanding and accumulating possessions gradually dominates the life world of some cultures in reviewing their economic expectations. When following the Tambal Ban in their empirical derived perception of economic growth I notice something different. For one, economic growth should come naturally, not forced. Accordingly, it is presented as a way of life that is content with the current reality. Stipulating stabilisation and continuation a valuable key assets. Embrace growth when it comes in an ordinary fashion. If I put this perception of economic growth central it affects their position of dependence. Up to this point, the Tambal Ban are not entirely constrained by governmental intentions. Here, reflecting on dependency as something multi-sided. Not as untrue. Rather it holds various truths that depend on its approach. The Tambal Ban are considered more independent when following their own perception of economic growth.

The generalizing character of Dependency Theory is worth mentioning as a relevant critique. Positive assumptions of rich, powerful and wealthy in contrast with negative assumptions of underdeveloped, poor, peripheral and dependent put a strong label on the economic status of a Tambal Ban. This labelling in Dependency Theory is a process that (unconsciously) happens quickly and is often based on subjective assumptions that, by doing so, fail in describing the reality. It easily passes cultural, political, ethical, and social

components that interplay in a local network, such as the perception of economic growth by the Tambal Ban. When comparing the traditional and mainly Western perception of economic growth with the Tambal Ban version I notice a difference in approaching economic growth. Most certainly on a local level, concerning the Tambal Ban. Let me continue by exploring how this finding holds in the domain of national and global economic processes. Essentially relating Surabaya's local economic ethnology of the Tambal Ban to global economic intentions.

Exploring the patterns of economic processes on fluctuating scale levels involves the dynamics of globalisation. Let me open the discussion by presenting a quote by the Nobel Prize winning author on globalisation and its discontents Joseph E. Stiglitz. It illustrates the unknown terrain of global processes and the uncertainty of success in this domain.

A developing county that simply opens itself up to the outside world does not necessarily reap the fruits of globalization. Even if its GDP increases, the growth may not be sustainable, or sustained. And even if growth is sustained, most of its people may find themselves worse off. (Stiglitz, 2006, p. 26)

It is imaginable that such uncertainty affects a county's choices that determine its economic status. For that matter it clarifies, to certain extent, the fluctuating standpoints of the Indonesian government about their role in a global economic spectrum. Especially when labelled as BRIC-country. Indonesia, as one of the 'Big Five', is considered as such and thus expected to grow rapidly in economic terms (Cox, 2013). To me this uncertainty about participating in global processes is understandable. During the economic downturn of 1997-98 Indonesia faced huge financial problems. Central banks spent billions of dollars trying to prop up their currencies. When they ran out of funds they turned to the IMF, but it provided money only with a long list of conditions, including government spending cuts, tax increases, and higher interest rates (Stiglitz, 2006). Not only it shows the flip side of global processes, but also stipulates the power of the IMF over Indonesia. It resembles the relation of the Tambal Ban, to a certain extent, with the government of Surabaya. Higher forces of governance can easily dominate a relation. Indonesia becomes dependent on 'global support' and is therefore sentenced to the peripheral regions in the global network, dominated by the core powers. Much of the damage has recovered now, but the crisis was destructive and unnecessary. Indonesia learned that while globalisation brought them enormous prosperity –when it included opening up to destabilising speculative flows- it also brought economic damage.

An important lesson is, when expecting prosperity out of which that is uncertain, that people keep focusing on the big picture. Also Stiglitz criticises economic growth as something that is merely based on income rates and GDP. "Economic success means sustainable, equitable, and democratic development that focuses on increasing living standards" (Stiglitz, 2006, p. 44). Building on the findings so far this confirms the importance of social and cultural values in approaching economic growth. Income is, of course, an essential part of living standards, but also is health and happiness. In Bhutan they do not have GDP. Instead their measuring happens by GNH, gross national happiness, to gauge the status of their country (Lobo, 2014). After the economic downturn it became apparent that East Asian governments realized that success requires social and political stability. I agree with Stiglitz (2006) when he argues that it is important for countries to focus on equity, on ensuring that fruits of growth are widely shared. Especially when one desires sustainable growth. A country's most important resource is its people. Progression is about transforming the lives of people, not just transforming

economies. When people are unable to live to their potential, as a result of inadequate governmental attention, the county will also fail to live up to its potential. Meaning that on a national scale in a global economy it is exceedingly important to value the present working force that keeps the economy flowing every day.

The interconnectedness of cross-sectoral and cross-border economic activities of entrepreneurs display their workings in higher scale levels by the theory of global production networks. From the perceptive of an individual entrepreneur in a broader network of economic processes it is important to understand that they do participate in a larger network on city level (Dicken, 2011). Arguing essentially that in Dharma Husada street the Tambal Ban have their share in keeping the traffic flowing. In their absence tires are fixed in less quantities, which increases traffic jams and complaining users of the roads. This of course affects many other processes in Surabaya. When looking at Jakarta, Indonesia's capital city, traffic jams are already at such levels that even the international media is concerned. This negative chain in consequences is not something that helps Surabaya to become the metropolis they desire to be. And until this point there is no suitable alternative for the Tambal Ban. Stipulating the need for sustaining this group of entrepreneurs.

Until this point I followed a line of reasoning that started with a local vision and moved gradually towards an understanding on higher scale levels. Most striking is the shift in perceiving economic growth. In essence I combined the leading conception of growth that prevails mostly in Western territories with the empirical constructed notion on growth by local entrepreneurs. The latter built on economic success as something sustainable, equitable, and democratic developing that focuses on increasing living standards. Rather stabilising and continuing their state of satisfaction and, highly related, only taken for granted when it comes natural.

Dependency Theory taught me the relevance of being independent. Caught in a web of dominant power relations it is almost logical that the national government of Indonesia chooses for economic growth that is constructed by GDP and other statistics that constantly redefine their economic position in the leading global constellation. Of course, growing in capital and resources keeps the economy dynamic and make sure certain people get rich of it. The crisis brought up the discussion whether this systems is a sustainable one. It is safe to say that risks certainly are involved. The illustrated stance on growth by the Tambal Ban can balance economic choices, both at local and national level. Think about economic growth as an instrument or a method with a specific objective. Being economically independent is important for Indonesia. Globalising practices can certainly boost the economy of Indonesia. Be careful, however, that growth must be generated sustainable in order to prevent the flip side of benefiting of global processes. Indonesia is ready for economic progression within the leading globalising system. That is, if they succeed in acquiring a less dependent position against dominated core powers that offer, slightly paradoxically, economic support. The idea of economic growth that is constructed in following the Tambal Ban can support the national government in framing their economic position in a global constellation. It essentially put emphasis on moving away from forced growth and the on-going desire. Unbound from the artificial stimulation of growth increases the sustainable character of globalisation and decreases the susceptibility of being dominated by core powers in this global network. On every scale level this message is applicable. Instead of maximising economic wealth, people should aim for reasonable economic wealth.

7.6 Concluding remarks

This chapter opened up for a specific approach of economic growth by reflecting on it by a geographical lens. Starting with a narrating reflection on how various spatial processes and theoretical assumptions relate and interplay in the world of the Tambal Ban.

In Section 7.2 I discussed how clustering relates to economic growth in the world of the Tambal Ban. Here, clustering is understood as a phenomenon of spatial and sectoral oriented entrepreneurs that, when effectuated correctly, achieve economic progression. The spatial orientation of the Tambal Ban among each other and in relation with entrepreneurs from other sectors suggests clear signs of entrepreneurial clustering. Their current locational setting proves to be influencing economic growth among the Tambal Ban. In a deeper discussion I explored the meaning of the findings. I discussed that collaboration and cooperation, in a relational network, are closely intertwined and result in structural exchange of knowledge among the Tambal Ban – denoting again the benefits of clustering.

Section 7.3 elaborates on the influence and function of spatial planning practices by the organisation Jaya Abadi. It essentially discusses whether spatial planning can function as an instrument to reconsider relocation of the entrepreneurs. When meeting the demands of the government it is certainly not necessary to move the businesses of the Tambal Ban. By authority of the Jaya Abadi it is possible to upgrade the existing spatial situation in one that is safe, clean, uniform, and still suitable for the Tambal Ban.

The concept of economic growth moves through various scale levels. Section 7.4 seeks understanding how the position of the Tambal Ban relates to economic processes on national and global levels. Dependency Theory guided me through certain tensions between scale levels and revealed how contemporary power relations mediate and affect the Tambal Ban. I found that from a traditional view on economic growth, as a common drive of continuous expansion, the Tambal Ban are dependent when related to various layers of governance and economic conditions. When applying the economic mind-set of the Tambal I find something different. The Tambal Ban mark themselves as more independent since their economic growth is not controlled by dominant powers of governance. It comes in a natural way when people deserve it.

The idea of economic growth that is constructed in following the Tambal Ban can support the national government in framing their economic position in a global constellation. It essentially put emphasis on moving away from forced growth and the on-going desire of maximizing assets. Unbound from the artificial stimulation of growth increases the sustainable character of globalisation and decreases the susceptibility of being dominated by core powers in this global network.

This chapter is the last in a series of three themes that discusses economic growth in the everyday lives of the Tambal Ban. The first theme reviewed the matter from an economical perspective (Chapter 5). Followed by the second theme reflected on growth in a socio-cultural context (Chapter 6). The Tambal Ban reality is submitted to a detailed narrative description in order to understand their statements, choices and behaviour. The three themes provide a profound exploration on how economic growth is perceived by the Tambal Ban, what this means for their environment, and how this affects their local position in a multi-scalar economic system.

The next and final chapter reflects on the core findings that resulted from the previous thematic chapters and presents how these findings interrelate. This conclusive chapter also holds a brief notion on the validity of the findings by assessing the accuracy and quality of the data. Subsequently, I embed a vigorous personal view on the matter by identifying issues that arose in the field and reflect on the relation between the

Tambal Ban and myself. It specifically concerns self-disclosure and reflexivity of my position in this study. Now let me move to a final conclusion on economic growth of the economical, socio-cultural and geographical contextuality in the Dharma Husada street in Surabaya.

8. Conclusion: Re-valuing authentic economic growth

8.1 Introduction

The perception of economic growth turned out to be a multi-dynamic and multi-interpretable concept that fits almost every contemporary discussion in the fields of economics, geography, sociology, politics and religious studies. This study deals with the position of the Tambal Ban entrepreneur, or tire-fixers in English, in various economic systems that are linked to multi-scalar economic developments. The idea of understanding the individual entrepreneur is a leading and fundamental concept thorough this thesis: framing one's personal perception of the economy. Since the economic crisis damaged the financial centres of the world, especially the Western world, people started criticising the economic systems. Nobody really knew what happened and, more importantly, how to solve it. To me it has become apparent that the world was getting ready for shift in economic thinking. Economic growth is a hot topic in academic and media circles. But how is new or modified economic thinking practiced? I explored this in Surabaya, Indonesia.

Surabaya aspires to become an integral metropolis in the borderless global system. As a rapidly developing city Surabaya is suitable for a study on contemporary economic developments. In essence, this study approaches the interpretation of the economic status in an ethnographical perspective, utilising the Tambal Ban entrepreneur as the focus group. To illustrate the perception of economic growth I explored the individual motives and stories of the Tambal Ban in their everyday lives. The objective of this study is to describe Surabaya's local economic ethology parallel to global economic intentions. The central concept for understanding this phenomenon is the perception of economic growth by Tambal Ban entrepreneurs in the Dharma Husada street. This conclusive chapter deals with the central research question of this study: How do Tambal Ban entrepreneurs perceive economic growth in Surabaya, Indonesia, in relation to their local position in a multi-scalar economic system?

With empirical evidence that is obtained during fieldwork, this study reconstructs and re-evaluates various theoretical insights that create the academic basis of this research. Moreover, it is fascinating how the theoretical 'truth' can be subjected to interpretation. In understanding economic growth by the perception of it I distinguish three leading themes that on the one hand, discuss the relation between the entrepreneur and economic growth, and on the other hand enter debates in contemporary economic geography. The first theme regards the influence of entrepreneurs in the local-global nexus. It elaborates on the position of the local entrepreneur in Surabaya and seeks understanding how this position relates to economic processes on higher scale levels. The second theme displays entrepreneurial clustering as a critical dependent of economic success. Various theoretical approaches on clustering assume that spatial proximity of entrepreneurs into dense networks of interaction provide essential conditions for economic success. This assumption is explored in this study and reflects on the position of the informal entrepreneurs in this theoretical context. The third theme concerns the

dualistic presence of the formal and informal sector as a prerequisite for economic growth. Theory on this matter is mainly concerned with the characteristics and interrelation of, and implications for, the formal and informal sector in a developing city. This study seeks understanding in how the informal sector relates to economic growth in discussing the relevance of this group of entrepreneurs. The theoretical focus in this study is on entrepreneurs and their position in the informal economy, in a cluster, and in a cross-scalar constellation. Here, ethnographic research is applied locally and results in a cultural portrait of Indonesian entrepreneurs that addresses more closely to actual economic activities in their daily livelihood.

This conclusive chapter provides a validation of the collected, analysed and interpreted data to ensure the quality of the data (Section 8.2). Followed by a brief portrait description of the Tambal with a short methodological justification (Section 8.3). Then I summarize the most important findings in a chronological order: economical (8.4.1), socio-cultural (8.4.2) and geographical (8.4.3). These findings interrelate to some extent and are therefore subjected to a concise reflective note (Section 8.5). This last section is finalised with a personal reflection on the study as a whole. It elaborates on possible follow-up research in the field of economic geography or related areas of interest.

8.2 Searching for answers - Scientific validation

In this qualitative research I want to present a deep structure of knowledge that comes from visiting personally with participants, spending sufficient time in the field, and exploring honest and detailed meanings. I call this 'understanding'. I confront myself with questions as "Did I understand it right?" and "Is it possible to have the right answer?". This section accounts for a validation and evaluation on the qualitative narrative throughout this study. I consider validation to be an attempt to assess the accuracy of the findings and as a distinct strength of research that is achieved by sufficient time spent in the field. To clarify the validation in this study I advance a selection of strategies derived from Yin (2003) and Creswell (2007). After that I will concisely evaluate the quality of my ethnographic approach

Starting with a clarification of my engagement and persistent observation in the field. After selecting the research location it was important that during the first encounter I already intended to build trust with the participants. After a short chat in Bahasa Indonesia (main language) and a brief description of my study was sufficient for all the participants to agree for participating in the study. I choose to stay for whole days with the participants so I could switch from my role as a researcher to a random bystander that chitchats about everyday subjects. In this way I managed to learn the culture from an academic point of view as well as from a regular social view. During three months of fieldwork I spent most of my daytime and evenings on site, varying from three till four times a week. In the weekends I reserved time for writing, reflecting and preparing the next immersion. This time schedule demonstrates I spent sufficient time in the field.

By applying triangulation I confirm the use of multiple sources for evidence. Where I found it necessary to either emphasize a statement or shed a different light on a theme or perspective I used multiple sources for respectively confirmation or widening of the research scope. Most of triangulation is applied when writing the theoretical foundation (Chapter 2) and during the empirical exposition (Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7).

During the complete research timespan I accommodated various peer reviews. In Indonesia my work is examined twice by a professor of my department in the ITS University. Also, a colleague helped me transcribing all the interviews and thereby conformed to spot-on examination of my progression and content. In the

Netherlands my work is examined by my supervisor dr. Lothar Smith. Occasionally, my two sisters and girlfriend reviewed and assessed my work to full extent. All academics.

The last strategy is member checking. Here, I took data, analysis, interpretations, and conclusions back to the participants in order to let them be the judge of accuracy and credibility of the account. Of course I did not bother them with raw data or extensive transcripts. I discussed my preliminary analysis consisting of description and interpretations. I was interested in their views of these written analysis as well as what was missing. This exercise was performed after the second immersion, when I was able to construct basic forms of analysis and substantive interpretations.

One of the major requirements for an ethnographical approach is to explain the behaviour from the native's point of view and to be systematic in recording this information. In doing so I engaged in constant interaction between observation and interview while using a photo camera, recording devices and note taking. During this exercise I elicit knowledge from informant-participants in systematic fashion. This evaluation on ethnography shows the general considerations during research. A more extended clarification is explained in Chapter 3.

8.3 The Tambal Ban ethnology

The Tambal Ban are a group of individual entrepreneurs that operate throughout the whole day (and night) to make sure passing vehicles can continue their journey within a few minutes when a tire flattens or needs some extra air. This study is concerned with eleven different entrepreneurs in the Dharma Husada street at the periphery of the city centre. This street connects the city centre with the surrounding residential areas and is packed most of the time with a large variety of different and often mobile entrepreneurs. To me it is a classical representation of the Indonesian lifestyle on the street. Without any available alternative it is crucial that this occupation exists to keep the busy traffic flowing at all time. The bad conditions of the street, the low quality of some tires and high temperatures effect in high customer rates for the Tambal Ban. The Tambal Ban define themselves as self-employed and independent. For a understanding of their everyday lives this study provides a detailed and authentic profile of three specific Tambal Ban entrepreneurs: Pak Appu, Pak Irah and Pak Fundi. The addition of *Pak* means sir and indicates respect. These individuals are the leading characters in narrative that structures this thesis.

Pak Appu enjoys the Tambal Ban business for the relaxing atmosphere. Together with his wife and two children he lives a simple life in a Kampung settlement within a five-minute drive from his work location. He lives by two words: relaxing and God. He finds stress a terrible condition. Also he believes that if he works hard God will reward him with income. Pak Fundi will probably do the Tambal Ban business for the rest of his life, since he states there is nothing else. He lives a one-hour drive from his work. Without a motorbike he is nowhere. He always sets up his Tambal Ban tent next to a warung restaurant where he smokes and socializes throughout the day. To me he is the captain of the social dynamic in the street. His business location is good and strategic, although he is worried that the government one day will clear his tent from this area. Pak Irah characterizes himself as religious and spiritual. He favours equality in society and beliefs that if you work hard God returns prosperity. For him, the Tambal Ban business is barely for the money. The most important thing is a social environment in which stress should be avoided at all costs. He lives in a luxurious Kampung area with his wife. All the Tambal Ban share two characteristics that they value above all: religion and a social environment.

8.4 From maximizing to rationality: Core findings

The profiling sketch sets the stage for the following three empirical sections that move closely into the specific role and position of the Tambal Ban and their relational to economic processes. Each chapter is characterized by a leading theme that generally frames Surabaya's local economic ethnology: economical (Section 8.4.1), socio-cultural (Section 8.4.2) and geographical (8.4.3). In all three chapters this central theme provides guidance in approaching the perception of economic growth by the Tambal Ban entrepreneurs.

8.4.1 Economical

The role of Indonesia in the global economy is becoming more and more prominent (Ananta et al., 2011; Peter Dicken, 2011). It is expected to result in intensive economic growth. In times of shifting economic processes against the backdrop of the crisis, the world needs to reflect on economic progression as something embedded in society. Not searching for a universal definition, rather a collection of different views that re-examine how to develop economically. Essentially putting Western economic thinking in perspective, which is positioned as a model for maximizing utilities that is forced upon people. Fundamentally, all Tambal Ban frame economic growth as something that implies continuation and stabilisation of their current lifestyle, instead of intensifying material expansion that moves on progressively. Also, growth must not be an ultimate goal that feels obligatory.

When discussing the economic crisis it is striking that the Tambal Ban consider the marginal impact of this crisis as economic decline. Their personal economy is desired to be stable and continues. While not having the ambition to require 'more', it also reveals the anxiety of economic, and with it, social regression. When it comes to economic growth the ambition of the Tambal Ban is generally to sustain their current state of life and keep on track in a contiguous form, while at the same time fearing any decline in their personal and professional situation. In this study economics is seen as a narrating instrument that criss-crosses the social, philosophical, geographical and political domain. Not as something purely statistical, mathematical or technological, such as the notion of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Economics is a cultural phenomenon, a product of civilization. Following this narrating function, it is the story of the Tambal Ban that tells a little more about how I can approach economic growth. The workings of the Tambal Ban reveal that people should be grateful when economic growth happens. But when it not happens, they should be fine. Economic growth should be embraced when it comes natural and is based on reasonable motives. Not maximizing personal desires in terms of performance and consumption that move towards a golden ceiling, rather embrace the ambition to increase personal and collective satisfaction by stabilizing and continuing a comfortable and accustomed lifestyle. It implies a shift from maximizing economic wealth to reasonable economic wealth. Accordingly to the title of this thesis, I understand the world of the Tambal Ban as an economy of contentment.

8.4.2 Socio-cultural

An economic point of view is not all there is to it in grasping the personal and professional motives of the Tambal Ban to understand economic growth. In a socio-cultural context I found that religion and informality support the clarification of their economic position and their stance towards growth.

In contemporary geographical debates the formal and informal sectors are widely discussed. In developing megacities this dualistic distinction is often made. In Surabaya the Tambal Ban entrepreneurs are quickly labelled as informal due to their unregistered and unplanned spatial orientation. Informality is not

considered as a problem for the government of Surabaya. They rather address the locational features of the Tambal Ban as problematic. Here, government officials refer to the current location of the Tambal Ban as unsafe, dirty, and not uniform. The Tambal Ban are aware of the illegal status of their current location, which can be cleaned from informal activities by governmental authority. Relocating the Tambal Ban is a reasonable and realistic option - but not really necessary. The mediating organisation between the government and the entrepreneurs, named the Jaya Abadi, formalizes the Tambal by registration and spatial planning practices, in favour of the government. This indicates a gradual shift that no longer characterizes the Tambal Ban as a purely informal sector. To cover the locational weaknesses of the Tambal Ban it is required that the Jaya Abadi coordinates spatial upgrading that increases safety, aesthetics and uniformity both in the street and among the entrepreneurs. Being together is an important asset in their daily lives and influences patterns of work. The total entrepreneurial network of the Dharma Husada street is constructed by social relations that represent the area more as a social gathering than a place of work. It stipulates a grey area between work and leisure. Here, I address the debatable entrepreneurial status of the Tambal Ban by their lack of some entrepreneurial features such as innovation, creativity and adaptability. Not having the ambition to progress and maximize profits resembles their stance on economic growth as merely stabilisation and continuation of satisfaction.

Together with the position in the formal-informal nexus it is essential to discuss the influences of religion on the world of the Tambal Ban. When it comes to business there continually is a religious component involved. Arguing, basically, that there is nothing that guarantees economic prosperity. Trust on yourself and on God. Prosperity is an option and must be celebrated only when it occurs natural. Not as a gift, but as a valuable return of hard work and praying. Religion affects economic outcomes mainly by fostering religious beliefs that influence individual traits such as thrift, work ethic, honesty, and openness to strangers. These traits, positioned as something decent and appropriate in social relations, are understood as better embedded in religious circles because it builds on the model of rewards and punishment by God. Here, religious beliefs stimulate growth. They help to sustain aspects of moral individual behaviour that enhance productivity. Cultural embedded norms and values matter because they give something back and influence economic growth in a constructive way. Here, their economy is built on fundamental socio-cultural values that people appreciate and that are collectively embedded in their entrepreneurial culture.

8.4.3 Geographical

From a geographical perspective I developed understanding on the local domain of the Tambal Ban and explored how this affects processes at higher scale levels. In this process I derived valuable information about their economic behaviour, surveyed by the notion of clustering, spatial planning and the position of the Tambal Ban in the local-global nexus.

In contemporary geographical debates the notion of clustering has a broad scope in addressing geo-economical issues. Clustering is understood as a phenomenon of spatial and sectoral orientated entrepreneurs that, in the right circumstances, achieve economic progression. In the Dharma Husada street clear signs of entrepreneurial clustering are detected. Clustering is projected as a tool for measuring the local economic status by examining the degree of localness, competition and collaboration. Based on the empirical insights together with theoretical foundations I consider clustering as a phenomenon that gradually generates economic growth among the Tambal Ban.

Closely connected with clustering I found that spatial planning also has a crucial share in the economic position of the Tambal Ban. The Jaya Abadi functions to register the entrepreneurs in the Dharma Husada street and operates as a communication panel between the government and the entrepreneurs. By the authority of the Jaya Abadi it is possible to effectuate the required spatial upgrading. Such measurement meets the demands of all involved parties that are reviewed in this study and places rigorous and often difficult relocation matters in perspective.

From main findings on a local level I gradually move to core findings on higher scale levels. Explaining, in essence, how the concept of economic growth can be reviewed within this scale-oriented spectrum that is dominated by intertwined economical, geographical, political and social values. Dependency Theory guided me through certain tensions between events on the local and the global scale level. From a traditional point of view, regarding economic growth as universally desired expansion, the Tambal Ban are dependent when related to various layers of governance and economic conditions. In continuing their business they rely on others for support. From a theoretical perspective I can place them in the category of peripheral or poor. Contrarily, this is not how the Tambal Ban would define the situation. Their economic mind-set is not concerned about their possible un(der)developed situation. Still, dominant powers are in fact real and thus will affect the businesses of many entrepreneurs in Surabaya. Nevertheless, as long as prosperity is not determined by governmental intervention the Tambal Ban are fine. Prosperity comes from God and is rewarded only if you work hard and conform to societal traits. Approached less religiously: economic growth should come natural, never at the steering wheel. "The economy cannot be orchestrated, it orchestrates you (Sedlacek in Hagen & Wiering, 2013)."

8.5 The rational meaning of economic growth

By reviewing a multiplicity of perspectives on the dynamic concept of economic growth I come to this conclusive setting that draws upon a large variety of empirical insights and theoretical approaches. How to pin down and make sense of economic growth in relational spheres that crisscross various scale levels? I have seen that the position of the Tambal Ban relates to various processes on local and higher scale levels. By reviewing and discussing their statements, their behaviour and their beliefs I gradually formed an essential and more fundamental understanding of their reality. This local reality sets the stage for a deeper vision - a reflection that moves beyond solitary themes while entwine multiple scale levels.

Presenting, not only a multi-perspective reflection on the ways of the Tambal Ban the geo-economic realm. Also, I move my thoughts along the dynamics of economic processes that concern Indonesia as a nation. This essentially elaborates on how Indonesia can be positioned in the global economic assemblage of intertwining power relations that could influence their economic status.

Most striking is the shift in perceiving economic growth. All the Tambal Ban share two characteristics that they value above all: religion and a social environment. Both characteristics support their perception of economic growth. In essence I scrutinised the leading conception of growth that prevails mostly in Western territories in relation with the empirical constructed notion on growth by local entrepreneurs. The latter built on economic success as something sustainable, equitable, and democratic developing that focuses on increasing living standards. It focuses on stabilising and continuing the Tambal Ban state of satisfaction. Here, growth should only be taken for granted when it comes natural.

Dependency Theory taught me the relevance of being independent. Caught in a web of dominant power relations it is almost logical that the national government of Indonesia chooses for economic growth that is constructed by GDP and other statistics that constantly redefine their economic position in the leading global constellation. Of course, growing in capital and resources sustains the economy dynamic and makes sure certain people get rich of it. However, the crisis brought up the discussion whether this systems is a sustainable one. It is safe to say that risks certainly are involved. The illustrated stance on growth by the Tambal Ban can balance economic choices, both at local and national level. Think about economic growth as an instrument or a method with a specific objective. Being economically independent is important for Indonesia. Globalising practices can certainly boost the economy of Indonesia. Be careful, however, that growth must be generated sustainable in order to prevent the flip side of benefiting of global processes. Indonesia is ready for economic progression within this leading globalising system. That is, if they succeed in acquiring a less dependent position against dominated core powers that offer, slightly paradoxically, economic support.

This study does not present a list of recommendations. Rather I endeavour to stimulate a mode of thinking that (re-)evaluates the economic processes of tomorrow. Here, I stipulate the practice of reflecting critically on the economy as a driving force within society. The idea of economic growth that is constructed by following the Tambal Ban can support the national government in framing their economic position in a global constellation. Not only addressing a message to policy makers that deal with economic matters. It concerns all people, especially those who consider economic growth as the ultimate final stage by increasing performance and consumption. It essentially put emphasis on moving away from forced growth and the on-going desire of maximizing performance and consumption as universal utilisations. Unbound from this artificial stimulation of growth it can increase the sustainable character of globalisation and decreases the susceptibility of being dominated by core powers in this global network. On every scale level this message is applicable. Instead of maximising economic wealth, people should aim for reasonable economic wealth, aspiring contentment.

Economic growth is a fascinating concept that can be approached and surveyed from many different angles. In this study I endeavoured to broaden the scope of research as much as possible. While at the same time controlling the scope of research options to a certain limit. This last section exemplifies additional research options that function well as follow-up inspiration.

Starting with the future of the Tambal Ban entrepreneurs. Where this study focuses on the current situation, it is interesting to follow the entrepreneurs as time passes. Surabaya is developing on many levels. In spatial terms it is expected to see infrastructural development. In legal terms is could be that the informal businesses increasingly become more formal. How this further develops requires new research.

In this developing prospect it is valuable to determine whether international support stimulates the local economy or moves slightly towards forms of neo-colonial practices. Inspired by the literature from Derek Gregory (2000) this entails the search how contemporary power relations on different scale levels create a situation of dominance and submission between actors. Additional research can provide clarification whether, and how, global policy measures or expressions do not always serve the wellbeing and welfare of the local economy.

The last inspirational note on follow up research is the reference to my own world. Living in the Netherlands, considered as the Western world, has influence on my personal perception of economic growth. During research I emphasized with the Tambal Ban and imagined the golden ceiling as something undesirable. Is the Western world conforming to a society of greed and on-going materialism? How do we position our own

economic values? Can the Western world hit golden ceiling? Or is it possible that the perception of this golden ceiling transforms from consuming and materialistic habits towards a goal in terms of stability and contentment? For this matter, is reasonable economic growth realistic worldwide? And if so, how to reach it? I believe the Western world is constructed around a capitalist thought that stimulates greed and where people have the constant desire to have more and be better. It concerns especially those who have a privileged life and the opportunities to expand (in any form). How to move beyond the limits of material experiences? These questions keep interesting me and therefore can be valuable for constructing new ideas for research.

Let me wrap up by repeating the quote of the photographer Ryan Lobo that started this thesis. He reviews the notion of transcendence –a state of being or existence above and beyond the limits of material experience- as something that critically (re-)evaluates economic growth in the contemporary world. Let this generate perspective on how a society can take a stance in economic processes that help to streamline their own future. “More than equality, we need transcendence and compassion, discipline and possibly faith in something larger than the self and its ambitions. I have always liked this quote from the King of Bhutan: ‘Gross national happiness is more important than gross national product’ (Lobo, 2014)”.

Summary

This study deals with the position of the individual, urban and informal entrepreneur in contemporary Indonesian economic systems. These are linked to multi-scalar economic developments. Ever since the global financial crisis in 2008, the world is again reminded that their economic systems can fail. The ‘eye of the storm’ in the economic crisis lies in Western territories. Mainly the United States and Europe. It affects, however, not only the Western civilisation but also areas that are often depicted as the developing countries. Indonesia is, among others, considered as such (Cox, 2013). Indonesia cannot go unnoticed as a large economy. The economy of Indonesia exists for 68 percent of informal businesses, often described as low pay, hazardous working conditions and no social security (ILO, 2009). Since this ‘informal’ group represents the vast majority of the Indonesian economy it is interesting to reveal their economic expectations by their everyday working patterns.

In putting Indonesia central, it is fascinating to set the focus of study on the city Surabaya to move beyond the centrality of Jakarta as a global metropolis. Surabaya is orientating more on the periphery of attention. Not suggesting less important, just more unknown. Moreover, Surabaya is Indonesia’s second largest city that develops in a rapid pace. Entering the 21st century, Surabaya has the ambition to become a integral metropolis in the borderless global system (Silas, Setyawan, Ernawati, & Okitasari, 2012).

This study focuses on the multi-scaled economic relevance of informal entrepreneurs in Surabaya. Reviewing, in essence, the possible tension between what the Tambal Ban entrepreneurs want -as their perception of economic growth- and what (multi-layered) governments think is best for them in order to boost economical growth. In elaborating on this the present study touches the question whether Indonesia is ready for economical progression within a new capitalistic and globalizing systems. To reveal the perception of economic growth I explored the individual motives and stories of the Tambal Ban in their everyday lives.

The objective of this study is to explain Surabaya’s local economic ethnology parallel to global economic intentions in framing the perception of economic growth by urban individual entrepreneurs in the informal sector in Surabaya. By the term ethnology I endeavour to merge the narrating character of this study with the ethnographic approach as the central methodology. This means I want to describe a specific cultural group (ethnography) by digging deep in the local reality that I experience and present as a storyline (narrative). The theoretical focus is on entrepreneurs and their position in the informal economy, in a cluster, and in a cross-scalar constellation.

The Tambal Ban are a group of individual entrepreneurs that operate throughout the whole day (and night) to make sure passing vehicles can continue their journey within a few minutes when a tire flattens or needs some extra air. This study is concerned with eleven different entrepreneurs in the Dharma Husada street at the periphery of the city centre. For a understanding of their everyday lives this study provides a detailed and authentic profile of three specific Tambal Ban entrepreneurs: Pak Appu, Pak Irah and Pak Fundi. These individuals are the leading characters in narrative that structures this thesis. Economic growth is explained by three perspectives: (1) economical, (2), socio-cultural and (3) geographical.

From an economical perspective I found that economic growth should be embraced when it comes natural and is based on reasonable motives. Not maximizing personal desires in terms of performance and

consumption that move towards a golden ceiling, rather embrace the ambition to increase personal and collective satisfaction by stabilizing and continuing a comfortable and accustomed lifestyle. It implies a shift from maximizing economic wealth to reasonable economic wealth. Accordingly to the title of this thesis, I understand the world of the Tambal Ban as an economy of contentment.

From a socio-cultural perspective I found that when it comes to business there continually is a religious component involved. Arguing, basically, that there is nothing that guarantees economic prosperity. Trust on yourself and on God. Prosperity is an option and must be celebrated only when it occurs natural. Here, religious beliefs stimulate growth. They help to sustain aspects of moral individual behaviour that enhance productivity. Cultural embedded norms and values matter because they give something back and influence economic growth in a constructive way. Here, their economy is built on fundamental socio-cultural values that people appreciate and that are collectively embedded in their entrepreneurial culture.

From an geographical perspective I found that from a traditional point of view, regarding economic growth as universally desired expansion, the Tambal Ban are dependent when related to various layers of governance and economic conditions. Based on the empirical insights together with theoretical foundations I consider clustering as a phenomenon that gradually generates economic growth among the Tambal Ban. By the authority of the Jaya Abadi it is possible to effectuate the required spatial upgrading. Such measurement meets the demands of all involved parties that are reviewed in this study and places rigorous and often difficult relocation matters in perspective. In continuing their business they rely on others for support. From a theoretical perspective I can place them in the category of peripheral or poor. Contrarily, this is not how the Tambal Ban would define the situation. Their economic mind-set is not concerned about their possible un(der)developed situation. Still, dominant powers are in fact real and thus will affect the businesses of many entrepreneurs in Surabaya. Nevertheless, as long as prosperity is not determined by governmental intervention the Tambal Ban are fine. Prosperity comes from God and is rewarded only if you work hard and conform to societal traits. Approached less religiously: economic growth should come natural, never at the steering wheel.

Most striking is the shift in perceiving economic growth. All the Tambal Ban share two characteristics that they value above all: religion and a social environment. Both characteristics support their perception of economic growth. In essence I scrutinised the leading conception of growth that prevails mostly in Western territories in relation with the empirical constructed notion on growth by local entrepreneurs. The latter built on economic success as something sustainable, equitable, and democratic developing that focuses on increasing living standards. It focuses on stabilising and continuing the Tambal Ban state of satisfaction. Here, growth should only be taken for granted when it comes natural.

This study does not present a list of recommendations. Rather I endeavour to stimulate a mode of thinking that (re-)evaluates the economic processes of tomorrow. Here, I stipulate the practice of reflecting critically on the economy as a driving force within society. Not only addressing a message to policy makers that deal with economic matters. It concerns all people, especially those who consider economic growth as the ultimate final stage by increasing performance and consumption. It essentially put emphasis on moving away from forced growth and the on-going desire of maximizing performance and consumption as universal utilisations. Unbound from this artificial stimulation of growth it can increase the sustainable character of globalisation and decreases the susceptibility of being dominated by core powers in this global network. On every scale level this message is applicable. Instead of maximising economic wealth, people should aim for reasonable economic wealth, aspiring contentment.

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Appendix A – Overview of participants

The database is built on interviews, observations, Time Geographies and additional documents such as photos and maps. Containing a total of 32 interviews, nine observations, three time geographies and more than 500 additional documents. The three tables below illustrate the full list of participants that form the foundation of the database.

No.	Name or alias	Location	Function	Research strategies
1	Appu	Jalan Dharma Husada – location A	Tambal Ban	3 interviews 3 observations 1 Time Geography
2	Misti	Jalan Dharma Husada – location B	Tambal Ban	1 interview
3	Busun	Jalan Dharma Husada – location C	Tambal Ban	1 interview
4	Darmoadji	Jalan Dharma Husada – location D	Tambal Ban	1 interview
5	Uman Mukrim	Jalan Dharma Husada – location E	Tambal Ban	1 interview
6	Fundi	Jalan Dharma Husada – location F	Tambal Ban	3 interviews 3 observations 1 Time Geography
7	Adi (son)	Jalan Dharma Husada – location G	Tambal Ban	1 interview
8	Suwito (father)	Jalan Dharma Husada – location G	Tambal Ban	1 interview
9	Ridwan (son)	Jalan Dharma Husada – location H	Tambal Ban	1 interview
10	Suratmo (father)	Jalan Dharma Husada – location H	Tambal Ban	1 interview
11	Irah	Jalan Dharma Husada – location I	Tambal Ban	3 interviews 3 observations 1 Time Geography
12	Hardiono	Jalan Dharma Husada – location J	Tambal Ban	1 interview
13	Anwar	Jalan Dharma Husada – location K	Tambal Ban	1 interview

14	drs. Hadi Mulyono M.M	Municipality Surabaya	Head of the department of Small and Medium Enterprises (Indonesian: Dinas Koperasi dan Usaha Mikro, Kecil dan Menengah)	1 interview
15	Ery Cahyadi, S.T. M.M.T.	Municipality Surabaya	Head of the department of Urban Planning (Indonesian: Dinas Cipta Karya dan Tata Ruang)	1 interview
16	H. Supriyono	Municipality Surabaya	Head of the Jaya Abadi	1 interview
17	Prof. Johan Silas	ITS University	Professor at the department of Architecture (ITS University)	2 interview
18	Recta	ITS University	PhD student at the department of Architecture (ITS University)	1 interview
19	Yayas	ITS University	PhD student at the department of Architecture (ITS University)	1 interview
20	Retna Puspatarini	ITS University	PhD student architecture & master in human settlements (ITS University)	2 interviews
21	Bagas Dwipantara Putra	Surabaya – Melbourne (Skype interview)	PhD student on (University of Melbourne)	1 interview
22	Bagus Widyanto	In the Surabaya Mall	Travel operator that lives in the same street	1 interview
23	Bu Joyce	ITS University	PhD researcher on Usaha Kecil Menengah (UKM) (business small medium)	1 interview
24	Pak Jarwanto	Dharmawangsa	Head of the Sentra PKL Dharmawangsa	1 interview

Appendix B – Research protocols

This appendix displays the research protocols that are used for this study, differentiating interview protocols, an observation protocol and a protocol for the Time Geography.

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7. Observation protocol	Page 128
8. Time Geography protocol	Page 129

1. Interview protocol – 1st immersion

Time of interview:

Date:

Place:

Interviewee(s):

Interviewer:

Position of the interviewee(s):

Status interview: 1st immersion / ~~2nd immersion~~

Questions

- Find gatekeeper
- Explain the purpose
 - Research ITS
 - Your economic success
- Goal: explore how the entrepreneur works and lives.

A. My name is Stan. I'm from Holland. I study with the ITS. I'm doing research form my study What is your name?	A. Nama saya Stan. Saya dari Belanda. Saya belajar di ITS. Saya sedang melakukan penelitian untuk kuliah saya. Siapa nama Anda?
B. Can I ask you something?	B. Bolehkah saya bertanya kepada Anda?
C. The topic of research is your success in business.	C. Penelitian saya ingin mengetahui kisah sukses Anda dalam berbisnis.
1.1 So, what do you do for a living?	1.1 Jadi, apa pekerjaan anda?
1.2 What kind of work do you do?	1.2 Apa kesibukan anda?
1.3 Why did you choose this business?	1.3 Mengapa anda memilih usaha ini?
2. Do you only work here?	2. Apakah Anda hanya bekerja di sini?
3.1 Do you work alone or together?	3. Apakah anda bekerjasama dengan pengusaha lain?
3.2 Together: With whom and why?	3.1 Bersama: Dengan siapa dan mengapa?
4.1 Do you work together with somebody in this area?	4.1 Apakah Anda bekerja sama dengan orang di daerah sini?
4.2 Together: With whom and why?	4.2 Bersama: Dengan siapa dan mengapa?
5.1 Do you work together with somebody outside this area?	5.1 Apakah Anda bekerja sama dengan orang luar daerah ini?
5.2 Together: With whom and why?	5.2 Bersama: Dengan siapa dan mengapa?
6.1 Why do you choose this location?	6.1 Mengapa Anda memilih lokasi ini?
6.2 Do you have any alternatives?	6.2 Apakah Anda memiliki lokasi lainnya?
7. What are your daily working hours?	7. Bagaimana jadwal kegiatan kerja Anda sehari-hari?
8. Do you like your work?	8. Apakah Anda menyukai pekerjaan Anda?
9. Where do you live?	9. Di mana Anda tinggal?
10. Can your describe your house?	10. Apakah Anda dapat menjelaskan tentang rumah Anda?
11. Can you describe your living environment?	11. Apakah Anda dapat menjelaskan lingkungan sekitar tempat Anda tinggal?
12. With how many people do you live together?	12. Berapa banyak orang yang tinggal bersama Anda?
13. What is your relation to those people?	13. Apa hubungan Anda dengan mereka?
14. Are you happy where you live?	14. Apakah Anda bahagia tinggal di sini?
D. Thank for meeting and talking to me	D. Terima kasih sudah meluangkan waktu bertemu saya

2. Interview protocol – 2nd immersion A

Time of interview:

Date:

Place:

Interviewee(s):

Interviewer:

Position of the interviewee(s):

Status interview: ~~1st immersion~~ / 2nd immersion

Questions:

A. My name is Stan. I'm from Holland. I study with the ITS. I'm doing research for my study. What is your name?	A. Nama saya Stan. Saya dari Belanda. Saya belajar di ITS. Saya sedang melakukan penelitian untuk kuliah saya. Siapa nama Anda?
B. Can I ask you something?	B. Bolehkah saya bertanya kepada Anda?
C. The topic of research is your success in business.	C. Penelitian saya ingin mengetahui kisah sukses Anda dalam berbisnis.
1 For how long is this your profession?	1 Sudah berapa tahun profesi ini Anda lakukan?
2 Why did you choose to be Tambal Ban?	2 Mengapa Anda memilih untuk bekerja sebagai tukang Tambal Ban?
3 Are you affected by the economic crisis?	3 Apakah anda terpengaruh oleh krisis ekonomi?
4 How do you see this business in 5 years?	4 Bagaimana Anda melihat bisnis ini dalam 5 tahun?
5 Do you want to improve your business?	5 Apakah Anda ingin meningkatkan bisnis Anda?
5.1 How do you want to improve?	5.1 Bagaimana Anda ingin meningkatkan bisnis Anda?
6 What do you consider economic growth?	6 Apa yang Anda anggap pertumbuhan ekonomi?
6.1 What do you consider economic growth in your daily life?	6.1 Apa yang Anda anggap pertumbuhan ekonomi dalam kehidupan sehari-hari Anda?
6.2 What do you consider economic growth on national level?	6.2 Apa yang Anda anggap pertumbuhan ekonomi di tingkat nasional?
7 Why is this a good location?	7 Mengapa lokasi ini adalah lokasi yang baik?
8 Are the other Tambal Ban in this street your competitors?	8 Apakah Tambal Ban lainnya di jalan ini adalah pesaing Anda?
8.1 Why (not)?	8.1 Mengapa (tidak)?
9 Is it better for your business if there is no Jaya Abadi?	9 Apakah lebih baik untuk bisnis Anda jika tidak ada Jaya Abadi?
9.1 Why (not)?	9.1 Mengapa (tidak)?
10 What is your age?	10 Berapa usia Anda?
D. Thank for meeting and talking to me	D. Terima kasih sudah meluangkan waktu bertemu saya

3. Interview protocol – 2nd immersion B

Time of interview:

Date:

Place:

Interviewee(s):

Interviewer:

Position of the interviewee(s):

Status interview: ~~1st immersion~~ / 2nd immersion

Questions

Questions clustering:

1 Where do you get your materials? 1.1 Do you actually meet the supplier? 1.2 How often? 1.3 Can you tell me how this transaction takes place?	1 Di mana Anda mendapatkan bahan-bahan Anda? 1.1 Apakah Anda benar-benar bertemu pemasok? 1.2 Seberapa sering? 1.3 Dapatkah Anda memberitahu saya bagaimana transaksi ini terjadi?
2 Why do you not buy it somewhere else?	2 Mengapa Anda tidak membelinya di tempat lain?
3 There are a lot of different entrepreneurs in this street. Why is that?	3 Ada banyak pengusaha yang berbeda di jalan ini. Mengapa demikian?
4 Do you sometimes talk to other entrepreneurs in this street? 4.1 Who? 4.2 Why? 4.3 What do you discuss? 4.4 Do you talk about business?	4 Apakah Anda kadang-kadang berbicara dengan pengusaha lain di jalan ini? 4.1 Siapa? 4.2 Kenapa? 4.3 Apa yang Anda bicarakan? 4.4 Apakah Anda berbicara tentang bisnis?
5 Do you know how many Tambal Ban there are in this street? 5.1 Do you consider them competition? 5.2 Did you ever talked to them? 5.3 What do you talk about? 5.4 How often do you talk to each other? 5.5 Is it an option to collaborate with them? 5.6 Why?	5 Apakah Anda tahu berapa banyak Tambal Ban ada di jalan ini? 5.1 Apakah Anda menganggap mereka sebagai pesaing Anda? 5.2 Apakah Anda pernah berbicara dengan mereka? 5.3 Apa yang Anda bicarakan? 5.4 Seberapa sering Anda berbicara satu sama lain? 5.5 Apakah suatu pilihan untuk berkolaborasi dengan mereka? 5.6 Kenapa?

Questions informality:

6 Do you have health insurance?	6 Apakah Anda memiliki asuransi kesehatan?
7 How did you learn this profession?	7 Bagaimana Anda belajar profesi ini?
8 How is your relation with the Government?	8 Bagaimana hubungan Anda dengan Pemerintah?
9 Does the government influence your business ambition? 9.1 How?	9 Apakah pemerintah mempengaruhi ambisi bisnis Anda? 9.1 Bagaimana?
10 How is your relation with the Jaya Abadi? 10.1 What do you get in return from your payment? 10.2 What happens if you do not pay? 10.3 What is their authority in this area?	10 Bagaimana hubungan Anda dengan Jaya Abadi? 10.1 Apa yang Anda dapatkan sebagai imbalan dari pembayaran Anda? 10.2 Apa yang terjadi jika Anda tidak membayar? 10.3 Apa saja kewenangan dari Jaya Abadi di daerah ini?
11 Do you know the local RT, RW and Kelurahan? 11.1 What is your relation to them?	11 Apakah Anda tahu Bapak atau Ibu RT, RW dan Kelurahan di tempat Anda bekerja? 11.1 Apa hubungan Anda dengan mereka?
12 Where is your business registered? 12.1 Do you know this form? (show registration Jaya Abadi)	12 Dimana Anda mendaftarkan usaha bisnis Anda? 12.1 Apakah Anda mengetahui tentang formulir? 12.2 Apakah Anda mendaftarkan usaha bisnis Anda pada

12.2 With the government?	pemerintah?
12.3 With the Jaya Abadi?	12.3 Apakah Anda mendaftarkan usaha bisnis Anda pada Jaya Abadi?
12.4 Anywhere else?	12.4 Apakah Anda mendaftarkan usaha bisnis Anda ke lembaga lainnya?
12.5 Do you know Izin Tempat Usaha?	12.5 Apakah Anda tahu Izin Tempat Usaha?
12.6 Do you know Kartu Tanda Pedagang?	12.6 Apakah Anda tahu Kartu Tanda Pedagang?
12.7 Do you know Retribusi?	12.7 Apakah Anda tahu Retribusi?
12.8 Did you ever filled in these forms?	12.8 Apakah Anda pernah mengisi formulir tersebut?
12.9 Why?	12.9 Kenapa?
13 Is it required to pay taxes?	13 Apakah kami harus membayar pajak?
13.1 To whom?	13.1 Untuk siapa?
13.2 Do you pay taxes?	13.2 Apakah Anda membayar pajak?
14 Who secures this area?	14 Siapa yang mengamankan daerah ini?

Questions economic status:

15 How much do you spent? Specifically on	15 Berapa banyak biaya yang Anda habiskan untuk:
15.1 Registration and taxes monthly	15.1 Pendaftaran dan pajak bulanan
15.2 Materials weekly	15.2 keperluan bahan mingguan usaha bisnis Anda (juga bensin yang Anda jual)
15.3 All expenses daily	15.3 Semua pengeluaran sehari-hari
16 How would you describe your ambition in business?	16 Bagaimana Anda menggambarkan ambisi Anda dalam bisnis?
16.1 How does your family influence this ambition?	16.1 Bagaimana keluarga Anda mempengaruhi ambisi ini?
16.2 How does religion influence this ambition?	16.2 Bagaimana agama mempengaruhi ambisi ini?
17 What do you consider wealthy?	17 Bagi Anda, apa itu makmur?
18 What do you consider rich?	18 Bagi Anda, apa itu kaya?
18.1 What do you want to achieve in the coming years?	18.1 Apa yang ingin Anda capai dalam tahun-tahun mendatang?
19 Is money important to you?	19 Apakah uang penting bagi Anda?
19.1 Why?	19.1 Kenapa?
20 Who do you need to realize this ambition?	20 Siapa yang Anda butuhkan untuk mewujudkan ambisi tersebut?
21 Do you know this image? (show Pancasila)	21 Apakah Anda tahu gambar ini?
21.1 What does it mean for your daily life?	21.1 Apa artinya bagi kehidupan sehari-hari Anda?
21.2 What does it mean for your religion?	21.2 Apa artinya bagi agamamu?
21.3 What does it mean for business?	21.3 Apa artinya untuk bisnis?
22 What do you consider economic growth?	22 Apa yang Anda anggap pertumbuhan ekonomi?
22.1 Do you think it is important? Why?	22.1 Apakah Anda pikir itu penting? Kenapa?
22.2 What do you consider economic growth in your daily life?	22.2 Apa yang Anda anggap pertumbuhan ekonomi dalam kehidupan sehari-hari Anda?
22.3 What do you consider economic growth on national level?	22.3 Apa yang Anda anggap pertumbuhan ekonomi di tingkat nasional?
23 What can you do to grow economically? Why?	23 Apa yang dapat Anda lakukan untuk dapat tumbuh secara ekonomi? Kenapa?
23.1 What do you think about advertising in this business?	23.1 Apa pendapat Anda tentang iklan dalam bisnis Anda?
23.2 Who do you need to grow economically? Why?	23.2 Siapa yang Anda butuhkan untuk dapat tumbuh secara ekonomi? Kenapa?
23.3 When do you want to grow economically? Why?	23.3 Kapan Anda ingin tumbuh secara ekonomi? Kenapa?

4. Interview protocol – 3rd immersion

Time of interview:

Date:

Place:

Interviewee(s):

Interviewer:

Position of the interviewee(s):

Status interview: ~~1st immersion~~ / ~~2nd immersion~~ / ~~External~~ / 3rd immersion

Questions

A. Can I ask you something?	A. Bolehkah saya bertanya kepada Anda?
1. Can you fix Tubeless tires? 1.1 What if tires become unbreakable? 1.2 The Jaya Abadi supplies micro loans. Would you loan money from the Jaya Abadi if you need it?	1. Apakah Anda dapat memperbaiki ban Tubeless? 1.1 Bagaimana jika ban tidak bisa rusak? 1.2 Jaya Abadi menyediakan pinjaman kredit mikro. Apakah Anda akan meminjam dari Jaya Abadi jika Anda membutuhkannya?
2. What is your biggest fear in business?	2. Apa ketakutan terbesar Anda dalam berusaha?
3. What is your biggest fear in life?	3. Apa ketakutan terbesar Anda dalam hidup?
4. For how long you want to continue to do Tambal Ban?	4. Untuk berapa lama Anda ingin menjalankan pekerjaan Tambal ban?
5. Do you consider yourself wealthy right now?	5. Apakah saat ini Anda merasa makmur?
6. Your business is actually illegal. Do you think that is bad?	6. Pekerjaan Anda merupakan pekerjaan yang ilegal. Apakah menurut Anda hal ini buruk?
7. How does it feel that the government has the authority to remove you from this location?	7. Bagaimana rasanya mengetahui bahwa pemerintah memiliki kekuasaan untuk memindahkan usaha Anda dari lokasi ini?
8. What are you going to do when government will clean this area from PKL next week? 8.1 Where would you go? 8.2 Will you continue to be Tambal Ban or maybe another business?	8. Apa yang akan Anda lakukan ketika pemerintah membebaskan area ini dari PKL minggu depan? 8.1 Kemana Anda akan pergi? 8.2 Apakah Anda akan tetap menjadi Tambal Ban atau membuka usaha lain?
9. If the government asks you to locate your business further away from the street, clean the pavement and arrange parking spots, would you do that?	9. Jika pemerintah meminta Anda untuk melokasikan usaha Anda jauh dari jalan, membersihkan trotoar dan mengatur area untuk parkir, apakah Anda mau melakukannya?
D. Thank for meeting and talking to me	D. Terima kasih sudah meluangkan waktu bertemu saya

5. Interview protocol – Government

Time of interview:

Date:

Place:

Interviewee(s):

Interviewer:

Position of the interviewee(s):

Status interview: ~~1st immersion~~ / ~~2nd immersion~~ / External / ~~3rd immersion~~

Questions

A. My name is Stan. I'm from Holland. I study with the ITS. I'm doing research form my study What is your name?	A. Nama saya Stan. Saya dari Belanda. Saya belajar di ITS. Saya sedang melakukan penelitian untuk kuliah saya. Siapa nama Anda?
B. Can I ask you something?	B. Bolehkah saya bertanya kepada Anda?
C. The topic of research is the entrepreneurs in Jalan Dharma Husada.	C. Topik penelitian yakni para pengusaha di Jalan Dharma Husada.
1. How would you define economic growth? 1.1 What is the economic future of Surabaya? 1.2 What is the economic future of Indonesia?	1. Bagaimana Anda dapat jelaskan tentang perkembangan ekonomi? 1.1 Bagaimana ekonomi kota Surabaya di masa depan? 1.2 Bagaimana ekonomi Indonesia di masa depan?
2. What does Surabaya need to grow economically?	2. Apa yang dibutuhkan kota Surabaya untuk tumbuh secara ekonomi?
3. How can entrepreneurship boost the city's economy?	3. Bagaimana kewirausahaan dapat mendorong ekonomi kota?
4. What do you consider an informal entrepreneur?	4. Menurut Anda apa yang dimaksud dengan pengusaha bidang informal.
5. What is the benefit for Surabaya to have an informal sector?	5. Apa keuntungannya bagi kota Surabaya dengan memiliki sektor informal?
6. Is the informal sector important for Surabaya? 6.1 Why (not)?	6. Apakah sektor informal penting bagi kota Surabaya? 6.1 Kenapa (tidak)?
7. What is the ideal situation of economic activities in Jalan Dharma Husada?	7. Bagaimana situasi yang ideal bagi kegiatan ekonomi di Jalan Dharma Husada?
8. How should the entrepreneurs in that street conform to this ideal image?	8. Bagaimana seharusnya para pengusaha di jalan itu dapat merealisasikan situasi ideal dari kegiatan ekonomi tersebut?
9. How do you communicate with entrepreneurs in the informal sector? 9.1 What influence has this department on local decision-making?	9. Bagaimana Anda berkomunikasi dengan para pengusaha di sektor informal? 9.1 Pengaruh apa yang dimiliki departemen ini untuk mengambil keputusan secara lokal?
10. How do you stimulate entrepreneurs in the informal sector to improve their business?	10. Bagaimana Anda mendukung para pengusaha di sektor informal untuk meningkatkan usaha bisnis mereka?
11. If the entrepreneurs should move their business, what is their alternative location?	11. Jika para pengusaha harus memindahkan lokasi usahanya, dimanakah lokasi alternatif bagi usaha mereka?

<p>12. What is the function of the side of the street, or pavement?</p> <p>(Because when you plea for safe and accessible pavement for pedestrians, the real condition shows no existing pavement at all. Still, the bad condition of the pavement does not make it the worst option. The street, with its fast and heavy traffic, is far more dangerous.)</p>	<p>12. Bagaimana fungsi dari trotoar?</p>
<p>13. How much do you want to control in this informal area?</p> <p>13.1 How much can you control?</p>	<p>13. Bagaimana departemen Anda mengendalikan kegiatan ekonomi (bisnis) di kawasan usaha informal ini?</p> <p>13.1 Seberapa jauh pengendalian tersebut yang dapat dilakukan oleh departemen Anda?</p>
<p>14. What steps can you take to get out of the economic crisis?</p>	<p>14. Tahapan apa saja yang dapat dilakukan oleh departemen Anda untuk dapat keluar dari krisis ekonomi?</p>
<p>15. Does your department work together with Unions?</p> <p>15.1 How do you work together?</p>	<p>15. Apakah departemen Anda bekerja sama dengan perhimpunan wirausaha?</p> <p>15.1 Bagaimana kerjasama tersebut dilakukan?</p>
<p>16. Do you know the Jaya Abadi?</p>	<p>16. Apakah Anda tahu tentang Jaya Abadi?</p>
<p>17. Do you know the function of the Jaya Abadi?</p> <p>(They are also involved in spatial planning)</p>	<p>17. Apakah Anda tahu fungsi dari Jaya Abadi?</p>
<p>18. When do you decide to clean an area of PKL?</p> <p>18.1 When will there be another sweeping?</p>	<p>18. Kapanakah departemen Anda mengagendakan untuk membersihkan kawasan PKL?</p> <p>18.1 Kapan akan diadakan pembersihan kawasan PKL?</p>
<p>19. How does policy reflect religion?</p> <p>19.1 Does religion influence policy making?</p> <p>19.2 Why (not)?</p> <p>19.3 How?</p>	<p>19. Bagaimana peraturan dapat mempengaruhi agama?</p> <p>19.2 Kenapa (tidak)?</p> <p>19.3 Bagaimana?</p>
<p>20. How does policy reflect the Pancasila?</p>	<p>20. Bagaimana peraturan mempengaruhi Pancasila?</p>
<p>D. Thank for meeting and talking to me</p>	<p>D. Terima kasih sudah meluangkan waktu bertemu saya</p>

6. Interview protocol – Jaya Abadi

Time of interview:

Date:

Place:

Interviewee(s):

Interviewer:

Position of the interviewee(s):

Status interview: ~~1st immersion~~ / ~~2nd immersion~~ / External / ~~3rd immersion~~

Questions

A. My name is Stan. I'm from Holland. I study with the ITS. I'm doing research form my study What is your name?	A. Nama saya Stan. Saya dari Belanda. Saya belajar di ITS. Saya sedang melakukan penelitian untuk kuliah saya. Siapa nama Anda?
B. Can I ask you something?	B. Bolehkah saya bertanya kepada Anda?
C. The topic of research is the entrepreneurs in Jalan Darma Husada.	C. Topik penelitian yakni para pengusaha di Jalan Dharma Husada.
1. Can you tell me a little bit about the organisation Jaya Abadi?	1. Dapatkah Anda memberitahu saya tentang organisasi Jaya Abadi?
2. What is the main function of this organisation?	2. Apakah fungsi utama dari organisasi ini?
3. How does the economy benefit from the work of the Jaya Abadi?	3. Bagaimana perekonomian diuntungkan dengan adanya Jaya Abadi?
4. How was this organisation founded? 4.1 And by who? (It is true that this organisation was founded by a collaboration of certain PKL in Jalan Dharmo Husada, after government sweeping to communicate better with the government?)	4. Bagaimana organisasi ini didirikan? 4.1 Organisasi ini didirikan oleh siapa?
5. What is your legal status? 5.1 Are you an official organisation? (what makes an organisation official?)	5. Bagaimana status hukum dari organisasi Jaya Abadi? 5.1 Apakah organisasi Jaya Abadi merupakan organisasi resmi?
6. Can you tell me what happens when a new entrepreneur wants to place its business in your district? 6.1 How do you determine where its place should be? 6.2 Why are some entrepreneurs in Jalan Dharma Husada not a member of the Jaya Abadi?	6. Dapatkah Anda beritahu saya apakah yang akan terjadi ketika pengusaha baru mau membuka usahanya di wilayah Anda? 6.1 Bagaimana Anda menentukan lokasi bagi pengusaha baru? 6.2 Mengapa beberapa pengusaha di Jalan Dharma Husada tidak menjadi anggota dari Jaya Abadi?
7. Do you play a role in securing the Jalan Dharma Husada? 7.1 Why do you secure? 7.2 How do you secure?	7. Apakah Anda memiliki peranan untuk mengamankan kawasan di Jalan Dharma Husada? 7.1 Mengapa Anda mengamankan kawasan itu? 7.2 Bagaimana Anda mengamankan kawasan itu?
8. How do you communicate with the entrepreneurs in Jalan Dharma Husada?	8. Bagaimana Anda berkomunikasi dengan para pengusaha di Jalan Dharma Husada?
9. Is your area of concern only Dharma Husada, or more districts?	9. Apakah fokus area Anda hanya di Dharma Husada atau di beberapa distrik (kawasan)?

10. How would you describe the ideal situation in Jalan Dharma Husada, when it comes to entrepreneurs?	10. Bagaimana Anda menjelaskan situasi ideal di Jalan Dharma Husada, ketika berhubungan dengan para pengusaha?
11. What happens if an entrepreneur refuses to pay the daily fee?	11. Apa yang terjadi jika pengusaha menolak untuk membayar iuran harian?
12. Every month you receive about Rp 7.436.000* From all the participating entrepreneurs. What do you do with it?	12. Setiap bulan Anda menerima Rp 7.436.000 dari semua partisipasi para pengusaha. Apa yang Anda lakukan dengan dana tersebut?
13. How is your relation with the government?	13. Bagaimana hubungan Anda dengan pemerintah?
14. What happens if there was no Jaya Abadi?	14. Apa yang terjadi jika tidak ada Jaya Abadi?
D. Thank for meeting and talking to me	D. Terima kasih sudah meluangkan waktu bertemu saya

7. Observation protocol

Time of observation:

Date:

Place:

Participants present:

Status observation: 1st immersion / 2nd immersion

- | |
|---|
| - Portraits of the informant
- Physical setting
- Particular events or activities |
|---|

Length of observation:	
Descriptive notes	Reflective notes

8. Time Geography protocol

Timespan:

Date:

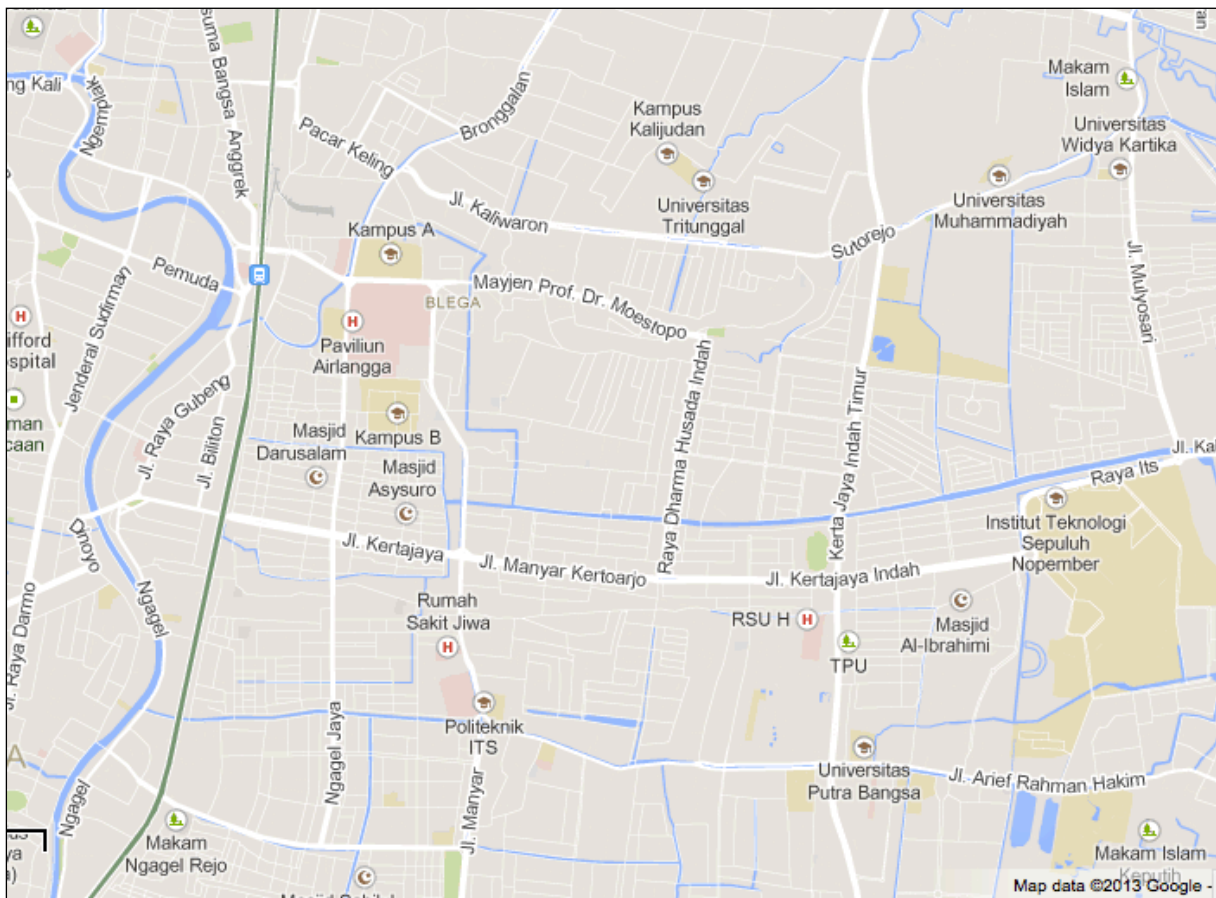
Participant:

Case:

Status observation: 1st immersion / 2nd immersion

Time	Activity	Location
03.00 - 04.00		
04.00 - 05.00		
05.00 - 06.00		
06.00 - 07.00		
07.00 - 08.00		
08.00 - 09.00		
09.00 - 10.00		
10.00 - 11.00		
11.00 - 12.00		
12.00 - 13.00		
13.00 - 14.00		
14.00 - 15.00		
15.00 - 16.00		
16.00 - 17.00		
17.00 - 18.00		
18.00 - 19.00		
19.00 - 20.00		
20.00 - 21.00		
21.00 - 22.00		

Map – mark every location.



Supporting questions:

Can I follow you today?	Dapatkah saya mengikuti Anda hari ini?
Until it is evening.	Sampai malam.
At what time did you woke up this morning?	Pada pukul berapa Anda bangun pagi ini?
Where did you go after you left your house?	Kemana Anda pergi setelah Anda meninggalkan rumah Anda?
Where is that?	Dimana itu?
Which vehicle did you use?	Jenis kendaraan apa yang Anda gunakan?
Where is the place you store your business?	Dimana tempat Anda menyimpan bisnis Anda?
At what time did you start working?	Pada pukul berapa Anda mulai bekerja?
Where do you pray?	Di mana Anda berdoa?
When do you pray?	Ketika anda berdoa?
Do you go directly to your home?	Apakah Anda pergi langsung ke rumah Anda?
When do you eat lunch?	Bila Anda makan siang?
When do you eat diner?	Bila Anda makan malam?

